

THE EDUCATION OF RUSSIAN WOMEN:

EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION

A Comparative Analysis

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

in the Faculty

of

Graduate Studies

We accept this thesis as conforming to the  
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1972

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## ABSTRACT

The hypothesis of the thesis is that changes in provisions for the education of women introduced after the Russian revolution were evolutionary in nature rather than revolutionary. In essence educational traditions rather than political ideology have been an important determining factor in post-revolutionary educational reforms in the Soviet Union and the privileges, rights and equality in education granted to women after 1917 have been inherent in the Russian tradition of education and educational theory prior to 1917.

The study traces the history of the education of women from the period of Kievan Rus' in the ninth century to the present with a special emphasis on the second half of the nineteenth century education and educational reforms. It is limited to the analysis of only those ideological and institutional factors which directly affected the education of women.

The conclusion reached in this study is that the nature of the educational system of the Soviet Union and the participation of women in the system can be explained in terms of the same determining factors, attitudes and values, within an identifiable social context, which underlined the educational system of the Tsars. Major changes in educational policies, reforms and attitudes towards the education of women in the U.S.S.R. are thus a part of the educational traditions imminent in the

ideology and institutional factors of Tsarist Russia rather than Marxist-Leninist educational philosophy. The equal educational opportunities enjoyed by Soviet women today are therefore the result of an evolution rather than a revolution.

† The thesis is not a study of all the issues and aspects of the education of women in pre- and post-revolutionary Russia and is focused on those issues and situations which concerned the education of women of Greater Russia, rather than the minorities, in the Department of the Fourth Section of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery and under the Ministry of Public Education.

The study is divided into three parts comprising a total of ten chapters and a conclusion. The first part traces the history of the education of women from the first era of Christianity to 1856, and notes the contributions of the Russian Tsars and their advisors as well as those of Russian philosophers and educators to the development of a system of education for women. The second part, covers the period between 1856 and 1917, certain trends in educational philosophy and the development of a public elementary and secondary system, and the provisions made for the higher education of women are discussed. The third part is a study of the Marxist-Leninist educational philosophy and the extent to which it influenced and modified the development of post-revolutionary educational theories and practices concerning the education of women. The last chapter is a comparative analysis of the forces of pre-revolutionary Russian educational traditions and Marxist educational philosophy in the development of equal educational opportunities for



women in the U.S.S.R. and indentifies, particularly with respect to the education of women the educational elements common to pre- and post-revolutionary Russia.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is greatly indebted to Professors F. H. Johnson and Joseph Katz for their valuable suggestions, guidance and interest throughout the course of the preparation of this thesis.

The writer would also like to thank Professors J. Avakumovic, J. Calam, L. Marsh and S. Pech as the members of the supervisory committee.

## INTRODUCTION

The educational achievements of the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics have been attributed in the main to the revolutionary changes brought about in Russian educational theories and practices by the Communist Revolution of 1917 and by Marxist educational ideals. It has also been assumed that the radical changes wrought by the revolution in all aspects of the social, economic, political and religious life of the U.S.S.R. also brought equally radical changes in all areas of education. Indeed, since 1917 the educational achievements of the U.S.S.R. have been so spectacular in terms of scientific and technological achievements, massive enrolments, variety of opportunities and equality of sexes that these have tended to obscure the fundamentally evolutionary character of the Soviet educational views.

In particular the aforementioned educational achievements have tended to obscure the real and significant influence of the Tsarist provisions for the education of both men and women; provisions which served as a base for subsequent educational policies.

A careful study of the educational system under the Tsars in the second half of the nineteenth century reveals that Russia, under its more enlightened rulers, not only had a system of elementary and secondary schools but also institutions of

higher learning for women, open to all girls regardless of class or creed.

This study therefore involves a historical survey of the provisions made for the education of women in pre-revolutionary Russia as well as in post-revolutionary Russia. An analysis of educational theory, official and unofficial (public opinion, educators, writers), and values and norms of the pre-revolutionary period as compared to the post-revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist attitude towards the education and status of women is also being included. The period covered is between 1724 and 1936 (Stalin's consolidation of power) with a special emphasis on the second half of the nineteenth century educators and educational reforms.

In no way does this thesis pretend to be a study of the history of Russian or Soviet education, not even a detailed study of the education of women. It is a study of trends and attitudes in the history of the education of Russian women--a history which seems to have repeated itself through the centuries changing only in magnitude and intensity, and indicating, perhaps, that the problem of equal educational opportunity and equality in general between the sexes or the classes is a universal problem and not the particular problem of anyone system or nation.

The purpose of this thesis is to determine to what extent the provisions for equal educational opportunities attained by women in the Soviet Union were the direct result of Marxist educational policies and practices.

The aim of the thesis therefore is to show that educational

traditions rather than political ideology are an important factor in post-revolutionary educational reforms in the U.S.S.R., and that most of the privileges, rights and equality in education granted to women after 1917 were in fact granted before the Revolution of 1917 and have been inherent in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Russian tradition of education and educational philosophy.

The thesis is thus an attempt to identify the influences which brought about changes in Russian educational policies and examine the relationship between the educational traditions of pre-revolutionary Russia and the changes in educational policies introduced after the Revolution of 1917 and hence to show that the development of education of women after the Revolution was in nature evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

The method best suited to such a study seems to be the historical-comparative approach. Based upon the theory of Kandel-Hans-Schneider, that 'the power of ideas as factors which represent immanent or permanent forces are more real and lasting than any other', one can search for explanations of the nature of educational systems in terms of such determining factors as ideologies, norms, attitudes or values; and in institutions, organizations and practices which accommodate these ideas in an identifiable social context. If one accepts Kandel's definition of educational tradition as the "intangible, spiritual and cultural forces which underline an educational system," one can search for causes which give rise to certain issues in education and lead to major changes in educational policies by studying

the educational traditions which are imminent in the ideological and institutional factors.

The historical method permits the identification of antecedent factors and forces which influence educational reforms, policies and practices, and which determine the development of educational systems. The comparative analysis of the systems permits the identification of the similarities and differences to be found in educational ideologies and institutions.

The study is limited to the analysis of only those ideological and institutional factors directly affecting the education of women and expressed through the writings of leading educators, philosophers, general public opinion as expressed through news media of the period, memoirs, literary works, and official policies of the Ministry of Public Education or other ruling bodies. Political, economic and social forces are taken into account only when directly relevant to policy changes and reforms in the educational policies concerning women.

Primary as well as secondary sources are available for the Soviet period, but for the pre-revolutionary period, especially the earlier period, primary sources are scarce. The Journal of the Ministry of Education which is the main primary source was started only in 1845. Other important journals concerned with education of women were started in late 1860's.

Furthermore, the study has been limited mainly to Russia proper and the Russians. The schools of the various minorities in the Russian empire and the Soviet Union are not dealt with in this study.



"I shall be content if those shall pronounce my History useful who desire to give a view of events as they did really happen, and as they are very likely, in accordance with human nature, to repeat themselves at some future time--if not exactly the same, yet very similar."

Thucydides, Historia, i, 2, 2.

P A R T   I

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN  
BEFORE 1856

## CHAPTER I

### THE FIRST ERA OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS UNDER PETER THE GREAT AND ELIZABETH (873-1762)

Russian educational traditions even before the October Revolution had for most of the time been secular, scientific and utilitarian, often with humanitarian and nationalistic tendencies. Although very backward in many ways when compared to the West, Russia never really lagged behind the West in its educational reforms, and many of the leading Russian educators were far ahead of the Western philosophers of their time in their teachings of progressive and humanitarian ideals.<sup>1</sup>

#### The First Era of Christianity: Kievan Russia

In the first era of Christianity, around the eleventh century, in Kievan Russia,<sup>2</sup> churches, monasteries and towns,

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<sup>1</sup>See later in text, I. I. Betski, N. I. Novikov, K. O. Ushinsky, N. I. Pirogov, N. A. Dobrolyubov, N. V. Shelgunov, as well as the 1860 reforms in Part II, Chapter IV.

<sup>2</sup>About 873 A. D. Oleg (Norwegian by descent) conquered the city of Kiev and established Kievan Russia--a military and trading state at first. Later under Vladimir the Saint, in 988, Christianity was instituted as the official religion of the entire Russian people. By 1000 the area occupied by Kievan Russia was from the Finnish Gulf and Lake Ladoga on the North to the lower Danube, the Black, Azov and Caspian seas to the South, the River Don to the East and present day Hungary to the West.

as elsewhere in Western Europe, were the cultural centers. Monks and priests, but especially the ruling princes and their families became the first educated élite of the country, and the Church, after Russia's conversion to Christianity, became the main vehicle of Byzantine civilization in the country.<sup>1</sup>

The Orthodox Church of Kievan Russia thus played an important part not only in the field of religion but also in art, music and literature. The knowledge of holy writings, i.e. the ability to read, understand and transcribe the holy books was the initial stage or the first degree of education and literacy. The first schools were thus founded at the monasteries. Nevertheless, the Eastern Church, as an institution, never played a major role in education.

Unlike the Catholic Church, the Eastern Church did not establish schools of higher learning, nor did it control or prescribe educational practices and aims. Although in the sixteenth century the Orthodox clergy, especially those in the western regions, reacted to the highly educated Catholic and Protestant clergy, and a period of intellectual awakening among them followed, ". . . the clergy was not, however,

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<sup>1</sup>Records show that the members of the ruling families were more educated than the members of other European countries in this period. At the time when one of the greatest kings of Europe, Charlemagne, was learning to write and read, and when the German Emperor Konrad II was illiterate, Prince Vladimir "read books day and night," translated books from Greek and collected books in Slavonic. Prince Yaroslav founded schools, his son Vsevolod knew six languages, his daughter Anna was married to a French king who was illiterate while she could correspond in Russian and Latin. [N. A. Konstantinov and V. Struminski, Ocherki po istorii nachalnogo obrazovania v Rossii (Sketches of the History of Elementary Education in Russia), (Moscow: Gos. Uch. Ped., 1953), p. 9.].

generally prepared to expand the knowledge and pedagogy beyond what was necessary to defend their religious integrity and interests."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, although "it is true that the Roman Church became the school teacher of Western Europe, . . . it is especially true that the Eastern Church did not play the same role in Russia."<sup>2</sup>

Not only the Russian princes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries but the later Russian monarchs and Tsars were and remained the initiators and founders of the different elementary and secondary schools as well as the universities. At first these schools were founded at the different convents and monasteries, later they developed in private or public buildings.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the education offered by these schools was religious in nature, mainly because the princes considered the education of their people necessary for true orthodoxy, and that of the clergy to serve the church. In both cases the prince considered it his duty to educate his people. Schools were thus financed and controlled by the ruling princes and all initiative and action concerning education came from the ruling family, i.e. from the state and not the church or the community--a practice which became an educa-

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<sup>1</sup>William K. Medlin, "Cultural Crisis in Orthodox Rus' in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries as a Problem in Education and Social Change," A History of Education Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Vladimir Simkhovitch, "The History of the School in Russia," Educational Review, Vol. XXXIII, Jan.-May 1907, p. 487.

tional tradition in Russia.<sup>1</sup>

About 1028 two kinds of schools were established, both, only for males: State Schools and Schools for the Clergy. The State Schools were schools of a "higher type"<sup>2</sup> where the children of the higher classes were educated in state affairs. In these schools foreign languages, especially Greek and Latin were taught to enable the potential state officials to communicate with their counterparts in Byzantium and Western Europe.<sup>3</sup> The Schools for the Clergy prepared boys and young men to read, write, and taught them the law and history of the Orthodox faith as well as church ceremonial.<sup>4</sup> The remaining children, male and female alike, were taught by the local 'pops' (parish priests) to read the holy books and learn some church law and history.<sup>5</sup>

The State Schools and the Schools for the Clergy were financed by the princes who often spent their own personal incomes on their establishment and upkeep. Where the 'pops' were concerned, in the Chronicle of 1037 mention is made of

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<sup>1</sup>E. Likhacheva, Materiali dlia istorii zhenskogo obrazovaniia (Materials for the History of Education of Women), Vol. I, (St. Petersburg: 1890), p. 4. N. A. Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Initially it was assumed that the children entering these schools could read and write, hence the term 'higher'. This of course was not always the case.

<sup>3</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles), Vol. I, p. 66, (cited by Ibid.).

Prince Yaroslav's ordering the 'pops' to teach the "people lower than themselves," this being God's will.<sup>11</sup>

### The Education of Women

Already, before Christianity came to Russia, i.e. before the eleventh century, women, at least those of the higher classes, played an important role in Russian life. They often were the advisors to the rulers and could read and write. By the seventh century there were records of governesses teaching the royal princesses at the palace.<sup>2</sup>

This tradition was continued and in the first era of Christianity, the eleventh century, there seems to have been no apparent separation of the education of women from that of men. All children, of higher or lower classes, male and female, were given the same general and elementary education.<sup>3</sup>

The first mention of an organized educational establishment for women is made in connection with the plans of Prince Vladimir to establish two monasteries, male and female, to teach children of both sexes.<sup>4</sup> In 1025 Vladimir's son,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>In the Kievan period political institutions were based upon a society of free citizens; "It is only with reservation that one can speak of the existence of social classes in Russia at that time." [G. Vernadsky, A History of Russia, (N. Y.: Bantam Books, 1961)]. It must be mentioned that a small portion of the population were slaves or half slaves--a practice reminiscent of Ancient Greece.

<sup>4</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 4.

Yaroslav, founded a school for three hundred children in Novgorod.<sup>1</sup> Whether this school was coeducational or not is still a matter of argument, although the children were referred to as pupils and were not identified as either boys or girls.

In 1086 the first school for girls, claimed to be the first of its kind in Europe, was organized in Kiev at the Andreevsk convent by Anna Vsevolodovna, the daughter of Prince Vsevolod, known also as Yanka. She took the vows and at the convent taught girls to read, write, sing, draw and embroider icons.<sup>2</sup>

By the end of the twelfth century, with Christianity well established, women played an important part in religious ceremonies: they read in the church, sang in the choir, visited the sick and the dying. They also taught the children of both sexes to read the holy books and transcribe. Many of them taught in rooms donated by some benefactor. They were paid in food and clothing, and a little money as their students finished the alphabet, catechism, psäiter and other holy books.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Mongol Invasions and Their Aftermath

From the mid-thirties of the twelfth century, with the Mongol invasions, difficult times lasting over two centuries

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> N. V. Tatishchev, Istoria rossiiskaya (History of Russia), Vol. I, (St. Petersburg, 1740, ed.), (Moscow: Academy of Sciences U.S.S.R., 1962), p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 6.



began for Russia.<sup>1</sup> Ties with Byzantium were severed; most of the clergy and frequently the Princes themselves became illiterate. The invaders burnt towns and with them many precious books and manuscripts disappeared. Schools closed and the teachers were either killed or took refuge in the convents and monasteries.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, the towns of Western Kievan Russia, for another century, were spared the Mongol invasion. Literacy there flourished, permeating through to the lower classes. Records show that in Novgorod, Tverskoe and Vladimirsk, many writers of the period came from the craftsmen or artisan class.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, books were not only found in the possession of rich classes in the city but also in smaller towns and even in villages at the homes of moderately well-to-do people.<sup>4</sup>

As the Mongol hegemony spread through Russia, literacy among the secular folk reached its lowest ebb and was confined practically only to the monastic orders. The number of monasteries and convents during this period, i.e. thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, grew significantly both in cities as well as the rural areas. Many young men joined monastic orders to

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<sup>1</sup>The Mongols controlled Western Russia for about a century and the Eastern parts for two centuries.

<sup>2</sup>M. I. Demkov, Istoria russkoi pedagogii (The History of Russian Education), (Revel: Gymnasia, 1898), Part I, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 17. Konstantinov stresses the fact that these writers were not monks but artisans or craftsmen. He also includes a list of names.

<sup>4</sup>Demkov, op. cit., pp. 51-53.

avoid recruitment by the Mongol Khans into their armies. Similarly, most women of the higher ranks and well-to-do-families entered convents because they could find there security and peace. There, besides praying and fasting they learned to read and write, sing, sew and embroider.<sup>1</sup>

Although references are made to some private schools which functioned sporadically during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,<sup>2</sup> up to the middle of the fifteenth century education was confined to the monasteries and convents and was purely of the monastic type. Such education comprised the elements of fast, prayer, brotherly love, hard work, patience, some reading and transcribing of holy books and singing.<sup>3</sup>

The monasteries and convents thus became not only wealthier and larger, but also the centers of learning, especially after the second half of the thirteenth century when Mangu-Temir granted the immunity charter to the Russian Church and the clergy.<sup>4</sup> It was during this period, under the rule of the heathen Mongols that the Russian Church became more important and had more influence in fostering literacy and the growth of art and literature than it had in the Kievan period or at any other time of Russian history.

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<sup>1</sup>Tatishchev, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup>In the letter of the Khan of Uzbek to Metropolitan Peter (1313) reference is made to teaching staff. (Demkov, op. cit., p. 53, cited by).

<sup>3</sup>Demkov, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>4</sup>Vernadsky, op. cit., p. 70.

Secular education as offered under the Princes of Kiev was eliminated under the Mongol rule. The Princes, when the invasions commenced were too busy defending themselves from the invaders. Later, under the Mongol rule, the whole political and economic structure of Russia underwent drastic changes and the democratic elements in the Kievan system of government were replaced by the authoritarian system of the Khans.

Although the Princes were subordinated to the Khan and had to go to the Horde to acknowledge themselves vassals of the Khan, they now had more power over the boyars (the aristocratic elements) and the towns' people, for they were protected by the Khan's patent against the political claims of either. The people, i.e. the commoners, in their turn were trained by the Mongols into subservience first to the invaders, later to the acknowledged vassal Prince.

According to Demkov, this subservience of the Princes to the Mongol Khans and the accompanying humiliation developed into despotism in the higher classes of the Russian people, and in turn led to the serf-like humility of the lower classes.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the Kievan society, once a free society, was now transformed into a society with clearly defined classes all bound to state service.

"The period 1450-1600 was one of religious and intellectual ferment in Russia."<sup>2</sup> Greek and South Slav scholars

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<sup>1</sup>Demkov, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>Vernadsky, op. cit., p. 112.

escaping from Turkish rule emigrated to Russia and brought with them new interest in learning and urged the foundation of schools for training the clergy.<sup>1</sup>

Around 1500, after the Mongol invaders were conquered, the church made several attempts to reestablish literacy among the people, and at a higher level among its own ranks. A school for the clergy, and also schools for children were established at the houses of the priests in villages and towns. Here, both girls and boys learned to read and write.<sup>2</sup>

By the early seventeenth century, when Michael, the first of the Romanov dynasty was crowned, the government had become centralized and serfdom was firmly established. The middle class, which in Western Europe prized and encouraged education, in Russia, as a class, was doomed to extinction by the different decrees forbidding the movement of population between the town and the country.<sup>3</sup>

The political and social changes in the Russian state of the seventeenth century had an important effect on education. Education at the higher than elementary level became confined to the clergy and the aristocratic minority, and in general to males. Only education at the elementary level where the rudiments of writing and reading were taught in connection with religious education remained open to the lower classes and both

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<sup>1</sup>J. S. Roucek, "Education in Czarist Russia," History of Education Journal, Vol. IX, 1958, No. 2, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Demkov, op. cit., p. 55, (the different decrees are cited).

sexes.

In fact, during the seventeenth century there was a considerable increase in the number of these elementary schools. At the same time a great number of textbooks, mainly readers and primers, but also psalters and song books were written and circulated in these schools and among the common folk.<sup>1</sup>

In 1662 Tsar Feodor Alexeevich signed the charter of the Moscow Latin-Greek Academy, which lasted from 1685 till 1700. At the Academy Slavonic, Greek, Latin and Polish languages were taught, along with the seven liberal arts of which Grammar was considered as the most important. The aim of the Academy was to serve "God's Church and Us, the great ruler and all Our Tsardom and be useful to the souls of the faithful."<sup>2</sup> The education offered was therefore to teach "wisdom--both religious and that of citizenship."<sup>3</sup> The main goal of the Academy, according to Demkov, was to spread, establish and protect Orthodoxy against heresy.<sup>4</sup>

Since the Academy was a training place for the clergy and state officials, women were automatically excluded. According to Likhacheva, this is the first time in Russian history when

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<sup>1</sup>Demkov, op. cit., p. 322.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 292.

S. M. Soloviev, Istoria rossii, Vol. XIII, (St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaya Pol'za, 1894-95?), p. 326. Likhacheva refers to the above mentioned Academy as the Slavonic-Latin-Greek Academy (op. cit., p. 42).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

women are excluded, although not through any legislative acts, but due to practical considerations, from an institution of learning.<sup>1</sup> This practice was continued and accentuated even more under Peter the Great.

### Educational Reforms Under Peter the Great and Elizabeth

Peter the Great's main concern was Westernizing Russia and the Russian people. This could only be done by imitating the West. He was the first to introduce the utilitarian and scientific trend into the newly established schools in Russia and subordinated the Church to the secular government.

The schools he founded were mainly technical or vocational, such as the School of Mathematics and Navigation at Moscow in 1701, the Surgeon's Schools, the School for Artillery and Engineering, and a Naval Academy in St. Petersburg in 1715.<sup>2</sup>

Peter's utilitarian and scientific interests in education were carried out to such extent that the liberal education curriculum so prominent at the time in the West, was ignored and no room was made in the school curricula to teach Latin, religion or the classics. The Moscow School of Mathematics and Navigation, for example, had a curriculum which consisted of arithmetic, regionometry, geometry, geography, geodesy, English, navigation and other sciences.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>N. Hans, The Russian Tradition in Education, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Roucek, op. cit., p. 40.

Nevertheless, Peter the Great, never indulged in narrow professionalism and his interpretation of the Western ideas of humanism was perhaps "broader and nearer to modern ideas than the classical-religious humanism of Western grammar schools."<sup>1</sup>

With Peter the Great, then, a tradition of the scientific and utilitarian interest, and systematic state control in education was started and remained one of the characteristic traits of Russian education: a trait which was also continued under the Soviet system.

Furthermore, regardless of how much was borrowed from the West, or to what extent imitation of the West was implemented, Peter and his ministers remained inherently Russian and conscious of their nationality. This nationalistic trend often reflected itself in the educational philosophies and practices of later centuries and became another characteristic of Russian education.

Although Peter the Great had done nothing directly for the education of women, his attitude and respect for learning as well as his projected and completed reforms had a great influence on the development of education in Russia.<sup>2</sup>

Likhacheva also suggested that Peter had some plans for the education of women, since when he visited France, he went to see one of the best known schools for girls of his time--

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<sup>1</sup>Hans, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 45, stated that many of the schools founded by Peter the Great became the prototypes of the technical and professional schools founded in the nineteenth century. Also of great importance was the foundation of the Academy of the Sciences.

Saint Cyr, administered by the famous Mme de Maintenon.<sup>1</sup> He also encouraged education among the members of the royal family and its entourage--whether male or female, and even appointed a woman painter to the Academy of the Sciences<sup>2</sup> to teach young lads to paint.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, all the newly established schools by Peter excluded women by the very nature of the courses offered.<sup>4</sup> The reason for this was not that Peter was opposed to the education of women, but because his main concern was the building of a state, and he needed educated people in the army, navy and the government. Since women did not take part in any of the above mentioned institutions, there could hardly be any provisions made for their education at such schools as those of Mathematics or Navigation, or the Academy at St. Petersburg.

It must also be remembered that even if Peter the Great had provided women with schools of higher education there would have been probably none who would or could have taken advantage

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-46. Mme de Maintenon, mistress and second wife of Louis XIV.

<sup>2</sup>By the Ukaz of 1724, issued by Peter the Great, an institution of higher learning--the Academy of Sciences was to be founded at St. Petersburg. It was to be comprised of three establishments: the Academy proper, the University and the Gymnasium. The Academy was established in 1725. (Soloviev, op. cit., Vol. XVIII, p. 192).

<sup>3</sup>She was the daughter of the well-known Maria Sivilly Marian--a woman painter herself. She married the Swiss painter Hell who was invited to Russia by Peter the Great. (Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 44).

<sup>4</sup>According to Likhacheva, nowhere in the Ukaz concerning the founding of the technical school by Peter is there a clause excluding women. Ibid.



of these schools. Centuries of internment in convents or 'tower-chambers' may have provided the Russian woman with some knowledge of writing and reading, but it provided her mainly with a religious education which laid neither the basis for, nor inspired any regard or urge for higher studies, or studies at all.

In general, the male counterpart of the society of Peter's time was no better: men "ran away from learning as they would from fire."<sup>1</sup> They had no respect or need for learning and considered learned men to be 'lower' socially and in 'nature'. With great resentment they sent their sons to school where they were forced "to study in an incomprehensible language and where in general they were taught God knows what."<sup>2</sup>

What the sons themselves thought of studying one can easily deduce from Peter the Great's Ukaz of 1716 on Regulations Concerning Discipline in the Academies:

To eliminate shouting and outrageous behaviour, good retired soldiers from the guards should be chosen to stand one in each classroom during study time with a 'cat-o-nine tails' in their hands; and whosoever should show any signs of misbehaviour, no matter what family he came from, he should be properly beaten up.<sup>3</sup>

This general attitude of the public may well have been the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. (cited by).

<sup>3</sup>"Regulations or Ukaz of His Ceasarian All-Russian Highness on Pupils' Proper and Obedient Behaviour in the Academies." (par. 8 of the resolution written by Peter himself and cited in Pekarskii, Nauka i literatura pri Petre (Science and Literature in Russia at the Time of Peter the Great), Vol. II, p. 362, cited by Ibid.

reason why the Ukaz of 1721<sup>1</sup> on the establishment of elementary public schools in all towns for both girls and boys, although confirmed in 1724, was never realized.<sup>2</sup>

The above mentioned public schools were to lay the foundations of the education of the nation. Although the schools of Mathematics and Navigation were not accessible to girls and to all boys, the public schools were to be open to all children, of any class and sex. In these schools only the very fundamentals of reading and writing were to be taught.<sup>3</sup>

To make some practical use of the clergy and their numerous monasteries and convents, in 1724, by the Ukaz of January 20<sup>4</sup> Peter the Great demanded that orphans, both girls and boys be taught by the clergy to read and write. The children were to stay until the age of seven at the convents where they were to be taken care of and fed by the nuns and at the age of five taught to read and write. At the age of seven<sup>5</sup> the boys were to be sent to monasteries to complete their education while the girls continued at the convents to learn further skills in

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<sup>1</sup>Polnoe sobranie zakonov rossiiskikh (Full Collection of Laws), Vol. VI, p. 3708. Regulations or Ukaz to Chief Magistrates, Chapter XXI, "On Schools," cited by Likhacheva, Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Institute of Law, Akty o vysshikh gosudarstvennykh ustanovlenii (Acts of Higher Governmental Resolutions), Vol. I (Legal Acts of Peter the Great), (Moscow: Academia Nauk, 1945), p. 41.

<sup>5</sup>By the Ukaz of 1738, the age limit for boy's stay in convents was raised from seven to ten.

embroidery, singing and sewing.<sup>1</sup>

Although no administrative or official measures were taken to implement this Ukaz, it must have been put to practice to some extent, since in 1738, the age limit for boys' stay in convents was revised. Furthermore, the above mentioned Ukaz not only assigned a practical goal and a raison d'être to the monasteries and convents, but also legalized the old Kievan educational pattern--that of relegating elementary education into the hands of the clergy.<sup>2</sup>

Peter the Great's policies of encouraging foreign, German, French and English masters to come and establish schools in Russia led to the establishment of a large number of private boarding schools; some coeducational, others only for boys or girls. The most important of these schools was in Moscow, where the Lutheran Church organized in the eighteenth century a coeducational school open to all (free) classes.

By 1804 there were forty-four boys and twenty-four girls attending this school. The children were taught Russian, German, French, Latin, history, geography, mathematics, logic and religion. These children actually came mainly from the lower and middle classes.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 145-147 ("Regulations about Monasteries of Peter I, given to Capitan Baskakov for the implimentation of monastry reforms, May 29, 1724).

<sup>2</sup>Actually the Tzar Feodor Alexeevich, in the supplement to the Ukaz of 1682 concerning public education, mentioned the necessity to establish and diffuse public education in Russia. Here the importance of the establishment of schools for poor girls and boys was stressed. (Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 62).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

The Evangelical Church in St. Petersburg founded a similar school in which boys and girls were taught identical programmes.

Other private schools that flourished at the time of Peter were the Raskolnik Russian Schools (The Old Believers' Schools), where women taught girls and boys alike, mainly reading, writing and religion. The Raskolniks worked generally in the inaccessible regions of north and east Russia, but later at the time of Peter I. they had infiltrated the larger cities including Moscow and St. Petersburg.<sup>1</sup>

There were also coeducational schools founded on the initiative of individuals in some districts. Thus, in the first half of the eighteenth century, in the Chernygorsk district, 370 schools were established on popular demand.<sup>2</sup> These schools were all coeducational. Other schools were founded by some rich individuals on their own account. In 1726 Prince Dobrinski opened such a school and himself taught boys and girls to read and write.<sup>3</sup>

#### Schools Under Elizabeth

Under Elizabeth,<sup>4</sup> there was already a large number of private institutes and boarding schools for girls and boys. To

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 61. These schools were usually established by groups of citizens and their joint efforts, very much like the first 'town-schools' in the mid-eighteenth century New England.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>The Empress Elizabeth (1741-1762) was the daughter of Peter the Great and his second wife Catherine Skavronsky (Catherine I, Empress).

some, children from the best families were sent; others catered to the needs of all classes. There were no fixed programmes and students came and went as they pleased. Many adults attended classes also.<sup>1</sup>

By the Ukaz of 1743, Elizabeth ordered the nobles and the free people to teach their children the alphabet, catechism and the holy books so as to become good Christians and defend the Christian religion. Those who did not comply were to be fined and their children could not rise in chins (the special rank system established by Peter the Great). There was no specific mention whether this Ukaz concerned boys only, but was so understood since only males could receive chins. In 1775 the State Senate passed a correction and the Ukaz explicitly stated that the order concerned both sexes.<sup>2</sup>

Later Elizabeth's Ukaz of 1754<sup>3</sup> provided for schools for midwives in Moscow and St. Petersburg first, then in the provinces. Although more private institutes were opened under Elizabeth, no official action was taken to provide education for women on a larger scale.

Since most of the private schools were short lived, depending mainly on the initiative and capital of individuals,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 69. For general programmes of these boarding schools see Appendix III.

<sup>2</sup>Soloviev, op. cit., p. 32. The State Senate was founded by Peter the Great and was to be, although an advisory, nevertheless, a legislative organ. For further detail see G. B. Sliozberg, Dorevolutsionnoi stroi Rossii (Pre-Revolutionary Structure of Russia), (Paris: 1933), pp. 143-149.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 66. (cited by).

up to this time, the only continuous educational establishments for women were the Raskolnik schools and the convents.<sup>1</sup> Those who could afford it, had their daughters taught at home by foreign governesses.

Thus in nine hundred years of Russian history only four Ukazes were passed concerning the education of women--Peter the Great's Ukaz of 1721 on the establishment of elementary public schools in towns for girls and boys, and the Ukaz of January 20, 1724 on educating orphans of both sexes at the monasteries and convents; Elizabeth's Ukaz of 1743 (if we consider the 1775 revised form) urging all nobles and free citizens to teach their children and the Ukaz of 1754 providing for schools for midwives. Of these four Ukazes, the Ukaz of 1721 did not materialize and the rest with the exception of the school for midwives were not of much significance in the development of the education of women in Russia.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER II

### EDUCATIONAL REFORMS UNDER CATHERINE THE GREAT

By the middle of the eighteenth century an attitude of distrust towards learning still lingered among the nobility as well as the general population of the Russian society. Although the higher classes now showed some interest in French literature and language, mainly because such knowledge made membership in the royal entourage more accessible, they nevertheless distrusted and rejected any learning if it could not be used for some practical purpose or personal embellishment. This fear and hatred of learning in some parts of the Russian society was such as to induce M. Lomonosov<sup>1</sup> to insert the following statement in his projected privileges of St. Petersburg University<sup>2</sup> in 1760: ". . . induce the clergy not to curse sciences (learning) in their sermons."<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, the morals and habits of the Russian people,

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<sup>1</sup>Michael Lomonosov (1711-1765) was the son of a peasant shipbuilder from the north of Russia. He became one of the first members of the Academy of Sciences. He was said to be "equally proficient in chemistry, physics, mineralogy, history, philology, and poetry."

<sup>2</sup>The University was founded by the Ukaz of 1724 by Peter the Great as a part of the Academy of Sciences.

<sup>3</sup>Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenia, Oct., 1865, p. 42.

especially the higher classes, as compared to their counterparts in France or England were so crude that they were referred to elsewhere in Europe as 'ignorant savages lacking good breeding'.

The few educated individuals who moved in the circles of the Academy of Sciences and St. Petersburg schools, or at the newly founded Moscow University (1755)<sup>1</sup>, soon realized that education in terms of acquiring knowledge, as Peter the Great would desire, was no longer sufficient. These educated few, were later to become, under Catherine, the educators and teachers at the Pedagogical Seminary and also the co-organizers of the public schools system and the authors of a vast literature of textbooks and educational philosophies. Their attitude toward education was well represented in the speech made in 1760 by the Moscow University professor A. A. Barsov 'On the Goals of Learning' where he paraphrased the following extract from Montaigne's essay on education:

It is not enough to join learning and knowledge to the mind. It should be incorporated unto it, it must not be sprinkled, but dyed with it; and if it change not and better her estate (which is imperfect), it were much better to leave it. It is a dangerous sword and which hindreth and offendeth her master if it be in a weak hand and which hath not the skill to manage the same. "So as it were better that we had not learned."<sup>2</sup>

Thus towards the end of Elizabeth's reign there was more concern with mental discipline and moral education or good breeding (Vospitanie) than with learning or culture

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<sup>1</sup>Founded by Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup>Montaigne, "Of Pedantry," cited by Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 99.



(Obrazovanie).<sup>1</sup> This stress upon character formation, manners and proper habits rather than education in terms of acquiring knowledge was to become the basic concept which permeated Catherine the Great's reforms in education during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The section concerned with education in Catherine's Nakaz<sup>2</sup> of 1767 exemplified best this spirit:

Every one ought to inculcate the Fear of God into the tender Minds of Children, to encourage every laudable Inclination, and to accustom them to the fundamental Rules, suitable to their respective Situations; to incite in them a Desire for Labour, and a Dread of Idleness, as the Root of all Evil, and Error; to train them up to a proper Decorum in their Actions and Conversation, Civility, and Decency in their Behaviour; and to sympathize with the Miseries of poor unhappy Wretches; and to break them of all perverse and forward humours; to teach them Oeconomy, and whatever is most useful in all affairs of life; to guard them against all Prodigality and Extravagance; and particularly to root a proper Love of Cleanliness and Neatness, as well in themselves as in those who belong to them; in a Word, instill, all those Virtues and Qualities, which join to form a good Education; by which, as they grow up, they may prove real Citizens, useful Members of the Community, and Ornaments to their Country.<sup>3</sup>

#### Educating a 'New Breed'

When Catherine became the Empress of Russia in 1762, she

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<sup>1</sup>The Russian term 'Vospitanie,' the main concern of the above-mentioned educators, means training, upbringing, rearing or good breeding. The term 'Obrazovanie,' on the other hand means education in terms of learning, acquiring factual knowledge and general culture.

<sup>2</sup>Catherine II, "The Instructions to the Commissioners for Composing a New Code." This commission was like a national congress; it contained representatives from the nobility, the towns, and the state peasants.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 'On Education,' Chapter XIV, sec. 3, par. 356. See Appendix V for further detail.

found in Ivan Ivanovitch Betski<sup>1</sup> a tireless and dedicated collaborator and a capable administrator and reformer in educational matters. During the fifteen years that Betski spent in Paris, he had become a close friend of the Encyclopedists and Rousseau. He had read Montaigne and, like Catherine, believed in the power of education and the possibility of developing a 'new breed' of people through education. He also was convinced that it was the duty of the state to educate its people and of the necessity to isolate children from the evil influence of the society to attain this 'new breed'.<sup>2</sup>

With these ideals in mind, Betski and Catherine set out to educate the Russian people by establishing an educational system which would encompass the nobles, the commoners and the serfs. On August 26, 1763, a year after her coronation, Catherine confirmed the General Plan of the Moscow Imperial Educational Home<sup>3</sup> designed by professor A. A. Barsov and based

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<sup>1</sup>I. I. Betski (1704-1795) was the son of the 'last boyar', general-field marshal Prince Ivan Urevich Trubetski. In 1741 Elizabeth decorated him with St. Catherine's Order for his loyalty to her; in 1762 Peter III appointed Betski as a general director of the Chancellery of the construction of houses and gardens for His Highness giving him the rank of general-commander; in 1763 Catherine II appointed Betski as the general director of the Academy of Art and in 1765 he was given the title of Active Privy Counselor, in 1778 the Senate rewarded Betski with a Gold Medal for 'his love for the fatherland'. ["Betski," Entsiklopedicheski Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1892), Vol. VI, p. 649.]

<sup>2</sup>"Betski," op. cit., pp. 649-650.

<sup>3</sup>Part three of the General Plan is printed in the Appendix of M. V. Sychev-Mikhailov, Iz istorii russkoi shkoly i pedagogii XVIII veka (From the History of the Russian School and Pedagogy of XVIII Century), (Moscow: Academy of Ped. Sciences, 1960), pp. 179-218.

upon the directives of Betski. The Moscow Imperial Educational Home was officially inaugurated on August 21, 1764.<sup>1</sup>

The General Plan drew heavily from a document 'Views on Provincial Schools' presented by a certain T. S. Teplov to the Empress in 1763. In this document Teplov suggested that the first generation of pupils admitted to the Home should only be reared for good breeding, i.e. educated morally and not taught. Perhaps, then according to Teplov, the children of these children, the second or third generation of the 'new breed' could be educated in the proper sense of the term, i.e. taught philosophy, mathematics, ethics, religion, physics and languages.<sup>2</sup>

Teplov further claimed that children can be brought up only by proper examples and fatherly and friendly attitudes towards them. Punishment, only if absolutely necessary, should be carried out without anger. The physical environment should be warm and light, well decorated and pleasant to live in. He also suggested that children should be taken into the Home practically at birth, for when they are three or four years old their character is already formed.<sup>3</sup>

Teplov cautioned that pupils should be chosen with great care to ensure that each combines 'calmness with a joyful spirit'. To avoid mistakes, children should be taken on a trial

<sup>1</sup>"Educational Homes," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar (St. Petersburg: 1892), Vol. XIII, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup>"Mnenie o provintsialnykh shkolakh," (Views on Provincial Schools), presented by T. S. Teplov to the Empress Catherine II, Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenia, June 1844, Part V.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

basis. In this way a new generation: a new breed of mothers and fathers could be educated.<sup>1</sup>

### The Educational Homes

In the General Plan for the Moscow Imperial Educational Home Betski claimed there was a need to "provide the nation with a new education".<sup>2</sup>

The root of all evil and good--education (Vospitanie) . . . (through which) we can bring forth a new breed of new fathers and mothers, who would teach their own children the desirable basic principles and educate their own children in the way they were educated.<sup>3</sup>

Hence the necessity, according to Betski, to organize educational establishments where children could stay till eighteen to twenty years of age without coming into contact with the outside society, isolating them, thus from the evil influences of the society.<sup>4</sup>

Betski then worked out several projects for the organization of such establishments which were all, like the Moscow Educational Home to be coeducational.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.    <sup>2</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., (cited by).

<sup>4</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

<sup>5</sup>'Educational Homes', op. cit., p. 276. In 1770 another Home considered to be a branch of the Moscow Home was opened in St. Petersburg. By 1828 there were such Homes in all the major cities in Russia. Each of these Homes arranged for women from the towns or the villages to nurse infants. Some children were given away for one or two years till they were weaned. The nurse was paid a daily rate for the period. Later still, by 1880 each Home supported schools, teaching seminaries, courses for training nurses. The St. Petersburg Home ran 100 schools and in 1881 there were 33,501 children belonging to the Home, of these 31,242 were given out to the villages.

Basically all of these institutions functioned like orphanages and were to serve as homes for illegitimate children who were brought in soon after birth. Later poor people who could not look after their children sent them there too.

According to the General Plan no one was obliged to give the name and particulars of the child brought in. Children, even new-born ones, could be brought in at any time of the day or night, and night sentries in the city were specially directed to let any one carrying a child pass freely. When the child was brought, the date and the clothes he was brought in were registered, in case later one of the parents or relatives should want to trace the child. The children were dressed, taught and fed at the expense of the government.<sup>1</sup>

From the age of seven, the children were taught to acquire desirable mental and physical habits as well as learn to write and read. At the age of fourteen or fifteen they were directed towards training in various arts and crafts. Not all were to become craftsmen. Children who showed the necessary ability, could continue their studies in technical schools or go to the gymnasia and eventually the University of Moscow from which women were not excluded.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>When the Statutes of the University of Moscow were being worked out by Graff Shuvalov and Lomonosov in 1755, both Lomonosov and Shuvalov wanted to include an article in the Statutes allowing women to attend. Accordingly in 1757 the Senate passed an Ukaz by which women were allowed to attend the University. [Ibid., cited also by Sophie Satina, "Obrazovanie zhenshchin v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii," (The education of Women in Pre-Revolutionary Russia), Novyi Jurnal, (New York: New Review Inc., 1964), June, No. 76, p. 161].

Concerning higher education Betski explicitly underlined:  
 "From such learning the female sex is not to be excluded."<sup>1</sup>  
 According to Likhacheva he repeated the above statement twice  
 concluding:

Hopefully, there will be a fortunate change in the  
 morals and inclinations of all that part of the nation  
 to which they would belong.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the aim of establishing these Homes of which the  
 Moscow Imperial Educational Home was a prototype, was to edu-  
 cate a 'new breed' out of children who belonged to no class,  
 being illegitimate, or those who belonged to the poor lower  
 classes. According to Konstantinov, this 'new breed' was to be-  
 come the "'third class'--the bourgeoisie, artisans: those  
 people, who, according to Betski, would help to strengthen the  
 Russia of the nobles."<sup>3</sup>

The case may have been such, for this lack of a powerful  
 middle class did differentiate Russia from Western Europe. In  
 the Russia of Catherine there were basically only two classes:  
 of importance: the serfs and the nobles, hence the attempt  
 made by Catherine and Betski to build and strengthen such a  
 third class.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., pp. 59-61.

<sup>2</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>3</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 61. There were other schools  
 also organized, those for the middle classes and the merchants  
 and those for the nobility, each group was to be reeducated into  
 a 'new breed' corresponding to their position.

<sup>4</sup>"Betski," op. cit., p. 650.

That these Homes were established to educate a third class may also be supported by the fact that many privileges were granted to those who attended these institutions. Every pupil who attended and 'graduated' became a free subject and even if he married a serf, the serf would also become free. If the girl married a serf, she would remain free but her husband would not be freed.<sup>1</sup> All the graduates, girls or boys and their children had the right to become property owners, buy shops, build factories and become merchants.<sup>2</sup>

The Basic Establishment Concerning the Education  
of Children of Both Sexes

In 1764 Betski presented a report--"Basic Establishment on the Education (Vospitanie) of Children of Both Sexes" to Catherine, which she confirmed on March 12 of the same year. This 'Basic Establishment' became the founding document of the state system of public education established by Catherine: it was incorporated in the statutes of all the educational establishments whether they were for the nobility or the commoners.<sup>3</sup>

In the 'Basic Establishment' Betski stressed again the importance of moral education and good breeding and warned against the dangers of mere learning by claiming:

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<sup>1</sup>Later this rule was changed in the case of the graduates (the middle class girls) from the Institutes of the Educational Society (see text pp. 12-16) when a free girl could marry a serf who would then become free also. (Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 204).

<sup>2</sup>"Educational Homes," op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>3</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., pp. 103-104.

It has been scientifically proved, that the sole embellishment and enlightenment of the brain with knowledge is not enough to make a man good and upright citizen: but in many cases it leads to harm if from the early years one is not brought up in virtue and if virtue has not taken roots in one's heart.<sup>1</sup>

Betski, thus, in the 'Establishment' recommended the foundation of boarding schools where children at the age of four or five would be accepted and kept till the age of eighteen to twenty. These children would be allowed to see their parents only at the school and in the presence of the administrators. Evidently Betski was concerned with the reeducation of the nation--of rearing in these boarding schools a new breed of people who would eventually become the mothers and fathers of the future, virtuous and enlightened citizens. Basically, these schools, then, had the same function as the Educational Homes, i.e. re-educating, but they were geared to another class of pupils--the middle and noble classes.<sup>2</sup>

In paragraph 10 of the Basic Establishment it was claimed that students should be brought up in such a way so as to

. . . acquire all those virtues and qualities which are characteristic of good education (vospitanie) and which will make them righteous citizens, useful and adorning members of the society. . . and at the same time enlighten their minds with sciences and arts according to the ability, sex and inclination of each.<sup>3</sup>

The legalized regulations for the education of youngsters of both sexes through the 'Basic Establishment' became the

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<sup>1</sup>"Basic Establishment concerning the Education of Youngsters of Both Sexes," par. 5, cited by Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., par. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pars. 10, 7, 11. (Emphasis mine).



foundation of the statutes of the following institutes which with their programmes were to serve as prototypes for the foundation of corresponding institutes throughout Russia:<sup>1</sup>

- The Educational Society for Two-Hundred Noble Girls (later known as Smolny Institute), May 1764.
- The Academy of Arts and the Educational Institute attached to it (for boys of the middle classes and merchants), October 1766.
- The Special Institute at the Voskresenski Novodevichi Convent for Two Hundred and Forty Middle Class Girls, January 1765.
- The Imperial Gentry Cadet Corpus, September 1766.
- The Second and Third Part of the General Plan of the Moscow Educational Home, coeducational.

Programmes drawn for these institutes, though established for different classes, were for all practical purposes identical. Great stress in all was put upon rules of good conduct. These were taught as a special subject including such topics as humility and politeness. Homemaking and orderliness were also stressed in all institutes except the Academy of Arts. Accountancy was emphasized especially for the Cadets and the Educational Home.<sup>2</sup>

Attempts were also made to establish boarding schools for boys and girls where crown lands had been distributed in Novorossiisk district. In these schools all children were to study free and only those who could, the rich, had to pay board. All children were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, law and the capable and willing could study foreign languages and other

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<sup>1</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 106-107.

subjects, such as sciences.<sup>1</sup>

### The Educational Society

The Educational Society<sup>2</sup> for Noble Girls founded the first institutes for educating women administered by the state. The first such institute was the Educational Institute for Two Hundred Noble Girls at the Voskresenski Convent, later to be known as the Smolny Institute. Since the Educational Society was founded by a royal Decree, the Ukaz of May 5, 1764, this according to Likhacheva was the first time in Russian history that the education of women was granted legal recognition.<sup>3</sup>

The Educational Society and especially the Smolny Institute were Catherine's special pets. Several years before she became Empress, Catherine wrote in her notebook about France's St. Cyr and the possibility of acquiring information concerning its programmes, teaching methods and administrative practices. She had even noted that since the above were secret and it was not possible to obtain this information, the best way would be to send some young girls to study there and learn the ways of

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<sup>1</sup>Polnoe sobranie zakonov rossiiskikh (Full Collection of Laws), Vol. XVI, p. 12099, cited by Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>2</sup>The Educational Society was administered by a Committee (Soviet) of Trustees. These were four well known persons or senators, or other high ranking nobles. They were appointed by the Empress. A principal was also appointed by the Empress to deal with Administrative, financial and admission problems. Teachers, discipline, classroom organization, programmes and other details were to be taken care of by a directress also appointed by the Empress. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 136.

St. Cyr.<sup>1</sup>

Whether Catherine did send some one to St. Cyr and obtained the necessary information is hard to tell. Although the Educational Society had many of the characteristics of St. Cyr, it was in many ways very different from it. It was a state institution with different goals and foundations. When Voltaire wrote of it to Catherine he praised it as "fort audessus de notre Saint Cyr".<sup>2</sup>

By the Ukaz of January 31, 1765 at the same convent, the Educational Society for Two Hundred and Forty Middle Class Girls was founded. The same Ukaz ordered the establishment of Educational Societies in all the other districts of the Empire.<sup>3</sup>

In all of these institutes, whether they were for nobles, or commoners, boys or girls, twelve year programmes were set. For the girls' institutes two goals were set: utility, i.e. the ability to read, write, keep a home, carry out practical tasks and the necessary skills to be good wives and mothers; and ornamental, i.e. to be able to shine in society.<sup>4</sup>

All through her reign, Catherine poured large amounts of her own private funds into the institutes of St. Petersburg,

<sup>1</sup>Sbornik russkogo historicheskogo obshchestva, Vol. XVII, p. 82. (notes written by Catherine between 1761 and 1762).

<sup>2</sup>Voltaire's Letter to Catherine, December 12, 1772. Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire, Correspondance avec les souverains. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1877-85), Vol. 48, pp. 404-405.

<sup>3</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

for the society was most of the time on the verge of bankruptcy.<sup>1</sup> She also had great difficulty in finding the proper teachers and often even students.

To the general public, learning at these institutes was not a privilege but an obligation, especially if they belonged to the lower middle classes. Thus only those went, at least in the beginning, who were orphans and needed some security, or those whose parents thought that they would be better looked after at the institute than at home. Many of these girls became the wards or proteges of nobles or the royal family members, or even Catherine herself. The girls could thus board and learn at no expense to their parents or relatives.<sup>2</sup> Later, on graduating, they were given dowries and ensured employment if they needed such. For some, life pensions were arranged (100,000 Roubles were given by Catherine to the Society for this purpose), others could stay at the convent indefinitely if they had nowhere to go.<sup>3</sup>

Although there were not too many parents who were willing to send their daughters to school, Catherine did not relax acceptance rules, nor change the programmes.<sup>4</sup> By 1796, the year

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<sup>1</sup>Part of the expenses was paid by the students. Many students were the wards of the members of the royal family or the members of the nobility. Catherine herself educated at her own expense a large number of girls both from the nobility and the middle class (Meshchanki).

<sup>2</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., pp. 172-180.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>4</sup>The acceptance rules were rather interesting. The St. Petersburg Committee suggested to the Moscow Educational Society the following: to ensure that the girls were of the correct age i.e. five years old, two girls five years old (of

Catherine died, 1,316 girls had attended or still were attending the Educational Society of St. Petersburg.<sup>1</sup> Of the 850 who had graduated, 440 were nobles, 410 belonged to the middle class (Meshchanki).<sup>2</sup>

### The Public School System

#### The Public Schools of Catherine the Great

In the beginning of her reign Catherine had the grandiose project of educating all her subjects whether they were free or serfs, male or female. Eventually she must have become aware not only of the lack of funds to carry out such a scheme but also the lack of trained teachers and above all the unwillingness of her subjects to study. She then modified her plans and by the Ukaz of November 7, 1776<sup>3</sup> she ordered the establishment of elementary schools in all towns and populated villages "for all those who would voluntarily study in them".<sup>4</sup>

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which they were certain to be that age) should be selected, one should be very tall for her age, the other very short. The applicant then should be put between the two, if she fitted in between, she then could be accepted, if she was either taller or shorter, then she had to be rejected. Also after the medical examination, a lock of hair of the girl was to be attached to her name so no exchange would be possible. (Ibid.)

<sup>1</sup>Where St. Petersburg's Educational Society is made reference to usually both institutes, for the noble girls and the middle class girls is meant.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>3</sup>Full Collection of Establishments concerning the Districts of November 7, 1776, p. 384. cited in Urban Elementary Schools during the Reign of Catherine II, D. A. Tolstoy, 1886, p. 2. Also in Supplement to LIVth Volume of Notes of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, No. I, cited by Ibid., p. 281.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. (cited by).

According to Likhacheva there is no record of such schools being organized within the next five years.<sup>1</sup> But in 1781 Catherine founded the Isakievsk Institute in St. Petersburg using her own Cabinet funds. This institute was free, open to all classes and both sexes. Later six more such institutes were opened in St. Petersburg. In the original institute at the end of its first year out of a total of 486 students only 40 were girls. By 1786 the number of girls attending had slightly increased: out of 1,491 pupils 209 were girls, i.e. from 8.2% to 14%.<sup>2</sup> In 1786 these institutes were transferred into the newly organized public (narodnyi), state controlled school system.<sup>3</sup>

By the Ukaz of September 7, 1782, Catherine founded the Commission<sup>4</sup> on the Establishment of Schools.<sup>5</sup> This Commission was to study the organization of a system of free public

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>This increase is actually not indicative of any steady rise of interest in education. The number of girls attending varied according to no law or reason. (Voronov, Historico-Statistical Survey of Educational Institutes of St. Petersburg Educational District from 1715 to 1828 inclusive, (St. Petersburg: 1849), p. 11, cited by Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 281.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>4</sup>The Commission was appointed by the Empress and consisted of the chairman P. V. Zavadovsky and members Epinous, Pastoukhov and Yankovich. cited by "Yankovich," Entsiklopedicheski Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1904), Vol. XLII.

<sup>5</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 62.

(narodnye)<sup>1</sup> schools open to all classes, including the serfs, any creed and both sexes.<sup>2</sup>

To establish such a public school system, Catherine chose to adapt the Austrian public school system<sup>3</sup> to Russian needs. She invited F. I. Yankovich<sup>4</sup>, a Serb who had organized a public school system in the Serbian speaking provinces of the Austrian Empire, to organize the public school system in Russia.

Yankovich was a great admirer of Comenius. In his Handbook to Teachers of the First and Second Degree, and in most of his other pedagogical works he drew heavily upon Comenius' educational philosophy. In his organization of the Russian school system he was naturally influenced by the Austrian model.<sup>5</sup>

Immediately after September 21, 1782, when the proposed programme of studies in the public schools was confirmed by Catherine, Yankovich was appointed the director of the St.

<sup>1</sup>The term "narodnyi" in Russian means either people's, public or national. In case of Catherine's schools they were to be nation-wide and for all the nation, nevertheless the term public seems to be more appropriate than national. (plural--narodnye).

<sup>2</sup>"Yankovich," op. cit., p. 673.

<sup>3</sup>This system is discussed in N. Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), pp. 21-23.

<sup>4</sup>Also known as Jankovich de Marijev. When Joseph II of Austria met Catherine at Mogilev, he described to her the Austrian public school system and brought her textbooks to examine. He also suggested that she ask Yankovich to help her. ("Yankovich," op. cit., p. 673).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. "Yankovich," Jurnal Ministerstva . . ., op. cit., 1909, No. 3, p. 63.

Petersburg major public school which at first concentrated on the training of teachers.<sup>1</sup> Yankovich thus, almost single-handed carried out the three directives of the Commission on the Establishment of Schools: to establish a plan and actualize the establishment of a public school system; to prepare teachers to teach in this system; and to either translate, or write new textbooks to be used in these schools.<sup>2</sup>

Mainly in the field of textbook writing, but also in administrative and financial matters, Yankovich enlisted the help of leading professors and pedagogues from Moscow and St. Petersburg Universities as well as from the Academy of Sciences. Nevertheless, most of the textbooks were either written or translated from German by Yankovich himself. All textbooks with the exception of the mathematics textbook were examined and their use was approved by Catherine.<sup>3</sup>

In its finalized form the project for public schools consisted of suggestions to organize schools at two levels: minor schools (two years) and major schools (four years). Major schools were simply minor schools extended by another two years. Thus the two years of the minor schools coincided with and corresponded to the first two years of the major schools. The first major and minor schools were established in St. Petersburg and its district in 1782.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.      <sup>2</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>3</sup>"Yankovich," Jurnal Ministerstva . . . , op. cit., p. 673.

<sup>4</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 64.



In April 1786 Catherine ordered the opening of major schools in twenty-five districts. Each district capital had to have at least one major school. Minor schools were opened in smaller towns, as well as district towns where the need arose.<sup>1</sup>

The Statutes of August 5, 1786 of the Public Schools began with the following statement:

The education (vospitanie) of youngsters was honored to such an extent by most enlightened nations, that they considered education the only means to ensure the welfare of the citizens . . . Education, by enlightening men's minds with different kinds of knowledge, adorns the spirit, and inclines the will towards good actions: guides towards a virtuous life and fills men with the understanding necessary for community life.<sup>2</sup>

The aim of the public school system was then, not only to impart basic knowledge but also to bring up good citizens and loyal subjects. To ensure the latter, in the last year of the minor schools and the second year of the major schools considerable time was spent on a civic ethics course covered in a book called On the Duties of Men and Citizens written specially for the above mentioned purpose.

In the minor schools (the first two years of the major school) and in the major schools the programme of study was the following:

First Year: Alphabet, reading, writing, shortened Catechism and church history (only for Orthodox students), numbers.

Second Year: Church law and the lives of saints and virtuous men with detailed Cathecism without proofs, the book On the Duties of Men and Citizens, first part of arithmetic and basic drawing.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 64. (cited by).

Third Year: The New Testament and detailed Catechism with proofs, (Orthodox students only), second part of arithmetic, first part of general history, introduction to general Russian history, geography of Russia, Russian grammar, drawing.

Fourth Year: more Russian grammar, applied knowledge of Russian to essays and letter writing, Russian history, general geography, mathematics, basic geometry, mechanics, physics, natural history and civil architecture. Latin and a foreign language of a neighboring state for those who wanted to continue into the gymnasia.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to mention that from the foreign languages curriculum French was excluded upon Catherine's personal request (perhaps as a reaction to the French Revolution and its ideals), and the suggestion was made to teach the following languages in the appropriate districts: in Siberia, Chinese was to be taught; in the Southern provinces, Greek was to be taught; in the south-eastern part of Russia, Tartar was to be introduced since most of the peoples living in that part of Russia were either of Tartar origin or spoke Tartar. Latin was an important language since it was the language of learning in Europe and no student of higher studies could continue his studies without Latin. Church Greek was also introduced as a classical language.<sup>2</sup>

As mentioned above the minor schools followed the programmes of the first two years of the major schools with a few changes. No foreign languages were taught in the minor schools and the second part of arithmetic which was taught in the Third

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>"Yankovich," Jurnal Ministerstva . . . , op. cit., 1909, No. 3, p. 64.

Year of the major schools was taught along with the first part of arithmetic in the second and last year of the minor schools.<sup>1</sup>

In both schools religion was not taught by the clergy but by lay teachers. Although the clergy were not allowed to teach religion in these schools, some high ranking priests were on the committees preparing the programmes and the texts for the courses in religion. Non-Orthodox students were to be provided with lectures of their own faith, also by laymen.<sup>2</sup>

Although these schools were called secular, a prominent place was allotted in their programmes to religious studies, mainly because the Russian Orthodox faith played a very important part in the Russian people's life. It was this Orthodox faith that gave them their identity, for they were first Orthodox, then Russian.<sup>3</sup> The ancient history of Russia is inseparable from its Church history, for the first Prince to found the Russian state was also the first Orthodox Christian Russian. Any attempt to eliminate religious studies from the public schools would have alienated the masses completely from these schools for not only was the Orthodox faith a part of their historical tradition but also of their educational tradition.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 66. This arrangement was made perhaps because the public schools system was defined as a secular system open to all, irrespective of creed or class.

<sup>3</sup>Many of the Russian Tzars were not Russian, they were accepted as long as they became Orthodox. The same applied to the Tsarinas, they were all baptized and given new names, names which had to be those of some Orthodox martyr or saint.

The minor schools, then, prepared literate people who could read and write, who knew the basic facts about their faith and the rules of good conduct. The major schools gave more general education. Willing and capable students, who graduated from the major schools, could eventually become teachers<sup>1</sup> in the minor schools, or continue their education through gymnasia to the universities.

Textbooks were provided with rules of teaching and detailed programmes to be strictly followed. Rules concerning the conduct of students, both at school and outside were published in a special handbook and taught.<sup>2</sup>

The public's reaction to the schools was far from being positive. Parents, especially those of higher classes with some means, felt it demeaning to their class and social status to send children to the public schools. The lower classes were only interested in some practical trade or some useful training. All those who sent their children, usually sent them only for the first two years. Most parents preferred to keep their daughters at home rather than send them to a coeducational public school. The farther from the capital, the less enthusiasm was shown for the education of girls at public schools. Thus for the year 1786 from a total of 1,121 girls studying at the public schools, 759 came from St. Petersburg and its district

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<sup>1</sup>There even was a project where the suggestion was made by Catherine to send serfs (force them) to pedagogical seminaries and then make them teach. The project did not materialize. (Likhacheva, loc. cit.).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

and only 362 came from all the other thirty-six districts of Catherine's empire.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, as the years went by attendance in public schools considerably increased. Figures representing the total number of students attending the major and minor public schools show this increase. (Table 1)<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMISSION  
INCLUDING PRIVATE LAY SCHOOLS

Years	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Pupils		Total
			Boys	Girls	
1781	6	27	474	12	486
1782	8	26	474	44	518
1783	9	28	654	77	731
1784	11	33	1,082	152	1,234
1785	12	38	1,282	209	1,491
1786	40	136	no information		4,398
1787	165	195	10,230	858	11,088
1788	218	525	11,968	1,571	13,539
1789	225	576	13,187	1,202	14,389
1790	269	629	15,604	921	16,525
1791	288	700	16,723	1,064	17,787
1792	302	718	16,322	1,178	17,500
1793	311	738	16,165	1,132	17,297
1794	302	767	15,540	1,080	16,620
1795	307	716	16,035	1,062	17,097
1796	316	744	16,220	1,121	17,341
1797	285	664	14,457	1,171	15,628
1798	284	752	15,396	1,405	16,801
1799	277	705	15,754	1,561	17,315
1800	315	790	18,131	1,784	19,915
1804	495	1,425	no information		33,484

According to Likhacheva, during the first sixteen years of the existence of the public schools 176,730 students studied

<sup>1</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 289.

<sup>2</sup>Hans, The History . . . , op. cit., pp. 28-29.

in them; of these only 12,595 were girls.<sup>1</sup> Where statistics concerning the different districts are available, they clearly show the unpopularity of these schools in the distant provinces. (Table 2).<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 2  
PUBLIC MINOR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN  
OLONETS DISTRICT

Year	Number of Boys	Number of Girls
1787	181	8
1789	77	5
1790	90	5
1791	81	7
1792	63	6
1793	155	9
1794	142	1

In the Viatsk Province no girls at all attended the first year.<sup>3</sup> In 1790 in the St. Petersburg major school out of 334 students, 48 were girls.<sup>4</sup> In other provincial towns the attendance of students is shown in Table 3.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Archives of the Department of the Ministry of Public Education, Report on the number of students in 1799 (for the years 1782 till 1800), cited by Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 289.

<sup>2</sup>Jurnal Ministerstva . . . , op. cit., 1865, cited by Likhacheva, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Archives of the Ministry of Public Education, cited by Likhacheva, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup>Archives of the Department of the Ministry of Public Education, cited by Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 285.

TABLE 3

PUBLIC MAJOR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN DIFFERENT  
PROVINCIAL TOWNS FOR THE YEAR 1790

City	Number of Boys	Number of Girls
Perm	165	7
Revelsk	40	8
Rizhsk	59	12
Polotsk	92	27
Mogilevsk	139	12
Chernigorsk	149	11
Novgorod-Seversk	166	5
Kiev	160	64
Astrakhansk	255	8
Kharkov	116	11

In 1794, in the Moscow, Smolensk and Tver provinces there was not one girl studying at the public schools and even in the private schools of the Moscow province out of 3,061 students only 113 were girls.<sup>1</sup>

Although the public schools were free and open to all classes, including the serfs, the major schools served mainly the children of the nobles, mostly the impoverished, and the merchants. In 1801 the children attending all the major schools were distributed according to class as follows: 33% came from the nobility, 14% belonged to the lower middle classes (Meshchanie), 12% were the children of merchants, 11% the children of soldiers, 11% were serfs and manor serfs, 8% belonged to the class of clerks and intellectuals not belonging

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

to the gentry, 5% were State peasants, 2% were children of the clergy and 4% were children of Kozaks and foreigners.<sup>1</sup> In the minor schools the students belonged mainly to the merchant, lower middle class, peasants, servants, serfs and other lower classes.<sup>2</sup>

It would seem then that the public school system did serve its purpose, it was not only theoretically but actually open to all and free. The general public, however, seemed reluctant to make use of this opportunity for an education.

### The Public Schools of N. I. Novikov<sup>3</sup>

Soviet writers on the period claim that Catherine established her public school system out of fear rather than conviction.<sup>4</sup> Fear of new uprisings, and the necessity to educate a class of citizens who would be devoted to her; and also the fear of the success of the projects of N. I. Novikov.<sup>5</sup>

The projects of Novikov (and their success) to organize public schools on public finances (hence independent of the State) was one of the reasons which forced the Tsarist government to hasten with the school reform, in the interest of the serfs.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. For further statistical details see Appendix VI.

<sup>3</sup>Nikolai Ivanovich Novikov (1744-1818), was a non-commissioned officer of Catherine's Ismailian regiment. In 1768 he retired and started his activities in public life. ["Novikov," Ents. Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1897), Vol. 41, p. 253].

<sup>4</sup>See for example Konstantinov and Struminsky in Konstantinov, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.



Novikov founded a journal Utrennyi Svet in St. Petersburg in order to use proceeds and donations made to it for the establishment of free schools for the poor. In November 1777 he was able, using the donations and subscription funds, to open the first coeducational public<sup>1</sup> school in Russia for the poor and orphans, independent of the State.

In 1778 he opened a second school in St. Petersburg followed by six more in 1781. In 1779 another school was opened in Tver; in 1783 in Moscow, Vladimirsk and Kursk; in 1784 in Tul; in 1785 in Voronezh and Nizhnii Novgorod, and in 1792 in Irkutsk.<sup>2</sup>

Soon in addition to donations from subscribers to the journal, other individuals interested in the foundation of these schools helped to finance them. In 1777 Novikov collected 200 roubles only in St. Petersburg and by 1781 he was able to collect in one year 13,663 roubles. In St. Petersburg there were 426 students studying in these schools of which 135 were girls. Most were children of commoners and not necessarily orphans.<sup>3</sup>

Novikov's educational philosophy did not basically differ from that of Catherine; it was also founded upon the theories of the Encyclopaedists and Rousseau as well as Locke. In the

<sup>1</sup>i.e. narodnyi, the same term as that used by Catherine.

<sup>2</sup>N. I. Novikov, Izbrannye pedagogicheskie sochineniia, (Selected Pedagogical Works), M. F. Shabaev (ed.), (Moscow: Ministry of Education, R.S.F.S.R., 1959), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>"Novikov," Ents. Slovar, op. cit., pp. 254-255.  
N. I. Novikov, op. cit., p. 17.

public schools of Novikov humane behaviour towards the children, love and understanding, as well as a stress upon upbringing, were prevalent. Children were admitted between the ages six and sixteen all year round, and given a general education consisting of instruction on: religion, writing, reading, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, German and dancing.<sup>1</sup>

Regular reports on the progress of the students, the financial situation and other affairs concerning the schools were made in the Utrennyi Svet. These schools were completely independent of the State and Catherine--a fact which she resented, for she must have feared to lose control over the education of her subjects in these schools. There may have been also personal reasons. Catherine hated Novikov "almost passionately",<sup>2</sup> for Novikov had harshly criticized her literary endeavours in the journal Vsiakaya Vsiachine of which she was the coeditor.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, when Catherine's state controlled public schools were established and the Commission on the Public Schools made regular inspection of all other schools in the country, to check on teaching standards, textbooks, and teacher qualifications, Novikov's schools were put into a difficult position. He was asked to change some of the textbooks, some of the programmes, and finally, Catherine forbade the founding of any more such

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>"Ekaterina II," Ents. Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1894), Vol.XI, p. 574. "Novikov," op. cit., p. 253.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

schools on private initiative, and with time even the better schools of Novikov slowly disappeared.<sup>1</sup>

### The Private Boarding Schools

The private boarding schools organized by individuals, foreign or Russian, were not touched by the public school system of Catherine, for basically they catered to a different class of people: people who could afford the fees. Most of these boarding schools at the time of Catherine were owned and directed by Germans. In 1784, in total, there were twenty-six private boarding schools in St. Petersburg and ten in Moscow. Of these, in St. Petersburg, seventeen were Russian owned or directed and in Moscow only one.<sup>2</sup>

Many of these schools were coeducational or provided for parallel classes for boys and girls with practically identical programmes. They offered a variety of courses: German, French, Russian, religion, art, geography, history and physics. For special fees they taught dancing and drawing.<sup>3</sup>

Much also was done privately at people's homes. The richer nobles hired private tutors and governesses to teach their children. Some organized 'schools' at their own residences for children of the region. Thus Derzhavin, the governor of Tambov, between the years 1786-1788 had 150 girls taught free at his residence. The girls came from all classes: "they

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<sup>1</sup>Novikov, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 258.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

were pretty and ugly, rich and poor".<sup>1</sup>

Although throughout the reign of Catherine the Great the total number of girls studying, whether at the boarding schools, the Educational Society, the public schools or privately, was a very small fraction of the total number of school-age girls in Russia,<sup>2</sup> the fact remains that Catherine laid a foundation for the education of girls and that in the thirty-four years of her reign, great progress was made in the field of education in general, and particularly in the field of the education of women.

Catherine personally encouraged any woman who showed signs of interest in education. She wrote in literary journals and encouraged other women to write. During her reign seventy women writers, mainly poetesses had gained enough renown to find their way into bibliographical dictionaries.<sup>3</sup>

She appointed Princess Dashkova, one of the best educated women of her time, as the president of the Academy of Sciences in 1782 and in 1784 the president of the New Russian Academy.<sup>4</sup> She did not differentiate between the education of men and

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>2</sup>The number of boys studying was not too great either. In fact, in the last years of Catherine's reign there were approximately thirteen times more boys than girls in the public schools. (Ibid., p. 289).

<sup>3</sup>Prince N. N. Golitsin, "Bibliographicheskii slovar russkikh pisatelei," (Bibliographical Dictionary of Russian Writers), (Supplement) *Jurnal Ministerstva* . . ., op. cit., August, December 1888, January, April, 1889.

<sup>4</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 278.

women.<sup>1</sup> Her public school system was coeducational and led for those who were able, male or female, to higher studies in the Academies or the University.

In the boarding schools of the Educational Society the same curriculum was to be taught regardless of whether the schools were organized for boys or girls. Even in the Smolny Institute girls were to "get a general education" with no limitations or adjustments made "for the female brain" or "female ability and talents".<sup>2</sup>

Catherine was not interested in educating women as women, but was interested in their general education as persons first, then perhaps women. In her instruction to Prince Saltnikov<sup>3</sup>, Catherine wrote:

. . . it is not as important to teach the girls as to make them willing to learn and love learning so that they would search for it by themselves.<sup>4</sup>

Although Catherine's public school system did not attain its aim to 'educate the nation', nor stamped out illiteracy, one cannot deny that for the first time in Russian history, after the Mongol invasion, the attempt was made not only to educate the serfs but also women; and that for the first time

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<sup>1</sup>Her view is expressed in an essay on the question "Should Girls be Educated in the Same Way as Boys," General Plan for Moscow Educational Home, op. cit., Ch. 4. See Appendix VII.

<sup>2</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., p. 131. (citing Catherine II).

<sup>3</sup>Serge Saltnikov, first lover of Catherine and according to her the father of her son Peter III.

<sup>4</sup>Catherine II, "Iazyki i znaniya," (Languages and Knowledge), Ibid., p. 130. (cited by Ibid.).

but also for the last time for almost a century to come women were given equal opportunity in education.

Furthermore, if Catherine's educational reforms are to be judged in terms of durability, most of the educational institutions established by her thrived and grew to be swept away only by the Revolution of 1917.<sup>1</sup> Among the best known throughout the nineteenth century were the Smolny Institute, the Imperial Gentry Cadet Corpus, the Moscow and the St. Petersburg Educational Homes, and even, in a reformed form the public schools system.

That Catherine did succeed in establishing long lasting, and eventually popular educational institutions is undeniable, but had she succeeded in educating her 'New Breed'? From the literature available it is hard to judge; perhaps she had succeeded in educating the higher classes and especially the women of the higher classes, for travelers to Russia at the time of Catherine referred to the Russian women of the higher classes as being better educated than the men.<sup>2</sup>

E. Clarke who travelled in Russia around the year 1800, four years after Catherine's death wrote:

Dans la classe des nobles, les femmes paraissent de beaucoup supérieure aux hommes, elles sont douces, sensible, souvent instruites, belles, accomplies.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Only to be revived in another form and under another name under the Soviet regime.

<sup>2</sup>Count de Ségur, Mémoires, Vol. III, p. 33; Vol. II, p. 228. (n.p., n.n., n.d.).

<sup>3</sup>E. Clarke, Voyages en Russie, en Tartarie et en Turquie, (Paris: 1813), Vol. I, p. 11.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MARIA FEODOROVNA

##### Changes Introduced by Maria Feodorovna

Only six days after the death of Catherine, Paul I's<sup>1</sup> Ukaz of November 6, 1796 gave Maria Feodorovna<sup>2</sup> the direct control over the Educational Society for Noble and Middle Class Girls.<sup>3</sup> In 1802 the Ministry of Public Education was founded and the Public School system of Catherine as well as all the boys' schools came under its jurisdiction. By 1804 the coeducational public schools were divided into Gymnasias, district and parish schools, all of which now, with the exception of the parish schools, catered mainly to the male population of the empire.<sup>4</sup> In the same year the coeducational boarding schools and private schools were also forbidden, and the education of women through the first half of the nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup>Paul I, Catherine's son, was mentally unbalanced and reigned only five years.

<sup>2</sup>Sophia-Dorothea of Wurttemberg, second wife of Paul.

<sup>3</sup>Polnoe sobranie zakonov rossiiskikh (Complete Collection of Laws), Vol. XXIV, p. 17543, cited by Likhacheva, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 264-265. Istoricheski obzor deiatelnosti ministerstva narodnogo obrazovanie (Historical Survey of the Activities of the Ministry of Public Education), (St. Petersburg: Ministry of Public Education, 1902), pp. 4-10.

century and especially after 1828 was completely separated from the education of men. For the first thirty-two years it was under the direct control of the Empress Mother<sup>1</sup>--Maria Feodorovna; the rest of the time it was under the jurisdiction of the Fourth Section of his Majesty's Own Chancellery.

The changes introduced by Maria Feodorovna into the organization of the Educational Society<sup>2</sup> were not only administrative in nature; in fact, they basically changed the spirit of the whole system and the educational ideals and goals upon which the Society was founded. Catherine's<sup>3</sup> aesthetic ideal and all-round education of the good man and good citizen were dropped in favour of almost wholly utilitarian and practical, purely 'feminine' goals.<sup>3</sup>

Maria Feodorovna's new system of education was perhaps as much different in its spirit and goals from Catherine's educational aims as Maria Feodorovna was from Catherine. Maria Feodorovna grew up in a small German town in a large family with strong ties of affection between its members. She had trust in parents and their ability to educate the child morally and emotionally. She believed in the importance of the family and the necessity for the child to stay as long as possible with the parents. She also believed that a woman should be educated

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<sup>1</sup>The Department of Maria Feodorovna has been referred to also as the Department of the Empress Mother.

<sup>2</sup>The same as mentioned Under Catherine.

<sup>3</sup>The Book on the Duties of Citizens and Men was replaced by Campe's Advice to My Daughter, see text, pp. 66-70.



first and foremost to be a mother and wife.

Unlike Catherine she had no intellectual inclinations, grandiose thoughts or flights of imagination. She was meticulous, orderly, hard-working and her ideals or goals never extended beyond her capacity to fulfill them.<sup>1</sup>

On the first page of her notebook where she wrote all important thoughts, hers and those of others, under the heading: "Philosophie des Femmes" she wrote:

Il n'est pas honnête, et pour beaucoup de causes,  
Qu'une femme étudie et sache tant de choses.  
Former aux bonnes mœurs l'esprit de ses enfants,  
Faire aller son ménage, avoir l'oeil sur les gens  
Et régler la dépense avec économie:  
Doit être son étude et sa philosophie.<sup>2</sup>

Although Maria Feodorovna had shown no interest in the education of women or Catherine's Educational Society when Catherine was alive, the very second day after Paul I's Ukaz she, with the help of her five daughters, launched herself into the administrative and financial details of the Educational Society's institutes.

She arranged for 15,000 rubles each year to be donated to the Educational Society. The loss of 72,611 rubles incurred by the society during the last years of Catherine's reign were covered by the Emperor Paul I himself, who gave an additional 22,000 rubles for the upkeep of the Society each year.

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<sup>1</sup>E. S. Shumigorski, "The Biography of Maria Feodorovna," Russkii Arkhiv, 1889, No. 9, pp. 5-59.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 9. (No mention is made by Maria Feodorovna or the author himself that the above is an extract from Molière's Femmes Savants).

Under Maria Feodorovna's auspices and direct control, the Educational Society and other institutes and training schools founded by her flourished and did not have too many financial problems, for they were well organized with strictly controlled expenditures. They were also all organized according to the 'class-principle', to which Maria Feodorovna strictly adhered, believing that each girl should be exposed only to such education as would help her to adapt to the society and the demands of the environment and class from which she came.<sup>1</sup>

To ensure the above, on December 30, 1796, she wrote a letter to the Committee in charge of the Educational Institute, its organization and programmes, asking to arrange for lists of all the new noble and middle class girls accepted in the Society to be given to the inspectors and class-teachers of the Institutes. These lists were to include the Christian and family names, the name of the father, his class and chin and place of origin of the parents. "In this way," she claimed, "the girls will gradually and indirectly be introduced to their origins and family position and will learn what is expected of them when they return home after graduation."<sup>2</sup>

#### The Project of January 1797

After two months of study of the Educational Society and its administrative and financial problems, Maria Feodorovna sent a proposal concerning the reorganization of the Society to

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<sup>1</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., II, pp. 1-20.

<sup>2</sup>Protokol of 30th December, 1796, cited by Likhacheva, II, p. 6.

the committee-in-charge. Attached was a letter written to the Committee and dated January 4, 1797, where she expressed her ideas on the kind of education which the Society should provide, the aim it should serve and the methods to attain the outlined educational goals. The arguments concerning the necessity to separate the education of girls according to classes and the stress upon the utilitarian character of this education, i.e. educating women to fit and accept their social position, set the tone and spirit in which the Russian women were educated for the next sixty years.<sup>1</sup>

The suggested reorganization concerned five basic points through which the 'class-principle' of Maria Feodorovna was to be introduced into the institutes of the Educational Society:

- The change of admitting age.
- The change in the number of girls admitted; more nobles, less middle-class girls.
- The change in the number of years of study for each group.
- The complete separation of the noble class girls from the middle class girls.
- The change in the programme of study for each group.<sup>2</sup>

The admitting age for the noble girls was to be changed from five to eight or nine; for the middle class girls from five to eleven or twelve. Both groups were to graduate at seventeen or eighteen. This drastically cut short the time of study for the middle-class girls from the twelve to thirteen years at the time of Catherine to five or six years under Maria Feodorovna.

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<sup>1</sup>"Uchrezhdenia vospitatelnogo obshchestva, 1797-1820," (The Foundations of Educational Society, 1797-1820), XII (Archives of the fourth Department), cited by Likhacheva, II, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup><sup>2</sup>Ibid., The complete letter is available in Appendix VII.

In her letter Maria Feodorovna argued that between the ages of five and eight or nine the child needed much physical care which the institutes could not give properly. Furthermore, the child needed very much her mother--the only person who could provide the child with the necessary individualized and personal care so important for emotional and physical development.

The limitation of the years of study for the middle-class girls rested upon the argument that these girls needed only to learn the Russian language, some home-economics and handicrafts: these skills being necessary for the proper care of accounts, for home book-keeping, home-care and the correct way of expressing themselves. Thus the years allotted to the middle class girls were, according to Maria Feodorovna, sufficient to educate them for their needs and environment. Nevertheless, she did allow for a few talented middle class girls to be more educated and trained to become teachers.

Under no condition were the middle class girls to study with the noble girls or vice versa, for each group had separate duties and different functions in society.

Their attitudes are completely different and the acquisition of talents and arts pleasant to the society, which is a part of the education of the noble girls, becomes not only harmful, but also deadly for the middle class, because such an education removes the girl out of her environment and forces her to search for dangerous benefactors in the society. If, on the other hand the noble girls are exposed to the limited education of the middle class, the loss incurred on the former is evident.<sup>1</sup>

Maria Feodorovna further suggested that the number of the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 9. (cited by).

middle class girls be reduced by fifty and thus make it possible for the number of noble girls to be increased by fifty. She argued that although the two classes had to be differentiated strictly from each other, each class had an equal right to the attentions of the Monarch and an education provided by Him. Hence she offered to organize other institutes and schools which would cater to the specific needs of the middle class girls.

On January 11, 1797, Paul I confirmed Maria Feodorovna's proposal<sup>1</sup> with the exception of the decrease in the number of the middle class girls. He ordered their number to be doubled rather than reduced by half and provided for the sum of 16,769 rubles to be paid for their yearly education from the state treasury.<sup>2</sup>

With the approval of her proposal, Maria Feodorovna was given the full power over the education of women. She immediately set out to change the Educational Society and carried out to the minute detail her suggested reforms. In the spirit of her convictions expressed in her letter, an extensive programme was worked out. Special institutes with limited courses and structure were founded for the daughters of each class, profession and rank (chin) of the parents.

Thus the daughters of the nobility were mainly taught French, dancing and manners, while the middle class girls were initiated into the professions of teaching and housekeeping.

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<sup>1</sup>Likhacheva, II, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Protokol of January 15, 1797. (cited by Ibid.).

For the girls of the lower classes 'semi-professional' schools were founded where the girls learned different trades.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the above there were also institutes of the Patriotic Society<sup>2</sup> and other humanitarian societies of the same kind which were first founded in 1812 to help war orphans of the Napoleonic wars. These societies in the beginning founded schools only for the children of the field and staff officers, but later they also founded schools of vocational training for the children of other classes.<sup>3</sup>

#### J. H. Campe's Fatherly Advice to My Daughter

At the turn of the nineteenth century a book called Fatherly Advice to My Daughter, authored by J. H. Campe,<sup>4</sup> was translated into Russian and dedicated to the Empress Mother, Maria Feodorovna.<sup>5</sup> The ideas set forth in this book, which,

<sup>1</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1894), Vol. X, p. 867. Some of these schools or institutes were for example: the Orphan Institutes (Mariiskie), Institutes of the Order of Catherine in St. Petersburg and Moscow, the Female Institute of War-Orphans Home (Pavlovskii Institute), Midwifery Institutes in Moscow and St. Petersburg, the Gatchinskii Rural Educational Home, Schools for the children of the soldiers of the Black Sea Fleet, Institutes for the daughters of the chins of the Black Sea Fleet, Homes of Industry (Trudoliubia) in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Simbirsk.

<sup>2</sup>"Patrioticheskie Obshchestva," Ents. Slovar, Vol. XXIII, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Joachim Henrich Campe (1746-1818), was a German educational reformer and writer.

<sup>5</sup>According to Likhacheva the book had in many places added corrections and remarks which were done by the translator and also by Maria Feodorovna. (Likhacheva, op. cit., II, p. 173).

according to P. Kapterev, was read every day and learned by heart in all the institutes, illustrate clearly in what spirit the girls were educated in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

After Catherine's death, as already mentioned, the aesthetic ideal was superseded by the utilitarian ideal, which combined with Maria Feodorovna's class principle, became the core of the educational philosophy of the first half of the nineteenth century. According to the utilitarian ideal of education, the goal of all education for women was to prepare them to be expert house-keepers, wives and mothers.<sup>2</sup> But at the different levels of the society the needs and standards were different: hence the class-principle in devising specific programmes for the different classes of girls.

In Campe's book the utilitarian ideal of education was also strongly emphasized and further supported by a philosophy of the inferiority of women to men. Since Campe's book was extensively used in the schools of the Department of Maria Feodorovna, it must have not only influenced general opinion regarding the status of women but it also reflected to a large extent the views of the authorities regarding the aim of the

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<sup>1</sup>P. Kapterev, "Ideali zhenskogo obrazovaniia," Obrazovanie, (St. Petersburg, 1898), No. 3, pp. 5-6. Kapterev was a well-known Russian theoretician and historian of education. He taught psychology and pedagogy at the St. Petersburg Female Pedagogical Courses and was one of the active editors of the journals Obrazovanie, Vospitanie and Obuchenie. ("Kapterev," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, Vol. XIV, p. 216).

<sup>2</sup>Kapterev, op. cit., p. 14.

education of women.<sup>1</sup> Campe thus claimed that:

God and human society desired women to be weaker than men, God and human society desired women to depend on men, and their sphere of action to be limited to their home. Both desired that man be the protector of his wife; that she lean on him and feel and admit her weakness and the superiority of her husband; that she be worthy of his love and good will through her meekness and humility.<sup>2</sup>

Where the education of women was concerned, Campe believed that women should be educated to be:

. . . wives for the happiness of their husband, mothers for the education of their children and wise organizers of the house.<sup>3</sup>

According to Campe there were three kinds of knowledge that girls had to acquire. Firstly, religious knowledge through reading of the religious books: "nothing else should be read as the aesthetic arts such as literature or poetry are immoral".<sup>4</sup>

Secondly "astrological knowledge", i.e. that knowledge which will help a woman in dealing with people, for it will teach her to foresee their actions, understand their behaviour and avoid antagonizing them. Combined with natural history, universal history and logic, "astrological knowledge" would be

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<sup>1</sup>This claim may be supported by some Russian novels and critical literature of the period. According to Princess Kropotkin, "The Higher Education in Russia," Nineteenth Century, (London: 1898), Vol. 43, pp. 119-122, one should refer to Turgenev, Goncharev, Herzen, Mme. Hahn and especially Pisarev's Muslin Young Lady where women with Campe's mentality are ridiculed but nevertheless described as the current prototype of women. See also E. Elnett, Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia, New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. 75-76.

<sup>2</sup>Cited in Kapterev, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., II, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 179. (cited by).



a guide to character and personality study and lead to a better understanding of man's physical and spiritual nature.<sup>1</sup> In other words "astrological knowledge" was what today is taught as 'general psychology'.

Thirdly, "knowledge which shapes womanhood" through the study of history and geography, but mainly in general terms, omitting all details for a housewife would not have any need or use for them. Sciences, such as physics were also to be taught only to such an extent as they could be used in everyday household duties.<sup>2</sup>

Campe also tried to prove that all learning brought more harm than good to a woman<sup>3</sup>--even art and foreign languages,<sup>4</sup> for such "knowledge could be of no use to the husband or the household". Art, for example, made the nerves weak and the woman then became sensitive to discord and lack of harmony. This in turn rendered her incapable of bearing common, everyday household noises. If she learned a little music or painting, she was to use it to amuse her husband and children only. She had to learn to dance for serious occasions, but not too much, for dancing aroused unhealthy passions.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Learning was not good for men either; according to Campe it weakened the health. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup>Here a connection was made by either the translator or Maria Feodorovna claiming that Russian literature was so poor that another language had to be learned. Likhacheva, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup>Kapterev, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

In vivid colours Campe painted the picture of what would happen to a family stricken by the learned<sup>1</sup> housewife and mother who having learned too much would become disillusioned with her husband, then become a hypochondriac, restless, sorrowful and finally even insane. And the poor husband, humiliated and ashamed, would either try to hide his calamity and thus wither away before his time, or would search for distraction outside the home. Having seen his children abandoned, his home neglected, and later humiliated by debts incurred by the poor management of the household; ashamed of his delinquent children and haunted by the pity of honest people, his suffering would exceed all limits and eventually lead him to the grave. With great authority Campe then concluded: "Nature did not give women the right to be among the ranks of authors!"<sup>2</sup>

V. G. Belinsky<sup>3</sup> perhaps best summed up the general spirit of the Russian woman's education during the first half of the nineteenth century:

The Russian woman from the very first day of her life is told that she is a bride--not a person--and she grows up that way. All her ideals, prayers, hopes, are directed towards a husband.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Seemingly, to Campe the learned woman was necessarily an authoress, poetess or novelist.

<sup>2</sup>Likhacheva, op. cit., II, pp. 177-178.

<sup>3</sup>V. G. Belinsky, (1810-1848), a radical Russian social and literary critic. See also text, pp. 87-89.

<sup>4</sup>Cited in Ibid., p. 6. Although Belinsky may be a radical critic of the Russian society of the time, his views on this point are in agreement with those of Ushinsky, Izbrannye Pedago-

The Department of the Fourth Section of  
His Majesty's Own Chancellery

After the death of Maria Feodorovna in 1828, the direction of the educational institutes for women was transferred to the departments of the Fourth Section of His Majesty's Own Chancellery.<sup>1</sup> No changes in the system, programmes or structure of the schools were made until 1857, but many other institutes<sup>2</sup> organized along the same lines appeared in Odessa, Astrakhan, Kiev, Kazan, Warsaw, Saratov, Tiflis and Irkutsk. Most of these institutes were financed at least in part by the local nobility. In 1843 an Ecclesiastical Institute (Dukhovnoi) for women was established in Tsarskoe Selo. Its aim was to raise the standards, moral and intellectual, of the daughters and future wives, and mothers of the clergy as well as the girls who were

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gicheskii Sochinenia, (Moscow: Uchpedgiz, 1945), pp. 250-260, and N. V. Shelgunov, Sochinenia, (St. Petersburg: 1891), pp. 541-55. Both authors lived in the nineteenth century.

<sup>1</sup>The Fourth Section of His Majesty's Own Chancellery was often even after the death of Maria Feodorovna, referred to as the Department of the Empress Mother or the Department of Maria Feodorovna. The Fourth Section was opened on October 26, 1828. It not only administered the schools for girls but also a number of other institutions such as the Educational Homes for infants and children, institutes for blind children, for deaf-mute children, all of which were coeducational. For further details see "Sobstvennaya Ego Imp. Velichestva Kantselariia," Ents. Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1900), Vol. XXX, pp. 656-657.

<sup>2</sup>With a few exceptions, the term Institute for Women, (Zhenskii Institut) in the first half of the nineteenth century referred to 'closed' boarding schools. i.e. the girls could not go home even during vacations and had to stay the six or nine years in complete isolation from parents and the outside world. The term Institute not only referred to the schools in the Department of the Empress Mother, but also to private boarding schools founded at the time of Peter the Great and Catherine and still functioning in the first half of the nineteenth century.

planning to enter convents. By 1854 other such institutes were opened in Yaroslavl, Kazan and Irkutsk.<sup>1</sup>

In 1844 the schools in the department of the Fourth Section were re-classified into three distinct categories, once again, as a function of the girls' classes and social background. The institutes of the First Category were the Smolny Institute, Patriotical Institutes, Institutes of the Order of Catherine in Moscow and St. Petersburg, all provincial institutes for the daughters of the nobility. Those of the Second Category, for the middle classes, were the Pavlovskii Institute, Alexandrovskii Institute in Moscow and St. Petersburg, Homes of Industry in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Simbirsk and institutes in Astrakhan and Simbirsk. To the Third Category belonged the Schools of the Patriotical and other humanitarian societies in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Odessa. They catered to the poor, homeless or orphans.<sup>2</sup>

For each of these categories a special programme, geared to the class of the girls attending, was worked out. Both, the first and the second categories, comprised the teaching of social etiquette and drawing along with foreign languages, but in the second category the main stress was on handiwork, crafts, or teaching of a trade combined with a very elementary prepa-

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<sup>1</sup>"Eparkhialnye Shkoly," Bolshaya Entsiklopedia, (Moscow: 2nd ed., 1954), Vol. 15, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," Entsklopedicheski Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1890), Vol. X, p. 868.

ration in arithmetic and the Russian language.<sup>1</sup>

Dobrolyubov<sup>2</sup> in an article printed in Russkii Vestnik in 1858 examined and criticized the 'closed boarding schools.'<sup>3</sup> According to him the girls learned only such things with which they could show off in the society, but nothing which could help them get successfully through life and solve practical life problems. For years they saw no one outside the teachers, administration and the inmates of the boarding school. Not only did they lose the habits of family life, but they also learned to judge life by textbook criteria. Boarding schools then, according to Dobrolyubov, isolated girls from real life.<sup>4</sup>

One of the students of such a boarding school, the Radianovsky Institute at Kazan, claimed in her memoirs that at the end of the six years at the Institute she had "a knowledge of life and people acquired only from the novels and tales which (she) had read. The facts of reality did not enter the walls of the boarding schools."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Although Dobrolyubov was a radical publicist and his views may well be biased, other sources, such as memoirs of the girls support his criticism of the pre- 1856 school system. Dobrolyubov was also one of the important educators of the nineteenth century. See text p. 91.

<sup>3</sup>Reference here is made mainly to the schools of the first and second category.

<sup>4</sup>N. A. Dobrolyubov, Pedagogicheskie Sochinenia, (Moscow: Uzhpedgiz: 1949), pp. 94-95.

<sup>5</sup>Vera Figner, Memoirs of a Revolutionist, (New York: International Publishers, 1927), trans. C. C. Daniels and G. A. Davidson, p. 33.

In the same article Dobrolyubov outlined the study programmes of such schools. The girls, in addition to foreign languages, manners and dancing, were taught history with a large section devoted to chronological and genealogical details about mythological times. The same student mentioned above, thus claimed <sup>that</sup> in history they were kept "for a whole year on dry mythology of the Greeks and the Romans".<sup>1</sup> They were also taught geography with great stress on cosmography, and much Russian grammar with complicated tables and lists of exceptions.

Where methods were concerned, according to Dobrolyubov, girls were asked to learn facts by heart and be able to pass examinations. What mattered to parents and teachers, alike, was not education but the prizes received at the end of each year. It was "formal, dry, dead" education.<sup>2</sup>

As far as scientific knowledge or intellectual training were concerned "these years at school not only gave almost nothing, but even retarded (the girls') spiritual development, not to mention the harm caused by unnatural isolation from life and people."<sup>3</sup> Such education was not only offered at the Institutes of the Fourth Section but also at the private institutes and at home.<sup>4</sup>

In the same year, in an article called "About the Estab-

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Dobrolyubov, op. cit., p. 243.

<sup>3</sup>Figner, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Princess Kropotkin, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

lishment of Open Schools for Women," in a review of existing schools for girls, Dobrolyubov claimed that, although the goals of these schools (the Institutes) seemed to have been the preparation of girls for family and social life, they accomplished neither.<sup>1</sup> Having lived for six, eight or nine years behind the closed gates of the Institutes, the girls had no idea about life outside the walls of the Institute.<sup>2</sup> Even to funerals of their close relatives or parents they went accompanied by a governess and had to return immediately to the boarding school after the funeral. Only once a year, on Easter Sunday, were they allowed to drive in a long procession of carriages through the streets of the city.<sup>3</sup>

Hundreds of girls who received an idealistic and sentimental European education in a shielded institution, were thrown into barbaric, half-literate, libertine, drunken, cruel society which at its very best roused their indignation by its organic incompatibility with the kind of feelings and wise rules unalterably impressed upon them by the institute teachings.<sup>4</sup>

#### The Education of Girls for Patriotism and Adoration of the Autocracy

By their very nature and organization, the boarding institutes, as well as other schools for women in the first half of the nineteenth century, prepared the girls to be companions of men with no independent position in the family or society. Although no distinction was made legally between

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<sup>1</sup>Dobrolyubov, op. cit., pp. 218-232.

<sup>2</sup>Princess Kropotkin, op. cit., pp. 118-119. See also Elnett, op. cit., pp. 61-69.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.      <sup>4</sup>Elnett, op. cit., p. 76.

women's and men's rights, as far as social opinion was concerned, discrimination was made and a woman's education was a function of the conviction, both, on the part of the administration of the Institutes as well as the public at large that a woman should be trained first and foremost to be a companion to her husband. Economic independence, with the exception of an inheritance, from husband or family was not even envisaged, mainly because of the above mentioned convictions, but also because of the total absence of suitable employment for women other than teaching (this only in the case of the middle and lower classes). Women could not join the civil service, and as far as teaching was concerned, not only were they not prepared to teach but also the marked lack of elementary schools where they could eventually teach made the profession obsolete.<sup>1</sup>

The pre- 1856 school system, thus, stressed the class-principle and its strict observance led to an almost total absence of any interaction between the different social classes, and possibly to an absence of a consciousness of the problems and ways of life of other classes besides one's own. Institutes, like the Smolny Institute, "became a real laboratory for feminine monarchical ecstasy, to bring up the future generation of ladies of the house and mothers saturated with patriotism and grateful adoration of the autocracy."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Some girls did become home tutors or governesses, but these were only one category of girls--the lower middle classes.

<sup>2</sup>Elnett, op. cit., p. 75.



The Education of Girls Under the Ministry of  
Public Education

The Statutes of 1804

Alexander I's reforms in education, as implied by the Statutes of 1804, are said to have represented 'the most complete and satisfactory plan' for the organization of public education in pre-Revolutionary Russia.<sup>1</sup> According to Nicolas Hans, even though the original principles upon which the Statutes of 1804 were based, were in a later period reversed "the framework of his system survived all the fluctuations of Russian educational policy and is recognizable even at present after the most radical Revolution in history."<sup>2</sup>

The Statutes of 1804 followed closely Condorcet's scheme presented in his essays on "Sur l'Instruction publique" in 1792 and a report to the Assemblée Nationale in the same year.<sup>3</sup> The Statutes of 1804 thus stressed two basic ideas--utility and equality.

The Statutes established a ladder system of education where each grade prepared students for the next higher grade, and each school for the next higher school: from parochial schools which were to be opened in every village through District Schools in

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<sup>1</sup>N. V. Chekhov, Tipy russkoi shkoly (Types of Russian Schools), (Moscow: MIR, 1923), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>Hans, History of Russian . . ., op. cit., p. 35. The Statutes of 1804 are fully explained by Hans in Ibid., pp. 32-60. Since the educational reforms implemented by the Statutes served in practice mainly the males of the empire, they will not be discussed here.

<sup>3</sup>A comparison is presented in Hans, loc. cit., see also Appendix IX.

every district town to provincial schools (gymnasia) in every provincial town and finally to the Universities in the six largest cities in Russia. Each school was also to give a "complete and useful education to every group of the nation".<sup>1</sup>

Thus the principle of utility dominated all the programmes of the different schools. The village schools were to be taught elements of agriculture, the town schools elements of the local industries and the provincial schools were to give instruction in state affairs.

The Statutes furthermore, established complete equal opportunities to all children regardless of sex, creed or social status and origin of the parents. Thus in Clause 123 of the Statutes it was stated that "the parochial schools are open to all children of all classes irrespective of their sex or age."<sup>2</sup> Clause 90 stated that all those who completed the parochial schools or other elementary schools could enter the District Schools. Clause 14 claimed that all children who graduated from the District Schools or other schools answering the required standards could enter the gymnasium.<sup>3</sup> No allusion

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>According to Likhacheva, op. cit., II, p. 264, this Clause 123 is the only one where direct mention of sex is made in the Statutes of 1804.

<sup>3</sup>Istoricheskii obzor ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchenia, (St. Petersburg: 1902), pp. 82-86. The schools were to be free, and although in 1819 fees were introduced in St. Petersburg, orphans and the children of poor parents were exempted from fees. In addition a system of state scholarships was also established.

anywhere was made to the exclusion of girls. Furthermore, since this ladder system necessarily led to the University and no allusion in the University Statutes was made to sex or social position, then according to the Statutes of 1804 girls could enter the public educational system and 'climb' all the way into the universities.<sup>1</sup>

#### Girls in the Public Schools under Alexander I

One may argue that girls were accepted in the Ministry's gymnasia and studied together with the boys at least till 1808 when the last statistics refering separately to boys and girls are recorded: twenty girls in the Vitebsk Gymnasium, thirteen in Mogilev, three in Novgorod, and seven in Pskov.<sup>2</sup> Most of the girls in the Ministry's Public Schools were in the lower schools. Thus in 1802 there were in total 2,007 girls in the Ministry's schools, out of which only 334 were in Major Schools (in transition to become District Schools): in 1824 there were 5,835 girls in the schools of the Ministry and only 338 girls were in District Schools.<sup>3</sup> According to N. Hans, there may have been more girls in the gymnasia after 1808 since the statistics refer to 'pupils' without stating their sex.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. According to N. Hans, he has not been able to find anywhere any law during the reign of Alexander I which forbids girls to enter Universities. (Hans, op. cit., p. 57).

<sup>2</sup>Hans, op. cit., p. 56.  
Likhacheva, op. cit., II, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 57. The Ministry of Public Education also opened several District Schools for girls. There were 19 such schools at the end of Alexander I's reign.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Alexander I's Statutes of 1804 could have been considered the Great Reforms in Russian education if they had been carried out successfully, but the government not only lacked funds to establish schools, but the very principle of equality in educational opportunities could not survive in a system based upon the principle of serfdom. For Alexander's reforms to succeed, it was evidently necessary to abolish serfdom, but Alexander died before he solved the problem and his successor opted for the retention of serfdom and the establishment of a class-principle in education.

#### Education Under Nicolas I

Nicolas I decided to rebuild the whole educational system on a new basis. By the Statutes of December 8, 1828 he adopted the old Prussian system of education where the general aim of all schools was to "give a moral education and furnish the youngsters with the means of acquiring the kind of knowledge which would suit most the pupil's status."<sup>1</sup>

Nicolas I also forbade girls to enter District and Provincial schools. The education of girls was relegated to the department of the Fourth Section of His Majesty's Own Chancellery and for the next twenty years the Ministry of Public Education took very little interest in the education of girls.

On the whole, education under Alexander I and under Nicolas I, i.e. throughout of the first half of the nineteenth century, whether for girls or boys, was recognized as a social

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<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor, op. cit., p. 205.

need, not for the individual and his (her) own self-realization, but as a need of the society itself. This new concept according to W. H. E. Johnson was expressed in 1804 by a Russian philosopher and journalist, Ivan Petrovich Pnin (1773-1808), as follows:

Education, as accepted in the present sense, consists in that each member of society, no matter what profession he finds himself in, knows and fulfills thoroughly his responsibilities; that is to say, when the superiors on their part sacredly carry out the obligations of the power entrusted to them and when the lower class people inviolately live up to the responsibilities of their obedience. If these two classes do not transgress their bounds but preserve the proper equilibrium in their relations, then education has attained the desired aims.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of Alexander I's reign and especially during the reign of Nicolas I, with the rigid governmental control over private schools, private tutors and all agencies of education, regarding their 'character and political trustworthiness', it became evident that the aim of the government was educating boys and girls as the true sons and daughters "of the Orthodox Church, loyal subjects of the State, good and useful citizens of the Fatherland."<sup>2</sup>

Under Nicolas I education, especially that of women, by rigidly applying the class-principle, meant preparing and conditioning young girls to be satisfied with their status in life. This viewpoint is well illustrated by the claim made by Count S. S. Uvarov, the Minister of Education (1833-1849),

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<sup>1</sup>W. H. E. Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, (Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1950), p. 74. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>"Decree No. 374 of Jan. 17, 1820," Sbornik postanovlenii ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchenia, Vol. I, pp. 1199-1209. (cited by Johnson, op. cit., p. 81). For further details see Hans, loc. cit., and Johnson, loc. cit.

in a report to Nicolas I in 1832:

The younger generation can be turned into useful and zealous instruments of the Government if thoughtful guidance be brought to bear on the development of their spirit and attitude of mind. . . . They can be led into a mood of devoted and humble love for the existing order.<sup>1</sup>

The basic principles of the 'existing order' Uvarov defined as Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationalism--the very principles which were revived a hundred years later, under Stalin.

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<sup>1</sup>S. S. Uvarov, "Regulations for Educational Establishments," Article 136, (cited by Johnson, op. cit., p. 96).

P A R T    I I

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN  
BETWEEN 1856 AND 1917

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GREAT RUSSIAN PEDAGOGUES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The loss of the Crimean War and the humiliating Treaty of Paris of 1856 were severe blows to Russian national pride and self-esteem. Russia's defeat in the war was a clear indication of her failure to keep up with European economic and social development. With the accession of Alexander II to the throne and the introduction of a series of important internal reforms, the year 1856 may well be considered a turning point in Russian history, for in the next fifty years that followed Russia underwent a complete social reconstruction.

In 1857 on the initiative of Alexander II a secret Committee on Peasant Reform was set up and was followed by the organization of provincial committees of the nobility in the different provinces. The work of the committees revised by special commissions culminated in the Decree of February 19, 1856. By the Decree of February 19 and the accompanying legislation, serfdom was abolished and Russia was provided with a new socio-economic foundation. The agrarian reforms were soon followed by administrative, judicial and military ones. Old institutions were transformed and old forms of feudal life-style began to disappear.



Education was perhaps affected most by such changes:

All over Russia people were talking of education. As soon as peace had been concluded at Paris, and the severity of censorship had been slightly relaxed, educational matters began to be eagerly discussed. The ignorance of the masses of the people, the obstacles that had hitherto been put in the way of those who wanted to learn, the absence of schools in the country, the obsolete methods of teaching, and the remedies for these evils became the favorite themes of discussion in educated circles, in the Press, and even in the drawing rooms of the aristocracy.<sup>1</sup>

This was a wonderful period, a period, when anyone wanted to think, read and study, and when everyone, who had something to say, wanted to say it out loud. Until then the slumbering mind, fluttered, moved and started to work. Its impulse was strong and its task gigantic. The concern was not about today,--the fate of future generations, the fate of Russia's future were being considered and decided . . . .<sup>2</sup>

The socio-economic reforms not only inaugurated a period of reform in education but also a period imbued with a new spirit in educational philosophy. With the emancipation of the serfs another kind of emancipation took place; a revival of an idealism and the faith in man's essential goodness along with the belief in the power of education to change man and make him more humane--an educational philosophy strongly reminiscent of Catherine the Great and Betski's General Plan of the Moscow Imperial Educational Home.<sup>3</sup>

As it (the 1860's) was also a period in which theoretical propositions were given definite form, it fully deserves to

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Kropotkin, Memoirs of a Revolutionist, New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1899, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup>N. V. Shelgunov, Izbrannye pedagogicheskie sochinenia, (Selected Pedagogical Works), (Moscow: Akademia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk, 1954), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>See text, pp. 31-35.

be known as the classical period in the development of education in Russia. . . . The movement . . . should be recognized as the period, in the history of Russian education in which were developed the ideas which inspired all later movements, not only down to the time of the Revolution, but also under the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup>

In the 'new Russia' of the 1860's two distinctive trends, two forces of historical tradition can be discerned: the revolutionary or materialistic trend led by N. G. Chernyshevsky and the liberal or bourgeois-democratic trend, used in the broadest sense of the term, based upon the ideals of universal humanitarianism, neutrality in religion, freedom and nationalism.

The present chapter, is in no way an attempt to present or discuss the educational philosophies of the two trends.<sup>2</sup> The aim of this chapter is only to isolate the philosophy concerning the education of women in the works of the different philosophers--pedagogues, or publicists belonging to the above mentioned trends.

The two trends may be considered to have started in the 1840's and continued together till the 1860's when they separated.<sup>3</sup> The ideals of educational goals and methods proposed by either group were not new in the sixties, many of them could

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<sup>1</sup>O. Kaidanova, Ocherki po istorii narodnogo obrazovania v Rossii i S.S.S.R. na osnovie litshago opita i nabludenia (Sketches of the History of Public Education in Russia and U.S.S.R. based on personal Experience and Observation), (Bruxelles: E. Zhelezniakoff, 1938), Vol. I, op. cit., p. 171. (cited by Johnson).

<sup>2</sup>Much work to great depth has been carried out by different writers. See for example N. Hans, The Russian Tradition in Education, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).

<sup>3</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 118.

be traced back to the time of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, to Pososhkov and Novikov, and finally to V. G. Belinsky who at least in his educational philosophy seems to be the common beginning and in a way the 'father of Russian education'.<sup>1</sup>

V. G. Belinsky (1811-1848) entered Moscow University in 1829 during the reactionary reign of Nicolas I. At the University, as a student, Belinsky became one of the founders of a 'Literary Society of Number 11', a society inspired by the ardent love of Russia combined with the ideals of humanity and the emancipation of mankind from social injustice. The members of the group were to dedicate themselves to the service of 'mankind and Russia', and love was to become the underlying principle in the relationship of man to his surroundings--nature and people.

According to N. Hans;

At last the synthesis of 'universal' (European) and 'national' (Russian) which the Russians had sought since Peter the Great had been found.<sup>2</sup>

Belinsky thus combined the concept of universal humanity with the particular individual nationality:

Nationality is a great object both in politics and literature; yet taken in itself it is onesided. . . . The opposite side of nationality is universal humanity (obshche-chelovecheskoe). . . . A nationality which is not conscious of its living membership of mankind as a whole is not a nation, but simply a tribe or a living corpse. . . . Without national character, without na-

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<sup>1</sup>Kaidanova, op. cit., I, pp. 13-14.

<sup>2</sup>Hans, The Russian Tradition . . . , op. cit., p. 35.

tional features, the State is not a living organism, but a mechanical appliance.

To be an actual historical phenomenon, a people has to possess its nationality only as a form of the idea of mankind, but not as the idea itself . . . Every individuality actually exists insofar as it touches the universal, which is its content, and of which it is only an external form.<sup>1</sup>

Belinsky's conception of education was based upon this synthesis of the universal and the particular, of the human and the Russian. The moral training of the youth, according to Belinsky, was bound closely with the love of one's country and universal freedom.. There could be no citizens, no patriots, without free human beings.

Children, therefore, should be trained for freedom and the love of universal humanity.

By humanity we understand the living creation of those general features of the spirit, which are necessary for all men, whatever their nation, whatever their social origin, in all their ages, in all their circumstances--those general features which have to form man's innermost life, his most treasured wealth, and without which he is not a 'man'.

The main aim of a human being in every vocation, on every rung of the social ladder, is to be a 'man' (chelovek).<sup>2</sup>

Humanity means love of children, which should permeate education.

Respect for the name of 'man', infinite love of the human being because he is a 'man', without any reference to your own personality, or to his nationality, creed, or social status, even his personal qualities, in one word--infinite love and infinite respect for mankind, even in its worst representative.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>M. Polyakov, Vissarion Belinsky, (Moscow: 1960), p. 50. (cited by Hans, op. cit., pp. 34-35).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 36. (cited by).

The aim of education according to Belinsky was the training of 'man', "not a future civil servant, a poet, nor a craftsman". Training "should assist nature" and the child should not be forced into moulds in the image of the parents. Belinsky disagreed with Locke that the child's mind is a tabula rasa and claimed that "the soul of the infant is not a tabula rasa, but a plant in a germ, a human being in his potentialities."<sup>1</sup>

Belinsky thus believed that flexibility in educational methods was important, that neither punishment nor reward should be used in teaching, that religion should be taught as love and the practice of educating women as the ornaments of the society rather than as human beings in their own right should be changed.<sup>2</sup>

Belinsky, like Rousseau, also claimed that all moral training should be negative:

Moral training should remove all bad examples and develop in children love, justice, and humanity through habit (by living moral behaviour) and not through dogmatic rules of morality.<sup>3</sup>

Belinsky's ideals of freedom, humanity and nationalism became the very basis of the Russian educational tradition of the second half of the nineteenth century as expressed in the educational philosophies of Pirogov, Ushinsky, Stoyunin and Tolstoy.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 35. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Kaidanova, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 36. (cited by).

### The Revolutionary or Materialistic Trend

Pisarev, Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Dobroliubov, and Shelgunov are usually considered as the representatives of the revolutionary or materialistic trend. Most of them were either socialists and populists, or sympathizers.

D. I. Pisarev (1841-1868) stressed freedom in education, the respect for the rights of children and spoke of the importance of work and love:

When all workers of the world will love their work, then there will be no unemployed, no rich, no poor.<sup>1</sup>

Pisarev thus stressed the importance of the connection between life and knowledge, and education and work. There could be no knowledge or education if it did not derive its roots from everyday practical life situations and if in turn it could not be applied to the solution of everyday problems. According to Pisarev, education, if it was to be a meaningful and complete education, could not be separated from life and its everyday activities--work--a concept which was revived under Communist rule in the theory of 'polytechnical education'.

N. G. Chernyshevsky (1828-1889) also spoke of education as a life process and a function of the structure of the society and general conditions of life. Thus any changes in the educational system had, necessarily, to be preceded by changes in the socio-political structure of the country. The basic problems in Russian education were neither the educational institutions nor their administration, but the very conditions

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

of Russian life and society.<sup>1</sup>

N. A. Dobroliubov (1836-1861) stressed the importance of safeguarding the child's individuality and teaching him to think and reason critically, he further stressed that:

. . . there is no need to train the child, like a dog, to do this or that trick according to this or that signal from the teacher. We want an education where reason would reign and where this reason would not only be evident and clear to the teacher but also to the child. We insist that all measures taken in education should be presented in such a way that they may be fully and clearly justifiable to the child. We demand, that all educators would show more respect to human nature, would care for the development, and not the stifling of the inner man in their students, and that educators would aspire to make the child act morally not out of habit but consciously and out of conviction.<sup>2</sup>

It is not surprising then that Dobroliubov strongly criticized the existing schools of girls where the girls were trained rather than taught.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the philosophers or publicists who followed the materialistic trend stressed mainly the social aspect of education and spoke of 'integral education', i.e. a combination of 'general scientific and technological' education.<sup>4</sup> They also advocated equality of women to men in education up to and through university. In its essence their argument for the education of women followed the line of Shelgunov's reasoning as he applied his educational philosophy to the education of women.

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<sup>1</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., pp. 142-143.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 144.      <sup>3</sup>See text, pp. 73-75.

<sup>4</sup>Hans, The Russian Tradition . . . , op. cit., p. 127.

N. V. Shelgunov (1824-1891) believed in educating the masses and examined all educational questions in terms of socio-political conditions of the Russian society. He therefore saw the role of women to be the socio-political preparation of children to serve the society, to be independent, and to "think and act on their own and create their own environment."<sup>1</sup>

His main thesis concerning the education of women was educating women as the educators of humanity. Here he stressed, like many of the other radicals the importance of psychology:

A woman, who is deprived of the capability to understand the human soul, does not have the right to be a mother, nor a teacher.<sup>2</sup>

For, Shelgunov believed that the education of a child, especially in the early years is a function of the mother's social status, health, diligence, education and family status. Thus the development of the child in the first years is organically bound with the social position of the woman--mother: with her physical, mental and moral development. And the woman and the child become two inseparable factors of the first stages of development.<sup>3</sup>

Shelgunov deplored the fact that, for the ten years the 'Woman Question' had taken on such a 'trifling and sad' aspect

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<sup>1</sup>Shelgunov, Izbrannye . . . , op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Shelgunov, "Chego ne znayut zhenshchiny," (What Women do not know), Izbrannye . . . , op. cit., p. 58.

<sup>3</sup>Shelgunov, "Rabotaiushchii proletariat v Anglii i Frantsii," (Working Proletariat in England and France), Sovremenik, 1861. (cited by Ibid., p. 19).



with its exclusive stress on economic independence. The 'Woman Question' had become, according to Shelgunov a 'question of bread'--frivolous and commonplace in character, boring everyone.

Nevertheless, according to Shelgunov, one thing remained clear throughout the years: that

. . . women want to learn and that the energy with which they pursue their goals forces us to bow with admiration to the moral force of women, which no one expected them to have.<sup>1</sup>

But, according to Shelgunov, if this rush of women for knowledge is objectively examined, then one can clearly see that it was not based on any clearly defined principles or goals. It was a rush at random, where women studied anything they could lay their eyes on. Often they were sadly comical, for they studied all sorts of things scarcely knowing why and hoping to use what they learned to earn a living:

We study midwifery, mathematics, physics, languages, shorthand, Italian, book-keeping, telegraph-signals, and lately we have even launched into jurisprudence and Roman law--knowledge which is commendable, useful. But which one of us reads and studies history, physiology, psychology; which one of us reads and studies the science of man, of society? No one. We only want to be specialists and craftsmen, but we do not want to be people, or members of a citizens' community, nor independent moral individuals, contributing ideas to the treasury of the social mind.<sup>2</sup>

Shelgunov further regretted the fact that general education was neglected and during the fifteen years of the move-

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<sup>1</sup>Shelgunov, "Chego ne . . .," op. cit., pp. 55-56.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

ment of women for higher education the stress had always been on specialization:

'Mankind in general' does not exist for you (women), as if the conception of mankind were beyond your mental capacities. You choose only boring specialities, without broadening your views and ideas.

Be whatever you choose, physicians, midwives, signal-women, chemists, teachers, but first of all be human beings and women; and be prepared to be mothers. I am speaking of the mother as a woman-citizen, steeped in ideas of a higher order, understanding that the family is the basic cell of the whole civic community and training her children for membership of this community. Study man, study the society, think in terms of citizenship and you will educate your children to be such people as life needs; and you yourself will mount to a higher and more influential position in society.<sup>1</sup>

Few of the above mentioned 'revolutionaries' can actually be considered as educators, most of them were publicists, journalists or writers interested in polemical work. Many took up the question of education and wrote lengthy treatises on the subject because education was one of the main concerns of the sixties and seventies. They were also involved in the polemics concerning the question of the education of women because basically the authorities resented the demand of women for higher education.

The 'revolutionaries' thus wrote articles against discipline, formalism, classical gymnasia, specialization and the whole Tsarist system of education. They also clamoured openly for the higher education of women and entered into many fictitious marriages to help the women leave Russia for Zurich.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 57-58.

<sup>2</sup>See details in Part II, Chapter VII. Women could not travel abroad unless they had the permission of their parents or husbands.

When Turgenev's Fathers and Sons was published in the 1860's many critics saw in one of his female characters, Kukshina, the prototype of the emancipated 'learned' women-students of the sixties. A score of articles were published defending or accusing Turgenev for his portrayal of Kukshina.

Herzen (1812-1870), like all revolutionaries who believed in the emancipation of women and their rights to higher studies came to the defense of Turgenev and the women-students:

That a woman<sup>1</sup> who studies embryology may be very peculiar and disagreeable--is true; but it is also true that in many of the comedies of Ostrovskii one can find women who are even more peculiar and disagreeable, and who never studied theoretical embryology. If someone has to be punished, it is not theoretical or practical embryology, but women in general.

Herzen then suggested with his well-known cynism that there was only one way to solve the problem: first by "deleting the female sex" and then by dividing the human species "in the manner of the cavalry into a. The Heavy male sex and b. The Light male sex (former female)."

Then women will not be deprived to move forward from their position of mothers--females<sup>2</sup>, even though through Kukshinas, to the status of human beings; then they will not altogether be forbidden to study, or allowed to read only certain chapters--as used to be the case when the governesses decided how far in the text their student could read.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Kukshina studied embryology and spent the 'intimate' hours with her lovers discussing this science.

<sup>2</sup>The actual word used--Samka--implies a purely animal female (in terms of reproduction only).

<sup>3</sup>Herzen, "Pismo k budushchemu drugu" (Letter to a future Friend), Izbrannye pedagogicheskie vyskazyvaniia (Selected Pedagogical Citations), (Moscow: Akademia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk, 1951, pp. 393-394).

While the 'revolutionary' intelligentsia did most of the criticizing and kept the society alert to educational problems and their implication, the actual work in the field of education was carried out by the group of the 'liberal'-minded intelligentsia. It was this group of physicians, scientists and teachers<sup>1</sup> who formulated the basic problems of public education and it was their educational philosophy that influenced the educational reforms of the 1860's and 1870's and laid the foundations of the last educational reforms of the Tsarist government in the second decade of the twentieth century.

#### The 'Liberal' Trend

The 'liberals' were and remained the philosophers of the middle classes and the 'bourgeois' intelligentzia. They welcomed the emancipation of the serfs but were afraid of revolution or mass movements that would overthrow the Tsar. They were willing to cooperate as long as it was possible with the government; and many served as inspectors, directors or teachers in the government schools only to find themselves later deprived of their rights to teach or sent for a 'research period' of several years to European countries.

The 'liberals' basically all believed in a school system which would be open to all classes, which would educate boys and girls equally and provide the child not with formalistic knowledge but teach him (her) about real-life situations and above all educate human beings rather than train specialists.

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<sup>1</sup>N. I. Pirogov, D. K. Ushinsky, P. F. Lesgaft, V. Ia. Stoyunin, V. I. Vodovozov, D. P. Semenov, L. N. Tolstoy and others.

Within this group of educators there were different trends, some stressing nationalism more than secularism, or classical training more than practical.

N. Hans classifies Pirogov as the representative of the humanist trend, Ushinsky of the national trend, Tolstoy of the moral trend and Stoyunin, Vodovozov, Lesgaft and Korf as the representatives of the liberal trend.<sup>1</sup>

N. I. Pirogov (1810-1881) was the most influential of the group. Although a famous physician-surgeon and professor of medicine he did not confine his interest and activities to the field of medicine but was keenly interested in the field of education and took active part in the educational reforms of the 1860's.

Pirogov's idealism, belief in the inherent goodness of man and the possibility of cultivating his goodness through education became the keynote of the educational philosophy of the second half of the nineteenth century.

In one of his letters written in April, 1850, Pirogov spoke of the goal of education as the transformation of each child into a human being who would be capable of living first of all and most of all for others and who would be capable of seeing his own happiness in the happiness of others:

To be happy with the happiness of others--this is rightful happiness, this is life's rightful ideal.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hans, The Russian Tradition . . . , op. cit., pp. 45-106.

<sup>2</sup>"Pisma Pirogova," (Pirogov's Letters), Russkaya shkola, 1914, No. 11, p. 33.

In 1856 Pirogov published his essay on "Problems of Life" (Voprosy Zhizni) in the periodical of the Ministry of Naval Affairs, the Morskoi Sbornik (the Journal of the Admiralty). The essay immediately became the focal point of a great number of articles written by liberals and radicals alike discussing its merits. The article also impressed the government and opened the way for Pirogov to get involved in the educational reforms of the sixties.

In his "Problems of Life" Pirogov claimed that education determined the future of each person and that the success of the society and public life depended on education. Education then, was to be the concern of the society as a whole and each individual in particular.

He strongly criticized class-oriented education and believed that all, regardless of sex, creed or class should be given equal opportunity for education--an education which would teach children not to become specialists but human beings:

"What vocation are you educating your son for?" Someone asked me.

"To be a human being." I answered.

"Don't you know," he asked me, "that there are no human beings in this world; it's an abstraction, useless to our society. We need teachers, soldiers, mechanics, sailors, doctors, lawyers, not human beings."

Is that true?<sup>1</sup>

The essay was the answer to the above conversation.

Pirogov's humanistic ideals were not reserved for males

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<sup>1</sup>N. I. Pirogov, "Voprosy Zhizni," (2nd ed.), Izbrannyye pedagogicheskie sochinenia (Selected Pedagogical Works), (Moscow: Akademia Nauk, R.S.F.S.R., 1952), p. 653.

only, he believed in the ability of women to study and occupy responsible positions in science, art or public life. He organized the first nursing society in Russia and his insistence on the importance of giving women the same opportunities in education as men became instrumental in the establishment of girls' gymnasia and medical and other higher education courses for women.

The last part of the "Problems of Life" was devoted to the question of the status and education of women:

. . . let women understand their high appointment in the whirlpool of human life. Let them understand, that they, who take care of the human infant, organize his childhood games, teach him the first words, the first prayer, are the chief architects of the society. The cornerstone is laid with their hands.<sup>1</sup>

And

If women--pedants, clamouring for emancipation, understand it only as the education of women,--then they are right. But if they understand emancipation in terms of the social rights of women, then they themselves do not know what they want.

Women are already emancipated in the latter sense, and perhaps even more than men, although according to our laws a woman cannot be a soldier, a civil servant, a minister. But can a man nurse a child and become--the mother--educator of children up to the age of eight? Can<sup>2</sup> man be the bond of the society, its flower and ornament?

Hence, according to Pirogov, not the position of women but their education needed change. He divided women into two kinds "Marys and Marthas". The Marthas are engulfed in everyday life and enjoy comfort and luxury, and live well regardless of whether the problem of emancipation is resolved or not. Their road in life does not overlap with the road taken by

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 678.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Marys. For Marys are idealists, inspired with the spirit of struggle and sacrifice and know that emancipation lies in education.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty years later, in 1876, Pirogov admitted that the problem was not in the kind of emancipation he thought of years ago, but a problem of assigning the right values to the importance of women and their ability to organize and take decisions--a fact which he learned when he worked with the nurses and women-doctors in the war.

. . . women, thus, must occupy in the society a place more fitting to their human dignity and intellectual ability . . . for even in the administration of many social establishments women are more talented than men.<sup>2</sup>

According to Pirogov the idea of emancipation held by him and others was the fruit of a materialistic world-view that considered women fully equal to men. But, according to Pirogov, this materialistic trend considered learning to be the highest order of things and neglected the role of intuition and talents.

But if women and men have equal capacity to learn, then women by their higher capacity for intuitive learning (if intuition is a source of knowledge), should be considered a step higher than men.<sup>3</sup>

Where the question of the position of women is concerned, there has been a tendency to forget, or rather ignore, a group of natural phenomena, through which "the human being" is a collectivity, consisting of men and women, and one should deal with each sex according to its dif-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 678-679.

<sup>2</sup>"O krestovozdvizhenskoi obshchine sester miloserdia. O zhenskom voprose." (Letters to Baroness Raden), Ibid., pp. 551-552.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 553.



ferences and characteristics. What our forefathers took away from women, we must return with interest. This is just and will not cost much. But we also must not forget that the goal of life and the road to the goal--are one and the same for men and women, but the manner in which the road is travelled must differ for each, if we want to be useful to and agreeable to each other.<sup>1</sup>

Pirogov also defended the aggressive attitude of the women towards the society. Their disregard of social mores and customs, their imitation of males in dress and manner, he claimed to be reactions to the society and its refusal to assign women a place more suited to their dignity and their mental abilities.<sup>2</sup>

That women deserved to be trusted with positions of responsibility was, according to Pirogov, clearly shown by their activities in the Crimean War:

The results, (of the work of nurses in the Crimean War) in any case, prove, that until now we have completely ignored the wonderful talents of our women. These talents clearly prove, that the present 'Woman Question' even then was fully justified in its raison d'être.

The facts that the enemies of the reasonable emancipation of women until today claim to be true, such as the great difference between the organization of the sexes, --for example the smaller weight of brain, etc.--should not be taken into consideration, for they will never survive serious criticism. A woman, if she received an adequate education and training, can pursue culture in science, art and public life, as well as a man. There is only one condition, that a woman should always preserve her physiological and moral femininity and should learn not to part with it.

This, of course, is not easy, and is what both the defenders and the enemies of the 'Woman Question' ignore. A woman, with a man's education and even in men's clothes, should always remain feminine and never scorn the development of the superior gifts of her feminine nature. And I definitely do not see how should an equal social status between women and men stand in the way of such development.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 554.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 555.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 568.

Pirogov's essay and the ensuing polemics in the press concerning the education of women necessarily led to a re-evaluation of the utilitarian, class-oriented educational tradition of the first half of the nineteenth century.

K. D. Ushinsky combined Pirogov's humanitarian values with a strong national sentiment. Like Pirogov he believed in the necessity of educating 'human beings', but insisted that such an education must be based upon the principle of nationality and the mastery of the mother tongue. According to Ushinsky:

Education must enlighten man's consciousness and clearly show him the road to good. In the heart of each human being there are unselfishly good emotions, by which education can be guided, but these emotions are sometimes hidden so deeply, that not always are they easy to find. There is though one, common to all, and inborn tendency, on which education can always count--this is the so called 'nationality'. The love for the fatherland, inherent in everyone, provides the true key to the heart of human beings and upon this assumption, then, education should be guided by nationality; it should itself be national. . . . Only a national education can become the living organ in the historical process of national development.<sup>1</sup>

Ushinsky's aim was to serve the Russian people and diffuse knowledge and education among the masses. This necessarily implied involving women in the process of education. As a democrat he believed in free thought and individual development and had no patience with etiquette, manners and the like.

In 1859 he became the inspector of the Smolny Institute and for three years the Institute became a veritable laboratory of pedagogical experiments. Ushinsky reorganized the curri-

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<sup>1</sup>Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 27. (cited by).

culum, introduced natural sciences and tried to modernize the school in its structure and administration.<sup>1</sup>

The Smolny Institute which for almost a century was the prototype of an educational establishment which educated 'ladies' or ornaments for the fashionable salons of the upper classes, under Ushinsky with its seven year programmes, a broad range of subjects and lectures in pedagogy, became the prototype of the girls' gymnasia of the sixties.<sup>2</sup>

Ushinsky's influence in the different fields of educational methodology and philosophy can be easily traced in the writings of such educators of the late nineteenth century as V. Ia. Stoyunin, L. N. Modzalevski, D. P. Semenov, V. P. Ostragorskii, V. I. Vodovozov, N. F. Bukanov and others.

Of these the most influential in the field of the education of women was Stoyunin (1826-1888), who along with Vodovozov, Lesgaft and Korf is considered by N. Hans to represent the truly liberal trend. According to N. Hans Stoyunin believed that:

Education can develop normally only if it is dominated by one general idea--that of training the pupil for actual life. And because in actual life every man is also a citizen of his country and a member of his society, the school has to remember these aims.<sup>3</sup>

Stoyunin summarized this philosophy in a statement on the

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<sup>1</sup>D. D. Semenov, "Deiatelnost K. D. Ushinskogo v Smolnom Institute," (The Activities of K. D. Ushinsky in Smolny Institute), Pamiat D. K. Ushinskogo, (Memories of K. D. Ushinsky), (St. Petersburg: 1896), pp. 67-104.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Hans, The Russian Tradition . . . , p. 133. (cited by).

role of the school as follows:

- The school should educate citizens, inspire them with respect for the law.
- The school must raise public morality.

The drive to live only for oneself or on the account of the public, reckoning only one's own gain, turning away from charitable work, shameless lies--is what characterizes many of us in our public sphere; and even worse is the fact that all this evil is acceptable with no protest as if there is no other way.<sup>1</sup>

The school must fight this evil and the school must not teach facts but educate and enliven teaching with ideals not of specific philosophical schools but general ideals of family and public life.

The school must be truly Russian to be able to satisfy the needs of Russian public life and provide the government and the society with the necessary elements of such life.

The school must not indoctrinate the students with a philosophy of life but provide them with a sufficient world-view to enable them to formulate their own ideals after they leave school and enter life. He also stressed the close ties necessary between the school and the family.<sup>2</sup>

Stoyunin was also greatly interested in the education of women and strongly criticized the superficial education provided for women in the Institutes and private schools. He was in favour of the gymnasia for girls established in the 1860's which were open to all girls regardless of class or creéd and which, according to him, not only removed the class

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<sup>1</sup>"Stoyunin," Entsiklopedicheski Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1901), Vol. XXXI, p. 714. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

barriers but also the 'sex barriers' between men and women by providing all children with equal opportunity to learn.

Stoyunin understood the term "human" as a term which did not admit of any moral and intellectual excellence of one sex over the other.<sup>1</sup>

Thus to Stoyunin the ideal enlightened or educated human being, male or female, was not one who stored a mass of disconnected knowledge, or one who was specialized in one specific field of knowledge, but one

. . . who transcends the facts of knowledge and develops in himself a higher understanding of facts, which determine human life and its relationship to the environment, i.e. to nature and society. Education, arouses in man all the inherent drives for honesty, truth, goodness and beauty and further supports them. As a result education combines all spheres of action, of the professor, the administrator, the judge, the physician, the philanthropist, independent of their specialized knowledge which they need for their practice.<sup>2</sup>

Only one of the great Russian educators of the nineteenth century, L. N. Tolstoy (1828-1910), did not seem to agree with the drive of women for higher education and their movement for emancipation.

Although he believed in the brotherhood of all men and mankind; in science and utilitarian values as well as Providence and the special qualities of the Russian people; in democratic principles and self-government, he nevertheless subscribed a certain well-determined status to women--that of wives and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. (cited by). His ideas were put into practice when his wife founded a gymnasium for girls in St. Petersburg. See Part II, Chapter VI.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. (cited by).

mothers.<sup>1</sup> Although his experimental school, in Yasnaya Polyana, which earned world renown, was open to both sexes he always separated the girls from the boys even at an early age.

Whether humanist, national, moral or materialist, most of these trends in Russian education through the nineteenth century stressed the education of human beings first and Russians next. Most, as we have seen, drew from the Western ideals of freedom, secularism and universal humanism. Their influence on the general public's attitude toward the women and on the women themselves must have been considerable, especially in the educated circles of the Russian upper and middle classes where the works of these educators were read in the daily, weekly or monthly periodicals.

Most of these philosophers or educators wrote copiously on their educational theories around the middle of and the first two decades of the second half of the nineteenth century. As the Russian intellectual had always been exposed to strict censorship he was accustomed often to read between the lines and this may have added even more meaning to some of the claims of the educators, most of whom were eventually, at least temporarily, exiled and some were even imprisoned. This added even more to their prestige.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Especially as expressed in Anna Karenina.

<sup>2</sup>D. J. Pisarev was imprisoned between 1862 and 1866, N. G. Chernychevsky was exiled, N. V. Shelgunov was arrested but released, A. Herzen was exiled, Ushinsky was 'exiled' to do research in Europe, P. F. Lesgaft and V. Ia. Stoyunin were considered 'disloyal' and their activities were supervised.

It was during this second half of the century that women, in great numbers demanded equal opportunity in education and access to the universities and medical schools. During the same period the Ministry of Public Instruction after almost half a century of inactivity in the field of the education of girls decided to take over all the existing girls' schools and establish new gymnasia under the supervision of the ministry. To claim that all these changes were the direct result of the educators and their writings of the period may be an exaggeration, nevertheless to deny that they were instrumental in many ways in bringing the changes about and preparing the general atmosphere for the changes would be unfair.

## CHAPTER V

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

1856-1917

#### Education Under Alexander II

It was Pirogov's essay "Problems of Life" (Voprosy Zhizni) published in the Journal of the Admiralty in 1856 (Morskoi Sbornik, No. 9)<sup>1</sup> which set the spirit of the reform movement in education. "The influence of this single essay on following generations was unparalleled," for Pirogov's ideas became the basis of the new 1864 legislation concerning elementary and secondary schools.<sup>2</sup>

The first years of the reform movement were characterized by heated public discussions and polemics in the press. At first essays on education and the problems of establishing a public system of education could be found in almost any daily newspaper and journal.

By 1857 two pedagogical journals appeared--Jurnal Vospitania (The Journal of Education) and Russkii Pedagogicheskii

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<sup>1</sup>The essay in its original form is also available in Pirogov, Izbrannye pedagogicheskie sochineniia (Selected Pedagogical Works), (Moscow: Akademia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk, 1952), pp. 55-84.

<sup>2</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . ., op. cit., p. 98. (The influence of the essay on the reorganization of the girls secondary education was especially important--see text, Chapter VI of Part II.



Vestnik (Russian Pedagogical News). In 1860 the Journal of the Ministry of Public Education was reorganized to become a special pedagogical organ. In 1861 the journal Uchitel (Teacher) was first published followed in 1862 by Yasnaya Polyana of L. N. Tolstoy and in 1864 by the Pedagogicheski Sbornik (Pedagogical Collection). In 1869 Narodnaya Shkola (The Public School) began its publication.

The need to educate the masses and to reorganize Russia was strongly felt among all classes of the Russian Society and especially among the long stifled intelligentsia and students. Thus, while the Ministry of Public Education was occupied with the administrative and legal problems of the projected reforms, the public took upon itself the pedagogical side of the question. The task of educating the serfs and establishing a public education system throughout the empire drew the best minds into active participation. Among the many educators and philosophers who made important contributions were, just to mention a few, Ushinsky, Modzalevsky, Vodovozov, Stoyunin, N. A. Korf, L. N. Tolstoy and Pirogov.

After January 17, 1857 the law forbidding the founding of schools by individuals or private organizations was repealed and permission was given to any individual, organization or society to found schools of any type as long as the Ministry was notified.<sup>1</sup> As a result a great number of schools were founded. These schools were of all kinds--Sunday Schools for

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<sup>1</sup>Decree of Jan. 17, 1857. (Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., p. 377).

adults or children, gymnasias or parish elementary schools. Most of these schools were staffed by volunteers from the student ranks.<sup>1</sup>

The general attitude of those who were educated and went out to the country to teach the peasants may well be represented by L. N. Tolstoy's claim:

It is not us who need to learn, we have to teach Marfitka and Taraska a little of what we know.<sup>2</sup>

### The Sunday Schools

Of the newly founded schools the most interesting perhaps and the most numerous were the Sunday Schools.<sup>3</sup> The first Sunday School was opened in April 1859 in St. Petersburg by, the daughter of an Active State Counsellor, Maria Shvilivskaya. The school was at her home and catered to poor girls, who were taught on Sundays reading, writing, arithmetic and handiwork.<sup>4</sup>

In October 1859 a group of students from the Kiev University under the guidance of Pirogov opened another Sunday

<sup>1</sup>"Nachalnoe narodnoe obrazovanie," Entsiklopedicheskiĭ Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1897), Vol. XX, p. 758. By the end of 1857 there were 39 private boarding schools in St. Petersburg; in Moscow there were 14 private boarding schools and 21 private schools. (Ist. Obzor . . .) op. cit., p. 377.

<sup>2</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 120. (cited by).

<sup>3</sup>All through the reign of Nicolas I, when Sunday Schools first appeared, permission was given to open only 3 Sunday Schools--in Valk, Bezenberg and Beisenstein. (Kaidanova, op. cit., I, pp. 285-289).

<sup>4</sup>"Voskresnya Shkoly," Entsiklopedicheskiĭ Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1892), Vol. VII, p. 255.

School.<sup>1</sup> These first Sunday Schools were so successful that the Kiev students contacted the students of the Kharkov, Moscow and St. Petersburg universities and within a year a whole network of Sunday Schools was established.

In all schools reading, writing, religion, and arithmetic were taught and in some drafting and basic trades were sometimes added. All of these schools were free. The teachers were mainly students who volunteered their time. The Ministry of Public Education by the circular of September 21, 1860 placed governmental premises such as gymnasias and other public buildings at the disposal of the Sunday Schools.<sup>2</sup> Between April 1860 and January 1861, twenty Sunday Schools were opened in St. Petersburg. Of these six were for women and two were coeducational. In the province of St. Petersburg there were sixty-eight schools of which ten were for women.<sup>3</sup> By 1862 there were 274 Sunday Schools in the Empire.<sup>4</sup>

The most famous of the Sunday Schools was a private Sunday School for women in Kharkov. It was opened in the beginning of 1860 by Kristina Danilovna Alcheska, the wife of a local merchant. Notwithstanding the Decree of 1862<sup>5</sup> when Sunday Schools were closed by the government this school continued first for eight years at the home of its founder and finally was officially opened on March 22, 1870 and continued to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 255-256.      <sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>5</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., p. 379, (Decree of July 10, 1862).

flourish till the Revolution of 1917.<sup>1</sup>

In 1870 there were 450 students and 80 teachers in Alcheska's school. The school had free use of the premises and the teachers were volunteers. The total expenses of the school in the 1890's were only 300-400 rubles a year and at the time it was considered to be the best organized school in Russia. The school was open to girls of all ages over ten. The school had a library and a demonstration room of visual aids. The direction of the school was in the hands of a pedagogical committee formed by the students.<sup>2</sup>

Many women thus took an active part in the Sunday School movement and a great number of them, coming from different social backgrounds, young and old, married or single, founded schools not only in the towns but also in distant villages.<sup>3</sup>

A letter written by one of the teachers of such a Sunday School is significant in its spirit:

I am now neither a mother, nor a wife, or a sister--I am a citizen of my fatherland and will be happier above all earthly happiness, if I could give, even only a bit of myself, to the common cause.<sup>4</sup>

Interesting also is the correspondence in 1859 between an eighteen year old girl and A. Herzen signed 'Ukrainka', asking him to show her how to teach in Sunday School:

<sup>1</sup>"Voskresnya Shkoly," op. cit., p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 257-258.

<sup>3</sup>O. Kaidanova discusses in detail many of these schools. (Kaidanova, op. cit., I, pp. 273-354).

<sup>4</sup>M. K. Lemke, Ocherki osvoboditelnogo dvizhenia, (Sketches of the Emancipation Movement), (St. Petersburg: 1908), p. 284.

Alexander! We are waiting for instructions from you from which we could learn to be greatly useful to our nation which has suffered for so long and still is suffering from ignorance . . . Tell us Alexander, we are waiting for a word from you, as drought awaits rain, as the anchored ships await the wind.<sup>1</sup>

The same 'Ukrainka' in another letter to Herzen described her methods of teaching and how each day more and more students came to her school. She explained her success by saying that she never forced the young or old to learn or gave homework. She taught children and adults alike by playing games with them and by teaching them to think. She ended her letter by saying:

Show us girls the way to understand the mentality of the muzhiks (peasants-serfs) and be able to bring them up to our level. Teach us to work with children, to work with love, to interest them while they are still fresh in intellect, unspoiled, with alert minds, and help them to discover the best aspects of their existence, to determine the difference between themselves and the animals --a difference which our forefathers had for so long tried to annihilate. Is this not our rightful duty?<sup>2</sup>

The above mentioned girl's attitude towards teaching, her enthusiasm and readiness for self-sacrifice was not an isolated case. There were many others like her--young men and women who believed that the future of Russia lay in the education of the muzhiks. They adopted the humanitarian philosophies of education of the nineteenth century educators. They introduced into the Sunday Schools humane methods of teaching and discarded corporal punishment.<sup>3</sup> Their schools did not frighten

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 122-123.

<sup>3</sup>Corporal punishment in schools was abolished by the Decree of 1863 (Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 99).

the muzhiks away but attracted them instead and thus laid the basis of the beginnings of mass literacy in Russia.

Along with the Sunday Schools, many schools of the 'extreme progressive' and rather 'experimental' type arose. In these schools too, the university students and women took an active part. Two of the best known of these schools in St. Petersburg were the Tavricheskaya and Vasileostrovskaya schools. One of the St. Petersburg University students who visited the Tavricheskaya school wrote that they saw:

Young teachers, officers, students and women teachers from the fashionable society who sacrificed their whole being to teach the values of good and love and 'humanize' the humble people who came from hungry and crude environments.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Governmental Reforms

Enthusiasm and idealism were not only confined to the students and the intelligentsia but affected also some of the highest functionaries of the state, many of the nobles and even some of the clergy. Among the most active in pushing the implementation of the projected educational reforms were Alexander II's brother, Grand Duke Konstantine Nikolaevich, A. C. Norov, Minister of Public Education in 1856 and A. V. Golovnin who became Minister of Public Education in 1862.

The Report of March 5, 1856 made by A. C. Norov, was perhaps the best example of the government's new attitude towards education--an attitude of great optimism and idealism in educational philosophy.

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<sup>1</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 173. (cited by).

Admitting that Nicolas I's class-policy in education was wrong, Norov claimed:

The unification of nationalities and classes can be achieved not by administrative decrees, but only by moral measures, which would bring together different minds, nationalities and classes by a unity of aims obtained by a common system of education.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, after four years of debate and polemics, in 1860 the "Project on the Statutes for Lower (elementary) and Intermediary (secondary) Schools Under the Direction of the Ministry of Public Education" was ready.<sup>2</sup>

For the first time in Russia the public was consulted on a projected governmental measure and the project on the public schools was presented to the public through the press for criticism and evaluation and copies were sent to competent specialists. Early in 1862 the revised 1860 project was once more presented to the public and in its new form it was not only sent to the trustees of the educational districts to be presented to the universities, the pedagogical councils of the gymnasias and to a large number of citizens and clergy, but it was also translated into German, French and English, and copies were sent to foreign educators to evaluate and criticize the

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<sup>1</sup>V. Birnshtok, "Iz istorii zhenskogo obrazovaniia," (From the History of the Education of Women), Obrazovanie, (St. Petersburg: 1896), No. 10, p. 51. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Actually the Resolution "On the Establishment of a General Direction of Schools" was issued on May 2, 1856 and the Educational Committee appointed by the Ministry of Public Education was asked to work out a project on the establishment of elementary schools and gymnasias. (Ist. Obzor . . ., op. cit., p. 435, also Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 128).

project.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of 1862 the amended project and the evaluation and criticism of the Russian pedagogues were printed in six large volumes. In 1863 the opinions of the foreign specialists were published and made available to the public.<sup>2</sup>

The outcome of the project was a series of laws promulgated at different dates:

June 18, 1863 the Statutes of the Universities;<sup>3</sup>

July 14, 1864 the Statutes of the Elementary Schools;<sup>4</sup>

November 19, 1864 the Statutes of the Progymnasia and Gymnasia.<sup>5</sup>

Between 1862 and 1864 the "Project on the Statutes for Lower and Intermediary Schools" had undergone many changes. To illustrate how progressive it was in 1862 it suffices to quote the explanatory note which stated the object of the Statutes of 1862 regarding both the elementary and the intermediate (secondary) schools.

The main task of the Statutes is to ensure that the aim of the lower and intermediary schools is the education

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. (The complete collection of the opinions and criticism of both the local and foreign pedagogues was published as "Svod zamechanii na proekt ustava obshchikh uchebnykh zavedenii"; see also "Nachalnoe narodnoe obrazovanie," Ents. Slovar, op. cit., p. 759).

<sup>3</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., pp. 413-430.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 450-456.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 430-444.



(vospitanie) of man, i.e. the all-round and even development of all the mental, moral and physical forces in the pupils, for only with such an education is it possible to acquire a wise attitude towards life, in harmony with human dignity, and the ensuing ability to enjoy life. . . . To be able to enjoy wisely the rights of men, it is necessary to develop in the masses the consciousness of these rights, to awaken in them the love to intellectual work and inculcate in each the respect to himself and to men in general. Only in such circumstances can the present divisions between the classes be annihilated and the wise distribution of occupations between the different members of the Society established.<sup>1</sup>

The First Clause of the Statutes read:

Education is the main basis of the State and the source of its well-being, therefore the profits of education ought to be enjoyed by all persons, irrespective of their sex or origin.<sup>2</sup>

The Second Clause described the ladder system consisting of three consecutive steps:<sup>3</sup>

- a) the elementary school--with a two years course for seven to nine year olds, mostly coeducational.
- b) the Progymnasia--with four year programmes for nine to thirteen year olds with provisions made for a corresponding system for girls.
- c) Gymnasia--again with a four year programme for thirteen to seventeen year olds with provisions made for a corresponding system for girls.

Each stage was to follow the other all the way to the University and higher education up to now accessible only to

<sup>1</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 129. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 101. (cited by), (emphasis mine).

<sup>3</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., p. 435.

the privileged few was to be enjoyed by all.

In clause thirteen of the 1862 project the aim of the elementary schools was defined as follows:

The aim of the elementary schools is to provide the nation with a moral and intellectual education to such a point that each person should be able to understand his rights and perform his duties rationally, as a human being.<sup>1</sup>

The claims of the amended 1862 project, i.e. the 1864 Statutes were more sober:

The main aim of the elementary public schools is to confirm among the people religious and moral ideas and disseminate the essentials of useful knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

The Statutes of 1864 united all elementary public schools of the different departments,<sup>3</sup> with the exception of those of the Holy Synod, under the Ministry of Public Education and provided them with the same programmes and common administrative organs.<sup>4</sup>

According to the Statutes of the Elementary Schools of July 14, 1864 all elementary schools were open to children of all classes irrespective of their religion. The schools could either be separate or coeducational. They were not compulsory

<sup>1</sup>Konstantinov, op. cit., p. 129. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Clause 2 of 1864 Statutes on Elementary Schools, (Ist. Obzor . . ., op. cit., p. 451).

<sup>3</sup>Those of the Ministries of Finance, of State Lands, of War, of Naval Affairs, Zemstvos and all private elementary schools, as well as Sunday Schools. (Ibid., p. 451).

<sup>4</sup>For further details see Ist. Obzor . . ., op. cit., pp. 449-456. Hans, The History of Russian . . ., op. cit., pp. 131-138.

and theoretically not free, for fees were to be charged.<sup>1</sup>

In the elementary schools religion, Russian reading, Church Slavonic, writing, the four rules of arithmetic, singing and sometimes a trade were taught.<sup>2</sup>

The schools could be established by the Government, the local authorities (Zemstvos) or private individuals, but had to conform to the programmes and aims of the Ministry of Public Education. In fact, the Ministry controlled the use of textbooks and the teachers were hired through the Special District and Provincial School Councils.<sup>3</sup>

The Zemstvos played a very important part in attracting and employing women teachers in elementary schools--a practice which was never done before in Russia,<sup>4</sup> but through which teaching at this level came to be a predominantly female occupation in the last few decades of the Empire and especially in the post-Revolutionary period.

Although Alexander II's legislation was considerably altered in practice, for neither the democratic ladder system was established nor the class policy of Nicolas I was completely abolished, nevertheless, it must be admitted that the 1856-1881 period of his reign was one of the greatest

<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., p. 451. (According to N. Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 105, in practice the elementary schools were free of charge almost everywhere).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"Nachalnoe obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 760.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., see also Kaidanova, op. cit., p. 110.

periods of Russian education with great progress made in the fields of elementary education and the education of girls.<sup>1</sup>

. . . the most valuable contributions of the educational movement (of 1860-1890) were its idealism and its deep faith in man and his essential goodness. As it was also a period in which theoretical propositions were given definite form, it fully deserves to be known as the classical period in the development of education in Russia.

. . . The movement . . . should be recognized as the period in the history of Russian education in which were developed the ideas which inspired all later movements, not only down to the time of the Revolution, but also under the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup>

Changes under Alexander III (1881-1894)  
and Nicolas II (1894-1917)

In 1880 the first statistical survey of the elementary public schools of all departments was carried out in the sixty districts of European Russia by the Ministry of Public Education.

The results showed that in the year 1880 the total number of elementary schools (excluding Jewish and Muslim schools) was 22,770 with a total of 1,140,915 students attending. Of these 235,997 were girls and 904,918 boys. The total number of teachers employed in these schools was 36,955, of which 19,511 were men, 4,478 were women and 12,566 were clergymen.

Furthermore 77 per cent of the schools were coeducational, 21 per cent were boys' schools with 4,728 students, and 2 per

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter VII, Part II.

<sup>2</sup>Kaidanova, loc. cit., cited by Johnson, op. cit., p. 171.

cent were girls' schools with 611 students.<sup>1</sup>

The number of schools established before 1861 was 4,622 (22 per cent) as compared to those established between 1861-1863 which was 1,984 (9.4 per cent): between 1863-1880 it was 14,466 (68.6 per cent)--a considerable increase.<sup>2</sup> In the same period (1863-1880) from the total number of school-age children (seven to fourteen) there were 13.8 per cent boys and 3.3 per cent girls in the public schools.<sup>3</sup>

Although the public elementary schools were open to all girls without restriction and were free, only a very small fraction of girls attended (3.3 per cent). The only plausible explanation for such limited attendance is the unwillingness of the parents to send girls to school, for girls could be well used at home for housework and the parents saw no need for them to learn anything else but the skills needed to run a home. Such an attitude towards the education of girls was not primarily Russian but was characteristic among the common folk elsewhere in Europe as well.

#### Stagnation Under Alexander III

The Laws of June 13, 1884 and May 1, 1891 provided for the establishment of church-parish schools and schools of literacy, both to be under the direction of the Holy Synod and independent of the Ministry of Public Education. These

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<sup>1</sup>"Nachalnoe obrazovanie," op. cit., pp. 761 and 765.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 761.      <sup>3</sup>Ibid.

schools were to receive support from private bodies, local authorities and / or the Treasury.<sup>1</sup>

The creation of these schools eventually led to the existence of two competing systems of elementary schools--those of the local authorities (Zemstvos), and those of the Holy Synod. This did not always have positive effects upon the natural growth in the number of schools of the Zemstvos. Nevertheless, the rate of growth of the total number of schools increased from the year 1884, and by 1897 the rates of increase, from 1861 more than quadrupled.<sup>2</sup> (See Table 4)

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OPENED YEARLY  
BETWEEN 1861 AND 1897

Years	Number of schools opened per year
1861-1863	648
1864-1868	766
1869-1883	950 to 1,000
1884-1893	1,800 to 1,900
1894	2,361
1895	2,482
1896	2,962
1911	3,162

While the Zemstvos opened on the average around 800 public

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<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., pp. 651-652. The Schools of the Holy Synod were elementary coeducational schools mainly in villages.

<sup>2</sup>I. M. Bogdanov, Gramotnost i obrazovanie v dorevolutsionnoi Rossii i S.S.S.R. (Literacy and Education in Pre-Revolutionary Russia and U.S.S.R.), (Moscow: Statistika, 1964, p. 69.

schools each year, after 1863, between 1880 and 1894 this norm fell by almost double. The number of students on the other hand attending the Zemstvos schools increased.<sup>1</sup> Thus in 1880 to one school of the Zemstvo there was an average of 52.6 students; in 1894 the average was 70.6.<sup>2</sup>

Also rather interesting is the growth in the number of girls attending these public elementary schools and the relative increase in the number of the women teachers. Thus in 1880 there were 235,997 girls attending the public elementary schools of all the departments as compared to 904,918 boys. In 1891 the number of girls had almost doubled to 439,537 (an increase of approximately 86 per cent), whereas the number of boys had increased to 1,376,322 (an increase of approximately 52 per cent).

Where teachers were concerned, in 1880 there were 19,511 lay male teachers as compared to 4,878 women teachers. By 1891 the number of lay male teachers increased to 23,892 and the number of women teachers increased to 13,117, i.e. almost tripled.<sup>3</sup> (See Table 5).<sup>4</sup>

Although the assassination of Alexander II in 1881 marked in many ways a return to many of the policies of Nicolas I and the 'trinity' of Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationalism, whereby

<sup>1</sup>"Nachalnoe obrazovanie," op. cit., pp. 766-767.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>This was not related to the increase in 'all-girls' schools because more than 77 per cent of the schools were coeducational.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

TABLE 5

RESULTS OF STATISTICAL SURVEY CARRIED ON ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS  
OF ALL DEPARTMENTS IN THE 60 DISTRICTS OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA

Year	Total Number of Elemen- tary Schools	Total Number of Students	Boys	Girls	Total Number of Teachers	Men	Women	Clergy
1880	22,770	1,140,915	904,918	235,997	36,955	19,511	4,878	12,566
1891	27,101	1,815,859	1,376,323	439,537	56,829	23,892	13,117	19,920



educational matters were transferred to the Department of the Holy Synod and into the hands of its chief Procurator, K. Pobedonostsev, elementary education did not suffer too serious a setback.<sup>1</sup>

While there were only 1,102 new schools established under the Ministry of Public Education between 1881-1894, the schools under the Holy Synod increased considerably more (by 27,431) in number during that period than any other period. (See Table 6).<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 6  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (WITHOUT POLAND AND FINLAND)

Year	Under the Ministry of Public Education		Under the Holy Synod		Total	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1881	22,781	1,207,435	4,404	104,781	27,185	1,312,216
1891	23,836	1,636,064	21,840	626,100	45,676	2,262,164
1894	23,883	1,576,062	31,835	981,676	55,718	2,557,138

The figures representing the schools of the Ministry of Public Education in Table 6 include all the schools of the Ministry of State Lands, as well as Protestant and Catholic Schools. In addition to the numbers cited in Table 6, there still were the schools which belonged to some other Ministries.

<sup>1</sup>The effects of Alexander III's (1881-1894) policies on secondary and higher education was much more serious. See text, Chapter VI.

<sup>2</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 233.

(The Ministries of Finance, State Lands, Commerce, War).

In 1892 there were 2,891 such schools with 157,872 students and in 1894 1,441 with 74,355 students.<sup>1</sup> Further details on the number of different kinds of elementary schools and the number of girls studying in the schools by 1893 are given in Table 7.

"The period 1894-1904 may be regarded the second great period of progress in education, the first being, 1860-1880,"<sup>2</sup> for during this decade 15,260 new elementary schools were founded by the Ministry of Public Education only and by the end of the decade the number of students had nearly doubled. By 1915 these numbers had doubled once more. (See Table 8).<sup>3</sup>

Thus between 1855 when the total number of elementary schools was 9,064 with a total of 325,032 students and 1915 with 116,236 schools and 8,039,987 students, the average number of schools built per year was 1,786.2! Furthermore the total number of schools in the U.S.S.R. in 1927-28 was 118,600 (number was given in thousands)<sup>4</sup>--an increase of approximately 2,364 schools within a period of twelve years. Even though it must

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. Most of the schools of the other departments were being gradually transferred to the Ministry of Public Education.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 233. For further statistics on schools in other departments and breakdowns according to provinces, districts and sexes see Appendix XII. Figures for 1915 are not official and include Poland.

<sup>4</sup>Tsentral'noe Statisticheskoe Upravlenie pri Sovete Ministrov S.S.S.R., Narodnoe khozyaistvo S.S.S.R.; statisticheskii sbornik (Moskva: Gos. Stat. Izd., 1956), p. 223. See Appendix XIX for complete table.

TABLE 7

ELEMENTARY PUBLIC EDUCATION IN RUSSIA  
(DATA COLLECTED BY JANUARY 1, 1893)

Districts	Elementary Schools in the Department of Ministry of Public Education				Non Orthodox Schools				Schools of Literacy under the Direc- tion of Orthodox Clergy				Other Lower Schools				Church Parish Schools			
	Number of Schools	Number of Students			Number of Schools	Number of Students			Number of Schools	Number of Students			Number of Schools	Number of Students			Number of Schools	Number of Students		
		Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total
Zemstvos Districts	16,500	951,001	264,080	1,215,081	4,554	144,093	77,343	221,436	8,649	173,763	40,592	214,355	1,447	54,482	19,058	73,540	6,919	234,154	57,776	291,930
Non Zemstvos Districts	717	31,382	11,837	49,219	207	8,168	1,533	9,701	637	12,614	3,937	16,551	598	12,742	11,476	34,218	455	15,709	4,676	20,385
North Western Regions	1,507	78,787	11,958	90,745	1,917	30,935	4,383	35,318	3,619	55,774	6,723	62,497	75	2,842	1,921	4,763	751	22,603	3,886	26,489
South Western Regions	787	46,757	10,357	57,114	1,650	24,275	6,304	30,579	1,904	59,037	7,942	65,976	154	3,739	1,188	4,927	2,102	92,978	13,043	106,021
Baltic Region	130	7,265	4,795	12,060	2,042	49,004	43,622	92,626	284	4,113	3,116	7,229	520	18,046	14,740	32,786	181	7,217	2,562	9,779

Source: "Nachalnoe narodnoe obrazovanie," op. cit.,  
pp. 769-770, (Tables I, II).

be admitted that between 1915 and 1921/22 schools were rather being destroyed than built because of the World War and the Civil War, nevertheless the increase was minimal. The increase in the total enrollment was also insignificant: from 8,039,987 in 1915 to 11,500,500 (app.) in 1927/28.

TABLE 8  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (WITHOUT POLAND AND FINLAND)

Year	Under the Ministry of Public Education		Under the Holy Synod		Total	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
1894	23,883	1,576,062	31,835	981,076	55,718	2,557,138
1896	30,955	2,223,152	33,817	1,076,707	64,772	3,299,859
1898	31,418	2,241,209	39,345	1,425,036	70,763	3,666,245
1900	32,980	2,348,273	42,589	1,633,651	75,569	3,981,924
1902	34,916	2,565,206	43,588	1,770,703	78,504	4,335,909
1904	39,143	2,920,219	43,407	1,902,578	82,550	4,822,797
1906	42,753	2,983,749	41,233	1,998,327	83,986	4,982,076
1911	54,986	3,848,590	37,460	1,783,403	92,446	5,631,993
1915	80,801	5,942,046	(34,000)	(1,900,000)	116,236	8,039,987

Source: N. Hans, The History of Russian . . ., op. cit., p. 233.

#### Democratization of Education After the Revolution of 1905

The revolution of 1905 was followed by considerable changes, both, in the structure of the society and the government and the introduction of the principles of constitutional

government through the Duma.<sup>1</sup> Although the government systematically tried and in the beginning succeeded to frustrate constitutional measures, the rapid political and economic changes which followed the revolution of 1905 and precipitated the revolution of 1917 could not be stopped. The whole period was thus characterized by a significant democratization of education and the introduction of universal elementary education.

On May 3, 1908 the Third Duma passed the law on universal elementary education.<sup>2</sup> By 1911 about thirty per cent of the Zemstvos and all elementary schools in the larger cities had introduced four-year courses.<sup>3</sup> On June 25, 1912 the same Duma passed a law on Higher Elementary Schools with four-year programmes, separate or coeducational, and maintained either by the Treasury, local authorities or private persons. The curriculum included Russian, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Geography, History, Religion, Natural Sciences and Physics, Drawing, Etching, Singing, Physical Education, Needlework (for girls) and foreign languages (optional).<sup>4</sup>

The creation of the Higher Elementary Schools was the first step in an attempt to introduce the ladder system, for the elementary schools now became preparatory grades for the

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<sup>1</sup>The Manifesto of October 17, 1905 issued by the government promised constitutional government and civic liberties.

<sup>2</sup>Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . ., op. cit., p. 217.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 211. It was the Urban Schools and Girls' Pro-gymnasias that were mainly transformed into Higher Elementary Schools.

Higher Elementary Schools and the pupils of the second year of the Higher Elementary Schools could pass to the third year of all secondary schools provided they passed an examination in foreign languages. Girls from the fourth year of the Higher Elementary Schools could pass into the fifth year of the Girls' Gymnasia after a similar examination.<sup>1</sup> (Figure 1).

In 1915, the Duma<sup>2</sup> introduced the Bill on "New Statutes of Primary Schools". The Bill for the first time in the history of Russian legislation recognized the principle of compulsory education for all. But the Bill did not become an Act owing to the Revolution of 1917 and the dissolution of the Duma.<sup>2</sup>

Also in 1915 almost all district Zemstvos (414 out of 426) entered into negotiations with the Ministry of Public Education concerning the introduction of universal education up to the age limit of fifteen. By then universal education had already been introduced in fifteen Zemstvo districts and thirty-three towns. Between 1911 and 1916 20,172 new school buildings were built from the grants given by the government for this purpose.<sup>3</sup>

According to Hans, "several more years of progress at the same pace would have brought Russia to universal elementary education and to a democratic ladder system."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 219-220.

<sup>3</sup>Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 77. Hans, The History of Russian . . ., op. cit., pp. 213-215 has a detailed discussion on the financial grants, etc.

<sup>4</sup>Hans, op. cit., p. 221. See also Appendix XI for literacy statistics.

FIGURE 1

PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR GIRLS DURING THE DECADE PRECEDING  
THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

4 YEAR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OR FAMILY TRAINING	GYMNASIUM FOR GIRLS/ COEDUCATIONAL PRIVATE GYMNASIUM 7-8 YEARS	PEDAGOGICAL CLASSES	HIGHER COURSES FOR WOMEN 4-5 YEARS
	<div>           PRO-GYMNASIUM HIGHER ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 4 YEARS         </div>		
	DIOCESEAN SCHOOLS 7-8 YEARS	PEDAGOGICAL CLASSES	
	INSTITUTES FOR YOUNG GENTLEWOMEN 8 YEARS	PEDAGOGICAL CLASSES	

Thus, when the Soviet regime took over in 1917, it was presented with a basic network of elementary schools, and Bills and Projects on universal, compulsory education waiting to be ratified. The foundations had been laid and elementary education was accessible to the daughters and sons of peasants and workers in the remotest corners of the Russian Empire.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE SECONDARY EDUCATION OF WOMEN

(1856-1917)

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Russian girls were still educated mainly in private boarding schools and the closed Institutes of the Department of Maria Feodorovna.<sup>1</sup> A large number of these Schools or Institutes did not provide the girls with more than the rudiments of elementary education. Most of the schools which provided secondary education were concentrated in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other University towns and the Ministry of Public Education, throughout the first fifty years of its existence seldom showed any interest in the secondary education of women.

With the new era in educational philosophy and the policy of a unified and public educational system under one Ministry, the secondary education of women had to be reorganized and incorporated into the realm of the Ministry of Public Education. The guidelines set by the Ministry with regard to the secondary education of girls were again, as in the case of elementary education, greatly influenced by Pirogov's "Problems of Life", of which a section was devoted to the question of the education of girls.

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<sup>1</sup>See text, Part I, Chapter III.

In his essay Pirogov tried to show the importance of allowing women to learn and realize themselves through knowledge:

It is not the position of women in the society, but their training,--including that of the whole humanity--which needs reform . . . and early development of critical thinking and willpower are as important for a woman as for man.<sup>1</sup>

A. C. Norov in the Report of March 5, 1856 echoed Pirogov's claims:

The vast system of education in Russia has had up to the present only one half of the population in view--i.e. the males. It would be of the greatest benefit to our country to establish schools for women in provincial and district towns and even in larger villages.<sup>2</sup>

The opening of such day schools for all classes of girls, according to Norov's Report:

. . . would be a great act for the fatherland--and would satisfy the needs of the nation.<sup>3</sup>

On the same day Alexander II in his Resolution of March 5, 1856 proclaimed that schools for girls organized like the boys' gymnasia in the provincial towns should be established. These schools were to be open to all girls regardless of class or religion. Both, the nobles and city societies (Gorodskie obschestva) were asked to cooperate in financing

<sup>1</sup>Pirogov, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>2</sup>Birnshtok, op. cit., p. 51. (cited by).

<sup>3</sup>Hans, The Russian Tradition . . . op. cit., pp. 62-63. (cited by).

the schools.<sup>1</sup> These schools were to be under the direct control of the Ministry of Public Education and their programmes differed considerably from the Schools in the Department of Maria Feodorovna.

The Schools of the Ministry of Public Education

The Decree of May 30, 1858

By the Decree of May 30, 1858 new rules for girls' schools were established:

The girls' schools were to remain quasi private, financed by donations and contributions from the different local social classes, societies and individuals, and by their organization and direction they were to unite all the social classes in their contribution to the support and development of these institutions.<sup>2</sup>

The Ministry of Public Education was to take the initiative and direction in founding these schools and thus insure that these schools for women would enjoy the same privileges as any other governmental schools.

The schools were to be day schools divided into Schools of the First Order in the likeness of the boys' gymnasias, and Schools of the Second Order corresponding to the

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<sup>1</sup>Ministry of Public Education, "The Presentation by the Ministry of Public Education of the 'Project of the Regulations concerning gymnasia and progymnasia for Women' to the State Council," Sbornik deistvuiushchikh postanovlenii i rasporiazhenii po zhenskim gymnasiam i progymnasiam, (Collection of Resolutions and Decrees in Force Concerning Gymnasia and Progymnasia for Women), (St. Petersburg: 1884), Part IV, p. 10. (cited by). See Appendix XIII for weekly distribution of subjects and hours.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

district schools.<sup>1</sup>

The Schools of the First Order had a six year programme with religion, Russian language, arithmetic, geometry, physics, geography, natural history, history of Russia, calligraphy, drawing, and handiwork as required subjects; modern languages (French or German), music and singing as electives.

The Schools of the Second Order had a three year programme with religion, Russian grammar, shortened Russian history and geography, beginners arithmetic, calligraphy and handiwork as required subjects. No electives were offered.<sup>2</sup>

The educational goals for both groups of schools were the same:

. . . to provide religious, moral and intellectual education which every woman, and especially the future mothers of the family should have.<sup>3</sup>

To encourage the establishment of such schools the Ministry of Education promised grants to all private individuals or groups who would follow the 1858 rules and establish schools of the First Order and the Second Order for girls.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. In 1870 these two orders were reclassified by the Ustav of May 24, 1870 into gymnasia (six-year programme) and Day Girls' Schools with six-year programmes founded under the Empress Mother were referred to as gymnasia. The district schools were 'higher' elementary schools of three-year programmes.

<sup>2</sup>"K voprosu vyssshogo zhenskogo obrazovaniu v Rossii," (To "The Question of Higher Education of Women in Russia"), Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenia, August 1912, Part III, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., p. 373. (cited by).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

In the same year Mariinski Zhenskie Uchrezhdenia, (Marian Schools)--Girls' Day Schools were established. These schools were under the direct control of the Fourth Section of the Chancellery. They had more funds at their disposal and were said to have fared much better at the beginning than the schools of the Ministry of Education which too often had to depend on the charity of different societies or individuals.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the many difficulties in their initial founding stages, girls' gymnasia and progymnasia were established in large numbers and the general enthusiasm is well exemplified in the following report of the Ministry of Education for the year 1858 referring to the growth of the number of girls' gymnasia and progymnasia:

If the present situation continues, education in Russia will be greatly strengthened, for, no one and nothing can have such beneficial influence on the primary education of the youngsters as an educated mother.<sup>2</sup>

By the Decree of July 17, 1859 all girls' schools of the first and second order, whether established by private or public funds, with grants from the Ministry of Education, or established by the Fourth Section of His Majesty's Own Chancellery were to be transferred into the department of the Ministry of Education and remain under its direct supervision.<sup>3</sup> The Decree did not affect the autonomy of the Private Institutes, although they were encouraged to adjust their programmes to the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. For statistical data see Appendix XII.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 374.

girls' gymnasia of the Ministry of Education. This they did and by 1870 they were referred to no more as Private Institutes but as Private Gymnasia for Girls.<sup>1</sup>

### The New Regulations of 1860

In the following year several changes were made in the internal organization of the administration of the schools and on May 10, 1860 the New Regulations Concerning the Schools of First and Second Order of the Ministry of Education were confirmed by the Tsar.<sup>2</sup>

In the first section of the Regulations the 'General Foundations' of the schools were stated:

(1) The schools for girls are under the general direction of the trustees of the educational districts and can be established with their permission, only in those towns where means to finance these schools can be provided by societies' or individuals' contributions.

(2) The established schools are exclusively open schools, i.e. for day students only.

(3) According to the subject matter taught in the schools, they are divided into schools of the First Order and schools of the Second Order.

(4) The schools of either order, although differing in the scope of studies offered, have the same goal--to provide the students with a religious-moral and intellectual education, which should be required of every woman, and especially of those who will become wives and mothers.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Regulations of May 10, 1860 were confirmed by the Tsar for an experimental period of three years, the

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<sup>1</sup>"Gymnasia zhenskii," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1893), Vol. VIII, p. 706.

<sup>2</sup>Ist. Obzor . . ., op. cit., p. 374.

<sup>3</sup>"Regulations Concerning the Schools of First and Second order of the Ministry of Education, "Sbornik . . . Postanovlenii . . ., op. cit., Part IV, p. 1.

term was extended in 1863 for two more years, and in 1865 yet for another year uptill May 10, 1866. A further extension carried the proposal to 1870.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the ten years that the Proposal of May 10, 1860 was in operation, several changes were made mainly in the administrative organization and the financing of the schools. There was constantly a lack of funds due to an absence of public initiative in raising money. The public and private funds alone could not bear the financial responsibilities. Funds from the Treasury were needed and not always available. Problems also arose in the administrative and educational councils and committees of the gymnasia regarding memberships and chairmanships. There were also problems concerning the teachers who came for the most part from the male gymnasia and taught almost for no salary. As far as the programmes were concerned, they were not well worked out and no equivalence with the male gymnasia programmes could be established.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the ten years of trial between 1860 and 1870 clearly indicated that the gymnasia of the first and second order were becoming well established in the educational system of the Ministry of Public Education. Thus in 1853 the total of all secondary schools was less than 100. In 1859 there were only in the department of the Ministry of Education 99 Secondary Schools (27 of the First Order and 72 of the Second

<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., p. 456.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 456-457.

Order).<sup>1</sup> By 1864 there were 29 girls' schools of the First Order and 91 of the Second Order in the department of the Ministry with a total enrollment of 9,000 girls.<sup>2</sup> By 1869, 32 more schools of both orders were founded by the Ministry, and by 1870 there was a total of 246 'classical gymnasia' for girls as compared to 198 boys' 'classical gymnasia'.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Regulations of 1870

On May 24, 1870, Regulations Concerning Gymnasia and Progymnasia for Women of the Ministry of Public Education were confirmed by the Tsar.<sup>4</sup> Clause I of the Regulations stated that the

Gymnasia and Progymnasia of the Ministry of Public Education have the great fortune to be under the Royal patronage of Her Imperial Highness the Tsarina.<sup>5</sup>

Clause II stated that:

The Gymnasia and Progymnasia for women are schools opened to serve students of all classes and creeds.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Regulations . . .," op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . ., op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>3</sup>Johnson, op. cit., p. 146. (The number given here for the girls' gymnasia refers probably to gymnasia and progymnasia in the departments of the Ministry, Maria Feodorovna, and those of the foreign churches; as well as the private institutes, for, the figures given for the same year with the above specification in "Gymnasia zhenskie," Ents. Slovar, Vol. VIII, p. 706, is 247.

<sup>4</sup>These 'Regulations' with some amendments remained in force till 1916. The term gymnasia now referred to the schools of the First Order and progymnasia to the schools of the Second Order.

<sup>5</sup>"Regulations . . .," op. cit., Part I, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 4.



There were no fundamental differences between the Regulations of 1860 and 1870. Most changes made were of a financial and administrative nature. In the structure of the schools and their programmes a few changes were made (Clauses IV and V),<sup>1</sup> whereby attempts were made to raise the standards of the girls' gymnasia to those of the boys' by adding a seventh year. A few years later by the Resolution of August 13, 1874, classical languages as electives were introduced into the programmes.<sup>2</sup>

Although no such changes as the above were made in the progymnasia, the programmes, in both, the gymnasia and progymnasia received a more practical bias<sup>3</sup> and were now directed more specifically to the preparation of the girls for a teaching career.<sup>4</sup> For this purpose an eighth class was added to the regular gymnasium course by a Resolution of 1874. This eighth class was referred to as the Pedagogical Class (Pedagogicheskii Klas).<sup>5</sup> Girls who graduated from the seventh class of the gymnasia with a prize (medal or book) received the certificate of home tutor (Domashnaia Nastavnitza) and were allowed, without entrance examinations, to enter the eighth year. On the completion of this class they received the certificate of teacher

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 6, Clause IV; Part I, pp. 177-178.

<sup>3</sup>For example arithmetic as applied to book-keeping methods; natural sciences and physics as related to home economics. (cited by Tissot, op. cit., pp. 62-63).

<sup>4</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., p. 570.

<sup>5</sup>"Regulations . . . ," op. cit., p. 6, Clause IV.

(Uchitel'nitsa). The programme of this class comprised required subjects such as religion, methodology of Russian language, arithmetic and practice teaching; and electives such as history or mathematics, literature or modern languages.<sup>1</sup>

Such one year courses were available in almost all the girls' gymnasia of the Ministry of Education, the gymnasia and Institutes of the Department of Maria Feodorovna, and all the Diocesan Schools<sup>2</sup> which prepared girls to teach in the lower classes of the mixed public schools of the villages. In some of the private Institutes the courses were of a two year duration.<sup>3</sup>

#### Changes after Alexander II

By 1893 the programmes of the girls' gymnasia were very much like those of the boys' gymnasia and standards had been considerably raised.<sup>4</sup> By 1895, in the department of the Ministry of Education there was a total of 337 Girls' Secondary Schools in Russia with 71,781 students.<sup>5</sup> The number of schools grew steadily and by 1914 the Ministry had 978 secondary schools

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<sup>1</sup>"Gymnasia zhenskie," op. cit., p. 705.

<sup>2</sup>Diocesan Schools are discussed on pp. 145-146.

<sup>3</sup>"Pedagogicheskie kursy," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1898), Vol. XXIII, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup>For comparison of programmes of Boys' and Girls' Gymnasia see Appendix XIII.

<sup>5</sup>For detailed statistical breakdown see Appendix XII. "Rossia," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1899), Vol. XXVII, p. 397.

(gymnasia and progymnasia) with a total of 323,577 students.<sup>1</sup>

On July 3, 1916 the Duma passed a law on Girls' Gymnasia. The law introduced changes not only in the programmes of the schools but also in their general structure. The full course of the Boys' Gymnasia or Real Schools could be introduced into the Girls' Gymnasia which then were eligible for all the privileges and rights the boys' schools granted upon graduation with the exception of state ranks (Chin). The fact that Girls' Gymnasia could be established with only the upper three classes with added higher pedagogical or special courses facilitated the founding of such schools.<sup>2</sup>

The Law of 1916 on Girls' Gymnasia did not only concern the gymnasia of the Ministry but all the gymnasia in the departments of other ministries and the Holy Synod as well as the private gymnasia, all of which by the Regulations of 1870 were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education.

### Secondary Schools in other Departments

#### The Department of Maria Feodorovna

The first girls' day school in Russia, open to all classes and offering a general, secondary education programme was

<sup>1</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 235.

<sup>2</sup>"Vseobshchee obuchenie i zemskia finantzy," Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenia, Sept. 1913, Part III, pp. 45-93. See Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., pp. 208-210, for further discussion of the 1916 Law on Girls' Gymnasia. It must also be mentioned that the Higher Elementary Schools (Law of June 25, 1912) now played the role of the progymnasia and the girls of the fourth year could pass into the fifth year of the Girls' Gymnasium after taking an examination in foreign languages.

actually founded by N. A. Vyshnegradsky<sup>1</sup> in 1858 under the Department of Maria Feodorovna. The first school, the Marian Gymnasium, was established in St. Petersburg and in 1862 the general Statutes of this school became the basic Statutes of all the Marian Gymnasias founded under the Department of Maria Feodorovna in St. Petersburg and other larger towns. All of these schools were financed by and under the direct control of the Department of Maria Feodorovna.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the gymnasias in the Department of Maria Feodorovna, the different Institutes also offered programmes at the secondary level, but were open only to the privileged classes.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the 1870's most Institutes and gymnasias in the Department of Maria Feodorovna had adjusted their programmes to those of the girls' gymnasias in the Ministry of Education.<sup>4</sup>

In 1894 in the Department of Maria Feodorovna there were 30 Girls' Gymnasias with 9,945 students and 31 Institutes with

<sup>1</sup>N. A. Vyshnegradsky was known for his work in the education of Russian women and his pedagogical articles on the necessity of establishing secondary education for women of all classes in the Russian Pedagogical Journal in 1857. ["Vyshnegradsky," Entsiklopedicheski Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1892), Vol. VII, p. 601].

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. V. Gregoriev, Istoricheski ocherk russkoi shkoly. (Historical Sketch of the Russian School), (Moscow: 1900), pp. 542-567.

<sup>3</sup>The Institutes had not basically changed in form or structure. See text, Chapter I.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., (Gregoriev gives a full list of names of these Institutes and Gymnasias, pp. 543-544). "Gymnasias," op. cit., p. 705.

8,000 students.<sup>1</sup> In 1912 there were 35 Gymnasia with 17,166 students and 34 Institutes with 9,562 students.<sup>2</sup>

The Schools for the Daughters of the Clergy  
(Zhenskia Eparkhialnye Uchilishcha  
or Girls' Diocesan Schools)

In 1843 the first school for the Daughters of the Clergy was founded in Tsarskoe Selo and by an Imperial Ukaz the Holy Synod was ordered to establish schools in which the daughters of the clergy were educated so as to become:

. . . deserving wives of the servants of God's Altar and trustworthy mothers who would educate their children according to the rules of piety and order.<sup>3</sup>

In the beginning the schools were of six years duration and considerable stress was put on embroidery and home economics. In 1868, the schools received new statutes and were brought into line with the lay Girls' Gymnasia.<sup>4</sup> Most of the schools had experimental elementary schools attached to them for practice-teaching training.<sup>5</sup>

③ In 1895 there were 51 Diocesan Schools with 13,186 students of which 11,141 were the daughters of clergy. Most of the students were boarders (10,492).<sup>6</sup> In 1913-1914 there were

<sup>1</sup>"Rossia," op. cit., p. 397.

<sup>2</sup>Johnson, op. cit., p. 196. (Hans gives the same numbers for years 1913-1914 in The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 237).

<sup>3</sup>Gregoriev, op. cit., p. 363.

<sup>4</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>5</sup>"Rossia," op. cit., p. 397.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. (for further statistics see Appendix XII).

73 schools with 23,241 students.<sup>1</sup>

### Schools of other Ministries

Throughout the nineteenth century different Ministries namely the Ministry of War, the Ministry of Naval Affairs, the Ministry of Agriculture and State Lands, and the Ministry of Finance established schools, at first at the elementary level to educate their civil servants and recruits, and after the middle of the nineteenth century schools of secondary and higher education. Most of these schools were better financed and staffed than the schools of the Ministry of Public Education and enjoyed excellent reputations.

The schools of the Ministries of War and Naval Affairs at the secondary level as might be expected were boys' schools, whereas those of the Ministries of State Lands, and Finance were often either coeducational or separate for boys and girls.

The schools of the Ministry of State Lands were founded with the aim "to impart practical and technical education, necessary for the efficient administration of agriculture establishments."<sup>2</sup>

The first Agricultural School for women was founded in 1888 and was probably more at the elementary than secondary level. By January 1898 there were three such schools with a total of 173 girls studying and in 1902 there were eight

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<sup>1</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 237.

<sup>2</sup>Decree of May 30, 1878, "Shkoly selskokhozaistvennyya," (Agricultural Schools), Ents. Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1904), Vol. 78, pp. 630-631.

schools.<sup>1</sup> The schools had two-year programmes and offered courses in specialized fields of home and farm economics.

The schools of the Ministry of Finance received their Statutes on April 15, 1896. The Statutes provided for four kinds of commercial establishments, namely: Commercial Schools proper, Trade Schools, Trade Classes and Commercial Courses, all under the Ministry of Finance. The schools or courses could be established by any private individuals or groups, local authorities or merchant guilds, as well as the State.<sup>2</sup>

The Commercial Schools were either seven-year courses (like gymnasia) with a broad general education programme along with special commercial courses, or three-year programmes with specialization in commerce only. The Trade Schools offered two to three year courses and prepared students for positions of lower functionaries in business. The Trade Classes and Commercial Courses were open to all students of any educational background or age.<sup>3</sup>

According to Hans, although the aim of the Commercial Schools at first was to educate intelligent business men, in practice these schools became places of general education and provided many boys and girls with a general education.<sup>4</sup>

In June 1901 a resolution was adopted by the Congress of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. (In 1902 there was a total of 200 boys' schools with 8,000 students).

<sup>2</sup>"Rossia," op. cit., pp. 394-395.      <sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Hans, The History of Russian . . . , op. cit., p. 183.

Directors of Commercial Schools in which the aim of the schools was to

. . . impart a complete general education, sufficient for practical purposes in industry and trade, as well as for the continuation of education in the Higher Institutions.<sup>1</sup>

In the model curriculum of the seven-year commercial schools of a total of 208 hours 181 hours were devoted to general education subjects and 27 only to special subjects relevant to commerce.<sup>2</sup>

In 1904 there were fourteen girls' Commercial Schools, six Trade Schools, one Trade Class and eight Commercial Courses.<sup>3</sup>

According to Hans the Commercial Schools, being more liberal in spirit than the schools of the Ministry of Public Education, attracted a large number of students as well as many experienced teachers and in their methods and spirit influenced the other secondary schools.<sup>4</sup>

The best example of this 'liberal spirit' was perhaps the Commercial School in Moscow. It offered a course of 'general education preparing students for life and graduates for institutions of higher learning'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 183. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 184, for detailed programme see appendix XIII.

<sup>3</sup>Further statistics are available in Appendix XII.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 185. In 1904 the total number of students in all commercial institutions was equal to 32,316 students of both sexes. In 1905 there were 51,632 students.

<sup>5</sup>Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 258.



The school was well built and equipped with laboratory facilities, natural science collections and a library as well as a physical-education hall. Next to the boys' building the girls' building was built and provisions in the structure were made for an eventual joint coeducational institution. Both schools had identical programmes and shared many of the teachers.<sup>1</sup>

Having visited the school Kaidanova claimed that this was a school:

. . . actualizing the most progressive pedagogical ideas of the world, a school founded by the private means of Russian pedagogues with the support of the Russian society.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Private Gymnasia

Most private Institutes or private boarding schools were transformed into private gymnasia during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> They all had the same programmes as the gymnasia of the ministry and were all responsible through the local educational district to the Ministry of Public Education. Some of these gymnasia had been founded by private individuals, others by societies or non-orthodox church parishes (Lutheran, Catholic or Baptist). They were few in number and catered to about 100-200 students each. Around 1890 there were

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 258-260.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 259-260.

<sup>3</sup>There was a number of private schools or institutes which did not adjust their programme and were not recognized by the Ministry as gymnasia.

seven such gymnasia in St. Petersburg, five in Kharkov, four in Moscow and one in each Orl, Voronets, Odessa, Kiev, Tiflis, Omsk and Irkutsk.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a new kind of private gymnasium or secondary school appeared, mainly as a result of dissatisfaction with the gymnasia of the Ministry. These schools were founded with the help of parents' committees and often by well known pedagogues who wanted to introduce 'new' progressive methods of teaching into the schools. In many ways these schools and their success influenced the state gymnasia. They experimented

. . . with coeducation, introduction of physical education, manual work, student self-government, experimental methods, excursions, and school celebrations as elements of general education and the founding of relationships between the family and school.<sup>2</sup>

Most of these schools started independently of each other, each experimenting in its own field, but each contributed to the eventual establishment of the 'new' secondary school in the first decade of the twentieth century when in 1906 all private schools united and established the Union of Secondary Schools.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Gymnasium of M. N. Stoyunina

Among the most important and influential of these schools was the Gymnasium for Girls of M. N. Stoyunina in St. Petersburg opened in 1881 by the wife of V. Ia. Stoyunin who along with P. F. Lesgaft took an active part in organizing

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<sup>1</sup>"Gymnasia," op. cit., p. 706.

<sup>2</sup>Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

the gymnasium and applying their own pedagogical principles.

Stoyunin was greatly in favour of the education of women. He believed that women were as capable as men and could, as well as should, become important and educated members of the society. With the help of this school Stoyunin planned to raise the standards of women's education in Russia.<sup>1</sup>

The School was founded upon two basic ideals:

The school and family must be in close organic contact . . . the school must be a living organism, developing in connection with the development of social life and science.<sup>2</sup>

The underlying principles of the school were to be the following:

(1) Correspondence between physical and mental development so that mental development would not stifle physical development.

(2) Safeguarding the individuality of each student.

(3) Development of interior self-disciplines by subordinating the self to the society's interest not out of fear of punishment, but out of the understanding of the necessity of such subordination for the sake of justice and common good.

(4) Where the question of intellectual development was concerned, preference should be given to mental development over formal knowledge, hence the negative attitude to the use of textbooks, factual learning.<sup>3</sup>

The above principles led to the following in practice:

- No grading system to evaluate students' work.
- No rewards or punishment.
- No examinations--just practice revisions.
- Games as means of physical development and roads to moral education.
- Installation of perfect ventilation in the building to safeguard the health of the students.
- Periodical physical examination of the students by women-doctors.
- Constant contact and closer ties with the family.
- Organization of walks--excursions and the organization

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

of clubs of self-education, literary-musical evenings, meetings with writers, spring festivals.<sup>1</sup>

Stoyunina's Gymnasium grew larger and flourished until 1917 when it was changed by the Soviet regime to Soviet School Number 51, and accommodated by the 1930's 2,000 children.<sup>2</sup>

It is also of some interest to mention here that N. K. Krupskaya who became the official theoretician of Soviet pedagogical principles was a graduate of Stoyunina's Gymnasium of which, in her autobiography, she speaks as the school which taught her to work with the community and deal with its problems.<sup>3</sup>

Besides Stoyunina's Gymnasium, there were coeducational gymnasia such as that of A. V. Zhekulina opened in 1902 in Kiev<sup>4</sup> and the gymnasium of E. A. Kirpichnikova, founded in 1906 in Moscow.<sup>5</sup> All of these 'progressive gymnasia' adhered to the same basic principles as that of Stoyunina.

In E. A. Kirpichnikova's gymnasium additional stress was put on physical education and self-government where "all

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 227. (cited by).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 249-250. (Zhekulina organized Higher Courses for Women in Kiev in 1905).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 256-258. Kaidanova cites a number of other 'progressive' gymnasia most founded by women, but does not specify whether they were boys' or girls' gymnasia: The gymnasia of Vargina, Repman and Svetnitskaya in Moscow, the Commercial Gymnasia in Moscow and St. Petersburg and the Tenishevski School in St. Petersburg. (Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 219).

suggestions (within reason) were tried out".<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in 1917 during the two months of summer holidays the school organized a 'school republic' at one of the estates offered for this purpose. The students worked out a scheme of 'Life and Labour'. The experiment is said to have been successful and the game continued throughout the two months.<sup>2</sup>

### The Educational Philosophy of the Private Progressive Gymnasia

Although the above mentioned private schools were relatively few in number, according to Kaidanova, they played an important part in the gradual democratization of the secondary school and had a great influence on town councils and the zemstvos, which soon followed the examples of these private schools and founded themselves schools based upon the same underlying principles.<sup>3</sup>

The basic educational philosophy of the private 'progressive' gymnasia may be summarized in the following points:

- The school must be alive, and not a dead and frozen in its form establishment, it must go out of its way to answer children's questions and its whole structure must answer the needs of the children.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 260-262. These were the Public Secondary Schools first founded in Moscow in 1907 by the Society of Public Universities upon the initiative of yet another woman, M. N. Astanova. The schools were evening schools for student of over sixteen years of age who did not have the opportunity to attend regular secondary schools. They offered general education courses at the secondary level and served as a bridge between Sunday or elementary schools and the Public Universities. They were two to three year courses and 25-30% of the students attending were women. The slogan of the Public Schools was "Knowledge is Power".

- The school must attract children; there must be no place for coercion: this does not mean that the school should not teach the habits and skill to respect a certain order and carry out certain school rules and regulation.

- The school must not only be a preparation for life, but also a way of life for the children as the future elements of the society.

- The school must develop and excite the mind, it must develop strength and adroitness, esthetic as well as moral feelings and also the habits of social life. Learning at school must not be mainly 'bookish', provision must be made for all kinds of different forms of activity and exercise; there must be opportunity for creative work.

- The school must take into consideration the individuality of each child and allow each to express this individuality.

- The school must be as close to life, nature and family as possible. Between the parents, the children and the school a close union must be established in order to allow each to partake in the normal development of the school and the child.

- The school must not develop in the children a passive obedience to adults, but active, independent and conscious relationship to their studies and duties.<sup>1</sup>

The educational philosophies of the mid-nineteenth century Russian educators were thus put into practice and transmitted to future generations through these private schools. Furthermore, the impact these ideals had on the educational philosophies of the first decade of the Soviet school reform can hardly be denied when a comparison is made between the two sets of ideals and principles--those of the "progressive gymnasias" and the 1920's educational practices. Thus another tradition of Russian education yet was to survive the Revolution of 1917.

#### The Gymnasias and the drive for Higher Education

The merits of the educational reforms embarked on by the Ministry of Education in the 1860's and carried on through the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 219-220. (cited by).

last part of the nineteenth century, culminated by the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century in the establishment of a network of secondary schools not only founded and directed by the Ministry of Public Education, but also by other Ministries, the Holy Synod, societies and individuals. Although the Ministry of Public Education, itself, often wavered in the execution of its more progressive and democratic reforms many of which remained on paper, it could not, or at times would not, stop others in carrying on with the initial educational philosophies launched by the Projected Reforms of 1862.

The general spirit of democratization and liberalization which followed the reforms of the sixties must have had an important influence on the women of that period. Having been exposed to this spirit and the general climate through their reformed educational system, it was not unlikely that also women felt the need to do something, to help in the rebuilding of Russia. This they could do, as they understood, only through higher education, but as a large sector of the public and the government understood only by being good mothers.

In such an atmosphere the new generation was growing in the schools and returning to their homes, but they were coming back with different ideas. It is true that the school did not give them very much knowledge and did not even train them in logical thinking, but the students readily learned what they could from magazines, from private meetings, and from conversations.<sup>1</sup>

This was a generation of women who became practically obsessed with the idea of becoming useful members of the society and developed in themselves a capacity, want and readiness for

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<sup>1</sup>Elnett, op. cit., p. 78.

social work by far surpassing in their spirit of sacrifice and passion their male counterparts. They provided the Nihilist, Populist and other revolutionary groups of the sixties and seventies with a whole contingent of active members often more radical and ruthless than the men. Hundreds of them were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia.<sup>1</sup>

This was a generation of women who wanted to be equal to men in work, activities and education. They rejected the frivolities of social life in fashionable salons and turned away from art, music, dancing or luxury in dress which they regarded as futile and demeaning. They wanted to break with the past at all cost, and launched themselves into a radicalism which surpassed by far that of the young men in its resolution and cynism. They went to the extremes of dressing like men and adapting masculine manners.<sup>2</sup> Many ran away from home and went, almost penniless, to the larger cities and university towns in the quest for further education. They not only sacrificed comfort and luxury but in many cases social status, reputation, even families.<sup>3</sup>

The sixties changed the Russian woman. She became quite democratic, much more realistic, prosaic, and acquired practical tact, but she lost a good deal of elegance and womanliness.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>F. Venturi, Roots of Revolution, (New York: Knopf, 1960), pp. 220-231; 525-526; 532-534; 586; 720.

<sup>2</sup>Princess Kropotkin, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

<sup>3</sup>Nekrasova, op. cit., pp. 834-837.

<sup>4</sup>Elnett, op. cit., p. 79.



The secondary schools for girls by the proposals of 1858 and 1870 were devised to provide religious, moral and intellectual education to future mothers well adjusted to their environment and family. Instead, these schools seemed to have nurtured a generation of women totally different from their predecessors in spirit and ideals.

The gymnasia failed to achieve the educational goals set by the Proposal of May 10, 1860--educating good mothers. That they had failed, at least, from the point of view of the government cannot be doubted. For, already a few years after the resolution of 1870, probably aware of the problems posed by the system, the commission in charge of the yearly report of the Ministry of Education repeatedly stated that there was a need to establish female institutes which would "provide the majority of the girls from the middle classes an education fully corresponding to their life needs and wants without alienating them from their own social milieu."<sup>1</sup>

8 In 1885, when a commission was formed to look into the shortcomings of the gymnasia and progymnasia of the sixties, its attention was brought to the Doklad (Report) of Graff Delianov:

Starting with the sixties, the establishment of a large number of female gymnasia and progymnasia in the department of the Ministry of Education, without the opening at the same time of schools with terminal elementary courses, and also schools of professional character, has had an unwholesome effect on the education of girls who yearn, after graduation from the intermediary schools, towards the various higher female courses in Russia as well as

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<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor . . . , op. cit., p. 660. (cited by).

across the borders, in the countries of the west. Most of these girls are not so much keen on learning as full of false yearning and hope to leave their family environment and their social milieu. They abandon their responsibilities and set out to acquire rights little becoming a woman.<sup>1</sup>

The reforms in the educational system, in the programmes of the Ministry's gymnasia as well as the economic changes in the Russian society combined, inspired the girls with a yearning for higher education. For, unlike the 'closed' boarding school system which isolated the girls from real-life problems and the world outside, narrowing down their interests and concerns to a world of their own--a world within the walls of the school and thwarted by often false ideals, the gymnasia and the progymnasia were open day schools. As far as the private institutes were concerned, or the schools in the Department of the Empress Mother, they, too, had relaxed their rules and the girls could go home for feasts, and had long Christmas and Easter holidays. The girls now, unlike those before 1856, were exposed to the outside world and real-life situations. They became conscious of their own importance and ability to act and were perhaps ashamed of their ignorance and inactivity of the past years.

The class-principle coupled with utilitarian ideals of education in the first half of the nineteenth century not only led to an almost total absence of an interaction between the different classes, but also excluded a large portion of the middle and lower classes from any kind of education.

The very nature of the gymnasia and progymnasia--open to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. (cited by).

all regardless of religion or class--led to an interaction between the classes, a consciousness of social problems, and above all, an access to education for many middle and lower class girls. Although many of the girls from the upper classes, or at least those who could afford the fees, still attended the private institutes, through the agrarian reforms of the sixties a large number of the nobility became impoverished and many of their daughters now joined the gymnasia.<sup>1</sup>

The different classes<sup>2</sup> were thus exposed to the same education and to each other: this must have led to a certain democratization and leveling, but above all, it could have opened new horizons accompanied by hopes for a better future through education to many of the girls. It was this faith in learning, as the only true way towards a better life, for both the individual and the society, which had become the prime force behind the movement for higher education.

Furthermore, there was also a change in the programmes for the girls. Fact-learning for examination purposes, no opportunity or demand for critical analysis or thinking, and stress on dancing, singing, manners and conversation on one hand, or handicraft and manual dexterity on the other, in the pre-1856 period produced a specific kind of woman. Such women were interested in worldly things, in external appearances,

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<sup>1</sup>Princess Kropotkin, op. cit., pp. 131-132. See also Appendix XIV.

<sup>2</sup>The peasants, the middle classes as well as the impoverished nobility.

and the frivolities of mundane life. The girls could think of nothing but the termination of their courses and participation in balls, luncheons and other social activities.

In the sixties and the seventies the initiation of the girls into natural sciences, geometry and logic, the attempts to teach them to think and analyze, the stress on history and literature, and the relegation of foreign languages, dancing and singing into the field of electives--all led to a change in attitude towards learning and the world in general.

Some girls at least could have become conscious of the different fields of knowledge and their value. Although much of the learning still was rote-memorization, and many of the girls may still have been as uninterested in learning as their predecessors, one cannot deny that at least those girls who were interested were given the opportunity to be initiated into the different fields of knowledge. These girls, dissatisfied with what the gymnasium could offer, wanting to know more, rushed to private lectures given by various professors and scientists in the capitals and university towns. With the same enthusiasm and passion that their predecessors had used to launch themselves into the frivolities of salon life, these girls now applied themselves to serious studies and rejected all the values of the pre-1856 educational system.<sup>1</sup>

Where previously education was a part of a dowry, a preparation for married and social life, now it came to have an

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<sup>1</sup>Kropotkin, *Memoirs . . .*, op. cit., p. 262. L. F. Panteleev, *Vospominania* (Memoirs), (Moscow: Gos. Iz. Lit., 1958), p. 215. Tissot, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

economic value, and in some cases just a value in itself--knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Previously, education was regarded as an asset in attracting a husband, now it became, to many, a symbol of possible economic independence from family as well as husband, and to some idealistically minded women a means to serve their country. Before, the schools trained girls to accept their environment and social class by learning to fit into it and live with it, now education removed class barriers and ignited in many of the girls a spark of revolt against the existing social order and injustice.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, claims like those made in the first clause of the 1864 Law for the foundation of gymnasias and progymnasias along with the attempt to equalize girls' gymnasias with those of the boys', were another factor inspiring the girls to ask for more and higher education.<sup>2</sup>

There were also some purely practical results of the educational system of the sixties and the seventies which led women to demand higher education. Many girls went to the gymnasias in order to acquire a diploma and thus be able to support themselves. To their great surprise, not only did they have to face great difficulties to find employment, but when they did find employment they often became aware of how unprepared they were to do the work.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Elnett, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>See text, pp. 116-117.

<sup>3</sup>Birnshtok, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

Since teaching was one of the main positions--for a long time practically the only one with the exception of dentistry and nursing--available for women, and there were not too many elementary schools and vocational schools which could employ these girls as teachers, the gymnasia graduates had no choice but to ask for more education and preparation so as to be able to teach in the girls' gymnasia and progymnasia in the place of the male teachers. When their opportunity and hopes in teaching were hampered, they turned to other outlets, namely: higher courses, medicine, pharmacy, and later, more technical and scientific fields.

## CHAPTER VII

### HIGHER EDUCATION<sup>1</sup>

(1856-1917)

#### The Movement of the Emancipation of Russian Women

The drive of Russian women for higher education in the second half of the nineteenth century was closely linked to the movements of emancipation of women elsewhere in Europe and America. Although the beginnings of the emancipation movement can be traced back to the French Revolution and the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Women, only in the mid-nineteenth century did this movement take on more realistic and practical trends.

The basic characteristics of the feminist movements in Europe and U.S. could be summarized under two main headings: the struggle for complete political and social equality of women with men; and the struggle for equal educational opportunities which could eventually, under the fulfilment of the first demand, lead to the complete economic independence of women from men.

To the Russian women of the early sixties of the nine-

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<sup>1</sup>In this chapter not only Higher Education in the proper sense of the term will be discussed but also professional education which in Russia was often at the level of secondary education; and adult education in terms of university extension courses and others claimed to be post secondary.

teenth century the question of social and political equality was no problem, for what other European women were asking for in terms of political and social equality the Russian women to a large extent had.

In Russian laws there were no legal restrictions limiting women's activities in social or political life with the exception of two cases:

(1) Women could not sign I.O.U.'s without the agreement of their husband if they did not own their own business.

(2) Women could not hire out themselves for service or work without the permission of their husband.<sup>1</sup>

They could be the trustee, guardian or tutor of persons unrelated to them--a right which women in other European countries had only when related as mothers or grandmothers to the person in question. They could witness wills, all kinds of acts and at the time of serfdom, feudal acts, while in Austria women could do neither and in France women could not even witness marriage or birth acts. In Russia women could act as experts and judges of courts of arbitration, a privilege they did not have in France.<sup>2</sup>

Although in most European countries the father had full control over the fate of the children as long as he lived, in Russia this right was questioned and in case of disagreement between the spouses the right to the children was arbitrated. In case of the death of the father the mother and not the father's relatives had full rights over the children. This

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<sup>1</sup>"Zhenshchina," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1894), Vol. XI, p. 883. Paragraph (2) may have been the reason why so many Russian women worked in charitable organizations and especially in the fields of adult education and Sunday schools.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



held true even if the mother was not the legal spouse.<sup>1</sup>

Only in the case of inheritance equality between the sexes was not attained by the end of the nineteenth century. Although only sons inherited the father's estate, they were obliged if they had sisters to give them financial assistance, marry them out and give them a dowry.<sup>2</sup>

Although there were hard-core militant feminists in the Russian movement of the emancipation of women, basically the movement in Russia concentrated upon the question of education.<sup>3</sup> The women were willing to 'behave' and actually to go a step backward in the eyes of the feminists, i.e. not to take part in strikes, not to mix with male students, dress properly, etc. in order to retain their rights to higher education and keep their schools open.

With the liberalizing laws and the great hopes of the sixties the question of political and social freedom was considered by most women not as their own problem but as a common social problem. It was in the field of education that they felt inferior and searched for remedies.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. (Only in the 1890's in some of the states of the U.S. did women attain equal rights with men in the field of child custody.)

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 884. (For a comparison of the rights of Russian women in political and civic affairs to other European women see Appendix XX.)

<sup>3</sup>See speech made by A. P. Philosophova at the first Women's Congress in Moscow in 1909 where she rejected 'aggressive' feminist attitudes and stressed the importance of educational problems over the preoccupation with the antagonism towards the male sex. (Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 373).

Emancipation now meant the approach of the woman to the man, the mastering by the woman of everything that was considered the domain of man and which supported the cultural and moral inequality.<sup>1</sup>

In the field of education, women felt that they should follow in the footsteps of men. They took up sciences and attended lectures at the universities, so long as they were permitted. They indulged in all kinds of scientific and literary readings. Those who could, engaged teachers and students as tutors in mathematics, physics, philosophy, economics and other 'manly' subjects. A great number of the girls and young women went out to professional schools--medical, pedagogical or stenographic.<sup>2</sup>

When the higher courses for women opened in Russia, the number of women who joined these courses was quite high compared to the number of French, English, Swiss or other European women attending their own national universities or institutes of higher learning. Indeed the number of Russian women attending foreign universities in the 1860's and 1870's by far exceeded the local women's participation. For example in 1872 at the Zurich University and Polytechnical Institute of sixty-seven women students sixty were Russian.<sup>3</sup> Up to 1883 only two Swiss

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<sup>1</sup>E. Elnett, op. cit., p. 79.

<sup>2</sup>Nekrasova, op. cit., p. 808.

<sup>3</sup>Z. A. Evteeva, Vyssshie zhenskije kursy (Higher Courses for Women), (Moscow: Kniga, 1966), p. 8.

women studied at Zurich University.<sup>1</sup> At the Paris Medical Faculty out of sixty-seven women students thirty-three were Russian and only thirteen French.<sup>2</sup> Although the medical schools were open to women in Denmark, by 1882 there was not one woman in the medical school; the same was true of Belgium.<sup>3</sup>

Although in the beginning most Russian women studied medicine, which incidentally remained in the tradition of Russian medical education where today in all U.S.S.R. the medical profession is mainly in the preserve of women, many went into the sciences, physics, mathematics, zoology, botany and chemistry.

The first woman lawyer ever to graduate from the Paris law school was a Russian woman--Bolokovskaya.<sup>4</sup> There was also the famous mathematician Sonia Kovalevskaya who studied mathematics under Weierstrass at Berlin and became the first woman lecturer in mathematics at the University of Stockholm. A similar influx of women from one particular country into higher institutions of another can be found nowhere in Europe during that period.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>K. Shokhol, "Vyshshee zhenskoe meditsinskoe obrazovanie v Rossii," (Higher Medical Education for Women in Russia), Jurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchenia, February 1912, Part III, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>4</sup>P. Mizhnev, "Obrazovanie zhenshchin," (Education of Women), Obrazovanie, (St. Petersburg: 1904), Vol. 12, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup>For a comparison see: Helen Lange, Higher Education for Women in Europe, L. R. Klemm, (trans.) and (ed.), (New York: 1901).

Furthermore the women who clamoured for education came from the nobility, the middle class, the peasants as well as the clergy class. Those who were rich helped the poor. They organized their own money banks, dining halls and sleeping quarters. They were not only single girls but many were married and needed shelter and often employment.

All the higher courses which came into existence were founded and financed by individuals and often administered by the students themselves. Special societies were organized to support these institutions and aid the needy girls.<sup>1</sup> Most of the professors who taught at these courses, whether medical or mathematico-physical, natural sciences or history-philology, taught either for nothing or a minimum salary.<sup>2</sup>

Although the higher education of women more than any other section of education in Russia was the product of the efforts of the society, both male and female, there were many who did not sympathize with the women especially in the bureaucratic governmental circles.<sup>3</sup>

The reason may have been that the radical political leaders actively supported the women's movement. Pisarev for

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<sup>1</sup>Reports of the societies are available in different volumes of Viestnik Evropy under the heading "Izvestia: Obshchestvo dlia posobia slushatelnitz vrachebnykh i pedagogicheskikh Kursov," for example Vols. June 1875, June 1876, November 1877, July 1878, August 1878.

<sup>2</sup>S. N. Valka et al. (eds.), Sankt-Peterburskie vysshie zhenskie (Bestuzhevskie) kursy (1878-1918) (St. Petersburg Higher Courses for Women), (Leningrad: Leningrad University, 1965), pp. 7-21.

<sup>3</sup>Shokhol, op. cit., p. 191.

example declared:

. . . in all circumstances I unconditionally justify women.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the radicals professed the equality of the sexes, rejected parental authority and helped women to evade it by arranging for fictitious marriages and in general regarded marriage as highly immoral.<sup>2</sup>

The government was quick to notice the ties of the women to the radical movements and it is not surprising that they linked radicalism with the drive for higher education and refused to support it.

Where the field of medicine was concerned some well-known and respected physicians and surgeons publicly theorized that

Women having a lesser developed physical organism and volume of brain and a more developed sympathetic nervous system had necessarily to be less capable (intellectually) than men.<sup>3</sup>

Others claimed that

A woman from God and nature has other duties and a woman cannot bear such intellectual and physical strain as higher studies may require. And as far as medicine is concerned, of all things women are, the least capable for it. A woman after graduating from medical courses will lose her beauty, her humility and femininity and even morally will degenerate.<sup>4</sup>

Another physician claimed that

<sup>1</sup>Pisarev, Polnoe sobranie sochinenie, (Full Collection of Works), (Moscow: Gos. Izd. Khud. Lit., 1955-1956), Vol. I, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup>J. M. Meijer, Knowledge and Revolution, (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N.U., 1955), pp. 22-24.

<sup>3</sup>Shokhol, loc. cit., (cited by).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 192. (cited by).

A woman by nature and God is not equipped to study medicine because the theoretical as well as practical teaching humiliate the delicate feelings of the woman.<sup>1</sup>

It was only natural that the women reacted strongly to these statements. According to one of the leading educators of the time V. D. Sipovsky who was a sympathizer of the higher education for women:

When the wish of women to study brought animosity, when even highly educated men could not rid themselves of a 'cavalier' attitude towards women studying, the women started to hate 'femininity' as the obstacle to attain their goals. They replaced femininity by absurdity and extravagance: they dressed in male suits, cut their hair, put on 'blue eyeglasses', adopted awkward manners, and affected cynism.<sup>2</sup>

According to Likhacheva:

The society as a whole, from the very beginning of the movement did not sympathize with women yearning for education, and the women themselves, seeing everywhere animosity, became angry and openly contradicted the society in everything it valued.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, there were some well educated men, professors and physicians, who were on the side of women and among them was the leading educator Pirogov who wrote:

The results (of Sevastopol) prove that up to the present we have completely ignored the wonderful abilities of our women . . . If a woman receives an adequate education she can pursue culture and science, art, or public

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 193. (cited by). See also Nekrasova, op. cit., pp. 808-809.

<sup>2</sup>Shokhol "K voprosu rozvitiia zhenskogo vysshego obrazovaniia v Rossii," (To the Question of the Development of Higher Education for Women in Russia), Jurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenia, (St. Petersburg: August 1912), Part III, p. 154. (cited by).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 155. (cited by).

life as well as a man.<sup>1</sup>

It was in this atmosphere of controversy that the history of the higher education of women began in Russia. It is often separated into three distinct periods:

- (1) From the end of the 1850's to 1886 when all courses were ordered to be closed by the Ministry of Public Education.
- (2) From 1886-1905 when new courses were opened and many were at least partially financed by the Ministry of Public Education.
- (3) From 1905-1917 when women's higher education entered the sphere of men's higher education.

The history of the higher education of women thus has a separate history till 1905 when the State Universities as well as all other institutions of higher learning were to be opened to women.

It must be mentioned here that the women who fought for higher education were not all the women in Russia, nor were they the average women who followed and still follow the centuries old family and husband oriented pattern of life. The history of the higher education of women whether in Russia, or elsewhere in any other country, is the history of those women, who are often a small minority, who are more radical, perhaps more intelligent, definitely more dedicated and active and thus more capable of inducing major changes in the structure of the society. The majority always is and remains the mediocre and average, often sympathetic to the movements sometimes against them, but always passive and never in the lead.

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<sup>1</sup>Hans, The Russian Tradition . . . , op. cit., p. 62. (cited by).

Where Russia was concerned the number of women involved in the movement for higher education was perhaps more than a minority, for the movement was not an isolated phenomenon of the higher classes but had affected a considerable number of women from the middle and lower classes as well. Although one may claim with some truth that the leaders of the movement were women who belonged to the nobility and the well-to-do middle class intelligentsia<sup>1</sup> and that it was the women of the higher classes who organized the different societies for the financing of the institutions and helping the women students and donated large sums of money, books, apparatus, furniture and other necessities, it will be wrong to generalize that this was a movement solely of the higher classes.

It was certainly a grand movement, astounding in its success and instructive in a high degree. Above all, it was through the unlimited devotion of a mass of women in all possible capacities that they gained their successes. They had already worked as sisters of charity during the Crimean war; as organizers of schools later on; as the most devoted schoolmistresses in the villages; as educated midwives and doctors' assistants amongst the peasants. They went afterward as nurses and doctors in the fever-stricken hospitals during the Turkish war of 1878, and won the admiration of the military commanders and of Alexander II himself.<sup>2</sup>

No history of education can be said to have started on a specific date or at a specific place; nevertheless the history of the higher education of women is often said to have started in the fall semester of 1860 at the St. Petersburg

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<sup>1</sup>Lists of names available in Nekrasova, op. cit., show social origins of the women students.

<sup>2</sup>Kropotkin, Memoirs of . . . op. cit., p. 259.



University when a woman entered the school's lecture hall for the first time. The woman was the daughter of Korsini, the Italian architect in St. Petersburg. She had not enrolled, but had come only to listen to the famous Professor Kovalin's lecture on law. Despite the innocence of her purpose, School authorities (needlessly, as later became evident) so feared student reaction to her presence that on her first few appearances on Kovalin's lectures she was escorted to her seat by the rector of the university.<sup>1</sup>

Korsini was the first female in St. Petersburg University's history. Hers was the first challenge to the traditionally masculine world of Russian higher education, but Korsini was not an isolated case, rather, merely the first in a new wave of women who assaulted Russian universities in the sixties. Following Korsini's lead in the second semester of that same year, St. Petersburg University's female population increased to such an extent that in some classes women equalled men in number.<sup>2</sup>

The term of 1860-1861 also saw women arrogating places at lectures in Kiev, Kazan, Kharkov and Moscow Universities, sometimes by stealth, more often by simply showing up in the hall. While most schools quietly acquiesced to the new students, Moscow and Dorpat<sup>3</sup> University moved to exclude them immediately.

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<sup>1</sup>Panteleev, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>The Professors at these two universities, especially Dorpat, were mainly Germans. The universities of Kiev and Kazan recommended that women be allowed to attend as full-time students, receive degrees and have equal rights to employment by

Despite conservative voices women managed to attend at many places until 1863 when the Ministry of Public Education asked universities point blank if they wanted to have women students as a part of their general policies. Sensitive perhaps to the magnitude of changes this might have involved, the schools chose to close their doors. Thus, by the new University Statutes of 1863 released on the 18th of June, the doors of Russian universities were closed to women.<sup>1</sup>

It must be mentioned here that exceptions to the rule were made. Thus a certain V. A. Rudneva-Kashevarova of Jewish origin from the province of Vitebsk was allowed to enter in 1861 the Medico-Surgical Academy in St. Petersburg where she completed her studies. Since her object was to go and work among the Bashkir women in the province of Orenburg, she was not only allowed to study in the all male Academy but her studies were also paid for by the Vitebsk military authorities.<sup>2</sup>

In 1864 a petition was drafted by the women and sent to the St. Petersburg Medico-Surgical Academy which belonged to the Ministry of War asking permission for admission to that faculty. Although the Medical Council to which the petition was forwarded saw no inconvenience in granting their request, nothing was done in practice and by the end of 1864 those women who could finance their own studies left Russia for universities in Zurich, Geneva, Bern and Paris.<sup>3</sup>

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the state. ("Zhenskoe obrazovanie," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1894), Vol. XI, pp. 869-870).

<sup>1</sup>Nekrasova, op. cit., p. 808.

<sup>2</sup>Meijer, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Nekrasova, op. cit., p. 808.

Those who remained did not stay idle:

. . . they started private courses and drawing-room lectures in all parts of St. Petersburg. Many university professors, in sympathy with the new movement, volunteered to give lectures. Poor men themselves, they warned the organizers that any mention of remuneration would be taken as a personal offense. Natural science excursions used to be made every summer in the neighborhood of St. Petersburg, under the guidance of university professors, and women constituted the bulk of the excursionists. In the courses for midwives they forced the professors to treat each subject in a far more exhaustive way than was required by the programme, or to open additional courses. They took advantage of every possibility, of every breach in the fortress, to storm it. They gained admission to the anatomical laboratory of old Dr. Gruber, and by their admirable work they won this enthusiast of anatomy entirely to their side. If they learned that a professor had no objection to letting them work in his laboratory on Sundays and at night on week days, they took advantage of the opportunity.<sup>1</sup>

#### Russian Women at Foreign Universities

Between 1864 and 1872 a great number of women left Russia for Western Europe in the hope of finding some university and some professor who would accept them in his lecture room.

They studied law and history at Heidelberg, and mathematics at Berlin; at Zurich, more than a hundred girls and women worked at the university and the polytechnicum. There they won something more valuable than the degree of Doctor of Medicine; they won the esteem of the most learned professors, who expressed it publicly several times. When I came to Zurich in 1872, and became acquainted with some of the students, I was astonished to see quite young girls, who were studying at the polytechnicum, solving intricate problems of the theory of heat, with the aid of the differential calculus, as easily as if they had had years of mathematical training.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Kropotkin, Memoirs . . . , op. cit., p. 259.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 260. The main reason for the concentration of Russian women students at Zurich was that the Zurich University in the 1860's was the only one to grant degrees to women.

At Zurich a veritable 'Russian Colony' of students accompanied by husbands, wives, parents or other close relatives, was established. In the beginning of the 1870's they numbered over 300 persons.<sup>1</sup> There was a Russian library well stacked with radical Russian, German, Swiss or Austrian works and newspapers, and an organization of young Russian emigrants. On Bakunin's initiative the circle of anarchists was founded. There were also different socialist and workers' circles.<sup>2</sup>

The University of Zurich was founded in 1839, partially with the object to attract foreign students. In Zurich there was also a federative technical high school (Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule) which came to be known as the Polytechnicum.<sup>3</sup> One of the Russian women for example studied agronomy there.<sup>4</sup>

The first Russian women began arriving in 1864 at Zurich. On February 1, 1867 N.P. Suslova the daughter of a former serf matriculated and became the first woman to enter the Zurich University as a regular student.

The University of Zurich thus became the first university actually to admit women on the same footing as men.<sup>5</sup>

On December 14, of the same year Suslova obtained her medical

<sup>1</sup>V. Figner, Studencheskie Gody (1872-1876), (The Student Years), (Moscow: Golos Truda, 1924), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-33.

<sup>3</sup>Meijer, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>4</sup>Figner, Studencheskie Gody..., op. cit., p. 18. (She was Sophia I. Bardina, the daughter of a landlord from Tamborsk, who intended to go back and teach the peasants the science of agriculture).

<sup>5</sup>Meijer, op. cit., p. 25.

degree. She then returned to St. Petersburg to practice.<sup>1</sup>

Her return and the recognition of her degree did not pass unnoticed, after all she was the first woman physician in Russia. The news of her graduation from the Zurich University prompted more women students to leave Russia. They all went to Zurich and most entered the medical faculty. The number of the students steadily grew.

In 1870 out of 6 Russians who matriculated at the University of Zurich 3 were women. Through 1872-1873 the total number of students matriculated rose to 75 out of which 43 were women. At the end of May of 1873, 153 students were still studying at the university. Of these 104 were women.<sup>2</sup>

In 1870 at the Polytechnicum 32 Russian men studied but no women, in 1873-1874 out of 34 students 3 were women but 2 of the women and 3 of the men attended also classes at the university.<sup>3</sup>

In total at the end of May 1873 there were 182 students in Zurich, 104 were women.<sup>4</sup>

Although most of these women studied medicine, the group was far from being homogeneous and each had had a different motive for coming to Zurich.<sup>5</sup> They all, according to Meijer had one thing

<sup>1</sup>Sophie Satina, "Obrazovanie zhenshchin v Rossii," (The Education of Women in Russia), Novyi Zhurnal, New York, 1964, p. 166. It is of some interest to mention that the government to allow her to practise medicine had to sanction the degree. No provisions were made in the law for ratifying the degree of a woman, after some difficulties the government decided to consider her as a male student. (Meijer, op. cit., p. 25).

<sup>2</sup>Meijer, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Meijer discusses a group of girls and their motives in op. cit., pp. 48-51.

in common a "mood"; as Vera Figner claimed:

Not the thought of my duty to the people, not the conscience of the "repentant nobleman" impelled me to study in preparation for a position as village physician. All such ideas were a later growth, under the influence of literature. My main moving influence was a mood.<sup>1</sup>

This was the same 'mood' that prevailed among those women in Russia who taught at the Sunday Schools and the Evening Schools. This 'mood' later developed into a conscious urge to gain higher education, preferably specialized or professional to be able to use it to serve the nation.

This urge is well expressed again by Vera Figner:

I thought that all those women who left Russia, left only to study medicine and that each student had only one aim, to serve the society, i.e. the poor... Usefulness to the society I understood exclusively in terms of the service to the masses, i.e. the peasants, and the peasants were incorporated in my understanding of the concept of the poor. To me medicine seemed to be the best way to serve them.<sup>2</sup>

It is not surprising that many of the women in Zurich came into contact with the revolutionary and socialist groups and became convinced that the only way to serve the people was through organized revolutionary committees. Soon a number of them joined the different revolutionary<sup>3</sup> circles.

Both, the great number of Russian women studying at the Zurich Medical Faculty and the reports of the contacts which the women had made with exiled revolutionaries such as Lavrov and

<sup>1</sup>Figner, Memoires..., op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>2</sup>Figner, Studencheskie Gody..., op. cit., pp. 17-18. See also Venturi, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>According to Lavrov many women refused in the beginning to have anything to do with the radicals and claimed that they came only to study. (Cited by Meijer, op. cit., p. 51, see also Venturi, op. cit., pp. 220-231).

Bakunin, as well as the International Labour Movements, finally induced the government and the Ministry of Education to take some action. The government thus ordered the women to return and promised to establish medical courses for women in Russia.<sup>1</sup>

On June 3, 1873 the government thus issued a decree ordering the students to leave Zurich:

In view of all this the government warns in good time all Russian women visiting the university and the polytechnical school of Zurich that those of them who after January 1 of the coming year 1874 continue to attend lectures in these institutions, will not be admitted to any occupations the permission for which is dependent on the government, or to any examination or Russian institution of learning. The government expresses its hope that such a timely declaration will exempt it from the regrettable necessity of applying to anybody the aforementioned restrictions.<sup>2</sup>

Although a meeting was called and a protest to the government was urged, no action was taken by the students. Many of the women decided that the decree referred to Zurich University only and left for Bern and other European universities which were ready to accept them.<sup>3</sup> In Bern, at the Medical Faculty, in the winter semester of 1873-74 there were 23 women out of a total of 163

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<sup>1</sup>Istoriobzor ...., op. cit., p. 512. According to the Dejateli Revoliutsionnogo Dvizhenia v Rossii. Bio-bibliograficheskii Slovar, Vol. II and list of the names of the students studying at Zurich in Meijer, op. cit., pp. 208-217, out of the 150 women and men 80 figure in the Bio-bibliographical dictionary as revolutionaries. Out of these 80, 74 were women with 51 studying at the Medical faculty, 16 at the Faculty of the exact Sciences, 5 at the Polytechnicum and 2 auditors. It must also be mentioned that it was rather easy to get labelled as a revolutionary in the 1870's.

<sup>2</sup>See complete Decree in Appendix XV. (cited in Meijer, op. cit., pp. 140-142).

<sup>3</sup>Figner, Memoirs...., op. cit., pp. 46-47.

students. The 1874-1875 semester the number of women rose to 37.<sup>1</sup> Eventually most of the Russian women graduated from one university or another and by "1878 Russia counted probably more women doctors-- not all of them practising, it is true,-- than any other European country."<sup>2</sup>-- A tradition which was carried well over to the twentieth century!

### The Medical Courses for Women

The history of the Russian women's studies in medicine goes back to the fifties of the eighteenth century when Elizabeth founded the school for midwives in St. Petersburg. Under Catherine in 1775 the first Women's Midwifery Institute was opened, also in St. Petersburg. In 1801 another school for midwives was opened by Alexander I in Moscow.<sup>3</sup>

Under Nicolas I, for the first time women were allowed to study and practice dentistry and at the Educational Home in St. Petersburg a course for women surgeons' or doctors' assistants was opened. Also under Nicolas I, in 1844, the first Society of Nurses was formed. The director of the Society and most probably its founder was N.I. Pirogov. The members of the Society administered a pharmacy and learned to treat and bandage wounds and look after the sick.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Meijer, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>3</sup>S. Satina, "Obrazovanie zhenshchin v dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii," (The Education of Women in Pre-revolutionary Russia), Novyi Zhurnal, (New York: 1964), No. 76, pp. 164-165.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. According to Pirogov the Russian nurses were on the battle-field in the Crimean War already in October 1854, whereas they first heard of the presence of the Miss Nightingale in the beginning of 1855. (Pirogov, Letters to Baroness Raden, op. cit., p. 550.



Many of these nurses went to the Crimean War as volunteers and gained renown and the admiration of the medical profession. Thus when in 1861 several women applied to the Medical faculties of the different universities and the St. Petersburg Medico-Surgical Academy, the Medical Councils were in general sympathetic to their cause and willing to admit them to the Medical school. During 1861-1863 many women audited at the different Medical faculties, but, as already mentioned, by the Decree of 1863 all women were excluded from the universities and other schools of higher learning.

Towards the end of the 1860's and especially after the news of the graduation of Suslova from Zurich University in 1867 as a full-fledged doctor, the pressure to establish separate Medical Courses for Women, or allow them to enter the existing Medical faculties considerably increased.<sup>1</sup>

In 1870 several members of the Medical Council in St. Petersburg headed by Professor N.I. Kozlov proposed to the Medical Council the establishment of two degrees of midwives: midwives and learned midwives. They suggested that for the latter special courses of a four year duration should be organized so that the 'learned midwives' would be specialized not only in midwifery but also in women's and children's illnesses.<sup>2</sup>

The Medical Council suggested that the opinion of the Medical Faculties of the Universities and the Ministry of Public Education

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<sup>1</sup>Nekrasova, op. cit., p. 809.

<sup>2</sup>"Zhenskije Vrachebnye Kursy," (Medical Courses for Women), Ents. Slovar, (St. Petersburg; 1894), Vol. XI, p. 863. Nekrasova, op. cit., pp. 810-811.

be consulted. Almost all of the Medical Faculties agreed with the project and underlined the importance of a thorough university education for midwives.<sup>1</sup>

No reaction came from the Government, but the fact that a sum of 50,000 rubles was donated by a certain Rodsvennaya - Shaniavskaya to establish such courses and the pressure exerted by the Minister of War Milutin on Alexander II to give permission to open such courses finally led to the Resolution of May 5, 1872 on the opening of "Courses for Learned Midwives".<sup>2</sup>

On November 1, 1872, in St. Petersburg, at the Nikolaev Military Hospital "Courses for Learned Midwives" were opened on a four year trial basis. They were under the supervision of the Ministry of War and used the facilities of the Military Academy. Most of the 130 candidates who presented themselves for the first year entrance examinations were graduates of gymnasia with diplomas of 'Home Tutors', Teachers, or just the Gymnasium Termination Diploma.<sup>3</sup> Over a period of ten years 959 women were admitted to the courses. Of the 796 women students for whom exact data is available most were between 20 and 22 years old and 417 had Gymnasia Termination Diplomas. Of these 87 had completed some secondary courses and 76 had a diploma from a private secondary institute.<sup>4</sup> Thus 70% of the girls over the period of ten years came from the gymnasia and had the Gymnasium Termination Diploma.

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<sup>1</sup>"Zhenskie Vrachebnye Kursy," op. cit., pp. 810-811.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Nekrasova, op. cit., p. 818.

<sup>4</sup>"Zhenskie Vrachebnye Kursy," op. cit., pp. 863-864.

This is interesting because, the girls who had the titles of 'Home Tutors' or Teachers could possibly find an employment, whereas those who did not have these titles and just a termination degree could not do anything but continue. It must be remembered that the 'Tutor' titles were a function of rank in the school and thus good performance, hence not necessarily available to all girls.

Furthermore out of the 796 students, 572 were Russian Orthodox, 169 Jews, 38 Roman Catholics and 17 Lutherans. There were 84 widows and out of the 712 girls 116 were married while they attended the courses. Only 131 students came from St. Petersburg, 48 from Moscow and 135 from the southern districts.<sup>1</sup>

The first years, according to Nekrasova, were very difficult. The girls were completely isolated from the male students and were closely watched by all who wanted the courses closed. For some reason it was forbidden to establish a library for them and they could not use the library of the Academy because of the men students there. They nevertheless established a library of their own in a room with cupboards and referred to it as the 'cupboards with books'. Those who wanted to send books to the girls' library had to write on the parcels "To the cupboards with books for the students of the Medical Courses for Women".<sup>2</sup>

At the end of the four year trial period it became evident that the courses were in reality regular medical courses where the women studied all the subjects to the same depth as the men at the Medical Academy. The success of the women in their work and a further donation of a large sum of money by the same Rodsvennaya

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<sup>1</sup>"Zhenskie Vrachebnye Kursy," op. cit., pp. 863-864.

<sup>2</sup>Satina, op. cit., p. 167.

made it possible to transfer the women's medical courses altogether to the Nicolaev Military Hospital and build and equip the necessary auditorium, laboratories and anatomical theatre.<sup>1</sup>

Since the women now followed regular medical courses rather than limited courses for midwifery, another year was added and in 1876 the courses were renamed "Medical Courses for Women" (Zhenskie Vrachebnye Kursy).<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime the question of the official standing and the equivalence of the degrees obtained by women to those of the men was not resolved and became a pressing matter with the immanent graduation of the fifth year students. Most of these students had worked at the Military Hospital along with the men students and twenty-five of the women had gone to the front during the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, "where they earned the praise and admiration of all the doctors".<sup>3</sup>

Thus the War Ministry insisted that the women be given medical degrees fully equivalent to those of the men and be given permission to practise independently. The Ministers of Interior and Public Education categorically refused. The question was passed to the State Council and the first sixty students who graduated from the courses received a paper stating that they successfully completed the courses and could now treat women and children, but not establish an independent practice. Nevertheless the need for doctors led many Zemstvos and town Dumas to invite

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<sup>1</sup>Satina, op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>2</sup>Nekrasova, op. cit., p. 840.

<sup>3</sup>"Zhenskie Vrachebnye Kursy," op. cit., p. 863.

the women doctors and give them the right to independent practice without official diplomas.<sup>1</sup>

The Ministry of Interior did not take long to react and on August 18, 1878 a circular was passed in Novgorod district where most of these women practised forbidding the women to practise as doctors. Since the Ministry had powers over the legal rights of practising a profession it could easily force the Zemstvos to send the women away.<sup>2</sup>

Only on July 30, 1880 Alexander II in appreciation of the work done by the women at the front during the war gave the women the right to independent medical practice and the use of the title of Zhenshchina-Vrach (woman-doctor) by wearing a broach with the initials Zh. V. (Zhenshchina-Vrach).<sup>3</sup>

In 1881, after the assassination of Alexander II, Milutin was relieved as War Minister and General Vanovski, the new Minister of War found the existence of obstetric courses for women at an institution of the Ministry of War rather awkward. He suggested their transfer to some other Ministry promising to continue the existing financial grant and in 1882 closed the courses. The two ministries involved were again the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Public Education and both refused. The Minister of Interior "saw no need for such courses" and the Minister of Public Education claimed that "at the St. Petersburg University

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<sup>1</sup>Satina, "Obrazovanie Zhenshchin....," op. cit., p. 168. Nekrasova, op. cit., p. 844.

<sup>2</sup>Nekrasova, op. cit., p. 844.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 845. In 1882, Twenty-four of the sixty graduates had become the official doctors of the different Zemstvos, which, according to Nekrasova, was a very large number.

there was no medical-faculty".<sup>1</sup>

By now the interest in the courses was too great to let them die and the St. Petersburg City Duma suggested taking over the courses and even assigned funds for yearly upkeep. Such an act had to be legalized by the Minister of Public Education who refused.<sup>2</sup>

On February 3, 1883 by the Imperial Order a committee<sup>3</sup> was to study the Statutes for an Institute of Learned Midwives. The committee, after studying the organization of the few existing Medical Institutes for women elsewhere in Europe proposed to establish a Medical Institute for Women rather than an Institute for Learned Midwives. The committee also suggested that the Ministries of War, Public Education and Interior should establish such Institutes.<sup>4</sup>

Since the university students contributed the majority of revolutionary and radical leaders and many of the educated women were involved in those organizations the ministers reacted strongly to the suggestions of the committee.

The Minister of Interior claimed that:

... all of the mentioned arguments about the practical implications and importance of the projected institute are based not on the actual need of the State for such an establishment, but on the theoretical considerations and aspirations of individual persons to the so-called emancipation of women.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Satina, "Obrazovanie Zhenshin...", op. cit., p. 169. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>"Zhenskie Vrachebnye Kursy," op. cit., pp. 863-864.

<sup>3</sup>The Committee was chaired by Prince Volkonsky and was independent of the Ministry of Public Education. (Ist. Obzor ..., op. cit., p. 629).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid... (cited by).

The Minister of Public Education simply answered that "he did not see the medical education of women as a social necessity".<sup>1</sup> The project was passed again to the State Council where it also met hostility and the suggestion that if any such institute should be opened it should only be done on private means.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime the ministers of Interior, War, Public Education and the Oberprocuror of the Synod issued the Regulations of 1883 in which they suggested that:

- The Ministry of Public Education work out a four-year Course for Learned Midwives.
- Those women-doctors (by now they were over 600)<sup>3</sup> who graduated from the Medical Courses of the Military Academy be renamed learned midwives, deprived of their right to practise independently and appoint them to positions in convents, girls' institutes and gymnasias.<sup>4</sup>

The reaction to the Regulations took on the proportions of a public uproar and there was seemingly no end to jokes on the duties of midwives in convents or girls' schools. Furthermore most of the women doctors had been practising in various fields of specialization in towns or Zemstvo districts. They responded by reporting to Alexander III who decided to grant them the title

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<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor ...., op. cit., p. 630.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"Zhenskije Vrachebnye Kursy," op. cit., p. 864.

<sup>4</sup>Satina, op. cit., p. 170. (cited by).

of Doctor for Women and Children instead of Woman-Doctor.<sup>1</sup>

The different medical councils also strongly rejected the suggestion of establishing courses for midwives and claimed that a Women's Medical Institute should be established with an equivalent programme to the male medical schools or faculties.<sup>2</sup>

Nothing was done until 1892 when by an Imperial Order permission was given to present the project of establishing Women's Medical Institute to the State Council only after a full financial report was presented and backed by the necessary sum to finance the Institute.<sup>3</sup>

By March 1, 1895 in addition to the 220,000 rubles left from the previous Medical Courses a sum of 774,490 was collected and the project was once more presented to the State Council by Delianov.<sup>4</sup>

In his opening speech Delianov brought to the attention of the Council that the opening of the Medical Institute would stop the exodus of Russian women to Western Europe where they easily fell prey to the influence of the radical student activists.<sup>5</sup>

On June 1, 1895 the Statutes of the Medical Institute for Women were confirmed and the Institute was opened in 1897 in St. Petersburg on private means and public collections and was financed

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<sup>1</sup>Satina, op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>2</sup>Satina, "Obrazovanie Zhenshchin....," op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>3</sup>Ist. Obzor ...., op. cit., p. 630.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. In the year 1889-1890 out of 152 women students in Paris there were 24 French girls, 8 English, 107 Russian. Out of the 123 at the Medical faculty 92 were Russian. ("Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 868).



thus until 1904 when the State Treasury took over the financing and the Institute became a State establishment. It offered a five year course of study and upon graduation the title of Woman-Doctor and the right to practise medicine but not as civil servants.<sup>1</sup> This was rectified in 1898.<sup>2</sup>

Table 9 indicates the number of students per year attending the Institute.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 9  
NUMBER OF WOMEN ATTENDING THE MEDICAL INSTITUTE  
FOR WOMEN IN ST. PETERSBURG

Year	Applied for Admission	Admitted
1897		188
1898	390	212
1899	430	279
1900	726	241
1901	789	313
1902	819	333
1903	772	361

In 1903 the total number of students studying at the Institute was 1,392 and in 1904 1,525. In 1904 out of 239 students who sat for the final examinations 168 passed with distinction, sixty-eight passed and three failed.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor . . ., op. cit., pp. 630-631. (See also "Zhenskoe obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 868).

<sup>2</sup>Satina, "Obrazovanie Zhenshchin . . .," op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

The opening of the Medical Institute for Women in St. Petersburg and the accompanying legislation facilitated the establishment of such courses elsewhere in the Empire. Most of the courses were opened at the already existing faculties of either the High Courses for Women or Medical Faculties of the Universities.

In 1906 a Medical Faculty at both the Moscow and Kharkov Higher Courses for Women was opened. In 1907 Medical Faculties were opened at the Higher Courses for Women in Kiev and 1910 in Odessa. Some medical institutes were opened either by Medical societies or privately, such as the Medical Institutes for Women in 1910 in Kharkov and the Medical Institute in Ureev.<sup>1</sup> In 1913 women could enter the Medical Faculty of the University of Tomsk and by 1915 the Medical Faculties of almost any university.<sup>2</sup>

Taking into consideration the history of the medical studies of the Russian women it is evident that not only considerably large numbers of these women strove for medical education but also practised it after graduation. Dr. Erisman, who practiced in Russia for many years, delivered a lecture at the 54th annual convention of the Medical Society in Olten, in which he said:

Very favorable were the experiences gathered during the first years in regard to the activity of the female physicians. From the very beginning they were enabled to win the confidence of the people. In the noble competition with their male colleagues they even carried off the laurels. It was soon observed that the female physicians, on an average, treated more patients annually than the male physicians, although the latter proved

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<sup>1</sup> Satina, op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. No data are available for the number of students at the other medical Institutes of Faculties.

very efficient and unselfish, likewise. Female patients especially, in great numbers, sought aid with the women doctors.<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that in today's Russia women account for such a large proportion of the medical profession, for not only the tradition but also the schools seem to have been well established before the Revolution of 1917.

### The Higher Courses for Women

In December 1867 E.I. Konradi, who was the editor of the journal Nedelia and a well known publicist, presented a note to the First Conference of Naturalists then taking place in St. Petersburg. In this note she stressed the need for establishing higher courses for women. The members of the conference were sympathetic but reluctant to take action because the subject of the women's request was thought to be outside the authority of the conference. In May of 1868 another petition presented to the rector of St. Petersburg University and signed by 400 women from different social classes asked for the opening of regular courses for women at the University of St. Petersburg in the historical - philological and physical-mathematical faculties. This was followed by a petition signed by 63 women from Smolensk with analogous demands.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time in Moscow a circle of women was organized

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Erismann, "The Organization of Free Clinical Treatment of Patients in the Large Cities of Russia," German Quarterly of Public Hygiene, cited by August Bebel, Woman and Socialism, (New York: Socialist Literature, 1910), p. 269.

<sup>2</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 870. (About one fourth of the women came from the higher classes.) Evteeva, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

to fight for the right for higher education. They started a series of rather disorganized and noisy meetings and took decisions about establishing courses at the Moscow University without consulting the rector or the faculty. The meetings eventually got out of hand and soon the police intervened and forbade them.<sup>1</sup>

The women did not give up and a small and more organized group with the help of one of the directors of a local gymnasium applied to the ministry of Public Education for permission to open public lectures for women with a pretext that they would offer such subjects as Latin or physics-mathematics for the preparation of the women for the medical courses entrance examinations. The Ministry gave permission. The women students were to finance the courses and the director of the gymnasium where the courses were held was to be directly responsible to the Ministry for the administrative and pedagogical problems of the courses.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Lublianskies Courses

The first Higher Courses for Women in Russia were opened in Moscow in 1869. They were called "Public Lectures for Women with Programmes of Men's Classical Gymnasias" (Publichnye lektzi dlia zhenshchin s programoi muzhskikh klassicheskikh gymnassii), and came to be known as the Lublianskies Courses.<sup>3</sup> That these were not preparatory courses but the beginnings of university courses was

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<sup>1</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," loc. cit. Satina, "Obrazovanie Zhenshchin ...," op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>The Gymnasium where the courses took place was located at a place called Lublianka.

evident from the distribution of the students throughout the different subjects offered.

The first year a total of 190 women registered. Of these sixty-five in physics, forty-six in mathematics, forty-two in Russian language, twenty-four in general history, thirteen in geography and only fourteen in Latin (one of the most important requirements for entrance to the medical courses).<sup>1</sup>

The second year, 1870-71, 129 students registered for physics and eighty for mathematics, none for modern languages which were consequently replaced by chemistry. In the third year, 1871-72, there were already three different courses in mathematics, two courses in physics, and analytical mechanics and astronomy were added to the programme. In 1873-74 Latin and geography were replaced by zoology and botany. Russian language and history courses were dropped in 1878 and the Lublianski Courses had by that time a programme almost identical to that of the physics-mathematics faculty of the Moscow University with two distinct departments of mathematics and natural sciences.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the professors at the courses were young faculty members of the Moscow University; they taught for nothing or a minimal fee of 5 rubles / year-hour and provided the women with books and textbooks. The women were also offered the use of

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<sup>1</sup>Satina, "Obrazovanie Zhenshchin . . .," op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 176-177. The Proposal to establish a four year Programme of a Physics - Mathematics faculty was sent to the Ministry of Public Education in 1874 and was confirmed only in 1881. In 1884 all students were required to sit for examinations.

laboratory facilities of some private gymnasia. Again, as in the case of the medical courses, the Lublianski Courses were financially and materially supported by the sympathetic public.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting feature of the Lublianski Courses was that after the first year they were administered by the students themselves for no one wanted to direct them. The teaching staff, only in later years, took part in organizing the programmes of the courses.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Higher Courses - Legislation and Development

In St. Petersburg on January 2, 1870 "Mixed Public Courses" on history-philology and physics-mathematics were organized. Of the 900 auditors 767 were women.<sup>3</sup> The courses first took place at the home of the Minister of Interior and then moved to the building of Vladimir district school and became known as the Vladimirskie Kursy. Lectures were given by the university professors in natural sciences as well as in history and philology and soon took on the character of regular university lectures programmed for a two year period. In the same year "Systematical Public Courses in Natural Sciences" were founded in Kiev.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Satina, "Obrazovanie Zhenshchin...", op. cit., pp. 176-177.

<sup>2</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 870.

<sup>3</sup>Evteeva, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 870. On April 1, 1869 many of the women who attended the Vladimirskie Courses asked for preparatory courses to be able to fill the gaps in their knowledge. Such courses were established at one of the male gymnasia and were known as Alarchin Courses.

By 1871 the Government was forced to act. The aspirations of the Russian women toward higher education and the constant thwarting of these aspirations by the government induced sympathy from a large number of university professors. This pressure was being felt in the governmental circles.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore there was the spectre of all those women in Zurich and elsewhere in Europe and the pressure made by their parents on the government to provide courses for them at home.

In January 1871 the question of the admission of women to service in public and governmental institutions was discussed in the Council of Ministers in the presence of the Tsar and was followed by His Highness' resolution on the "extent of the useful services of women to the government and the society". The resolution asked that courses on midwifery sciences be established to help women work as surgeons' assistants or pharmacists. The resolution also demanded courses for the preparation of teachers; service in the telegraph department; and accounting in the department of the Fourth section of the Chancellery of His Majesty. To all other governmental and public institutions the admission of women was to be prohibited.<sup>2</sup>

Also in 1872 with the permission of the Ministry of Education, Higher Courses for Women were opened in St. Petersburg and in Moscow. Plans were also made to extend them to other university towns such as Kiev and Kazan. These courses were organized as private institutions and were supported by private funds. In 1876

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<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor...., op. cit., p. 512.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

permission was given to establish such courses in all other university towns. Only in 1880 the Ministry of Education started to contribute to their upkeep.<sup>1</sup>

It must also be mentioned that these Courses gave no legal status to the women who graduated from them; they could not even teach in the girl's gymnasia.<sup>2</sup>

The first of the Higher Courses for Women founded in 1872 were the Moscow Higher Courses for Women under the direction of V.I. Guerrier, a professor of the Moscow University. The courses were a private institution administered by a pedagogical council composed of the University of Moscow professors and supported by donations and grants from associations. Guerrier was chosen as the chairman of the council and was responsible for the administration of the courses.<sup>3</sup>

The Courses were open to regular students as well as auditors and offered basically a historico - philological programme, which was given at the level of the historico - philological faculty of the university. By 1879 a four year course was offered, almost fully corresponding to the programme of the university faculty.

The number of students the first year, 1872, was seventy. Until 1878 there were 103 to 107 students yearly, in 1883-84 there were 213 students and in 1884-85 there were 256 students.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ist. Obzor...., op. cit., pp. 512-513.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 870.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



In 1876 Higher Courses for Women opened in Kazan. These were organized along the same lines as the Guerrier Courses in Moscow. In 1879 the Courses had a historico-philological faculty as well as a physico-mathematical one, and a great variety of subjects was offered. Unlike all the other Higher Courses for Women they tried to offer along with a specialized higher education a broad general education. Altogether, up to 1886, 575 women studied at the courses in Kazan.<sup>1</sup>

Like all the other Higher Courses the Kazan Courses were financed by donations and grants from individuals and societies. They used the auditorium of the university and the university professors contributed not only by teaching for almost no fees but whatever fees they received they donated back to the courses.<sup>2</sup>

In 1878 Higher Courses for Women opened in Kiev also with two faculties - historico-philological and physico-mathematical. By 1886, 1,098 women students had attended these courses.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Higher Courses for Women in St. Petersburg

Also in 1878 the teachers of the Vladimirskie Courses (which became defunct in 1873) asked for permission to open Higher Courses for Women with a systematic university programme. The permission was given and the Minister of Public Education, D.A. Tolstoy remarked that such an "undertaking was useful and even necessary,

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<sup>1</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 871.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

in view of attracting the Russian women from studies in foreign universities."<sup>1</sup>

The courses were started in 1878 under the direction of Professor K.N. Bestuzhev-Riumin after whom the courses were named Bestuzhev Courses. A four year program was offered at all of the three faculties of the courses - the historico-philological, physico-mathematical and special mathematical.<sup>2</sup>

The Courses were well equipped with a library, laboratories and later an auditorium and a special hall for lectures in the experimental sciences. Most of the financial needs were provided by a society founded to support the courses. By 1890 the membership in the society was 1,026. The standards of teaching and the available facilities soon attracted leading professors to join the faculty.<sup>3</sup>

When the courses were opened 814 students registered the first year. Of them only one third attended the historico-philological faculty, the majority of the rest attended the physico-mathematical faculty.<sup>4</sup>

Before the other university towns could open their Higher Courses for Women the tide had changed. The assassination of

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<sup>1</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," op. cit. p. 870. (cited by). The latter goal was achieved in 1881 when the number of Russian women studying abroad fell to 9 only to rise again to hundreds after 1889.

<sup>2</sup>Vrevskaya, op. cit., pp. 9-11.

<sup>3</sup>"Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 872. For details on the extent to which the public took part in not only financing the institution but in feeding, boarding and clothing the needy students see: Vrevskaya, op. cit., pp. 21-29.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Alexander II and the student unrest<sup>1</sup> in 1881 led the government to review all higher education. Regarding the Higher Courses for Women the government decided that either they should be closed or reorganized.<sup>2</sup>

In 1886 a special announcement was jointly issued by the Ministry of Public Education and the Ministry of Interior and read:

... as long as there are no constitution programmes and regulations regarding the Institutions of Higher Learning for Women, it is necessary to stop the concentration of young girls in large towns. Girls, who do not search as much for learning as for a misunderstood freedom.<sup>3</sup>

Starting from 1886 no new students were accepted to the Higher Courses and by 1889 most of the schools went bankrupt and closed down. Only the Bestuzhev Courses survived through the personal intervention of the Tsar Alexander III.<sup>4</sup>

On February 23, 1889 the Bestuzhev Courses were given permission to register new students again and were given provisional statutes on July 3, 1889.<sup>5</sup> They were still considered to be a private institution and hence could give no legal rights or degrees

<sup>1</sup>Several sources note that during this period the women students always kept out of student demonstrations and strikes. It was only after the turn of the century that they actively participated. For example: Satina, loc. cit.; "Zhenskoe Obrazovanie," loc. cit.; Nekrasova, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Ist. Obzor ..., op. cit., p. 627.      <sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 627-628.

<sup>4</sup>Satina, "Obrazovanie Zhenshchin...", op. cit., p. 164.

<sup>5</sup>The "Provisionary Statutes concerning Higher Courses for Women" gave permission to open such courses only in St. Petersburg.

to the graduates. They were limited to a total of 400 students, only 2 per cent of which could be auditors. The courses had now only two faculties: the historico-philological and physico-mathematical and all programmes were under the direct control of the Ministry of Public Education.<sup>1</sup> The courses were administered by persons appointed by the Minister but the financial burden had to be carried by the public.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore only those students who were graduates of secondary schools and could present a written permission from parents or guardians<sup>3</sup> along with a proof that they could provide means to support themselves through to the completion of their studies were admitted. The girls were forbidden to live in rented rooms and had either to live with parents, relatives or at the boarding rooms provided by the Courses.<sup>4</sup>

In 1889 the total number of students at the courses was 385 of which 289 were at the historico-philological faculty and eighty-seven at the physico-mathematical. The unusually small number of students at the physico-mathematical faculty may be explained by the cancellation of natural sciences from the program. Before

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<sup>1</sup>From the programme for some curious reason natural sciences, histology and the physiology of man and animals was removed. ("Zhenskoe obrazovanie," op. cit., p. 872).

<sup>2</sup>Ist. Obzor ..., op. cit., p. 629.

<sup>3</sup>This was required before also. ("Zhenskoe obrazovanie," loc. cit.).

<sup>4</sup>Ist. Obzor..., loc. cit.

that, until 1885 when these subjects were included in the programme only 130 students completed the historico-philological studies and 247 graduated from the physico-mathematical faculty.<sup>1</sup>

### The Development of Higher Courses at the turn of the Century

#### The Reorganization of the Bestuzhev Courses

The 1905 disorders and student demonstrations led to the reorganization of all the institutions of higher learning in Russia. After a brief closure due to the disorders the Bestuzhev Courses reopened in 1906 as a completely autonomous institution leading to the complete reorganization of the Courses.<sup>2</sup>

The restrictions put upon the number of students enrolled (which was raised to 600) were removed. In 1906, 3,593 women applied for admission and only 1,480 could be accepted raising the total number of students to 2,396 during the 1906-1907 academic year and grew to 6,000 (36 per cent only came from the higher classes) in 1912. The natural sciences were reintroduced and on May 13, 1906 a new law faculty<sup>3</sup> was opened. The marking system was changed to three evaluation stages - highly satisfactory, satisfactory and unsatisfactory. The course study system was changed to the subject system giving thus more freedom of choice to the students.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Vrevskaya, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>For details on the law faculty see C.M. Khlytchieva, "Vospominania Iuristki Pervogo Vypuska," (Memoirs of a Woman-lawyer of the First Graduates), Sankt Peterburskie ..., op. cit., pp. 249-255.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-17.

Also in 1906 the graduates of the Bestuzhev Courses were given permission to teach up to the 4th year of the boys' gymnasia in addition to the right to teach in the upper classes of the girls' gymnasia which they obtained in 1901.<sup>1</sup>

On May 30, 1910 the State Council reorganized the St. Petersburg Higher Courses for Women (Bestuzhev) as an institution of higher learning fully equivalent to the university: the equivalence of the degree given at the courses to the university degrees was established and the Bestuzhev courses became the first University for Women in Russia and possibly in the world. From 1911 on the graduates of the courses were allowed to sit for state examinations at the St. Petersburg University and in 1916 the courses themselves were allowed to administer state examinations.<sup>2</sup>

Those who passed the state examinations by the Regulations of 1912 were granted the right to teach in any of the classes of the boys' or girls' gymnasia. Thus "those women who passed the state examinations were equal in all rights to men with the exception of receiving chins and orders."<sup>3</sup>

After the October Revolution on September 13, 1919 the Public Commissariat of Education (former Ministry of Public Education) introduced the new Statutes for the St. Petersburg University, whereby the Higher Courses for Women (Bestuzhev) became IIIrd

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<sup>1</sup>Sankt Peterburskie .... op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup>Satina, "Moskovskie Vysshie Zhenskije Kursy'" (Moscow Higher Courses for Women), Novyi Zhurnal, New York, 1964 No. 75, p. 216.

Petersburg University.<sup>1</sup>

### The 'New' Higher Courses in Moscow

In 1888 when it became evident that the higher courses for women in Moscow were doomed the Society of the Women-Teachers and Women-Pedagogues in Moscow opened courses for their members and called them Kollektzionnye Uroky (Collective Lessons). These were series of lectures for women mostly given by the same professors who taught at the Lublianski Courses.<sup>2</sup>

These courses continued until 1900 when the Moscow Higher Courses for Women, analagous to those in St. Petersburg, were opened and only partially financed by the Ministry of Public Education.<sup>3</sup>

The same professor Guerrier was appointed as the director of the Courses. They had two faculties - the historico-philological and physico-mathematical, each with two departments. The first year 250 students enrolled<sup>4</sup> and by 1904 the total number of students enrolled was 1,004 and seventy-one auditors.<sup>5</sup>

In 1906 a medical faculty was added and with the help of donations new buildings were built. A botanical and a biological museum were founded along with a library and botanical, mineralogical and entomological collections. In the eleven years of its existence the Higher Courses in Moscow built up their assets from the

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<sup>1</sup>The Irst Petersburg University was the university proper, IIInd Petersburg University was the former Psycho-neurological Institute. Evteeva, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Satina, "Moskovskie Vysshie . . .," op. cit., p. 196.

<sup>3</sup>Ist. Obzor . . ., op. cit., p. 710.

<sup>4</sup>Satina, "Moskovskie Vysshie . . .," op. cit., p. 197.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

meagre 8,600 rubles given by the Ministry for its establishment to one and a half million rubles chiefly with the help of the public.<sup>1</sup>

In 1911 the number of students had reached 5,318 and in 1912 the number of teachers was 227 with seventy-four at the Historico-philological faculty, fifty-three at the physico-mathematical faculty and 100 at the Medical faculty. In the 1916-1916 academic year the number of students was 9,480.<sup>2</sup> In the same year steps were taken to transform the Moscow Higher Courses for Women into a University for Women.<sup>3</sup>

### Conclusion

On April 7, 1901, forty years after the first women tried to enter the universities, the State Council ordered the Ministry to formulate Statutes of Higher Courses for Women and higher education for women was finally legalized.<sup>4</sup> Thus other university towns which had to contend with mixed open public lectures were able to take steps towards the opening of their own Higher Courses for Women.

In 1903 Higher Courses for Women were established in Odessa by a group of professors and private Higher Courses by Mrs. Lokhvitskaya in St. Petersburg. According to Hans the number of women students at the Higher Courses between 1894 and 1904

<sup>1</sup>Satina, "Moskovskie Vysshie...", op. cit., p. 215.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. Ist. Obzor..., op. cit., p. 710.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 710.



increased from 560 to 5,000.<sup>1</sup>

In 1906 Higher Courses opened in Kazan and Kiev, in 1907 in Kharkov, 1908 in Dorpat and Tiflis, 1909 in Tomsk and Novocherkask. Private Courses were also established at Moscow, Kiev and Dorpat.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the Higher Courses established in the other towns were structured and administered along the same lines as the St. Petersburg Courses and the regulations and laws decreed after 1905 and mentioned in connection with the St. Petersburg courses with a few exceptions applied also to these courses.<sup>3</sup>

All of the courses received very little help from the government and were able to grow only because the professors and the public were willing to help, for the income from tuition fees was insufficient to finance the expenses of the institutions. (The fees varied between fifty and 100 rubles yearly). The courses must have catered to a large number of women who came from the lower and less well-to-do classes, for there was a large number of bursaries and different kinds of committees and societies in all the towns who helped the women financially. The only figures available are for St. Petersburg Higher Courses for the year 1912, out of the 6,000 students 2,160, i.e. thirty-six per cent were

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<sup>1</sup>Hans, History of Russian ..., op. cit., pp. 175-176.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>3</sup>Up to 1913 the recognition of equivalence of the degrees of the Courses to the Universities issued on May 10, 1910, applied only to the Higher Courses in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan and Kiev. (Satina, "Moskovskie Vyss.hie ...," op. cit., p. 217).

the daughters of nobles, military and civilian chins.<sup>1</sup>

The struggle of the Russian Women for higher education was finally ended on August 17, 1915 when they were allowed to enter the State Universities.<sup>2</sup> By 1917 out of 125,000 students attending Higher Institutions in Russia 30,000, i.e. one fourth, were women.<sup>3</sup>

### Professional Education

Not all professional schools in Russia could be considered as institutions of higher learning, but most required the graduation from a gymnasium or institute. A few of the schools or courses were founded before the 1860's. Many of the schools were co-educational and most were founded by individuals, societies or associations.

#### The Training of Teachers, Pharmacists and Dentists

In the field of medicine, beside the already mentioned Medical Courses for women there were courses for surgeons' or doctors' assistants, midwifery, dentistry, pharmacy and physiotherapy. The first of most of these courses were established before 1860 and some dated back to the middle of the eighteenth century.

<sup>1</sup>Vrevskaya, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Hans, History of Russian ..., op. cit., p. 204. It should be mentioned that in 1905 a project of the Rectors of the Universities was introduced as a Ministerial scheme in which a part of Clause I. stated that "All young men and women irrespective of their creed, nationality or origin are eligible to enter Universities, this depending only on the attainments of their secondary education." In 1907-1908 there were about 2,000 women attending the State Universities as auditors. (Ibid., pp. 197-199).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 206.

By 1898, there were thirteenth schools for women surgeons' or doctors' assistants and four for dentists in St. Petersburg, Odessa, Moscow and Warsaw. These were coeducational and the students had to take their final examinations at the Medical faculties of the universities or the Medico-Surgical Academy in St. Petersburg. There were also eight schools, institutes or courses for midwives and twenty-four schools for peasant midwives. The schools of physiotherapy and massage were all privately owned, two were in St. Petersburg, one in Moscow and a few in other provincial towns.<sup>1</sup>

The course of study in pharmacy was lengthy and rather interesting. Graduation from a gymnasium was required first. Then the candidate had to pass an examination for a Latin course of the boys' classical gymnasium, after which she was allowed to practise in a pharmacy as the assistant of a pharmacist. After two years she was allowed to sit for examinations for the title of Assistant of Pharmacist. After three more years of practice she could attend special courses at the Medico-Surgical Academy of the Ministry of War. The successful completion of these courses gave her the right to the title of pharmacist and independent practice.<sup>2</sup>

The first teacher training courses were opened in 1859 at the first gymnasium for women, the Mariiskii gymnasium in St. Petersburg. In the beginning only courses leading to a general education along with courses in pedagogy, anatomy and physiology

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<sup>1</sup>"Rossia," op. cit., p. 393.

<sup>2</sup>"~~Emant~~ ~~st~~ ~~ipatsia~~ Zhenshchin," op. cit., p. 707.

were taught and the girls practised in the lower classes of the gymnasium. Later natural sciences and aesthetics courses replaced anatomy and physiology.

In 1870 the pedagogical course was divided into two sections - scientific and literary with the corresponding programs in the Scientific section algebra, geometry, physics geography, and the foundations of higher mathematics were taught whereas the literary section took general and Russian history, history of literature, and modern languages. In addition, both sections studied religion, Russian language, natural science, logic and psychology.

By 1876 the pedagogical courses became a two year program with a special school of their own, specially aimed to prepare the girls to become teachers in the elementary schools or of elementary school subjects in private homes. In 1879 an additional year of theoretical and practical pedagogy was added. Only those girls who had completed their gymnasium courses with distinction (Medal or book) and passed the entrance examinations in Russian language, arithmetic and one modern language were admitted to the courses. By then the courses had become an independent establishment which was called the St. Petersburg Pedagogical Courses.<sup>1</sup> In 1903 this was reorganized into the Pedagogical Institute for Women. After the Revolution of 1917 the Institute was renamed Petrograd Pedagogical Institute and finally in the twenties was incorporated into the Herzen Pedagogical Institute.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Pedagogicheskie kursy," Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar, (St. Petersburg; 1898), Vol. XXIII, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup>"Zhenskii Pedagogicheskii Institut," Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia, (Moscow; 2nd ed., 1952), Vol. 16, p. 66.

Pedagogical Courses of three year duration (two years' theory and a third practical) were organized at most of the other gymnasia for women in St. Petersburg throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Pedagogical classes of two-year duration were also available at the girls' Institutes of Order I.<sup>1</sup>

In the 1870's, after the reforms in elementary education, Teachers' Seminaries with three-year programmes were opened. These Seminaries, unlike their predecessors, were "open" educational establishments and coeducational.

In 1894 there were sixty such schools or seminaries with 4,600 students of whom 613 were women. Three of the seminaries were in Siberia and one in Turkistan. In 1898 there were sixty-two such seminaries.<sup>2</sup>

There were also private Pedagogical Courses for Women of the Froebel Society which, like the above, accepted only graduates from the secondary schools and prepared teachers and directors for Kindergarten's<sup>3</sup>; and P.F. Lesgaft's Courses for Teachers and Directors of Physical Education.<sup>4</sup> Both were in St. Petersburg.

In Moscow the Moscow Society of Women's Education and Women Teachers also organized Pedagogical Courses.<sup>5</sup> In 1903 in Odessa private Higher Pedagogical Courses for Women were opened.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Rossia," op. cit., p. 897. See also Part II, Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 394.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 397.

<sup>4</sup>"Emancipatsia," op. cit., p. 707.

<sup>5</sup>"Rossia," loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup>"Pedagogicheskie Krusy," Malyi Entsiklopedicheski Slovar, (St. Petersburg: 1907), Vol. II, p. 913.

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that after the Higher Courses for Women were established many of the women who attended the courses were able to teach elementary school subjects; after 1901 they could teach in all the classes of the girls' gymnasia and after 1906 even at the boys' gymnasia. By 1915 they were allowed to enter the State Universities which had Pedagogical Faculties. Thus the Higher Courses for Women until 1915 replaced indirectly the non-existent pedagogical institutions for training women teachers for the upper classes of the girls' gymnasia.<sup>1</sup>

In 1883 the first School of Agriculture for Women opened in Kiev. In 1899 the Society for Agricultural Education of Women was founded in St. Petersburg and by 1904 there were fifteen Agricultural schools for women in Russia.<sup>2</sup>

In 1903 the St. Petersburg Russian Technical Society opened Railway Courses to which women were admitted (these were not higher courses but training courses). And in the same year Technical Courses for Women were opened in St. Petersburg by Engineer-General-Major Trukhanov. Women could specialize in building, mechanical or electro-technical engineering.<sup>3</sup>

The first Commercial School for Women was opened in St. Petersburg and was founded at the so-called "Home of Anatolie

<sup>1</sup>Actually when the Lubliansky Courses, or the St. Petersburg Courses were started the implication was made by the women that these will be teacher-training courses.

<sup>2</sup>"~~Emant~~ipatsia," op. cit., p. 707.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

Demidov". It offered an eight year course of which the last three years consisted of specialization in commerce. The graduates were given the title of Learned Clerks.<sup>1</sup> In 1894 Commercial Courses for Women were opened in St. Petersburg by P.O. Ivashintsova.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the commercial courses there were schools and courses for accounting, book-keeping and shorthand. Some were coeducational others just for women. They could be found in most of the provincial towns.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Academy of Art and Music Schools

Most of the art and music schools were mostly privately owned or belonged to societies and were coeducational. The best known was the State-owned Higher Academy of Art at the Imperial Academy of Art in St. Petersburg. It had two sections: (1) Painting and Sculpture and (2) Architecture. In 1896 of the 338 students in both sections, thirty-four were women.<sup>4</sup>

Also in St. Petersburg there was the Central Institute of Technical Drawing of Baron Shtiglits where a five year course of drawing-drafting, painting, sculpture and industrial art was taught to those who wanted either to teach art or work for the industry. In 1896 there were 189 students, eighty-four were women. Along the same lines was structured the Stroganov Institute of

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<sup>1</sup>"Rossia," op. cit., p. 398. No dates or numbers are given.

<sup>2</sup>"Kommercheskoe Obrazovanie," Ents. Slovar., (St. Petersburg: 1895), Vol. XV, p. 863.

<sup>3</sup>"Emantsipatsia," op. cit., p. 708.

<sup>4</sup>"Rossia," op. cit., p. 398. The admission requirements were graduation from a secondary school. The Imperial Academy of Art was founded by Catherine II. (See Part I Chapter II).

Technical Drawing in Moscow.<sup>1</sup>

There were also drawing and painting schools in other provincial towns and a large number of evening classes in drawing and the graphic arts. Some of these classes were for example beginners classes in drawing or painting at the above mentioned Central Institute in St. Petersburg; drawing or painting classes of the Imperial Society for the encouragement of arts for the workers of St. Petersburg and its districts; classes of technical drawing and drafting of the Imperial Russian Technical Society for the workers of St. Petersburg and its districts; and classes for drawing and drafting of the Society for the Dissemination of Technical Knowledge in Moscow.<sup>2</sup>

For music education there were the two State conservatories in Moscow and St. Petersburg; the Court's Choral Choir with general, instrumental and conducting classes; the Synodal School for singing; several musical schools of the Imperial Musical Society and a large number of private Music Schools.<sup>3</sup>

The dramatic arts were taught at the two drama schools in St. Petersburg and Moscow; the musico-dramatical school of the Moscow Philharmonic Society; and other courses in drama organized privately.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Rossia," op. cit., p. 398.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 396-397. All these schools and classes were established by 1898. See also "Voskresnya Shkoly," op. cit., pp. 259-260.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 397. L. Sakketi, "Musikalnoe Obrazovanie," (Music Education), Viestnik Evropy, St. Petersburg: April 1879, pp. 750-762.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



All of the above mentioned professional courses and institutes were established before the turn of the century and mainly in St. Petersburg and Moscow. But as may have been noticed throughout the history of Russian education, schools, institutes or courses always were first founded in the capitals and soon spread throughout the empire.<sup>1</sup>

### The Public Universities

No study of higher education in Russia will be complete if the Public Universities, so well defined as "an All-Russian Phenomenon", are not mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

From the humble beginnings of the Sunday Schools started by university students and women-teachers in 1859, the schools, although temporarily checked by the Ministry of Education in 1862,<sup>3</sup> not only grew in number but also improved in the quality of instruction they offered. In the early 1880's the Sunday School movement once more passed through a period of considerable growth and development leading eventually to the establishment of 'Higher Sunday Schools' known as Public Universities. Women, as in the

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<sup>1</sup>For a detailed report on "Profetsionalnye shkoly dlia zhenshchin," (Professional Schools for Women) see Obrazovanie, 1896, No. 2, pp. 33-50, No. 3, pp. 2-28, and No. 4, pp. 16-41. See also Shokhol, "K voprosu . . .," op. cit., pp. 1-36.

<sup>2</sup>F.I. Syromiatnikov, in his opening speech at the 1908 congress of Representatives of Public Universities in St. Petersburg. (cited by Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 367).

<sup>3</sup>See Part II, Chapter II. In 1874 Statutes of Elementary Public Schools, clauses on the establishment of Sunday Schools (Evening Schools) were inserted stating that not only the government but also individuals and societies could establish Sunday Schools, and that such Schools were to be free and exclusively coeducational. These Sunday or Evening Schools could be at any level: elementary, secondary or higher. ("Voskresnya Shkoly," op. cit., pp. 256-257).

earlier period, played an important part in organizing as well as teaching in the Sunday Schools.<sup>1</sup>

In 1894 in Kazan and Odessa public lectures on different subjects taught at the University were organized by the local university professors and soon the idea of establishing a Public University was born.<sup>2</sup> The "Soul and Spirit" of this movement, professor F.I. Syromiatnikov defined the role of the Public University:

The Public University has as its goal the dissemination of higher learning by offering basic information involved in the so called 'subjects of university instruction', in popular form and scientifically to all, regardless of sex, religion or qualifications; its aim is to make scientific knowledge accessible to everyone, and especially to those who are deprived of systematical education. Its task is to develop in the auditors a broad world-outlook, to stimulate and develop in them critical thinking and the spirit of experimentation. The Public University aims towards the democratization of knowledge not in the sense of the lowering of its quality, but in the sense of making knowledge accessible to wide sections of the population.<sup>3</sup>

In an article in 1894 on "What do auditors get out of the Public University,"<sup>4</sup> Syromiatnikov further claimed that with the new spirit of liberalization in the 1890's a new movement was started - the movement of the masses for a general higher education which can be satisfied only by the creation of Public Universities.

<sup>1</sup>"Voskresnya Shkoly," op. cit., p. 257. Most of the Bestuzhev Courses students were involved in some Sunday School teaching. (Vrevskaya, loc. cit.).

<sup>2</sup>According to Kaidanova the idea came from England through an article on University Extension Courses. (Kaidanova, op. cit., I, p. 366).

<sup>3</sup>Kaidanova, op. cit., I, pp. 366-367. (cited by).

<sup>4</sup>Obshchee Delo, 1905, No. 3., (cited by Kaidanova, op. cit., I, pp. 368-370).

The first Public University was founded in Kazan. It grew out of the Public Lectures organized in 1894 when the town Duma in 1896 donated the premises where a number of lectures on history, geography, geology, political economics, chemistry and other subjects were given. By the end of the first year 3,700 auditors attended the lectures.<sup>1</sup>

In 1896 Public Universities were founded in Moscow and St. Petersburg, in 1897 in Kharkov and Lower-Novgorod. By 1900 there were Public Universities in Astrakhan, Askhabad, Baku, Voronezh, Ekaterinogar, Ekaterinoslav, Ekaterinburg, Kazan, Kiev, Krasnoyarsk, Orenburg, Pskov, Radom, Riga, Samar, Saratov, Smolensk, Tiflis, Tver, Tomsk, Uzh.<sup>2</sup> Many of these towns did not have a 'regular' university. As no fees were charged, like so many other educational institutions in Russia the Public Universities were also financially supported by public donations.<sup>3</sup>

In 1908 when the First Congress of the Representatives of Public Universities met in St. Petersburg, there were 476 representatives from the different universities with Syromiatnikov as the chairman. At the Congress a Central Bureau of Public Universities was established to coordinate lectures, provide lecture notes, programmes, practise-questions, and bibliographies to auditors.<sup>4</sup>

The most famous of the Public Universities was the Shaniavski University, also free and coeducational, founded in Moscow in 1908.

<sup>1</sup>Cited by Ibid., p. 366.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 366-367.

<sup>3</sup>According to Kaidanova in 1917 in Lower (Nizhnii)-Novgorod 800,000 rubles were collected to support the University which catered mainly to the workers from the Sormovsk factory. The Public Universities were closed after 1917 and many were transformed into Proletkults. (Ibid., p. 367).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

It had its own premises built especially for it and its own statutes. The aim of the university was:

To disseminate higher public education and draw the sympathies of the people to science and knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Among the lecturers were the best Moscow University professors, many of whom joined the university on a full-time basis after 1911 when Moscow University lost its autonomy. The university became famous mostly for the courses it gave on local self-government, the preparation of teachers to teach at Sunday or Evening Schools, and also courses on librarianship.<sup>2</sup>

The first year it opened, 1908-1909, 975 students audited the different courses. By 1914 there were 5,678 students. According to Kaidanova the success of this university can be explained by the fact that,

The Shaniavski University warmly responded to all the phenomena of public life by rendering them relevant to each other and the society as a whole. It created links and understanding between the different parts of the society and the pedagogues, lecturers, and instructors. In this lay the originality and novelty of this university, which was the brilliant crowning of individual initiative in public education.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 370. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 371.

P A R T    I I I

THE   EDUCATION   OF   WOMEN   AFTER   THE  
COMMUNIST   REVOLUTION

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MARXIST PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS REGARDING WOMEN

The preceding chapters have been an attempt to describe the history of the development of the education of women in pre-revolutionary Russia and to isolate those educational traditions which affected its development. The education of women in the post-revolutionary period, especially at the elementary and secondary levels, cannot be isolated from the education of men, for, one of the basic assumptions of Marxist philosophy of man is the equality among men and women, an equality confirmed in the Constitution of the Soviet State.

Hence, in the post-revolutionary period the history of the education of women becomes the history of education in general. Furthermore, the claim has been made that Soviet educational philosophy is based upon the principles of Marxist philosophy, but a close examination of the latter suggests otherwise.

Although there seems to be one Marxist philosophy of education, there have been several Soviet interpretations since 1917 followed by a number of basic reforms in educational theory and practice centered mainly around the concept of polytechnical education. Each of these reforms has been contradictory to the previous one, and each has been backed by Marxist philosophy of

education. This can be possible only if, either Marxist philosophy can be interpreted in several ways, or if Soviet educational philosophy is not after all based upon Marxist educational philosophy. For although there is a marked absence of a systematized and adequately developed educational theory within the Marxist philosophical system, it still seems highly improbable that one philosophy however vague could give rise to contradictory interpretations.

It would then seem that Soviet educational philosophy derives its theories and practices from some other source and uses the Marxist ideal of education as a 'motto' and a theoretical cover.

### The Philosophy of Marx and Engels

Marx did not directly concern himself with a "theory of education", he paid little attention to education in a Socialistic state. His main concern was the socialistic revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Marx could afford to leave aside the question of education, for the educational philosophy and practice follow logically from his beliefs. Thus whatever educational theory may follow, it should be derived from the Marxian social, economic and political philosophy.

Marx's dialectic materialism represents mainly a synthesis of Hegelian idealism and the materialism of Feuerbach. Hegel as an idealist believed in the absolute reality. He believed that at the basis, the foundation of each Being there is a definite Idea, a Spirit. Plato, also affirmed the existence of the Absolute, but between Plato and Hegel there was an essential

difference. Plato considered the dynamic phenomena of sensory experience as illusionary appearance; as the mobile images of the eternal Ideas. To Plato Ideas only were eternal and all that was moving, changing was an illusion.

Hegel on the other hand believed that the Idea, the Absolute Spirit, which is the essence of the being, revealed itself through the history of the universe and of men. Although an idealist, Hegel did not turn away from the idea of change - of "becoming". To him the Spirit developed and through successive stages realized itself until finally it became fully conscious of itself.

At the beginning there were only stones, rocks, and minerals on earth, then came the plants, and then the animals and man. The impression is easily gained that more complex, organized and independent beings are coming into the universe. The Spirit, at first dormant and alien to itself and the universe, manifests itself more and more as order, liberty and finally as the conscience. The Spirit progresses and develops through the history of men. Each people, each civilization, has in some way the mission to realize a stage in the progress of the spirit.

Hegel believed that the Absolute Spirit found its expression in the Prussian State of his time. To Hegel, the Spirit revealed itself at the end of history, but in any case the Absolute was only at the end that what it was in reality.<sup>1</sup>

Since the Idea is history, there can be no opposition between that which is intelligible and that which is real, or

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<sup>1</sup>Dennis Huisman and André Vergez, Métaphysique, (Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1960), pp. 119-120.



that which is intelligible and that which is temporal. All that is real is then rational and all which is rational must be real. Universal history is nothing but the manifestation of Reason. Real logic then is not that which deals with identities but that which can reason in terms of becoming. Thought then follows through contradictions - from thesis to antithesis to synthesis. It is not unlike a dialogue in which truth is derived out of a discussion and argumentation.

Such is the dialectical process of thought and real history develops like this, and not otherwise, since history is nothing but a Thought which is realized. The dialectic, according to Hegel, is the movement of things themselves.

To Hegel, for example, the history of art is dialectic. Ancient Egypt's contribution is symbolic art, an art of strange shapes and gigantic proportion-less figures. Classical Greek art represents the anti-thesis of the proportionate and gigantic Egyptian forms. The gods of the Greeks are no more monsters, but handsome athletes of harmonious forms. To this art, human form is the model, it is graceful, serene, in equilibrium. Then we have Romantic art - which started with the rise of Christianity and triumphed in the 19th century. This art is the synthesis: it preserves the humane values of the preceeding stage, but it refutes its coldness; the Greek serenity is abandoned and architecture, painting and music as well as poetry express the struggle and the suffering of the human soul and spirit. Throughout history we can find this triple combination of the thesis, antithesis

and synthesis process.<sup>1</sup>

To Feuerbach, on the contrary, it was not the Ideas which made the world turn round. Ideas, to him, were nothing but the products of the human conscience. All ideas, even the idea of God could be explained through man as the first entity. Human conscience, too, was nothing but the product of the human brain. "It is the Phosphorus that thinks in us", claimed Feuerbach. It is evident then, that to Feuerbach the Spirit had no own proper activity; it was just the passive reflection of material conditions. It was the product of material conditions and man was just the product of heredity and education.

"Man is what he eats", claimed Feuerbach. The capacity of experiencing sensations, pleasure, pain and emotion as well as passion is the reality which makes man what he is. Thus, truth, reality, sensitivity are identical. Only the sensitive being is a true, real being.

Marx was greatly influenced by Feuerbach's materialism and later by Bauer and Strauss.<sup>2</sup> But he did not fully agree with Feuerbach's materialism. He claimed that:

All social life is essentially practical. The highest point reached by observational materialism is the consideration of the individuals and civil society. The position of old materialism is civil society, the view-point of the new is the human society or the social humanity.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Carl J. Friedrich (ed.), The Philosophy of Hegel, (New York: The Modern Library, 1954), pp. 1-161.

<sup>2</sup>Edmund Wilson, To the Finland Station, (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1953), pp. 126-130.

Leon B. Pousson, The Totalitarian Philosophy of Education, (Washington D.C.: Catholic University Press 1944), pp. 68-72.

<sup>3</sup>Karl Marx, "Marx uber Feuerbach," Marx-Engels-Historisch Kritische, Gesamtausgabe, (n.p., n.n., 1929), Vol. 5, p. 535.

Leaning on Feuerbach's materialism, Marx rejected Hegelian idealism. To Marx it was not the idea which from the beginning animated history, but on the contrary, it was the conscience. Ideas were thus the latter product of matter in movement. It was matter which was the first given. Life itself was nothing but the product of human thought, and human thought in turn was the product of historical conditions in which man lived and of the brain.

Marx claimed that:

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary their social being that determined their consciousness.<sup>1</sup>

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?<sup>2</sup>

Since man is the product of a material universe, he in his turn can know this universe. Human thought thus is capable of knowing and reflecting upon this Hegelian "becoming" and its necessary laws. Thus the movement of thought is nothing but the "reflection" of the real movement transferred into and transposed in the human brain.

Although Marx rejected Hegelian idealism, he profoundly transformed Feuerbach's materialism through the Hegelian dialectic.

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<sup>1</sup>Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1904), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, (New York: International Publishers, 1955), p. 28.

Feuerbach claimed that man is the product of the material conditions in which he lives. Marx agreed with the above statement; but he claimed that man in his turn acts upon matter and can transform through his will the conditions of his existence. Man is not only an effect of material nature, but he is also a cause which reacts with the world, the product of which he is.

And because man himself is a product of the universe, he can transform the universe. Thus to Marx, both, classical idealism and classical materialism were wrong. For materialism saw man as a passive reflection of the world. Idealism had developed the active side, but it saw nothing but the activity of the Spirit and did not recognize the real, concrete activity. Being a product of nature, man can learn and tame nature through technology. Marx accused traditional materialism as well as traditional idealism of having separated man from society. To Marx man had always been social, even his religious feelings were related to the environment and time.<sup>1</sup>

The mode of production in material life determines the social, political, and intellectual life - process in general.<sup>2</sup>

Marx believed that the entire political, social, moral and ideological structure of the society is expressed and depends on the prevailing system of production and exchange.<sup>3</sup> To Marx, then, the key to the evolution of the society was furnished by the

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<sup>1</sup>Karl Marx, The German Ideology, (New York: International Publishers Co., 1939), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup>Marx, A Contribution . . ., op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Karl Marx, Selected Works, (New York: International Publishers Co., 1939), Vol. I, pp. 356-578.

development of technology and conditions of production. These Marx called productive forces. The state of the productive forces at a given time (in the Middle Ages the mill, in the 19th century the steam engine) explains the social regime of production, the division and the role of the social classes at that time, - these Marx called the "relations of production", (in the Middle Ages the Feudal system of the serf - overlord relationship, in the 19th century, the capitalist, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat).<sup>1</sup>

The productive forces and the relations of production constitute the infrastructure of the society as seen by Marx. From these one can explain juristic ideas as well as political, philosophical, religious ideas; through them one can explain artistic creation, through which (all of these) the society reflects consciousness of itself. In fact the conflicts of classes, are relative at certain moments of technical development, they always change and become dissimulated through the diverse manifestations of the human spirit which constitutes the superstructure.

Ideas are not just epiphenomena, but in their turn they react with economic structure out of which they are born. Thus in dialectic materialism, history is not the monologue of economic forces but the dialogue of economic forces and ideas formed by the human conscience. Thus ideologies and objective conceptions made by the science from the social reality act upon the infrastructure and modify it. Marx claimed that theories also change into material

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<sup>1</sup>Karl Marx, Selected Works, Vol. I, pp. 356-578.

forces and this is how scientific discoveries transform productive forces and political ideas can bring forth altered relations of production.

With the change in the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic - in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.<sup>1</sup>

The intellectual and social history of mankind can be explained then, through the process of historical materialism. To Marx social relations were the product of and depended on productive forces. Man discovered new productive methods, they changed the mode of production, they changed the way they lived and worked - they also changed their social relations. According to historical materialism then, primitive society was classless and 'sexless' in the sense that no distinction was made between the sexes. When class division arose, special institutions of coercion (the state) were created by the ruling classes to prevent the exploited to regain the control over the society. Class struggle has ever since been the prime motive force in history.

Revolution then is an inevitable occurrence in history, appearing when the existing mode of production and distribution no longer satisfy the needs of the society - i.e. a change has to take place, and it does. This change could be evolutionary as well as revolutionary. The revolution really would be a rebellion of the people or of the exploited class against the oppression of the

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<sup>1</sup>Karl Marx, Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 12.

state or the society. This will happen each time the production becomes centralized as regards the tools of production. As a result of the selfishness of the owners, the misery of the exploited class will grow and the tension between the classes will increase leading to a revolution.

When the existing order is destroyed by revolution, another order will take its place. The ultimate end of all revolution will be the emergence of a perfect Communist society. This society will be characterized by the total absence of all private ownership of the means of production. Thus exploitation of men by men or women will ~~wither~~ away. Furthermore, this society will be free of all class distinctions; it will be stateless and there will be an absence of any distinction between mental or physical labor.

#### Marx' and Engels' Philosophy of Education

It is not difficult then to deduce that to Marx, education was primarily a social process. He denied that man is a passive product of environment and education. He claimed that there existed a mutual relationship between the environment and education on one hand and man on the other.<sup>1</sup>

In fact the changing man changes the changing environment and the educational process that changes with him, and thereby<sup>2</sup> becomes the changed man - a process ad infinitum.

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<sup>1</sup> Marx, "Marx uber Feuerbach." op. cit., p. 534.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Shore, Soviet Education, (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947), p. 25.

Thus man's ideas and consciousness are interwoven with material activity and material relations, it is "not the consciousness (that) defines life, but it is life which defines consciousness."<sup>1</sup>

Ideas are formed then as a product of material activity and practice. Furthermore, ideas cannot make fundamental changes in the course of historical developments, and therefore changes in education cannot be made by the criticism of educational ideas; only an actual revolution can effect changes - only revolutionary changes can bring about educational changes.

Since the modes of production determine the entire social organization, education, an expression of social organization, will also be affected. Thus each change in the modes of production will necessarily affect the educational system. Since the social and intellectual history of man are explained in terms of historical materialism, education in each historical period must also be in terms of the material changes and the changing social order.

Marx believed that the state existed only to protect the ruling class. The function of the capitalist state was to control the oppressed and to suppress class conflicts. The state was therefore inevitable for a society which is based upon class conflicts. When the society becomes classless, there will be no class-conflicts, and no state will be needed. Then the state will be the instrument of a given class - of any given class. Its interest will be to provide the kind of education that will help

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<sup>1</sup>"Pedagogica," Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia, (Moscow: 1st. ed., 1939), Vol. 44, p. 428. (Engels cited).



the class to stay in power and rule: "In the capitalist society, the bourgeoisie gives the worker as much education as is in its own interest. And that indeed is not much."<sup>1</sup>

Thus real, genuine education could only be realized in a stateless society. In any other society it would be the instrument of the ruling class.

In 1845 Engels proposed some measures for producing a real social order based upon the Communist theory.<sup>2</sup> As the first step he proposed to provide free, universal education for all children, without exception at the expense of the state. It was evident that he considered education the most influential factor in the reconstruction of society.

This seems to be in contradiction<sup>3</sup> with Marxian educational views expressed before, namely that education is an expression of prevailing social relations which in turn are a product of the prevailing modes of production. In accordance with this view, economic reforms should precede the educational ones. On the other hand, with the knowledge of facts and the objective conditions for communism established, the subjective factor becomes the leading issue. Education then, planned and executed by the human will, may become a measure of first importance toward the goal of practical communism.

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<sup>1</sup>"Pedagogica," loc. cit. (Engels cited).

<sup>2</sup>Shore, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>3</sup>Max Eastman has shown some discrepancies between the statements of Marx and Engels in his book, Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution. The same issue has been discussed in Sidney Hook, Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx and Edmund Wilson, To the Finland Station.

Two years later Engels put forth the educational goals of Marxism more fully:

- a. Universal education.
- b. Education to begin at the earliest period, as soon as the child can dispense with motherly care, such as nursing, etc.
- c. Education administered in national institutions at national expense.
- d. Combination of education with industrial labor.<sup>1</sup>

### Polytechnical Education

Polytechnical education as the basis of education for industrial man - was discussed by Marx very briefly:

Paltry as the education clauses of the Act (British Factory Act of 1864) appear on the whole, yet they proclaim elementary education to be an indispensable condition to the employment of children. The success of those clauses proved for the first time the possibility of combining education and gymnastics with manual labour, and consequently, of combining manual labour with education and gymnastics. The factory inspectors soon found out by questioning the schoolmasters, that the factory children, although receiving only one-half the education of the regular day scholars, yet learnt quite as much and often more .... From the Factory system budded, as Robert Own has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future, an education, that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings.<sup>2</sup>

Though the Factory Act, that first and meagre concession wrung from capital, is limited to combining elementary education with work in the factory, there can be no doubt that when the working class comes into

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<sup>1</sup>I. Nikodimov, O Polytekhnicheskomo obrazovanii v S.S.S.R., (Polytechnical Education in U.S.S.R.), (Munich: Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., 1957), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Karl Marx, Capital, (Chicago: Charles Ken & Co., 1915) Vol. I, pp. 488-489.

power, as inevitably it must, technical instruction, both theoretical and practical, will take its proper place in the working-class schools.<sup>1</sup>

In the Communist Manifesto (1848), Marx and Engels expressed the essentials of their theory. In it they discussed the measures which must be taken to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the proletarian-organized state. In discussing the tenth, ultimate measure Marx claimed:

Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.. etc.<sup>2</sup>

This last point is of great importance in understanding Soviet educational philosophy and practice. For, it became known as Marx's "Great Principle" in the education of the future - the link between education and material production - the basis of the future Soviet education; the source of much controversy, educational reforms, instability and upheaval.

Polytechnical education became thus the vehicle for the implementation of this "Great Principle". To Marx and Engels the polytechnical system of education meant the freeing of men from the chains of narrow specialization. They thought that polytechnical education would help in making an allround man, a man who would be "jack-of-all-trades" - a man with a wide cultural horizon. Through polytechnical education they intended to prepare men and women who would be able to deal efficiently with all the

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<sup>1</sup>Karl Marx, Capital, (Chicago: Charles Ken & Co., 1915) Vol. I, pp. 492-495.

<sup>2</sup>Marx and Engels, Manifesto of Communist Party, op. cit., p. 94.

problems of life. Men, who would be formed for labor; men who would be educated in the principles and the practice of Communist ethics; men who would not look for a difference between mental and physical labor. Briefly, a new man.

In developing the concept of polytechnical education, Marx was greatly influenced by the British factory system and the ideas of Utopian socialists. Thus Engels in Anti-During refers to Owen's education and his experiments as the foundations of the future education. He claims that Robert Owen started with a kindergarten where children at the age of two and above went and were so happy that they did not want to return home. In such a school Engels saw the possibility of giving the child a general all-round education - physical as well as spiritual.<sup>1</sup>

Polytechnical education was defined by Marx and Engels as an education which:

Familiarizes one with the basic principles of all productive processes and at the same time gives the child or the adolescent the skill of using the simplest tools in every branch of production.<sup>2</sup>

But Marx never specified the scope of technological instruction - whether it should be applied to all schools, to all age levels, or when should it be started, for in only a few instances did Marx and Engels discuss Polytechnical education.

Marx, in the "Instructions to the delegates of the Central Soviet of the Geneva Congress" in 1866 wrote on the question of

<sup>1</sup>Friedrich Engels, Anti-During, (Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1931), pp. 237-257.

<sup>2</sup>Karl Marx, Sochineniia (Works), (Moscow: IMEL, 1936), Vol. 13, Part 1, p. 199.

"Child and adolescent labour". He claimed that each child from the age of nine should become a factory worker, for each man must not only work with his head, but also with his hands. This is a law of nature. Thus, according to Marx, all children must be divided into three major groups. To the first group belong children between the age of 9-12. These should work at home or in a workshop for two hours a day. The second group consisted of children between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. These, too, were supposed to work four hours instead of two. The third group - of sixteen to seventeen years old were expected to furnish serious work for six hours a day. The beginning of instruction was to take place before the age of nine, for learning is linked with useful work. But, Marx stressed, work should never stand in the way of learning and the young should not be made to work if their work cannot be linked and inter-woven with education.<sup>1</sup>

Both Marx and Engels, and later Lenin, stressed the importance of universal education which they understood in terms of a general education, which would educate the new members of the socialist society. Such an education would then necessarily offer knowledge in the humanities as well as sciences and technical (or practical) training. Such an education would then train men in both practice and theory.

In bitter terms Marx attacked the division of labor or specialization and wrote:

It is not the place here to go on to show how division of labour seizes upon, not only economical,

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<sup>1</sup>Instruktsii delegatam vremennovo tsentralnovo Soveta (dlia Genevskogo Kongressa 3-8 sent.," Chapter 4. (Truda detei i podrostkov), 1866, loc. cit.

but every other system of society, and everywhere lays the foundations of that all engrossing system of specialization and sorting men, that development in a man of one single faculty at the expense of all other faculties which caused A. Furgeson, the master of Adam Smith to exclaim: "We make a nation of Helots, and have no free citizens'".<sup>1</sup>

The division of labour in the workshop, implies concentration of the means of production in the hands of one capitalist; the division of labour in society implies their dispersion among many independent producers of commodities.<sup>2</sup>

The division of labour and specialization in any trade or field was thus against Marxian principles for it crippled people and handicapped their growth and free development.<sup>3</sup> In the future Communist state such things would not exist. In the Communist state the society was supposed to give men full possibilities of the general development of all his talents - in such a state, work, instead of being a burden, would become a pleasure.<sup>4</sup> What was needed was an all-sided development of the individual. Only through universality could the individual develop.<sup>5</sup>

Engels claimed that once there are men who are educated in all fields, there will be a new generation, a generation able to cope with any difficulties.<sup>6</sup> He described a future in which the young would be educated in the following manner; a planned society would need people with an all-round education and developed

<sup>1</sup>Marx, Capital, op. cit., I, pp. 388-389.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 390.

<sup>3</sup>The same claims were made by the 'liberal' philosophers of education in the 1860's in Russia. See text Chapter IV.

<sup>4</sup>A statement reminiscent of Pisarev, see text Chapter IV.

<sup>5</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Engels, Anti-During, op. cit., pp. 265-270.

talents, it would need people capable of orienting themselves in all fields of production. Such an education would allow the young to get to know all the system of production, it would allow them to go from one field into another and work in each equally well. Such people then can be used when needed or as their interest may allow. This kind of education would free men from the boring, enslaving uniformity of the present division of labour.<sup>1</sup>

To Marx and Engels human labour was evidently the source of all value, and in a society (The Communist society) in which work was to be honoured, in which none would live without labour, and where education would imply the actual mastery of the material environment, the germs of the education in such a society would only be found in the factory system; such education then, in the case of every child over a given age, would combine . . .

. . . productive labour with instruction and gymnastics. not only as one of the methods adding to the efficiency of production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings.<sup>2</sup>

Marx believed that it was possible to combine education with manual labour. He greatly emphasized this possibility and suggested that education should include not only intellectual education which would acquaint the child with the basic principles of all processes of production and at the same time give the child and the adolescent the skill and habit of dealing with the most simple instruments of production.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Friedrich Engels, Printsipy Kommunisma, (Principles of Communism), (Moscow: Gos. Izd., 1931), pp. 318-320.

<sup>2</sup>Education in the U.S.S.R., (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1947), No. 14, p. 12.(cited by).

<sup>3</sup>Karl Marx, "Instrukzii delegatam vremennogo tsentralnogo Sovieta po otdelnym voprosam", Sochineniya, loc. cit.

This education in the Communist state of the future was supposed to unite productive work with learning and gymnastics. And this, according to Marx, would not only be a method of raising the standards of general production, but also it will be the only method of achieving a generally and universally cultured man.

The "Great Principle", the labour-education combination, and technological instruction, both theoretical and practical, i.e. the combination of "work with mind" and "work with hands" became the fundamental concept of Marxist philosophy of education.

In 1871 Marx developed some educational ideas based on the Paris Commune. He approved of the educational reforms introduced by the Communards during their sixty-two days of rule. To Marx, their educational reforms established a system of education highly desirable in a Communist state. He stated that all of the educational institutions were free and open to the people, and at the same time all interference of Church and state was removed. Thus not only was education made available to all, but science itself was freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.<sup>1</sup>

The Commune, according to Marx, provided the following educational reforms:

- a. Free education for all, free school implements.
- b. Education freed from ecclesiastical and state interference.
- c. Education freed of class prejudice.
- d. Freedom of science; freedom of learning.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Shore, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 59.(cited by).



Furthermore, the Commune guaranteed to each locality, i.e. local Commune, full freedom of educational organization and development. It guaranteed complete, universal education and the creation of educational opportunities to facilitate the unfolding and the growth of the abilities of each individual member of the new France.

The Commune government introduced a number of new subjects into the curriculum - subjects which demanded secular and rational instructions, based on reason and scientific experimentation, freedom from superstition, ethics stressing solidarity, social-political instruction aiming at revolutionary activity, instruction in the arts; and an attempt to link education with industry, - "industrial design".<sup>1</sup>

This kind of education fulfilled Marx's demands, it was open to all people - freed from the chains of class, government, church. It was committed to the ideals of intellectual freedom. It was

devoted to the full development of the talents of each individual, dedicated to the fostering of the 'eternal principles of justice and liberty' basis of all true equality: 'He who does not work must not eat.'<sup>2</sup>

The struggle that Communism was to wage was then

a struggle for the abolition of the division of labour and for the bringing up of education and training of harmoniously developed human beings, capable of doing everything.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Arkhiiv Marksa i Engelsa, III (VIII), Moscow, 1934, (An address, Russian ed.)

<sup>2</sup>Edward S. Mason, The Paris Commune, (New York: 1930), p. 270.

<sup>3</sup>Karl Marx, Sochineniya, op. cit., Vol. 13, Part I, p. 29.

## The Marxist Philosophy

### Concerning the Woman Question

The aim of socialism according to Marx was that of the spiritual emancipation of man and his liberation from economic determinism by creating a form of production and organization of a communist society where man could overcome alienation from his fellow-man, his work, himself and nature. This emancipation was seen by Marx in terms of self-realization and the development of the individual personality.

The Marxist concern with the question of the structure and organization of a society in which all forms of exploitation, misery and oppression would be eliminated necessarily implied an involvement with the question of the emancipation of women:

For there can be no liberation of mankind without social independence and equality of the sexes.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, it is the duty of the proletarian woman to join the men of her class in the struggle for a thorough-going transformation of Society, to bring about an order that by its social institutions will enable both sexes to enjoy complete economic and intellectual independence.<sup>2</sup>

Thus only a radical transformation of the society and sexual ethics can create a new condition where women will not only be emancipated as human beings but also as women. This will only be possible if the socio-economic dependence of women and their subservience to man's dominion will be eliminated.

The question of the status of women in a society or the 'woman question' to the Marxists, thus, coincides and is unseparable.

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<sup>1</sup>Auguste Bebel, Woman and Socialism, Meta L. Stern, (trans.), (New York: Socialist Literature Co., 1910), pp. 6-7. This work was translated into Russian and published in Moscow in 1905.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

from the general question of social evils and social change. The egalitarian principles professed by the Marxists cannot exclude women from their position as a part of a social organism or deny them the opportunity to develop their abilities in order to become, like their fellow-men, useful members of the human society. To the Marxist, women then, must be endowed with equal rights and duties to serve the society according to their best ability and in turn be served by the society according to their needs.

The woman question being only a phase of a general social question becomes, according to Marx, like all other social questions a function of economic conditions.

#### The Woman Question as a Function of Economic Conditions

... to emancipate woman and make her the equal of man is and remains an impossibility so long as the woman is shut out from social productive labor and restricted to private domestic labor. The emancipation of women will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding all the evils introduced by the Industrial Revolution, such as child labor and inhuman working conditions for women, large-scale modern industry permitted the employment of female labor over a wide range and in this sense contributed to the "ending of private domestic labor by changing it more and more into a public industry".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>F. Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, (New York: International Publishers, 1942), p. 148.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

This claim is further supported by Marx:

However terrible and disgusting the dissolution, under the capitalist system, of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economical foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, according to Marx, as a result of the working conditions in the factories, collective working groups are formed. Since these groups are composed of both sexes and all ages they "must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of humane development."<sup>2</sup> These 'suitable conditions' do not and cannot exist under capitalistic conditions. What exists instead, is a brutal, inhumane form of relationship where the laborer, is enslaved by the process of production which becomes the foundation and source of slavery.

... whatever similarities exist between the position of woman and that of workingman, woman has one precedence over the workingman. She is the first human being which came into servitude.<sup>3</sup>

Women then have a 'double yoke' to bear. Not only they suffer as a result of their economic and working conditions as proletarians but also as result of their social and economic dependence upon men as women and the ensuing inferior position in society.

Woman was the first human being that tasted bondage.  
Woman was a slave before the slave existed.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>K. Marx, Capital, op. cit., I, pp. 239-240.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Bebel, Woman and Socialism, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

<sup>4</sup>Auguste Bebel, Woman in the Past, Present and Future, trans. H.B.A. Walther, (London: William Reeves Ltd., n.d.), p. 7.

All social dependence and oppression is rooted in the economic dependence of the oppressed upon the oppressor. Woman - so we are taught by the history of human development - has been in this position since an early stage.<sup>1</sup>

In the bourgeois society the men lead and the women follow - a relationship which is diametrically opposed to that which prevailed during the period of primitive communism and the matriarchal organization of the society. The evolution from primitive communism to the bourgeois society and the rule of private property was brought about by the transformation of the matriarchy to patriarchy through the establishment of monogamous marriage.

The overthrow of mother-right was the world historical defeat of the female sex. The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. This degraded position of the woman, especially conspicuous among the Greeks of the heroic and still more of the classical age, has gradually been palliated and glossed over, and sometimes clothed in a milder form; in no sense has it been abolished.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, women may not only be oppressed as proletarians, if they belong to that class, but they are always oppressed as 'sex beings'. According to Marx and Engels, the first division of labour ever to take place was that between men and women regarding the procreation of children. The first antagonism of class character between human beings was created by the institution of monogamous marriage leading to the first example of class oppression - that of the female by the male - caused by the coming into existence of private property. Monogamous marriage, then, is the outcome of the system of gain and property sustained by the bourgeois

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<sup>1</sup>Bebel, Woman and Socialism, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>F. Engels, The Origin of Family, .... op. cit., p. 50.

society and forms one of its basic principles.

The monogamous marriage, was the first form of family to be "based, not on natural, but on economic conditions - on the victory of private property."<sup>1</sup>

The battle between the protagonists in the institution of monogamous marriage becomes a class struggle between the man who by 'appropriating and enslaving' the woman transforms her into a means of production of 'legitimate' offsprings to whom he can transfer his private property.

Thus when monogamous marriage first makes its appearance in history, it is not as the reconciliation of man and woman, still less as the highest form of such a reconciliation. Quite on the contrary. Monogamous marriage comes on the scene as the subjugation of the one sex by the other; it announces a struggle between the sexes unknown throughout the whole previous prehistoric period.<sup>2</sup>

The first division of labor is that between man and woman for the propagation of children.<sup>3</sup>

The first class opposition that appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male.<sup>4</sup>

The monogamous family, due to its historical origin is the expression of the antagonism between men and women based upon man's exclusive supremacy. This form of family therefore:

... exhibits in miniature the same oppositions and

<sup>1</sup>F. Engels, The Origin of Family, .... op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. For a development of this thesis by a woman Marxist, Mme. Kollontay, see Appendix XVI.

<sup>3</sup>K. Marx & Engels, The German Ideology, (New York: International Publishers, 1939), p. 20.

<sup>4</sup>Engels, The Origin of Family, .... op. cit., p. 58.

contradictions as those in which society has been moving, without power to resolve or overcome them, ever since it split into classes at the beginning of civilization.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident then that the first condition for the liberation of women would be to

... bring the whole female sex back into public industry, and that this in turn demands the abolition of the monogamous family as the economic unit of society.<sup>2</sup>

This could be possible only in a socialist/communist society where men will be truly free and will not act in regard to production and distribution, without any knowledge of their underlying laws; but where men will act consciously and methodically fully aware of the laws of his own development. In this society "the future belongs to Socialism, that is, primarily to the workers and to women."<sup>3</sup>

### The Status and Education

#### of Women in the Communist 'State'

Communism is the positive abolition of private property, of human self-alienation, and thus the real appropriation of human nature through and for man. It is, therefore, the return of man himself as a social, i.e., really human being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development. Communism as a fully developed naturalism is humanism and as a fully developed humanism is naturalism. It is the definitive resolution of the antagonism between man and nature, and between man and man. It is the true solution of the conflict between existence, between objectification

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<sup>1</sup> Engels, The Origin of Family, ..., op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Bebel, Woman and Socialism, op. cit., p. 508.

and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individuals and species. It is the solution of the riddle of history and knows itself to be this solution.<sup>1</sup>

In the communist society the human self-alienation will be abolished and the "good-society" will be reconstructed upon the good will of cooperating individuals without the presence of authoritarian forces and coercion. In this society, in the absence of economic consideration, the natural and humane relationship between man and woman will be re-established.

The immediate, natural and necessary relation of human being to human being is also the relation of man to woman. In this natural species relationship man's relation to nature is directly his relation to man, and his relation to man is directly his relation to nature, to his own natural function. Thus, in this relation is sensuously revealed, reduced to an observable fact, the extent to which human nature has become human nature for him. From this relationship man's whole level of development can be assessed. It follows from the character of this relationship how far man has become, and has understood himself as, a species-being, a human being. The relation of man to woman is the most natural relation of human being to human being. It indicates, therefore, how far man's natural behavior has become human, and how far his human essence has become a natural essence for him, how far his human nature has become nature for him. It also shows how far man's needs have become human needs, and consequently how far the other person, as a person, has become one of his needs, and to what extent he is in his individual existence at the same time a social being.<sup>2</sup>

In the communist society women will finally be liberated of the double yoke they bear, for with the vanishing of the bourgeois state, the bourgeois family, its economic unit, will also vanish

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<sup>1</sup>K. Marx, Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts, T.B. Bottomore, (trans.), (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1967), p. 127.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 126-127.



and women will become the economic and social equals of men. The abolition of socio-economic difference will lead to the abolition of intellectual and cultural differences between the sexes - differences which have resulted from the century long suppression of women and their relegation to the position of servants and exclusion from all participation in social production.

No differences between man and woman will be justified in the communist society

... except those established by nature to fulfill its purpose. But no sex will overstep the natural limits, because it would thereby destroy its own purpose in nature.<sup>1</sup>

Education, like everything else in the communist state would be shared by all and become a condition of human freedom and creativity. Through education the new society, the goals of which would be the recognition and realization of man's true needs, would be built. With the vanishing capital and the vanishing family, home education will vanish and will be replaced by the more natural and more complete social education:

And your education! Is it not also social, and determined by social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention of Society, direct or indirect, by means of schools, etc.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.<sup>2</sup>

The progress in humanity, self-affirmation, freedom and individual development can be attained only in a society which

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<sup>1</sup>Bebel, Woman and Socialism, op. cit., p. 245.

<sup>2</sup>Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

abolished whatever values keep one human being, one sex or class in slavery and dependence upon another. Although men and women may be different in their physiological and psychological make-up, humanity and society, according to the Marxists, consist of both sexes, both indispensable to the maintenance and development of the communist society. No difference in the physical characteristics of men and women can furnish any cause of political or social discrimination between the sexes.<sup>1</sup>

In the new society woman will be entirely independent, both socially and economically. She will not be subjected to even a trace of domination and exploitation, but will be free and man's equal, and mistress of her own lot. Her education will be the same as man's, with the exception of those deviations that are necessitated by the differences of sex and sexual functions. Living under normal conditions of life, she may fully develop and employ her physical and mental faculties. She chooses an occupation suited to her wishes, inclinations and abilities, and works under the same conditions as man. Engaged as a practical working woman in some field of industrial activity, she may, during a second part of the day, be educator, teacher or nurse, during a third she may practice a science or an art, and during fourth she may perform some administrative function. She studies, works, enjoys pleasures and recreation with other women or with men, as she may choose or as occasions may present themselves.

In the choice of love she is as free and unhampered as man. She woos or is wooed, and enters into a union prompted by no other considerations but her own feelings. This union is a private agreement, without the interference of a functionary, just as marriage has been a private agreement until far into the middle ages. Here Socialism will create nothing new, it will merely reinstate, on a higher level of civilization and under a different social form, what generally prevailed before private property dominated society.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto, op. cit., pp. 244-246.

<sup>2</sup>Bebel, Woman and Socialism, op. cit., pp. 466-467.

## CHAPTER IX

### SOVIET EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

1917 - 1936

The Soviet educational system has always been a powerful instrument owned and strictly controlled by the State, i.e. primarily the Communist Party, for the indoctrination of the people with Marxist-Leninist or Stalinist ideology. Soviet education has always been claimed to be consistent with the Marxist-Leninist spirit and its principles. Although, like Marxism, Soviet education has been materialistic, openly anti-spiritual and anti-religious, in many instances however, it has been contradictory to Marxist ideals of education.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, sharp ideological or administrative changes in the educational system and the ensuing educational policies, practices or theories have been explained and re-explained by Soviet ideologists in terms of the same Marxism-Leninism.

Thus since 1917 there have been three major turns in the educational philosophy and practice of the Communist Party.<sup>2</sup> What is most striking is that each reform brings with it new theories and practices, and new methods of teaching, usually

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<sup>1</sup>See text, Chapter X.

<sup>2</sup>N. DeWitt, Education and Professional Employment in the U.S.S.R., (Washington: U.S. Government printing office, 1961), pp. 78-153. The three main stages are: 1917 - Mid - 1930's; Mid. 1930's - Mid. 1950's; Mid. 1950's - .

directly opposed to the former ones. And though the new theories and practices may be the direct negation of the former ones which were based on and supported by Marxist-Leninist ideals, the new ones, too, are backed by and based on Marxism-Leninism. Furthermore, on close examination, the history of Soviet educational practices and the numerous reforms, if stripped of Marxist terminology, show a very close correspondence to practices and reforms under the Tsars at different historical periods.

### Leninism and the Educational Philosophy

of N. K. Krupskaya

Education, perhaps, more than any other social institution in the Soviet Union has been affected by economic changes, the country's needs and especially the evolution of technology and science. The education of women as active participants in the evolution of the Soviet Society towards its final goal of Communism, has been particularly affected by changes and fluctuations in Soviet economy. Although the Soviet legislation concerning the rights of women to work and education has always been true to Marxist-Leninist principles with considerable emphasis on right, justice and other humanitarian values, in practice the emphasis has been different, for it seems that in Russia the position of women has always been very closely linked with the fate of Russian economy and the status of the Russian woman was always closely related to her participation in this economy. Contrary to what the Soviets have always claimed it may be true that in the Soviet Union;

... the woman question is an economic question and that sentiments of right and justice play only a secondary role in the solution of the problem, such sentiments being themselves the product of economic conditions.<sup>1</sup>

### Lenin's Views on the Woman Question

Lenin's concern with the emancipation of women was perhaps of a more practical than idealistic nature, for women only by their numbers, being at least half of the population of Russia, were not only important as a section of the 'proletarian army', but also as a working force in the reconstruction of Russia. Claims like the following show to what extent Lenin considered the participation of women in the Communist Revolution important:

There can be no socialist revolution, unless a vast section of the toiling women takes an important part in it.<sup>2</sup>

It has been observed in the experience of all liberation movements that the success of a revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it.<sup>3</sup>

The proletariat cannot achieve complete freedom, unless it achieves complete freedom for women.<sup>4</sup>

Adhering closely to Marx's and Engels' theories on the evils of the monogamous bourgeois marriage as the economic unit of the capitalistic order, Lenin, even more than Marx or Engels, stressed the necessity to liberate women from the burden placed on her by

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<sup>1</sup>Philip Rappaport, Looking Forward, (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1913), p. 88.

<sup>2</sup>V.I. Lenin, Letters from Afar, (New York: International Publishers, 1932), p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>V.I. Lenin, Women and Society, ("To Women Workers," February 21, 1920), (New York: International Publishers, 1938), p. 27.

domestic work and thus make it possible for her to participate in large-scale production.<sup>1</sup>

According to Lenin:

The Bolshevik, Soviet Revolution cuts at the root of the oppression and inferiority of women more deeply than any party or any revolution in the world has dared to do. Not a trace of inequality between men and women before the law has been left in Soviet Russia. The particularly base, despicable, and hypocritical inequality of marital and family rights, inequality in relation to the child, has been completely abolished by the Soviet government.

This is only the first step towards the emancipation of women. But not a single bourgeois republic, even the most democratic, has dared to take even this first step. They dared not do so out of fear of "the sacred right of private property."

The second and principal step was the abolition of the private ownership of the land, the factories, and mills. This, and this alone, opens the way for the complete and real emancipation of women, their emancipation from "domestic slavery," by passing from petty, individual, domestic economy to large-scale social economy.<sup>2</sup>

The aim of the Soviet Republic was then to abolish bourgeois marriage and along with it laws concerning divorce proceedings and differences in status of children born in and out of wedlock. Once the bourgeois family was abolished, everything else would follow, for women then would be free to take part in productive labour and could work in developing institutions which would

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<sup>1</sup>Practically anywhere where mention of women is made, Lenin does not fail to refer to the 'domestic slavery' of women and the need to abolish it. See for example: V.I. Lenin, "International Women's Day," Pravda, March 8, 1921; V.I. Lenin, Women and Society, op. cit., pp. 15-17; Clara Zetkin, "Lenin on the Woman Question", (New York: International Publishers, 1934), pp. 7, 12-13. See also Appendix XVII.

<sup>2</sup>Lenin, "International Women's Day", op. cit.

liberate them from domestic work. They would help in building public dining rooms, Kindergartens, creches and take part in the organization of the food industry.<sup>1</sup>

The real emancipation of women, real communism, will begin only when a mass struggle (led by the proletariat which is in power) is started against this petty domestic economy, or rather when it is transformed on a mass scale into large-scale socialist economy.<sup>2</sup>

In the Soviet Republic, according to Lenin, not formal legal equality of man and woman is established but an economic and social equality which leaves the woman free to pursue her interest and fully realize herself through education and work. In his conversations with Clara Zetkin on the woman question he insisted on the role of the Communist Party in educating people in order to overcome their backward ideas, especially the ideas of some even communist men on women. Many times he stressed that the emancipation of women and the abolition of the bourgeois family in the communist state did not imply the collective ownership of women. He admitted that in many cases the masculine comrades were acting first as males then secondly as comrades:

Unfortunately it is still true to say of many of our comrades, 'scratch a Communist and find a Philistine'. Of course, you must scratch the sensitive spot, their mentality as regards woman.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, according to Lenin, in the Soviet Union, in

<sup>1</sup>Lenin, Women and Socialism, op. cit., pp. 13-15. See also Mme Alexandra Kollontay's rather illuminating address to Women Sections of the Third Communist Congress on "Prostitution and Marriage" in Appendix XVI.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Zetkin, op. cit., pp. 19-20. (Lenin cited). See Appendix XVII for the complete discussion.

front of the law there was a complete equality of rights of men and women and the Party always sincerely wished to put this equality into practice. By the very fact that all educational institutions were open to women and communal kitchens, public eating houses, laundries, repair shops, infant asylums, kindergartens, and children's homes were established, women were given "freedom from household drudgery and dependence on man."<sup>1</sup>

Admitting that this was not much and more should be done for women, Lenin claimed:

It is a good beginning in the right direction, and we shall develop it further. With all our energy, you may believe that. For every day of the existence of the Soviet State proves more clearly that we cannot go forward without the women.<sup>2</sup>

Where the problem of education in the Soviet State was concerned Lenin let Krupskaya do most of the theorizing and organizing. Much of what is known about Lenin's educational views has been cited by Krupskaya in her numerous articles and works on education. He regarded the school as an instrument for the re-construction of the state into a classless society and the re-education of the entire new generation in the spirit of communism.

His educational views can be best summarized by the following claim made to the III Congress of Komsomol (Young Communist League) on October 2, 1920:

... our school must provide the youth with the basic knowledge and the ability to be able to develop themselves Communist views; it must turn them into cultured people. The school must make from them participants in

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<sup>1</sup>Zetkin, op. cit., p. 20. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. (cited by).



the struggle for the liberation from exploitation.<sup>1</sup>

### Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya's Philosophy of Education

The very first day the Soviet regime came into existence V.I. Lenin told A.V. Lunachersky<sup>2</sup> to consult N.K. Krupskaya, his wife, on all educational matters:

It is evident that much should be turned over, stopped, started along new paths. I think, you should seriously talk everything over with Nadezhda Konstantinovna. She will be helping you. She has thought much about these questions, and it seems to me that she has chosen the right line of thought.<sup>3</sup>

Krupskaya thus began her career as the leading and most influential educator of the Soviet era. According to Soviet sources Krupskaya's importance as an educator lies in her development of a new Marxist-Leninist pedagogy and system of socialist education. Her 'discovery' of the meaning and importance of Marx's polytechnical education and the combination of education and production have laid the basis of Soviet education.<sup>4</sup>

In developing her educational philosophy and pedagogical methods, Krupskaya often referred to K.D. Ushinsky's and L.N. Tolstoy's works as well as those of N.A. Dobroliubov, A.I. Herzen,

<sup>1</sup>V.I. Lenin, Sochinenia (Works), (Moscow: 4th ed. n.d.), Vol. 31, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup>Then appointed as Commissar of Education.

<sup>3</sup>A.V. Lunacharskii, Vospominanie o V.I. Lenine (Memoirs of V.I. Lenin), (Moscow: Gos. Pol. Izd., 1956), pp. 630-631.

<sup>4</sup>E.I. Rudneva, Pedagogicheskaya sistema N.K. Krupskoi, (The Pedagogical System of N.K. Krupskaya), (Moscow: Moscow Un. Press, 1968), pp. 3-16, 176-177.

V.G. Belinsky, N.G. Chernyshevsky and D.I. Pisarev.<sup>1</sup> Thus although Krupskaya used the educational principles outlined by Marx-Engels and the laws of dialectical materialism as the starting point of her educational philosophy she seems to have never been able to escape completely the influence of the Russian philosophers of the nineteenth century and their idealism.

N.K. Krupskaya (1869-1939)<sup>2</sup> began her revolutionary activities in 1890 when she started teaching at a workers' Sunday School in St. Petersburg. She met Lenin in St. Petersburg and became a member of the "Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class". After the Revolution Krupskaya was officially appointed as the chairman of the scientific-pedagogical section of the State Educational Soviet (Council), and also a member and from the year 1929 a deputy of the College of Narkompros.<sup>3</sup>

Her contributions in the field of pre-school education, the Soviet Unified Labour School, polytechnical education, self-education, adult-education and liquidation of illiteracy became the basis of the first Soviet reforms in education.

#### Krupskaya's Interpretation of Marx

Krupskaya admitted that Marx had not written any special

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<sup>1</sup>E.I. Rudneva, Pedagogicheskaya sistema N.K. Krupskoi, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup>Krupskaya's father and mother belonged to the class of dvoriane (nobles). They were not landowners and often found themselves in difficult economic conditions.

<sup>3</sup>Narkompros - Narodnyi Komitet Prosveshchenia (National Committee for Education).

essays on education but that it was not difficult to deduce his educational philosophy from references to education in most of his philosophical and economic treatises. To understand Marx's views on education one must, according to Krupskaya, take into consideration not only his isolated references to education but his philosophy as a whole and especially his method of the dialectical study of phenomena.<sup>1</sup>

In explaining Marx's view on education Krupskaya stressed the importance of the tenth point of the Communist Manifesto<sup>2</sup> with special emphasis on the necessity to abolish class-education and the introduction of universal and free education for all children, the elimination of factory work for children (in its bourgeois form), and the union of education and material production.

To illustrate this new education Krupskaya cited Marx:

Instead of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class contradictions comes a new association, in which the free development of each becomes the condition of the free development of all.<sup>3</sup>

The 'free development of all', as understood by Marx, according to Krupskaya would only be possible in a society where there would be no classes or class struggle and where 'free development' would be

... closely linked with such a blossoming of learning, knowledge of laws of nature and the development of

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<sup>1</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, Izbrannye pedagogicheskie proizvedeniya (Selected Pedagogical Works), (Moscow: 1948), p. 226.

<sup>2</sup>See text p. 231.

<sup>3</sup>Krupskaya, op. cit., p. 214 (K. Marx and F. Engels, cited). Also in Izbrannye Sochineniya, (Selected Works), (Moscow: 1952), Vol. I, p. 28.

humanity, that it will ensure everyone a more complete, all-round development; and each member of this association, of this union will be so closely, organically bound to the whole association and its progress as a whole, that all his activities, all his life will serve to further the development of the future classless society.<sup>1</sup>

Krupskaya believed that this new order, could be established, and that through the 'proper' education of children and youth society could be reconstructed. By 'proper' education she understood general education, all-round education - polytechnical education, as opposed to narrow professionalism and specialization leading to "Professional Idiotism".<sup>2</sup> Only such an education would nurture the true 'Communist Man' - the foundation and the future of the classless society.

### The Education of a Communist

According to Krupskaya one cannot discuss communist education without defining first what kind of a man a communist is, what does he have to know, what are his goals and in what manner does he attain them.

The Communist is first of all - a social being, with strongly developed social instincts, desiring that all men live well, that all men are happy.<sup>3</sup>

Anyone, of any class origin, can become a communist, but most communists come from the working classes the reason being that

<sup>1</sup>Krupskaya, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 217. (Marx cited).

<sup>3</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "K Voprosu o kommunisticheskom vospitanii molodezhi," ("On the Question of the Communist Education of Youth"), Iunyi Kommunist (Young Communist), 1922, No. 8-9. Also in Izbrannye Ped .... op. cit., p. 208.

the conditions they live in develop in them social instincts. These conditions can be summarized as collective labour, working conditions, and collective struggle for humane conditions of existence. The members of the working classes unlike the capitalists do not compete with each other but cooperate with each other and their common cause against the capitalist classes strengthens and develops even more their social instinct.

Although the social instincts often indicate the true road to communism and are the necessary condition to become a communist, they are not a sufficient condition. A communist must also have knowledge. This knowledge is not the ordinary knowledge of facts which can be acquired by anyone - it is a deeper knowledge, a knowledge of the human condition and the mechanism of existence. It is a knowledge of the evolution of human society and its laws.<sup>1</sup>

According to Krupskaya when Lenin said: "We have to learn, learn and once more learn," he was addressing the Party members, and by learning he did not mean school education, higher learning (as he has been interpreted) but learning to see and clearly notice where and what is wrong; one has to learn to see better, to understand life better and not to graduate from some institute or other.<sup>2</sup> Hence the insistence of Krupskaya on the close connection between life and school and the necessity of the school becoming life itself.

<sup>1</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "K Voprosu o kommunisticheskom vospitanii molodezhi," op. cit., pp. 209-210.

<sup>2</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, VIII Vsesouznyi Siezd VLKSM (VIII All-union Congress of VLKSM), 5-16 May, 1928. Reported in Molodaya Gvardia, 1928, p. 153.

Once the communist 'learns' and understands the laws of the development of the human society, he must understand that in communism the happiness of some cannot be built upon the unhappiness of others. He therefore must always sacrifice his private life and selfish interests for the good of the society, for the success of communism.<sup>1</sup>

To be a communist it is necessary to: 1) Know what is bad in the capitalistic system, what direction social development takes, and how one must cooperate to accelerate the establishment of the communist system; 2) know how to apply one's knowledge; 3) be with the whole spirit and body at the service of the interests of the working masses and communism.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Aim of the Soviet School

In the Country of Soviets, the school serves other aims: it arms with knowledge, and at the same time while nurturing communists, it also aims to mould from the youth, people capable of actualizing communism.<sup>3</sup>

The school must open the road to the mastery of technology, to the mastery of the achievements of science, the school must teach to learn and work in a communist way.<sup>4</sup>

Contrary to the general claims of the communists that in the communist state the school, like all other institutions, would become unnecessary and will wither away, Krupskaya claimed, that the school will remain, for children will remain children and will

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<sup>1</sup>Krupskaya, "K Voprosu . . .," op. cit., pp. 210-211.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>3</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "Za Leninskuiu politekhnicheskuiu shkolu," (For Lenin's Polytechnical School) Iunyi Kommunist (Young Communist), 1931, No. 19 in Izbrannye . . ., op. cit., 1955, p. 481.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 480.

have to be educated. But the school would change in form, for "the children would be more mature, friendlier, and better organized. The teachers would be different."<sup>1</sup>

Krupskaya further criticized those who claimed that the sooner the school would wither away the better, for, she insisted, the school was "the instrument of re-educating all children in the spirit of Communism."<sup>2</sup>

But she also criticized those who were against 'new methods' and the 'new school' of the twenties:

The School front - is also the battle-front. The old is still very much alive. Many think: the lesser the innovations, the better. They pull the school backwards. It is absolutely necessary to fight this rightist inclination.<sup>3</sup>

Krupskaya deeply believed that work at school and work outside the school formed an organic whole which could not be split. A few months before her death, in 1939 she wrote that the Soviet school was basically different from the bourgeois school for it aimed at the development in the school of a new type of man:

Man who would be impregnated with communist morality and who would approach all questions not from the point of view of his personal interest but from the point of view of the interests of the society.<sup>4</sup>

After twenty years of the rather unsuccessful Soviet

<sup>1</sup>Krupskaya, "Za Leninskuiu . . .," op. cit., p. 481.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 482.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 483. It must be remembered that the above was written in 1931 when there were strong tendencies within the Party to abandon the experiments of the twenties and polytechnical education as well.

<sup>4</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "Zametki o Kommunisticheskom vospitanii," (Notes of Communist Education), Komsomolskaya Pravda, Feb. 18, 1939.

experimentation<sup>1</sup> in education Krupskaya had not lost her faith in the inherent goodness of man and the possibility of changing him and educating a 'new man' by organizing the right kind of schools and using the right methods - Polytechnical Education.

### Polytechnical Education

It has already been mentioned<sup>2</sup> that Marx never developed in detail his views on polytechnical education nor did he specify the scope or content of such an education. Even Lenin mentioned the subject only in passing and his views on polytechnical education were mainly the result of his wife's influence, Krupskaya. Thus polytechnical education as it was interpreted and applied by the Soviets in their school reforms was necessarily based on Krupskaya's philosophy of polytechnical education.<sup>3</sup>

Krupskaya considered polytechnical education as one of the most important factors in the preparation of man-power for the industrialization and reconstruction of the country. She agreed with Engels that the needs of technology were the driving forces behind the development of science and growth of interest of the masses in learning.

In a rapidly industrializing country, the masses, according

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<sup>1</sup>Admitted by the Soviet Authorities themselves. See text, Chapter X.

<sup>2</sup>See text, Chapter VIII.

<sup>3</sup>There were other Soviet philosophers or educators who also wrote on polytechnical education, Bubnov, Shulgin and Shatsky, but their interpretation of polytechnical education did not essentially differ from those of Krupskaya's. Makarenko's works had also had considerable influence; he has often been considered as 'the great teacher of the Marxist tradition'.



to Krupskaya, needed to understand production and the different productive processes not as isolated instances but as a whole and thus be able to adjust to the continuous changes in technology resulting from this industrialization. This necessarily excluded narrow professionalism by replacing it with general habits of work relevant to the basic principles of the different branches of production.

The principal idea was that every student would learn the important basic skills in mechanics, electricity, agriculture, carpentry, and other related fields. The purpose was to create a bond of unity and understanding between various elements - the agricultural, industrial, commercial and intellectual. Its aim was to emphasize the Marxist principle seeking to destroy the distinction between manual labour and intellectual labour.<sup>1</sup>

Usually it is thought that the term is used only to denote a certain sum of habits - a poly-professional field or the study of actual techniques. Polytechnism - this is a whole system, at the foundation of which lies the study of technology in its different forms, in its development and use. To this field belongs also the study of 'aesthetic technology' - as Marx called living nature, and the technology of metals and the study of machine production - their mechanisms; and the study of energy changes and their use. To this also belongs the study of geography and economic relations; the influence of the ways of production on the general forms of work and the influence of the latter on general social structures.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "Raznitsa mezhdru professional'nym i polytechnikheskim obrazovaniem," (The Difference Between Professional and Polytechnical Education), *O Nashikh Detiakh* (About our Children), 1930, No. 5, in N.K. Krupskaya, *Sobrannye Sochinenia* (Collected Works), (Moscow: Uch. Ped. Giz., 1934), Vol. IV, pp. 137-139.

<sup>2</sup>N. Krupskaya, *Trudovaya i polytekhnicheskaya shkola i proizvodstvennaya propaganda*. (Labour and Polytechnical Education and Industrial Propaganda). (cited by Nikodimov, *op. cit.*, p. 15).

About polytechnical schools Krupskaya claimed that:

In polytechnical schools the students, except for general work habits, must also know the aims and goals of their work; they must know how to plan their work, how to calculate it out, how to draw, how to work together and divide the work among themselves, they must learn to like work, to use instruments, ... Polytechnical education is not a certain subject to be taught. It must be assimilated into everything, all disciplines... A mutual bond between these disciplines and practices, and especially learned trades is necessary. Only such a bond would help to add to labour training its polytechnical character.<sup>1</sup>

Krupskaya warned against some of the dangers resulting from a misunderstood implementation of polytechnical education. The greatest and first danger was the omission of linking practice with theory and thus narrowing polytechnical education to the study of specialized skills. The second danger was using child labour under the banner of polytechnical education.<sup>2</sup>

According to Krupskaya, Lenin also claimed that polytechnical education was not to be concerned with the preparation of 'man-power' or 'working hands' only, but also with the education of men who would be able to build a country and make it "undefeatable, satiated, enlightened".<sup>3</sup>

Lenin had clearly differentiated between the preparation of man-power and the preparation of conscious builders of a new technological foundation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., p. 25. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "Rekonstruktsia narodnogo khozaistva i politekhnicheskoe obrazovanie," (The Reconstruction of National Economy and Polytechnical Education), Pervyi Vserossiiskii Sezd po politekhnicheskomo obrazovanie, M. - L., Narkompros RSFSR, 1931, pp. 144-147 (The First All-Russian Congress on Polytechnical Education).

<sup>3</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "O Polytekhnicheskomo Obrazovanii," (On Polytechnical Education), Izbrannye Ped. .... op. cit., p. 327.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Basically, the aim of polytechnical education would then be educating children capable of socialist and communist work, and providing them with the ability to understand and love work. In that sense polytechnical education would be one aspect of the social education necessary for every young communist.

### The Importance of Social Education (Vospitanie)

The fundamental education of every future Soviet citizen was, according to Krupskaya, social education. Social education could be broken down into three basic components - the education of social instincts, the education of social consciousness, and the education of social habits. This necessarily implied that children from the earliest possible age must be brought into contact with the desirable influences of the collective life with other children. The child should always associate the emotions of joy and happiness with collective experiences. In this process Krupskaya stressed the necessity of interesting children and not stifling their individuality.

Furthermore, although in a communist state personal interest must always be subordinated to collective interests, this, according to Krupskaya, did not mean the loss of individuality or the subordination of individuality to the society, simply because the internal contradictions between the individual and the society would have withered away in the communist state.

In the communist state the individual would develop as never before for he would draw energy and support from collective life. This he could only do if he learned to educate and develop his social instincts and social habits. And this precisely was the

role of the school in providing the children with adequate social experience. The school therefore must be closely connected with the life of the working classes and their interests, for to work collectively does not mean to work together on a specified task in the same place (classroom or workshop), but it means to work with a goal in mind, a social goal, a goal common to the interests of the working classes.<sup>1</sup>

Above all the school must not isolate the child from life, and education should be organized in terms of "understanding life with the aids that life itself gives, moving along the road of the ceaseless and everdeepening struggle for socialism."<sup>2</sup>

#### Krupskaya on Women

Since Krupskaya was a convinced Marxist it is needless to repeat what her views on the emancipation of women would be. Throughout her work direct references to women are very scarce indeed, for in the communist state there could be no difference in the education of the sexes.

In a speech "Khorosho zhit' v takuiu epokhu!" (It is Great to Live in Such an Epoch) to the All-Union Women's Conference in 1935 she referred to the necessity of the participation of women in the activities of the society and their importance in the re-construction of all social life. She repeatedly referred to

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<sup>1</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "Obshchestvennoe Vospitanie," (Social Education), Izbrannye Ped. .... op. cit., pp. 201-207.

<sup>2</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "Vospitanie," (Education), Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia, (Moscow: 1st ed. 1929), Vol. XII, p. 320.

Lenin's claims of the important role of women in production and socialist construction.<sup>1</sup>

In the same speech she stressed the fact that the Soviet woman must educate herself so that she will be able to educate her children in the communist spirit. Education for women was also important because it allowed them to enter political life and participate actively in the organizational spheres of the country. Krupskaya then deplored the fact that so few women are in key positions; that at all women meetings there always is a male chairman, and urged all women to become more active and aim for such positions.<sup>2</sup>

Krupskaya herself, as we have seen, had never occupied the well-deserved position of a Commissar or Minister of education or some other key position except only the relatively important position of a chairman of the scientific-pedagogical section of the Educational Soviet.

#### Soviet Educational Practices in the 1920's and Early 1930's

The Revolution of 1917 was not merely a political or economic revolution, it basically was a psychological and moral revolution, for its task was not only to establish a new state but to create a new order by changing the attitude of people toward the needs and possibilities in life. This necessarily implied the destruction,

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<sup>1</sup>N.K. Krupskaya, "Khorosho zhit' v takuiu epokhu," Komsomolskaya Pravda, June 5, 1935.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., also in N.K. Krupskaya, Zhenshchiny strany sovetov - ravnopravnyi grazhdanin (Women of the Country of Soviets - Equal Citizen), (Moscow: 1938), pp. 116-120.

from its very roots, of the old system of values and morals, which in turn meant the introduction of a rigorous campaign of propaganda and re-education.

According to Lenin "The task of the new education was to unite teaching activities with Socialist organization of society ... Teachers must consider themselves as agents of communism as well as general education."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the two principal concerns of the new Soviet regime established in 1917 were first the consolidation of the power of the new government and second an urgent drive to speed up industrialization, urbanization and mechanization of the whole economy. The new regime could consolidate its power by abolishing illiteracy, indoctrinating and educating the people in the principles of the Revolution, and through successful industrialization which could be carried out only by the full participation of the population. Since slightly more than half the population of Russia were women their full participation in the economic, political and social life of the country had to be ensured.

### Early Soviet Legislation<sup>2</sup>

To indoctrinate, illiteracy had to be liquidated. To Lenin illiteracy was one of the greatest problems:

An illiterate person stands outside; he must first be taught the A.B.C. Without this, there can be no

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<sup>1</sup>E. Koutaïssoff, "Soviet Education and the New Man," Soviet Studies, No. 2. Oct. 1953, Vol. 5, p. 105. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix for Legislation on Women in Russia immediately preceding the October Revolution and after the October Revolution.

politics; without this, there are only rumours, gossip, tales, prejudices, but no politics.<sup>1</sup>

The struggle against illiteracy became thus one of the most urgent tasks of the new regime. Both Lenin and Trotsky saw in illiteracy the only obstacle to the construction of socialism.

On December 26, 1919, the Decree on the Liquidation of Illiteracy and Semiliteracy was issued. It concerned all men and women:

The entire population of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic from eight to fifty years of age who are unable to read and write must learn reading and writing either in their native language or in Russian, according to their own preference.<sup>2</sup>

An Extraordinary Commission for the Liquidation of Illiteracy was established. The masses were to be taught to read politically oriented material. The slogans "Away with illiteracy" and "You who are literate, teach someone who is not!" began to appear everywhere.<sup>3</sup>

In 1919 new programmes for the organization of schools were set up. Points 1, 3, 8 and 9 of Clause 12 of the Programme of VKP(b) accepted at the Eighth Congress of RKP(b) (18-23 March 1919) decreed the following:

1) To institute free, compulsory, general and polytechnical (the introduction in theory and practice

<sup>1</sup>Albert P. Pinkevitch, The New Education in the Soviet Republic, (New York: John Day, Co., 1927), p. 375. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>N. Nar, "The Campaign against Illiteracy and semiliteracy in the Ukraine, Transcaucasus, and Northern Caucasus, 1922-1941," G. Kline, (ed.), Soviet Education, op. cit., p. 139. (cited by).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 139-140. In the 1860's when the students went into the country to teach the peasant, they too used Tolstoy's phrase: "... teach Manfitka and Taraska what we know ...," see text, Chapter V.

of the major fields of production) education for all children of both sexes to the age of 17.

3) The full actualization of the principles of the unified Labour School, with instruction in the maternal language, coeducation, completely secular, i.e. free from all religious influence, imposing close ties between education and social productive labour, the preparation of all-round developed members of the Communist Society.

8) The extensive development of professional education for all from the age of 17 in connection with general polytechnical education.

9) Widely opened admission to the lecture halls of higher schools for all those who wish to study, with preference to the workers; the attracting to teaching positions in higher school of all those who can teach there; the abolition of all artificial separation between the junior teachers and the 'cathedra'; material support to students with the aim to make it possible for proletarians and peasants to take advantage of the higher schools.<sup>1</sup>

This programme was not fully put into practice in the first decade of Soviet rule and only in 1930 a Resolution of the Central Committee of All-Russian Communist Party of July 25, 1930 "On the universal Compulsory Elementary Education" was introduced. Clause 1 of this Resolution claimed:

To introduce during 1930/31 universal compulsory elementary education for children of ages 8-9-10 and extend to 11 years in 1931/32.<sup>2</sup>

Although in points (8) and (9) no specific reference was made to women, the rights of women to education had already been guaranteed by The Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic which was adopted by the Fifth Congress of

<sup>1</sup>Akademia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk; Sbornik rukovodiashchikh materialov o shkole (Collection of Directive Materials on Schools), (Moscow: Akad. Ped. Nauk, 1952), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 33.



Soviets in Moscow on June 10, 1918 and became the basis of the existing Constitution of the Soviet Union of 1936. In article 121 of this constitution all citizens irrespective of their sex or nationality were guaranteed the opportunity to education.<sup>1</sup>

Article 122 of the same Constitution further claimed:

Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance, and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, by state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, pre-maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and Kindergartens.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Soviet legislation on education and work coupled with the Marxist-Leninist ideology encouraging women to participate with equal rights to men in economic and political life theoretically insured women not only their equality of education and political participation but has bestowed upon them an equality of obligation to participate in production.

#### The Unified Labour School

The Revolution of 1917 brought an abrupt, overwhelming change in education. A new order was established and with it a new educational system appeared. In the early 1920's the Party was then faced with many problems in education - the major one being the reshaping of attitudes. The 1920's thus became a period of

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<sup>1</sup>Article 121, Constitution of the USSR, 1936, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962), p. 100.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Article 122.

experimentation, of trial and error.

Progressivism took an upper hand in the Soviet educational philosophy of that period and those reforming and progressive men who were hampered in every possible way by the Tsarist regime were actively and officially promoted by the Bolshevik regime.<sup>1</sup> Also the methods and ideas of progressivism were in high favor for they aided the new regime to demolish old institutions and make a clear break with the past, for the old habits of discipline and hierarchy had to be destroyed. Together with Marxist educational views, these ideas and methods played an important if not a decisive role in Soviet schools of the 1920's period.

Throughout the history of Soviet education, aside from a whole spectrum of enthusiastic and sometimes rather spectacular experimentation, two clearly identifiable concerns seem to compete for priority: the concern for the development of an all-round, socially conscious and independently active citizen, imbued with elementary humane virtues, and the concern to provide the industry with quantities of qualified technicians and workers.

In the official documents on education, Commissar Lunacharsky<sup>2</sup> stated:

The two chief present problems of social education are: (1) The Development of public economy with reference to Socialist reconstruction in general and the efficiency of labor in particular; (2) The development of the population in the spirit of communism.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This fact influenced many liberal intellectuals to lend their cooperation to the Bolshevik government.

<sup>2</sup>Anatole V. Lunacharsky was the Commissar of Education in the early 1920's, but was condemned in the 1936 purges.

<sup>3</sup>John Dewey, Impressions of Soviet Russia, (New York: New Republic Inc., 1929), p. 87. (cited by)

The aims of education were set forth as follows:

(1) The union of general culture with efficiency of labor and power to share in public life; (2) supply of the actual needs of national economy by preparation of workers in different branches and categories of qualifications; (3) meeting the needs of different localities and different kinds of workers.<sup>1</sup>

In the 1920's an attempt was made to create a school system in which the two above mentioned concerns would be fully realized. This, the early reformers believed, could be done by the implementation of the principle of the Unified Labour School.<sup>2</sup> According to Lunacharsky this 'new' school was to be 'Unified' in the sense that it would form a ladder system of schools starting at the Kindergarten level and extending all the way to and including the university. All children would then attend the same type of school and all would have the same right to "go up the ladder to its highest steps". Priority to go up the ladder in these schools should be given to the children of the proletarians and the poorest

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<sup>1</sup>John Dewey, Impressions of Soviet Russia, (New York: New Republic Inc., 1929), p. 87. (cited by). These aims were discussed in a detailed form in the following document signed by Lunacharsky: "Vozzvania i obrashchenia gosudarstvennoi komissii i narodnogo komissariata po prosveshcheniu," ot narodnogo Komissara po prosveshcheniu. ("Proclamation and Appeal of the State Commission and the National Commissariat of Education," from the National Commissar of Education), Petrograd, Oct. 29, 1917, published Nov. 1, 1917, and "Ot gosudarstvennoi komissii po prosveshcheniiu osnovnye printsipy Edinoi Trudovoi Shkoly," (From the State Commission on Education: Basic principles of the Unified Labour School), October 16, 1918. Both documents are available in Sbornik dekretov i postanovlenii rabocheho i krestianskogo pravitelstva po narodnomu obrazovaniiu, (Collection of Decrees and Resolutions of the workers' and 'peasants' Government on National/Public Education), 1st, ed. October 28, 1917-November 7, 1918, National Commissariat of Education.

<sup>2</sup>The Unified Labour School was a 9-year school divided into two stages: Stage I of 5 years' duration for the ages 8 to 13; Stage II of 4 years' duration for ages 13 to 17.

of peasants.<sup>1</sup>

The 'new' school was also to be a 'labour' school in the sense that the fundamental basis of all teaching would be drawn from 'principles of production' and 'relations of production'. Furthermore the methods used in the schools would have to be based on two fundamental principles of learning, for learning takes place only when it is meaningful, close to life, and learning takes place when it can be lived and acted out, when it involves the active participation of the subject.<sup>2</sup>

The child then, would learn through games, excursions and collective activities not only about the content of formal subjects such as mathematics, history, geography, biology or languages but will also learn to be a useful member of a collective society,<sup>3</sup> for, according to Lunacharsky:

Socialistic education, by uniting the aspirations towards the building of psychological collectives with subtle individualization, leads to the personal pride in one's capacity to develop in oneself all his abilities to serve the collective whole.<sup>4</sup>

According to Lunacharsky the success of the Unified Labour School, further depended on two conditions - it was to be secular and coeducational.<sup>5</sup>

In the document on the Unified Labour School frequent references

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<sup>1</sup>Lunacharsky, "Osnovnye printsipy Edinoi Trudovoi Shkoly," op. cit., pp. 174-175.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 176-177.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 177-180.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 181.

are made to psychology and its use in the 'new' school. The Soviet psychologists were basically behaviorists. They stressed the importance of stimulus-response situations and regarded thinking as implicit behaviour and emotions as implicit reactions. They placed great emphasis on conditioned reflex and discarded theories of inherited behaviour patterns or special abilities.<sup>1</sup> It is hardly surprising then, that progressive educational ideas and practices very much resembling those applied in the private gymnasia of Stoyunina, Zhekulina or Kirpichnikova<sup>2</sup> were adopted in the new Soviet School.

The behavioristic, materialistic Soviet pedagogues were not able to cleanse themselves of the humanitarian Rousseauesque - Tolstoyan beliefs in the inherent goodness of the child and the possibility of nourishing and cultivating this virtue in the proper environment - the Communist state.

In general it was considered that the new socialist society could itself, without any structured educational institutions, educate its citizens appropriately. Thus great emphasis was placed upon the child's initiative, self-reliance and freedom, and progressive education was practised almost to the point of the withering away of the school.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This was nothing new to Russian psychology. The behaviorist school was quite strong in Russia even before the Soviet Revolution, for after all the early Soviet psychologists were all the products of the pre-Revolutionary system and Pavlovian psychology.

<sup>2</sup>See text, Chapter V.

<sup>3</sup>Although it has been claimed that during this period Soviet educationists drew heavily on the philosophy of John Dewey, for example George Z.F. Bereday, William V. Brickman, Gerald H. Read, (eds.) The Changing Soviet School (Boston: The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1960), pp. 64-67, the case may just have been that Dewey's philosophy was very much like that of the Russian philosophers.

The Soviet philosopher and educator, V.N. Shulgin wrote:

In my opinion, there will be no school in the future Communist society. The child will go immediately into social work. There he will find no pedagogues, but a work director, who will be a sufficiently cultured person, and one who knows how to handle children. More correctly, we will all be pedagogues. The child will go directly from social work to industrial work, and from there to the library, where he will find answers to all the questions which interest him. We are approaching closer to this all the time.<sup>1</sup>

Since the aim of the Soviet regime was the creation of a new man, a "Homo Sovieticus", new institutions had to be established to create this new mentality.<sup>2</sup> The political and economic changes led necessarily to a new atmosphere, an atmosphere where only collectivistic mentality was to be favoured. The aim of the educational reform was then a change in the mental and moral disposition of the people. Schools were claimed to be the "ideological arm of the revolution". For through them communism could be taught and indoctrinated. Through them anti-religious indoctrination was carried out, for to change the mental and moral disposition of the people their faith had to be changed. Religion being the "opiate of the people" had to be replaced. Along with the struggle against religion and illiteracy, the struggle against the 'bourgeois family' was launched.

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of the second half of the nineteenth century. Chronologically Dewey came after Stoyunin, Lesgaft and the other 'liberal progressive' philosophers.

<sup>1</sup>W.W. Rostow, The Dynamics of Soviet Society, (U.S.A.: New American Library, 1954), p. 108. (cited by). V.N. Shulgin was the director of the Marx-Engels Institute of Pedagogy. In 1931 the Institute was dissolved and Shulgin and several others of his followers were either purged or liquidated in some way; S.T. Shatsky and Paul Blonsky were some of the influential Soviet educators purged in the 1936 trials.

<sup>2</sup>This 'new man' very much like Catherine the Great's 'new breed' was to become the foundation of the 'new society'.

The hopes of the new regime were naturally turned towards the younger generation, for only through them the future of the communist state could be ensured. The Soviet school of the 1920's became precisely what Lenin wanted it to be.

The school, apart from life, apart from politics, is a lie, a hypocrisy. Bourgeois society indulged in this lie, covering up the fact that it was using schools as a means of domination by declaring that the school was politically neutral, and in the services of all. We must declare openly what is concealed, namely, the political function of the school. While the object of our precious struggle was to overthrow the bourgeoisie, the aim of the new generation is much more complex; it is to construct communist society.<sup>1</sup>

Education then, was inseparable from propaganda and propaganda itself became education. Furthermore, for any propaganda to be effective, it would have to be started as soon as possible. The family, having an exclusive and isolated effect on children was an influence, undesirable and hostile to the regime. The natural role of the school in its structure and organization was to undermine the importance and uniqueness of family life.

Children who were 3-7 years old were asked to stay 8-10 hours daily in nursery schools. Summer colonies, where children were away from parents for two or three months were also organized, and on the whole legal church marriages were regarded as bourgeois and reactionary. Having taken care of "the development in children of the elementary virtues of the socially conscious and independently active citizen,..." a provision for qualified technical workers for the industrial reconstruction had to be made. Labor became the socially helpful activity - the basis of all education.

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<sup>1</sup>Dewey, op. cit., p. 82. (cited by).

This principle was officially designated as the "complex system" or the "complex method", defined by the educator, Paul Blonsky, as "a central theme in connection with which children receive the necessary information concerning nature, labor, and social life of mankind."<sup>1</sup>

In the Unified Labour School the child was to be able to go through all grades up to and including the ninth grade in the same school. Throughout the nine years the child was to take part in socially helpful activities and through the actual experience in production, the pupil was to learn to live in a collective social order.

For the new school a new psychology was invented - Pedology.<sup>2</sup> This psychology, according to Blonsky was:

the science of chronological development of the child under the conditions of definite social-historical environment.<sup>3</sup>

To Professor Bosov<sup>4</sup> it meant,

the scientific synthesis of all that which presents the actual results of different scientific disciplines studying the developing human, each from its own approach.<sup>5</sup>

In the new school new methods were introduced, for study methods had to establish a connection between the school and

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<sup>1</sup>Paul Blonsky, "Russia," Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teacher's College, (New York: Columbia University, 1927), p. 324.

<sup>2</sup>Pedology continued to be popular until 1931; then both, Blonsky and pedology, were discarded.

<sup>3</sup>Bereday, op. cit., p. 63. (cited by).

<sup>4</sup>A Soviet philosopher of education in the early 1920's.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. (cited by).



social life outside the school. This led to the widespread use of the "project method" - a method of problem solving associated with practical problem situations of a manipulative or constructive nature in agriculture, industry or any other manual work. In these 'problem-solving' situations the emphasis was gradually shifted from the primary responsibility of the teacher to that of the pupil in the actual process of learning. In this process the teacher, textbooks and formal teaching and examinations were considered the superfluous remnants of the bourgeois school.

The "project method" method was to be the vehicle by which polytechnical education,<sup>1</sup> would be implemented in schools. This meant that any field of study, any scientific principles were not to be studied as isolated entities to be learned in themselves, but were to be studied in ways relevant to human life, and social phenomenon as well as the means of the utilization of natural resources and energy in industry.<sup>2</sup>

As more independence and freedom of choice was given to students, soon things went to the extreme, and learning by doing

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<sup>1</sup>It should be mentioned here, that there was a period in the 1920's, the NEP, when polytechnical education had only become a series of meaningless theoretical formulas. In practice all attention was turned to financial problems and the economy. Professional and trade training was accentuated. Furthermore, in the X. All-Russian Congress of Soviets (7.XII.1922) it was decided that in schools of first and second degree the students should pay fees. (See also, Nikodimov, op. cit., p. 19).

<sup>2</sup>The "project method" eventually degenerated into areas of narrow specialization. Thus in 1928 'production specialties' were introduced in the nine-year schools in the last two grades and everyone in the same school was assigned the same specialty. For example school No. 5 in Orel specialized in egg-and-poultry specialty and the school graduated nothing but poultry-breeding technicians. (Samarin, op. cit., p. 29).

at the time could have meant anything.<sup>1</sup> Collectivism was practiced to the utmost, social and political participation overshadowed all other aims. Teachers, as well as parents, had no longer any authority. A chaos followed for about a decade.

### Reforms in Polytechnical Education

Towards the end of the 1920's, the Unified Labor School developed into the Polytechnical School.<sup>2</sup> These were schools of 7-years and the students were to be instructed in the methods which were fundamental to a number of special industrial techniques. The slogan "the school is nothing but a branch of the factory" became the foundation of the polytechnical education of the late 1920's. This led to a more labor-oriented polytechnization, which was not general and did not offer training in the basic skills necessary for factory work, but was technical and vocational, and above all specific, meeting the immediate need of supplying industry with skilled labor. The first Five Year Plan (1928-1933) was begun and had to be fulfilled.<sup>3</sup>

The first years of the First Five-Year Plan witnessed a

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<sup>1</sup>The term polytechnical also came to mean many things - from narrow professional training to general education, trade education or simply work in a factory.

<sup>2</sup>The 8th Communist Congress claimed for Polytechnical education for all children to 17 years old and professional education for all above 17 (1919), see also I. Nikodimov, O Polytekhnicheskom Obrazovanii v SSSR (Polytechnical education in U.S.S.R.), (Munich: Institute for the study of the U.S.S.R., 1957), p. 17. Primary Schools State I, were reduced from 5-year to a 4-year period of instruction and a general secondary education of 3 years was added to form a 7 year common school. The 8th and 9th years were absorbed into the 4-year technicums. See Figure 2.

<sup>3</sup>For further details see, G.S. Counts, The Challenge of Soviet Education, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1957), pp. 60-68.

radical change in educational methods. An improvement was requested in the quality and quantity of training specialists for the industry. The strengthening of polytechnical education was decreed as essential. But in these same years, more or less as a direct result of the Five Year Plan, the deterministic notions in Soviet psychological theory and in other ideas of psychology and education changed.

The 12.VII.1928 Plenum of the Central Committee of the All Russian Communist Party made a resolution concerning the improvement in the preparation of new specialists. In this resolution a stress was put upon the strengthening of the bond between educative work in the VTUZ and the Technicums with production and industry. They claimed, furthermore, that the system of preparation of specialists did not equip the worker with the necessary skills needed in industry. Industrial preparation was thus unsatisfactory.

The July Plenum of the same year claimed for the strengthening by all means of the role of industrial training in the general preparation of specialists. They asked for the insurance and the raising of the training standards in schools.<sup>1</sup>

The last actions towards labor oriented polytechnization led really to the abolition of polytechnical education and to the establishment of narrow vocational, specialized training; in other words "Monotechnism emerged as the goal of polytechnical education."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, early in 1930 there was again a stress, for a very brief period, on the polytechnization of schools in the 1920's

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<sup>1</sup>For further detail refer to Nikodimov, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

<sup>2</sup>DeWitt, op. cit., p. 101.

meaning of the term 'polytechnical' as all-round education.

The Sovnarkom of U.S.S.R. of 14.VIII.1930 recommended the reinforcement, in all ways and by all means, of the polytechnical character of the schools of general education.<sup>1</sup>

Early in 1930 books, articles and essays on polytechnical education re-appeared. Once more polytechnical education was praised. A certain Beniukh<sup>2</sup> in one of his works described how polytechnical education had now become a reality; it had become a political state problem leading to the fastening of the bond between practice and theory, knowledge and industry.<sup>3</sup>

Bubnov was at this time the great partisan of polytechnical education in its pure form. He wanted to educate the "New Soviet Man," the all-round man.<sup>4</sup> He also launched the much used slogan "Bor'ba za polytechnicheskuyu shkolu - Bor'ba za socialism" (Struggle for the polytechnical school - struggle for socialism) (1931).

That a great stress was laid upon polytechnical education in the early years of 1930 can be seen from the Resolution of the XV All Russian Congress of Soviets in 1930:

The polytechnical school must be in the hands of the Soviet State a means through which the division of

<sup>1</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., pp. 20-22.

<sup>2</sup>Beniukh, Ot shkoli rozgovornoj k polytekhnicheskoi (From Speech schools to Polytechnical Schools), (Moskva: izd. Robotchii prosveshchenetz, 1930).

<sup>3</sup>Another such work is E. Perovski, Sovietskaya polytekhnicheskaya trudovaya shkola (Soviet Polytechnical Labor School), (Moskva, 1931).

<sup>4</sup>Bubnov, Shkola va povorot (The School at the Turning Point), (Moscow: 1931).

classes will be annihilated, it must be a means to the liquidation of the contradiction between the town and the village and the gap between physical and mental labor.<sup>1</sup>

Much serious work was done, especially in the field of theory on polytechnical education. Even a journal was published: "Za polytechnicheskuyu shkolu".<sup>2</sup> It should be mentioned that in general in the early 1920's polytechnical education was an ideal, a pedagogical method, carried out according to Marxist ideals, word to word - it was a hope, a tool to educate the "New Soviet Man". But in early 1930's, although theoretically it still meant the same thing as in the 1920's it had now a different aim - the education of specialists and technicians. And although in pedagogical journals and conferences of those years to the classical question "How should an engineer be educated?", the classical answer was - "Not highly specialized, but generally educated, having in addition to his specialization a general knowledge of many subjects - widely cultured."<sup>3</sup> The facts were different: the Soviet economy was shaken, it needed rebuilding and specialists were needed as fast as possible. At a worker's conference in 1931 Stalin claimed:

We are lagging fifty to one hundred years behind the advanced countries, and, we must win this distance in ten years or we will be crushed.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., p. 20. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-30.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>4</sup>G.S. Counts, op. cit., pp. 44-45. (cited by).

It was evident that the introduction of polytechnical education meant spending more time to educate specialists. Time was precious in the early 1930's; it was more precious than polytechnical education. Nevertheless in 1930-1931 Bubnov claimed that the Party had reached its goal in education; that now there were only a few schools where polytechnical education had not been introduced. But at the same time in his report to Stalin in 1931 he stated: "We are very far from the things that the Party told us to do."<sup>1</sup>

In 1931 he wrote again in Vseobuchenie i polytechnizatsia massovoi shkoly (General Education and Polytechnization of the School):

We are already finishing the building of socialist economy. Now, we can rebuild our school on polytechnical foundations ..."<sup>2</sup>

Whatever the claims may have been, the complex economic and social forces were stronger. They finally led to the defeat of polytechnical education. Although the idea of polytechnical schools was still much alive and nourished by the Party organs, in practice it soon gave way to the traditional educational philosophy. The Soviet education in the 1920's and the early 1930's went through a process of constant change. This change brought about essentially a complete disorganization in instruction. The Soviet state having now taken the total responsibility for the change in the environment of its citizens could no more afford to support the psychological

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<sup>1</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., p. 27. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 29. (cited by). See also Klimov, Vseobshchee obuchenie i polytekhizatsia shkoly (General Education and the Polytechnization of the School). (Moskva: Gos. Izd., 1931).

conception, which claimed that human behaviour is the product of and can be blamed on the environment.

The 1930's saw thus a radical revision of the deterministic and progressive notions in Soviet psychology and hence in education.

The turning point came not as a result of a sobering up by Soviet pedagogy, but by the dictates of the Party and Stalin and their decision to go ahead with the First Five-Year Plan.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously, there was a clash between the national program of education as designed by the Party in 1918 and the conscious state policy which aimed to alter as swiftly as it possibly could the economic foundations of the society.

The 1930's was also a period when Stalin consolidated his power and liquidated virtually all remaining leaders of the Party - Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy.<sup>2</sup> Stalin's purposiveness with respect to the evolution of Soviet economy led necessarily to new theoretical changes in psychology and education. One man rule, one man dictatorship was being established. This and also the desire to bring order out of the chaos led the Communist Party leaders to abandon their experimentation and flexibility. The so called 'foreign' pedagogical ideas of Western philosophers were abandoned and disgraced in the next decade. A new decade of totalitarian and authoritarian rule in all branches of government as well as in education had dawned.

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<sup>1</sup>Nicolas DeWitt, "Polytechnical Education and the Soviet School Reforms," Harvard Educational Review, No. 2, 1960, Vol. 30, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup>By 1928-1929 Stalin completed taking over the Secret Police, the Trade Unions, the army. Some of his critics and enemies within the Party he won over, others he liquidated.

## CHAPTER X

### STALIN'S CONSOLIDATION OF POWER AND THE RETURN TO FORMAL EDUCATION

#### Changes in the Official Educational Philosophy

By the early 1930's the poor results of the previous educational experiments led to a policy of the serious re-examination of the educational practices of the 1920's and a sharp turn of policy toward traditional methods of instruction. This was also made possible by Stalin's consolidation of power and the establishment of one-man rule in the Soviet Union.

Stalin firmly believed that, "education is a weapon whose effect depends on who holds it in his hands and at whom it is aimed."<sup>1</sup> The establishment of a totalitarian autocratic rule under Stalin could not be compatible in any way with the 1920's permissive practices in education, for like everything else in the Soviet Union, education came under his firm control.

It is not surprising then that progressive education was completely abandoned; the concept of the "New Soviet Man" was introduced, and with it strict training in the useful techniques and methods of production was imposed. According to Stalin, to

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<sup>1</sup>A. G. Kalashnikov, (the Minister of Education of the R.S.F.S.R.) Thirty Years of Soviet Education. (Moscow: 1947), (address delivered under auspices of the "All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge" on October 24, 1947). (cited by).



create this "New Soviet Man" it was necessary to produce a group of intellectuals who would be "'engineers of human minds', and for the rest minds capable of being engineers."<sup>1</sup>

### The Return to Traditional Methods and Classical Education

In the mid-1930's there was silence about polytechnical education. The motto--"for polytechnical education", "for polytechnical schools" still remained as a basic principle of Soviet and Communist education--but now it was nothing but a dead formula--with no clear meaning.

The new interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theory led also to the re-interpretation of polytechnical education which in this period meant nothing else but "firm acquisition of applied knowledge and learning of the natural sciences, physics, chemistry, and mathematics."<sup>2</sup> There was a return to traditional methods of instruction; emphasis on discipline and obedience, grading, training and learning. Regular class instruction was established, attendance was controlled, teachers' authority was restored, and students had to pass a general examination to be admitted to higher studies. The project method, and brigade system of collective study were discarded as bourgeois perversions. The idea of the family was reinstated and given importance. Even the curriculum changes reflected the

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<sup>1</sup>Donald Treadgold, Twentieth Century Russia, (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1959), p. 349. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Nicolas DeWitt, Education and Professional Employment in the U.S.S.R., (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 82.

trend of the new education. Tight planning and centralization of the administrative control throughout all the Soviet republics was imposed and political activities were no longer a valid excuse for academic failure. Furthermore, older professors from the Tsarist time were recalled back from 'retirement' from the remote parts of the country and even from abroad to help to re-establish formal education with its traditional methods of instruction. The contemptuous attitude toward culture and intellectualism or learning which was characteristic of the 1930's was replaced during the 1930's by "a virtual worship of education and science."<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the 1930's there had been a complete reversion to older educational and cultural ideals, particularly with regard to form and methods of education.<sup>2</sup>

The value and importance of classical education and general cultural development was stressed to the utmost. All members of the Party, the Komsomol, teachers and students were asked:

. . . to make the entire heritage of human culture your own, to master the heights of science and technology, to raise yourselves[to] the summits of knowledge, to become the best educated people in the whole world.<sup>3</sup>

Stalin's policy to industrialize and modernize the country at

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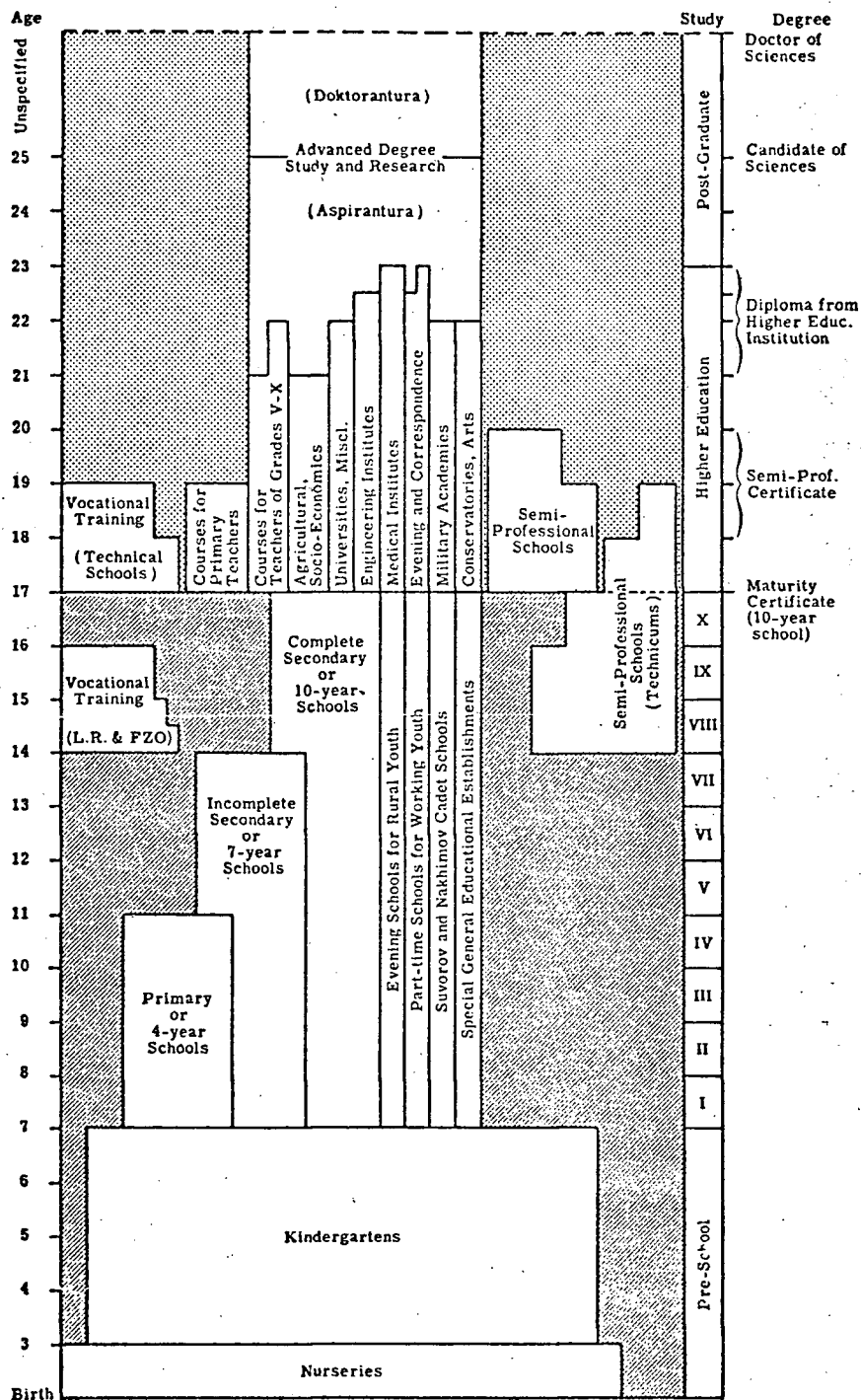
<sup>1</sup>Friese, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. By the end of the 1930's the general outline of the Soviet primary and secondary school system, as it still is today, had taken shape. See Figure 2.

<sup>3</sup>M. I. Kalinin, O kommunisticheskom vospitanii (On Communist Education), (Moscow: 1947), p. 30. (cited by Ibid., pp. 54-55).

FIGURE 2

## THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE SOVIET UNION



Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Education in the U.S.S.R., (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 30.

any cost necessarily geared education to satisfy the need for research specialists and technicians. The new curriculum thus emphasized "easily administered subjects rather than the practical subjects that dominated the schools of the twenties."<sup>1</sup> And all schools, primary or secondary, all over the Soviet Union, adopted the same inflexible curriculum dictated by the Academy of Pedagogical Science.

With the stress on industrial research as well as on basic research in the preparation for the coming war, the expansion of technical institutes and universities foreshadowed the entrenchment of the educational philosophy that was to transform the primary, incomplete secondary, and secondary schools into preparatory institutions for higher education.<sup>2</sup>

#### Separate Schools for Boys and Girls

In the beginning of the 1940's another rather interesting development took place: coeducation was to be abolished in Soviet schools. In August 1943, A. Orlov, Director of the Moscow Municipal Department of National Education wrote:

In the ensuing school year, our organs of national education and our schools are confronted with a task of great national importance: as from September 1, 1943, separate education for boys and girls in all forms from the first to the tenth will be introduced in the incomplete and complete secondary schools of the provinces, of district towns, of capitals of the Union and Autonomous Republics and of larger industrial towns, as soon as separate schools for boys and girls have been organized in these towns.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>G. Z. F. Bereday and Joan Penner (eds.), The Politics of Soviet Education, (New York: Praeger, 1960), p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-32.

<sup>3</sup>"On the Education of Boys and Girls apart in Separate Schools," Izvestia, August 10, 1943. For complete article see Appendix XVIII.

According to Orlov coeducation had introduced a number of inconveniences in the school mainly because of the peculiarities of the physical development of boys and girls, for each sex required different vocational training and preparation for leadership or military service. He further gave the example of some of the Moscow schools where for the 1942/1943 school year separate schools were partially introduced from the fifth form up and where a considerable improvement in discipline and a 'remarkable progress was achieved'. For the Moscow schools the programmes for the boys and girls were differentiated so as to create the necessary and suitable conditions for physical and military training for both sexes.<sup>1</sup>

Orlov further claimed that:

For the future, the programme of education and curriculum for boys' schools and girls' schools can be and must be differentiated. It is essential to introduce in girls' schools such additional subjects as pedagogics, needlework, courses in domestic sciences, personal hygiene and the care of children. In boys' schools, training in handicrafts must become a part of the curriculum. At the end of their school career, those who attend boys' schools must have acquired practical habits, they must be able to cope with simple repairs to electrical installations and heating systems, and with the repair of household objects. The syllabus of boys' schools must also be different for such subjects as geography. It is necessary that the future warrior and commander should be able to use a map and be absolutely reliable, to understand topography, to find his way by means of a map and to apply a map to the locality.<sup>2</sup>

Orlov also suggested the choice of separate buildings for

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. By 1946 separate education was extended to 222 cities. At the same time coeducation in semi-professional, higher and in the majority of primary and secondary schools in rural areas continued. This mixed system was abolished in 1954 in favour of a return to coeducation.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

boys' and girls' schools specially equipped to train each for their respective roles in the war. He also suggested "a differentiation by the national educational bodies in their management of schools for boys and girls" and separate headmasters' and headmistresses' conferences.<sup>1</sup>

Although the argument in favour of separate schools seems to have been based on the need for preparing the youth for the escalating war, there is a reference made to "absurd interpretations of the meaning of separate education" and tendencies of some Soviet pedagogues "to a return to pre-revolutionary views in this matter".<sup>2</sup> According to Schlesinger, the immediate incentive, that of preparation for war, for separating girls from boys only provided "for a measure with much more far-reaching implications."<sup>3</sup>

#### Further Reforms in Polytechnical Education

After the war the Soviet industry needed specialists and technicians even more than before. Until the 1950's Lenin's educational principle of the "unity of theory and practice" was, at least theoretically, carried out to the utmost. But in practice the "unity of theory and practice" really meant classroom instruction especially in the fundamentals of science, supplemented by practical applications needed in the formation of work habits. And during the period 1945-1952 there was

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>R. Schlesinger (ed.), Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), Vol. 2, p. 363 and pp. 393-394. DeWitt, op. cit., pp. 57-59, disagrees with Schlesinger, and claims that these were war measures.

almost no mention of Polytechnical Education in Soviet pedagogical journals or conferences.

Thus in the 1950's what the Soviet industry really needed were workers, not necessarily educated, but skilled. To produce such workers would have meant sinning against the principal Marxian thesis on education--all-rounded education. Thus the best solution was to cover the reform with terms and formulas--such as "polytechnization" which really meant now an experiment which had as its aim not only to produce enough skilled workers but also

. . . to curb the stirrings of nonconformity, challenging attitudes, problems of delinquency, and the distinct aversion to physical labor under Soviet conditions which appears to prevail in the mood of Soviet students aspiring for higher education.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1952 saw another major educational reform. The idea of polytechnical education was to be combined with productive labor training. During the changes the same pattern as in the 1930's was followed--the old theories were once more denounced, its supporters were accused of ideological deviation, persecuted and purged; then the new theory of education was formulated, followed by new methods, revised curriculums and textbooks.

In the same year the nineteenth Party Congress passed a resolution "proposing to undertake the realization of polytechnical instruction throughout the secondary schools",<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup>A. Korol, Soviet Education for Science and Technology, (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1959), p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia, (Moscow: 2nd ed., 1952), Vol. 33, p. 556.

claimed that:

The directives of the 19th Party Congress on the Five Year Plan envisage a wide program concerning the field of national education. The realization of the goals of universal secondary education, the introduction of polytechnical education in the secondary schools pre-supposes a great effort on the part of the workers of the pedagogical sciences and psychology.<sup>1</sup>

Malenkov at the nineteenth Party Congress reminded the members of "an old obligation--which had not been realized"--the introduction of polytechnical education in the Soviet school, and emphasized the necessity to adopt universal polytechnical education.<sup>2</sup>

In 1953 the R.S.F.S.R. Academy of Pedagogical Sciences--the authority on Soviet educational methodology and theory--published a book called Polytechnical Instructions in Schools of General Education. In this book the authors defined once more the concept of polytechnical education using Marx, Engels and Lenin as well as Stalin, and claimed:

What would be the consequences if not only separate groups of workers but the majority of workers should raise their cultural-technical level to the level of engineering-technician personnel? Our industry would be lifted to a height beyond the reach of the industries of other countries.<sup>3</sup>

The book also discussed the relationship between theory and practice of general education and polytechnical education.

<sup>1</sup>Pravda, No. 322, 1952. (Emphasis mine).

<sup>2</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., p. 33. (cited by).

<sup>3</sup>Politekhnicheskoye obucheniye v obshcheobrazovatelnoi shkole (Polytechnic Instruction in Schools of General Education), M. A. Melnikov and M. N. Shatkin, (eds.), (Moscow: R.S.F.S.R. Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, 1953), p. 16.



In the same year the Ministry of Education of the R.S.F.S.R., in August 1953, published four directives concerning polytechnical education in secondary schools. The first three directives claimed basically the same points made in the 1920's about polytechnical education, such as acquainting the students with the fundamentals of science and its application in industry and agriculture, the elements of production, and training in the skills of production. In the fourth point an interesting change was introduced by the claim:

. . . to create a link between socially useful labor and the school by subordinating all labor-activity of the school to the study-educational objectives of the school.<sup>1</sup>

Until 1955 polytechnical education, or at least the idea, flourished among the slogans of October and May parades and demonstrations. The slogan: "Workers of national enlightenment, fight for the polytechnization of schools!" could be heard everywhere.<sup>2</sup>

The struggle for a universal secondary school resulted in a rush of students into the higher classes; students of lower standards, who pulled the general standard of the school down. Thus only a very small number of graduates from these schools were capable of going to colleges or universities and more educated workers were supplied to the industry. In general, during these years the curriculum had not really changed much. Polytechnical instruction was used as a tool for learning other

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<sup>1</sup>N. DeWitt, Education and Professional Employment in the U.S.S.R., op. cit., p. 84. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., p. 33. (cited by).

traditional academic subjects which then could be applied in practice.<sup>1</sup> Though the students learned some theory in the basic sciences and some basic skills in practical work, neither was sufficient.<sup>2</sup> The halfway application of polytechnism supplied neither well prepared students for higher studies, nor well prepared workers equipped for practical activity for employment in industry and agriculture.

In general there was widespread confusion concerning polytechnical education. Even the Academy of the Pedagogical Sciences was unclear on the subject, for on one hand it was asked to follow "Lenin's will", on the other the directives of the Party. Thus the Academy could take no one position. It is not surprising then, that the statements issued by the Academy on polytechnical education had either double meaning or were completely misty.

After a number of sessions on "Polytechnical education" I. A. Kairov, the R.S.F.S.R. Minister of Higher Education in a speech to the Academy stated the basic elements of polytechnical education to be:

- (1) Practical work in school workshops.
- (2) Knowledge of the scientific basis of production.
- (3) Practica for older classes.
- (4) Excursions and productive practices for all students.

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<sup>1</sup>See also M. N. Shatkin, Politechnicheskoe obuchenie na soyremennom etape razvitiia shkoly (Polytechnical Education in the Present Stage of School Development), (Moscow: 1956), pp. 4-13.

<sup>2</sup>Polytechnical education was mostly carried out halfway because of lack of equipment (machines, textbooks), guidance and especially qualified staff. See also Korol, Soviet Education for Science and Technology. (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1957), pp. 20-67.

- (5) Work in the production for students.
- (6) Teaching the students specialized knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Soon the authorities became dissatisfied and in 1956 at the twentieth Party Congress Khrushchev denounced the failure of polytechnical education, and accused the teachers and members of the R.S.F.S.R. Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of being people who "are still engaged in general talk on the usefulness of polytechnical education but are doing nothing for its practical realization."<sup>2</sup>

The directives of the twentieth Party Congress in 1956 claimed that it was necessary to

. . . develop polytechnical education in universal schools, to make sure that the students would get to know and become familiar with the important branches of contemporary industry and agriculture. To insure the close bond between learning and labor, to educate the growing generation with Communist attitude toward labor.<sup>3</sup>

As a result, in February 1956, Khrushchev announced to the twentieth Party Congress the intention to establish a new system of education. With the regular ten-year school, a network of boarding schools for children to seventeen years old was to be established. These schools, too, were to be schools of general education.

The argument in favour of the sudden change in the system of education was that Stalin had made mistakes and what Khrushchev proposed to do was to bring back Soviet education

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<sup>1</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., pp. 44-45. (cited by).

<sup>2</sup>Pravda, February 15, 1956.

<sup>3</sup>Nikodimov, op. cit., pp. 33-34. (cited by).

into the right path--the path designated by Marx and Lenin. The fact though was that Khrushchev did not try to go back to the directives of Marx and Lenin; he went further back. Through the system of Boarding Schools he adopted the Tsarist educational methods.

Only those who attended the Boarding Schools could enter the university and other higher educational institutions. The general secondary school was to be converted into a professional school and thus students who attended it could no more go into higher studies. In these Boarding Schools tuition fees were to be charged, often high enough to make them inaccessible to the masses. Thus, at first sight, it would seem that only the children of the Party élite would be educated in those schools and the children of the masses--of the workers--would be turned into the factories and fields. Khrushchev argued in favour of creating these Boarding Schools because they were to solve "the problem of creating the spiritual prerequisites for completing . . . the transition from the lower stage of communism to its higher stage."<sup>1</sup> He also proposed that

. . . 'the state assume a larger role in the nurture and upbringing of children. Referring to the Tsarist schools for the children of privileged classes, such as the Pages and Cadet Corps and Institutes for Girls of Noble Birth, in which he said, the children received a thoroughly aristocratic upbringing.' . . . that the task of the Soviet state is to bring up the 'builders of a new society, individuals of great spirit and lofty ideals, wholeheartedly serving their people who are marching in the vanguard of all progressive mankind.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Khrushchev's Speech," in Pravda, Feb. 15, 1956. (cited by Korol, op. cit., p. 33).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. (cited by).

At the time Khrushchev announced these reforms, it seemed that the new boarding schools were to have college preparatory functions while the regular ten-year school was to be transformed into a system for vocational education and training.

It is evident, then, that such a reform necessarily implied a sharper class distinction, and would have determined who could and who could not enter the institutions of higher education.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of 1950's polytechnical education meant specialized vocation (skilled labor) training and polytechnical activity could now be stretched in any direction suitable to the local conditions and opportunities. Under the so called "polytechnical contracts" the Soviet youth was assigned work--for vocational and manual training. Thus in 1955 V. Petrov, a social inspector, wrote:

The polytechnic contract has acquired a particular importance in attracting the pupils to take part in agricultural work on the collective and state farms. A polytechnic contract obliges the school and farm administrators in advance to apportion the work of different types by grades and to utilize the pupil's labor in the greatest possible advantage of the farm and of the labor and the polytechnic training of the school students.<sup>2</sup>

In this new interpretation by contemporary Marxists, polytechnical education lost its original meaning, it no more could mean all-round education; nor could it help in the

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<sup>1</sup>What happened in practice has not been very clear mainly because Soviet authorities will not admit the above criticism. DeWitt, op. cit., treats this question in detail (pp. 97-103).

<sup>2</sup>"Pravilno reshat zadachu politekhnicheskogo obucheniya" (To Solve Correctly the Task of Polytechnic Instruction), Sovetskaya Kirgiziya, (October 16, 1955), p. 3. For other examples see, Uchitelskaya Gazeta, May 25, 1955; also June 25, 1956.

development of the youth and its talents; nor allow choice of profession.

In the period after Khrushchev more emphasis still was laid upon labour, labour activity, and socially useful labour and the control over the distribution of man-power was tightened.

To what extent distribution of man-power has been controlled and the choice of a career has been planned can well be illustrated by the following letter from a girl who had finished her tenth class and wanted to continue her studies, but 'fate', had decided otherwise.

Think of the following question: the person who finished a school where he studied for ten years, must choose some kind of a road in life. In our country, where all the roads for youth are 'opened', he at once decides to be a street cleaner, or goes to carry stones. So should I, knowing Newton's Laws, logarithmic physics, nuclear reactions and having some knowledge of Soviet literature. Will I go to sweep the streets? Yes, it is so Romantic. So, my dear aunt, I am not such a child, to be carried away by such romanticism, or by romanticism at all. If you ask any student of Mr. Luvov where he is going after the tenth class, he will only answer: 'To KPU,--kuda papa ustroyit'--(wherever my father can fix me). There is all your romanticism.<sup>1</sup>

### Higher Education of Women

One of the first decrees issued on education by the Soviet of National Commissars was the "Decree of August 2, 1918 on the Regulations Regarding Admittance to Higher Educational Institutes" signed by Lenin as chairman.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Komsomolskaya Pravda, 21. 6. 1959.

<sup>2</sup>Sobrannye uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii rabocheho i krestianskogo pravitelstva, (Collected Laws and Regulations of the Workers' and Peasants' Government), 1918, No. 57, p. 632 in Lenin, o vospitanii i obrazovanii (Lenin on Education and

In Clauses (1) and (3) the Decree clearly stated the equality of sexes in education:

Clause (1) Anyone, of whatsoever origin or sex, having attained the age of sixteen, can enter any institution of higher education without the presentation of a diploma, certificate, or proof of the completion of a secondary or any other school.

Clause (3) All the higher educational institutions of the Republic, on the basis of the regulations 'On the implementation of coeducation' (Collected Laws . . . , No. 38, p. 499) in all educational institutions are opened to all, without differentiating between the sexes. All those found responsible for disregarding the above mentioned regulation will be brought to trial by the Revolutionary Tribunal.<sup>1</sup>

All institutions of higher learning were free until 1940 when by a Resolution of October 2 "'as a consequence of the increasing well-being of the workers' and 'in the interests of Socialist society and the Soviet government,'" <sup>2</sup> tuition fees were introduced not only in the higher educational institutions (300-400 roubles a year) but also in the last three classes of the secondary schools (150-200 roubles). General scholarships, which before 1940 had been considered as necessary means of support for any student and were paid out as wages were, after 1940, granted only to exceptional students.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Decree of August 2, 1918 opened the doors of

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Culture), V. P. Gruzdev (ed.), (Moscow: Gos. Uch. Ped. Izd., 1963), pp. 585-586. It seems to be a tradition of Russian educational practice to start educational reforms from the 'top' rather than the 'bottom'. See previous chapters on Peter the Great, Catherine and the reforms of the sixties.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Friese, op. cit., p. 57. (cited by).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. Such measures were partly the results of the stringencies of war-time.

higher education to all citizens over the age of sixteen, clause (2) of the Decree demanded the presentation of some 'personal identification and age identification', which led to social discrimination of a very special kind: it excluded all those who could not prove their proletarian and peasant origin, as 'socially alien elements'.

The decree of August 18, 1918, which had opened the doors of all higher educational institutions to any citizen over sixteen who could demonstrate his proletarian or poor-peasant origin, brought a flood of wholly unprepared students into the universities and technical schools.<sup>1</sup>

Until 1935 these 'socially alien elements' were excluded not only from higher education but also from secondary education. They were refused work of any kind and were left to slowly 'abolish themselves' from the new Republic.

These 'socially alien elements' were the children of . . . former officers, merchants, tradesmen, important Tsarist officials, clergymen, nobles, 'honorary citizens', Tsarist police and law officers, 'dekulakized' peasants, etc. . . . Even the children of white-collar workers and members of the intelligentsia were given second priority, first priority going to the children of workers and peasants.<sup>2</sup>

According to Kaidanova, in the classless society of the Soviet Union there existed thus a category of people called lishentsi (outcasts), whose position was worse than that of the pariah in India or the former serf in Russia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup>Vladimir D. Samarin, "The Soviet School, 1936-1942," G. Kline, (ed.), Soviet Education, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>3</sup>Kaidanova, op. cit., II, pp. 14-16.



In October/November, 1934 the council of People's Commissars removed the restrictions on 'socially alien' persons to enter the universities and higher technical schools.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless a decade and a half of restrictions had a considerable effect on the decline of the number of men and especially women attending higher institutions of learning. (Table 10)<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 10

PER CENT OF WOMEN OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS  
ATTENDING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING  
IN ST. PETERSBURG / LENINGRAD

Types of higher Educational Institutions	Years		
	1913-14	1925-26	1929-30
General Education	49.9	49.3	38.8
Pedagogical	83.9	69.9	68.7
Technical	6.9	7.5	8.1
Agricultural	53.0	16.3	16.9
Economy	28.0	15.7	21.9
Medicine	60.6	47.3	48.2
Art	52.9	40.0	33.8
Total Percentage	37.2	29.5	26.9

There were several reasons for the decrease in the number of women in higher institutions. All through the 1920's a contemptuous attitude towards culture and learning was created with an emphasis on the virtues of manual labour. Then, also,

<sup>1</sup>Samarin, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>Statisticheskii spravochnik po Leningradu, 1930 (Statistical References on Leningrad, 1930), (Leningrad: Obliskom, 1930), p. 76, Table 63. cited by I. A. Kurganov, Zhenshchiny i Kommunizm, (Women and Communism), (New York: 1968), p. 26.

most of the women who were interested in higher education in the last two decades of Tsarist rule seem to have come from the middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie,<sup>1</sup> precisely those classes that were excluded from higher education.

After the mid-thirties and especially during the war years the percentage of women who attended institutions of higher education increased mainly because of the tremendous losses in men inflicted not only by the Second World War but also as a result of the Civil War which followed the Revolution of 1917.<sup>2</sup> In 1927-1928 school year the proportion of women in higher and secondary educational institutions was almost twenty-eight per cent, by 1940-1941 it had climbed to fifty-eight per cent and dropped again to forty-two per cent in 1961-1962. (Table 11).<sup>3</sup>

The decline in the sixties has been explained by a policy where the enrollment of women has been discouraged by changing admission regulations:

. . . in recent years, persons who have completed military service or who have worked satisfactorily for two or more years have been favored, and examination results or past academic performance have counted less. The effect of these changes has, of course, been unfavorable to women. In the first place, women do not serve in the military. Second, if a woman works for several years, she is likely to marry and thus be distracted from resuming her education. It

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<sup>1</sup>See text, Chapter VII; also Appendix XIV.

<sup>2</sup>Mark G. Field, "Workers (and Mothers): Soviet Women Today," Women in the Soviet Union, D. R. Brown (ed.), (New York: Columbia University, 1968), pp. 12-13.

<sup>3</sup>Central Statistical Board of the U.S.S.R., Women and Children in the U.S.S.R., (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1963), p. 57. For further details see Appendix XIX.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN STUDENTS IN THE TOTAL  
NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT HIGHER AND  
SECONDARY SPECIAL SCHOOLS

(BEGINNING-OF-SCHOOL-YEAR FIGURES)

	1927-28	1940-41	1950-51	1960-61	1961-62
Percentage of Women in Number of Stu- dents at Institu- tions of Higher Learning--Total	28	58	53	43	42
including Students at Institutions specialising in:					
Industry, Build- ing, Transport and Communica- tions	13	40	30	30	28
Agriculture	17	46	39	27	26
Public Health, Physical Cul- ture and Sports	52	74	65	56	55
Education, Art and Cinemato- graphy	49	66	71	63	62
Percentage of Women in the Number of Students at Sec- ondary Special Schools--Total	38	55	54	47	48
including Students at Schools spe- cialising in:					
Industry, Build- ing, Transport and Communica- tions	9	32	35	33	33
Agriculture	15	37	41	38	38
Public Health, Physical Cul- ture and Sports	89	83	85	84	85
Education, Art and Cinemato- graphy	53	60	77	76	77

would appear, therefore, that in practice the principle of equality of access to education has been sacrificed to increasing economic pressures favoring a greater concentration of educational resources on the training of men.<sup>1</sup>

The attitude of relegating women to a secondary position not only in education but in all areas of leadership can be directly related to Stalin's long and autocratic rule over Russia and his attitude to women.

Stalin's Views on the Woman Question and Their  
Effect on the Status of Women

Among other things Stalin has also been accused of anti-feminism:

He wanted us to work hard to fulfill the Plans. But he kept us in our places, never appointed women to high political office. And who ever saw him with his wife, when she was alive, at the opera or at a public gathering? There was something strangely oriental in Stalin's attitude toward women.<sup>2</sup>

That Stalin considered the Soviet woman as a commodity, useful, and perhaps indispensable to the Soviet economy can also be supported by the tone as well as content of the few references he made to women in his works and speeches. Although he repeated the essential position of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy regarding the status of women in a Communist state by claiming that:

It is not property status, not national origin, not sex, not office; but personal ability and personal labor, that determines the position of every citizen in society.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Field, op. cit., citing N. D. Dodge's comment, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>A Moscow girl confided thus to Maurice Hindus. (cited by Field, op. cit., p. 16).

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Stalin, "Report on the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.," Nov. 25, 1936, Selected Works, (New York: International Publishers, 1942), pp. 388-389.

Stalin, nevertheless, saw women in terms of 'man-power' and 'as the means of production' of the future man-power. It was therefore necessary to educate women in terms of making them politically conscious so that they would not "ruin the common cause" and development of industry and agriculture. Furthermore, as the future mothers, women had to be politically educated so as not to "cripple the spirit of a child," but "give us youth with a healthy spirit, capable of taking our country forward."<sup>1</sup>

Working women--workers and peasants--are the greatest reserve of the working class. This reserve constitutes a good half of the population. The fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or defeat of the proletarian revolution, the victory or defeat of proletarian power depends on whether or not the reserve of women will be for or against the working class.

That is why the first task of the proletariat and its advance detachment, the Communist Party, is to engage in decisive struggle for the freeing of women workers and peasants from the influence of the bourgeoisie, for political education and the organization of women workers and peasants beneath the banner of the proletariat.

International Woman's Day is a means of winning the women's labor reserves to the side of the proletariat. Working women are not only reserves, however. They can and must become--if the working class carries out a correct policy--a real army of the working class, operating against the bourgeoisie.

The second and decisive task of the working class is to forge an army of worker and peasant women out of the women's labor reserves to operate shoulder to shoulder with the great army of the proletariat.

International Woman's Day must become a means for turning worker and peasant women from a reserve of the working class into an active army in the liberation movement of the proletariat.

Long live International Woman's Day!<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Joseph Stalin, "On the 5th Anniversary of the First Congress of Working and Peasant Women," Communist Woman, Nov. 1923.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Stalin, "International Women's Day," 1925, Joseph Stalin: A Political Biography, (New York: Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, 1949), pp. 65-66.

To Stalin the importance of women in social reconstruction was not to be underrated merely by the fact that they represented more than half of the population of the country,

. . . they represent a huge army of workers; and they are called upon to bring up our children, our future. That is why we must not permit this huge army of working people to linger in darkness and ignorance!<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of women on collective farms, Stalin warned the comrades not to laugh at or underrate women because on the farms they represented 'a great force' and it was their 'duty to bring the women in the collective farms forward and to make use of this great force.'

As for the women collective farmers themselves, they must remember the power and significance of the collective farms for women; they must remember that only in the collective farm do they have the opportunity of becoming equal with men. Without collective farms--inequality; in collective farms--equal rights. Let our comrades, the women collective farmers, remember this and let them cherish the collective farm system as the apple of their eye.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident then, that the emancipation of women and their equality to men, regardless of whatever Marxist-Leninist principles may have implied, to Stalin, meant the right and duty to work side by side with the workers and peasants. There their rights stopped. The best proof of Stalin's attitude was his abolition in 1929 of the Women's Section of the Central Committee of the Party established in 1918.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph Stalin, "Report to 17th Party Congress," 1934, Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 294. (Speech at the All-Union Conference of Collective Farm Shock Workers, Feb. 19, 1933.).

<sup>3</sup>Field, op. cit., p. 16.

Over twenty years of Stalinist rule led to the expected negative effect on the participation of women in the key or leadership positions not only in the Party but in all fields of industry, education, art, agriculture, journalism or literature could be felt. (See Tables 12 and 13).

TABLE 12<sup>1</sup>

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE PARTY  
FOR THE YEAR 1966-67

	Per Cent of Total po- pulation	Per Cent in the Party	Per Cent in Central Commit- tee of Party	Per Cent in the Di- rection (Politburo and Secretariat)
Men	45.8	79.1	97.2	100
Women	54.2	20.9	22.8	nil

TABLE 13<sup>2</sup>

THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN THE DIRECTING BODIES  
OF THE PARTY IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE  
FOR THE YEAR 1966

	Total Number of Members	Men	Women
Politburo of the Central Committee of the Party	11	11	nil
Candidates to the Politburo	8	8	nil
Secretariat	11	11	nil
Members of the Central Committee	195	191	4
Candidates to the Membership of the Central Committee	165	159	6

<sup>1</sup>Kurganov, *op. cit.*, p. 33, citing respectively: Narodnoe Khozaistvo S.S.S.R. v 1965 g., p. 8; Partiinaya Zhizn', 1967, No. 7, p. 8; Izvestia, Apr. 9, 1966, No. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

Although the above statistics are given for the year 1966-67, they are as well representative of all the years of Stalinist rule as of the post-Stalinist period. Khrushchev thus deplored in several of his speeches<sup>1</sup> the negligible participation of women in leadership positions:

It is known to you what a great role women play in all aspects of Communist construction. But in this hall, for some reason, there are very few women. One would need binoculars to detect them. How can this be explained? They say that in this hall mainly workers--directors are present. This would then mean, if directing is involved--then it is men, but where work is involved--then it is women.<sup>2</sup>

The negligible number of women in the Party's leadership is reflected in a similarly small proportion of women in leadership positions in the economy, industry and education.

In 1961 the position of women in industry is indicated in Table 14.<sup>3</sup>

The higher the position the less women are represented. Furthermore, most of the workers in, for example, the textile industry are women--95 per cent at the winding-machines, 97 per cent at the looms, 99 per cent are surveyors.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For example in "Report to the SK KPSS (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union) XX Congress of the Party" (Moscow: 1956), p. 128 and in the journal Party Life, 1958, No. 5, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>N. S. Khrushchev, "Rech' na soveshchanii rabotnikov selskogo khozaistva Ukrainy," (Speech at the Conference of Agricultural Workers of the Ukraine), Izvestia, 24.12.1961.

<sup>3</sup>Central Statistical Board of U.S.S.R., op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>4</sup>Kurganov, op. cit., p. 44, citing Posev, 3.9.1965, No. 35.



TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN EXECUTIVES AND PROFESSIONAL  
WORKERS OCCUPYING VARIOUS POSTS IN INDUSTRY  
BY DECEMBER 1, 1961

	Percentage of Women in the Total Number of Heads of Enter- prises and pro- fessional Workers
Total . . . . .	32
Heads of Enterprises . . . . .	6
Chief Engineers . . . . .	16
Shop Superintendents and Deputy Superintendents Shift, Sector, Section and Shop-Laboratory Chiefs . . . . .	12
Department, Bureau, Factory Management Group and Shop Chiefs, and Heads of Factory Central Laboratories . . . . .	24
Engineers (excluding Economists and Rate-Setter Engineers) . . . . .	20
Technicians (excluding Rate-Setter Technicians)	37
Foremen . . . . .	59
Rate-Setter Engineers and Technicians . . . . .	20
Chief and Senior Bookkeepers . . . . .	59
Engineer Economists, Economists, Planners, Statisticians . . . . .	33
	76

In commercial and catering enterprises most women again occupy the lowest position in status as well as in pay. Thus in 1959 only 26 per cent of the directors of offices and distribution basis were women, whereas 85 per cent of the sales personnel were women. In the catering business 53 per cent of directors of dining halls and restaurants were women, of cooks 88 per cent were women and 98 per cent of waiters and waitresses were

women.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, manual work of the lowest pay is done mostly by women. (Table 15).<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 15

DISTRIBUTION OF MANUAL AND MECHANIZED WORK BETWEEN  
MEN AND WOMEN (AT THE CONSTRUCTION OF SARATOV  
ELECTRICAL STATION IN 1967)

	Number of	
	Men	Women
<u>Low Paid Manual Labour</u>		
Ditch-Diggers without Mechanized Instruments . .	17	119
Plasterers . . . . .	24	184
Painters . . . . .	21	156
<u>Highly-Paid Machanized Labour</u>		
Aids to Excavator Operators . . . . .	60	2
Compressor Operators . . . . .	25	1
Crane Operators . . . . .	142	10

Although 52 per cent of the total number of specialists in the Soviet Union are women and 62 per cent of the total number of specialists with higher education are women; one third of all engineers, two thirds of pedagogues, and three fourths of physicians are women, the leadership positions in the Soviet world of the intelligentsia are occupied by men. (Tables 16 and 17).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Central Statistical Board of U.S.S.R., op. cit., p. 86; p.90.

<sup>2</sup>Kurganov, op. cit., p. 50, citing "Literaturnaya Gazeta," 15.2.1967.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 64, 42, 43, citing "Narodnoe Khozaistvo S.S.S.R.," 1961, p. 573; 1963, p. 480; 1965, p. 564; 1965, pp. 709 and 710; "Izvestia," 14.6.1966.

TABLE 16

THE NUMBER OF WOMEN-SPECIALISTS (IN THOUSANDS)  
AND IN PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION  
FOR THE YEARS 1957 AND 1965

Women-Specialists with	Number (1000)		Per cent of Total Number of Specialists	
	Year		Year	
	1957	1965	1957	1965
<u>Higher Education</u>				
Total	1,464.3	2,518.1	52	52
Engineers	236.1	486.8	28	30
Agronomists, Zootechnicians, Veterinarians	71.0	118.9	40	39
Economists, Statisticians	83.0	180.7	57	60
Physicians	260.2	365.5	75	73
Teachers and Educators	747.8	1,241.9	65	67
<u>Secondary Education</u>				
Total	2,623.4	4,422.6	65	62
Technicians	503.3	1,055.7	39	37
Agronomists, Zootechnicians, Veterinarians	118.7	408.5	41	43
Planners and Statisticians	175.1	408.5	74	72
Medical Workers including Dentists	894.6	1,335.9	91	92
Teachers and Librarians and Culture-Educator-Workers	772.6	1,057.8	80	82

Although women are fairly well represented in the higher ranks of specialists, especially the medical and teaching field, the percentage of women doing the lower technical work and thus the less financially rewarding work is again considerable.

The following Table 17 shows the limited extent of women

participation in the higher positions at the university and at the Academy of Sciences.

TABLE 17  
PER CENT OF WOMEN WITH LEARNED TITLES OR  
DEGREES ON JANUARY 1, 1966

Titles of Degrees	Total Number of Persons (1,000)	Number of Women	
		in 1,000	Per cent
Academicians and Professors	12.5	1.1	8.8
Senior Learned Collaborators and Lecturers	77.3	17.8	23.0
Junior Learned Collaborators and Assistants	48.9	25.0	51.1
Without a Learned Title (but with some Degree)	525.9	210.9	40.0

Here again the same picture is reflected, the higher one goes the fewer the women. And where memberships at the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R. are concerned the women are even fewer in number. In June 1966 there were 247 candidates to Active Membership in the Academy, only 3 were women. Out of 491 candidates as Corresponding-Members to the Academy 11 were women.<sup>1</sup>

As indicated in Table 16, 67 per cent of the teachers and educators with higher education are women, nevertheless only 21 per cent of directors of secondary schools and 68 per cent of the higher classes of the secondary schools are women. Furthermore the same Table 16 shows that 82 per cent of all

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

teachers, librarians and educators with secondary education are women, nevertheless they are relegated to the elementary school where 74 per cent of directors of elementary schools are women and 87 per cent are teachers in the first four forms of the elementary school. Thus most positions of status and higher pay are occupied by men.

In the fields of literature and press women are subjected to the same fate. In 1959 only 35 per cent of writers, journalists and editors were women, but women comprised 82 per cent of the correctors and technical editors.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, through the years very few women have been admitted to the directing positions of the Union of Writers. Thus in 1954 out of 155 elected to the executive, only nine were women.<sup>2</sup>

From the above statistics it is evident that Article 122 of the Soviet Constitution did indeed grant women an equality to work and participate in the construction of the Soviet State, but perhaps this was not the equality women had wagered for. For what they did get was equality in participation and not in administration, although in number and often in education they exceeded and excelled the men.

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<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Central Statistical Board of U.S.S.R., op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>2</sup>André Pierre, Les Femmes en Union Soviétique, (Paris: Spec, 1960), p. 223.

## P A R T    I V

### CONCLUSION

## CONCLUSION

Education is primarily a social process. Any philosophy of education must necessarily proceed from that basic understanding. The significance of this social dimension of educational philosophy varies according to the conception one has of how individuals should be related to each other. Differently arranged social relations will lead to different educational practices. Most educational practices are different shades and variations of either the democratic system of education, where all regardless of sex, creed or origin enjoy the same rights to instruction and where the individual's freedom and unique value is recognized and respected; enterprise, initiative, competition and self-reliance are encouraged and rewarded, or a class-system of education based either on socio-economic origin, or ideological commitments is established, and is often combined with a stress upon discipline, a prescribed and inflexible curriculum, and formal methods of instruction.

The history of Russian educational practices and the official philosophies of education prior to the Revolution of 1917 reveals a struggle between these two antithetical trends, dominated by two ideals--the establishment of a democratic ladder system or a system of education based upon the principle of classes and social origin.

This struggle is especially clearly reflected in the

history of the education of women, whereby the democratic system of education always implied equal opportunities of men and women to education, often combined with coeducational practices. The reactions to the democratization of education were invariably a return to a class-system of education, for boys or girls, in separate schools.

Thus we may think of the period of the reign of Catherine the Great and Alexander II, and with some reservation of Peter the Great and Alexander I as periods where a democratic system of education was promoted, if not always in practice, then at least, through legislation. Women were given equal educational opportunities not only to lower and secondary schooling but also to higher education. For, as already mentioned, under neither Peter the Great, Catherine the Great nor Alexander I was there a law forbidding women from entering universities, and under Alexander II special provisions were made to provide women with their own institutions of higher learning.

The reactions to these periods of democratization of education, then would be the periods under Nicolas I where the class-system of education in its strictest sense ever was established entailing with it the exclusion of women not only from institutions of higher learning but also from the public school system and the establishing of special class-oriented schools for girls. The period under Alexander III was another period of reaction, perhaps the last attempt to 'set the clock back' after Alexander II's liberalizing reforms, and resulted in the actual closing of the institutes of higher learning for women.



The period of Nicolas II defies classification into either of the above categories for by the end of the nineteenth century the forces of democratization of education had become strong enough to stand up to the attempts to restore the class-system of Nicolas I and resulted in such complex and contradictory educational ramifications and implications, blending in so many shades of the democratic and the totalitarian, as to make it almost impossible to distinguish one from the other.

Although the Soviet government claims to have established a democratic system of educational practices based upon Marxist principles, the history of Soviet educational practices and the official philosophy of education after the Revolution of 1917 has not been in its substance much different from the pre-revolutionary era. This does not mean that it has simply duplicated the past or borrowed from the past without developing or adding to it. By combining the structure of the democratic ladder system initiated by Catherine the Great and elaborated under Alexander I with the substance of a privileged class-system, the Soviet school has become the synthesis of the two pre-revolutionary antithetical trends in education--the democratic and the totalitarian, for, within its democratic ladder system of education, the class-system has been essentially retained. This class-system has been once more based on socio-economic origins, but 'reversed', or perhaps in Marxist terms 'put back on its feet', discriminating against all of non-proletarian and non-peasant origin during the first two decades of Soviet rule; and afterwards when the 'bourgeois

elements' had 'withered away' and the 'New Soviet Man' had matured to form a class of its own--discrimination has become of an ideological nature--that of Party and non-Party.

Krushchev's boarding schools are perhaps the best example.

Furthermore, Soviet educational history, has also passed through similar fluctuations of democratization in educational practices, no more in terms of establishing a ladder system or a purely class-system of education but rather in terms of methods, curriculum, discipline, i.e. the application of progressive versus formalistic educational practices. In each case the changes have been the result of changes in leadership often combined with economic problems.

The history of the education of women in Russia before the Revolution of 1917 is also a history of two contradictory trends in education. It may be recounted with a stress on the period of Nicolas I when women were not allowed into the institutions of higher learning and were educated in closed boarding schools organized separately for each class preparing the girls to 'fit' into their respective role in the society, and thus claim that women achieved equal educational opportunities only after the Revolution of 1917.

But, a closer examination of the history of the education of Russian women has in fact shown that as far back as the last part of the eighteenth century, under Catherine the Great, women through the system of public schools were given equal educational opportunities regardless of their creed or social origin, and that they were not excluded from higher education. This

equality was extended to women by the Statutes of 1804 of Alexander I till the accession of Nicholas I to the throne when the Statutes of 1828 abolished coeducation in the public schools. That most women did not take advantage of the system under Catherine the Great or Alexander I and no woman entered the university of Moscow or St. Petersburg cannot be blamed on the authorities or legislation but was the result of the socio-economic structure of the society and the prevailing atmosphere of the early nineteenth century Europe regarding the position of women as mothers, wives or companions.

In the 1860's the government of Alexander II fervently supported by the educational philosophers and most of the intelligentsia re-established the rights of women to primary and secondary education, once more irrespective of creed or class and eventually established institutions of higher learning for women. From then on, notwithstanding the setback under Alexander III, the rights of women to higher education were expanded and by 1915 the programmes of the girls' and boys' gymnasia were practically identical and women could enter all state institutions of higher learning and practice law, medicine, or engineering.

Thus already before the Revolution of 1917 provisions had been made for all girls irrespective of creed or origin to attend primary and secondary schools and if successful to continue to the universities or higher specialized courses. Although theoretically the schools were not free, for those who could not pay fees a system of state bursaries was available

all the way through to higher education.

Furthermore, the analysis of the official educational philosophy and practices concerning women as well as the philosophies of education of educators and writers of the pre-revolutionary period as compared to the post-revolutionary Marxist and Soviet attitude towards the education and status of women has shown that similar antecedent factors and forces which influenced educational reforms, and determined the development of certain practices and policies in pre-revolutionary Russia can be identified in the Soviet period.

Long before Marx was born, Peter the Great promoted the scientific-utilitarian and anti-clerical attitudes in education. He had tried to establish a system of education open to all who were willing to study and work and rewarded those who did succeed with titles. He was the first Tsar who was not ashamed to use his hands and combine education with work. This stress on productive work, on the practical and useful rather than the theoretical and bookish, on learning through actual life and practical experience remain a part of the 'Russian System'.<sup>1</sup> The idea was revived by Pisarev in the beginning of the nineteenth century, elaborated by Ushinsky towards the end of the same century and applied in its extreme form by the Soviets in the early twentieth century.

It was under Peter the Great that vocational and professional training i.e. the utilitarian traditions characterizing

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<sup>1</sup>In the nineteenth century in America when technical colleges were developing they referred to the "Russian System".

Soviet education, was established. It was also under Peter the Great that man was educated for and judged in terms of his worth to the economy i.e. the state. This necessarily implied the involvement of the state in education, prescribed programmes and formalistic methods of education. Under Peter the Great then, also the secular characteristic of Russian education were established.

Since women were of no immediate direct economic importance to the State and its 'westernization' Peter the Great neither used the same coercion to educate them as he did with men, nor did he provide any special institutions for their education.

The scientific-utilitarian tradition in Russian education combined with the view of education as a tool to train an obedient citizen who would be useful to the existing order and the state has always been the underlying basic principle of Russian educational policy. In the periods of democratization of education this purely utilitarian view of education has always been combined with and softened by the humanistic European ideals of education where the order has been reversed with the emphasis of educating first the good man as an individual, as a 'new man' who in the platonic sense would then build the good society. Such were the periods of Catherine the Great, Alexander II and the 1920's and 1930's of the Communist rule.

Through the Public School System Catherine the Great laid the basis of Alexander I's system which in turn became the prototype of the Soviet schools. Her concern with the Russian language overruling the study of foreign languages, the estab-

lishment of a network of military schools (Cadet corps) and her belief in education for social existence, her insistence on moral education or the possibility of indoctrinating moral standards have also found their way into the soviet school system. Her Educational Homes, the separation of children from the parents as the evil influence, was applied once more in the 1920's when the Soviets hoped to educate their 'New Man' by isolating children from their parents at an early age.

The difference between Marxist educational goals applied by the Soviets after the revolution and stated by Engels as 'universal education', 'education administered in national institutions at national expense' and 'education to begin at the earleast period, as soon as the child can dispense with motherly care, such as nursing' and the educational goals of Catherine the Great more than a century earlier has not been a difference in substance or principle but only a difference in title and terminology.

Thus the Marxist humanistic ideals so often quoted by the communist educators were not implemented for the first time after the Revolution of 1917. They were an inseparable component of the Russian educational tradition leading back to Catherine the Great and Betski's General Estabishment. The ideals of educating a 'New Breed' or the 'Homo Sovieticus' had their roots not in Marxism or the Soviet interpretation of Marxism, but in European humanistic educational traditions of Comenius and Rousseau.

Whether humanist, national, moral or materialist, most

of the trends in Russian educational philosophy, from the time of Catherine the Great, stressed the education of human beings first and Russians next. They thus stressed the education of the individual not for the use of his selfish and personal interests but as a preparation for service to "Mother Russia", democratic or totalitarian, whatever their image of Russia was to be. Educational philosophy in pre-revolutionary Russia was just as it is today, imbued with the principle of Nationalism which carried with it the faith in Russia, the Russian people and their Messianic destiny.

Furthermore, the Russian philosophers of the nineteenth century, whether revolutionary, liberal, or even Slavophile accepted the democratic basis of education, universal and anti-clerical in nature. They were hostile to serfdom and its legal and economic consequences. They believed in freedom of the universities and educational equality for women and in the necessity to educate the peasant masses.

Many, like Marx,<sup>30</sup> were inspired by the Western ideals of freedom, secularism and universal humanism. Their influence on the general public's attitude towards the education of women and on the women themselves, especially in the educated circles of the Russian upper and middle classes must have been considerable.

It was during this second half of the nineteenth century, perhaps due to the influence of the above mentioned philosophers combined with the 'revolutionary situation' of the 1860's that Russian women in great numbers demanded equal opportunities

to education and access to higher education. A comparable influx of Russian women into institutions of higher learning in Russia or abroad can be found nowhere in Europe around that period--and has remained one of the characteristics of Soviet education today especially in the paramedical, teaching and technical fields.

Thus the two characteristics of Russian educational tradition--the scientific-utilitarian and the humanistic trends seem to have been the major underlying influences in the education and status of women. In the periods of reaction in educational philosophy and practices, whether before or after the revolution, under Nicolas I, Alexander II or Stalin, the tendency has been to consider women essentially in economic terms and to educate them to serve the existing order. Thus under Nicolas I when the boys were to be educated to serve the state according to their social position and to develop a love and devotion for the existing order, girls were educated in the Department of Maria Feodorovna each according to her class and her future position in the society and instilled with love and admiration for the Tsar and his order. Since the family was then the basic economic unit of the social order the girls were educated to be good housewives and mothers. As the family as an economic unit lost its importance under the Soviet regime, the women began to be regarded as an economic force and useful participants in the construction of the state rather than as the central figure in the family.

Soviet legislation on education and work coupled with the



Marxist-Leninist ideology encouraging women to participate with equal rights to men in economic and political life theoretically insured women not only of their equality of education and political participation but has also bestowed upon them an equality of obligation to participate in production and the reconstruction of the state.

Thus to the creative and intellectual equality acquired by Russian women towards the end of the nineteenth century the Soviets added a physical equality, or rather an 'equality in hardship'--the very equality the female serfs were subjected to, for the Soviet Union is still a man's world where relatively few women occupy positions of real power or authority, but where they supply the larger part of the labour force, especially hard, low paid manual work.

Just as the educational system of the Soviet Union has evolved out of a synthesis of two antithetical educational trends of Imperial Russia--the democratic ladder system and the class-system of education, the status of women in the Soviet Union is a synthesis of the two pre-revolutionary trends of the equality of women, a creative and intellectual equality in education, and an equality of women in work and hardship.

Soviet education is thus neither new nor based solely on Marxist principles; it is an evolution and in some ways a gradual synthesis of the pre-revolutionary educational policies of the two governmental trends. Education in pre-revolutionary Russia from Peter the Great to Nicolas II had passed through all the possible phases, from the most progressive methods of

coeducation, self-government and the combination of life and school to the extremes of formalistic class-oriented education. It would be hard to invent any additional new variations of teaching methods, organization of curricula or administration.

The structure of the school system, the whole curriculum and the atmosphere of school life throughout Soviet history has been modelled on one or other traditional variation of the Russian educational system. Social organizational patterns and administrative procedures, patterns of the pre-revolutionary system have survived.

Furthermore, when the Soviet regime took over in 1917, it was presented with a basic network of elementary schools, and Bills and Projects on universal, compulsory education waiting to be ratified when the war broke out. The foundations had been laid and elementary education was accessible to peasants and workers in the remotest corners of the Russian Empire and the only children not attending school were those who did not want to or whose parents did not want them to do so. Where the higher and secondary establishments for women or the coeducational State Universities were concerned, they were accessible to all classes and were one of the most democratic in the world as regards social background of their students. The state schools also became the centers where evening classes and Sunday schools, libraries and lectures were arranged for adult peasants or workers.

The communist revolution thus did not establish a real and complete break, but built upon the heritage of Tsarist

Russia. Indeed, Russia's educational traditions, including those affecting women, having evolved over time, continue into the present with their inherent democratic-totalitarian contradictions and manifest themselves in both progressive and formalistic practice.

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## A P P E N D I X E S

## APPENDIX I

### General Information

TABLE 1

#### *Russian administrative units*

- 1) *Gubernia-Province.* 50 in European Russia without Poland and Finland.
- 2) *Uезд-District.* about 10 in each Province.
- 3) *Volost-Canton.* several in each District.
- 4) *Selo-Village.* several in each Canton.

The territorial units were established by Catherine II in 1775.

*Uchebny Okrug — Educational Region*, included about 5—6 provinces. The Educational Regions were instituted by Alexander I in 1804 and their limits were several times changed, especially by Nicholas I.

All the dates are given in Old Style, which means 11 days difference in the eighteenth, 12 in the nineteenth, and 13 in the twentieth centuries.

Source: N.Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), p.243.

TABLE 2

#### *List of Sovereigns of the Russian Empire (1500-1917)*

1462-1505	Ivan III	1725-1727	Catherine I
1505-1533	Vasili III	1727-1730	Peter II
1533-1584	Ivan IV	1730-1740	Anne
1584-1598	Fedor I	1740-1741	Ivan VI
1598-1605	Boris Godunov	1741-1762	Elizabeth
1605-1606	Dmitri I	1762	Peter III
1606-1610	Vasili IV (Shuiski)	1762-1796	Catherine II
1610-1612	Wladislaw (VII) of Poland	1796-1801	Paul I
1613-1645	Mikhail Romanov	1801-1825	Alexander I
1645-1676	Alexis	1825-1855	Nicholas I
1676-1682	Fedor II	1855-1881	Alexander II
1682-1689	Ivan V and Peter I	1881-1894	Alexander III
1689-1725	Peter I	1894-1917	Nicholas II

Source: W.H.E.Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, (Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1950), p. 297.

TABLE 3

*List of All Ministers of Public Education in Russia  
(1802-1917)*

[1782-1799] Count P. V Zavadovskii	1866-1880 Count D. A. Tolstoi
1802-1810 Count P. V. Zavadovskii	1880-1881 A. A. Saburov
1810-1816 Count A. K. Razumovskii	1881-1882 Baron A. P. Nikolai
1816-1824 Prince A. N. Golitsyn	1882-1897 Count T. D. Delianov
1824-1828 Admiral A. S. Shishkov	1898-1901 N. P. Bogolepov
1828-1833 Prince K. A. Liven	1901-1902 General P. S. Vannovskii
1833-1849 Count S. S. Uvarov	1902-1904 G. E. Sanger
1850-1853 Prince P. A. Shirinskii- Shikhmatov	1904-1905 General V. G. Glazov
1854-1858 A. S. Norov	1905-1906 Count I. I. Tolstoi
1858-1861 E. P. Kovalevskii	1906-1908 P. M. Kaufmann
1861 Count E. V. Putiatin	1908-1910 A. N. Schwarz
1862-1866 A. V. Golovnin	1910-1914 L. A. Kasso
	1915-1916 Count P. N. Ignatiev
	1916-1917 N. K. Kulchitskii

NOTES ON ABOVE TABLE

- a) From the creation of the Ministry of Public Education in 1802 until the overthrow of the regime in 1917, five Tsars headed the Government. In the same period, there were 25 Ministers of Public Education. Average number of Ministers of Public Education per Tsar is five.
- b) Longest term of service (29 years) held by original incumbent, Count Zavadovskii, if his pre-Ministerial tenure of 20 years is included; next longest terms were held by Count Uvarov (17 years) and Count Delianov (16 years); no other Minister served even a full decade.
- c) Average term of service for Ministers is about 4½ years. Average term of service after 1880 is just over 2 years: in 27 years under the last two Tsars there were thirteen Ministers of Public Education.

Source: Ibid., p. 296.

TABLE 4

Old and New Names of Towns

Old Names	New Names
Alexandropol	Leninakan
Verny	Alma-Ata
Bakhmut	Artyomovsk
Diushambe	Stalinabad
Yekaterinburg	Sverdlovsk
Yekaterinodar	Krasnodar
Yekaterinoslov	Dniepropetrovsk
Konigsberg	Kaliningrad
Kozlov	Michurinsk
Khibinogorsk	Kirovsk
Lugansk	Voroshilovgrad
Mariupol	Zhdanov
Nizhi-Novgorod	Gorky
Novo-Nikolayevsk	Novosibirsk
Orenburg	Chkalov
Petrograd (Saint-Peterburg)	Leningrad
Pishpek	Frunze
Perm	Molotov
Rybinsk	Shcherbakov
Samara	Kuibyshev
Simbirsk	Ulyanovsk
Tsaritsyn	Stalingrad
Tver	Kalinin
Vladikavkaz (Dzardjikau)	Ordjonikidze
Yuzovka	Stalino

Source: USSR Handbook Reference 1957, ( Toronto: Northern Book House, 1957), p. 262.

## APPENDIX II

### Tables of Expenditure on education

TABLE 1

THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE  
EXPENDITURE OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.  
In thousand Rubles.

Years	Total Expenditure	Ministry of P. I.	% % to the total Exp.	
1795	56.860	782	1.4	(Before the Ministry of P. I. was establish- ed). in paper Rub.  from that year in silver Rub.
1805	125.449	2.601	2.1	
1815	271.246 war	2.352	0.9	
1825	413.460	8.601	2.1	
1835	167.741	2.060 or in paper (6.831) Rubles	1.2	
1845	224.083	2.755	1.2	
1855	525.970 war	2.910	0.6	
1866	438.493	6.769	1.5	
1870	563.897	10.131	1.8	
1875	604.857	14.630	2.4	
1880	793.384	16.786	2.1	
1882	788.371	18.935	2.4	
1885	913.138	20.446	2.2	
1890	1.056.512	22.938	2.2	
1895	1.520.819	23.600	1.6	
1897	1.494.598	26.476	1.8	
1900	1.873.772	33.181	1.8	
1902	2.135.668	36.624	1.7	
1904	2.737.697 war	42.433	1.6	
1906	3.212.697	44.122	1.4	
1907	2.564.608	45.907	1.8	
1908	2.660.854	53.149	2.0	
1909	2.607.537	63.937	2.5	
1910	2.596.660	76.011	3.0	
1911	2.845.691	97.575	3.5	
1912	3.171.061	117.337	3.7	
1913	3.382.913	142.739	4.2	
1914	3.558.000 war	155.292	4.4	
1915	3.234.000	158.915	4.9	
1916	3.646.000	165.160	4.5	

According to Soviet official data the total expenditure  
on education of all Ministries and the percentage to the

total expenditure during the last five pre-revolution years  
was as follows : in Rubles

1912	170.205.966	or	6.37 %	of the total budget
1913	202.772.083	»	6.73 %	» » » »
1914	238.605.156	»	7.21 %	» » » »
1915	225.117.345	»	7.34 %	» » » »
1916	270.774.622	»	8.24 %	» » » »

Source: N.Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, ( New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), pp. 129-130.

TABLE 2

EXPENDITURE OF THE TREASURY ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION UNDER  
THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND THE HOLY SYNOD. In Rubles

Years	M. of Pub. Instr.	Holy Synod.	Total for both.
1862	110.000	-	110.000
1866	416.936	-	416.936
1870	966.829	1.000	967.829
1875	1.231.346	1.000	1.232.346
1880	1.385.835	1.000	1.386.835
1885	1.420.804	55.500	1.476.304
1890	1.497.610	175.487	1.673.097
1895	1.528.458	875.500	2.403.958
1896	1.569.661	3.453.643	5.023.304
1897	1.812.895	4.953.841	6.766.736
1898	2.128.602	4.672.508	6.801.110
1900	3.504.316	6.826.046	10.330.362
1901	3.401.633	6.826.046	10.227.679
1902	5.255.694	7.125.247	12.380.941
1903	6.434.538	10.338.916	16.773.454
1904	6.487.388	10.091.916	16.579.304
1905	7.894.899	8.122.746	16.027.645
1906	8.819.670	9.000.000	17.819.670
1907	9.681.061	9.433.000	19.114.061
1908	15.920.148	9.533.000	25.453.148
1909	22.230.465	10.647.000	32.877.465
1910	29.364.079	12.416.000	41.780.079
1911	39.650.241	14.357.000	54.007.241
1912	48.155.083	16.505.000	64.660.083
1913	56.153.096	20.233.000	76.386.096
1914	62.255.699	19.987.768	82.243.467
1915	64.976.783	?	-
1916	72.336.609	17.238.489	89.575.098

Source: Ibid., p. 230.



TABLE 3

YEARLY ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENTS OF THE MINISTRY  
OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION TO ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

In Rubles					
1828	—	257	1902	—	1.854.061
1862	—	36.865	1903	—	1.178.844
1863	—	84.345	1904	—	52.850
1864	—	25.208	1905	—	1.407.511
1865	—	11.750	1906	—	924.781
1866	—	9.575	1907	—	861.391
1867-8	—	nothing	1908	—	6.239.087
1869	—	247.500	1909	—	6.310.317
1870	—	12.440	1910	—	7.133.614
1871	—	1.650	1911	—	10.286.162
1872	—	102.790	1912	—	8.504.842
1873	—	122.400	1913	—	7.998.013
1874	—	238.125	1914	—	6.102.603
1875	—	2.600	1915	—	2.721.087
1876-8	—	nothing	1916	—	7.359.826
1879	—	21.211			
1880	—	116.743			
1881	—	3.675			
1882	—	8.950			
1883	—	less 25.000			
	(to the Holy Synod)				
1884	—	nothing			
1885	—	1.350			
1886-7	—	nothing			
1888	—	2.950	1) 1862-1880 =	1.043.000	
1889	—	7.609	2) 1881-1893 =	7.000	
1890	—	2.033	3) 1894-1907 =	8.242.000	
1891	—	3.218	4) 1908-1916 =	62.656.000	
1892	—	600			
1893	—	1.676			
1894	—	28.794			
1895	—	29.675	1) Period of liberal reforms.		
1896	—	41.203	2) Period of reaction.		
1897	—	243.234	3) Pre-Duma period.		
1898	—	315.707	4) Duma period.		
1899	—	547.587			
1900	—	828.127			
1901	—	less 102.683			
		(economy)			

## TOTAL

Source: Ibid., p. 231.

Tables 1, 2 and 3 reflect the fluctuations in educational policy. Table 1 shows the growth of the budget of the Ministry of Public Education. With the beginning of the reign of Nicolas I a sudden drop of the expenditure on education can be observed. The interrupted increase continues gradually during the reign of Alexander II, to be again delayed by Alexander III. The influence of the Duma is evident from the sudden jump in 1908 and the subsequent increase. Tables 2 and 3 supplement the same evidence. (Ibid.)

TABLE 4

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES OF ALL  
GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES (1916)

(in Rubles)

Ministry of Public Education		165,159,780
Scientific Societies	2,868,760	
Universities	10,687,760	
Secondary and Special	38,477,337	
Primary	72,336,609	
Teaching Staff	3,686,158	
Buildings and Repairs	11,697,223	
Ministry of Interior		446,435
Holy Synod Church Schools		22,152,766
Ministry of Finance (Art and Educ.)		132,328
Ministry of Justice		967,977
Ways of Communication		1,056,856
Commerce and Industry (Science and Educ.)		4,586,724
Ministry of Agriculture		9,380,975
Ministry of War		20,864,803
Ministry of Marine		2,331,803
Grand Total		246,580,415

The above figures do not add to the totals given and therefore cannot be considered reliable; but they can serve as an indication of the important role in education played by other ministries.

The Ministry of Public Education, was the chief but not the sole agency for such expenditures. That other ministries devoted portions of their budgets to educational matters has been shown heretofore in this volume and is clearly indicated by the following supplementary table:

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES OF ALL GOVERNMENT  
MINISTRIES (in Rubles)

1912	170,205,966	or	6.37%	of total govt. Exp.
1913	202,772,083	or	6.73%	of total govt. Exp.
1914	238,605,156	or	7.21%	of total govt. Exp.
1915	225,117,345	or	7.34%	of total govt. Exp.
1916	270,774,622	or	8.24%	of total govt. Exp.

Source: W.H.E.Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage,  
(Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1950), pp. 292-293.

### APPENDIX III

#### Advertisements on "What will Girls Learn in Private Boarding Schools"

- 1757 - "Citizen de-Laval and his wife will take girls to teach them the French language, geography, history, drawing, arithmetic." (In St. Petersburg)
- 1758 - "Two French-women have opened a French school for women, who they will teach: ethics, history, geography, those who wish arithmetic, music, dancing, drawing, good housekeeping and other subjects needed for the education of honest women." (In St. Petersburg)
- "Frenchwoman Richard will teach French and German languages, history, geography, arithmetic and other subjects, required for good education." (In St. Petersburg)
- Mme de Moga (in Moscow advertised): "Anyone wishing to send their daughters to her to board and learn French and geography is welcome, she will also show the girls how to behave according to their nature."
- 1760 - "Mme Sirene has began to teach young children of both sexes French and German languages, reading, writing, drawing, and also how to set the hair and other necessary skills for a well educated woman."

Source: E. Likhacheva, Materialy dlia istorii zhenskogo obrazovaniia, (St. Petersburg: 1890), Vol. I, p. 69, (cited by).

## APPENDIX IV

Table of Ranks, January 24, 1722

Military Ranks		Civilian Ranks	Grades
Naval Forces	Land Forces		
General-Admiral	Generalissimo	Chancellor or Active	I
Admiral	Field Marshal	Privy Counselor	
	General of Artillery	Active Privy	II
	General of Cavalry	Counselor	
	General of Infantry		
Vice Admiral	Lieutenant General	Privy Counselor	III
Rear Admiral	Major General	Active State	IV
		Counselor	
Captain-Commander	Brigadier	State Counselor	V
First Captain	Colonel	Collegial Counselor	VI
Second Captain	Lieutenant Colonel	Court Counselor	VII
Lieutenant-Captain	Major	Collegial Assessor	VIII
of the Fleet			
Third Captain of			
Artillery			
Lieutenant of the	Captain or Cavalry	Titled Counselor	IX
Fleet	Captain		
Lieutenant-Captain			
of Artillery			
Lieutenant of	Staff Captain or Staff	Collegial Secretary	X
Artillery	Cavalry Captain		
		Secretary of the	XI
		Senate	
Midshipman	Lieutenant	Gubernia Secretary	XII
Artillery Constable	Sublieutenant	Registrar of the	XIII
		Senate	
	Guidon Bearer	Collegial Registrar	XIV

The following rules are appended to the above Table of Ranks to inform everyone of how he should apply himself to these ranks.

1. Those princes who are related to Us by blood or those who are married to Our princesses always take precedence and rank over all other princes and high servants of the Russian state.

2. Naval and land commanding officers are to be determined in the following manner: if they both are of the same rank, the naval officer is superior at sea to the land officer; and on land, the land officer is superior to the naval officer, regardless of the length of service each may have in his respective rank.

3. Whoever shall demand respect higher than is due his rank, or shall illegally assume a higher rank, shall lose two months of his salary; if he serves without salary then he shall pay a fine equal to the salary of his rank; one third of that fine shall be given to the individual who reported on him, and the remainder will be given to a hospital fund. The observance of this rank procedure does not apply on such occasions as meetings among friends or neighbors or at social gatherings, but only to churches, the Mass, Court ceremonies, ambassadorial audiences, official banquets, official meetings, christenings, marriages, funerals, and similar public gatherings. An individual will also be fined if he should make room for a person of lower rank. Tax collectors should watch carefully [for any signs of violations of these procedures] in order to encourage service [to the state] and to honor those already in service, and [at the same time] to collect fines from impudent individuals and parasites. The above prescribed fines are applicable to male and female transgressors.

4. An identical penalty will be given to anyone who will demand a rank without having an appropriate patent for his grade.

5. Equally, no one may assume a rank that has been acquired in the service of foreign state until We approve it, an action which We shall do gladly in accordance with his service.

6. No one may be given a new rank without a release patent, unless We personally have signed that release.

7. All married women advance in ranks with their husbands, and if they should violate the order of procedure they must pay the same fines as would their husbands if they had violated it.

8. Although We allow free entry to public assemblies, wherever the Court is present, to the sons of princes, counts, barons, distinguished nobles, and high servants of the Russian state, either because of their births or because of the positions of their fathers, and although We wish to see that they are distinguished in every way from other [people], We nevertheless do not grant any rank to anyone until he performs a useful service to Us or to the state. . . .

11. All Russian or foreign-born servants who have or who have had the first eight grades have the right forever to pass these grades on to their lawful heirs and posterity; members of ancient [Russian] noble families, even though they may be of lesser status and may never before have been brought into a noble dignity by the Crown or granted a coat of arms, should be given the same merits and preferences [as other nobles]. . . .

15. Those who are not nobles but who serve in the military and who advance to an ober-officer [position], will, upon attainment of that rank, receive the status of a nobleman, as will those of their children born ex post facto. In case an individual has no children after becoming an ober-officer, but has children born earlier, he may petition the Tsar, and the status of a nobleman will be granted to one son in whose behalf the father has petitioned. Children of all other grades whose parents are not nobles, regardless of whether they serve in civil or Court positions, are not considered as nobles. . . .

Source: B. Dmytryshyn, ed., Imperial Russia : A Source Book, 1700-1917, ( New York: Holt , Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), pp. 19-20.

## APPENDIX V

### The Instructions to the Commissioners for Composing a New Code of Laws ( The Nakaz of Catherine the Great )

#### 347. Of Education.

348. The Rules of Education are the fundamental Institutes which train us up to be citizens.

349. Each particular Family ought to be governed upon the Plan of the great Family; which includes all the Particulars.

350. It is impossible to give a general Education to a very numerous People, and to bring up all the Children in Houses regulated for that Purpose; and, for that Reason, it will be proper to establish some general Rules, which may serve by Way of Advice to all Parents.

#### 1.

351. Every Parent is obliged to teach his Children the Fear of God, as the Beginning of all Wisdom, and to inculcate into them all those Duties, which God demands from us in the ten Commandments, and our orthodox Eastern Greek Religion, in its Rules and Traditions.

352. Also to inculcate into them the Love of their Country, and to enure them to pay due Respect to the established civil Laws, and to reverence the Courts of Judicature in their Country, as those, who, by the Appointment of God, watch over their Happiness in this World.

#### 2.

353. Every Parent ought to refrain in Presence of his Children, not only from Actions, but even Words that tend to Injustice and Violence; as for Instance, Quarelling, Swearing, Fighting, every Sort of Cruelty, and such like Behaviour; and not to allow those who are about his Children to set them such bad Examples.

354. He ought to forbid his Children, and those who are about them, the Vice of lying, though even in jest; for Lying is the most pernicious of all Vices.

355. We shall add here, for the Instruction of every Man in particular, what has been already printed, and serves as a general Rule for the Schools already founded, and which are still founding by Us, for Education, and for the whole Society.

356. Every one ought to inculcate the Fear of God into the tender Minds of Children, to encourage every laudable Inclination, and to accustom them to the fundamental Rules, suitable to their respective Situations; to incite in them a Desire for Labour, and a Dread of Idleness, as the Root of all Evil, and Error; to train them up to a proper Decorum in their Actions and Conversation, Civility, and Decency in their Behaviour; and to sympathise with the Miseries of poor unhappy Wretches; and to break them of all perverse and forward Humours; to teach them Oeconomy, and whatever is most useful in all Affairs of Life; to guard them against all Prodigality and Extravagance; and particularly to root a proper Love of Cleanliness and Neatness, as well in themselves as in those who belong to them; in a Word, to instill all those Virtues and Qualities, which join to form a good Education; by which, as they grow up, they may prove real Citizens, useful Members of the Community, and Ornaments to their Country. (*All in italics*)

Source: Mimeograph , ( n.p., n.n., n.d. )

## APPENDIX VI

### Number of Schools, Teachers and Pupils in Russia ( 1782-1930 )

TABLE 1

*Number of Schools, Teachers and Pupils in Russia  
( 1782-1800 )*

YEAR	NUMBER	NUMBER	NUMBER OF PUPILS		TOTAL
	OF SCHOOLS	OF TEACHERS	BOYS	GIRLS	
1782	8	26	474	44	518
1783	9	28	654	77	731
1784	11	33	1,082	152	1,234
1785	12	38	1,282	209	1,491
1786	165	394	10,230	858	11,088
1787	218	525	11,968	1,571	13,539
1788	227	520	13,635	924	14,559
1789	225	516	13,187	1,202	14,389
1790	269	629	15,604	921	16,525
1791	288	700	16,723	1,064	17,787
1792	302	718	16,322	1,178	17,500
1793	311	738	16,165	1,132	17,297
1794	302	767	15,540	1,080	16,620
1795	307	716	16,035	1,062	17,097
1796	316	744	16,220	1,121	17,341
1797	285	644	14,457	1,171	15,628
1798	284	752	15,396	1,405	16,801
1799	277	705	15,754	1,561	17,315
1800	315	790	18,128	1,787	19,915

Source: W.H.E.Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage,  
( Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1950 ), p.263.



TABLE 2

POPULATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (WITHOUT FINLAND)  
AND NUMBER OF SCHOLARS IN ALL SCHOOLS

Years	Population in thousands	Number of scholars in all schools in 1,000	Number of scholars per ten thousand inhabitants		
			In all schools	In second. schools	In higher institutions
1801	37.540	45	12	1.0	0.1
1825	52.285	200	38	3.8	0.7
1835	60.185	240	40	3.8	0.5
1845	65.237	300	46	4.0	0.5
1855	71.108	400	56	3.7	0.8
1865	75.125	800	105	6.0	0.9
1875	90.218	1,200	132	11.1	1.1
1880	97.705	1,600	162	16.3	1.5
1885	108.787	1,900	174	14.7	1.5
1890	117.787	2,500	212	13.5	1.3
1895	123.920	2,800	226	13.3	1.3
1900	132.960	4,500	346	19.7	2.0
1905	143.980	5,600	388	24.1	3.5
1910	160.748	7,200	498	31.0	5.0
1914	175.140	9,500	545	36.0	7.5

The numbers of scholars in all schools are approximate.

Source: N.Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), p.242.

TABLE 3

TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOLARS AND SCHOOLS IN U.S.S.R.

Years	Number of Scholars in all Schools	Number of all Schools
1923/24	7,962,151	71,837
1925/26	10,219,529	103,276
1929/30	13,515,688	133,197

Source: M. A. Prokafieva, et al., ed., Narodnoe obrazovanie v S.S.S.R., (Moscow: Izd. Prosv., 1967), p. 75.

## APPENDIX VII

### The General Plan of the Moscow Educational Home (1763) Chapter IV

"On the Question whether in the Mentioned  
Establishment Girls should also learn  
what Boys are taught."

"To whom do we owe the first guidance shown to us when we are born, the first help and protection, the first nourishment, the first direction and friendship, that we enjoy in life? Only to the female sex. But, we, men, vainglorious of the excellence of our strength, so proud and stubborn, are so unjust that in organizing the education to enlighten the minds of the young we prevent those to be educated, to whom, as mentioned above, we owe everything. The son of an important man is provided with a large number of teachers--what for? Because the father considers learning necessary for a nobleman, because he thinks that without learning his son will not be able to advance and receive chins in the army, the navy, or at the court. This same man has also serfs, but he does not deem it necessary to expose them to learning so that they will be useful in other ways but for basic domestic or personal services. He further argues that the serfs not only do not need direction and moral education concerning social life, but that such learning is harmful to and thus totally unnecessary to the serf. Then in a rude voice he will conclude: 'I do not want those who serve me to be philosophers.'"

"A man blinded in such a way is to be pitied. For do you not see that this very serf, you disdain so much, and try in every way to turn into a beast--will be the first guide of your son, in whom you have placed all your happiness and hopes. This same serf will be the first guide, the first friend of your son

or daughter."

"Your children that you love so much, will absorb with their first milk, with their first sorrows of growth, all the vices, all the coarsness, all the ill talk from the very serfs you so proudly and with such arrogance scorn. Your children will be in their hands and in their full power to their very adolescence and even later. From their contact with them they will learn disrespect, fierceness and depravity: the more savagely and the greater the disdain with which you treat your serfs, the more disgusting and dangerous will be the stories which will take root in your children's minds."

"Such will be the fruits a man will harvest when he is educated in stupidity and perfidy, where the company of mean serfs, thoughtless nurses and shameless servants prevails."

"They complain constantly that their children are unhappy, that they show no respect to the parents, that they hate all guidance and work, that they are shallow, live in dirt and drown in drink or in heastly brawls. The father (I am talking of one with some sense, for many parents do not even have that), worries about his son, he thinks that he was born under the evil star. Ridiculous are his thoughts, although this was believed in the past; but he never thinks that all this will disappear if the children of the base serfs--the first teachers, the first playmates and friends will be educated and that which he would like to see in his children will take roots in the hearts and minds of the serfs."

"It is hoped that, having understood the above, no one with a healthy reason would be without sympathy to the well being of the human race and would not wish that all girls should not only learn to write and read but should also have their minds enlightened with other knowledge useful for social life. As future mothers, the girls will better and more reasonably educate their own children and those of others entrusted to them; as future wives--they will fulfill better their duties; as nurses, or 'nannies', they will not tell stupid stories, and strange tales about apparitions, transformations, magic, and

the insurmountable power of the devil, and the like. Their conversation will be worth imitating, their emotions restrained, their management will be agreeable and humane."

"If the girls educated at the above mentioned home were to be peasants we would not even have to mention their education. But, according to the prescribed aims of this institution, they are appointed to study (in addition to that which is indicated in the first part of the General Plan), the arts necessary for the life of a human being as well as those for a citizen, to preserve the factories in their flourishing state, merchantry and trades, to learn to administer the former, direct stores, establish everything, and corresponding to their sex house-keeping, to understand the details involved<sup>1</sup>, to know how to deal with financial matter and so on."<sup>2</sup>

Source: M. V. Sychev-Mikhailov, Iz istorii russkoi shkoly i pedagogiki XVIII veka, (Moscow: Akad. Ped. Nauk, 1960), pp. 184-186, (cited by).

<sup>1</sup>To know how to grow chicken, geese and others, feed them; make cheese, butter, etc.

<sup>2</sup>As the Germans do--book-keeping. Although this has not come into practice in our country, it does not mean we should reject it but we should try to make it a habit, there is always a beginning to all that is useful.

## APPENDIX VIII

### Extracts from the Letter of Maria Feodorovna to the Council of the Educational Society for Noble Girls on January 4, 1797

"First of all I would suggest changing the admission age of the children, both, for the noble and the middle-class girls. We admit them at the age of five; in that sensitive age they need most of all physical care, and in a large institution every child cannot be cared for as well as she would be at home, even in the poorest home; for the mother, the elder sisters, the maid, will all look after one child, but living in the society each child would get only a fraction of the attention she would get at home. Walking through the corridors in winter is even dangerous for such small children. I have seen this myself, for lately almost a whole class became ill and four or five children were taken to the hospital. Furthermore, there is no doubt, that a five year old child does not really learn anything; I would even say that it is dangerous, to demand strictly any studiousness from such small children, when their physical organism has yet to be formed, and when the child is tortured with teaching. What can be achieved in one day with a child at eight cannot be achieved even in a month when she is five. But there is even a more serious reason for my suggestion: when we admit five year old children and separate them from their parents, they do not retain any memory of those to whom they owe their lives. Respect, a daughter's love-- these feelings they do not know and as a result they become cultivated feelings. This is why the return to the parents home, instead of being hoped for and happy, is for such a child usually full of terror, for the child could not retain any memories about his happiness and the joys of parent love. If, on the other hand, we take

the child at the age of eight or nine, then her memories of the parents' house will never fade and the child will whole-heartedly wish to return to the parents. Thus by taking the child at eight or nine and passing her through three classes, would mean that we are devoting to the child nine years of care, which it seems to me, would fully complete her education. Where the middle-class girls are concerned, then I would suggest to keep them in the Home altogether six years, and admit them at the age of eleven and pass them only through two classes by letting them out at seventeen. It seems to me that the time allotted is sufficient for the education of the middle-class girls, for their education should be limited to the teaching of the basic knowledge of our language, the ability to express well themselves and write correctly; give them a good religious knowledge, teach them arithmetic, so that they will be able to keep books on household expenditure and income, teach them all sorts of embroidery and give them a knowledge about homeeconomics; such, I think, should be the education of the middle-class girls in general. But if any one of these girls is talented and there is hope that in the future she may be useful to the Home by learning more; that she may become a "class-dame", then these few chosen middle-class girls I would allow to attend the classes of the noble girls so that they would acquire the necessary knowledge. These girls then could be kept at the Home even after graduation so that they could better prepare themselves to their posts chosen by me. I will therefore leave only two classes for the middle-class girls, I consider this sufficient and now I will discuss the classes of the noble girls. Assuming that we will admit them at the age of nine, I will therefore cancel the "coffee-class" for the children of five to eight years old: thus I will be cancelling two classes from the middle-class girls and one class from the noble girls. In an attached note to this letter I have explained what I plan to do with these three classes, therefore here I will not discuss it but I will only indicate the reasons why I think it so important to separate the noble girls from the middle-class girls,

and will discuss details of the difference such a separation will make regarding expenses and the use of the establishment."

"I must admit that I see serious shortcomings in mixing noble girls with middle-class ones, for it is evident that the destiny of the latter is in many ways different from the duties and the destiny of the noble girls. This is why combining their education will be detrimental to both, for their attitudes are completely different and the acquisition of talents and arts pleasant to the society desirable for the education of noble girls, becomes not only harmful to the middle-class girl but also deadly, for such education will remove the girl out of her environment and force her to search for dangerous benefactors in the society. If, on the other hand the noble girls are exposed to the limited education of the middle classes, the loss incurred on the former is evident."

"Therefore, we must separate them. The nobility and the middle-classes, both have the same holy right to the benefaction of the Monarch, to the care we give them, but each in its own sphere."

Source: E. Likhacheva, Materialy dlia istorii zhenskogo obrazovania, (St. Petersburg: 1890), Vol. II, pp. 7-10, (cited by).

## APPENDIX IX

### A Comparison of the Condorcet Scheme and the Russian Statutes of 1804

#### Condorcet's Scheme

#### Russian Statutes of 1804

##### *Ecoles primaires*

##### *Parochial Schools*

##### Subjects taught

Three R's ; elements of morals,  
natural science and economics  
useful for peasants.

Three R's, Religion and morals ;  
elements of natural science,  
agriculture and hygiene

##### *Ecoles secondaires*

##### *District Schools*

##### Subjects taught

Morals, Civics, Law, Grammar,  
History and Geography (gen. and  
French) Mathematics, Physics,

Religion, Law, Russian, History  
and Geography (gen. and Russian).  
Mathematics, Physics. Natural

Natural Science, pure and with  
application to agriculture, Crafts  
and Trade. Elements of Crafts and  
Trade. Drawing. Foreign Language.

Science. Technology and local  
industry.

Drawing.

Latin and German only for pupils  
who proceed to Gymnasia.

##### *Instituts*

##### *Gymnasia*

##### Teachers :

##### Teachers :

##### I DEPARTMENT

- 1) of Mathematics
- 2) Physics and Chemistry
- 3) Natural Science

- 1) of Mathematics and Physics
- 2) Technology and Nat. Science.

##### II DEPARTMENT

- 1) Psychology, Logic, Ethics
- 2) Law, Political Economy
- 3) History, Geography

- 3) } Psychology, Logic, Ethics,  
Aesthetics, Law, Political  
Economy.
- 4) History, Geography, Statistics

##### IV DEPARTMENT<sup>1</sup>

- 1) Theory of Art
- 2) Grammar
- 3) Latin
- 4) Foreign Languages
- 5) Drawing

- 5) Latin
- 6) German
- 7) French
- 8) Drawing



*Lycées*  
*Sciences mathématiques et*  
*physiques*

Chairs :

- 1) Pure Mathematics
- 2) Applied Mathematics
- 3) Maths. applied to political sciences
- 4) Astronomer-Observator
- 5) Physics
- 6) Chemistry
- 7) Mineralogy & Geology
- 8) Botany
- 9) Zoology

*Sciences morales et*  
*politiques*<sup>1</sup>

- 1) Logic, Psychology, Ethics and Nat. Law
- 2) Sociology, Polit. Economy and Finance
- 3) Public Law and General Law
- 4) French Law
- 5) General History and Geography

UNIVERSITIES<sup>2</sup>

*Mathematical and physical*  
*sciences*

Chairs :

- 1) Pure Mathematics
- 2) Applied Mathematics
- 3) Astronomer-Observator
- 4) Physics
- 5) Chemistry
- 6) Mineralogy & Agriculture
- 7) Botany (and Nat. Science)
- 8) Technology with application to trade and industry

*Moral and political sciences*

- 1) Theoretical and practical philosophy
- 2) Diplomacy and Polit. Economy
- 3) Nat. Common & Public Law
- 4) Russian Law
- 5) History of Law
- 6) Dogmatic Theology
- 7) Interpretation of the Bible and History of the Church

The second part of Technology is lacking in Russian Universities because in Russia there were special Institutes.

*Littérature et Beaux-Arts*

- 1) Theory of Art, Oratory
- 2) Antiquities
- 3) Latin
- 4) Greek
- 5) Oriental Languages
- 6) } Modern Languages
- 7) }
- 8) }
- 9) Painting, Sculpture,
- 10) Architecture
- 11) Theory of Music

*Literature and art*

- 1) Theory of Art, Archaeology
- 2) Oratory, Poetry, Russian literature
- 3) Latin & Antiquities
- 4) Greek
- 5) Oriental Languages
- 6) }
- 7) Modern Languages (lecturers)
- 8) }
- 9) }
- 10) Arts (lecturers)
- 11) }

two chairs of

- 12) General History & Geog.
- 13) Russian History & Geog.

This comparison proves that the Russian Statutes are a modified copy of Condorcet's scheme. In particular the distribution of Chairs in Universities is taken entirely from Condorcet and can be explained neither by Polish nor German influences. Even the idea of the University self-government, usually ascribed to the German origin could have been directly taken from Condorcet who quite clearly expressed the idea of self-government of scientific institutions.

The time table of District and Provincial Schools was the following :

*Applications des sciences  
aux arts*

- 1) Anatomy and Physiology
- 2) Pharmacy, materia medica
- 3) Theoretical Medicine (pathology)
- 4) Practical Medicine
- 5) Midwifery
- 6) Veterinary

*Medicine*

- 1) Anatomy, Physiology, Law Medicine
- 2) Pharmacy, materia medica
- 3) Theoretical med. (Pathology)
- 4) Surgery, Therapeutics
- 5) Midwifery
- 6) Veterinary

1. I have excluded the third Department of Applied Sciences because in Russia they were taught in special Schools.

2. When we compare the original draft of Professor Fuss which was prepared for the Chief School Administration we see how it was changed under Condorcet's influence. Strangely enough all previous writers have presumed that the Universities Statute of 1804 was drawn up under

German influence. Certainly the authors of the Russian Statutes were well acquainted with the German and Polish practice and discussed it in the Commission, but the actual law was drafted under French influence.

The original draft of Professor Fuss (57, p. 160) divided the sciences into four sections: 1) *La section de philologie et de belles lettres*, 2) *La section de sciences mathématiques et physiques*, 3) *La section de sciences médicales et chirurgiques*, and 4) *La section de sciences philosophiques, morales et politiques*. The first, second and fourth sections were to have six Chairs each and the third seven Chairs. We see that already this draft departs from the traditional German division of faculties under the French influence, but the actual Statute is still more modified according to the scheme of Condorcet.

1. The Russian Statute added two Chairs on Theology, which was excluded by Condorcet and transferred the Chair of History and Geography to the faculty of Literature and Arts.

Source: N. Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), pp. 46-48.

## APPENDIX X

### Number of Elementary Schools, Teachers and Pupils Under the Different Controlling Agencies

TABLE 1

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (without Poland and Finland)						
Years	Under the Ministry of Public Instruct.		Under the Holy Synod		Total	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1840	1.676	106.000	2.500	19.000	4.176	125.000
1850	3.674	181.551	4.610	88.512	8.284	270.063
1855	4.244	226.772	4.820	98.260	9.064	325.032
1865	9.329	283.237	21.420 ?	413.524 ?	30.749 ?	696.761 ?
1875	20.665	809.810	7.402	205.559	28.067	1.015.369
1881	22.781	1.207.435	4.404	104.781	27.185	1.312.216
1891	23.836	1.636.064	21.840	626.100	45.676	2.262.164
1894	23.883	1.576.062	31.835	981.076	55.718	2.557.138
1896	30.955	2.223.152	33.817	1.076.707	64.772	3.299.859
1898	31.418	2.241.209	39.345	1.425.036	70.763	3.666.245
1900	32.980	2.348.273	42.589	1.633.651	75.569	3.981.924
1902	34.916	2.565.206	43.588	1.770.703	78.504	4.335.909
1904	39.143	2.920.219	43.407	1.902.578	82.550	4.822.797
1906	42.753	2.983.749	41.233	1.998.327	83.986	4.982.076
1908	(46.000)	(3.400.000)	39.149	1.916.145	(85.000)	(5.300.000)
1911	54.986	3.848.590	37.460	1.783.403	92.446	5.631.993
1915	80.801	5.942.046	(34.000)	(1.900.000)	116.234	8.039.987

The figures of the Ministry of Public Instruction include the schools of State Domains, transferred to the Ministry in 1867 and Protestant and Roman-Catholic schools, transferred to the Ministry in 1886-1893. The figures for Church parochial schools for 1865-75 are obviously exaggerated. The other Ministries had also elementary schools which gradually were transferred to the Ministry of P. I. In 1892 there were 2.891 of such schools with 157.872 pupils, in 1894 1.441 with 74.355 pupils, in 1901 1.825 schools with 97.309 pupils and in 1911 2.691 schools with 201.003 pupils. The Mohamedan and Jewish schools are not included in this table. The figures for 1915 are not official and for the Ministry of P. I. include the schools of Poland — about 5.000 schools with 350.000 pupils, the total includes the

Source: N. Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), p. 233.

TABLE 2

*Administration of Elementary Schools, 1898-1911*

CONTROLLING AGENCY	Number of Schools		Number of Teachers		Number of Pupils	
	1898	1911	1898	1911	1898	1911
Min. Pub. Ed.	37,046	59,682	84,121	130,019	2,650,058	4,186,078
Holy Synod	40,028	37,922	67,907	66,525	1,476,124	1,793,429
All others	1,625	2,691	2,624	6,729	77,064	201,003
TOTALS	78,699	100,295	154,652	203,273	4,203,246	6,180,510

The total figures themselves show a rather remarkable achievement, consisting as they do of a 27 per cent rise in the number of schools, a 31 per cent increase in the number of teachers, and a 47 per cent boost in enrollment—all this in the relatively short space of thirteen years! Close examination of the table will reveal the fact that nearly all of these increases were to the credit of the schools under the Ministry of Public Education: although the Synod achieved a slightly increased enrollment, both its schools and its teachers actually declined in number. It should also be noted that the great expansion in Ministry schools was accomplished without adding significantly (only 0.7) to the number of pupils per teacher, and that the ratio of pupils to school was considerably reduced (by 8.5).

Source: W.H.E. Johnson, *Russia's Educational Heritage*,  
(Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1950), p.192.

## APPENDIX XI

### Tables of Literacy

TABLE 1

*Literacy Status of Young People (7-14 years old) in the Russian Empire in 1897*

AGE IN YEARS	MALES			FEMALES		
	ALL	LITERATE	ILLITERATE	ALL	LITERATE	ILLITERATE
7	1,529,948	99,883	1,430,065	1,561,743	65,590	1,492,153
8	1,586,402	241,009	1,345,393	1,587,753	143,430	1,444,323
9	1,372,774	391,426	981,348	1,362,844	204,536	1,158,308
10	1,582,027	569,081	1,012,946	1,549,621	278,751	1,270,870
11	1,205,566	553,418	652,148	1,180,777	262,342	918,435
12	1,637,597	746,155	891,442	1,598,221	338,819	1,259,402
13	1,318,828	643,025	675,803	1,312,476	295,459	1,017,017
14	1,285,721	630,902	654,819	1,297,667	299,533	998,134
TOTAL	11,518,863	3,874,899	7,643,964	11,451,102	1,892,460	9,558,642
%	100%	31%	69%	100%	16.5%	83.5%

#### RECAPITULATION

##### YOUTHS OF BOTH SEXES, 7-14 YEARS

All	22,969,965	100%
Literate	5,767,359	25%
Illiterate	17,202,606	75%

Source: W.H.E. Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage,  
(Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1950), p. 282.

TABLE 2

*Literacy in Russia, by Areas and Sex, in 1897*

AREA	% LITERATE IN ENTIRE POPULATION			% LITERATE IN THE CITIES		
	MALES	FEMALES	BOTH SEXES	MALES	FEMALES	BOTH SEXES
European Russia	32.6	13.7	22.9	58.5	38.3	48.9
Tsarist Poland	34.2	26.8	30.5	50.5	38.6	44.7
Caucasus	18.2	6.0	12.4	42.4	22.3	33.7
Siberia	19.2	5.1	12.3	48.0	28.3	39.4
Central Asia	7.9	2.2	5.3	24.9	10.3	18.5
The Empire	29.3	13.1	21.1	54.0	35.6	45.3

Source: Ibid., p.283.

TABLE 3

*Rate of Growth in Literacy in Russia, by Areas and Sex (1800-1897)*

AREA	% NOT LITERATE IN 1897		AVERAGE DECENNIAL GROWTH IN LITERACY FOR 19TH CENTURY		AVERAGE DECENNIAL GROWTH IN LITERACY 1867-1897	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Eur. Russia	67.4	86.3	5.5	1.8	5.2	3.2
Tsarist Poland	65.8	73.2	3.8	3.1	1.8	1.0
Caucasus	81.8	94.0	1.9	1.0	0.3	1.9
Siberia	80.8	94.9	1.9	0.8	0.6	2.0
Cent. Asia	92.1	97.8	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.7

Source: Ibid.

TABLE 4

LITERACY STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN FOR YEARS  
1897 AND 1920 BY TERRITORY

Territories	out of 1,000 Men		out of 1,000 Women		out of 1,000 Total	
	1897	1920	1897	1920	1897	1920
European Russia	326	422	136	255	229	330
North Caucasus	241	357	56	215	150	281
Siberia	170	307	46	134	108	218
Total	318	409	131	244	223	319

Source: I.M. Bogdanov, Gramotnost i obrazovanie v dorevolutsionnoi Rossii i v SSSR, (Moscow: Statistika, 1964), p. 94.

TABLE 5

LITERACY STATUS FOR DIFFERENT CLASSES OF MEN  
AND WOMEN (IN PERCENT)--1897

Classes	Sex	Age						Total
		10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over	
Rural and Peasant . . .	Men	45.1	43.7	37.1	29.9	21.9	15.9	36.7
	Women	17.5	14.7	11.4	9.0	7.3	6.5	12.5
Merchants, Middle Class and others .	Men	65.4	71.7	68.2	63.8	57.6	48.2	68.1
	Women	50.4	49.2	39.3	31.4	25.2	20.2	40.6
Nobility . . .	Men	84.8	99.5	90.9	90.1	88.6	82.5	88.0
	Women	81.0	84.8	84.2	82.4	80.0	74.0	81.2
Clergy . . . .	Men	96.0	97.3	96.7	97.2	97.5	95.9	96.7
	Women	90.9	90.5	83.5	74.6	66.0	63.6	79.2

Source: Ibid., p. 68.

TABLE 6

LITERACY STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN  
PER CITY AND YEAR IN PERCENT

Cities	Years	% of Literacy		
		Both Sexes	Men	Women
St. Petersburg . . . . .	1869	55.6	62.0	46.4
Pskov . . . . .	1870	46.5	51.8	33.4
Kiev . . . . .	1874	44.3	52.9	33.2
Moscow . . . . .	1871	43.2	49.5	34.1
Novocherkask . . . . .	1872	41.8	52.2	30.3
Omsk . . . . .	1877	40.6	51.0	27.0
Novgorod . . . . .	1865	39.9	52.7	27.0
Tiflis . . . . .	1875	38.3	44.7	28.5
Kharkov . . . . .	1866	36.9	45.5	26.8
Kostroma and other Cities of the Province . . . . .	1867	36.8	49.1	24.9
Ekaterinburg . . . . .	1873	36.5	43.7	28.6
Kazan . . . . .	1863	35.4	39.0	30.6
Nikolaev . . . . .	1875	34.8	39.0	27.0
Odessa . . . . .	1873	30.9	35.7	22.4
Tula . . . . .	1865	30.6	40.2	20.9

Source: Ibid., p. 27.

TABLE 7

LITERACY STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN IN ST. PETERSBURG  
PER YEAR IN PERCENT

Year	% of Literacy of both Sexes	Men	Women	% of Literate Women to Men
1869	52.5	66.3	50.7	76.4
1881	64.4	71.8	55.1	76.7
1890	64.8	74.3	53.5	72.0
1900	70.5	79.7	59.4	74.8
1910	76.6	86.3	65.8	76.2

Source: Ibid., p. 28.



TABLE 8

LITERACY STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN  
IN MOSCOW PER YEAR IN PERCENT

Years	Both Sexes	Men	Women	Relative Percentage of literate Women to Men
1871	45.7	52.0	36.5	70.2
1882	49.8	58.0	38.6	66.5
1897	60.7	71.4	46.1	64.5
1902	66.0	74.2	48.6	65.5
1912	70.0	81.1	56.6	69.8

Source: Ibid., p. 29.

TABLE 9

LITERACY STATUS OF MEN AND WOMEN  
IN KHARKOV PER YEAR IN PERCENT

Years	% of literate Persons of both Sexes	Men	Women	Relative Percentage of literate Women to Men
1866	36.9	45.5	26.8	59.0
1879	40.0	47.3	31.3	66.2
1897	52.5	61.7	41.9	67.9
1912	66.6	74.2	58.6	79.9

Source: Ibid., p. 29.

## APPENDIX XII

### Number and Types of Secondary and Higher Educational Institutions

TABLE 1

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.				
Years	District & similar Schools		Urban Schools	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1825	362	32.000	—	—
1835	418	25.000	—	—
1845	447	26.000	—	—
1855	439	27.309	—	—
1865	416	23.952	—	—
1875	367	30.486	60	7.171
1881	229	17.320	257	27.487
1891	247	20.912	412	51.743
1894	166	14.330	486	66.860
1898	209	23.203	496	76.303
1900	193	24.252	537	87.455
1902	102	14.974	674	105.150
1904	105	16.188	715	110.534
1910	113	21.048	992	132.445
1911	115	18.392	1.136	154.387

In 1914 there remained still 296 Urban Schools the rest was transformed into Higher Elementary Schools which together with newly opened schools amounted to 1.204 H. E. Schools. In 1915 all Urban Schools were transformed and the number of Higher Elementary Schools reached 1.547. The District Schools were transformed into Urban Schools during the period 1872-1902. The additional schools under this heading were the newly established Central and similar schools among Germans and other minorities. They were also transformed into Higher Elementary Schools during 1912-1915.

Source: N.Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, ( New York: Russell & Russell ,Inc., 1964), pp. 234-235.

TABLE 2

DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE MINISTRY  
OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION. Without Poland and Finland

Years	Gymnasias for Boys		Real Schools		Gymnasias and Pro- gymnasias for Girls	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1825	60	14.000	(Including 60 District Schools, which formed the first three years.)			
1836	68	15.475	—	—	—	—
1846	76	20.669	—	—	—	—
1855	77	17.817	—	—	61	2.033
1865	96	26.789	—	—	120	9.129
1875	157	40.443	41	7.475	192	30.417
1881	213	60.800	87	19.482	259	46.791
1891	207	52.969	102	22.084	303	55.527
1894	207	54.590	102	22.672	306	55.866
1898	208	66.819	110	32.842	336	88.753
1900	212	71.584	111	37.924	368	107.769
1902	216	80.487	121	42.296	415	128.186
1904	223	89.966	141	46.835	499	157.444
1906	230	91.000	150	50.000	583	184.186
1908	283	106.000	176	59.000	657	215.000
1910	322	114.000	230	66.000	759	248.000
1912	391	128.000	270	75.000	899	290.000
1914	453	152.110	291	80.800	978	323.577

Source: Ibid., p. 235.

TABLE 3

SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF OTHER MINISTRIES

Schools	1855	1880	1895	1905	1913-14
<i>Department of Maria Fedorovna.</i>					
Girls' Institutes	32	32	32	34	34
Pupils	6.581	8.000	8.000	9.000	9.562
Girls' Gymnasias	—	31	31	32	35
Pupils	—	11.786	11.000	13.000	17.166
<i>Holy Synod.</i>					
Clerical Seminaries	47	?	57	57	57
Pupils	?	?	18.500	19.386	22.311
Girls' Diocesan Schools	—	42	51	60	73
Pupils	—	6.859	13.186	18.921	23.241
<i>Ministry of Finance.</i>					
Commercial Schools	3	4	8	68	217
Pupils	?	?	3.000	18.269	51.632
<i>Ministry of War.</i>					
Cadet Corps	21	21	21	29	29
Pupils	8.004	8.000	8.104	10.995	11.857

Source: Ibid., p. 237.

TABLE 4

*Per Cent of Total Population of Russia with General Secondary or Higher Education in 1897*

AGE GROUP	ALL CLASSES (%)		URBAN (%)		RURAL (%)	
	UNI-		UNI-		UNI-	
	VERSITY	GEN. SEC.	VERSITY	GEN. SEC.	VERSITY	GEN. SEC.
MALES						
Under 10	—	0.04	—	0.1	—	0.005
10 - 19	0.02	1.3	0.04	4.1	0.001	0.2
20 - 29	0.3	1.2	0.8	4.1	0.01	0.2
30 - 39	0.4	1.2	0.5	3.7	0.005	0.1
40 - 49	0.3	1.2	0.3	3.3	0.004	0.1
50 - 59	0.3	1.1	0.2	1.9	0.002	0.5
60 & over	0.2	1.0	0.1	1.3	0.002	0.004
FEMALES						
Under 10	—	0.1	—	0.3	—	0.01
10 - 19	0.003	1.3	0.06	4.7	0.0002	0.1
20 - 29	0.02	1.6	0.05	4.9	0.0007	0.1
30 - 39	0.03	1.3	0.05	3.2	0.0006	0.07
40 - 49	0.02	0.7	0.02	1.5	0.0004	0.02
50 - 59	0.005	0.4	0.007	0.7	—	0.01
60 & over	0.003	0.3	0.004	0.5	—	0.006

Source: W.H.E. Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage,  
(Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1950), p.286.

TABLE 5

*Number of Persons in Russia with Secondary or Higher Education, by Level and Sex, in 1897*

TYPE OF INSTITUTION ATTENDED	NUMBER OF PERSONS HAVING ATTENDED	% FROM EACH TYPE OF INST.	% OF POPULATION OF THAT SEX	% LIVING IN RURAL AREAS
<b>MALES</b>				
University and other higher	97,961	11.5	0.16	16.7
Special and technical higher	29,656	3.5	0.05	21.3
Military higher	4,181	0.5	0.01	11.8
Special secondary	86,655	10.2	0.14	38.8
General secondary	558,038	65.7	0.89	33.5
Military secondary	72,441	8.6	0.12	17.3
Total Males from all	848,932	—	1.4	?
<b>FEMALES</b>				
University and other higher	6,360	1.2	0.01	12.7
Special and technical higher	619	0.1	0.01	19.7
Special secondary	13,293	2.5	0.02	23.0
General secondary	514,939	97.5	0.82	20.4
Total Females from all	535,211	—	0.8	?
Total Persons from all	1,384,143	—	1.1	?

Source: Ibid., p.285.

TABLE 6

## THE HIGHER COURSES FOR WOMEN (Without Poland and Finland)

INSTITUTION. FOUNDED	NUMBER OF STUDENTS			FACULTIES
<i>In St-Petersburg</i>				
1) Bestuzhev-Rumin 1875	2.180	5.177	5.897	Arts, Science, Law.
2) Lokhvitsky 1903	?	957	869	Science.
3) Raev 1906	—	929	828	Arts, Law.
4) Dimitriev 1910	—	283	?	Arts, Science, Law.
5) Mecdal Inst. 1897	188	1.618	1.525	Medicine.
6) Polytech. Courses 1906	—	?	225	Engineering.
7) Pedagogical Institute 1910(?)	—	?	548	Arts, Science.
8) Agriculture C. 1904	—	?	700	Agriculture.
<i>In Moscow:</i>				
1) Moscow Courses 1900	1.806	5.318	6.477	Arts, Medicine.
2) Poltoratsky 1907	—	247	486	Arts, Law.
3) Statkevich 1909	—	400	753	Medicine.
<i>In Odessa:</i>				
1) Odessa Courses 1903	600	1.278	915	Arts, Science, Law.
2) Medical 1909	—	?	286	Medicine.
<i>In Kiev:</i>				
1) Kiev Courses 1906	—	2.221	2.450	Arts, Science, Law, Economics.
2) Zhakullina 1909	—	92	88	Arts, Science, Economics.
3) Medical 1907	—	1.204	1.600	Medicine.
<i>In Yuriev:</i>				
1) Yuriev Courses 1908	—	?	61	Arts.
2) Rostovtsev 1908	—	301	364	Science, Medicine.
<i>Kazan Courses</i>				
1) Kazan Courses 1906	—	749	1.010	Arts.
2) Kharkov Courses 1907	—	200	776	Arts, Science, Law.
3) Kharkov Medical 1910	—	?	1.545	Medicine.
<i>Tiflis Courses</i>				
1) Tiflis Courses 1908	—	257	312	Arts, Science.
<i>Novocherkask C.</i>				
1) Novocherkask C. 1908	—	?	88	Arts, Science.
<i>Tomsk Courses</i>				
1) Tomsk Courses 1910	—	87	188	Arts, Science.

Source: Hans, op.cit., p.241.

# APPENDIX XIII

## Tables of Programmes in Girls' Gymnasias

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF EIGHT UPPER YEARS OF SECONDARY  
SCHOOLS (NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK  
THROUGHOUT EIGHT YEARS)

Subjects	1871	1890 <sup>a</sup>	1915	1959
Religion . . . . .	13	16	14	. .
Russian . . . . .	24	29	34	45
Latin and Greek . . . . .	85	75	. .	. .
Mathematics, Physics and Natural Sciences . . . . .	37	36	57	72
Geography . . . . .	10	8	16	12
History . . . . .	12	13	17	22
Modern Languages . . . . .	19	19	13	20
Logics . . . . .	1	. .	2	. .
Drawing . . . . .	5 (Writing)	10	7	8
Physical Culture . . . . .	. .	. .	21	16
Singing . . . . .	. .	. .	3	5
Practical Work . . . . .	....	. .	3	64
Total	206	206	187	264

If we distribute the subjects into three groups: (1) Humanities and religion, (2) Mathematics and sciences, and (3) Physical culture, drawing and singing, and practical work, we get the following table:

	1871	1915	1959
Humanities	154	80	87
Mathematics and Sciences	47	73	84
Physical Culture, Practical Work and Arts	. .	34	93

The difference is most significant and in line with the Russian tradition.

<sup>a</sup>Source: "Gymnasias," Entsiklopedicheski Slovar,  
( St. Petersburg: 1893), Vol. VII, p. 708.

The 1871 numbers are given for boys' gymnasia, but in 1915 the programs of boys' and girls' gymnasia were the same to a large extent, and in 1959 secondary schools were coeducational.

Source: Hans, Russian Trends in Education, op. cit., p. 157.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK IN THE GYMNASIA OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF MARIA FEODOROVNA IN 1879

Subjects	Classes							Total
	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I	
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Russian Language and Literature	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	23
French Language	6	5	4	4	4	4	4	31
German Language	3	4	6	6	5	3	3	30
History	..	..	..	2	2	4	4	12
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	..	12
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	21
Natural Sciences and Physics	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	16
Pedagogy	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Handwork and Gym- nastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Writing	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	6
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Singing	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	10
Total	29	29	29	29	29	30	30	205

Source: Ibid., p. 705.



TABLE 3

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK IN THE GIRLS' GYMNASIA  
OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION  
BETWEEN 1870-1915

Subjects	Classes							Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
A. Compulsary								
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Russian Language and Literature	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	23
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	23
Geography	2	2	2	2	..	..	2	10
History	..	..	2	2	3	3	2	12
Natural Sciences and Physics	..	..	..	2	2	3	3	10
Writing	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	6
Handwork	..	..	2	2	2	2	1	9
Total	13	13	15	17	15	17	17	107
B. Electives								
either a)								
German Language	5	5	4	3	4	3	2	26
French Language	5	5	4	3	4	3	2	26
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
Pedagogy	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Total	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	175
or b)								
One Foreign Language	5	5	4	3	4	3	2	26
Latin	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	38
Greek	..	..	5	5	6	5	6	27
Total	24	24	30	30	30	30	30	198

Source: Ibid., p. 706.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK IN THE COMMERCIAL  
SCHOOLS (MODEL CURRICULUM ISSUED  
ON FEB. 12, 1897)<sup>a</sup>

Subjects	Total Number of Hours per Week throughout the seven Classes
Religion . . . . .	13
Russian Language . . . . .	26
German Language . . . . .	30
French Language . . . . .	28
Mathematics . . . . .	24
Geography . . . . .	8
History . . . . .	10
Natural Sciences . . . . .	7
Physics . . . . .	9
Chemistry . . . . .	5
Drawing . . . . .	15
Commercial Arithmetic . . . . .	4
Knowledge of Merchandise . . . . .	6
Book-keeping . . . . .	8
Commercial Correspondence . . . . .	1
Commercial Geography . . . . .	4
Political Economy . . . . .	3
Law . . . . .	3
Practical, laboratory Work . . . . .	4
Total	208

<sup>a</sup>Some of these schools were coeducational.

From the total of 208 hours per week only 27 were devoted to special 'commercial' subjects, 181 were of general educational value.

Source: N.Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), p. 184.

# APPENDIX XIV

## Social Composition of Pupils in Secondary and Higher Educational Institutions

TABLE 1

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF PUPILS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION. In percent. Children of :					
Years	Gentry & Officials	Clergy	Merchants & Citizens	Workers & Craftsmen	Peasants
1) Boys <i>Gymnasia</i>					
1801	33.0	2.0	20.0	14.0	27.0 (Ma- jor Schools)
1826	69.5	3.2	15.2	8.0	4.0
1833	78.9	2.1	19.0		} no peasants.
1843	78.7	1.7	19.6		
1853	80.0	2.2	17.8		
1863	72.3	2.8	24.9		
1865	69.6	3.6	23.0		3.8
1875	52.4	6.2	35.9		6.5
1881	47.5	5.2	20.6	18.7	8.0
1894	56.4	3.4	33.5		6.7
1899	49.8	3.8	37.5		8.6
1904	43.8	5.1	39.1		12.0
1914	32.3	5.6	18.7	26.9	22.0
2) <i>Real Schools.</i>					
1873	55.3	3.5	33.9		7.1
1875	49.8	2.9	39.3		8.2
1882	41.2	2.5	24.5	20.0	11.8
1894	37.4	0.8	50.3		11.5
1899	34.9	1.2	48.1		16.1
1904	30.6	1.7	46.9		21.7
1914	22.6	2.8	15.7	29.6	32.1
3) <i>Girls Gymnasia and Progymnasia.</i>					
1880	40.1	9.2	20.9	22.8	7.0
1894	40.5	4.9	46.8		7.8
1904	31.3	4.4	49.4		15.5
1914	21.6	4.8	17.7	35.2	25.5

Source: N.Hans, The History of Russian Educational Policy, (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964), p. 236.

TABLE 2

LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN RUSSIA,  
BY CLASS AND SEX, IN 1897

Extent of Education	Noble and Official	Christian Clergy	Urban	Rural	Foreign Subjects	Others
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Males						
Literate	73.2	77.8	50.1	27.4	38.8	6.8
General						
Higher	7.8	1.9	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.02
Special						
Higher	2.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.01
Special						
Secondary	2.6	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.1
General						
Secondary	19.7	51.9	2.6	0.1	3.9	0.2
Military						
Higher	0.5	0.01	0.0	0.0	0.02	0.0
Military						
Secondary	7.4	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.01
Females						
Literate	69.2	66.6	31.1	9.7	39.0	2.2
General						
Higher	0.5	0.1	0.02	0.0	0.1	0.01
Special						
Higher	0.04	0.01	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Special						
Secondary	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.02
General						
Secondary	23.4	11.7	2.5	0.1	5.1	0.2

Source: W.H.E. Johnson, Russia's Educational Tradition,  
(Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1950), p. 284.

TABLE 3

LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN RUSSIA BY CLASS  
AND SEX, IN 1897

Classes	Sex	Higher Educational Institutes		Secondary Educational Institutes	
		University, Technical Schools	Special Technical	General	Special
Nobility	Men	71.1	65.8	31.3	27.0
	Women	67.0	63.1	43.6	37.6
Clergy	Men	5.3	1.0	25.7	2.9
	Women	3.6	3.2	10.9	5.8
Urban	Men	18.8	25.5	31.5	35.9
	Women	20.5	24.7	35.2	37.4
Rural	Men	1.8	2.9	7.7	26.4
	Women	2.0	3.1	6.4	10.6
Others <sup>a</sup>	Men	3.0	4.8	3.8	7.8
	Women	6.9	5.9	3.9	8.6

<sup>a</sup>Officials, hereditary citizens, learned men, foreigners, and all those not belonging to any of the above classes.

Source: I.M. Bogdanov, Gramotnost i obrazovanie v dorevolutsionnoi Rossii i v SSSR, (Moscow: Statistika, 1964), p.70.

## APPENDIX XV

Decree of May 31, 1873 [ Published in  
'Pravitel'stvennyi Vestnik' (Official Herald)]

"In the beginning of the 'sixties some Russian girls went abroad to attend lectures at the university of Zürich.

"At first their number remained very limited, but for two years now it has been rising rapidly and at present more than a hundred Russian women are counted in the university and the polytechnical school of Zürich. Meanwhile information about them of a more and more unpleasant character has begun to reach the government. In view of the growing number of Russian students the ringleaders of the Russian emigration have chosen this town as a centre of revolutionary propaganda, and have made all efforts to win the young students over to their ranks. Under their influence scientific pursuits have been left aside for fruitless political agitation. Among the young Russians of both sexes several political parties of the most extreme character have been formed. The Slav Social Democratic Society, the Central Revolutionary Slav Committee, the Slavo-Russian section of the International Association have been formed in Zürich and they count among their members not a few Russian men and women. In the Russian library, to which some of our publishers are sending gratis their periodicals and newspapers, lectures are held of an exceptionally revolutionary character: 'The Pugačev Rising', 'The French Revolution of 1870', – such are the usual themes of the lectures. Visiting workers' meetings has become a regular occupation for young women, even for such as do not understand German and content themselves with translations by their friends. Their young and inexperienced minds are carried away and given a false direction by political agitation. Meetings and party conflicts complete the picture, and confuse these young women who take an artificial fruitless agitation for real life. Dragged into polemics, they come under the influence of the emigration leaders and become willing instruments in their hands. Some of them travel two or even three times a year from Zürich to Russia and back, taking with them letters, instructions, and proclamations, and taking an active part in criminal propaganda. Others are carried away by communist theories of free love and under cover of fictitious marriage push their disregard for fundamental moral principles and of feminine chastity to the extreme. The undignified behaviour of the Russian women has aroused the indignation of the

inhabitants, and even the proprietresses of boarding houses accept them unwillingly. Some of these girls have fallen so deep that they are making a special study of that branch of obstetrics which in all countries is punished by criminal law and despised by honest people. Such a moral outrage cannot fail to draw the governments' serious attention. It must not be forgotten that these women will some time return to Russia and become wives, mothers, pedagogues. One cannot but put the fearful question: what will the generation that is brought up by such women be like?

"The government cannot and must not remain an indifferent looker-on of the moral decay, which involves a part, even though a very small part, of the young generation of Russians. It is conscious of its ineluctable duty to fight the rising evil and has decided to use all measures within its power, in the first place measures of a prophylactic character.

"The government has constantly adopted a sympathetic attitude towards the striving for higher learning for women which has shown itself in the more gifted individuals". The document we are quoting then goes on to announce that in some institutions of higher learning special courses for women have been set up and that, moreover, within the Medico-Surgical Academy a special training school for learned midwives had been set up as an experiment which would last four years, and that more such measures were under consideration.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it was said, higher learning for women could now be obtained inside Russia.

"But certainly it is not only the thirst for knowledge which lures Russian women to Zürich. Western European states which are considerably ahead of us in the field of education are yet just as little inclined to admit women to institutions of higher learning; these states provide only an insignificant contingent of women students in Zürich – all in all less than twenty per cent of the number of Russians. It is, therefore, difficult not to come to the conclusion that the majority of our young compatriots visits Zürich university for reasons which have nothing to do with the thirst for higher learning. The thoughtless propaganda of a certain part of our press, a false idea of woman's task in family and society, the enthusiasm for ideas *à la mode*, all these causes have their influence on the relatively very strong influx of Russian women to Zürich. The ringleaders of our emigration cleverly exploit all circumstances and, dragging these young and inexperienced women towards the maelstrom of political agitation, finally ruin them. The government cannot accept the idea that two or three doctor's degrees can balance the evil which springs from the moral decay of the young generation and therefore considers it necessary to put an end to this abnormal movement.

"In view of all this the government warns in good time all Russian women visiting the university and the polytechnical school of Zürich that those of them who after January 1 of the coming year 1874 continue to attend lectures in these institutions, will not be admitted to any occupations the permission for which is dependent on the government, or to any examination or Russian institution of learning.

"The government expresses its hope that such a timely declaration will exempt it from the regrettable necessity of applying to anybody the aforementioned restrictions".<sup>2</sup>

Source: J.M.Meijer, Knowledge and Revolution, (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955), pp.140-141. ( cited by).

## APPENDIX XVI

### Alexandra Kollontay's<sup>1</sup> Speech on Prostitution and Marriage addressed to the Women Sections of the Third Congress of the Communist Party (1918)

It is first of all necessary precisely to define what is prostitution. Prostitution is a phenomenon closely bound up with an income not earned by labor, and it therefore flourished in the epoch of the rule of capitalism and private property.

Prostitutes from our standpoint are all women who sell their caresses, their bodies, for temporary or extended periods for fine food, clothes, trinkets, or adornments, and for the right obtained by selling themselves to men, not to undertake any labor, not to subject themselves to work of any kind.

Prostitution in our soviet republic of workers is an outright inheritance of the bourgeois capitalist past, in which only an insignificant number of women were occupied with productive labor in the national economy, while an enormous number, more than half of the entire female population, lived from the labor of their husbands or their fathers--their "meal tickets."

All women who desert their labor, who take no part in the obligatory work, and who are not performing any work for small children at home are placed on an equal footing with the prostitute--they must be forced to work. And we can not make any distinction here between the prostitute and the most lawful wife

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<sup>1</sup>Mme. Kollontay was the only woman on the list of names of the candidates for the reelection of the Central Executive Committee in 1918. On the list were such persons as Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Lunacharsky, Peters. She also was the chief of the Russian Bureau of Public Welfare and for long the head of the Russian woman's movement.



who lives on her husband's sustenance, whoever her husband may be, even though he be a "commissar."

But when we consider the prostitutes and fight them as a nonproductive element of society we are not placing them in a special category. For us, for the republic of the workers, it is absolutely a matter of indifference whether a woman sells herself to one man or to many, whether she is a professional prostitute living by some other source than her own useful labor or by the sale of her caresses to a legal husband or to an occasional purchaser of female flesh, whose identity may vary from day to day. . . .

In other words, we are going to introduce equal treatment for all deserters from labor. From the standpoint of the workers' collective a woman is to be condemned, not for selling her body but for the fact that, just like a legally married woman, she does no useful work for the collective. This new, absolutely new, procedure with prostitution is dictated by the interest of the workers' collective.

The third reason why prostitution is inadmissible in a soviet workers' republic is that it prevents the development and solidification of the fundamental class qualities of the proletariat, of its new morality. What is the fundamental property of the working class, the most powerful moral weapon in its struggle? The feeling of comradeship, of solidarity. Solidarity is the foundation of communism. Without this strongly established feeling among the mankind of the workers it is inconceivable that we shall erect a new truly communist society. Of course, it is self-evident that conscious communists must with all their powers aid in the development of this feeling, and conversely, must with all their might struggle with those forces that would hinder this development and prevent the solidification of such qualities and characteristics of the working class of the toiling population.

What is it that follows in the wake of prostitution? A debasement of the feeling of equality, of solidarity, and comradeship between the sexes; in other words, between the two

halves of the working class. The man who purchases the caresses of women begins to look upon women as a commodity. He regards women as dependent upon himself; in other words, as creatures of a lower order, not entitled to equal rights, not of equal value to the workers' government. His contemptuous attitude to the prostitute whose attentions he has purchased for her material gain he transfers to all women. Instead of a growth of the feeling of comradeship, equality, and solidarity we shall have, if prostitution should further develop, a strengthening of the conditions of inequality between the sexes, of the feeling of the superiority of man, the dependence of woman on him--in other words, a decrease in the solidarity of the whole working class.

The second form of prostitution, although it is highly developed and extremely extensive in bourgeois capitalistic countries, . . . also assumes a great variety of forms in our country. Prostitution is practiced by the soviet office employees, in order to obtain by the sale of their caresses boots that go up to the knee; prostitution is resorted to by mothers of families, working women, peasant women, who are out after flour for their children, and sell their bodies to the manager of the rations division in order to obtain from him a full bag of the precious flour. Sometimes the girls in the offices associate with their male superiors not for manifestly material gains--for rations, shoes, etc.--but in the hope of advancement in office. And there is an additional form of prostitution--"careerist prostitution"--which is also based, in the last analysis, however, on material calculations.

How shall we fight these conditions? There was proposed to the interdepartmental commission the question of a punishment of prostitution by law. Many of the representatives in the interdepartmental commission were inclined to favor the method of subjecting the prostitute to legal prosecution, by reason of the fact that the professional prostitute is a rank deserter from work. A recognition of the culpability of the prostitute logically led to an admission of the legality of the hunts for prostitutes, of their interment in concentration camps, etc.

The central organ came out clearly and resolutely against this conception of the matter. If it is proper to permit hunts for prostitutes, it follows that similar hunts should be made for such lawful wives as are existing on the means of their husbands and are of no use to the state. The latter are just as much deserters from work as are the prostitutes. It is proper and logical to put prostitutes into concentration camps only in cases where lawful wives, not occupied with productive labor, are also interned for similar reasons.

Such was the standpoint of the central organ, which was supported by the representatives of the people's commissariat of justice. If we take the factor of desertion from labor as the defining element of the crime, we shall have no outlet; all the forms of desertion from labor will be rendered equal by the punishment.

The factor of conjugal relations, of a relation between the sexes, is eliminated. That factor can not serve as the defining element of a crime in the workers' republic.

Can the short duration, the informality, the freedom of the relation between the sexes be regarded, from the standpoint of working humanity, as a crime, as an act that should be subject to punishment? Of course not. The freedom of relations between the sexes does not contradict the ideology of communism. The interests of the commonwealth of the workers are not in any way disturbed by the fact that marriage is of a short or prolonged duration, whether its basis is love, passion, or even a transitory physical attraction.

The only thing that is harmful to the workers' collective, and therefore inadmissible, is the element of material calculation between the sexes, whether it be in the form of prostitution, in the form of legal marriage--the substitution of a crassly materialistic calculation of gain for a free association of the sexes on the basis of mutual attraction.

This factor is harmful, is inadmissible, will cut a breach in the feeling of equality and solitariness between the sexes. And from this standpoint we must condemn prostitution, as a

trade, in all its shapes and forms, even that of the legal "wives," who maintain their sad part, so intolerable in the workers' republic.

But much can be done and much must be done.

The women's sections in the provinces also must enter into contact with the national educators, in order to push into the foreground the question of proper provision for sexual enlightenment in the schools. In addition a number of conversations and lessons must be introduced of social-scientific or scientific-hygienic character as to questions of marriage, the family, the history of the form of the relationship between the sexes, the dependence of these forms and of sexual morality itself on purely economic, material causes.

It is time to introduce clearness into the question of the relationship between the sexes. It is time to preach with merciless and rigidly scientific criticism.

Our task is to reeducate the psychology of the working commonwealth, to bring it into correspondence with the economic tasks of the working class. We must without reservation discard our old outlawed conceptions, to which we are attached as to a bad habit. Economics have now defined our ideology. Look about you and behold the foundations of the former economic institutions crumbling. With them there go down also the foundations of the earlier form of marriage. And yet we are chained to the early marriage system, to the bourgeois form of the family. We are ready to renounce all the accustomed forms of life, ready to hail the revolution in every field, and yet are afraid to touch the family! Only do not touch the marriage system! Even conscious communists are afraid to look the truth in the face and wave aside those fundamentals which bear witness to the fact that the former family ties are breeding, as the new economic forms dictate also new forms of association between the sexes. This results in outright abnormalities.

The soviet power has recognized woman as a working unit, valued by national economy, has placed her, as a working, toiling force, on the same footing with man, but in the actual

conditions of life we are still maintaining the "old regime" and are ready to acknowledge the normality of marriages based on the material dependence of women on men. But if we wage a struggle against prostitution we should also introduce clearness into these conjugal relations that are still built on the old principle of "purchase and sale." We must learn to be ruthless, to fear no sentimental outcries as to the fact that "by our criticism, our preaching or scientific truths, we violate the sanctity of family ties."

It is necessary to declare the truth outright, the old form of the family is passing away; the communist society has no use for it. The bourgeois world celebrated the isolation, the cutting off of the married pair from the collective weal; in the scattered and disjointed individual bourgeois society, full of struggle and destruction, the family was the sole anchor of hope in the storms of life, the peaceful haven in the ocean of hostilities and competitions between persons. The family represented an independent class in the collective unit. There can and must be no such thing in the communist society. For communist society as a whole represents such a fortress of the collective life, precluding any possibility of the existence of an isolated class of family bodies, existing by itself, with its ties of birth, with its female egoism, its love of family honor, its absolute segregation.

Already ties of blood, of birth, and even of the relationship of conjugal love, are weakening in our eyes; in their turn there are growing, spreading, and deepening new ties, ties of the working family, the profound feeling of comradeship of solidarity, of community of interests, the creation of a collective responsibility, of a belief in the collective welfare as the highest moral-legislative good.

What marriage is to become in the future or, more properly, what are to be the forms of relationship between the sexes in the future it would be difficult to foretell. But one thing is beyond doubt; that is, that under communism there will be lacking in the conjugal relationship not only all material calculation,

all economic dependence of woman on man, but also all the other considerations of "convenience" which frequently characterize present-day marriage. . . .

Prostitution under communism is passing into the domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its place there are growing healthy, joyful and free relations between the sexes. A new generation is growing up to replace the old, with more developed social feelings, with greater mutual independence, with more freedom, health, and courage, a generation for whom the welfare of the whole will stand higher than anything else. . . .

Comrades! Our task is to destroy the roots that nourish prostitution. Our task is to wage relentless warfare on the vestiges of individualism, which has hitherto been the moral basis of marriage. Our task is to revolutionize thought in the field of marriage relations and to clear the way for a new, healthy conjugal morality that shall correspond with the interests of the workers' commonwealth. After it has outlived the morality and conjugal forms of the present day the communist commonwealth will have disposed also of prostitution.

We must all put our shoulders to the wheel, comrades! In the place of the family which is passing away, the family of the past, there is already arising, solidifying, and spreading the new family--the great workers' family of the victorious world proletariat.

Source: Mme. Alexandra Kollontay, "Speech on Prostitution and Marriage addressed to the Women Sections of the Third Congress of the Communist Party," War Information Series, No. 20, October 1918, issued by the U.S. Committee on Public Information.

## APPENDIX XVII

### Clara Zetkin: "Lenin on the Woman Question." (extracts)

*Clara Zetkin was one of the outstanding figures in the international socialist and communist movement. A friend of Frederick Engels, a co-worker of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel in Germany, she was the foremost leader of the socialist women in the struggles for women's rights both in Germany and internationally. Together with Wilhelm Pieck, now president of the German Democratic Republic, and with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, she helped to found the Communist Party of Germany. She and Lenin had their famous conversations on the woman question (given in part below and on page 80) in 1920. She later included the full discussion in her pamphlet, Lenin on the Woman Question.*

"The thesis must clearly point out that real freedom for women is possible only through communism. The inseparable connection between the social and human position of the woman, and private property in the means of production, must be strongly brought out. That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and feminism. And it will also supply the basis for regarding the woman question as a part of the social question, of the workers' problem, and so bind it firmly to the proletarian class struggle and the revolution. The Communist women's movement must itself be a mass movement, a part of the general mass movement. Not only of the proletariat, but of all the exploited and oppressed, all the victims of capitalism or any other mastery. In that lies its significance for the class struggles of the proletariat and for its historical creation—communist society. . . . We must win over to our side the millions of toiling women in the towns and villages. Win them for our struggles and in particular for the communist transformation of society. There can be no real mass movement without women.

"Our ideological conceptions give rise to principles of organization. No special organizations for women. A woman Communist is a member of the party just as a man Communist, with equal rights and duties. There can be no difference of opinion on that score. Nevertheless, we must not close our eyes to the fact that the party must have bodies, working groups, commissions, committees, bureaus or what-

ever you like, whose particular duty it is to arouse the masses of women workers, to bring them into contact with the party, and to keep them under its influence. That, of course, involves systematic work among them. We must train those whom we arouse and win, and equip them for the proletarian class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. I am thinking not only of proletarian women, whether they work in the factory or at home. The poor peasant women, the petty bourgeois—they, too, are the prey of capitalism, and more so than ever since the war. The unpolitical, unsocial, backward psychology of these women, their isolated sphere of activity, the entire manner of their life—these are facts. It would be absurd to overlook them, absolutely absurd. We need appropriate bodies to carry on work amongst them, special methods of agitation and forms of organization. That is not feminism, that is practical, revolutionary expediency. . . .

"That is why it is right for us to put forward demands favorable to women. This is not a minimum, a reform program in the sense of the Social-Democrats, of the Second International. It is not a recognition that we believe in the eternal character, or even in the long duration of the rule of the bourgeoisie and their state. It is not an attempt to appease women by reforms and to divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. It is not that nor any other reformist swindle. Our demands are practical conclusions which we have drawn from the burning needs, the shameful humiliation of women in bourgeois society, defenseless and without rights. We demonstrate thereby that we recognize these needs, and are aware of the humiliation of the woman, the privileges of the man. That we hate, yes, hate everything, and will abolish everything which tortures and oppresses the woman worker, the housewife, the peasant woman, the wife of the petty trader, yes, and in many cases the women of the possessing classes. The rights and social regulations which we demand for women from bourgeois society show that we understand the position and interests of women, and will have consideration for them under the proletarian dictatorship. Not, of course, as the reformists do, lulling them to inaction and keeping them on leading strings. No, of course not; but as revolutionaries who call upon the women to work as equals in transforming the old economy and ideology.' . . .

"Every such struggle brings us in opposition to respectable bourgeois relationships, and to their not less respectable reformist admirers whom it compels, either to fight together with us under our leadership—which they don't want to do—or to be shown up in their true colors. That is, the struggle clearly brings out the differences between us and other parties, brings out our communism. It wins us the confidence of the masses of women who feel themselves exploited, enslaved, suppressed, by the domination of the man, by the power of the employer, by the whole of bourgeois society. Betrayed and deserted by all, the working women will recognize that they must fight together with us.

"Must I again swear to you, or let you swear, that the struggles for our demands for women must be bound up with the object of seizing power, of establishing the proletarian dictatorship? That is our Alpha and Omega at the



present time. That is clear, quite clear. But the women of the working class will not feel irresistibly driven into sharing our struggles for the state power if we only and always put forward that one demand, though it were with the trumpets of Jericho. No, no! The women must be made conscious of the political connection between our demands and their own suffering, needs, and wishes. They must realize what the proletarian dictatorship means for them: complete equality with man in law and practice, in the family, in the state, in society; an end to the power of the bourgeoisie."

"Soviet Russia shows that," I interrupted.

"That will be the great example in our teaching," Lenin continued. "Soviet Russia puts our demands for women in a new light. Under the proletarian dictatorship those demands are not objects of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They are part of the structure of communist society. That indicates to women in other countries the decisive importance of the winning of power by the proletariat. The difference must be sharply emphasized, so as to get the women into the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. It is essential for the Communist parties, and for their triumph, to rally them on a clear understanding of principle and a firm organizational basis. But don't let us deceive ourselves. Our national sections still lack a correct understanding of this matter. They are standing idly by while there is this task of creating a mass movement of working women under Communist leadership. They don't understand that the development and management of such a mass movement is an important part of entire party activity, indeed, a half of general party work. Their occasional recognition of the necessity and value of a powerful, clear-headed Communist women's movement is a platonic verbal recognition, not the constant care and obligation of the party.

"Agitation and propaganda work among women, their awakening and revolutionization, is regarded as an incidental matter, as an affair which only concerns women comrades. They alone are reproached because work in that direction does not proceed more quickly and more vigorously. That is wrong, quite wrong! Real separatism and as the French say, *feminism à la rebours*, feminism upside down! What is at the basis of the incorrect attitude of our national sections? In the final analysis it is nothing but an under-estimation of woman and her work. Yes, indeed! Unfortunately it is still true to say of many of our comrades, 'scratch a Communist and find a Philistine.' Of course, you must scratch the sensitive spot, their mentality as regards woman. Could there be a more damning proof of this than the callous acquiescence of men who see how women grow worn out in the petty, monotonous household work, their strength and time dissipated and wasted, their minds growing narrow and stale, their hearts beating slowly, their will weakened? Of course, I am not speaking of the ladies of the bourgeoisie who shove onto servants the responsibility for all household work, including the care of children. What I am saying applies to the overwhelming majority of women, to the wives of workers and to those who stand all day in a factory.

"So few men—even among the proletariat—realize how much effort and trouble they could save women, even quite do away with, if they were to lend a hand in 'woman's work.' But no, that is contrary to the 'right and dignity of a man.' They want their peace and comfort. The home life of the woman is a daily sacrifice to a thousand unimportant trivialities. The old master right of the man still lives in secret. His slave takes her revenge, also secretly. The backwardness of women, their lack of understanding for the revolutionary ideals of the man decrease his joy and determination in fighting. They are like little worms which, unseen, slowly but surely, rot and corrode. I know the life of the worker, and not only from books. Our Communist work among the women, our political work, embraces a great deal of educational work among men. We must root out the old 'master' idea to its last and smallest root, in the party and among the masses. That is one of our political tasks, just as is the urgently necessary task of forming a staff of men and women comrades, well trained in theory and practice, to carry on party activity among working women."

To my question about the conditions in Soviet Russia on this point, Lenin replied:

"The government of the proletarian dictatorship, together with the Communist Party and trade unions, is of course leaving no stone unturned in the effort to overcome the backward ideas of men and women, to destroy the old un-Communist psychology. In law there is naturally complete equality of rights for men and women. And everywhere there is evidence of a sincere wish to put this equality into practice. We are bringing the women into the social economy, into legislation and government. All educational institutions are open to them, so that they can increase their professional and social capacities. We are establishing communal kitchens and public eating-houses, laundries and repair shops, infant asylums, kindergartens, children's homes, educational institutes of all kinds. In short, we are seriously carrying out the demand in our program for the transference of the economic and educational functions of the separate household to society. That will mean freedom for the women from the old household drudgery and dependence on man. That enables her to exercise to the full her talents and her inclinations. The children are brought up under more favorable conditions than at home. We have the most advanced protective laws for women workers in the world, and the officials of the organized workers carry them out. We are establishing maternity hospitals, homes for mothers and children, mothercraft clinics, organizing lecture courses on child care, exhibitions teaching mothers how to look after themselves and their children, and similar things. We are making the most serious efforts to maintain women who are unemployed and unprovided for.

"We realize clearly that that is not very much, in comparison with the needs of the working women, that it is far from being all that is required for their real freedom. But still it is tremendous progress, as against conditions in tsarist-

capitalist Russia. It is even a great deal compared with conditions in countries where capitalism still has a free hand. It is a good beginning in the right direction, and we shall develop it further. With all our energy, you may believe that. For every day of the existence of the Soviet state proves more clearly that we cannot go forward without the women."

Source: Clara Zetkin, Lenin on the Woman Question, (New York: International Publishers, 1934), pp. 14-20.

## APPENDIX XVIII

### Abolition of Co-education in Soviet Schools

A. Orlov :<sup>1</sup> *On the Education of Boys and Girls Apart in Separate Schools* (*Izvestiya*, August 10, 1943)

In the ensuing school year, our organs of national education and our schools are confronted with a task of great national importance: as from September 1, 1943, separate education for boys and girls in all forms from the first to the tenth will be introduced in the incomplete and complete secondary schools of the provinces, of district towns, of capitals of the Union and Autonomous Republics and of large industrial towns, as soon as separate schools for boys and girls have been organized in these towns.

Co-education in the schools was proclaimed and put into practice by the Soviet government in 1918, and has played a positive historical rôle in the development of Soviet schools. More than half of all scholars in the higher educational institutions are women. This is a great achievement of the Soviet government, of Soviet culture.

But now we find that co-education in the schools has given rise to a number of inconveniences. In co-education, neither the peculiarities of the physical development of boys and girls, nor the different requirements of their vocational training, practical activities, preparation for leadership and military service can receive proper attention.

In the schools of Moscow, where during the past school year separate education has already been partially introduced as from the fifth form, experience has proved that the collectives of pupils have become more organized and their interests more homogeneous. Discipline in the schools has improved con-

<sup>1</sup> The author is the Director of the Moscow Municipal Department of National Education. The reader will notice that most of the argument made in favour of the reform is based upon the need of preparing the young for their share in defence, and also the polemics against "absurd interpretations of the meaning of separate education" uttered by some Soviet pedagogues who evidently inclined to a return to pre-revolutionary views in this matter. But part of the argument of the article, and such—doubtless official—arguments as those quoted below, in our Conclusion (pp. 393-4) leave no doubt that the need to get the most efficient soldiers and nurses provided only the immediate incentive for a measure with much more far-reaching implications. [R. S.]

siderably and the activities of the pupils have increased as well. The syllabuses for boys and girls have been differentiated, and thus the necessary conditions have been created for the physical and military training—primary and pre-conscription—of both.

In consequence, remarkable progress has been achieved by pupils in the schools.

The significance of the primary and pre-conscription training of the pupils consists not only in imparting to them elementary facts and notions concerning the established order, the military organization, materials, weapons and so on, but also in providing a genuine military education for our youth. It will be possible to achieve this aim only when these elements of military education are inculcated in our youth from early childhood. Therefore separate education in all incomplete and complete secondary schools will be introduced, beginning in the first form, because the syllabus of physical training and military training, primary and pre-conscription, is different for boys and girls, and this programme can be carried out properly only under conditions of separate education.

For the current year, the instruction in the schools for boys and girls must follow the existing programme. But for the future, the programme of education and the curriculum for boys' schools and girls' schools can be and must be differentiated. It is essential to introduce in girls' schools such additional subjects as pedagogics, needlework, courses in domestic science, personal hygiene and the care of children. In boys' schools, training in handicrafts must become a part of the curriculum. At the end of their school career, those who attend boys' schools must have acquired practical habits, they must be able to cope with simple repairs to electrical installations and heating systems, and with the repair of household objects. The syllabus of boys' schools must also be different for such subjects as geography. It is necessary that the future warrior and commander should be able to use a map and be absolutely reliable, to understand topography, to find his way by means of a map and to apply a map to the locality.

If separate education is to be established in practice, we must in the first place appreciate that this is an extremely complicated and difficult task calling for a thoughtful approach, much painstaking work, and not merely a mechanical separation of boys and girls. Experience in the Moscow schools proves that a great deal of preparatory work must precede the carrying

out of separate education. The significance of this national reform and of the underlying pedagogical principles must be properly expounded to the teachers, explanations must be given to the pupils and their parents, and the work must be carried out jointly with the Party organs, the Soviets and other social organizations.

A properly planned network of schools will be of the utmost importance. It must be built up with full regard to local conditions. We must be on our guard against letting the implementation of this school reform hinder in any way the fulfilment of the main and fundamental task of the school—the universal compulsory education of our children. It would be an unforgivable mistake if the planning of the school system should give rise to conditions where children had to walk three or four kilometres to go to school. This would be an obstacle to daily school attendance. It is quite possible in individual cases of necessity to arrange with the permission of the authorities two independent schools for boys and girls in one building, with different principals and separate teaching staffs.

It is not our objective to erect some “Chinese wall” between boys and girls—boys and girls walking on different pavements—what we aim at is only the separate *education* of boys and girls. This is the main thing. We must not imagine that once separate education has been introduced, there will be no association between boys and girls. They will come together in the “pioneer houses”, in institutions outside the school, in the theatres, at “school evenings”, and so on. A danger exists, nevertheless, in an absurd misinterpretation of the essential meaning of separate education, such as found expression in various memoranda presented to the All-Russian Conference on National Education during the discussion of the problem of separate education.

There is a great deal of work to be done by the organs of national education in selecting the managing body—the principals and directors of studies and the teaching staff. It is clear that both kinds of school have their peculiarities and that the selection of the teachers for boys and girls must take these peculiarities into account. In boys’ schools, the principal should as a rule be a man, and in girls’ schools a woman. Where in any instance this rule is not observed, it should be regarded as a temporary expedient.

The choice of buildings for boys’ and girls’ schools should also take these peculiarities into account. Boys’ schools should have proper grounds for military training and for carrying out technical manoeuvres. They must have a gymnasium and a specially organized military department in accordance with the programme of military education. In girls’ schools, the military department should serve the purposes of training for sanitary work, intelligence, and so on.

There should also be a differentiation by the national educational bodies in their management of the schools for boys and girls. It will also be necessary, as a practical measure, to conduct separate headmasters’ and headmistresses’ conferences. There is a great deal of work to be done in forming pupils’ collectives.

The schools of Moscow are at an advantage in this task, as they have already had some small experience of separate education, and at present a great deal of preparatory work is being carried on with a view to school reform. A network of schools for boys and girls has been established, principals and directors of studies have been selected. The body of teachers has been built up, a register of pupils has been compiled and new forms arranged, the personal files of the pupils have been sorted out and the syllabus has been formulated in detail. Military departments have been created in the schools and great care has been taken in the choice of their equipment and of the school grounds for military pursuits.

Not much time remains before the beginning of the next school year, but there is a very great deal for us to do. Our work of implementing these highly important national measures must be widely and most energetically pursued, to ensure for every boys' and for every girls' school a properly organized start for its school activities.

The introduction of separate education for boys and girls in the incomplete and complete secondary schools marks the achievement of a definite stage in the development of our Soviet schools and will raise the school system to an even higher stage of development.

Source: R. Schlesinger, ed., Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia: The Family in the USSR, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), pp. 363-366.

## APPENDIX XIX

### Soviet Women in Education and Work

#### ( Statistical Returns )

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF WOMEN IN THE USSR

		Number of women ( '000,000 )	Percentage of women in the total population
1926	(December 17 census), within the boundaries of the USSR prior to September 17, 1939	76.0	51.7
1939	(January 17 census), within the boundaries of the USSR prior to September 17, 1939	88.9	52.1
1939	Estimate: for the USSR, including Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and the Western regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia	99.3	52.1
1959	(January 15 census)	114.8	55.0
1960	(Estimate on January 1)	116.4	54.8
1961	(Estimate on January 1)	118.3	54.7
1962	(Estimate on January 1)	120.0	54.6

According to the 1926, 1939 and 1959 census returns, the percentage of women in the total population was 51.7, 52.1 and 55.0 respectively, while the estimate on January 1, 1962, gives the percentage as 54.6. This ratio is due to the older age groups and is mainly the result of wars, of the Second World War in particular. In the under-32 age group, according to the 1959 census returns, there were more men than women. On January 1, 1962, there were more men than women in the under-35 age group.

Source: Central Statistical Board of the USSR, Women and Children in the USSR, ( Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1963 ), p.31.



TABLE 2

LITERACY AMONG WOMEN AGED 9-49\*  
(Census Returns)

	Percentage of literate women aged 9-49			
	1897	1926	1939	1959
Urban and rural population	13.7	42.7	83.4	97.8
Urban	43.1	73.9	91.0	98.1
Rural	9.6	35.4	79.2	97.5

\* The figures for 1897, 1926 and 1939 are for the USSR within the boundaries prior to September 17, 1939. For the USSR, including Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and the Western regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia, the percentage of literate women in 1939 was 81.6: 90.7 per cent in towns and 76.8 per cent in the countryside.

Source: Ibid., p.51.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF WOMEN IN THE USSR WITH A HIGHER OR SECONDARY  
EDUCATION

(Census Returns for January 15, 1959)

	Number of women ('000)			Percentage of women in the total number of people with a given level of education		
	urban and rural population	of whom		urban and rural population	of whom	
		urban	rural		urban	rural
Total						
With a higher, unfinished higher or secondary special education (who have finished a technical or similar school)	7,219	5,388	1,831	54	54	53
With a general secondary education (who have finished the full secondary school)	5,528	4,305	1,223	56	58	49
With an unfinished secondary education (who have finished a seven-year school or who have finished more than seven classes)	18,316	10,809	7,507	52	53	50

Source: Ibid., p.51.

TABLE 4

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN APPLYING FOR ADMISSION  
AND THE RATIOS OF MALE AND FEMALE APPLICANTS  
ADMITTED TO THE SCIENCE FACULTIES OF  
MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY,  
FALL OF 1964.<sup>a</sup>

Science Faculties	Applicants			Acceptances			Applicants per Acceptance	
	Total	Women	Women	Total	Women	Women	Men	Women
			%			%		
Mechanics- mathematics	3,045	1,045	43	480	122	25	4.9	10.7
Physics	3,469	1,013	29	480	116	24	6.7	8.7
Chemistry	1,917	1,335	70	301	160	53	4.1	8.3
Biology	1,902	1,293	68	282	149	53	4.6	8.7
Geography	865	394	45	173	60	35	4.2	6.6
Geology	877	310	35	166	44	27	4.6	7.0
Total	12,075	5,647	47	1,882	651	35	5.2	8.7

<sup>a</sup>Based on data supplied by the university.

Source: N. T. Dodge, Women in the Soviet Economy,  
(Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), p. 113.

TABLE 5

Women among day and evening students enrolled in higher educational institutions, by field, 1926-64.\*

Year <sup>b</sup>	Enrollment (in thousands)		Percentage of Women Enrolled					
	Total	Women	All Fields	Engi- neering- industrial	Agricul- tural	Socio- economic	Medicine	Educa- tional- cultural
1926.....	168.0	(51.9) <sup>c</sup>	30.9	7.2	16.3	16.5	52.0	48.0
1927.....	168.5	(48.0)	28.5	13.4	17.4	21.1	52.0	48.7
1928.....	176.6	(51.4)	29.1	14.3	18.4	22.4	54.0	49.0
1929.....	204.2	(59.6)	29.2	15.6	20.4	19.4	56.0	46.7
1930.....	287.9	(81.5)	28.3	15.5	25.4	24.8	58.0	44.4
1931.....	405.9	(125.0)	30.8	17.7	28.1	29.8	64.7	46.9
1932.....	504.4	(168.0)	33.3	19.8	30.6	34.9	71.4	49.3
1933.....	458.3	(167.3)	36.5	22.4	32.1	36.0	75.1	50.2
1934.....	527.3	(200.4)	38.0	23.3	31.8	39.0	71.2	48.4
1935.....	563.5	(222.6)	39.5	25.6	30.2	40.1	69.0	46.8
1936.....	542.0	(222.2)	41.0	26.6	29.3	39.7	68.8	47.4
1937.....	547.0	(235.8)	43.1	28.0	30.2	41.3	67.5	48.2
1940.....	585.0	(330.3)	58.0	40.3	46.1	63.6	74.1	66.5
1945 <sup>d</sup> .....	539.2	(323.5)	77.0	60.0	79.0	77.0	90.0	84.0
1950.....	845.1	(448.7)	53.1	30.3	39.3	57.0	64.9	71.9
1955.....	1,227.9	(642.2)	52.3	35.4	39.3	67.0	69.1	72.1
1956.....	1,277.9	(651.7)	51.0	36.0	39.0	n.a. <sup>e</sup>	69.0	70.0
1957.....	1,320.3	(646.9)	49.0	33.0	34.0	n.a.	65.0	66.0
1958.....	1,332.9	(626.5)	47.0	32.0	31.0	n.a.	62.0	65.0
1959.....	1,341.6	(603.7)	45.0	31.0	28.0	n.a.	59.0	63.0
1960.....	1,400.4	(602.2)	43.0	30.0	27.0	49.0 <sup>d</sup>	56.0	63.0
1961.....	1,511.0	(634.6)	42.0	28.0	26.0	n.a.	55.0	62.0
1962.....	1,661.0	(697.6)	42.0	28.0	25.0	n.a.	54.0	62.0
1963.....	1,822.0	(783.5)	43.0	29.0	25.0	n.a.	53.0	64.0
1964.....	2,020.0	(868.6)	43.0	29.0	25.0	n.a.	53.0	64.0

\*The sources of this table were as follows: through 1956, except 1945, DeWitt, *op. cit.*, p. 654; for 1956-58, *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1959 godu* (Moscow, 1960), p. 751; for 1959-61, *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1961 godu* (Moscow, 1962), p. 699; for 1945 and the socioeconomic field in 1960, *Vyshee obrazovanie v SSSR* (Moscow, 1961), p. 86; totals for men and women or for women alone are based on *Zhenshchina v SSSR* (Moscow, 1937), p. 121; *Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo* (Moscow, 1956), pp. 201-2; *Vyshee obrazovanie v SSSR* (Moscow, 1961), p. 80; and *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1961 godu* (Moscow, 1962), p. 688. All 1962 data are from *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1962 godu* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 572-73. All 1963 data are from *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1963 godu* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 566, 578. 1964 data are from *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1964 godu* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 678, 690.

<sup>b</sup>At the beginning of the academic year.

\*Figures in parentheses are derived from total enrollment and the percentage given for women.

<sup>d</sup>Percentages for all fields in 1945 and for the socioeconomic field in 1960 refer to the total enrollment in higher educational institutions, including correspondence students. The percentage of women by field in 1960 is identical for regular and total enrollment. In 1940, 1950, and 1955, years in which both sets of data are available, they differ (when rounded) only in the educational-cultural field. The percentage of women in total enrollment in these years is given as 66, 71, and 71 per cent, respectively, in *Vyshee obrazovanie v SSSR* (Moscow, 1961), p. 86. It is not likely, therefore, that the 1945 percentages and the socioeconomic percentage for 1960 are seriously inconsistent with the rest for the table.

<sup>e</sup>No data available.

Source: *Ibid.*, p.112.

TABLE 6

Women among day and evening students enrolled in specialized secondary educational institutions, by field, 1927-64.<sup>a</sup>

Year <sup>b</sup>	Enrollment (in thousands)		Percentage of Women Enrolled					
	Total	Women	All Fields	Indus- trial <sup>c</sup>	Agricul- tural	Socio- economic	Health <sup>e</sup>	Educa- tion <sup>e</sup>
1927.....	189.4	72.0	37.6	9.5	15.4	36.3	89.3	53.5
1930.....	586.8	(323.5) <sup>d</sup>	38.8	25.8	31.0	48.2	87.3	51.9
1932.....	723.7	(227.7)	44.7	28.5	33.5	51.9	85.6	54.1
1933.....	588.9	(258.5)	43.9	30.1	30.1	54.5	80.7	54.6
1934.....	671.5	(296.1)	44.1	29.6	31.6	54.6	79.7	55.2
1935.....	712.9	(306.5)	43.0	26.0	30.2	52.3	76.3	54.3
1936.....	768.9	(359.1)	46.7	26.8	29.3	51.1	79.9	55.9
1937.....	862.5	(445.1)	51.6	25.9	28.7	50.2	83.3	57.0
1940.....	819.5	447.8	54.6	32.0	37.0	60.0	83.0	60.0
1945.....	907.0	627.2	69.1	50.0	66.0	79.0	93.0	83.0
1950.....	1,116.9	598.2	53.6	35.0	41.0	73.0	85.0	77.0
1955.....	1,673.9	916.9	54.8	42.0	43.0	82.0	89.0	80.0
1956.....	1,660.7	(863.7)	52.0	39.0	44.0	n.a. <sup>e</sup>	89.0	78.0
1957.....	1,540.2	(739.1)	48.0	37.0	38.0	n.a.	86.0	79.0
1958.....	1,427.9	(672.1)	47.0	34.0	38.0	n.a.	84.0	76.0
1959.....	1,384.7	(637.0)	46.0	33.0	36.0	n.a.	83.0	77.0
1960.....	1,461.1	(686.7)	47.0	33.0	38.0	75.0	84.0	76.0
1961.....	1,634.0	784.3	48.0	33.0	38.0	74.0	85.0	77.0
1962.....	1,799.1	(883.3)	49.0	34.0	38.0	n.a.	86.0	79.0
1963.....	2,010.0	(984.9)	49.0	34.0	38.0	n.a.	87.0	80.0
1964.....	2,220.0	(1,087.8)	49.0	34.0	37.0	n.a.	87.0	80.0

<sup>a</sup>Excluding correspondence students. Sources for this table were as follows: for 1927, 1940, 1945, 1950, 1955, 1958-61, *Srednee spetsial'noe obrazovanie v SSSR* (Moscow, 1962), p. 92; for 1930, 1932-37, 1956-57, DeWitt, *op. cit.*, p. 613; the totals are from *Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo* (Moscow, 1956), p. 201, and *Srednee spetsial'noe obrazovanie v SSSR* (Moscow, 1962), p. 69; all 1962 data are from *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1962 godu* (Moscow, 1963), p. 573; all data for 1963 are derived from *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1963 godu* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 566, 578; 1964 data are from *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1964*

*godu* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 678, 690.

<sup>b</sup>At the beginning of the academic year.

<sup>c</sup>The industrial field is used here to signify the related fields of industry, construction, transport, and communications. Similarly, the health field includes physical culture and sport; and education, the fields of art and cinematography.

<sup>d</sup>Figures in parentheses are derived from total enrollment and the percentage given for women.

<sup>e</sup>No data available.

Source: *Ibid.*, p. 110.

TABLE 7

Estimated percentage of women receiving candidate degrees, by field, selected years.<sup>a</sup>

Field	1936-37	1956-58	1959-61	1962-64
Pure science.....	23.8	38.3	33.6	25.5
Physics, mathematics....	6.1	23.1	15.3	16.8
Chemistry.....	25.9	52.6	50.7	38.2
Biology.....	36.8	66.5	52.2	53.2
Geology.....	22.7	27.0	26.8	26.9
Applied science.....	19.0	31.4	30.1	30.1
Technology.....	4.4	18.5	15.8	12.4
Agriculture, veterinary				
medicine.....	19.5	36.3	33.1	28.6
Medicine.....	28.6	54.4	52.7	47.0
Total.....	20.4	33.4	30.9	28.7
Nonscientific fields.....	21.0	31.5	27.2	25.3
Total, all fields.....	20.5	32.8	30.0	27.9

Source: *Ibid.*, p. 137.

TABLE 8

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN RECEIVING DOCTORAL  
DEGREES, BY FIELD, SELECTED YEARS.

Field	1936-37	1941-45	1956-58	1959-61	1962-64
Pure Science	15.1	10.5	8.3	15.4	16.8
Physics, Math.	7.7	2.8	0.0	4.3	7.7
Chemistry	8.3	8.5	17.6	17.8	40.0
Biology	23.8	14.5	28.6	36.0	30.8
Geology	9.1	12.5	10.5	10.4	23.1
Applied Science	8.4	0.9	15.5	18.9	26.3
Technology	0.0	0.5	3.6	4.2	2.9
Agriculture, Vete- rinary Medicine	0.0	2.7	12.5	11.1	13.0
Medicine	10.7	. .	51.2	41.0	42.3
Total	9.6	5.3	13.1	18.0	23.7
Nonscientific Fields	8.3	6.5	19.8	16.3	11.3
Total, all Fields	9.6	5.5	14.8	17.7	21.2

Source: Ibid., p. 138.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF WOMEN DOCTORS IN THE USSR  
(end-of-year figures)

Year	Number of doctors (excluding dentists)* '000	Number of women doctors	
		'000	Percentage of women in the total number of doctors
1913 within the present boundaries	23.2	2.3	10
Within the boundaries before September 17, 1939	19.8	1.9	10
1928	63.2	28.4	45
1937	103.7	52.8	51
1940	141.8	85.4	60
1950	247.3	189.0	76
1955	310.2	234.3	76
1956	329.4	246.7	75
1957	346.0	260.2	75
1958	361.5	272.3	75
1959	379.5	286.1	75
1960	401.6	302.1	75
1961	425.7	315.9	74
1962	448.0	332.4	74

In pre-revolutionary Russia there were 2,300 women doctors. This was 10 per cent of the total number of doctors.

In 1962 the number rose to 332,000 or 74 per cent.

According to the latest figures, in the USA only 7 per cent of the total number of doctors are women.

\* Not counting servicemen.

Source: Central Statistical Board..., op. cit., p. 123.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN SCHOOL DIRECTORS AND TEACHERS OF  
ELEMENTARY, SEVEN-YEAR, EIGHT-YEAR AND SECONDARY  
SCHOOLS IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF DIRECTORS AND TEACHERS  
OF SCHOOLS OF THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION AND RAILWAYS

(beginning-of-school-year figures)

	1940/41	1950/51	1958/59	1960/61	1961/62
<i>Percentage of women teachers, including directors of schools*</i>	60	70	70	70	70
of whom directors of:					
elementary schools . . . . .	47	61	69	69	71
seven- and eight-year schools . .	12	20	22	23	24
secondary schools . . . . .	13	21	20	20	20
directors of studies of seven- and eight-year schools . . . . .	32	47	53	54	56
directors of studies of secondary schools . . . . .	30	51	52	53	49
teachers (excluding teachers who are directors of schools at the same time) . . . . .	66	75	74	73	73
including:					
teachers of 1-4 classes . . . . .	...	84	87	87	87
teachers of 5-7 classes . . . . .	...	74	75	76	76
teachers of 8-11 classes . . . . .	...	67	68	67	68
teachers of music, singing, drawing, painting, physical training and productive work . . . . .	17	19	26	26	27

\* As a rule, school directors also work as teachers.

Source: Ibid., p. 125.

TABLE 11

WOMEN RESEARCH WORKERS, INCLUDING TEACHERS  
AT HIGHER EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

('000, October 1)

	1950	1959	1960	1961
<i>Total</i> . . . . .	59.0	111.1	128.7	150.0
of whom:				
women with academic title	16.6	25.4	26.3	28.0
of professor . . . . .	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.8
of reader and senior scientific worker . . . . .	6.7	11.2	12.0	12.7
of junior scientific worker and lecturer . . . . .	9.4	13.5	13.6	14.5
women with academic degree	12.0	28.3	29.9	30.9
of Doctor of Science . . . . .	0.6	1.1	1.1	1.2
of Candidate of Science . . . . .	11.4	27.2	28.8	29.7

Source: Ibid., p. 127.



TABLE 12

## EDUCATION LEVEL OF WOMEN IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS

(Census Returns)

	Higher and secondary education per 1,000 women	
	1939	1959
<i>Women engaged mainly in physical work</i>	21	284
Metallurgical and engineering industry workers . . . . .	122	569
of whom:		
lathe operators . . . . .	228	707
milling-machine operators . . . . .	173	669
planing, slotting, drilling, grinding, auto- matic-lathe and other machine-tool operators . . . . .	55	534
electric and gas welders . . . . .	129	509
press operators . . . . .	45	504
watchmakers and jewellers . . . . .	279	783
fitters, electricians, power line patrollers .	379	763
Chemists . . . . .	101	535
Woodworkers . . . . .	32	389
Papermakers . . . . .	63	404
Printers . . . . .	178	651
Textile workers . . . . .	55	483
Sewing industry workers . . . . .	78	582
Tanners . . . . .	66	430
Shoemakers . . . . .	88	547
Food industry workers . . . . .	42	442
Builders . . . . .	24	434
Agricultural workers . . . . .	9	192
of whom:		
heads of farms and livestock brigade leaders	20	452
leaders of tractor, field, composite and other brigades . . . . .	32	423
team leaders . . . . .	26	310
cattle-yard and stablehands, milk-maids, calf- and pig-tenders, poultry breeders . .	4	241
Railway workers . . . . .	29	377
Workers in motor transport and urban electric transport . . . . .	111	588
including:		
tram, metro-train and trolley-bus drivers	99	668
bus, tram and trolley-bus conductors . .	70	642
Workers in public catering . . . . .	31	409
<i>Women engaged mainly in mental work</i> . .	635	918
Heads of state administration bodies and of Party, YCL, trade-union, co-operative and other public organisations and their divisions	509	946

(Continued)

	Higher and secondary education per 1,000 women	
	1939	1959
Heads of enterprises (industrial, building, agricultural, forestry, transport, communications) and their divisions . . . . .	386	895
Engineers and technicians . . . . .	753	952
Agronomists, livestock experts, veterinary surgeons and foresters . . . . .	840	981
Medical workers . . . . .	654	969
Scientific workers, teachers and instructors . . . . .	901	995
Cultural workers . . . . .	694	978
Art workers . . . . .	743	912
Communications workers . . . . .	375	805
Trade, public catering, procurement, supply and marketing workers . . . . .	204	776
Planners, accountants and bookkeepers . . . . .	669	931
Employees in municipal and everyday services . . . . .	203	556

Source: Ibid., pp. 60-62.

TABLE 13

NUMBER OF WOMEN IN VARIOUS TRADES IN 1926, 1939 AND 1959  
(Census Returns)

	'000			1959 in %%		Percentage of women in the total number of workers in a given trade		
	1926	1939	1959	of 1926	of 1939	1926	1939	1959
<i>Women engaged mainly in manual work . . . . .</i>		29,469.4	36,550.1		124		45	46
Operators of power plants and materials handling machines . . . . .	1.8	134.6	557.4	311 times	414	1	23	32
Metallurgical and engineering industry workers . . . . .	32.1	522.1	1,450.1	45 "	278	3	12	16
of whom:								
turning, milling and other machine-tool operators . .	5.2	204.1	436.6	84 "	214	61	28	28
fitters, assemblers, erectors	2.7	40.3	188.6	69 "	468	1	3	6
press operators . . . . .	2.8	30.3	83.7	30 "	277	32	55	64
mechanics (workers), machine-tool setters . . . . .	0.1	11.1	33.1	231 "	298	1	4	6
Chemists . . . . .	20.8	95.6	226.2	11 "	237	48	46	57
Machine and hand compositors . . . . .	3.1	21.6	39.0	13 "	181	12	48	78
Textile workers . . . . .	523.8	805.0	958.3	183 per cent	119	69	76	85
of whom:								
spinners, bobbin doffers .	64.4	133.9	169.3	263 " "	126	76	88	97
weavers . . . . .	180.1	190.0	239.9	133 " "	126	75	89	95
seamstresses . . . . .	205.3	555.3	1,171.6	571 " "	211	54	76	90

(Continued)

	'000			1959 in %%		Percentage of women in the total number of workers in a given trade		
	1926	1939	1959	of 1926	of 1939	1926	1939	1959
Food industry workers . . . .	64.1	273.7	525.2	819 per cent	192	21	40	64
Agricultural workers . . . .	35,512.0*	20,159.6**	19,742.7**	56 " "	98	50	58	58
including: cattle-yard workers, milkmaids, stablehands, calf- and pig-tenders, poultry breeders, shepherds	658.8	1,321.3	2,853.9	433 " "	216	33	36	58
Tram, metro-train and trolley-bus drivers . . . . .	0.3	7.0	21.3	85 times	305	3	35	57
Bus, tram and trolley-bus conductors . . . . .	5.8	34.8	113.1	20 " "	325	48	91	94
Women engaged mainly in mental work . . . . .		4,632.7	11,054.5		239		34	54
Heads of enterprises, construction sites, state and collective farms, administrative bodies and their divisions*** . . . . .	16.2	176.8	535.0	33 " "	303	4	10	24
Engineers and technicians, agronomists, livestock experts, veterinary surgeons and foresters . . . . .	12.0	400.7	1,814.7	151 " "	453	5	21	39
of whom engineers . . . .	0.7	32.8	268.4	399 " "	818	2	13	32
Medical workers . . . . .	115.7	549.5	1,517.1	13 " "	276	58	81	89

\* Including individual householders and members of their families.

\*\* Excluding family members occupied on personal plots who in 1939 numbered 7,868,500 and in 1959—8,950,900.

\*\*\* Excluding heads of educational, public health and research institutions, editorial offices, clubs, libraries and other cultural and educational establishments which are listed among the respective occupations.

(Continued)

	'000			1959 in %%		Percentage of women in the total number of workers in a given trade		
	1926	1939	1959	of 1926	of 1939	1926	1939	1959
of whom:								
chief surgeons and heads of public health establishments . . . . .	1.2	6.5	23.0	20 times	355	31	39	52
doctors . . . . .	21.8	74.6	265.5	12 "	356	41	61	79
dentists . . . . .	8.8	11.7	26.2	297 per cent	223	79	84	83
doctors' assistants and midwives . . . . .	32.4	109.5	306.1	946 " "	279	54	72	84
Scientific workers, teachers at institutions of higher learning, heads of research institutions . . . . .	2.9	34.9	120.2	41 times	344	21	31	38
Teachers and other cultural workers . . . . .	273.3	994.2	2,208.3	808 per cent	222	56	52	67
of whom:								
teachers of elementary, seven-year and all secondary schools and courses (including physical culture instructors and headmistresses of elementary schools)	217.8	661.6	1,495.7	687 " "	226	60	54	70
writers, journalists, editors	0.9	9.0	25.6	28 times	285	12	20	35
Legal workers . . . . .	1.3	8.3	25.7	20 "	309	5	13	33
Saleswomen, managers of departments of shops, booths and refreshment bars . . . .	154.0	407.9	994.7	646 per cent	244	23	57	85

Source: Ibid., pp. 92-97.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS  
AT ELEMENTARY, SEVEN-YEAR, EIGHT-YEAR  
AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS  
(beginning-of-school-year figures)

	1940/41	1960/61	1961/62
<i>Town and country</i>			
Percentage of girls . . . . .	48	49	49
in:			
1-4 classes . . . . .	47	48	48
5-7   " . . . . .	49	49	48
8-11   " . . . . .	53	54	55
<i>Town</i>			
Percentage of girls . . . . .	50	50	50
in:			
1-4 classes . . . . .	48	48	49
5-7   " . . . . .	52	50	49
8-11   " . . . . .	56	58	58
<i>Country</i>			
Percentage of girls . . . . .	47	48	48
in:			
1-4 classes . . . . .	47	48	48
5-7   " . . . . .	47	48	48
8-11   " . . . . .	50	49	50

In tsarist Russia about a third of the children going to school were girls.

Source: Ibid., p. 141.

TABLE 15

## CONSTRUCTION OF ELEMENTARY, SEVEN-YEAR, EIGHT-YEAR AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Year	Built and opened by the state		of which:			
			in town		in country	
	number of schools	number of places in them ('000)	number of schools	number of places in them ('000)	number of schools	number of places in them ('000)
Fourth Five-Year Plan period (1946-50)*	4,345	1,181	1,744	695	2,601	486
Fifth Five-Year Plan period (1951-55)	5,819	1,912	4,347	1,537	1,472	375
1956	1,334	423	956	329	378	94
1957	1,570	476	1,101	382	469	94
1958	1,696	553	760	357	936	196
1959	2,299	744	983	465	1,316	279
1960	2,611	979	1,317	673	1,294	306
1961	2,458	1,050	1,227	719	1,231	331

In Soviet years the state built and opened 76,000 schools with accommodation for 20,500,000 pupils. In addition, 37,000 schools with accommodation for 4,000,000 pupils were built and opened in 1946-61 by the collective farms on their own initiative and expense.

\*Including only the schools rebuilt after complete destruction. In addition, many partially destroyed schools were restored.

Source: Ibid., p.143.

## APPENDIX XX

Legislation Concerning Women

## RUSSIE

1916 (Février). — La Commission Municipale de Pétrograd propose que tout habitant de Pétrograd, âgé de 25 ans, chef de famille ou propriétaire, sans différence de sexe, ait le droit de vote municipal.

1916 (Novembre). — Les femmes sont admises aux Zemsvos du Caucase.

1917. — Le Ministre de l'Intérieur introduit à la Douma une motion dans laquelle il demande l'affranchissement municipal des femmes.

1917 (Mai). — Le *Daily News* annonce que l'Assemblée des ouvriers et soldats proclame entre autres résolutions : les droits égaux pour les deux sexes (régime Kerensky).

1917 (Juin). — Le Prince Lvof déclare que le gouvernement provisoire admet les femmes à l'électorat : suffrage universel égal et secret, sans distinction de sexe.

1917. — Droit de vote et d'éligibilité pour les personnes des deux sexes âgées de 21 ans.

1917 (Août). — La Comtesse Panine est nommée Ministre de la Protection Sociale.

1917. — M. Kerensky recommande au barreau russe d'admettre les femmes : plusieurs ont été avocates depuis cette époque, notamment à Kiew.

1924. — La Constitution des Soviets dit ceci : Le droit d'électorat et d'éligibilité pour les Soviets est accordé indépendamment de toute religion, nationalité et domicile, aux citoyens des deux sexes de la République Russe fédérative et socialiste des Soviets qui ont atteint l'âge de 18 ans au moment de l'élection et qui remplissent les conditions suivantes :

a) A tous ceux qui gagnent leur vie par un travail productif et utile à la communauté ainsi qu'aux personnes qui, par leur travail domestique, permettent aux autres de se livrer à un travail productif ; aux ouvriers et employés de toutes dénominations et catégories de l'industrie, du commerce et de l'agriculture ; aux paysans et aux fermiers cosaques qui n'emploient pas la main-d'œuvre salariée dans un but de



gain ;

b) Aux soldats de l'armée et de la marine des Soviëts ;

c) Aux citoyens compris dans les catégories a) et b) du présent article et qui ont perdu plus ou moins leur capacité de travail.

Les femmes non ouvrières ou fermières, étant ménagères, ont le droit de vote puisqu'elles permettent aux hommes de se livrer à un travail productif.

Source: Gustave Belot, et al., Les Problèmes de la Famille et le Féminisme, (Paris: Librairie Fernand Nathan, 1930), pp.136-137.