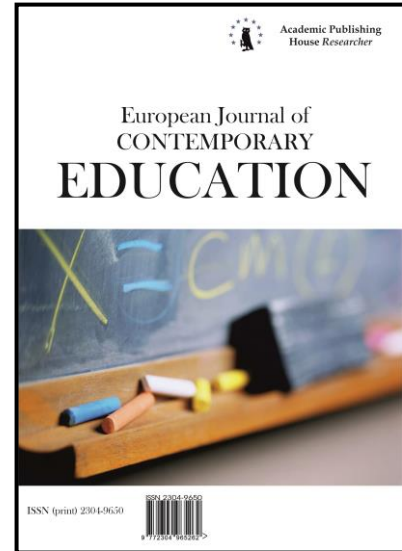




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## The Class List of Secondary Educational Institutions' Pupils in Siberia at a boundary of the 19th-20th centuries

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### Abstract

The class list of secondary educational institutions' pupils of Siberia in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries is investigated in the paper. It was established that the growth of people belonging to different social classes among pupils was observed in these institutions by the beginning of the last century. However this tendency proved to be differently in educational institutions of different type.

In this context more conservative approach on the part of state gymnasiums of the Russian Empire was observed. The growth of people belonging to different social classes happened much more slowly in these institutions. An essential part of graduates was made by children of noblemen, officials and other privileged groups throughout the long period of time.

More democratic school admissions were characteristic for secondary professional, non-classical secondary and commercial schools. For the last the possibility to pay for training, but not the class origin of pupils was the main condition. Besides, there were no restrictions practically to enter teacher's seminaries and institutes because of a low salary of elementary school teachers that, in turn, caused the low attraction for the representatives of privileged groups to enter these institutions.

The conclusion has been drawn that the education system in the Russian Empire at a boundary of the 19th-20th centuries developed at the intersection of contradictions between the needs for modernization of the Russian economy and the conservative efforts made for maintaining traditional social structure by the power.

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**Keywords:** secondary educational institutions, pupils, Siberia, state, seminaries, gymnasiums, pro-gymnasiums, non-classical secondary schools, secondary professional education, lower middle class, noblemen, merchants, clergy, honorable citizens, peasants.

### **1. Introduction**

The differentiation of citizens according to their class origin accepted in society, among others, influenced on the formation of pupils' staff of educational institutions in the Russian Empire. In the second half of the XIX century children of noblemen and officials predominated among other students at the universities, gymnasiums and other types of educational institutions. For example, in 1892 children of officials and noblemen have made more than a half of all pupils (56 %) in man's progymnasiums and gymnasiums. At the same time about a third of pupils of such educational institutions were made by representatives of urban classes (31 %). Hardly insignificant specific weight of pupils is attributable to people from rural sector (6 %) (Tolochko, Skovordina, 2002: 29-31).

However this tendency gradually changed. The strong growth of people belonging to different social classes among pupils of secondary educational institutions was observed by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This tendency distinctively appeared in Siberia, considering greater democratic character of the population in this region.

### **2. Materials and methods**

The empirical basis of a research was made by means of documents from the State Archive of the Tyumen region (SATR), the State Archive of the Irkutsk region (SAIR), the State Archive of the Tomsk region (SATR), Historical Archive of the Omsk region etc.

The statistical method which has allowed to carry out the comparative analysis of statistical data on the phenomena of social life in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> - the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries; a method of the content analysis by means of which the content of archival documents containing data on belonging of secondary educational institutions' pupils to these or those state classes of society, data about activity of pupils' parents in such educational institutions have been investigated; the historical and system approach which has allowed to reveal interrelations between different historical events and facts, to systematize the established data; the narrative approach by means of which the identified facts and historical events have been stated in a consecutive order were applied in the research.

### **3. Discussion**

The activity of primary and secondary educational institutions in Siberia at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries is the subject of scientific interests of the scientists investigating different aspects: the structural arrangement of educational activity (Shamakhov, 1957; Sulimov, 1995; Verkhoturova, 2002; Gach, 2009) sports and patriotic education of pupils (Tolmacheva, Ustinova, Zubareva, 2017), research and cultural life (Dudgeon, 1982; Vermeer, Van Der Ven, 2003; Priests, 2006; Haminov, 2011; Ustinova, Skifskaya, 2017).

Not numerous works of scientists published at the beginning of the last century are devoted to social and demographic characteristics of Siberian students (Chepalov, 1914; Yenisei, 1915).

It should be noted that the research of state of secondary educational institutions' pupils including Siberia was not paid the sufficient attention in works presented today. The corresponding aspects, either were not affected in general, or were considered briefly – among the numerous other questions connected with functioning of secondary school of Siberia during the studied period.

### **4. Results**

As it appears from numerous historical documents up to the end of the 19th century the government in every possible way tried to limit availability of secondary education to people from "unprivileged" social classes. The establishment of the increased amount of a tuition fee and also the existence of a certain educational qualification were used as methods and means of such restrictive control quite often.

According to the known historical document of June 18, 1887 – to the Circular "About the reduction of gymnasia education", to ironically nicknamed in the people as "the circular about the

servants' children", educational administration was recommended to allow to enter only children of wealthy parents, that is those who consist on guardianship at persons who can provide "sufficient guarantees" about the correct house supervision and also "necessary conveniences to studies" in a pro-gymnasium and gymnasium (Russian..., 1994: 286-287).

As it was explained in the report of the national education minister I. Delyanov, at observance of this rule the gymnasiums and pro-gymnasiums would be exempted from entrance of children of cooks, laundresses, footmen, coachmen, small shopkeepers and "similar" except gifted children, it was impossible to bring them out of that environment to which they belong (Rozhdestvenskiy, 1909: 43).

It should be noted that the imposition of limitations has been caused by the fact that persons who graduated from gymnasiums have been granted the preferential right to enter higher educational institutions. However, in the first half of the 19th century achievements in the career of people have been determined not by their state, but, first of all, by the level of their education as it was proved by B.N. Mironova. Education, social activity and wealth have begun to play even more significant role in post-reform Russia in the career. Due to this precise reason the aspiration of democratic classes' representatives of society to knowledge was clear and logical. Thus, it is possible to note that in the Russian Empire the education system developed on a joint of great contradictions between the conservative efforts initiated by authorities for maintaining traditional structure of society, and the needs for a modernization of the Russian economy, became actual by this period of time.

However already by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the formation process of "classless" civil society inevitably resulted in the growth of specific weight of people belonging to different social classes among the studying youth. It became obvious even concerning pro-gymnasiums and gymnasiums taking the leading positions in the hierarchy of secondary educational institutions. Opportunities in the sphere of graduation from the secondary educational institutions by representatives of the lowest social classes began to extend even more in days of the First Russian revolution (Kamenskiy, 2009: 29; Krasnoyarsk..., 1974: 47; Dianin, 1926: 73). If by the beginning of 1905 people from rural sectors made the minority of pupils in these educational institutions of the Russian Empire (11,3 %), and children of officials, noblemen and representatives of urban sector-most of them (81,1 %) (Titlinov, 1924: 37), from 1907 to 1914 the share of graduates from families of officials and noblemen has decreased up to 32,5 %, from families of merchants and honorable citizens – up to 9,9 % respectively. The share of peasants' children, on the contrary, has increased up to 20 %, having made the fifth part of all students in man's pro-gymnasiums and gymnasiums of the country by this time (Sulimov, 1995: 131-132). At the same time according to the data provided in V.R. Leykina-Svirskaya's research, the number of pupils in man's gymnasiums has increased almost by one and a half times (from 107,3 thousand up to 152,1 thousand people) (Leykina-Svirskaya, 1985).

It is possible to note that in general the processes reflecting changes in the class structure in secondary educational institutions' pupils of Siberia were congruent with the general tendencies in the educational sphere occurring in the country and had its own specific character. So, for example, the specific weight of pupils from families of officials and noblemen was about a half (47,5 %) from the total number of pupils of educational institution in a man's gymnasium in Krasnoyarsk in 1900. Also the substantial share of pupils has numbered on children of handicraftsmen, lower middle class and merchants of the second guild (41,3 %). At the same time the specific weight of peasants' children was only 5,6 %, and honorable citizens and merchants of the first guild was even less – only 1,9 % (Krasnoyarsk..., 1974: 38-40).

In 1915/16 academic year in the Yenisei man's gymnasium an essential part of pupils was made by pupils from families of lower middle class (33 %), clergy, noblemen and officials (27 %). The smaller share of pupils fell on peasants' sons (16 %), merchants and honorable citizens (9 %). A big share of people from the lower middle class in gymnasiums and significantly smaller specific weight of representatives of the peasantry has been caused, among other, and features of inhabitants' of the Eniseysky province (Krasnoyarsk..., 1974: 42; Rushin, 1956: 67).

As the outstanding historian F.F. Shamakhov noted in one of his researches, children of handicraftsmen made about 40% in secondary educational institutions of Siberia by 1905. At the same time children of officials and noblemen – about 35 %, Cossacks and peasants – 17 %, clergy - 3,5 %, merchants and honorable citizens – 4,5 %. It is necessary to notice that by 1914 the share of

handicraftsmen children has decreased up to 33 %, however their gross specific weight in total of all studying youth also remained very high. Also the general share of officials and noblemen children was in parallel reduced (to 29 %). However in the same time the share of children of Cossacks and peasants has grown to 25 %, merchants and honorable citizens (to 7 %) and also clergy (Shamakhov, 1957: 126).

Besides other statistical information, data that in educational institutions of different types, for example, the list of pupils in non-classical secondary schools and gymnasiums significantly differed as it was described by F.F. Shamakhov. In state gymnasiums, as a rule, this list was to a lesser extent democratic in spite of the fact that the share of commoners gradually grew. (Shamakhov, 1957: 127).

This tendency is distinctly observed on the example of some Siberian gymnasiums. For example, during the period from 1905 to 1917 among man's gymnasiums' graduates the general share of noble families' children and also children of officials has decreased from 54,6 to 36,4 % in Tomsk. At the same time the specific weight of children of merchants and honorable citizens was reduced from 15,9 to 7,9 %. However at the same time the share of pupils from families of clergy (from 1,6 has grown to 5,5 %), peasants (from 4,6 to 18 %), handicraftsmen (from 22,9 to 29,4 %) (Shamakhov, 1957: 144).

In private gymnasiums the list of pupils differed. Children of those who had an opportunity to pay for training were enlisted in educational institutions of this type, even without having the privileges connected with class origin (Gach, 2009: 95-96).

By 1913, for example, 249 schoolgirls were trained in the female gymnasium №3 in Omsk which was opened in 1907 as a private educational institution (Stariy..., 2000: 127-128). There were 18 daughters of noblemen (7,2 %), 4 daughters of representatives of clergy (1,6 %), 25 children of merchants and honorable citizens (10,1 %), 62 daughters of peasants (24,9 %), 21 - Cossacks (8,4 %), 59 - from families of the lower middle class (23,7 %), 60 daughters of citizens having other class origin (24,1 %) among pupils (BU "ISA". F. 62. Op. 1. D. 10. L. 85-86).

Thus, in the mentioned gymnasium the prevalence of pupils from the peasantry and the lower middle class is evident, and the pupils of the noble origin - is relatively insignificant. (Verkhoturova, 2002: 53).

In the non-classical secondary schools which were educational institutions for municipal, mainly commerce and industrial population, the list of pupils in comparison with gymnasiums, was regulated even less. For this reason the share of people from unprivileged social groups was high (Sulimov, 1995: 41-42).

The specifics of class list of realists from Siberia was visually represented on the example of non-classical secondary school in Tyumen where among 261 pupils who were constantly living in this city - children of officials and noblemen have made approximately the third part (84 people or 32,2 %), children of merchants and honorable citizens - 33 (12,6 %), clergy - 3 (1,1 %), lower middle class - 89 (34,1 %), peasants - 48 (18,4 %), pupils from families belonging to other class origin - 4 (1,6 %) in 1907 (SATyumR. F. I-1. Op. 1. D. 514. L. 58-59).

On the basis of the presented data it is possible to draw a conclusion that the specific weight of children from the families of the lower middle class was significantly higher, than in gymnasiums. At the same time the share pupils from noble families was lower.

The similar proportional ratio is visible on the example of two Tomsk non-classical secondary schools where according to the data stated by F.F. Shamakhov a share of children of merchants, noblemen and clergy made about 36 % while the specific weight of children of peasants, handicraftsmen and lower middle class was at the level of 64 % by 1917 (Shamakhov, 1957: 93-94).

The list of pupils in secondary special educational institutions differed by even more expressed democratic character and freedom (Boykov, 1930: 27). First of all, it was explained by the fact that there were no restrictions of class character upon entering. On the other hand, the graduates have significantly been limited in their right for entering the higher educational institutions. For these reasons secondary professional educational institutions were not popular with officials and persons of noble origin (Sulimov, 1995: 71-72).

For pupils from unprivileged classes the low school payment had the special fascination in comparison with non-classical secondary schools and gymnasiums. Besides, pupils of some such educational institutions had the opportunity to study using the state subsidies and grants. As a result under these circumstances about 28,3 % of pupils from families of noblemen, 25,2% -

peasants, 24 % – lower middle class, 13,3 % – merchants and honorable citizens were trained in secondary special professional institutions in the Russian Empire by the beginning of the last century (Rozhdestvenskiy, 1909: 33).

Due to the government grant pupils in teacher's seminaries and institutes received education mainly. However the insufficiently high status of elementary school teachers caused by the low level of their salary could not attract youth from wealthy families in such educational institutions (Leontyeva, 1997: 24-25). For this reason the essential specific weight of pupils in these institutions was made, as a rule, by pupils from peasant families. The information about the class list of pupils in the teacher's institute of Irkutsk confirms this tendency (table 1).

**Table 1.** The state distribution of pupils in teacher's institute of Irkutsk as of 1/1/1917 years (SAIrKR. F.65. Op. 3. D. 5. L. 14-15)

State	Number of pupils	In %
Peasants	21	46,7
Workers and lower middle class	12	26,7
Cossacks	3	6,7
Honorable citizens	1	2,2
Clergy	1	2,2
Foreigners	1	2,2
Others	6	13,3
In total	45	100

As it appears from the data presented in table 1 – 45 pupils were registered at teacher's institute in Irkutsk, and about a half of them (46,7 %) belonged to peasants' families by the beginning of 1917. The majority of pupils had an opportunity to study free of charge (Shinkareva, 2002: 28). For example, 12 students who have entered the teacher's institute in 1916 got the grant approved by the Ministry of national education (SAIrKR. F.65. Op. 3. D. 5. L. 14-15).

However even in those educational institutions where payment for training was high (for example, in commercial schools), the absence of obvious restrictions of class character when entering has predetermined the tendency consisting in prevalence of children from the lower middle class, merchants, honorable citizens and peasants in these institutions. So, in F.F. Shamakhov's research it is mentioned that this specified tendency at secondary school in Tomsk was distinctly shown from the moment of this educational institution establishment in 1901 (Shamakhov, 1957: 85-88).

The list of pupils in the private commercial school founded in Tyumen at the expense of famous merchants Kolokolnikov was similar (Kratkaya..., 1995: 327). The Kolokolnikovs became famous for the extensive charity and patronage (table 2).

**Table 2.** The distribution of pupils of the Tyumen commercial school by social groups and state (1912/13 and 1914/15 academic years) (SATyumR. F. I-92. Op. 1. D. 69. L. 11-12)

Class structure and social groups	Academic years			
	1912/13		1914/15	
	Number of pupils	%	Number of pupils	%
<b>Lower middle class</b>	64	33,2	106	40,5
<b>Peasants</b>	60	31,0	66	25,2
<b>Merchants and honorable citizens</b>	40	20,7	43	16,4
<b>Noblemen</b>	14	7,3	16	6,1
<b>Clergy</b>	4	2,1	7	2,6
<b>Foreign citizens</b>	6	3,1	6	2,3
<b>Representatives of other classes</b>	5	2,6	18	6,9
<b>In total</b>	193	100	262	100

Thus, pupils from the lower middle class quantitatively prevailed among pupils of the considered commercial school. And their share has increased as of 1914/15 academic year by 7,3 %. The essential specific weight in the structure of pupils in the Tyumen commercial school during this period was occupied by children of peasants, merchants and honorable citizens while the share of pupils from families of noblemen and clergy was rather small.

It is necessary to explain that belonging of that or other person to any class did not represent either a type of activity, or an occupation, or level of financial security, or the place of residence by the beginning of the 20th century any more.

At the same time class characteristics did not appear for a key feature which would define the attribution of the studying youth to some certain category of citizens any more. The pupils' accounting by their parents' class, existing for a certain time in statistical reports of secondary and the primary educational institutions only approximately corresponded to a professional and social status of the persons' families studying there. Much more indicative was accounting by "a kind of activity pupils' parents", accepted and officially approved in trade and industrial and commercial schools (Rozhdestvenskiy, 1909: 48; Rashin, 1956: 87).

Data about pupils' parents of the Tyumen commercial school (table 3) would be presented below as an example.

**Table 3.** The distribution of Tyumen commercial school pupils by their parents' activity in 1912/13 and 1914/15 academic years (SATyumR. F. I-92. Op. 1. D. 73. L. 16-17).

Kind of activity of pupils' parents	Academic years			
	1912/13		1914/15	
	Number of pupils	the Share, in %	Number of pupils	the Share, in %
<b>Representatives of the commerce and industry capital</b>	87	45,1	113	43,1
<b>Commerce and industry employees</b>	50	25,9	61	23,3
<b>Employees of state institutions and persons with liberal professions</b>	42	21,8	62	23,7
<b>Workers, handicraftsmen, servants</b>	12	6,2	23	8,8
<b>Workers of agricultural sector</b>	2	1,0	3	1,1
<b>The persons occupied in other kinds of activity</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	193	100	262	100

As it appears from figures on table 3, the representatives of the commerce and industry capital, commerce and industry employees and also employees of state institutions and persons of liberal professions quantitatively prevailed in Siberia. Authors came to a conclusion that actually there were officials, representatives of the bourgeoisie and also the intellectuals mainly.

The comparison of these tables permits to assume that the kind of parents' activity and their state quite often did not coincide among themselves. So, for example, according to 1914/15 academic year's documentation approximately every fourth pupil belonged to the peasantry. At the same time parents of only three pupils (1,1 %) were engaged in work of agricultural character as a primary activity. On the basis of the foregoing, it is possible to note that person's origin was quite often stated only nominally. At the same time neither the type of professional activity of the person, nor his education was established.

Nevertheless, for maintaining traditional structure of society of the power intentionally regulated class structure, and not only pupils of averages, but also the lowest educational institutions, but also and students of higher education institutions.

## 5. Conclusion

Summing up the result, it should be noted that, despite the created origin restrictions in the sphere of education, secondary educational institutions became more democratic by the end of the 19th– the beginning of the 20th centuries. At the same time the share of people belonging to different social classes among pupils constantly increased. This tendency developed in the sense of the formation of "classless" bourgeois society; however it was shown more distinctly in the territory of Siberia, than in the central part of the empire. More "democratic" structure of the Siberian population was the reason of this fact.

Nevertheless, the tendency for the growth of people belonging to different social classes has created special conception, beliefs, and the system of values and behavior of its representatives in the general structure of secondary educational institutions' pupils. The prevalence of people from unprivileged classes in the general social structure of the Siberian outskirts' inhabitants has caused poverty of an essential share of secondary educational institutions' pupils of Siberia.

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