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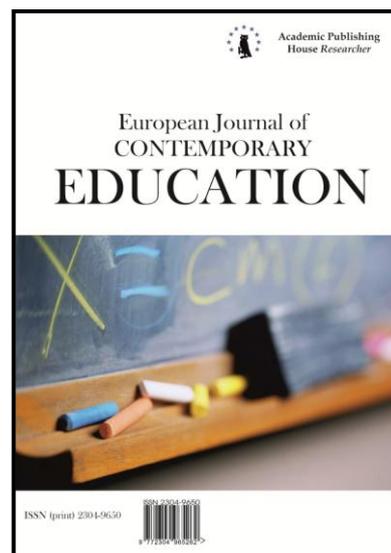
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## Higher and Secondary Education of the Don Cossacks in the Context of the Epoch: the Time of the Great Reforms

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### Abstract

The article is devoted to the peculiarities of higher and secondary education of the Don Cossacks in 1850–1860 and the influence of these peculiarities on the public discussion between the "progressists" and "Cossack men". The author shows that a significant part of the educated Cossacks, including those of non-noble origin, studied outside the Don Host Land, using special openings for the Don natives in higher and secondary educational institutions, that were covered by public and state. The openings in Kharkov University were of particular importance. Its graduates were the pioneers of the Don journalism and founded the first scientific institution in the Don region, the Novocherkassk Statistical Committee. The author also criticizes the opinion, according to which poorly educated people prevailed among the "Cossack men" (supporters of preserving the traditional Cossack way of living) in the 1860's. He shows that the general level of education wasn't the determining factor, but the place of studying.

**Keywords:** The Don Host Land, Don Cossacks, Don intelligentsia, Kharkov University, Novocherkassk Gymnasium.

### 1. Introduction

The history of education in the Don region in the XIX century has recently drawn the attention of researchers. It is necessary to highlight the articles by A.N. Karpenko and N.V. Donskova, dedicated to this topic (Karpenko, 2006; Donskova, 2011). Unfortunately, it is difficult to consider the works of these authors successful to the full extent. Their attempt to have a look at the history of the education in the Don region in general, "from a bird's eye view" in practice led them to uncritically interpret popular information and make factual errors in some cases.

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In particular, N.V. Donskova positions the Novocherkassk Gymnasium as a place of studies for only the "elites of the Don society", almost inaccessible to broad segments of the Cossacks (Donskova, 2011). However, according to N.I. Krasnov, who taught at the gymnasium in the early 1860's, only 143 students were children of hereditary noblemen who belonged to the Don elite, 232 children were from the chief officers' families and 123 were children of the ordinary Cossacks (Krasnov, 1863: 400). A.N. Karpenko states that in the Don region one student was accounted for 42,240 peasants (Karpenko, 2008: 24). Obviously, he didn't quite correctly understand the work of the above-mentioned Don statistician N.I. Krasnov, in which he refers only to serfs (Krasnov, 1863: 401-403). In addition, both A.N. Karpenko, and N.V. Donskova almost didn't associate the development of the Don education with other processes taking place in the Don region.

A fundamentally different approach to the study of the history of the education in the Don region was introduced by M.N. Bukhtiyarov in his thesis and articles on the birth of the Don intelligentsia (Bukhtiyarov, 2010; Bukhtiyarov, 2008). The contemporary historian considers the education in the Don region as a "channel for the formation of the Don Cossack intelligentsia", considering not only educational institutions in the Don region to be of fundamental importance but also the results of their activities.

It seems to us that the significance of the education received by the Cossacks was even more important for the history of the Don Host Land than the notions suggested by M.N. Bukhtiyarov. N.I. Krasnov linked the political likes and dislikes of the Don public activists of the early 1860s with the place of their education (Krasnov, 1863: 231). Later Don historian V.N. Korolyov proposed the studies in higher educational institutions to be the most important factor determining the political views of many Don Cossacks of this era (Korolyov, 1991: 229). In our article, we will try to understand if these statements corresponded with reality and what impact the educational system in the Don region in the middle of the 19th century had on the hot public debate on the future of the Don Cossacks in the early 1860s.

## **2. Materials and methods**

The most important source of the basic statistical data on the system of the Don education in 1850–1860 is N.I. Krasnov's book "Materials for geography and statistics of Russia, collected by the officers of the General Headquarters. The "Don Host Land" (Krasnov, 1863). However, this work is not limited by its statistical value: N.I. Krasnov included his personal observations and in some cases they radically change the impression from the official figures (Krasnov, 1863: 399). The collection of "People of Don in the XIX century" will also be of a fundamental importance for us (People of Don, 2003). Among other things, it contains biographies of the Don public figures of 1860s. On the basis of these two books, we will try to establish, firstly, what secondary and higher educational institutions were the most popular among the Don Cossacks, and secondly, what kind of education the certain participants in public discussions on the future of the Don Cossacks in the early 1860s got. We will analyze these discussions according to the testimonies of their participants we have nowadays (Karasyov, 1896; H.P., 1863), and according to the articles of the contemporary historian A.A. Volvenko (Volvenko, 2015b; Volvenko, 2015c; Volvenko, 2015d). In addition, during the archival search in the State Archives of the Rostov Region, we found the documents clarifying the role of I.P. Pryanishnikov (graduate of Kharkov University and the editor of the "Donskie voyskovye vedomosti") in the public life of the Don region in the early 1860's (GARO. F. 55. Op. 1. D. 70).

In order to form an integral picture from these heterogeneous and sometimes contradictory sources, we will apply the historical-system method. In order to reveal the relationship between the education level of the Don region public figures and the position they occupied, we will have to apply historical-comparative and historical-biographical methods. We will not even make an attempt to characterize all the aspects of higher and secondary education of the Don Cossacks during the period of 1850–1860 in detail (in our opinion, this would require a full-fledged monographic study), but we hope that we have succeeded in identifying several important trends that historians have not previously drawn their attention to.

## **3. Discussion**

In 1861 on the territory of the Don Host Land there was only one secondary school for boys: the Novocherkassk gymnasium with 532 students (Krasnov, 1863: 398-400). There were no other

full-fledged secondary educational institutions, even military ones. It was assumed that this would not cause any difficulties if students of the gymnasium were not going to enter universities they had to study law or military science instead of Latin. And immediately on the graduation, if they received a good (4) average score in all subjects, they obtained their first rank (Krasnov, 1863: 399). However, in reality this system did not work: according to N.I. Krasnov, the “weak” students usually refused to study Latin in favor of practical sciences, and they obtained a sufficient average score for reaching their first personnel rank in one or two or even in three years (Krasnov, 1863: 399). Thus, the modern historiography statement that the Novocherkassk gymnasium gave its students a full military education (Donskova, 2011) should be considered a clear exaggeration. The work of the gymnasium had some other complaints. For example, while the circulars of the Ministry of Education forbade having more than 40 pupils in the classroom, there were 59 and 58 pupils in parallel first grades, in the parallel second – 56 and 44, and in the only fifth grade – 65 in Novocherkassk gymnasium in 1863. The management of the gymnasium was extremely cautious about opening new classes, since this required additional expenses for new teachers and new premises (Artinsky, 1907: 198-199). Things were even worse with the library and specialized rooms: in 1864 it turned out that a part of the gymnasium books was stolen, and the collection of minerals was in a complete disarray (some of the minerals were not systematized at all, and some were systematized incorrectly) (Artinsky, 1907: 202). Finally, the teaching of a number of subjects was purely formal: thus, the teachers of the Russian language did not select texts for their dictations, and one of them admitted that he dictates “something” at his lessons (Artinsky, 1907: 193-194).

It is not surprising, that in such a situation some representatives of the local elite preferred to send their children to study outside the Don Host Land. In some families, this has turned into some kind of a tradition that was passed down from generation to generation: the father of the mentioned N.I. Krasnov, Lieutenant-General I.I. Krasnov, studied at a boarding school at Kharkov University and his brother, S.I. Krasnov, studied in a similar institution at Moscow University (Korolyov, 1991: 211, 244). N.I. Krasnov graduated from the 1<sup>st</sup> Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg (People of Don, 2003: 247), and another son of I.I. Krasnov, M.I. Krasnov, became the first Don Cossack who graduated from the Law School (along with G.Z. Zhogolev) (Korolyov, 1991: 249). N.I. Krasnov’s children studied in the 1<sup>st</sup> classical gymnasium of St. Petersburg (Korolyov, 1991: 251). Thus, the representatives of the Krasnov family received secondary education in the capitals more often than in the Don region in the XIX century. In other families, children who have already started to study at the Novocherkassk gymnasium were transferred to more prestigious educational institutions. For example, A.P. Chebotarev, an assistant in the Military Ministry irregular troops department, was transferred to a boarding school at Kharkov University (People of Don, 2003: 504) and the writer A.N. Pivovarov – to the Mining Cadet Corps of St. Petersburg (People of Don, 2003: 358).

#### **4. Result**

The Mikhaylovsky Cadet Corps of Voronezh became a more accessible alternative to the Kharkov, Moscow and St. Petersburg educational institutions for the Cossacks’ children in the 1840’s. It is interesting to note that during the preparation for the establishment of this educational institution in 1836, the Don Ataman M.G. Vlasov appealed to the Emperor Nicholas I with a petition to allow “to enroll the children of the Don nobility in the cadet corps established in the city of Voronezh” promising to share the cost of its establishment with the Voronezh nobility (Krasnov, 1863: 405-406). The petition was granted (Krasnov, 1863: 405-406). Moreover, the military commanders, seeing the need to increase the number of educated officers, and realizing that the Novocherkassk Gymnasium does not cope with this task, gradually introduced the Cossacks payment system in military schools outside the Don Host Land. In the beginning of 1860’s, 50 Cossack cadets studied at the expense of the host, 12 – at the expense of the state treasury, 9 – at the expense of the sums donated by the host and nobles to the Voronezh Mihailovsky Cadet Corps, and 2 – at the expense of the sums donated by nobles and the host for the “boarders of Prince Chernyshyov” (Krasnov, 1863: 404). Thus, 73 Cossacks studied at the public and state’s expenses in the cadet corps and one Cossack in two or three years received a full-fledged secondary military education in the Novocherkassk Gymnasium with a first time-rank. The situation was similar in the field of higher education. The authorities tried to compensate the lack of higher

educational institutions in the Don region by providing a certain number of openings in universities and institutes outside the Don Host Land for the natives. As a result, the Don Cossacks often received higher education in the University of Kharkov, in which 30 people were to study at the expense of the host in the beginning of 1860 (Krasnov, 1863: 405). Despite the imperfections of the system, by the beginning of 1860, among the Don intelligentsia there were graduate people, who participated in the university life, who could not help contributing to the intellectual development of the province. It is difficult, for example, to overestimate the role that they played in the development of the Don periodical press. Thus, A.A. Karasyov, who studied at the Faculty of Law of Kharkov University in the 1850's, became the editor of the first private Don newspaper "Donskoy vestnik" in 1866 (People of Don, 2003: 191). V.D. Sukhorukov's work "The Historical Description of the Don Host Land "(important for the historiography of the Don Cossacks) was published in this newspaper (although only partially) by the initiative of A.A. Karasyov (GARO. F. 353. Op. 1. D. 1. L. 242). I.P. Pryanishnikov graduated from the same faculty in 1859, and in 1861–1864 he was the editor of the "Donskie voyskovye vedomosti" (People of Don, 2003: 419). According to the contemporary historian A.A. Volvenko, it was I.P. Pryanishnikov who managed to turn a boring, semi-official newspaper into a platform for discussions on the most important issues for the Cossacks. Only in the first year of his editorial work the number of subscribers increased from 207 to 1600 (Volvenko, 2015c: 96-97)! In addition, I.P. Pryanishnikov was the author of the first collection of documents on the Don region history (Pryanishnikov, 1864). Graduates of Kharkov University in 1850 founded the first scientific organization in the Donregion, having managed to improve the work of the Novocherkassk Statistical Committee. This happened in 1865–1875, when A.M. Saveliev, who graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology was the Secretary of the Committee. Under his administration the committee began publishing its own publications: regional memorable books, collections of scientific articles and lists of inhabited places (People of Don, 2003: 431). S.F. Nomikosov, who graduated from the Physics and Mathematics Faculty of Kharkov University with a silver medal in 1859, was the Secretary of the Committee in 1875–1886. Nomikosov personally edited the materials of the first Don census of 1873 (People of Don, 2003: 341) and wrote one of the most famous works on the Don statistics of the XIX century, "Statistical Description of the Don Host Land" (Nomikosov, 1884).

Various kinds of special educational institutions were the most popular alternative to Kharkov University for the Cossacks, who wanted to obtain higher education until 1860. Six openings in the Medical-surgical Academy and the Mining Institute, as well as 3 openings in the Konstantinovsky Land Surveying Institute were covered by the Treasury (Krasnov, 1863: 404-405). At the same time, not all the Cossacks entered the higher educational institutions with special permanent openings offered for them. For example, N.I. Krasnov, the author of the first published historical and statistical description of the Don Host Land (Krasnov, 1863), graduated from the Nikolaev Academy of the General Headquarters in 1858 (Glinoyetsky, 1882: 95).

In total, 159 openings in higher and secondary special educational institutions outside the Don Host Land were covered by the State in the beginning of 1860 (Krasnov, 1863: 405). The table below shows the openings' demand rate.

**Table 1.** Openings for the Cossacks in educational institutions outside the Don Host Land in 1860

Name of the institution	Number of openings	Number of taken openings (noblemen (including children of chief officers) + Cossacks)	The amount of money per each student
Cadet Corps	73	73+0	200 rubles.
Law School	3	3+0	450 rubles.
Mikhailovskoe Artillery School	8	1+0	Unknown
Commercial schools	10	0+10	300 rub. (In St. Petersburg) /250 rubles. (In Moscow)

Medical-Surgical Academy	6	0+6	300 rubles.
Building School of Railways Management	2	2+0	300 rubles.
Mining Institute	6	6+0	350 rubles.
Mining Technical School	6	0+6	180 rubles. 95 kopecks.
Konstantinovsky Land Surveying Institute	3	0+3	350 rubles.
Kharkov University	30	10+10	175 rubles.
The class of the Don sergeants in St. Petersburg	12	12+0	100 rubles.
Total	159	107+35=142	

Source: Krasnov N. I. Materials for geography and statistics of Russia, collected by the officers of the General Headquarters. Don Host Land. pp. 402-405.

Thus, all openings were in demand, except in the Mikhailovskoe Artillery School and Kharkov University. In our opinion, the lesser attractiveness of these educational institutions was due to the lack of favorable prospects for their graduates. As we have shown in one of our previous works, the service in the Don Artillery was considered a disadvantageous occupation in the 1860's. Artillery officers received equal salaries with the cavalymen but had many more responsibilities, and the shortage of artillery officers exceeded 50 % by 1870. In this situation, the class of Don Sergeants was fully recruited only due to the serious simplification of the entrance exams in comparison with the classes of regular artillerymen (Peretyatko, 2016: 109-116). There was no specialized Cossack class in the Mikhailovskoe Artillery School, and there were almost no Cossacks willing to enter it and to be able to do so on a general basis.

The situation wasn't much better for the Cossacks who graduated from the University. The specific conditions in the Don region in 1850's almost did not give obvious advantages to the people with a fundamental education. For example, another graduate of the Faculty of Law of Kharkov University, the future author of a number of books on Don's history, M.Kh. Senyutkin had to start his career as a clerk in the military administration (People of Don, 2003: 439). A.A. Karasyov, the regional leader of the nobility in 1892–1901 and M.S. Markov, the student of the Faculty of Law of Kharkov University in 1850, were sent to military service after returning to the Don region (People of Don, 2003: 192, 301). At that time the Novocherkassk Statistical Committee existed only on paper: its members, apparently, never held meetings during the period of 1843–1860, (there are no existing protocols) (Popov, 1901: 7). As a result, people with a university degree who did not want to serve as petty officials or to dedicate their entire lives to the military service, had to be employed in educational institutions, primarily in the Novocherkassk gymnasium. The future secretaries of the Don Regional Statistical Committee, A.M. Saveliev and S.F. Nomikosov, taught there after their return to the Don region in the late 1850's., as well as I.P. Pryanishnikov, the future editor of the “Donskie Voyskovye vedomosti” (People of Don, 2003: 340, 419, 431). But the salaries of gymnasium teachers were meager, and far from covering their needs (Artyunsky, 1907: 187). It's no surprise that under such circumstances, quite a few Cossack openings in Kharkov University were not filled completely at the beginning of 1860. This was facilitated by a skeptical attitude towards university education among some representatives of the Don elite: in particular, the father of S.F. Nomikosov, F.M. Nomikosov, a nobleman and Don Colonel, was against his son's admission to the university and required him to serve in the military (People of Don, 2003: 339-340).

Our table also shows that the education in the Don region had a rather peculiar class distribution. It represents that the openings for studies outside the Don Host Land were taken only by the children of noblemen and Cossacks. Peasant children usually did not get education at all: according to N.I. Krasnov, despite the fact that the total number of peasants on the territory of the Don Host Land was approximately 300,000 people, there were only 52 children of peasants enlisted in the primary schools (Krasnov, 1863: 401-403). The situation with the clergy was somewhat more complicated. In the 1850's there were two religious schools in the Don region with

the total number of 375 students, exclusively children of the priests (Krasnov, 1863: 402). However, according to the church authorities, another 1,408 children from the Don region studied in other "free religious schools", obviously outside the Don Host Land (Krasnov, 1863: 402-403). All the students were from the clergy families: it was forbidden for ordinary Cossacks' children to enter theological schools (GARO. F. 55. Op. 1. D. 240. L. 9). Generally, the children of the priests usually preferred a religious career: only 92 students from the Don clergy received a secular education in 1859 (Krasnov, 1863: 403). As a result, the number of clergy in the Don region increased sharply in the 1860's in comparison with the previous decades. In 1835 the imperial authorities allowed the non-resident priests to serve in counties due to the lack of clergymen from the Cossacks, but at the beginning of 1860's Khopersky and Novocherkassk district authorities demanded to repeal this law. They stated that the number of Cossack priests became redundant, and the diocesan authorities would be forced to create artificial positions for them, if the vacancies occupied by the non-Cossack clergy were not open (GARO. F. 55. Op. 1. D. 70. L. 3-4; GARO. F. 55. Op. 1. D. 240. L. 21-23). Thus, peasant children in the Don region usually did not have the opportunity to prepare for admission to secondary schools and the children of priests usually preferred to receive education in theological schools, often located outside the Don Host Land. This trend can be proved by the following table, which reflects the chances of different classes' representatives to receive secular education within the Don Host Land in the late 1860's.

**Table 2.** Distribution of people received secular education in the territory of the Don Host Land according to their social estate in the early 1860's

Class	Total number (1857)	Number of children studying in secular primary educational institutions within the Don Host Land and in the Novocherkassk Gymnasium (1859)	In the Novocherkassk gymnasium (1859)
The nobles (including the children of the chief officers)	12 474	688	375
Clergy	5 949	92	15
Merchants and tradesmen	Permanent residence was forbidden	61	17
Cossacks	569 675	1 253	123
Peasants	287 179	52	-
People of different ranks	4 280	2	2

Source: Krasnov N.I. Materials for geography and statistics of Russia, collected by the officers of the General Headquarters. Don Host Land. pp. 215, 400-401.

As we can see, the nobility and the Cossacks were absolutely dominant among the people who received secular education within the Don Host Land at the end of 1850s. At the same time, both in the Novocherkassk Gymnasium, and in the general number of occupied openings for studies in the capital and neighboring provinces, there was only one common Cossack per three noblemen. But this general ratio strongly fluctuated depending on the specific specialty: only noblemen attended the training in military educational institutions and ordinary Cossacks chose medical and commercial education. As a result, the only educational institution outside the Don Host Land, with both noblemen and ordinary Cossack students was Kharkov University, wherein the proportion of members of these two groups was about the same. It should be noted that an ordinary Cossack with a gymnasium or even university degree was common for the Don region in 1850–1860's. In particular, the graduate of Kharkov University I.P. Pryanishnikov was the son of an ordinary Cossack (People of Don, 2003: 419). The famous Don statisticians I.V. Timoshenkov and F.K. Trailin, who graduated from the Teachers training faculty of the Novocherkassk

Gymnasium, were the natives of the villages (Mininkov, 2016: 10-17). This was also facilitated by the fact that education in the Novocherkassk High Gymnasium was free until 1861, and students from poor families received free education after 1861 (Artyunsky, 1907: 187). Some openings at Kharkov University were reserved only for "the children of the host Cossacks, without distinction of their origin, mostly poor" (Artyunsky, 1907: 196). We have to admit that secondary and higher education in the Don region was equally open for both representatives of the local elite and for ordinary Cossacks.

However, a relatively small number of ordinary Cossacks received education due to the insufficient number of places in the secular educational institutions. However, the official statistics should not mislead us. We will quote a line from the memoirs of V.D. Novitsky, who was the Don Ataman M.I. Chertkov's special assignments official. "Do not imagine, dear reader, that the Don Cossacks in the seventies were savages, uneducated and eating dead horse meat, as they were portrayed by the Russian people, unfamiliar with the Don region. The Cossacks seemed unusually individually-developed people, highly intelligent, adroit and literate. In our investigation, we had to question more than ten people as witnesses, the census deputies and all of them were 70 years old and more. All of them were literate and wrote their testimonies by themselves. The literacy in the Don Host developed by itself and existed even when the Ministry of Education's public spread of literacy spread was in its' 'cradle' (Novitsky, 1991: 59).

Indeed, among the public figures, historians and statisticians of the Don region in 1860's, along with people with higher and secondary education there were also those who did not get proper school and university education. For example, H.I. Popov, perhaps the most famous Don local historian, was taught by his grandfather, a well-off, literate and intelligent ordinary Cossack (People of Don, 2003: 408). One of the most prominent supporters of the preservation of the Cossack class privileges in 1860's, I.P. Ulyanov, was also born in a simple family (his father became an officer after the birth of his son), in his childhood he spent more time working in the fields than at school. He learned to read and write in the Ust-Medveditsky District School, but this did not prevent him from attaining the rank of Major-General and becoming a well-known researcher of the past and the present of the Don region (People of Don, 2003: 480-482).

As a result, a fairly small but socially active layer of intellectuals formed in the Don region by 1860's. The majority were the people who received a full-fledged higher or secondary secular education. In this context, we can refer to the most popular authors of the "Donskie Voyskovye Vedomosti" of the period when they were edited by I.P. Pryanishnikov. According to A.A. Volvenko, the articles by A.A. Leonov were the most published in this newspaper in 1861-1864 (Volvenko, 2015c: 97). Although A.A. Leonov belonged to the number of Don public figures of the older generation, he graduated from Kharkov University in 1830 (Volvenko, 2015d: 196). The Don newspaper that gained sudden popularity published the works of the young authors, who debuted on its pages during the editorial period of I.P. Pryanishnikov: the mentioned above graduate of Kharkov University A.A. Karasyov and the graduate of the Academy of the General Headquarters N.I. Krasnov (Volvenko, 2015c: 97). Thus, in the first half of the 1860's, the editor of the "Donskie Voyskovye Vedomosti" and its' most published authors got higher education outside the Don Host Land.

The close connection of the majority of representatives of the Don intelligentsia with the simple Cossacks, on the one hand, and the proximity of some people from the Don region to the capital society, on the other, have become, in our opinion, one of the reasons for the first full-fledged public discussion in the Don region, the discussion of the oppositioning conservative "Cossack men" and the pro-government liberal "progressists". One of the first researchers of the Don region social movement of 1860's, V.N. Korolyov drew attention to the fact that the representatives of the simple Cossacks and the small nobility prevailed among the "Cossack men" (the difference between them (for example, in the case of I.S. Ulyanov) was almost not noticeable). The highest Don elite, especially the rich and authoritative Krasnovs dominated among the "progressists" (Korolyov, 1991: 229). We disagree with V.N. Korolyov's conclusion that the members of the "Cossack men party" were unfamiliar with the Russian society, and people who got higher education outside the Don Host Land usually supported the "progressists" (Korolyov, 1991: 229).

We quote a line from the article by A.A. Karasyov, characterizing the situation in the Don region in the early 1860's. «It was asserted that there is a government project, according to which the class of the so-called civilian Cossacks is formed in the Don region, and they will not be in the

compulsory military service as long, as it has been so far. The strong and numerous party of "Cossack men", including many members of the local aristocrats and the intelligentsia, arose quite noticeably, and carried away the whole society, except for very few opponents. <...>. About simple Cossacks, the inhabitants of villages and farms, there is nothing much to say: there are no words, contrary to the general mood that can be said and which will not cause the accusation of betraying the legends of the ancestors and the country's benefits" (Karasyov, 1896: 570). Indeed, the intellectuals, people with higher education, not only often quite shared "Cossack men"'s points of view, but also acted as public leaders for the ordinary Cossacks.

For example, during the preparation of the new Regulations on the Don Host in the early 1860's, it was decided to turn to the representatives of the stanitsas and the graduate of Kharkov University, I.P. Pryanishnikov was elected the deputy from Novocherkassk. At the same time, he drafted a "Cossack men" document, introducing a number of fundamental changes to the initial government draft of the Regulations (People of Don, 2003: 420). The archival materials research showed that the text of this document was very close to the Novocherkassk District deputies' final review of this government project, and, obviously, it formed its basis (GARO. F. 55. Op. 1. D. 70. L. 1-10). Thus, the deputies from other villages supported the ideas, originally formulated by a person with a higher education, who studied for several years outside the Don Host Land and who was familiar with the Russian society, but still remained a convinced "Cossack man". It is interesting to note that the draft of the Novocherkassk District deputies' recall to the government project is currently kept in the fund of H.I. Popov in the GARO (GARO. F. 55. Op. 1. D. 70). H.I. Popov also participated in the discussion on the new Regulations, not only presenting the Preobrazhenskaya village, but also editing the proposals of the Khopersky district deputies (People of Don, 2003: 409). The materials for the preparation of these proposals, which were mostly of the "Cossack men" character, are also kept in the fund of H.I. Popov (GARO. F. 55. Op. 1. D. 240). Let's pay attention to the fact that H.I. Popov collaborated with the "Donskie Voyskovye Vedomosti" quite regularly when I.P. Pryanishnikov was the editor. (Volvenko, 2015c: 97). There he published a programmatic "Cossack man" article "Cossack's thoughts on the Cossacks over the contemporary rumors" (H.P., 1863: 2-3). Given the extremely small number of the Don intelligentsia, we can confidently talk about the existence of a certain contact between I.P. Pryanishnikov and H.I. Popov. They didn't only defend the "Cossack men's" ideas in the press, but also acted as the initiators of the "Cossack men's" criticism on the governmental draft of the Regulations on the administration of the Don Host.

Unfortunately, the question on the role that the specific individuals played in the preparation of the new Regulations was considered neither by the historian of "Cossack men" A.A. Volvenko (Volvenko, 2014: 12-20), nor by the researcher of the activities of the Don Codification Committee (the office for the new Regulations) R.G. Tikidjyan (Tikidjyan, 2014: 95-98). Therefore, we can not yet say what role other representatives of the Don intelligentsia played in the district deputies' environment, including those who received secondary and higher education. However, it can be confidently asserted that the "Cossack men" ideas were widely disseminated in the periodical press, and as a result, the Imperial authorities even demanded "to stop publishing articles in which the government orders and the actions of officials are being disassembled" in the Don region (Volvenko, 2015d: 200). The most important newspaper to publish the "Cossack men"'s ideas was, of course, the "Donskie Voyskovye Vedomosti", edited by their "party member" I.P. Pryanishnikov. In particular, A.A. Karasyov whose works were regularly published on the pages of this edition, sympathized for the "Cossack men ideas" (Volvenko, 2015d: 203). He could not be accused for not knowing the Russian society: during his studies in Kharkov, the future Don writer even collaborated with the local theater, he wrote a patriotic play that was later performed on its stage (People of Don, 2003: 190-191). A.A. Karasyov was also accused of the fact that he participated in the creation of the handwritten newspaper "Budilnik" in the early 1860's, that openly propagandized "Cossack men" views. Although A. A. Karasyov rejected this accusation, he mentioned this newspaper in his later articles, demonstrating a certain familiarity with its' confidential information. The Don region author linked the publication of "Budilnik" with A.A. Korsun, another graduate of the law faculty of Kharkov University from the older generation, who served for a long time in the Caucasus (Volvenko, 2015c: 95).

It should be stated that V. N. Korolyov's thesis on the comparative lack of education of the "Cossack men" and their lack of knowledge about Russian society has nothing to do with reality.

The representatives of the Don intelligentsia (many of them, like A.A. Karasyov, A.A. Korsun and I.P. Pryanishnikov had a higher education) were the core of the "Cossack men". It is true that people like H.I. Popov and I.S. Ulyanov sided with the "Cossack men" and they did not finish school, but it is difficult to consider these authoritative researchers of the Don region as people who are not well-educated or unfamiliar with the Russian lifestyle. If we are to associate their social position with their education, we should pay attention to another detail: both A.A. Karasyov and I.P. Pryanishnikov finished the Novocherkassk Gymnasium and both of them left the Don Host Land to study at the University in their adulthood ([People of Don, 2003: 190, 419](#)). H.I. Popov and I.S. Ulyanov received their education in their native villages ([People of Don, 2003: 408, 480-482](#)). In our opinion, all these authors formed their individuality in the Don region, and believed themselves to be primarily Cossacks, and secondly Russian. In particular, H.I. Popov emphasized that "the history, the way of life of our ancestors developed a lot that other Russian classes do not have" and insisted on the Cossacks' right to defend their privileges, "acquired by our ancestors, at the high price of ... blood" ([Kh. P., 1863: 2-3](#)). Although other supporters of the "Cossack men" ideas did not make such frank statements, their texts are characterized by the idea of a certain primacy of the interests of the Don Host and the Cossacks over the interests of other social groups and state institutions. For example, the deputies from the Novocherkassk district (including I.P. Pryanishnikov) demanded to remove article 77 from the draft of the Regulations of the Don Host that allowed the non-residents to settle on the territory of the Don Host Land, stating this to be the desire of the Cossacks ([GARO. F. 55. Op. 1. D. L. 40b-5](#)). A.A. Leonov stated that the right to decide whether to accept a particular person into the Cossacks or not, historically belongs only to the Don Host, and this order should continue to exist ([Volvenko, 2015d: 197](#)).

It was this preference of the interests of the Don over the interests of Russia that caused a sharply negative reaction of the "progressists". N.I. Krasnov, a supporter of their "party", proving the wrongness of their opponents, wrote: "One must not be unaware that the rights and privileges of the Don population do not bring any *general benefits* (the cursive is ours – A.P., T.Z.)" ([Krasnov, 1863: 232](#)). His father, A.I. Krasnov, who shared this point of view, wrote in his programmatic article "On the National Character in the Don Host" that "the Cossack service is needed for the whole Russia and not only for the Don Host" ([Krasnov, 1862: 348](#)). Moreover, at the end of his text the Cossack general asserted that Don represents an integral part of Russia, populated by Russians, and there is no sense "to keep it apart, to block all the ways and separate it from homeland" ([Krasnov, 1862: 355](#)). Thus, the Russian self-identification prevailed over the local Cossack way among the "progressists" (unlike the "Cossack men") and they certainly placed the interests of Russia above the interests of the Don Host and the Cossack class. N.I. Krasnov associated this with the "progressist" education: according to him, those Cossacks, who studied not only outside the Don Host Land, but in Moscow and St. Petersburg were mostly sympathetic to the "progressist" ideas ([Krasnov, 1863: 231](#)). Thus, the split in the Don intelligentsia based on the educational principle in 1860's did not occur as V.N. Korolyov suspected. People with higher education played an active role in both the "progressist" and "Cossack men" camps, but the graduates of "democratic" Kharkov University prevailed among the "Cossack men", while the "progressist" ideas were supported by the graduates of more prestigious higher education institutions located in the capital cities (for the Cossack elite students). In particular, M.I. Krasnov (who graduated from the Imperial School of Law as we mentioned above) and N.I. Krasnov (graduate of the Academy of the General Headquarters) were the active "progressists" ([Volvenko, 2015c: 100-104](#)).

We would like to pay attention to another fact. At the beginning of this article, we stated that in the 19th century it became a tradition in the Krasnov family to send their children to study outside the Don Host Land to obtain secondary education. We also noted that A.P. Chebotaryov, who later defended the interests of the "progressists" in the Military Ministry ([Volvenko, 2015a: 106-114](#)), got his secondary education at the boarding school at Kharkov University. Thus, these "progressists" were formed as individuals in Russian Gymnasiums, Cadet Corps and boarding schools, surrounded by non-Cossack background children and teachers. It is not surprising that the interests of the Don Host were as valuable to them as for the "Cossack men". They didn't follow the conservative trend that was popular in the Don society of 1860's, but the liberal-reformist trend, applicable to the Russian society as a whole. And not only the "Cossack men", but also some later Don historians of the conservative direction, accused the capital part of the local elite of the oblivion of the true interests of the Don Host ([Savelyev, 1917: 41-42](#)).

## 5. Conclusion

It should be noted that the system of education of the Don Cossacks in the 1850–1860's had a number of very specific features. First of all, it included educational institutions both within the Don Host Land and far beyond its borders: special openings were reserved in colleges and universities in Kharkov, Moscow and St. Petersburg for the Don natives. Since there were no military schools on the Don, and only several officers finished the Novocherkassk Gymnasium, the Mihailovsky Cadet Corps of Voronezh became the basic military school for the Don Cossacks, initiated by the Ataman M.G. Vlasov. The number of Cossacks who received education in other provinces was quite significant: at the beginning of 1860's, there were 532 students in the Novocherkassk Gymnasium and 142 students were receiving secondary and higher education in the institutions outside the Host Land at the state expense. Kharkov University played the greatest role in the history of the Don region. The university graduates were at the forefront of journalism on the Don, their work advanced the Don Regional Statistical Committee to become a scientific institution, and the former students of this university I.P. Pryanishnikov, A.A. Karasyov, A.A. Korsun and A.A. Leonov were among the participants in the public discussions of the early 1860's. Thus, despite the lack of higher educational institutions in the Don region, people with a university degree played a significant role among the local intelligentsia.

Many ordinary Cossacks were among these men. Education in the Don region was based on the class division: it was difficult for the children of peasants to get education, the children of the priests usually preferred to enter theological schools and the Cossack noblemen had more chances to send their children to secondary and higher educational institutions than for the majority of the Cossacks. However, nobles usually preferred military service, and due to this some civil departments openings, even in higher educational institutions, were occupied by ordinary Cossacks. In Kharkov University, the ratio of children of noblemen and common village people was 1 to 1 in the early 1860's. In fact, taking into account the free education in the Novocherkassk Gymnasium and the existence of state-paid vacancies in higher educational institutions, education for ordinary Cossacks was more a matter of desire than material opportunity or their class status.

As a result there was a close connection between the Cossack intelligentsia and the bulk of the Cossack class. In the early 1860's the majority of the Don society was in opposition to the government reforms, supporting the so-called "Cossack men" ideas. It was the representatives of the Don intelligentsia who led the ordinary Cossacks. In particular, I.P. Pryanishnikov was elected a deputy from Novocherkassk during the discussion on the new Regulations on the Don Host, and the document he compiled formed the basis for the program of all the deputies of the Novocherkassk District. In the Khopersky District, a similar role was played by H.I. Popov, although he did not have a higher education. He was ideologically close to I.P. Pryanishnikov and published his ideas on the pages of "The Donskie Voyskovye Vedomosti", edited by the latter.

However, the Cossack majority was supported mainly by that part of the intelligentsia who received secondary education in the Don region. The core of the party of their ideological opponents, the "progressists", were the Krasnovs', with a tradition to send their children to study in St. Petersburg, Moscow or Kharkov. The "Progressists" blamed the "Cossack men" for preferring the Don interests over the interests of the whole of Russia, and argued that the privileges of the Don Cossacks should be abolished if they do not bring any general benefit. It is easy to trace the influence of their Russian education with the lack of the Don regional specificity. Thus, the very system of education of the Don Cossacks indirectly prepared the discussion of the "progressists" and "Cossack men", and thus had a significant impact on the social life of the Don region.

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