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**STEPAN SHAKH'S ACTIVITIES AS THE DIRECTOR
OF THE PRZEMYŚL STATE GYMNASIUM (1932 – 1939)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyse the activities of Stepan Shakh as the director of the Przemyśl State Gymnasium, to outline the main areas of the school administration under his chairmanship. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, the use of general scientific (generalization, typology) and special scientific research methods, in particular comparative and historical, historical and systemic, critical analysis of sources. The Scientific Novelty of the Research.* *On the basis of a complex analysis of the memories of the figures who worked and studied at the Przemyśl Gymnasium during the outlined period, the main directions of Stepan Shakh's administrative work as the director of the educational institution have been highlighted. In particular, the main reorganization steps in connection with the reform of school education have been defined. The focus is on the development of cultural and educational, national and sports life of students. Based on the studied materials of the press and historiography, the authors came to the conclusions: Stepan*

Shakh, as the director of the Przemyśl Gymnasium, managed to establish the educational process in accordance with the school education reforms of the 1930s. The director responded to the challenges of the times and introduced a number of innovations related to the professional and technical specialization of education (opened workshops, driving courses, etc.), continued the development of traditional educational areas. The head of the gymnasium cooperated with the Ukrainian public figures of the region, the society of parents and graduates, who supported charitable initiatives, cultural, sports and spiritual life of the gymnasium students.

Key words: *Przemyśl State Gymnasium, Director Stepan Shakh, educational reform of the 1930s, educational and educative process.*

ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ СТЕПАНА ШАХА НА ПОСАДІ ДИРЕКТОРА ПЕРЕМИШЛЬСЬКОЇ ГІМНАЗІЇ (1932 – 1939)

Анотація. Мета дослідження. Проаналізувати діяльність Степана Шаха на посаді директора Перемишльської гімназії. Виокремити основні напрями роботи шкільної адміністрації за його головування **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, застосуванні загальнонаукових (узагальнення, типологізація) та спеціально-наукових методів дослідження, зокрема, порівняльно-історичного, історико-системного, критичного аналізу джерел. **Наукова новизна.** На основі комплексного аналізу спогадів діячів, які працювали та навчалися у Перемишльській гімназії в окреслений період, виділено основні напрями адміністративної роботи Степана Шаха як директора цього закладу освіти. Зокрема простежено основні реорганізаційні кроки у зв'язку з реформою шкільної освіти. Також звернуто увагу на розбудову культурно-просвітнього, національного та спортивного життя учнів. **Висновки.** Степан Шах на посаді директора Перемишльської гімназії зумів налагодити освітній процес відповідно до реформ шкільної освіти 1930-х рр. Директор реагував на виклики часу та впровадив низку нововведень, які стосувалися професійно-технічної спеціалізації навчання (відкрито робітні, водійські курси тощо), продовжив розвиток традиційних освітніх напрямів. Керівник гімназії співпрацював з українським активом регіону, товариством батьків та випускників, які підтримували добротні ініціативи, культурне, спортивне і духовне життя гімназії.

Ключові слова: *Перемишльська гімназія, директор Степан Шах, освітня реформа 1930-х рр., навчальний та виховний процес.*

The Problem Statement. In 1848, after the “Spring of Nations”, the Habsburg monarchy intensified democratic transformations, declared support for the educational and cultural sphere of “non-state nations”. Owing to the efforts of the representatives of the “Main Ruthenian Council” in the eastern part of Galicia, the 8-grade gymnasium with German as the language of instruction was established, during the period of 1849 – 1856 the Ukrainian language became a compulsory subject at schools (Zahajkevych, 1961b, pp. 225–256)

The constitutional reforms of the 1860s culminated in the formation of the dualistic Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which enshrined the “Basic State Laws” of December of 1867. The “December Constitution” was based on the norm of the equality of all citizens before the law, so the state defined equality in the use of all the languages of the peoples who lived in the Empire. However, in practice, these resolutions on national equality depended on the situation of specific peoples in the regions. A gradual approval of “Polish autonomy” took place in Galicia (Leshchak, Lepekh & Haratyk, 2023, p. 59), which included, among other possibilities, the granting of official status to the Polish language in the region, Polonization of education took place (Arkusha, 2016, pp. 69–71; Yanyshyn, 2017, pp. 9–10). In 1867, the Galician Regional School Council was established – a coordinating body for managing the education system, primarily responsible for public and secondary schools (Lukaniuk, 2007, p. 143). The Regional School Council succeeded in increasing the number of schools, but due

to the political dominance of the Poles, instead of the German and Ukrainian languages, Polish was introduced at schools (Lukaniuk, 2007, pp. 144–145; Zahajkevych, 1961b, p. 256).

In the second half of the 19th century the Ukrainian church (Bystrytska & Hrabets, 2023, pp. 109–110) and political figures made a lot of efforts to expand the network of Ukrainian educational institutions (Bortnik & Artymyshyn, 2022, p. 105; Strilchuk & Yarosh, 2021, p. 130). The contribution of Yulian Romanchuk, the ambassador of the Galician Sejm, was significant. During the period of 1884 – 1887, the activist submitted a number of petitions for the establishment of the Ukrainian gymnasium in Przemyśl, after long disputes the Sejm agreed to establish the department “with the Ruthenian language” (Ukrainian) at the “imperial royal gymnasium” with Polish as the language of instruction (Zahajkevych, 1961b, p. 262; Shakh, 1977, p. 50). On July 29, 1887, Emperor Franz Joseph approved a government Decree, and in 1888 he appointed Hryhoriy Tsehlynsky as a temporary administrator (Shakh, 1977, p. 22). Gradually the number of students and teachers increased in the 1895/1896 school year, 8 grades were formed. In 1895, the authorities issued Decree on the separation of classes with the Ukrainian language of instruction into an independent gymnasium, H. Tsehlynsky was appointed a full-time director of the new educational institution (Shakh, 1977, p. 23).

After World War I and since the formation of the Polish state, the problem of schooling became acute. As Oksana Ruda, a researcher of the educational policy of the Second Commonwealth of Nations, emphasized, the regional authorities began making changes to the education system even before the official accession of Galicia to Poland in 1923, implementing “the Polonization idea regarding the non-Polish population of Galicia, which could threaten the stability of the state” (Ruda, 2016, p. 92). In general, after 1918, secondary education was represented by 6 state gymnasiums (founded before the war): two institutions in Lviv, in Kolomyia, Stanislaviv, Przemyśl, and Ternopil. There were also classes with the Ukrainian language of instruction in Stryi and Berezhany, seven private gymnasiums with the Ukrainian language of instruction in Lviv, Przemyśl, Yavoriv, Rohatyn, Chortkiv, Dolyna, Horodenka, three private bilingual Polish-Ukrainian schools (in Turka, Yavoriv, Rohatyn) (CSHAUL, f. 179, d. 1. c. 27, p. 19).

Changes in the school system of the Republic of Poland began in 1919 with the introduction of Decree on the compulsory education of children (from 7 to 14 years old in seven-year general (public) schools). In 1921, the division into school districts was introduced. In February of 1922, the Sejm passed a law entrusting the establishment and further maintenance of general schools to local self-government bodies. In 1924, the Ministry for Religion and Public Education introduced the Grabski Law, which established Polish as the state language in government, and it was allowed to use the language of communities in localities, and in schooling, parents were given the choice of the language of instruction and the establishment of their own educational institutions, if the number of national minorities was 25% of the total number. However, in reality, the implementation of Utraquinist schools took place, this process was contested by the Ukrainian public, in particular the association “Native School” (CSHAUL, f. 206, d. 1, c. 1951, p. 8; Levandovska, 2015, pp. 93–94). Gymnasiums formed the middle link of the educational system. Another important legal act within the framework of the 1932 reform was the law of March 11, 1932. This law mainly provided that instead of eight-year gymnasiums, four-year gymnasiums and two-year lyceums were established (Shlikhta, 2014, p. 196).

In 1930, during the period of political transformations in the Polish state and reforms in the school system, owing to the activities of public figures, cultural and educational societies, a network of educational institutions was preserved. Przemyśl and its educational institutions

played an important role in this network as a centre of the Ukrainian social and political life. In 1932, Stepan Shakh was appointed a director of the Przemyśl Gymnasium (a participant in the liberation struggles after World War I, a secretary of the Regional Main Department of the “Prosvita” Society for several years in Lviv, an editor of the first post-war calendars of “Prosvita”, a co-editor of “Narodna Osvita”) (Shakh, 1977, p. 49; Zaiats, 1938, p. 20). How was S. Shakh characterized by his contemporaries? Bohdan Zahaikivych characterized him as “an energetic, determined man”. The new leadership headed by S. Shakh faced a number of challenges, as the activist himself noted, “he took over a heavy legacy” (Shakh, 1977, p. 51). In particular, recruitment of students, bureaucratic work related to the adjustment of educational process, recruitment of new personnel, collection of funds for the care of poor high school students, organization of cultural, educational, national and sports life of students.

The Review of Recent Publications. Organization peculiarities of the educational system in Galicia in the 19th century through the prism of iconic institutions, such as the Galician Regional School Council, are highlighted in the publications of Khrystyna Moriak-Protopopova, Serhiy Lukaniuk. The national educational policy of the Second Polish Republic, its main development trends with an analysis of the regulatory framework and the functioning of educational institutions were researched by Oksana Ruda comprehensively (Ruda, 2017a; Ruda, 2017b, pp. 337–353; Ruda, 2017c, pp. 573–614), Mykola Halai (Halai, 2012a, pp. 40–44; Halai, 2012b, pp. 281–286), Mykola Haliv and Vasyl Ilnytskyi (Haliv & Ilnytskyi, 2019).

Various vectors and aspects of the political, cultural and educational life of the Ukrainian people of Przemyśl are outlined in the collections of scientific works and materials of the International Scientific Conference “Przemyśl and Przemyśl Area during the Ages”. The articles by Stepan Zabrovarny (Zabrovarny, 2003, pp. 7–36), Ihor Soliar (Soliar, 2003, pp. 124–132), Kvitlana Hrynkiv, Bohdana Zavadka (Hrynkiv & Zavadka, 2001, pp. 212–220), Yelysaveta Dombrovska (Dombrovska, 2001, pp. 221–228), etc. are important for understanding social and political realities, activities of cultural and educational institutions included in the second and third volumes of the collection.

Memoir literature remains the most informative materials for studying the functioning of the Przemyśl Gymnasium during the period under analysis (Stakhiv, 1995), in particular the authorship of Stepan Shakh (Shakh, 1977), “Reports”, i.e. the reports on the activities of the “Circle of Relatives” (Zvidomlennia, 1936a), or “Directorate of the Gymnasium” (Shakh, 1934), Memorable non-fiction books, essays (Zahajkevych, 1961 a). The materials of the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv also serve as a significant addition to the study of the activities of the Przemyśl Gymnasium: Fund 179 (Lviv School District Board of Trustees), Fund 206 (Native School Society), Fund 175 (State Examination Commission for Secondary School Teacher Candidates).

The purpose of the article is to analyse the activities of Stepan Shakh as the director of the Przemyśl State Gymnasium, to outline the main areas of the school administration under his chairmanship in the context of the challenges of the bureaucratic system and educational reform.

The Results of the Research. The Polish historian Tomasz Pudłocki noted that S. Shakh arrived in Przemyśl during a difficult period for the Ukrainian community, because the Polish administration did not sympathize with the development of the Ukrainian schooling (Pudłocki, 2011, p. 62). At the same time, the city’s Ukrainian population was divided by conflict with public associations after the attempts of the Przemyśl bishop Yosyf Kotsylovsky to introduce celibacy (Badiak, 2003 p. 242).

The management of the Gymnasium, represented by Stepan Shakh, resumed issuing reports on the activities of the educational institution (the last one dates back to 1917 – 1918). These reports are a valuable source for studying the history of the educational institution and the education system during the period under analysis. In the first renewed issue of the “Report of the Directorate of the State Gymnasium with the Ukrainian Language of Instruction in Przemyśl for the School Year 1933/34” a brief description of the previous graduates, a list of employees, including the administration, visitors (inspectors) from 1918/19 – 1932/33, and a statistical review “classifications and matriculation exams for the period under analysis” (Shakh, 1934, pp. 3–15). “School News of the Directorate of the Gymnasium for the School Year 1933/34” consisted of 14 sections, which provided an extended list of all employees of the gymnasium, changes among the personnel, orders of the school councils, which related to the activities of the educational institution, characteristics of property and real estate, the report of the school doctor, the list of educational activities, the content of school programmes and the plan of lectures, a short list of school collections and inventory of special classes, a detailed educational plan (with an outline of the activities of school organizations (including those supervised by parents and patrons of the gymnasium) and clubs)) (Shakh, 1934, pp. 22–79). The report for the academic year 1933/1934 also contains a list of names of high school students, statistical data on “matriculation exams”, “number of departments, number of students, their religion, nationality and age, rank and place of residence of relatives, annual classification” (Shakh, 1934, pp. 80–90).

The Gymnasium was located “in the state building at 21 Slovatskoho Street and in the branch building at 18 Slovatskoho Street, which is the property of Mrs. O. Litynska. The state building is large, two-storied, for school use, newly built, dated 1. IX. 1894” (Shakh, 1934, p. 24). This building was divided and the First Yu. Slovatsky State Gymnasium was located there as well. In June of 1932, owing to grants of the Ministry for Religion and Public Education and the Board of Trustees of the Lviv School District, a fence was built that separated the Gymnasium building from other buildings, and a botanical garden trees were also planted there (Shakh, 1934, p. 24).

Since 1932, the selection criteria for future students had expanded. Young people from remote districts of Poland were invited to study, and “senior students from all over Poland” were also accepted, including from the free city of Gdańsk (mostly sons of emigrants from the Dnieper region)” (Shakh, 1977, p. 51). This move to expand “geographical boundaries” proved its success in just a few years. In 1936, a problem arose with the placement of high school students from the Naddniprianshchyna. Bursy of “St. Father Nicholas” (“St. O. Nicholas”) and “Gymnasium Institute”, where they used to live, were overcrowded. Owing to the efforts of Petro Shkurat and Leonid Bachynsky, a new “Symon Petliura Bursa” was established. “Untrustworthy” students, those who were expelled from the Ukrainian or Polish gymnasiums in Poland due to politics entered the Gymnasium (Shakh, 1977, p. 51). There should be mentioned the memories of former graduates, in particular Yevhen Stakhiv, an underground member of the OUN, and later – the UPA. In his memoirs, the activist recalled that November 1, 1933 was a day off on the occasion of the Catholic All Saints’ Day, but the Polish administration cancelled it for the Ukrainian gymnasiums. Therefore, the gymnasium underground – the youth of the OUN decided to boycott classes, because on this day the heroes of 1918 and the creation of the ZUNR were honoured, instead it was decided that they should attend the church liturgy service (the annual hike to Mount Makivka was banned by the authorities after the trial on Bilas and Danylyshyn) (Stakhiv, 1995, p. 20). High school students were late for class and came without equipment, and were punished by the principal.

However, in 1934, Principal S. Shakh managed to settle “the provocation organized by the Polish authorities”: one of the students who cooperated with the authorities handed over a revolver before the police search, thereby compromising three Ukrainian high school students (Stakhiv, 1995, pp. 21–22).

Also, Stepan Shakh looked for talented young people personally, travelling in Lemky region every year during the holidays, staying at priests' houses he knew (Shakh, 1977, p. 51).

The new gymnasium director continued the work of his predecessors in supporting poor youth and founded the “Circle of Relatives” statutory society. A famous judge of the District Court, Volodymyr Sas-Podlusky (held the position from 1932 to 1939), was elected its chairman, Mykola Rybak, a lawyer and public figure, was appointed as a legal referent (Levandovska, 2015, p. 160). Its members were all parents and guardians of young people who studied at the Gymnasium (Fedevycheva, 1936, p. 5). “The main goal of the society was cooperation with the directorate of the Gymnasium and the Pedagogical Council, providing moral and material assistance to the youth of this institution” (Fedevycheva, 1936, p. 5). The society took care of the leisure time of high school students, organized events in honour of prominent figures or on the occasion of religious holidays, festivals, charity balls and evenings, concerts, excursions, sports competitions and walks, summer camps, etc. (Fedevycheva, 1936, pp. 6–23; Levandovska, 2015, p. 160).

Stepan Shakh, as noted by the Polish historian T. Pudłocki, managed to restore the public authority of the Gymnasium and its cooperation with the Church (Shakh, 1956, pp. 9–10; Pudłocki, 2011, p. 62). In 1933, he received permission from the authorities and held “St. Jehoshaphat's Day” on November 25. On this occasion, S. Shakh turned to prelate Ivan Kyshekevych to write a cantata, owing to joint efforts with Yevhen Hrytsak, it was possible to persuade Uliana Kravchenko to write a poem, and Olena Kravchenko to write a portrait (Pudłocki, 2011, p. 62).

The spiritual life of the high school youth was handled by the high school catechist, a guardian of the “Mariyska Druzhyna” in the educational institution, Father, Professor Petro Holynsky. Since 1933, the “Mariyska Druzhyna” organized concerts in honour of the patron Saint Yosyf. These events were attended by archeologists, among them was Bishop Yosyf Kotsylovsky and Bishop Hryhoriy Lakota (Shakh, 1977, p. 63).

The administration of the Gymnasium paid a lot of attention to the physical education of students and general development of the sports life of the Ukrainians of Przemyśl. “Sianova Chaika” (reformatted sports society) founded by the previous director Tsehlynsky “students sports club” came under the care of S. Shakh. A public figure Yaroslav Khorostil noted that only in the years before World War II, the second flowering of the society took place, in particular, during the period of leadership of the Przemyśl Gymnasium by S. Shakh (Khorostil, 1961, p. 356).

In 1934, S. Shakh organized the so-called “Olympic Games” to raise funds for the 25th anniversary of the founding of “Sianova Chaika”. The founder of “Sianova Chaika” Professor-emeritus Ivan Manuliak and its first chairman, doctor of medicine Andriy Kokodynsky, were elected as honorary presidents (Shakh, 1977, p. 65). In 1933, S. Shakh became the head of the “Sian League Sports Society”. In 1935, owing to the donations of the board of the society, members of the club and the public, the “Sian” society built a sports field in the suburb of Vovche (Khorostil, 1961, pp. 360–361).

From 1936, on this sports ground, “Sian” participated in competitions with other clubs for the championship in the “Lviv District League” (Khorostil, 1961, pp. 360–361), sports

holidays and football matches of students of Ukrainian schools in Przemyśl (Ukrainian state gymnasium, private gymnasium “Ukrainian Girls’ Institute”, students of the 7th-grade general school named after Shashkevych and the 6th-grade SS Sluzhebnytsi in Zasiannia) were also held there (Shakh, 1977, p. 66). In the gymnasium, there was the “Sports Club”, which organized sports football and volleyball competitions, including regional competitions (following the traditions of “Plast”, banned by the authorities) (Shakh, 1977, p. 66).

S. Shakh was an active skier, so he also gathered skiers from “Sianova Chaika”, organized walks with them in the vicinity of Przemyśl or to the highest mountain in the powiat, Kopystianka. Every year in February, he went with his students to the Carpathians for a week, usually in the vicinity of Turka or Lisko. On these trips, they were always accompanied by the school doctor (Dr. Myroslav Kunyk), Physical Education teacher Yevhen Bachynsky, or his assistant a contract teacher Mykhailo Romanets (Shakh, 1977, p. 66)

The organizational life of high school students was concentrated in the self-governing “Interclass Community of Students”, which included students who were elected by fellow representatives of “Class Communities” from all classes and the heads of self-education student groups (from 1933 – 1939 there were eight of them): “Mariyska Druzhyna” (led by Fr. P. Holynsky), “Lesia Ukrayinka Ukrainian Circle” (a chairman, Professor, Dr. Yevhen Hrytsak), “Historical and Geographical Circle” (supervised by Professor Volodymyr Solohub), “Musical Circle” with a choir and orchestra (led by the conductor of the choir – Professor Pavlo Voliansky, a conductor of the orchestra Leonid Khyliak), “Dramatic Circle” (chaired by Professor Bohdan Zahaikevych), “Natural and Geological Circle” (led by Professor Yuriy Dzhyhalo), “Classical Circle” (led by Professor Semen Kuzyk), “Sports Club “Sianova Chaika” (managed by Professor Yevhen Bachynsky). “Circle of Thrift” (supervised by Professor Stepan Malynovky) (Shakh, 1977, p. 67).

Owing to the support of parents and the director of the Przemyśl Gymnasium, the “Circle of Relatives” was founded, headed by Volodymyr Sas-Podluskyy (a public figure, judge of the District Court) and a legal officer Mykola Rybak (a lawyer). The main objective of the society was to provide a financial support to students. An important direction of the society’s work was the organization of summer camps, in particular in Tysovo near Przemyśl and Boryslavets near Dobromyl (Levandovska, 2015, p. 160).

Since 1933, owing to the funds of the “Circle of Relatives” society, the gymnasium began to publish a “report on their work and accounts” to inform the public about the results of their work. “Report” was published by the publishing house of the T. Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, and distributed among students at the beginning of the school year, the rest – among the public (mostly former graduates), who bought copies and in this way the money for publishing was returned (Podluskyy, 1936, pp. 3–4). Notes and reviews in the Galician press of the time testify to a certain social significance of “Report”. In the “New Books and Magazines” section of the daily newspaper “Dilo” it is noted that “this is a valuable publication” with 25 articles and 38 illustrations, a brief overview of the main sections of the book is given (Zvidomlennia, 1936b). The magazine “Nova Zoria” published a similar assessment: “this edition is very diligent and instructive and interesting”. The authors of the monthly “Ukrainian Book” (published by the Bibliographical Commission of the National Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Society of Bibliophiles in Lviv) noted the quality of publishing, the content itself, and set “Report” as an example “for all other publishers of school report” (Hrytsak, 1937, pp. 16–17). The management of all the “circles” was carried

out by the “Interclass Community”, it was subordinate to the director, and it was headed by a student of the 7th grade, later a lyceum student of the 1st year of study (Shakh, 1977, p. 68).

A chief focus was on the cultural and educational process of the Przemyśl gymnasium students. Since its founding, there operated a choir (Shakh, 1977, p. 62), during the directorship of S. Shakh, its manager was the cultural and educational figure, a teacher Pavlo Voliansky (Romaniv, 2006). In 1935, the directorate of the Gymnasium together with the “Circle of Relatives” purchased a piano for the needs of the choir. The instrument playing lessons started. Music was taught by a concert pianist, a teacher of the branch of M. Lysenko Music Institute in Przemyśl – Volodymyr Bozheiko (Shakh, 1977, p. 62). An instrumental orchestra was also organized owing to the financial assistance of the “Circle of Relatives” and later – the orchestra of mandolin players (Shakh, 1977, p. 62).

In the 1930s, the association of Ukrainian school youth “Young Community” was founded within the walls of the Przemyśl Gymnasium (continuation of activity of Przemyśl branch of the “Ukrainian Students’ Union”, banned by the Polish administration in 1923). Its long-term leader was O. Hubytsky, the main goals of the society were the unification of the Ukrainian students (later the activity expanded to other school communities of the Ukrainians in Przemyśl), national and patriotic education, cultural and educational development of students, and material assistance to students (Levandovska, 2015, p. 160; CSHAUL, f. 596, d. 1, c. 1, pp. 1–17).

In the early 1930s, the reform of school education in Poland continued. In 1932, the law on the “System of Schooling” was issued. According to the document, the system of gymnasiums underwent significant changes. Instead of the four types of institutions that existed since the 1920s (mathematical and natural sciences, neo-humanistic, humanistic, classical), a 4-year high school of the humanitarian type with the study of Latin was introduced. According to the new educational law, secondary comprehensive school was a 6-year school: a 4-year gymnasium and a 2-year general education lyceum. The new curricula provided that lyceums could have specialization (departments): classical, humanitarian, natural, physical and mathematical. Graduates of folk 6-year schools who turned 12 could enter gymnasiums, and lyceums – at the age of 16 (Kotsiumbas, 2021, pp. 437–439). At the Przemyśl Gymnasium, on the advice of “Circle of Relatives” and “Mothers’ Committee”, the humanistic, mathematical and naturalistic profile of education was chosen (Shakh, 1977, p. 53).

In accordance with these innovations, curricula were also changed in general education schools (“comprehensive”), which “took over” “almost the entire curricula of the first and second gymnasium classes”. In a certain sense, “universal” schools became “preparatory” for new lyceums, so the latter had to establish contacts with them. The Ukrainian gymnasium in Przemyśl cooperated with “Vseliudna” (“comprehensive”) M. Shashkevych 7-grade school in Przemyśl, which was under the care of the “Native School” and with St. Nicholas 6-grade school of Sisters Nuns (near the Basilian Monastery in Zasiannia, in Przemyśl) (Shakh, 1977, p. 52).

Changing the structure and curriculum complicated the educational process and management. S. Shakh noted; “The Przemyśl Gymnasium consisted of three types of secondary schools during this period: 1) a classical 8-grade type (Latin from the 1st grade and Greek from the 3rd grade), 2) a humanistic type (no Greek, but Latin from the 4th grade) and 3) a new type (reformed since 1932 and growing every year) – 4 classes of the gymnasium and 2 classes of the lyceum. The directorate of the Przemyśl Gymnasium had to reduce all these three distinct types not only to one common didactic, but also to a common pedagogical denominator. S. Shakh, together with the Teachers’ Assembly, united these three types, which differ in their directions, into one harmonious whole” (Shakh, 1977, p. 59).

The educational reform brought changes to the curriculum and textbooks. New subjects were introduced, including “handicrafts classes”. In the Przemyśl Gymnasium, three workshops were opened in the school building (carpentry, metalwork and model making, book binding), which were managed by two specialist teachers (Josyp Pientka, Mavrzkiy Knobliavkh). Painting lessons were introduced under the leadership of Josef Wilko, Olena Kulchytska, Sofia Chekhovych in different years, including stained glass painting and icon painting. In 1937, “driving courses” with a qualified instructor were also established. Every year, after the end of studies, there were exhibitions of the works of high school students (Shakh, 1977, pp. 61–62).

The two-year study at the lyceum ended with the matura, after passing which the graduates had the right to study at “universities, polytechnics, business academies, commercial high schools, etc.” Under the leadership of the director, this first matriculation exam in both departments of the Lyceum of the Przemyśl Gymnasium was held in May of 1939. All 66 applicants passed the Matura, 10 with honours (Shakh, 1977, p. 61).

Since 1934, the Gymnasium held a two-year free teaching practice for young masters of philosophy, which, although it was additional burdensome work for the teaching staff, nevertheless testified to the high level of teaching, because the young specialists were sent to work by the direction of the School Board (Shakh, 1977, p. 56).

With the reform of school education in 1932, the end of the school year was moved to June 21, so the celebration of the patron of the gymnasium St. Cyril (“the learned Archbishop of Alexandria”) was left out of the celebration programme. The new director S. Shakh instead suggested that the gymnasium be under the patronage of St. Joseph (commemorated on November 25). The directorate’s idea was supported by catechist Petro Holynsky and the Pedagogical Council of the Teachers’ Assembly. After the blessing of the Episcopal Ordinariate of the Przemyśl Diocese Yosyf Kotszlovsky and the approval of the Lviv School Board of Trustees in 1933, the Gymnasium received a new patron, a service was held in the church and a religious national concert, which, in addition to parents, was attended by highly respected guests (Yo. Kotsylovsky, H. Lakota) (Shakh, 1977, p. 63)

In December of 1938, the Przemyśl Gymnasium celebrated its 50th anniversary (Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu, zespól 56/397, sygn. 3987, p. 1). On this occasion, the “Junior Committee” was founded, which organized the holiday and published the Almanac “Commemorative Book” “Where the Silver Sian Floats”. Preparations for the Jubilee began as early as 1937. In October of 1937, the general meeting of the Association of Secondary School Teachers “Uchytelska Hromada” in Przemyśl decided to gather former graduates for the celebration. The “Honorary Jubilee Committee” (V. Pynyla, I. Bryk, I. Zvlynsky, R. Hamchykevych) and the “Business Jubilee Committee” (S. Bobyliak, I. Boryla, O. Kolodiy, etc.) were formed (De sribnoletyj Sian plyve, 1938, p. 223).

It is worth noting that a significant part of the memoirs about the Przemyśl Gymnasium mainly covers the establishment of this educational institution, the history of the activities of individual figures, and its influence on the development of the national and cultural life of the Ukrainian population of Przemyśl. As for the activities of the Gymnasium in the 1930s, a number of positive changes under the leadership of S. Shakh are mostly outlined. Instead, there are practically no critical remarks or characteristics. It is quite possible that extensive characteristics of S. Shakh as the director of the Przemyśl Gymnasium were not given for ethical or other subjective reasons, in particular, the memoirs published in emigration circles in the 1950s and 1960s.

Bohdan Zahaikevych, a public figure, was one of those who cautiously noted that S. Shakh’s activities in Przemyśl were condemned by a part of the Ukrainians. “Director

S. Shakh's activities did not find recognition among the part of the Przemyśl residents who accused him of favouring the Poles too much, that the Gymnasium, in particular, too often took part in the Polish state events, etc. But at the time, circumstances simply forced a director to do that way. S. Shakh had to give in to the Polish occupation authorities if he wanted to save the very existence of the Gymnasium, which was the salt in the eyes of the Poles, as the westernmost stronghold of the Ukrainian spirit. At the same time, he often burdened the teachers' union and the student community, taking on his shoulders numerous troubles associated with such a policy (Zahajkevych, 1961b, p. 277).

In 1939, with the beginning of World War II and the first Soviet occupation, the Ukrainian Przemyśl Gymnasium ceased to exist. Gradual Sovietization of the region took place, particularly in the educational sphere (Haliv & Drobchak, 2017, p. 146). Two departments of the Gymnasium were transformed into a Soviet 10-year school that operated during the years of 1939/40 school year. At first, the Red Army lieutenant Hlukhenky (a former director of the school in Podilla) was appointed as its leader, and soon after – a teacher Teklia (Olena) Neborak (a wife of a major). Mykhailo Demchuk, a former Professor at the Przemyśl Gymnasium, was appointed as a visitor. The demarcation line passed through Przemyśl, so Zasiannia (the left bank of the city and the region) was cut off from the Gymnasium, which is why the number of students decreased there significantly. At the end of the 1939/40 school year, the position of school director was taken by a teacher Melnyk from Podillia. The Shashkevych 7-grade general school (it was located in the neighbouring building of the "Native School"). The combined institutions became Joseph Stalin 10-year Soviet school (Shakh, 1977, pp. 83–84).

The Conclusions. As the director of the Przemyśl Gymnasium, Stepan Shakh continued the work of his predecessors, supporting the activity of the educational institution at a high level, directing his efforts to the organization of educational process, while at the same time focusing on educational work.

One of the first important steps of the new head was to establish the educational process, combining the curriculum according to the old models (the 8-class classical and humanistic system of gymnasiums) and the new ones introduced in 1932. The 6-class general education programme (4-class gymnasiums and 2-class lyceum), choosing a humanistic, mathematical and naturalistic profile of education according to a new approach. From the bureaucratic point of view, the systematization of the history of the gymnasium's activities was also an important step, in particular S. Shakh organized the release of reports on the activities of the educational institution.

The leadership of the Gymnasium closely cooperated with the chartered society "Circle of Relatives", "Mariyska Druzhyna", "Interclass Community" in the issue of national patriotic education of youth, sports development of students.

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