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Published in the Russian Federation

European Journal of Contemporary Education

ISSN 2304-9650

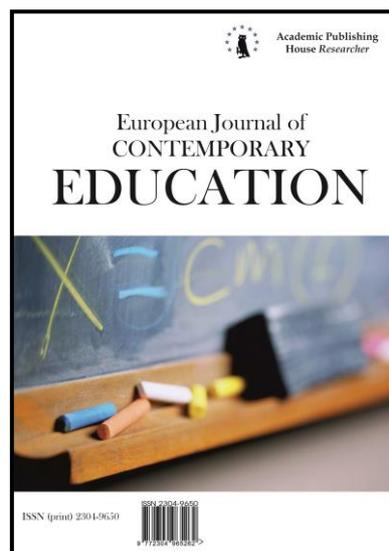
E-ISSN 2305-6746

Vol. 16, Is. 2, pp. 217-228, 2016

DOI: 10.13187/ejced.2016.16.217

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UDC 377.5

## Female Teachers Training in Educational Grades of Women's Gymnasia in Kazan in the Last Third of the XIX – Early XX Centuries

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### Abstract

The purpose of the article is to study the way the female teacher education was formed in late imperial Russia. The subject of the study is the specific element of this process in Kazan province, being a multi-ethnic region. The article analyses a number of issues, the ones related to the activities of the two Kazan gymnasia - Maryinskaya and Ksenyinskaya, generalizes both functioning conditions of these institutions and problems and achievements in quality preparation of teaching staff for schools of the Volga region.

The study reveals the socio-cultural and pedagogical factors that determined the way the subsystem of female teachers training was formed. The dynamics of the education classes development demonstrated a certain degree of improvement of the educational process, extension of the academic term from one year to two years, increasing demand applied to students. The enhanced focus on practice-oriented training greatly affected development of professionally significant qualities of the future female teachers.

As this educational activity was insufficiently regulated, that allowed for its planning and organization on a local level while taking into account particular regional conditions and needs. Such local 'testing' of the way education classes function helped to build a well-coordinated subsystem of female teacher training in the country as well as obtain the required number of

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teachers within a short period.

The results of the study can be applied while modernizing the practices of modern teacher training.

**Keywords:** Russian empire; Kazan; women's education; teacher training; gymnasium.

### 1. Introduction

Studying historical formation patterns of female teacher training is of particular relevance to modern teacher training as it is closely associated with defining the role of women in modern society, especially in terms of the younger generation education. The history of female teachers training in Russia is inextricably linked to women's gymnasia activity of the last third of the XIX – early XX centuries, which were quite popular with girls as those institutions trained them to teach at elementary schools.

The adoption in 1870 of 'The regulations on women's gymnasia and progymnasia', that led to women's colleges of the first degree being renamed as gymnasia, gave a vigorous start to further development and spreading of girls' upbringing through education in public schools that had a full right to be called secondary schools.

The Ministry of Education (the ME) gave great importance to educational training for women, as 'a woman, in terms of the way she can influence her family, has a responsibility to its impact on the family, have an upbringing obligation. Should she fail to fulfil the obligation or do it in the wrong way, then it affects all society and state; and that is particularly dangerous as evil is pervasive and able to undermine the foundations of both public and state life without appearing to do so' (Kovalensky, 1908: 199). Therefore, along with the adoption of the new 'Regulations' in 1870 teacher training courses were established at ten provincial gymnasia. In 1874, in connection with the adoption of 'The regulations on the eighth special teacher training grade in women's gymnasia' the eighth grade was added in gymnasia, that used to have seven grades (Kantorovich, 1899: 157-158), the one that was training students to work as a home tutor or public school teacher.

### 2. Materials and methods

There are plenty of various sources on the matter, being different in nature and content. Priority was given to archival and periodical materials. Various groups of documents stored at the National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan (the NART) constituted the main source base of the study. The following funds are especially important: 92, 93, 122, 125, 150, 421, which store circular documents and workflow records. Those include documents that describe the activities of legislative, executive and administrative bodies in the field of education, as well as the state of education in Kazan in different years of the period under study, such as minutes of gymnasium teachers' boards meetings, school districts and gymnasia annual reports, historical descriptions of educational institutions, statements and information on annual and semi-annual testing at schools.

A numerous group of sources consists of legislative and other regulatory laws of the Russian Empire within the period from 1881 to 1905; orders concerning the ME, Kazan educational district (KED); compilations of regulations issued by the government and ME; statistical data on the number of schools and pupils; materials on public education history and the reform of secondary school; reports and extracts from a schools status reports; reference books, commemorative books, calendars of Kazan province published over the period. The value of all these publications is that they are all, besides providing a lot of statistical data, are sources of summary information on the most important moments of school activities, students' performance, school facilities, etc. All these materials can be very useful if taken with a pinch of salt. It was 'The review of the activities of the ME' and circulars by KED that were of great assistance as they contain a lot of documents that are interesting from the content and methodical point of view.

Another big and no less valuable set of sources on the history of female teacher training Kazan is both all-Russian and local periodicals. The all-Russian magazines that published extensive reviews on the development of teacher training in Russia made it possible to trace the activities of the prominent figures of public education (M.L. Peskovsky, N.A. Korf, A. Anastasiyev, N. Bobrovnikov, I. Iznoskov and others). These stressed the importance of issues related to the teaching staff training and brought up these issues in magazines. The provincial media contains information on the organization and quality of elementary school teacher training, i.e. female graduates of gymnasia in Kazan.

The degree of reliability of the sources was determined by their critical benchmarking.

Having studied the above-mentioned materials, we formed a set of sources, allowing to consider various aspects of the issue. It makes it possible to trace the formation of government policy in the field of education in relation to primary schools teaching staff training within the period under review, obtain valuable information on the number of students in the eighth teacher training grades; determine the number of female teachers who got education in such teaching classes in Kazan as well as find out the need for teaching staff.

For the purposes of the study the sources are analysed from historical and genetic point of view using the comparative-historical method, whereas it is the integrity method and steady focus on value-based approach while taking into account the interdisciplinary nature of the issue under study that are of paramount importance when a historiographic analysis is carried out. The basis of the study was a microanalysis of the two female gymnasias' educational environment in Kazan. Upon defining the methodological basis of the study, the authors used specific scientific approaches being typical for modernisation lead paradigm, educational urban planning and adaptive-activity cultural studies. The results of the study are structured in the issue-chronological order.

### **3. Discussion**

The works by A. Derevitskiy ([Derevitskiy, 1902](#)), M.N. Kovalensky ([Kovalensky, 1908](#)), E.O. Likhacheva ([Likhacheva, 1907](#)), P.G. Mizhuyev ([Mizhuyev, 1906](#)) relating to women's secondary education make one of the most interesting sections of the issue's historiography. The works by M.N. Kovalensky, found in a multi-volume work 'History of Russia in the XIX century', are of great interest. The author acknowledged the progress made by women in both education field and actual teaching. The author believes that the reasons for a temporary delay of further development of women's education have something to do with the internal politics of the government, including the one in the field of education, describing it as a reactionary one. E.O. Likhacheva, having performed a comparative characteristic analysis of women's education in Russia and Western Europe, believes that secondary women's education in Russia was organized at a better scale than in any European country, primary education being an exception.

Taking into account the value of each of these studies, it should be noted that all these works had, in general, a journalistic nature. This is explained by the fact that the authors of these works still had a small number of sources at their disposal, and they were guided primarily by their political objectives. Many of the assessments and conclusions they made are now thought to be obsolete. At the same time, they generalized and systematized the accumulated material.

It is known that education issues in Russia of the period under consideration were quite fully studied in the works by Soviet historians. F.G. Panachin ([Panachin, 1979](#)), for example, was the first to thoroughly investigate a wide range of issues: the secondary female teacher training institutions, social composition of the students, curricula and programs, policies of the government in relation to teacher training, etc. A relatively rapid growth of educational institutions network, a change in its social structure, establishment of new areas of school education is explained by the author as the result of the development of capitalism (not as a result of the government activities), which caused changes in all domains of social life in Russia. Another important aspect that F.G. Panachin drew his attention to was the teacher training institutions of KED. However, the author only loosely touched upon some of their organization issues.

Modern historiography is represented by works which cover certain aspects of primary schools female teachers training while studying the development of education in a number of multinational parts of the country, i.e. Kazan region ([Kornilova, 2011](#); [Kornilova, 2012](#)) and the whole Volga region ([Magsumov, 2015a](#); [Magsumov, 2015b](#)), as well as in the Caucasus ([Zakaraya, Cherkasov, 2010](#); [Shevchenko et al., 2016](#)).

Having studied historiography of the issue, we can pinpoint the main disadvantage of most of the works, that is a biased assessment of certain events or processes. The regional level aspect of the issue also failed to get a thorough research.

### **4. Results**

The government policy in the field of female teacher training is considered as an integral part its domestic policies activities in the last third of the XIX – early XX centuries. It was aimed at

preserving and maintaining the political system at the time. The growing activity of the opposition forced the government of Alexander III to give up liberalism in education, the latter had manifested itself in a number of reforms of the 80-90s of the XIX century. And yet the government permitted certain turns in its political course related primarily to the increasing need for socio-economic development of society.

In the period under study tertiary teacher training education in Russia gained considerable success as the educational institution network aimed at training teacher spread every year. Since the 1870s the government started to pay attention to the organization of teacher training in various regions of the country. A few state teacher training institutions opened in Kazan as well that were to train only male teachers for primary schools. Women could get such type of education in teaching grades of women's gymnasia, which were also widespread in the 70s of the XIX century. In the last third of the XIX – early XX centuries there was a significant increase in the number of women's secondary schools in the province, funded not only by the government, but also the local authorities, companies as well as by means of private donations. This is due, first of all, to the population's increased need for secondary education for women and, secondly, to the need for training female staff for public schools.

In the last third of the XIX – early XX centuries there were women's gymnasia only in the provincial city of Kazan. Those were 1st Maryinskaya gymnasium converted from Maryinskoye first grade women's college on 30 August 1871 ([NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 24887: 1](#)) and 2nd Ksenyinskaya gymnasium converted from a progymnasium in August 1880. In other towns of the province women's gymnasia were opened only at the beginning of the XX century. In 1905 Chistopolskaya women's gymnasium, converted from a progymnasium, was ([NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 4028: 19](#)).

Women's gymnasia curriculum included the following subjects: Scripture knowledge, the Russian language, arithmetic with an enhanced accounting element, geometry basics, general and Russian geography, general and Russian history, natural history and physics with the addition of data relating to household keeping and hygiene, calligraphy, crafts and gymnastics ([Code of laws, 1893: 327](#)). Thus, the new charter made teaching more practical with regard to the woman's future way of life. He also affected women's gymnasia by introducing classicism, the one that dominated in men's educational institutions.

In 1874, in women's gymnasia it was allowed to teach classical languages (Greek and Latin) as optional subjects or just Latin, French and German, drawing, music, dancing, singing ([Kantorovich, 1899: 158-159](#)). Thus, in 1896 in Kazan Ksenyinskaya gymnasium they taught Latin as an optional subject, in 1901 at the Maryinskaya gymnasium practical lessons of French were introduced ([On the introduction in Kazan, 1896: 519](#)). Classical languages were not taught at Kazan Maryinskaya gymnasium due to the fact that there was no demand for those subjects ([NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 235: 3](#)). The number of both curriculum subjects and academic hours given to a particular subject was significantly lower compared to men's gymnasia and non-classical secondary schools. For example, maths, history, geography and literature courses were significantly contracted compared to those in men's gymnasia ([Kirpichnikov, 1890: 164](#)). Logic and other subjects were not taught. Instead, curricula were overloaded with lessons of crafts and other types of household keeping.

Students were charged fees to be taught in women's gymnasia. The tuition fee amount was determined by the local council ([Polyansky, 1901: 121](#)). The tuition fee was quite high. At the beginning of the 1880s, in the two Kazan women's gymnasia the students paid 30 roubles a year for compulsory subjects, 18 roubles for optional subjects and 15 roubles per year at a preparatory grade ([NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 13591: 238](#)). Collection of tuition fees was the main funding source for gymnasia.

It is necessary to note the activities of a gymnasium's board of trustees, whose function was to involve the public into establishing women's gymnasia and their promotion. In addition to raising funds the Board was entitled to relieve certain poor students from paying tuition fees at the request of the administration or students' relatives. In 1st Maryinskaya gymnasium in Kazan 106 students were relieved from tuition fees for studying compulsory subjects in 1880 ([NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 235: 17](#)). The fees for poor students were paid by some philanthropists of the city of Kazan. For example, during the first half of the 1880/81 school year, I.N. Zhuravlev paid the tuition fees for eight students, A.S. Alexandrovich paid for 12 students, M.I. Popov paid five

students and A.P. Pribytkov paid for one student. All the above-mentioned donors were the hereditary honorary citizen of the city. Moreover, I.N. Zhuravlev paid for many poor students on a yearly (NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 235: 18). While permitting a certain degree of society involvement into establishing women's gymnasia and their maintenance, the ME limited the way society was allowed to affect daily activities and curriculum of these educational institutions.

Provincial women's gymnasia were placed under the supervision of the governors and chairmen of the teachers' councils. The head of the entire educational work was appointed the head of the men's gymnasium or the school superintendent was appointed the head of the teachers' council being responsible for all the educational activities in the region. None of the events related to teaching might take place without the permission of the high-rank officials. As a result, the role of the headmistress and teachers of the gymnasium was thereby limited.

In women's gymnasia, just as in universities, there were class mistresses who worked as intermediaries between teachers and students. They attended all lessons and their function was to help the teacher maintain discipline and order in class, thus allowing the teacher to be fully engaged in teaching (Kirpichnikov, 1890: 164-166). Using rare archival materials and press publications, we can obtain evidence that class mistresses did not only maintain discipline, but also watch the way the teacher works, assess the teacher's morality as well as to ensure that the teacher does not exceed the education content scope for women's educational institutions determined by the ME. As a rule, male teachers working in male educational institutions, normally gymnasia, were invited to teach at women's middle and senior grades, whereas female teachers worked in lower grades. As a result of class mistresses' permanent supervision, smaller education content scope, lack of classical languages as a compulsory subject in such institutions, women, who had received secondary education, were not allowed to teach in all gymnasium grades, thus being limited to the lower grades only.

Having finished the seven grades, students, who had successfully completed a full course of study, were given the right to the title of the primary school teachers and teachers of public schools (Deryuzhinsky, 1900: 9). Later, they were given the right to teach in the lower colleges grades. Since March 1881, students in women's gymnasia were permitted to be awarded with the gold and silver medals in the same order, which had been set for men's gymnasia. Students in Kazan province were proved to be very good at studies from the very beginning. They were quite zealous while studying and often, according to official reports, showed better results than students from men's gymnasia. The annual report of Maryinskaya gymnasium for 1898 contains information out of 743 students in main grades 57 students completed seven grades, six of them were awarded with gold medals and 10 were awarded with silver ones (Traubenberg, 1900: 42). In 1899, in Ksenyinskaya gymnasium, out of 46 students of the seventh grade three were awarded with gold medals and 12 were awarded with silver ones (NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 24888: sheet isn't numbered).

For the majority of women's gymnasia graduates, who belonged to the low-income social groups, education was the only capital that could save them from poverty; and that capital was, in most cases, applied in teaching. In order to provide poor girls with the opportunity to learn teaching terms and methods the eighth teaching grade was established in gymnasia, its completion gave the right to the title of the home tutors and teachers (Code of Laws, 1893: 328).

In Kazan province the eighth grade was established in both women's gymnasia. In Maryinskaya gymnasium it was opened in 1870, and in Ksenyinskaya gymnasium it was opened in 1881 r. (NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 544: sheet isn't numbered; NART, fund 122, inv. 1, file 52: 1). In 1881/82 academic year the eighth grade in Maryinskaya gymnasium was divided into two subdivisions for the first time as the number of those willing to obtain such qualification had grown. The biggest number of students in Maryinskaya gymnasium was seen in 1889/90 academic year (82 students) (NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 647a: sheet isn't numbered).

There was tuition fee for studying in the eighth grade. Thus, in Ksenyinskaya and Maryinskaya gymnasia students were charged 50 roubles per year (NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 24888: sheet isn't numbered; NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 544: sheet isn't numbered). It is easy to notice that the fee for the teaching grade was much higher than for the lower grades. So, we can conclude that in the eighth grade there were normally students from well-to-do families rather than poor girls, though it was them that the grade was intended for. The archival data prove this. Thus, in 1883, in the eighth grade of Maryinskaya gymnasia there were 14 daughters from noble

and officials families, 8 students were born into clergy families, 12 persons were from merchants and burghers families, 19 were from other social groups, but none were from a peasant family (NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 278: 30).

It should be noted that teaching grade tuition fee in Kazan province was relatively small compared to other regions. Thus, in Saratovskaya women’s gymnasium it was 70 roubles per year, 60 roubles in Yekaterininskaya women’s gymnasium (the city of Rostov-on-Don) and the amount of the tuition fee in Khersonskaya 1st Maryinskaya gymnasium was 100 roubles per year (NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 579: sheet isn't numbered).

The students in this special grade were given information on main educational principles, teaching techniques and methods in women’s gymnasia. They also practiced teaching under the guidance of their teachers.

The ME developed universal curricula and teaching programs for gymnasia based on ‘Regulations, dated 1870’. Differences were only allowed in relation to the eighth additional teacher training grade of Kazan and Moscow education districts (MED). This can be clearly seen from the Table 1 of weekly lessons in the eighth teacher training grade Kazan and Moscow school districts (NART, fund 492, inv. 1, file 24167: 8):

**Table 1.** Number of weekly lessons in a teacher training grade in MED and KED women’s gymnasia

Subjects	Kazan ED	Moscow ED
<b>Compulsory</b>		
Scripture knowledge	2	2
The Russian language	4	3
Arithmetic	4	3
Education science	3	3
Singing	2	-
Total	15	11
<b>Optional</b>		
The Russian language	2	3
Mathematics	2	3
History	2	3
Geography	2	3
The French language	3	3
The German language	3	3
Total	14	18

Based on the above-mentioned, we can conclude that in KED more attention was paid to teaching basic disciplines that form the basis of primary school curriculum, whereas in MED there was a focus on subjects taught in secondary school. In both districts, the number of lessons was minimal. Therefore, both the tables are not exclusive. In 1883, having taken the regulation as a basis, the KED trustee proposed a new curriculum draft as well as teaching programs for the eighth grade in women’s gymnasia of his district, that had been drawn up at the meeting of boards of trustees of both Kazan women’s gymnasia (Maryinskaya and Ksenyinskaya).

The new project was introduced as the methodological and work regulation base for women’s gymnasia at the time was considered unsatisfactory and insufficient, for example, the number of test lessons was not determined while the theoretical course content was unclear. It was due to the fact that there was no yearly planning, that resulted in the lack of weekly planning of the number of theoretical and practical lessons. Similar proposals were also received from the board of trustees of other districts.

Having come to the conclusion that it was impossible to fulfil all the functions of the eighth grade of women’s gymnasia within a year, on December 27, 1884 the ME commission under the chairmanship of Prince M.S. Volkonsky adopted and approved a two-year academic course of the eighth grade (NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 24167: 6). A one-year course of study in the eighth grade

was allowed only in case it is impossible to organize a two-year course.

The commission also developed a new table of weekly lessons. In junior and senior teacher training grades three lessons were allocated for Scripture knowledge and the Russian language, two lessons were allocated for arithmetic lesson. Practical training and exercises were to take 12 lessons per week (five lessons in the junior grade and seven classes in the senior one) (NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 24167: 7). For practical training of teaching activities junior grade students attended classes of senior grade students who themselves were teaching under the guidance of adult teachers in the preparatory and four lower gymnasium grades.

Following the decision, made by the board of trustees, hygiene and cloth making-up lessons were introduced in the eighth grades as optional subjects. In 1889, cloth making-up lessons were introduced in Maryinskaya gymnasium as an optional subject in the eighth grade (NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 549: 1). Later on, in 1900/01 academic year hygiene classes were introduced in both the gymnasias as optional subjects (NART, fund 122, inv. 1, file 412: 5; NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 496: 2).

It should be noted, however, that it is the Russian language and literature that should have been in the focus of the study in women's gymnasias. In this respect, as far as the official studying program makes it possible to figure out, Maryinskaya gymnasium did its best to achieve good results, both in the junior and especially in senior grades.

It was Maryinskaya gymnasium that arranged 'literary discussions' for the eighth grade (Traubenberg, 1900: 37). These discussions were started by the initiative of V.P. Bryukhanov, the gymnasium's teacher, for the purposes of studying the best Russian literary works (by the authors who worked after A.S. Pushkin). In addition to its direct purpose these discussions were to fill the gap in education concerning thorough studying of Russian literature, which characterized the Russian school as a whole. For the discussion, works required for the study as well as those that were permitted for reading in senior grade were selected. The talks did not take place three to four times a year, normally on public holidays or in evenings and were held for two or three hours. The participation was voluntary. Two or three weeks before the discussion took place the teacher would name the book and provide questions to give spoken replies to. For example, during 1897-1900 there were discussions concerning *The Overcoat* by N.V. Gogol, *A Profitable Position* by A.N. Ostrovsky, *Home of the Gentry* by I.S. Turgenev, *Oblomov* by I.A. Goncharov, *Childhood and Boyhood* by L.N. Tolstoy.

Until 1899/1900 academic year, teaching in the eighth grade of women's gymnasias in Kazan was performed on the basis of the curricula dated back to 1874. Since 1899/1900 academic year, upon the permission of the Minister of Education new test curricula and programs were introduced for the eighth grade of women's gymnasias. These programs were developed earlier in 1897 by a commission of two teachers working in Kazan women's gymnasias, chaired by the former KED trustee assistant S.F. Speshkov.

Under the new curricula and programs all eighth grade students were to study the following subjects: Scripture knowledge, teaching science and didactics, the basics of teaching of the Russian language, arithmetic and singing. In addition, each student was to select one of the subjects (except for singing) she was going to get the specialization as a home tutor or teacher. Some of these subjects included the Russian language along with the Church Slavonic language and literature; the German and French languages; mathematics; history and geography.

In fact, the number of students in the eighth grade was not limited. In each of Kazan women's gymnasias everyone who had completed seven grades could go to the eighth grade. Therefore, the number of students were different throughout the history of the eighth grade. However, in the city of Kazan there was a tendency of increasing the total number of students in the teacher training grade.

In this regard, in 1901, the board of trustees received a report by the head of Maryinskaya gymnasium M.N. Andreevskaya on the admission restriction in the eighth grade. The limit norm of 45-50 people, i.e. the number of students in one subdivision, was justified by the fact that studying there was believed to be very easy, and almost all the students who had completed the seventh grade entered the eighth grade as well. As a result, in the gymnasium they had students in the eighth grade had no love for children or teacher training, being in the grade only for formal reasons.

Based on this report, on May 29, 1901 the board of trustees decided to admit no more than 50 students in the eighth teacher training grade being guided by the following selection criteria:

academic success, their attitude to profession, punctuality referring to attendance, state of health and the way they treated teaching. Should there be more applicants than it was allowed to admit, the student with less favourable financial standing was admitted (NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 647a: sheet isn't numbered). This decision created favourable conditions especially for members of the underprivileged social groups, who, working as teachers, could support themselves financially. Not only gymnasium graduates, but also the ones from eparchial colleges were permitted to enter the teacher training grade provided they had passed all exams on the gymnasium's curriculum (Concerning the fact that the persons, 1901: 609-610).

Those who had completed the course and were awarded with medals received the title of home tutors, while those with no medals received the title of home teachers (Deryuzhinsky, 1900: 9). By 1899, in Ksenyinskaya gymnasia, since the opening year (1880), 117 students completed the course with the title of home tutor and 347 received the title of home teacher (Report extract, 1900: 3). The number of students in Maryinskaya gymnasium were 302 and 1062 consequently (Traubenberg, 1900: 2). As a matter of fact, the gymnasium graduates were not allowed to enter higher educational institutions, thus being restricted from obtaining certain professions.

The new form of women's secondary educational institutions, especially after they were given the title of gymnasia and spread wide around Russia, met opposition from ardent opponents of women's education. They distributed printed lampoons on the students, accusing them of immorality, nihilism, undermining the family ties and state foundations. However, despite this, the number of women's gymnasia affected by the inevitable requirements of life grew, and by 1882 their number in Russia exceeded the number of men's gymnasia, that had been in operation five times as long comp. According to some reports, in 1882 in Russia there were not more than 130 men's gymnasia and progymnasia, that makes about 200 schools, whereas there were 259 women's gymnasia, that exceeded the number of gymnasia for men by 59 institutions (Peskovsky, 1886: 70).

This was typical for Russia as a whole, but the situation in Kazan region was slightly different. The number of women's gymnasia failed to exceed the number of men's ones. This can be explained by the specific features of the province's population as a significant portion of the female population of the province were not Russian. According to official data women's education among the Tatars, even at the end of the XIX century, was only beginning to appear, although there was not a single village without girls who studied. But even during the period of their extensive spreading women's gymnasia involve only a small portion of the female youth. Commissions that considered the ME annual reports again started to bring up the idea of establishing women's educational institutions that 'could provide the majority of girls from middle-class families with education being quite appropriate to their needs and requirements, whereas not alienating them from the general environment' (Women's gymnasia, 1905: 20-21).

The campaign against women's school continued under guidance by A.A. Saburov. In 1880 he established a special commission to discuss a new type of women's education, a cross between a gymnasium and primary school. But this was done neither by A.A. Saburov nor his successor, A.P. Nicolai. It was I.D. Delyanov who took the initiative using a note by Baroness E.F. Raden, submitted to the empress in 1884, the Empress. The note proved the need for fundamental change in women's education. Baroness E.F. Raden felt strongly to:

1) deprive women's secondary educational institutions from the right to grant teaching degrees;

2) grant this right to special teaching courses, classes, seminaries;

3) establish teaching courses dormitories.

On December 27, 1884, I.D. Delyanov set up a commission under the chairmanship of Prince M.S. Volkonsky, consisting of the ME representatives, members of the clergy, department of religious affairs, as well as department of institutions of Empress Maria, for the purposes of reorganization of the entire system of women's education. In his report to the emperor, I.D. Delianov, repeating Baroness E.F. Raden's ideas, formulated the need for radical change in this area, 'The recent establishment, since the 1860s, of a large number of women's gymnasia and progymnasia under the ME, along with no colleges with a complete basic course or profession-oriented institutions negatively affected девиц of certain young women, who, having graduated from secondary educational institutions, are eager to enter a variety of higher women's courses, both in Russia and abroad, the majority of them being interested not so much in scientific sphere,

but in getting out of their family and general environment, leaving mundane duties and trying to achieve rights, which are hardly appropriate for a woman' ([Collection of resolutions, 1881-1904: 1304](#); [Rozhdestvensky, 1902: 660](#)).

These words clearly showed the anti-democratic, conservative nature of the proposed reform. In connection with this report the new commission was established under the chairmanship of Prince M.S. Volkonsky. But the projects that the commission had developed failed to receive approval in most educational districts, one of them being KED. Only in some regions (the Baltics, the Don region, the Caucasus, Turkestan) there appeared women's four-year colleges that were equal to municipal colleges of 1872.

Moreover, the reform failed to be implemented as women's gymnasia with relatively expensive training gradually turned into privileged educational institutions, while it was women's progymnasia that played the role of the preparatory schools for the less privileged.

Formalism, humdrum and constant supervision flourished in women's educational institutions. Monitoring of the students' behaviour was not limited to the gymnasium itself. Class mistresses regularly paid visits to the students' apartments, especially non-resident ones. Even the students' accommodation selection had to be approved by the head of the gymnasium.

The tuition fee in women's gymnasia, being quite high from the beginning, kept on going up. Thus, since 1859 to 1899, the tuition fee in Maryinskaya gymnasium rose from 15 to 20 roubles per year in the preparatory grade; the tuition fee (grade 1 to grade 7) rose from 30 to 42 roubles for compulsory subjects and from 15 to 18 roubles for optional subjects; whereas it remained unchanged in the eighth teacher training grade, being 50 roubles per year ([NART, fund 125, inv. 1, file 544: sheet isn't numbered](#)).

Nevertheless, the popularity of women's education was growing in Russia. In the 90s of the XIX century there were a large number of private women's schools, which turned into government ones at the end of the century. A similar process took place in Kazan province as well. On July 1, 1901 3rd Kazan gymnasium of A.I. Kotova was granted the title of a government women's educational institution. Until that time, it was a private women's educational institution managed by S.F. Wagner (1877 to 1892) and then by A.I. Kotova (1892 to 1901) ([NART, fund 421, inv. 1, file 6: 1](#)).

The tuition fees in the gymnasium of A.I. Kotova was considerably higher than in Maryinskaya and Ksenyinskaya gymnasia. In 1903, the tuition fee in the preparatory grade was 40 roubles per year, 60 roubles per year in the main grades and 75 roubles per year in the teacher training grade ([Status report, 1905: 7](#)).

The need to increase tuition fee was dictated by the insufficient funds, which was still a drawback in the development of women's education. In 1900, when the total sum of public benefits to gymnasia and progymnasia had reached up to 350 thousand roubles a year, the Minister of Education, N.P. Bogolepov presented strong evidence in favour of the urgency of increasing the amount of funds allocated to these institutions: only 36 % gymnasia had a satisfactory budget, the remaining institutions did not have sufficient funds, and 16 % were declared in desperate need.

In 1900, in order to somewhat weaken the harmful effects of this poverty on the progress of women's education N.P. Bogolepov, with the approval of the State Council, allocated an additional 150 thousand roubles per year in the form of grants for women's secondary educational institutions. And in 1902 this amount was increased up to 125 thousand roubles a year ([Rozhdestvensky, 1902: 566-569, 720, 727](#)).

## **5. Conclusion**

After the establishment of women's gymnasia women's secondary education started developing. Students, who had completed a course in a gymnasium, were granted the right to teach in their junior grades. But, unfortunately, they failed to receive the right to continue their own education, that is, the right to get higher education. Meanwhile, the young teachers soon felt their education being insufficient and came to realize that a gymnasium is just the beginning, not the end of studying. Naturally, the students started thinking about getting a university degree.

In general, in the last quarter of the XIX - early XX century, there was a great step forward in women's education. We believe that an additional teacher training grade in gymnasia was able to provide sufficient training for a person to start a career in primary education. Women's secondary education was characterized by a trend towards increasing the share of female employment in the

field of education. This is proved by the following data: special educational institutions of Kazan province had trained 1550 teachers by 1905 (NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 16563: 1; NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 16896: 9; NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 19584: 2; NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 19585: 2; NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 19586: 3; NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 17500: sheet isn't numbered; NART, fund 92, inv. 2, file 18: sheet isn't numbered; NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 759: 1a, 37; NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 4031: 42, 47; NART, fund 92, inv. 1, file 448: 2; NART, fund 93, inv. 1, file 683: 2; NART, fund 93, inv. 1, file 513: 1; NART, fund 93, inv. 1, file 842: 2; NART, fund 150, inv. 1, file 561: 8; NART, fund 150, inv. 1, file 553: 15-28, 29-66; NART, fund 150, inv. 1, file 592: 71-74), whereas women's secondary educational institutions had trained 1828 teachers by 1899 (Report extract, 1900: 3; Traubenberg, 1900: 2). This proves women's intention to be allowed to teach both in junior and senior grades, thus being able to continue their further education.

However, speaking of the positive change in the field of secondary education for women in the province, it should be noted that the results of these achievements were used mainly by the ones coming from well-to-do families, as seen while analysing the students' social composition. The principle of boys and girls' co-education, being supported by the liberal public, was not put into practice. Women at the beginning of the XX century did not receive equal education right with men.

While analysing the process of women's education development, it is not only the progressive trend that is significant, being associated with further emancipation of women, but also the way women's professional education (teaching training, above all) was formed.

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УДК 377.5

### **Подготовка учительниц в педагогических классах женских гимназий Казани в последней трети XIX – начале XX вв.**

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**Аннотация.** Целью статьи стало исследование процессов становления женского педагогического образования в позднеимперской России. Предмет рассмотрения региональное преломление этих процессов в полиэтническом Казанском крае. Анализируется ряд важных вопросов жизнедеятельности двух Казанских гимназий – Мариинской и Ксениинской, обобщаются условия функционирования этих учебных заведений, проблемы и успехи в качественной подготовке педагогических кадров для школ Поволжья.

Раскрываются социокультурные и педагогические факторы, определившие создание в позднеимперской России подсистемы женского педагогического образования. Динамика развития педагогических классов демонстрировала улучшение организации учебного процесса, увеличение сроков обучения с года до двух лет, усиление требований к обучающимся. Развитие акцента на практикоориентированное обучение обуславливало формирование профессионально значимых качеств будущих учительниц.

Нормативная неразработанность деятельности этого вида образования допускала его планирование и организацию на местном уровне, с учетом региональных условий и потребностей. Такая первичная «апробация» функционирования педагогических классов на местах позволила выстроить достаточно слаженную подсистему женского педагогического образования в стране и подготовить необходимое число учительниц в достаточно короткие сроки.

Результаты исследования могут быть применены в практике модернизации педагогического образования.

**Ключевые слова:** Российская империя, Казань, женское образование, педагогическое образование, гимназия.