

**THE PROBLEM OF CULTIVATING DISCIPLINE AMONG
STUDENTS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS
IN UKRAINIAN PROVINCES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE
AT THE TURN OF THE 20th CENTURY
(on materials of the meeting of the curator’s council
of Odesa educational district)**

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**ПРОБЛЕМА ФОРМУВАННЯ ДИСЦИПЛІНОВАНOSTІ
УЧНІВ ЗАКЛАДІВ СЕРЕДНЬОЇ ОСВІТИ
УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ГУБЕРНІЙ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ
НА МЕЖІ ХІХ–ХХ СТОЛІТЬ
(за матеріалами засідання ради при попечителі
Одеського навчального округу)**

У статті на основі аналізу історико-педагогічних джерел і архівних документів розкрито позицію ради при попечителі Одеського навчального округу щодо дієвих способів формування дисциплінованості учнів закладів середньої освіти наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ століття. З'ясовано, що заклади середньої освіти українських губерній Російської імперії у досліджуваній період функціонували в умовах суттєвих соціально-економічних і суспільно-політичних зрушень, пов'язаних з одного боку із розвитком капіталістичних відносин, з іншого – з економічною кризою 1901–1903 років й посиленням робітничого і селянського рухів, піднесенням політичної активності ліберально-демократичних верств населення, студентської та учнівської молоді. На цьому тлі невідповідність існуючої системи середньої освіти, яку складали переважно гімназії та реальні училища, економічним та суспільним потребам держави ставала дедалі відчутнішою, що змусило Міністерство народної освіти порушити питання про реформу середньої освіти.

Установлено, що імператор Микола ІІ, занепокоєний зростанням політичної активності студентської та учнівської молоді, однією з головних засад для укладання проекту реформи середньої школи визначив вимогу поєднання навчання юнацтва з вихованням у душі віри, відданості престолу й вітчизні, поваги до сім'ї, а також привчання з раннього дитинства до порядку і дисципліни. На виконання цього розпорядження міністр народної освіти Г. Зенгер надіслав попечителям навчальних округів, зокрема Київського, Одеського і Харківського, циркуляр “Про дисципліну в середніх навчальних закладах” (1903), де визнав існуючий стан справ з дисципліною учнів і контролем за нею з боку шкільного начальства й педагогічного персоналу неприйнятним та вимагав неухильного виконання монаршої волі. Бажаних виховних результатів пропонувалося досягати як педагогічними, так і репресивними методами. До дієвих методів і прийомів попередження педагогічним персоналом порушень учнями порядку і дисципліни було віднесено такі: педагогічний такт і доброзичливе ставлення до учнів; зміст навчання і його виховальний характер (особливо на уроках мови, літератури, історії); організація позаурочних виховних заходів з використанням освічення, навіювання, переконання учнів; співпраця з батьками; моральна підтримка вихованців, які проживають на учнівських квартирах; звертання до релігійних переконань і почуттів учнів.

Виявлено, що на засіданні 12 грудня 1903 року члени ради при попечителі Одеського навчального округу, детально вивчивши стан справ і ознайомившись з циркулярною пропозицією міністра народної освіти та думками педагогічних рад закладів середньої освіти округу щодо формування дисциплінованості учнів закладів середньої освіти, висловили власну позицію з цього питання. В ухвалі ради серед найбільш дієвих способів формування дисциплінованості учнів було виокремлено такі: зменшення наповнюваності класів; запровадження інституту вихователів; улаштування учнівських квартир, інтернатів, домових церков; використання виховного потенціалу літературних і релігійно-моральних бесід; налагодження взаємин з батьками учнів. У ній також наголошувалося на необхідності покращення матеріального та службового становища вчителів як запоруки якості навчально-виховного процесу.

Ключові слова: Міністерство народної освіти; заклади середньої освіти; учні; дисциплінованість; формування; Одеський навчальний округ; рада при попечителі навчального округу.

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The article, based on the analysis of historical and pedagogical sources and archival documents, reveals the position of the curator's council of Odesa educational district on effective ways to cultivate discipline among secondary school students in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. It has been found that the secondary schools of Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire in the period under study functioned in conditions of significant social, economic and political changes associated, on the one hand, with the development of capitalist relations, on the other hand, with the economic crisis of 1901–1903 and activation of workers and peasants movements and the rise of political activity among liberal and democratic strata of population and the student youth. Against this background, the inconsistency of the existing system of secondary education, which comprised mainly grammar and real schools, with the economic and social needs of the state became more and more noticeable, forcing the Ministry of Public Education to raise the issue of the secondary education reform.

It has been found that the Emperor Nicholas II, concerned about the growing political activity of students and pupils, identified the requirement of combining youth education with religion, faith, loyalty to the crown and the fatherland, respect for the family, and learning from early childhood to maintain order and discipline. In pursuance of this order, the Minister of Public Education H. Zenger sent to the curators of educational districts, including

Kyiv, Odesa and Kharkiv, a circular “About Discipline in Secondary Education Institutions” (1903), recognizing the current state of affairs with students’ discipline and control over it by school authorities and pedagogical staff as unacceptable and demanded strict execution of the monarch’s will. The desired educational results were proposed to be achieved by both pedagogical and repressive methods. Effective methods and techniques for prevention of order and discipline violations by the students to be used by pedagogical staff were considered the following: pedagogical tact and friendly attitude to students; the content of studying and its educational nature (especially at the language, literature and history lessons); organization of extracurricular educational activities with the use of teaching, suggestion, persuasion of students; cooperation with parents; moral support for pupils living in student dormitories; appeal to the religious beliefs and feelings of students.

It has been found that at the meeting on December 12, 1903, the members of the curator’s council of Odesa educational district, having studied in detail the state of affairs and having considered the circular proposal by the Minister of Public Education and the views of pedagogical councils of secondary education institutions of the district on discipline issue, expressed their opinion. In the decision of the council among the most effective ways to impose the discipline among students were identified as follows: reducing occupancy of classes; introduction the institute of educators; organization of student dormitories, boarding schools, home churches; use of educational potential of literature, religious and moral discussions; establishing good relationships with students’ parents. It also highlighted the need to improve the financial and official status of teachers as a guarantee of the quality of the educational process.

Key words: *Ministry of Public Education; secondary education institutions; students; discipline; cultivating; Odesa Educational District; Curator’s council of the educational district.*

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Introduction

Nowadays changes in the system of general secondary education in Ukraine are aimed at forming a holistic, comprehensively developed individual who has an active civic position, acts in accordance with moral and ethical principles and is able to make responsible decisions (“Nova Ukrayinska Shkola”, 2016). Achieving this goal is possible provided that the children and young people have such a moral and ethical quality as obedience, which is closely related to responsibility, organization, perseverance, honesty, endurance (Sybouts, 1967), sense of duty and requires the understanding the essence of discipline (Clark, 1998; Bridges, 2006), conscious following standards and behaviour rules in society and at school,

compliance with the requirements of morality in actions and deeds (McCluskey, 2014), developing skills and abilities of self-organization, self-discipline, etc. The primary role in development of this quality belongs to the school. However, the study of modern school shows that there is a contradiction between strengthening the society's requirements for students' education level and the increase in the number of disciplinary violations by them. In search of effective ways to solve this problem, it is advisable to study the positive historical and pedagogical experience in developing the students' discipline in the educational environment of the school in a particular historical period.

The analysis of scientific and pedagogical sources showed that the problem of cultivating discipline among students at different stages of development of Ukrainian society is widely represented in historical and pedagogical discourse. The greatest scientific interest of researchers is the period of the 19th – early 20th century.

In particular, the dissertation research of S. Samarina (2012) is devoted to the peculiarities of developing students' discipline in schools of Ukraine in the second half of the 19th to early 20th century. The author found that the concepts of "student's self-discipline" and "school discipline" (internal – mental, external) in this period were identified and interpreted as unquestioning obedience of a student to the requirements of a teacher by following their orders, compliance with the rules that ensured proper external and internal school (disciplinary) order. The researcher identified methods (with "positive effect" and "negative effect") and disciplinary techniques used to form disciplined behaviour of students in the educational process of the school.

The problem was partially covered in the dissertation of L. Yershova (2015) in the context of a comprehensive analysis of the problem of transformation of the educational ideal in the pedagogical theory and practice of the Russian Ukraine in the 19th to early 20th century. The study of archival materials on the history of Kyiv, Odesa and Kharkiv educational districts of the period under consideration allowed the researcher to conclude that the development of schoolchildren's discipline in the Russian Ukraine was carried out through a consistent introduction of the imperial educational ideal (a loyal citizen, a devoted son of the fatherland), created according to the interests of the monarchy and Orthodox Christianity as the dominant religion, the principle of nationality, the class system of the empire and its gender traditions.

I. Zabolotna's dissertation (2013) arouses scientific interest in the context of the problem under analysis. The researcher systematized the views of teachers and scholars of the second half of the 19th to early 20th century about the sense and methods of cultivating discipline among students. The experience of developing this moral quality among students in public schools in Ukraine of the specified period was analyzed. However, according to the analysis of historical and pedagogical literature, in the modern scientific circulation there are no works

that present the practice of organizing the activities of collegial education authorities to solve the problem of cultivating discipline among secondary school students in a particular historical period.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the position of the curator's council of Odesa educational district on cultivating discipline among students of secondary education institutions (late nineteenth to early twentieth century).

The Development Level of Secondary Education Institutions in Ukrainian Provinces of the Russian Empire at the turn of the 20th Century

The turn of the 20th century brought a wide range of social and economic changes. Big capitalistic industry was developing very fast; foreign and domestic capital investments were growing; monopolistic associations were formed. The rapid development of capitalism led to a fast growth of the working class. At the same time, the economic crisis of 1900–1903, the intensification of exploitation of workers, delay in the final solution of the agrarian problem, the objective interest of the bourgeoisie in its involvement in solving important state problems, the lack of democratic freedoms, the growing problem of the national question caused a wave of workers and peasants movements, the growth of liberal and democratic segments of population, university and school students ([Slyusarenko et al., 2000](#)).

In these conditions, the problem of inconsistency of the existing system of secondary school with the economic and social need of the state became urgent. The system consisted mainly of grammar and real schools. Thus, in the circular letter of July 8, 1899, the Minister of Public Education M. Bogolepov drew the attention of the educational districts curators to the shortcomings in the work of secondary schools, which were pointed out by teachers and students' parents in their numerous complaints: alienation from family and a bureaucratic nature of the secondary education institutions; disregard for children's individuality and neglect of their moral and physical development; early specialization of education, which did not take into account the natural talents and aptitudes of primary school students; an excessive daily mental load on children, especially in the case of younger students; inconsistency of the syllabi with each other and with the study time, overloading them with secondary and even unnecessary requirements; an excessive attention to the ancient languages and outdated methods of teaching; insufficient mental maturity of grammar school graduates; the low level of subject teaching in real schools, and hence the low level of graduates' knowledge. The Minister assumed that the majority of these complaints were due to the misconception about the school's omnipotence and the disregard for the conditions in which it operated. However, he acknowledged that the arguments were fair to some extent ([Kapterev, 1915, pp. 538–539](#)).

The study of historical and pedagogical sources ([Anrep, 1908](#); [Berezivska, 2019](#); [Kapterev, 1915](#); [Rozhdestvenskiy, 1902](#)) makes us believe that at the beginning of 20th century teachers, parents and the general public presumed that both

classical and real schools do not meet the objectives of the secondary education. As the evidence of this there were a large number of articles, published separately or in periodicals in various fields, petitions by the nobility and Zemstvo authorities, materials of special meetings, opinions of pedagogical councils of educational institutions, faculties and individual university professors, etc.

Under public pressure, the Ministry of Public Education was forced to raise the issue of a secondary education reform. Under the leadership of a privy councillor M. Bogolepov (December 6, 1898 – March 2, 1901), and later Adjutant General P. Vannovsky (March 23, 1901 – April 11, 1902) commissions were created to develop draft fundamental documents. It was planned to make changes in the structure and content of the secondary education, the organization of the educational process. However, the submitted projects were never approved as the law (Berezivska, 2019).

The Position of the Ministry of Public Education on Cultivating Discipline among Students of Secondary Education Institutions in the Early Twentieth Century

On April 11, 1902, privy councillor H. Zenger (April 11, 1902 – January 23, 1904) was appointed the head of the Ministry of Public Education. In a rescript dated June 10 of the same year, Emperor Nicholas II formulated the guiding principles, which were supposed to be followed by the developers for concluding a new draft of the secondary education reform. In the view of the subject of our study, it had to be noted that among all requirements the main one was about combining general education with religion, developing loyalty to the crown and the fatherland, respect for the family, and promoting order and discipline since early childhood. “The school that gives to a young man only course knowledge, not related to religious and moral education with a sense of duty, discipline and respect for elders is not only useless, but often harmful, because it develops such pernicious qualities for every business, as arbitrariness and arrogance”, – was noted in the rescript of Nicholas II (Rozhdestvenskiy, 1902, p. 703).

On June 28, 1903, H. Zenger sent a circular letter No. 19744 “On Discipline in Secondary Education Institutions” (“*Tsirkulyar popechitelyam*”, 1903) to the curators of educational districts, in particular Kyiv, Odesa, and Kharkiv. The document noted that recently the Ministry of Public Education had been receiving more and more reports from administrations of educational districts, which contained facts indicating a decline in discipline in secondary education institutions, spoilt students, as well as cases of unacceptable pernicious thoughts, which often occurred among high school students (a whole class could refuse to carry out the orders of the school authorities); rude and defiant antics of students who got unsatisfactory grades or remarks from teachers; students’ attack on pedagogical staff and offending them; broad anti-government propaganda among high school students.

The reasons for this situation, according to the Minister, lay in the “weakness” of the school administration and pedagogical councils in suppressing the bad behaviour of students. The pedagogical personnel did not pay attention to the indecent behaviour of students on the streets and in public places. The meetings of directors of secondary education institutions of cities for general discussion of the issues about organization of supervision over the students’ behaviour outside schools were not widely used. Students were not properly explained the rules of behaviour. Quite often violations of the rules of behaviour by students went unpunished.

Recognizing this state of affairs as unacceptable and demanding a strict observance of the monarch’s will to teach children and youth at school to respect order and discipline from early childhood, H. Zenger pointed out that the heads of secondary education institutions and pedagogical councils had sufficient means (both pedagogical and repressive) to influence students in order to achieve the desired educational results. In his opinion, the effective methods and prevention techniques for maintaining order and discipline to be used by the teachers were the following: pedagogical tactfulness and friendly attitude to students; the content of syllabi and its educational nature (especially at language, literature, history lessons); organization of extracurricular educational activities with elements of convincing, influencing, persuading students; cooperation with parents; psychological support for students living in dormitories; appealing to religious beliefs and feelings of students. The Minister asked not only to acquaint the pedagogical councils of secondary educational institutions with his thoughts, but also to discuss the issues raised by him at the meetings of the curator’s councils of educational districts (“[Tsirkulyar popechitelyam](#)”, 1903).

Proposals of Pedagogical Councils of Secondary Education Institutions and Curator’s Councils of Educational Districts on Effective Forms and Methods of Cultivating Discipline among Students

A study of archival documents (“[Zaklyucheniya professorov](#)”, 1899–1903, [sheets 218–269 verso](#)) shows that on December 12, 1903, the proposal of the Minister of Public Education H. Zenger was considered at a meeting of the curator’s council of Odesa educational district. The following members were present during the meeting: 1) district inspectors: I. Soloviov, M. Korzhynsky; directors of grammar schools: Richelieu – V. Grolikh, Odesa 2nd – K. Piatnitsky, Odesa 4th – P. Borzakovsky, Odesa 5th – A. Yungmeister; directors of real schools: Odesa – O. Sokolov, Odesa St. Paul – M. Kaminsky; professors of Novorossiia University: Ye. Klimenko, O. Kochubinsky, V. Repiakhov, I. Sleshynsky, O. Tomson, Ye. Shchepkin; director of public schools of Kherson Province O. Uarov. The meeting was chaired by the curator of Odesa educational district, privy councillor Kh. Solskyi.

It had to be noted that the discussion of the circular letter of the Minister of Public Education was preceded by a lively exchange of views on improving

students' discipline at meetings of pedagogical councils of education institutions of Odesa educational district, such as classical grammar schools, preparatory grammar schools, real schools, Bairamcha Teachers' Seminary, Feodosiia Teachers' Institute and Mykolaiv Secondary Technical School. The pedagogical councils presented their conclusions to the curator of the educational district.

The conclusions of 23 secondary education institutions (17 grammar schools, 2 preparatory grammar schools and 4 real schools) were articulated directly at the meeting of the curator's council of Odesa educational district. The expressed views and suggestions were summarized in 70 paragraphs, such as:

1. Schools had to be exempted from the issuance of certificates, which provide certain benefits in the service or for admission to higher education institutions.

2. The requirements for enrolling students had to be increased and transfer tests had to be conducted. Only those students could be transferred to the next grade who received grade "4" for the year in the subjects, and "5" in behaviour. Students had to follow the rules accurately and strictly, without any concessions or indulgence.

3. Heads of education institutions had to select staff similar to English schools.

4. The issue of student number in the classroom had to be regulated. It was difficult to stimulate individual development and inclinations of students when there were more than 40 students in a class.

5. The teaching staff had to be an example of courtesy, restraint and friendliness to students, thereby eliminating rude and offensive antics by students.

6. The authority of the teacher had to be strengthened. To do this, their dependent and unstable position which humiliated the teacher in their own eyes and in the eyes of society, had to be changed.

7. The financial situation of teaching staff had to be improved. The teacher had to work in one education institution exclusively, and had to not conduct more than 15–18 (18–22 and 12) lessons per week. The burden of a significant number of lessons had a detrimental effect on both the personal qualities of teachers and the effectiveness of teaching.

8. Classroom mentoring in its current form had to be eliminated. The institute of educators with a high pedagogical reputation at the rate of one educator per class had to be introduced.

9. Close contact with students' families had to be established. In addition to discussions about misdemeanours and failures of children with their parents, public ceremonies, concerts, performances, literature evenings, public speeches, discussion of brochures and magazines with pedagogical content were to become common.

10. The leisure activities had to be provided for students by offering classes that corresponded to their aptitudes and talents. For example, literary-vocal-musical meetings in the mornings or evenings were to be arranged, as well as

reading sessions to cover different fields of knowledge; students, especially at high schools, were to be involved in writing essays, singing in student choirs, playing various musical instruments. Excursions, amateur performances, cycling, boating, outdoor games were to be arranged as extracurricular activities; gardening was to be conducted at the premises of educational institutions, etc.

11. Student dormitories and boarding houses were to be organized be equipped and the parents were recommended to send their children there.

12. Existing grammar and real schools were to be reorganised into separate educational institutions for children of primary and secondary school age or at least young children were to be isolated, creating appropriate conditions for their natural development and comprehensive education.

13. The grading system had to be abolished. It was better to provide parents with weekly information on the progress and behaviour of their children. Quarter grades were to be replaced with four-month or semi-annual, or semi-annual and annual ones. Register lists and honour rolls were to be eliminated.

14. Such characterizing remark for students' progress as "average abilities" had to be abolished.

15. High school students were to be involved in overseeing the order and discipline of primary school students during breaks, or their behaviour outside of the school.

16. Among the methods of punishment the most appropriate and natural reprimands in various forms were suggested, such as driving the disturbers out of the classroom for misdemeanours and misconduct during lessons, or expelling them from the school ("[Zaklyucheniya professorov](#)", 1899–1903, sheets 263–267 verso).

It had to be noted that some pedagogical councils, along with quite progressive methods and techniques to improve the discipline of school students, offered quite authoritarian, in particular discriminatory ones. For example, there was an idea to forbid attending schools to a significant number of children of national minorities or of groups with different religion with "ugly and nasty traits" (Jews, Karaites, Armenians); to refuse access to the children of uncouth and poor parents who were unable to supervise their children at home and create appropriate conditions for them to study, etc.

Having taken the opinions and proposals of the pedagogical councils of secondary schools of the Odesa educational district into consideration, the members of the curator's council posed the question: how exactly the circular letter of the Minister of Public Education H. Zenger was to be discussed, and what was to be the character of the council's decision. Some council members believed that the minister's circular proposal obliged the curator's council to consider the reasons for the decline in discipline in secondary education institutions and to amend the measures proposed by the ministry, taking into account the views of the pedagogical councils.

On the other hand, other council members denied the need to consider or clarify the reasons for the decline in student discipline and to design any measures that would change or supplement ministerial regulations. In their view, the measures proposed by the Ministry had to be seen as guidelines to be implemented. In view of this, the council could only express its position on the issues raised by the ministry, but by no means set the task of looking for new methods or techniques. There was no need, considering the exact content of the minister's circular, to consider the measures proposed by the pedagogical councils of secondary schools in the district to improve the students' discipline.

Some members of the curator's council of Odesa educational district, referring to the circular proposal of the Minister of Public Education H. Zenger, which required the influence of teachers on students, expressed doubts about the possibility of implementing the instructions provided in this regard. According to them, in order to influence people in general and children and youth in particular, it was necessary: 1) to have clear, established views, which were rare at the time; 2) to command respect among those who need to be influenced; 3) to be completely honest with those you influence. All this could be expected from a teacher only when "their personality will be significantly raised in the eyes of society, i.e. ... when they will be a person with a thorough and appropriate training being so well-to-do as to be able to pursue scientific research, and have such a position in the service so as to be able to preserve the independence of their thoughts" ("[Zaklyucheniya professorov](#)", 1899–1903, sheet 268 verso). They also proposed to exempt the teacher, as far as possible, from the existing regulations of their rights and responsibilities.

In view of the above, the curator's council of Odesa educational district adopted the following decision. Recognizing that the measures mentioned in the circular letter were expedient, useful and desirable, the Ministry of Public Education was to be informed about the following:

I. Regarding the content of education: the financial situation of teachers had to be improved as a guarantee of the quality of education; literature discussion clubs were to be included in the lesson schedule; syllabi were to be abridged.

II. Regarding the implementation of the educational function of the studying process: the status of a teacher had to be raised both in financial and professional ways and special educators were to be introduced to guide the youth on the path of duty; teachers with proper salary were to conduct no more than 12 lessons per week; pedagogical work had to be carried out in one educational institution exclusively; principals were to be exempted from lessons and the amount of letter correspondence minimized; the number of students in classes had to be reduced as much as possible.

III. Regarding extracurricular supervision of students: teachers were to limit their visits to the students' domicile due to the extreme dissatisfaction of parents with this measure; the system of student dormitories and boarding schools

had to be expanded; extracurricular supervision of students, which in its current form poorly achieved its goal, had to be carried out in new ways.

IV. In order to develop students' religious feelings: home churches and religious and moral colloquia had to be arranged, but students were not to be forced to attend church. The responsibility for the religious education of students was to lie on their parents.

At the same time, the council considered that it was expedient to present to the Ministry with the views and proposals of the pedagogical councils of secondary education institutions of Odesa educational district, which were articulated during the meeting (“*Zaklyucheniya professorov*”, 1899–1903, sheets 269–269 verso).

Conclusions

The conducted research suggests that the problem of finding effective ways to cultivate discipline among students in secondary education institutions of Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire at the turn of the 20th century was under the control of the Minister of Public Education and the Emperor. Both pedagogical councils of secondary education institutions and curator's councils of educational districts, in particular Odesa, took part in its discussion. At a meeting on December 12, 1903, having studied in detail the situation, members of the curator's council of Odesa educational district expressed their own position on this issue. The decision of the council identified among the most effective ways to cultivate discipline among students the following: reducing the size of classes; introduction of the institute of educators; organizing student dormitories, boarding schools, home churches; use of educational potential of belles-lettres literature, religious and moral colloquia; establishing contacts with students' parents. They also highlighted the need to improve the financial and official position of teachers as a guarantee of the quality of the educational process.

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