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**Ivan ZULYAK**

*PhD hab. (History), Professor of the Department of History of Ukraine, Archeology and Special Branches of Historical Science, Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, 2 M. Kryvonosa Street, Ternopil, Ukraine, postal code 46027 (ivanzuljak@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-3758-2019

**Vasyl KOVBASA**

*Postgraduate Student at the Department of History of Ukraine, Archeology and Special Branches of Historical Science, Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, 2 M. Kryvonosa Street, Ternopil, Ukraine, postal code 46027 (vasylkovbasa@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-1511-0707

**Іван ЗУЛЯК**

*доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри історії України, археології та спеціальних галузей історичної науки Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка, вул. М. Кривоноса, 2, Тернопіль, Україна, індекс 46027 (ivanzuljak@gmail.com)*

**Василь КОВБАСА**

*аспірант кафедри історії України, археології та спеціальних галузей історичних наук Тернопільського національного педагогічного університету імені Володимира Гнатюка, вул. Максима Кривоноса, 2, м. Тернопіль, Україна, індекс 46027 (vasylkovbasa@gmail.com)*

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**EDUCATION ISSUE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE RUSSIAN  
OCCUPATION OF EASTERN GALICIA AND NORTHERN BUKOVYNA  
(1914 – 1917)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study is to analyze and characterize formation and organization principles of educational policy of the Russian occupation authorities in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I. The research methodology is based on general principles of historical knowledge, which in its turn is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, reliance on historical sources. Both general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization, method of analogies), special and historical (historiographic, historical and genetic, historical periodization, retrospective) methods have been used in the research. The scientific novelty consists in characteristics of formation process and elucidation of general trends of the Russian educational system introduction in the occupied territories during the period under analysis. Scientific publications and archival documents that supplement historical knowledge of the outlined issues have been introduced into a wider historiographical context by analyzing the main components of*

the Russian authorities policy in the field of education. **The Conclusion.** It has been elucidated in detail that the education issue was one of the constituent parts of Russification and the struggle of the Russian authorities against the Ukrainian national movement. It has been determined that the presence of official Ukrainian school in the Austro-Hungarian Empire complicated the fight against "Ukrainian separatism" in the Russian Empire. The Russian occupation would make it possible to destroy the nucleus of the Ukrainian national movement hostile to Russia and to establish the Russian national identity in the occupied lands. It has been found out that the use of the education issue to strengthen the Russian occupation power in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during the period of 1914 – 1917 led to the opposite of expected results mostly. Politicization and unreasoned actions of the Russian officials, as well as persecution of the local intellectual elite, not only did not increase the number of supporters of Russia, but also discredited it seriously.

**Keywords:** World War I, Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovyna, Russia, Austro-Hungary, occupation, education, repressions.

### СТАНОВИЩЕ ОСВІТИ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ СХІДНОЇ ГАЛИЧИНИ ТА ПІВНІЧНОЇ БУКОВИНИ (1914 – 1917 рр.)

**Анотація.** Мета дослідження – полягає в аналізі та характеристиці принципів формування й організації освітньої політики російської окупаційної влади у Східній Галичині та Північній Буковині під час Першої світової війни. **Методологія дослідження** базується на загальних засадах історичного пізнання, що ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, опори на історичні джерела. У процесі дослідження використано як загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення, метод аналогій), так і спеціально-історичні (історіографічний, історико-генетичний, історичної періодизації, ретроспективний) методи. **Наукова новизна** полягає у характеристиці процесу становлення та розкритті загальних тенденцій впровадження російської освітньої системи на окупованих територіях окресленого періоду. Через визначення основних складових організації політики російської влади у сфері освіти введено до ширшого історіографічного контексту наукові публікації і архівні документи, які доповнюють історичні знання з окресленої проблематики. **Висновки.** Докладно показано, що питання освіти було однією зі складових частин русифікації та боротьби російської влади проти українського національного руху. Визначено, що наявність офіційної української школи в Австро-Угорській імперії ускладнювала боротьбу із "українським сепаратизмом" в Російській імперії. Російська окупація дала б змогу знищити ядро ворожого для Росії українського національного руху та утвердити російську національну ідентичність на захоплених землях. З'ясовано, що використання питання освіти для зміцнення російської окупаційної влади у Східній Галичині та Північній Буковині упродовж 1914 – 1917 рр. призвело здебільшого до результатів, протилежних очікуванім. Політизованість та непродумані дії російських чиновників, а також переслідування місцевої інтелектуальної еліти, не тільки не збільшили кількість прихильників Росії, але й серйозно її дискредитували.

**Ключові слова:** Перша світова війна, Східна Галичина, Північна Буковина, Росія, Австро-Угорщина, окупація, освіта, репресії.

**The Problem Statement.** Among underestimated, but extremely important issues of World War I, which require separate coverage, is the issue of general education system formation and functioning in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during the period of Russian occupation in 1914 – 1917.

The beginning of the 20th century was marked by modern nations active formation and a clear national identity formation, which became possible owing to a purposeful process of nationalization implemented by means of two state modern institutions – army and education. In fact, directions determination for education development was in a political plane, which, in turn, forced the stateless European peoples to focus on solving the issues of forming their own national education and introducing a wide network of educational institutions at all levels.

Taking into consideration the lack of the official Ukrainian school in the Russian Empire and a low general level of literacy among the population, it was Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna that became the centre of the Ukrainian national movement development. Therefore, the main goal of the Russian imperial government was destruction of the Ukrainian cell, the so-called “mazepynstvo”, in which the imperial government saw the threat of possible separation of the Ukrainian lands from Russia, as well as due to fear of refuting the myth of a common Russian nation, which, according to the Russian authorities, destroyed the state core.

**The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications.** The education issue of the Russian occupation administration policy in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I has not yet been the subject of a separate thorough study and this topic remains poorly studied, as evidenced by the amount of relevant scientific research publications. However, it is still possible to trace certain tendencies in the historiographical tradition, primarily based on the works of I. Baran and O. Mazur (Baran, 2014, pp. 148–156; Baran & Mazur, 2012, pp. 99–107), A. Bakhturina (Bakhturina, 2000; Bakhturina, 2004), whose publications are saturated with certain ideological stamps, V. Liubchenko (Liubchenko, 2000, pp. 345–368), S. Orlyk (Orlyk, 2018; Orlyk & Mekheda, 2020, pp. 153–162), I. Lozynska (Lozynska, 2017, pp. 21–30) and the others. The files of the State Archives of Ternopil region, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv are main components of the research source base. In the study, in addition to sources of the State Archives of Ukraine, there were used the funds of Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, Russian State Historical Archive, materials of the funds of the State Public Historical Library of Russia (Galitsiya, 1916; Vysochayshie manifesty, 1915). Memoirs of D. Doroshenko (Doroshenko, 2007), I. Krypiakievych (Petrovych, 1915) and P. Milyukov are of great importance (Milyukov, 2001), who, being contemporaries of those events, in our opinion, described the Russian authorities’ activities in the occupied territory sufficiently, focusing on educational processes.

**The purpose** of the research consists in the analysis and characterization of the educational policy formation and organization principles of the Russian occupation authorities in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during World War I. To achieve the goal, the following objectives have been outlined: analysis of archival documents, historiographical analysis, description of the Russian officials and military administration activities in the occupied territories.

**The Results of the Research.** Having occupied Eastern Galicia in September of 1914 as a result of the Battle of Galicia, and Northern Bukovyna – in October, the Russian authorities started establishing their administration on the occupied territories. After liquidation of all Austrian government structures, a system of the Russian occupation administration was formed, which was headed by the military general-governate (Lozynska, 2017, p. 23). On the instructions of the commander-in-chief of the South-Western Front armies, General M. Ivanov, H. Bobrynskyi, and the Chief of Army Supply, General O. Zabielin, elaborated the document “Temporary Regulation on Administration of Austria-Hungary Regions...”, approved on September 1, 1914 by Supreme Commander-in-Chief Mykola Mykolayovych (Galitsiya, 1916, p. 8). On September 18, 1914, the military governor-general H. Bobrynskyi arrived in Lviv, whose primary task in the field of education was to carry out a number of measures regarding state and private educational institutions and establishment of a special body under the governor-general to manage public education (Vysochayshie manifesty,

1915, p. 23). On September 19, 1914, H. Bobrynskyi issued Resolution “On Prohibition of Functioning of Various Types of Clubs, Unions and Societies and on Temporary Closure of Existing Educational Institutions, Boarding Schools and Courses in Galicia, with the Exception of Educational Workshops” (Galitsiya, 1916, p. 9). Resolution was obligatory. Violation of it was punishable by administrative arrest for three months or a fine of 3,000 rubles (Baran & Mazur, 2012, p. 101).

A member of the State Duma, D. Chykhachov, a well-known nationalist and Black Hundred member, became the government representative at the governor-general’s office and the initiator of education reforms in the occupied territories (Rossowski, 1916, p. 264). At the beginning of September of 1914, he submitted the document to H. Bobrynskyi “On Educational Matters in Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna” (RSHA, f. 821, d. 150, c. 38, p. 43), in which he set the goal of the Russian authorities to establish an exclusively Russian school at all levels in the coming years.

According to D. Chykhachov, all higher education institutions should be closed for an indefinite period of time, and their further fate issue would be the subject to a legislative decision. To manage the education system in the occupied territories, he suggested appointing a director and 5 or 6 inspectors of public schools, inviting experienced officials from the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire. A separate item of the programme provided for organization of the Russian language courses for teachers, introduction of the Russian language learning as a compulsory subject in all educational institutions from January 1, 1915. Understanding the problems in this issue implementation, it was recommended temporarily to allow teaching in the languages in which it had been conducted before, even “in the Malorussky dialect”, however, the phonetic spelling was to be replaced by the Russian one (Bakhturina, 2000, pp. 91–92). In order to implement the idea of Russification of education, D. Chykhachov recommended taking measures to familiarize the teaching staff and students with the Russian language and literature, history, and geography of Russia by distributing books, organizing part-time and Sunday classes, prohibiting textbooks and books that are in their nature “hostile to the Russian statehood” at schools (SATR, f. 370, d. 1, c. 2, p. 8).

Governor-General H. Bobrynskyi to some extent shared D. Chykhachov’s views. In the note “On Languages in Galicia and Bukovyna” he noted: “This time Chervonna Rus has become part of the Russian state, and the artificial success of “the Ukrainian language” and phonetics must collapse ...” (RSHA, f. 821, d. 150, c. 38, p. 48). On September 27, 1914 there was issued a circular “On Educational Affairs in Eastern Galicia and Bukovyna”, which contained the list of main measures, including: Russification of secondary education, termination of public organizations activities and control over the Russian Orthodox clergy. There was also the item on the closure of all primary, secondary and higher educational institutions, and the issue of resuming classes depended directly on the reliability of teachers and their level of the Russian language proficiency (SATR, f. 370, d. 1, c. 4, p. 23). Thus, in the shortest possible time, it was planned to liquidate “Austrian” state educational institutions completely, as well as schools with such languages of instruction as Polish, German, and Ukrainian, which were considered “deeply hostile to Russia” (RSHA, f. 2005, d. 1, c. 13, p. 38).

On October 3, 1914, H. Bobrynskyi sent the project “Temporary Regulation on Supervision of Educational Unit ...” to General M. Ivanov for consideration. In an explanatory note, among other things, he suggested giving permission to the Governor-General directly, if necessary, to issue orders to regulate various aspects of educational sphere; to control education in the occupied territories, it is necessary to introduce the position of a head at

public schools in Lviv. It was suggested inviting B. Plesky, the director of public schools in Kyiv province; in each of the three provinces, to introduce two full-time positions of inspectors located in Lviv, Ternopil, Stanislaviv, Chernivtsi, Stryi and Kolomyia. Specialists from Kyiv educational district who speak Ukrainian and Polish should have been invited to the positions of inspectors (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 110, pp. 10, 11).

Practical measures regarding implementation of H. Bobrynskyi's ideas on the control of educational institutions were entrusted to the directorate of public schools established by Order of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief on November 25, 1914 (RSHA, f. 2005, d. 1, c. 13, p. 19), and B. Pleskoi was appointed the director (Kamenev, 1936, p. 66). Under wartime conditions, the directorate became, in fact, the executive body of the military governor-general in the field of public education, the primary task of which was to develop a new project for education organization, create a network of educational inspections, and organize the Russian language courses for teachers (RSHA, f. 2005, d. 1, c. 13, p. 38).

In practice, the most difficult issue turned out to be the Russian-speaking staff issue, without whom any reform would hamper (Florczak, 2018, p. 79). Adhering to the policy of total Russification, the Russian authorities resorted to recruiting the necessary specialists on the territory of the Russian Empire. Thus, V. Ovsievskyi, the former inspector of Poltava public schools, was appointed as the inspector of Lviv school district, the inspector of public schools of Poltava province P. Feshchenko – the inspector of public schools of Lviv, the inspector of public schools of Chernihiv province P. Arkhangelsky – the inspector of public schools of Ternopil and the others (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 1, 2).

More than 300 applications of people who applied for the positions of teachers were considered by a special commission under Kyiv educational district directorate during the period of 1914 – 1915. During the process of “selecting” specialists, the directorate paid special attention not so much to their professionalism as to their reliability and personal connections. Such quantity of applications can be explained by financial benefit, since, according to the documents, teachers were sent on business trips with full state maintenance and preservation of their main jobs (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 1, p. 2).

However, it was clear that it was impossible to solve the shortage of teachers by personnel from the Russian Empire. On December 16, 1914, two-month courses of “All-Russian Literary Language” were announced for teachers of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, which were successfully started in January of 1915. First of all, courses were opened in large cities that could provide suitable conditions, however, not all among those who wanted to be enrolled could attend them. Thus, in Lviv, out of 230 applicants, only 68 were enrolled in the course, in Sambir, only 58 out of 120, in Ternopil, 63 out of 155 applicants and in Stanislaviv 62 were enrolled in the course. Attempts to open courses in Chernivtsi could not be implemented due to a small number of students (Bakhturina, 2004, p. 152). Additionally, in Lviv, Sambir, Stanislaviv, and Ternopil, local inspectorates of public schools organized pedagogical libraries for teachers who completed the courses for their self-education (Bakhturina, 2000, p. 97).

In addition to the courses organized by the Russian authorities, similar ones were actively promoted by local muscophiles. In particular, “M. Kachkovskyi Society” opened several centres with the number of up to 50 people for the Russian language courses. In February of 1915, six-week Russian language courses were opened in Lviv, attended by 140 students, and at the same time, three-month courses, attended by 100 peasants (Bakhturina, 2000, p. 94). In May of the same year, the society founded four-month courses of the Russian language and

literature, history and geography for high school youth (RSHA, f. 465, d. 1, c. 12, pp. 1, 2), the Russian language practice courses for adults (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 1166, p. 1).

Yu. Yavorskyi was responsible for the courses (Semeniv, 2018, p. 78), who, on September 22, 1914, in the newspaper "Prykarpatska Rus" published an article about the future of Galicia, in which he wrote that "First of all, the great and powerful Russian language must rise victoriously! At schools and offices, at meetings, in the press, in announcements and speeches in a historically Russian region, there should be no other language than Russian" (Petrovych, 1915, p. 22). He called for making the language of primary, secondary and higher schools exclusively Russian as soon as possible, and to give leadership to teachers from Russia in schooling (Petrovych, 1915, pp. 65–66). Yu. Yavorskyi explained his position by the fact that among teachers appointed from the local elite, "irreconcilable enemies of the Russian culture and nationhood – mazepa agitators" may enter the school (Semeniv, 2018, p. 80). In this aspect, the Russophiles were even ahead of the Russian officials, who recommended distinguishing between the leaders of "the Ukrainian movement" and "the grey mass of citizens", not allowing only the former into public service, but with others "... behave quite conciliatory, consigned to oblivion their past activities" (AFPRES, f. 135, d. 474, c. 136, p. 2).

The actual closure of educational institutions caused indignation among local population, some members of the State Duma and the State Council, among whom was P. Myliukov (AFPRES, f. 135, d. 474, c. 191, p. 44). At the beginning of October of 1914, he extremely negatively treated the acts of violence and Russification in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna: "After the occupation of the territory, the population of which had broad political rights, to withdraw books in the Ukrainian language, to close all cultural and educational societies, to liquidate everything that the Ukrainians achieved during a long struggle is to create the ground for a new struggle, but already against the Russifying nationalist course of our bureaucracy..." (Milyukov, 2001, p. 402). In his opinion, such policy had fatal consequences for the Russian interests, since it turned the Ukrainian population of the occupied territories against Russia, who at the beginning met the Russian army not hostilely at all and could actually treat it as a "liberator", if this "liberation" did not immediately turn into "violence against conscience and conviction of millions of people" (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 26).

On December 17, 1914, H. Bobrynskyi issued a circular allowing private schools to be opened from January 1, 1915, but after fulfilling a number of conditions, including: personal permission of the Governor General; providing a list of teachers; compulsory study of the Russian language 5 hours a week; for the study of History and Geography, use only textbooks approved by the Ministry of Public Education of the Russian Empire (Galitsiya, 1916, p. 33); children of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic faiths were not supposed to study at educational institutions of the Roman Catholic orders. Violation of at least one of these rules led to the closure of the educational institution (Baran, 2014, p. 154). However, the effect of this order did not extend to state schools and higher educational institutions, which were not functioning (Galitsiya, 1916, p. 33).

After the publication of the circular, the directorate of public schools began considering applications for opening schools, inspecting educational institutions, studying the personnel of teachers and educational programmes. For this purpose, educational inspectorates were created in Lviv, Ternopil, Stanislaviv, Chernivtsi and Sambir, which were to become the basis of local management bodies in the field of education. They were entrusted with the function of monitoring educational institutions. Analysis of archival materials shows that by February of 1915, 12 schools were opened (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 37, pp. 1, 2). There were also cases

of arbitrary opening of schools. Usually, the organization of a new school was reported to the relevant authorities quite quickly, after which inspectors reported to the directorates of public schools about violation of the governor-general's circular (CSHAUL, f. 658, d. 1, c. 28, p. 4).

By March of 1915, the primary and secondary education reform project was practically ready. The Russian occupation administration expected to open 9,000 people's schools in the occupied territories over the next five years, opening 1,800 annually. To train the necessary number of teaching staff, it was planned to open 70 higher public schools, 25 male and 25 female gymnasiums, 10 teacher seminars and at least 2 teacher training institutes (Bakhturina, 2000, p. 94).

During the first Russian occupation of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, several so-called "fully Russian-speaking" model elementary schools were opened. Such activity was especially observed in Ternopil province – in the villages of Velyki Birky, Ihrovytsia, and Velyky Hlybochok (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 36, pp. 1–11). On January 25, 1915, the first Russian school was opened in the village of Zapytiv, Lviv province. The solemn opening was attended by Count O. Bobrynskyi, D. Chykhachov, the state Duma member and V. Dudykevych, a famous Muscovite (Baran, 2014, p. 154).

It was also planned to open "Russian Government People's School" in the town of Horodok, Lviv province, the villages of Yamnytsia, Stanislaviv province, and Mohyliany, Zhovkiv district, and establishment of 100 more primary schools and two Russian gymnasiums in Lviv in 1915. Initially, 125 thousand rubles were allocated for this project, later the amount increased to 175 thousand rubles, but in March of 1915, the financing of the project was refused (CSHAUL, f. 768, d. 1, c. 37, pp. 2, 3).

Such position is quite understandable, since in 1915 almost all expenditures were reduced in comparison with expenditures in 1914, and some were removed from financing altogether, including expenditures for the maintenance of educational institutions (Orlyk, 2018, p. 761). The increase in expenses was foreseen in the budget only for articles that were caused by increased expenses related to the presence of Russian troops, maintenance of sanitary conditions and law and order, maintenance of the police, repairs of roads, bridges, canals and unforeseen expenses (Orlyk & Mekheda, 2020, p. 156).

Despite the decrease in funding, during September of 1914 – May of 1915, the Russian occupation authorities, with the support of local muscophiles, managed to open 10 primary schools with the Russian language of instruction. The Orthodox clergy achieved much greater success. In March of 1915 the Orthodox clergy managed to open 33 church parish schools, which were intensively provided with icons, portraits of the tsar and teaching aids by Volyn Diocese (Kompaniets, 1960, p. 245). From the first days of the war, higher church authorities declared the need for the development of schooling as an integral component of Russification, and set the goal of opening a church school in every Orthodox parish (Veryha, 1998, p. 37). The first church schools were opened already in October of 1914, the supervision of which was entrusted to the diocesan school council by Archbishop Yevlohiy (Baran & Mazur, 2012, p. 105). Further steps towards the policy in the field of education were not implemented due to successful offensive of the Austro-Hungarian and German troops in May – June of 1915, which caused hasty retreat of the Russian army from the territory of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna.

In 1916, after the recapture of significant territories of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, "Galician-Bukovyna General-Governorship" was restored with its centre in Ternopil first, and then – in Chernivtsi (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 66). According to O. Brusylov,

under the conditions observed in 1916, only unconditional military rule was possible, without fanatical solutions to religious, school and other issues important for the Russian government in 1914 – 1915. (RSHA, f. 821, d. 150, c. 38, p. 43).

On August 4, 1916, new Governor-General F. Trepov, guided by new management principles, taking into consideration coming of a new academic year, appealed to Ternopil and Chernivtsi leaders concerning educational process organization, F. Trepov also informed the Minister of Public Education of this issue (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 991, p. 10). Ternopil Governor I. Czartoryzskyi considered it quite possible to resume classes at schools, but emphasized “that resumption of classes at schools can be only allowed with permission of provincial administration in each individual case” (Kompaniets, 1960, p. 227).

On August 9, 1916, in response to F. Trepov’s appeal, the Minister of People’s Education P. Ignatiev informed of not objecting to the opening of educational institutions, and suggested that the head of Kyiv educational district, I. Bazanov, should prepare regulations on supervision of school sphere (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 110, p. 3). On August 28, 1916, O. Brusylov allowed opening of primary and secondary schools “as needed” in the occupied regions east of the line Ternopil-Terebovlia-Buchach-Nyzhniv-Kolomyia-Kuty-Hura-Humora (Liubchenko, 2011, p. 361).

In September of 1916, having analyzed elaborated projects for education organization, P. Ignatiev in a letter to F. Trepov expressed special concern about the possibility of using Ukrainian as the language of instruction at schools: “I’d like you to focus on the fact that it might be necessary to use artificial Malorusska as the language of instruction at the state expense again, i.e. the language of Hrushevsky and his supporters. Is it right? It seems to me that at school the language of the winners should be used for the benefit of those who’ll live under the Russian State» (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 1166, p. 22).

On April 13, 1916, in response to P. Ignatiev, S. Yevreyinov, Acting Governor of Chernivtsi and Przemyśl during the period of 1914 – 1915, outlined his position on Russian as the language of instruction at schools and general principles of education policy “... during the first occupation of Galicia, as experience showed, it was religious and educational issues that were the most dangerous ..., therefore, F. Trepov chose the programme of activities for public education, according to which it is possible to allow opening of previously existing educational institutions using previous programme and to concentrate supervision in the hands of the Russian authorities, so that manifestations hostile to Russia or harmful to the Russian army and authorities are not allowed in the region” (CSHAUK, f. 361, d. 1, c. 991, p. 10).

The position of F. Trepov was fully understood, taking into consideration the fact that introduction of the Russian language into educational process led to solving some issues, such as search of teaching staff, selection of textbooks, position of a new subject in an approved school programme. All these actions would have made sense in a more stable political situation, but under the current conditions they could only generate mass discontent and once again compromise the Russian government.

In 1916 educational process was to be carried out on the basis of “Temporary Regulation on the Work of Educational Unit” dated October 14, 1916, which made it possible to open schools and start training according to previously approved programmes. It was allowed to resume studies in the Ukrainian gymnasiums, two people’s schools and the Ukrainian teachers’ seminary in Ternopil, however, it was not possible to call gymnasiums “Ukrainian”, but – a gymnasium (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 67). The occupation authorities did not allow the use of the term “Ukrainian” in the official sphere, but did not always monitor compliance



with this instruction scrupulously. For example, on December 27, 1916, with the permission of Ternopil police chief, an announcement was published about recruitment to public schools and gymnasiums “with the Ukrainian language of instruction” in the city, this kind of announcement was also published in Chernivtsi quite legally (Liubchenko, 2011, p. 361).

The school board was headed by D. Yankovsky, the director of Gymnasium 6 in Kyiv, with a reputation as a liberal. D. Yankovsky, on the one hand, did not close Ukrainian schools and helped teachers to improve their financial situation, and on the other – threatened them with Siberia for using the term “Ukraine” (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 67).

It turned out that schools opened in Buchach, Chortkiv, Skalat, Tovste, Mykulyntsi and Hrymailiv, financed by the funds of All-Russian Zemstvo Union and All-Russian Union of Cities, and mainly served the Jewish population: “For the purpose of strict unification of educational affairs and to avoid imposing a random or tendentious school on the local population” non-governmental organizations were prohibited to establish educational institutions in the occupied territories (Liubchenko, 2011, p. 361). Such focus on the activities of public associations can be explained by their success and popularity among the population, and some representatives of the authorities began to consider them as political opponents (Kovalenko, 2021, p. 103). A way out of this situation was found quite quickly. The work of educational institutions was to be organized at shelters, which were opened at monasteries and charitable organizations mainly (SATR, f. 370, d. 1, c. 30, p. 20). At first, there were manual labour schools, and then, without changing the name “Children’s Shelter of All-Russian Union of Cities” and under the flag with a red cross there was introduced a normal schooling. Students and teachers from Naddniprianska Ukraine were appointed as heads, so that they would be officially responsible for institution, and local teachers were invited to teach for a salary “for hire” (Doroshenko, 2007, pp. 69–70). During May – June of 1916, by means of zemstvo and city unions, it was possible to restore public schooling almost completely, and the language of instruction was Ukrainian (Doroshenko, 2007, p. 71).

The problem of providing educational literature was solved by using the Ukrainian textbooks printed in Russia. In July of 1916, a congress of local teachers who belonged to zemstvo and city unions took place in Ternopil, at which the idea of using textbooks from Naddniprianska Ukraine was supported. After the necessary decision was made, tens of thousands of copies of the Ukrainian school textbooks were purchased at the expense of the unions. In his memoirs D. Doroshenko wrote that “Everything that was found in the Ukrainian bookstores in Kyiv, Poltava, Kharkiv and Katerynodar was purchased” (Doroshenko, 2007, pp. 71–72).

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs (hereinafter – MFA) remained openly dissatisfied with the school policy, where, despite complex information from the fronts, in the future, the Ministry believed that the organization of teaching at schools was the matter of a primary importance, as it was closely related to the “general issue of Ukrainianness and attitude of the Russian government to it” (AFPRES, f. 135, d. 474, c. 196, p. 4). The importance of this problem to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs can be explained by fears that weakening of education in the occupied territories will affect public opinion in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire, which in turn could cause consequences of a political nature.

In March of 1917, after the February Revolution, in accordance with decision of the Provisional Government, on the territories of Austria-Hungary occupied by the Russian troops, there was established “Regional Commissariat of Galicia and Bukovyna” with its centre in Chernivtsi, headed by D. Doroshenko, the Ukrainian politician. Despite the change in leadership, civilian personnel remained in their positions, D. Doroshenko’s chief focus was

involvement of the Ukrainians into administrative work. However, these changes could not affect the general situation significantly. The political crisis in the Russian Empire, defeats at the front forced the Provisional Government to focus, first of all, on the preservation of the army's fighting capacity, the return of the territories of the Russian Empire under a full control, the territories where national movements were activated.

**The Conclusion.** Thus, the Russian occupation administration actions in the field of education actually caused the destruction of all levels of extensive network of educational institutions that functioned in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna during the pre-war period.

The authorities of the Russian Empire tried to solve educational problems simultaneously with religious and language issues in order to achieve their political goals. Education was the cornerstone of the Russian leadership plans, because after the victory over Austria-Hungary, the joining of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna to the empire should implement the idea of the so-called "historical justice".

The presence of an official Ukrainian school complicated the fight against "Ukrainian separatism" in the Ukrainian provinces of the Russian Empire. However, the use of education as a factor to strengthen their positions in the occupied territories turned out to be unsuccessful. Biased assessment of the local population mood and the retreat of Russian troops in June of 1915 led to the collapse of the Russian government's plans for the Russification of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna. Politicization of the Russian officials discredited the government seriously, and radical and thoughtless actions of local muscophiles intensified these processes.

The Russian occupation regime established in the second half of 1916 in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna was more moderate in terms of programme and much "softer" than the previous Russian occupation regime of 1914 – 1915. It was based on the thesis of the priority satisfaction of the of the Russian army interests and needs and avoidance of any actions that could lead to political or social crises among the Ukrainian population in the occupied territories.

Despite efforts to impose the Russian education system, it did not have any mass support. Practically all teaching personnel invited to work in Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovyna, as well as the majority of graduates of short-term pedagogical courses, on the organization of which a lot of efforts and money were spent, left the territories with the retreating Russian troops. Personnel policy in the field of education collapsed. Plans for "far-sighted" reforms did not have a sufficient basis for their implementation.

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