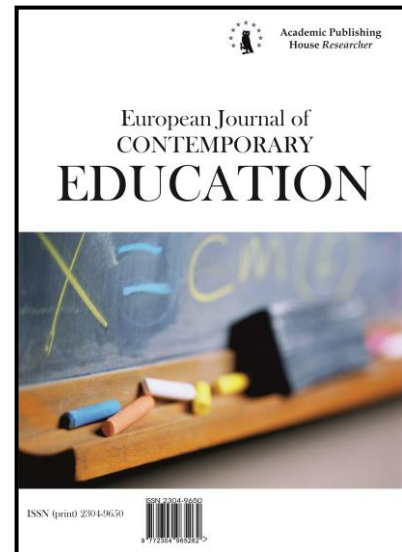




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The History of Education

The Public Education System in Voronezh Governorate in the Period 1703–1917. Part 1

Aleksandr A. Cherkasov ^{a, b, c, *}, Sergei N. Bratanovskii ^{d, e}, Larisa A. Koroleva ^f

^a International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research, Washington, USA

^b Volgograd State University, Volgograd, Russian Federation

^c American Historical Association, Washington, USA

^d Plekhanov Russian University of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation

^e Institute of State and Law of RAS, Moscow, Russian Federation

^f Penza State University of Architecture and Construction, Penza, Russian Federation

Abstract

This paper examines the public education system in Voronezh Governorate in the period 1703–1917. This part of the collection represents an attempt to reproduce a picture of how the region's public education system developed between 1703 and 1861.

In putting this work together, the authors drew upon a pool of statistical data published in Memorandum Books for Voronezh Governorate, reports by the Minister of Public Education, and Memorandum Books for certain educational institutions (e.g., the Voronezh Male Gymnasium).

The authors' conclusion is that, overall, the public education system in Voronezh Governorate developed in complicated conditions. During the 18th century, this process was influenced by both external (e.g., wars) and internal (e.g., lack of funding and teachers' daily-life difficulties) factors. The lack of consistency in the operation of the governorate's school system was resolved only after there appeared in the region educational institutions funded by the government. By the beginning of the 1860s, Voronezh Governorate witnessed the creation of an entire network of educational institutions that were subordinate to governmental agencies (the Ministry of Public Education, the Department of Religious Affairs, and the Department of State Property). During that period, the region witnessed the establishment of a gymnasium, a teachers' seminary, and an ecclesiastical

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: sochi003@rambler.ru (A.A. Cherkasov), bratfoot@mail.ru (S.N. Bratanovskii), la-koro@yandex.ru (L.A. Koroleva)

seminary, i.e. educational institutions that were potential providers of a skilled local workforce essential to the development of the public education system.

Keywords: public education, Voronezh Governorate, statistical data, educational institutions, female education

1. Introduction

The history of Voronezh Governorate has many blank pages. One of them is that Voronezh Governorate was the first governorate in the Russian Empire to declare (in 1915) that its network of primary schools was ready for the introduction of compulsory public education ([Iz «ob"yasnitel'noi zapiski...», 1916: 165](#)). It is to be recalled that, based on the results of Russia's 1897 census, just 21 % of its population was literate (knew how to read and write) ([Obshechii svod, 1905: 39-40](#)). Without question, the above-mentioned fact was a major success for the governorate's administration, the local Directorate for Public Schools, and the Russian Empire as a whole. So how did the region's system of public education start out, what difficulties did it face, and what were the regional characteristics that had an effect on its development? These issues will be examined in a collection of papers on the subject written by the authors. This part of the collection offers insight into the development of the public education system in Voronezh Governorate in the period 1703–1861, i.e. through to the abolition of serfdom in Russia.

2. Materials and methods

In putting this work together, the authors drew upon a pool of statistical data published in Memorandum Books for Voronezh Governorate ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1856: 13-15; Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 337-339](#)), reports by the Minister of Public Education ([Iz «ob"yasnitel'noi zapiski...», 1916: 159-176](#)), and Memorandum Books for certain educational institutions (e.g., the Voronezh Male Gymnasium ([Pamyatnaya knizhka Voronezhskoi gubernskoi gimnazii, 1891](#))).

This study employs the following research methods: multi-factor analysis, integrated analysis, periodization, classification, and comparison. The use of these methods will help ensure the reliability of the study's findings. The study is of an interdisciplinary nature and is predicated on the principles of comparatism, which will help identify the various levels of a source's informativeness and compare pieces of information on the issue under investigation from different sources. The work employs the interdisciplinary and integrated approaches to exploring the subject of public education in Voronezh Governorate, which will help examine the development of the region's public education in an integrated fashion, i.e. by reference to relevant internal and external factors.

3. Discussion

The historiography relating to the public education system in the Russian Empire is diverse. It emerged during the pre-revolutionary period, and received some, if little, coverage during the Soviet period. The interest in it was reignited during the post-Soviet period.

Pre-revolutionary historiography. During the pre-revolutionary period, researchers were mainly focused on general issues of education in Russia. For instance, M.F. Vladimirskii-Budanov investigated the subject of interaction between the state and the public education system during the period from the 18th century to the establishment of the ministries ([Vladimirskii-Budanov, 1874](#)). S.S. Knyaz'kov and N.I. Serbov explored Russia's public education system of the period preceding the era of Alexander II ([Knyaz'kov, Serbov, 1910](#)). S.V. Rozhdestvenskii studied the activity of the Ministry of Public Education, which was associated with the organization's 100th anniversary ([Rozhdestvenskii, 1902](#)).

The study of the public education system in Voronezh Governorate implies reliance upon the regional literature. There is an entire body of publications related to the history of various educational institutions in Voronezh Governorate. In this context, it is worth mentioning works on the history of the Voronezh Male Gymnasium ([Panteleevskii, 1901](#)), the Voronezh Ecclesiastical Seminary ([Nicol'skii, 1898; Nicol'skii, 1901](#)), the Mikhailovsky Cadet Corps ([Zverev, 1895](#)), the Voronezh Teacher's Seminary ([Litvinov, 1911](#)), and several private educational institutions ([Veselovskii, 1864](#)).

Soviet historiography. During the Soviet period, researchers generally were discouraged from exploring the public education system in the Russian Empire, as there had been set a political narrative positing that the majority of people in Tsarist Russia were poorly literate. In this regard,

there was a focus on extolling the role played by the Bolsheviks in providing literacy to the masses. Hence the comparatively insignificant number of works on the education system of the pre-revolutionary period. Nonetheless, there actually *was* some research done on issues of workforce preparation in Tsarist Russia at large (Panachin, 1979) and public education in the Voronezh region in particular (Vinokurov, 1954).

Post-Soviet historiography. In the contemporary period, issues related to the national system of public education in the Russian Empire have been investigated by I.V. Fomichev (Fomichev, 1996) and A.Yu. Butov (Butov, 1991). Certain researchers have explored public education in Voronezh Governorate specifically (Pyl'nev, Rogachev, 1997; Pyl'nev, 2009). There has been some research done on the public education system in the Russian Empire's central governorates: Vologda Governorate (Cherkasov et al., 2019; Cherkasov et al., 2019a; Cherkasov et al., 2019b; Cherkasov et al., 2019c), Vyatka Governorate (Magsumov et al., 2018), and Vilna Governorate (Natolochnaya et al., 2019; Natolochnaya et al., 2019a). Some researchers have explored public education in the Don region as well (Peretyatko, Zulfugarzade, 2017; Peretyatko, Zulfugarzade, 2017a; Peretyatko, Zulfugarzade, 2019; Peretyatko, Zulfugarzade, 2019a).

4. Results

The point of departure in the development of the public education system in the Voronezh region is the year 1703, in which the first mention of an educational institution in the area appears (a school in the village of Endovishcha) (Pyl'nev, Rogachev, 1997: 4). It is worth remembering that during that period the public education system both in Russia and in Europe (Cherkasov et al., 2019: 209-210; Mamadaliev et al., 2019: 448) was in an incipient state and mostly relied on the personal initiatives of private teachers, as well as the educational activity of the church.

A significant impetus to the development of the city of Voronezh was provided by the creation of a naval shipyard and the commencement of construction of military ships for the fleet of Emperor Peter I. The fleet needed not only ships but professional personnel as well, which led to the establishment of a state-run school in Voronezh in the spring of that same year, 1703.

In May, the school received its first textbooks, which included Russian and Latin primers, psalters, books of hours, and arithmetic textbooks. This is testimony that it was a comprehensive school.

In 1705, at the initiative of Peter I, on the left bank of the River Voronezh they laid the foundation of a fortress (the Tavrov Fortress) and a shipyard based at it. The comprehensive school was moved from Voronezh to Tavrov and was named Tavrov School. However, circa 1712 the school closed down.

On November 29, 1718, Peter I signed an edict for the provision of instruction in literacy and numeracy to carpenters, ship mechanics, blacksmiths, and other types of craftsman. By 1722, both the shipyard in Tavrov and the school resumed operation. By 1725, the Tavrov school had nearly 160 students on its roll. The government's shipbuilding activity in Tavrov lasted up until 1740, subsequent to which it was continued in Saint Petersburg, with the school closing down for good. That being said, during that period there already was a local garrison school running in Voronezh (Pyl'nev, Rogachev, 1997: 13).

In 1714, the Russian government undertook the first attempt to create the nation's first network of state-run comprehensive primary schools. On February 28, Peter I issued an edict for the establishment of arithmetic schools in all of Russia's governorates, with students' admission age set to be between 10 and 15 years. Arithmetic schools were to be based at monasteries, and instruction was to be provided by graduates of the Moscow School of Mathematics and Navigation and the Maritime Academy.

Attending an arithmetic school must have put significant mental strains on students, as a typical school day lasted for nearly eight to nine hours, whereas school breaks were quite short (a Christmas break and a break of one month in summer). In 1715, an arithmetic school was opened in Voronezh as well. Over the 10 years that followed, the school was attended by 197 individuals, with 136 of these failing to complete the entire program of study (due to either dropping out on their own accord or being disenrolled due to inadequate progress) and just 58 completing it successfully. Note that the student body consisted of 40 children of public officers, 151 children of persons of ecclesiastical status, and six children of soldiers, dragoons, and gunners

(Pyl'nev, Rogachev, 1997: 20). This might be some of the first-ever statistical data on the student body across Voronezh Governorate.

Garrison schools in Russia owe their emergence to Peter I. It was his initiative to have in place in each infantry garrison regiment a garrison school that would provide instruction to soldiers. As early as the reign of Anna Ioannovna, a regulation was put in place requiring a school of this kind to have at least 80 students on the roll (Pyl'nev, Rogachev, 1997: 21).

In 1744, the arithmetic schools were merged with the garrison schools. By 1796, the Voronezh garrison school had two companies, each numbering 80 (Pyl'nev, Rogachev, 1997: 22).

There were attempts to establish church schools as well. For instance, in 1737 Voronezh became home to a church school that provided children with instruction in reading, writing, and Latin. As early as the following year, the school had 522 students on its roll. However, by the end of 1739 the school virtually ceased operation, most probably due to lack of funding. That same year, 1739, there was an attempt to establish a church school at the Uspenskaya Church. The school was in operation until 1744, when it closed down too.

The lack of permanence with regard to the operation of both church and private schools was largely associated with the fact that much in this respect depended on a specific, often everyday-life, setting that teachers were in. This is why these schools were not distinguished by permanence. Here is a good example: in 1739, a church school was opened in the village of Nikolskoye; a half-year later, the school's teacher passed away, which led to the school's closure (Pyl'nev, Rogachev, 1997: 24).

A much greater degree of permanence was characteristic of the operation of schools established with financial support from the government or some other solid source. In 1745, Voronezh became home to the Voronezh Ecclesiastical Seminary (Nicol'skii, 1898: 1). The facility was running with annual financial support from the diocese's churches and monasteries. There were clear-cut quotas in place on this: 1/30 of each church's revenue and 1/20 of each monastery's revenue. Of interest is the fact that most of this revenue was based on bread grown on the land owned by the churches and monasteries (Nicol'skii, 1898: 17).

The seminary accepted into its lower grade children aged between seven and 15 years who had some literacy and numeracy skills. The first six grades in the seminary were as follows: Analogy, Infima, Grammar, Syntaxima, Poetics, and Rhetoric (Nicol'skii, 1898: 36). Virtually all instruction was provided in the Latin language. The first grade was called 'Analogy' or 'Elementary' and incorporated reading and writing in Slavic, as well as initial exposure to reading and writing in Latin. Of interest is what was taught in the final grades, namely poetics – teaching students various figures of speech and verse writing. In the Rhetoric grade, students were taught the art of public speaking and logic (Nicol'skii, 1898: 38). Later on, there were set up two more grades at the seminary – the Philosophy grade in 1777 and the Theology grade in 1779 (Nicol'skii, 1901: 39).

The seminary's library began to form back in 1757, when they purchased in Kiev 1,000 rubles worth of fundamental works. This included works by many Greek and Latin theologians, philosophers, and philologists, as well as classical books in Hebrew, Greek, German, and Latin (Nicol'skii, 1898: 181). Some of the books provided were from private collections. For instance, in 1778 the library received another 700 works, which had been bought from the wife of the deceased Ostrogzhsk senior regimental physician Zager for 50 rubles. For comparison, two years later the library acquired in Moscow 54 volumes of Voltaire's works at the same price, 50 rubles (Nicol'skii, 1898: 182).

In 1789, they put together the library's catalogue – it contained 4,020 volumes, with 1,545 of these being books in Russian, 959 – in Latin, 81 – in German, 175 – in French, and 1,261 – classic educational books. There were some highly valuable books as well, like the Ostrog Bible, published in 1581. By the end of the 18th century, the seminary's library held a stock of over 5,000 books (Nicol'skii, 1898: 182-183).

In the early 19th century, the library went on to comprise the following two major holdings: fundamental (for teachers) and discipular (for students).

On September 22, 1786, Voronezh became home to the region's main public school (Pamyatnaya knizhka Voronezhskoi gubernskoi gimnazii, 1891: 3).

In late 1798, they established in Voronezh the city's own printing office. The facility's strong operational capacity would eventually make the city of Voronezh one of Russia's key centers for book printing.

In the period 1806–1826, the governorate became home to several parish schools under the Ministry of Public Education. These schools were allowed to be attended by children of all estates, ages, and genders. As at 1828, the governorate's district schools had a combined enrollment of 401 students (395 boys and six girls).

There were plans to open a military school in Voronezh back in 1805, but the project was put off due to, mainly, financial reasons. On November 8, 1845, Voronezh became home to the Mikhailovsky Cadet Corps ([Voronezhskii Velikogo Knyazya Mikhaila Pavlovicha kadetskii korpus, 1912: 38](#)). The institution gave admission preference to the children of officers (Full Cavaliers of the Order of Saint George), orphans, and half-orphans. The first batch numbered just 36 students. The program of study comprised a two-year preparatory period and a four-year core study period, which later would be increased to five years.

On January 17, 1809, Professor A.I. Stoikovich transformed the city's main school into a gubernial gymnasium. In the year it opened, the gymnasium had a library stock of 28 books and 300 minerals and fossils. The gymnasium was established by way of reorganizing the main public school, with the latter's third and fourth grades transformed into first and second gymnasium grades. In first grade, instruction was provided in the following disciplines: Algebra, Geometry, Logic, Comprehensive Grammar, Latin, French, German, Ancient History, Geography, Mythology, and Drawing. In second grade, students were taught the following subjects: Psychology, Edification, Mathematics (the final part of General Mathematics and the initial part of Applied Mathematics), French, German, History (modern and national), and Geography. In third grade, the following subjects were offered: Aesthetics, Rhetoric, General Statistics, General History, Physics, and Applied Mathematics. In addition, one continued taking Latin, French, German, and Drawing.

By 1854, Voronezh Governorate had in operation schools under the following key agencies: the Ministry of Public Education, the Department of Military Affairs, the Department of Religious Affairs, and the Department of State Property. There also were private schools on squire's estates.

The following schools were running under the Ministry of Public Education: the Voronezh Male Gymnasium, three private boarding schools in Voronezh and Ostrogozhsk, 10 district schools, two private schools in the city of Voronezh, and 16 parish schools. Overall, the Ministry of Public Education was running 32 educational institutions with a combined enrollment of 1,685 students (1,540 boys and 145 girls) ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1856: 12-13](#)).

The following educational institutions were running under the Department of Military Affairs: the Mikhailovsky Cadet Corps and two schools for military cantonists. The combined number of students in attendance at these educational institutions was 3,391 males ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1856: 13](#)).

The Department of Religious Affairs was running an ecclesiastical seminary and four district schools, with a combined enrollment of 1,686 males ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1856: 13](#)).

The Department of State Property oversaw the operation of 58 parish schools in the villages of state peasants, with a combined enrollment of 3,493 students (3,084 boys and 409 girls) ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1856: 13-15](#)).

The number of private schools on squire's estates was six, with a combined enrollment of 195 students (183 boys and 12 girls) ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1856: 15](#)).

Overall, in 1854 the governorate had in operation 104 educational institutions with a combined enrollment of 10,450 students (9,884 boys and 566 girls).

Among these educational institutions, only three might be subsumed as secondary (the Voronezh Male Gymnasium, the Voronezh Ecclesiastical Seminary, and the Mikhailovsky Cadet Corps). The rest were lower and primary, with the latter being more numerous.

The above data on the number of students in the pre-reform period indicate a significant gender imbalance: there were 15 times fewer girls. During that period, this was explained by simple peasant logic: males were to provide the living, while females were to take care of the house and children, and, therefore, they could well do without schooling.

On the eve of the abolition of serfdom, in 1860, the public education system in Voronezh Governorate looked as described below.

The city of Voronezh had 361 students enrolled in its gubernial male gymnasium (inclusive of the boarding school) (273 children of nobles and functionaries, seven children of persons of ecclesiastical status, 69 children of petit bourgeois, and 12 children of peasants). The district school had 90 students on its roll (39 children of nobles and functionaries, one child of a person of

ecclesiastical status, 39 children of petit bourgeois, and 11 children of peasants). The two parish schools had a combined enrollment of 161 students (26 children of nobles and functionaries, three children of persons of ecclesiastical status, 79 children of petit bourgeois, and 53 children of peasants). The three female boarding schools ((1) Odrowąż Wysocki's, (2) Depner's, and (3) Meshalskaya's) provided instruction to a combined 77 children of members of the noble estate, seven children of persons of ecclesiastical status, and 48 children of petit bourgeois ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 337](#)). In addition, there also was in operation one private school (Bolotova's), which served both genders. The school had 35 students on its roll (12 boys and 10 girls from the families of nobles and functionaries, three boys and one girl from the families of persons of ecclesiastical status, and nine girls from the families of petit bourgeois). The first Sunday school was opened in late 1860. The number of students in attendance at it would reach 28. The second Sunday school was opened on August 20, 1861 and was housed in the building of the male gymnasium. The number of students in attendance at it would reach 50.

Back in 1859, the administration of the city of Voronezh was considering opening a female school, but the idea failed to materialize due to lack of funding. In 1860, thanks to donations and proceeds from plays, lotteries, and other activities, it finally became possible to come up with the amount of capital required to establish the facility. The female school went into operation in August of 1861. The number of girls in attendance at this three-grade school would eventually reach 114 ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 337](#)).

As at 1860, the Alexandrinsky Orphan's Home had 125 children under its care. On November 1, 1861, the Council of the Imperial Philanthropic Society established at the orphan home a "school of the industrious". The school had in attendance 22 girls, with 13 of these educated by way of funding from the Committee for the Care of the Poor and nine – by way of funding from benefactors, who each contributed 35 rubles for each girl annually. The school provided instruction in the following disciplines: Religious Education, Russian, Arithmetic, and Penmanship.

Voronezh District had a combined 86 peasant boys enrolled in its two parish schools under the Department of State Property ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 338](#)).

Below is an outline of the numerical state of affairs with regard to educational institutions across the cities and districts of Voronezh Governorate.

The town of Zadonsk had a combined 105 boys enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (20 children of nobles and functionaries, two children of persons of ecclesiastical status, 58 children of petit bourgeois, and 25 children of peasants). In addition, the town also had an ecclesiastical school with 134 students on its roll. The district's two parish schools under the Department of State Property had a combined enrollment of 41 boys, and the two schools on squire's estates had a combined enrollment of 32 boys and five girls.

The town of Zemlyansk had a combined 44 boys enrolled in its single parish school (three children of nobles and functionaries, 36 children of petit bourgeois, and five children of peasants). The district's four parish schools under the Department of State Property had a combined enrollment of 185 boys and eight girls.

There were no educational institutions in the town of Korotoyak, but the district had a combined 241 boys and five girls enrolled in its six parish schools ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 338](#)).

The town of Nizhnedevitsk had a combined 70 boys enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (11 children of nobles and functionaries, one child of a person of ecclesiastical status, 41 children of petit bourgeois, and 17 children of peasants). The five parish schools under the Department of State Property had a combined enrollment of 121 boys and 21 girls from the families of state peasants ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 338](#)).

The town of Ostrogozhsk had a combined 92 boys enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (18 children of nobles and functionaries, six children of persons of ecclesiastical status, 54 children of petit bourgeois, and 14 children of peasants). In addition, the city had one private female boarding school with 27 girls on its roll (15 children of nobles and functionaries, one child of a person of ecclesiastical status, and 11 children of petit bourgeois). The 14 parish rural schools under the Department of State Property had a combined enrollment of 847 boys and 190 girls. The three schools on squire's estates had a combined enrollment of 127 students ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 338](#)).

The town of Beryuch had a combined 81 students enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (14 children of nobles and functionaries, 39 children of petit bourgeois,

and 28 children of peasants). In addition, the town had an ecclesiastical school with 226 students on its roll. The two parish schools in the villages of state peasants had a combined enrollment of 169 boys and four girls, and the single school on Count Sheremetyev's estate in the sloboda of Alekseyevka had 77 boys on its roll ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 338-339](#)).

The town of Valuyki had a combined 85 boys enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (26 children of nobles, eight children of persons of ecclesiastical status, 31 children of petit bourgeois, and 20 children of peasants). The five parish schools in the villages of state peasants had a combined enrollment of 347 boys and 11 girls ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 339](#)).

The town of Boguchar had a combined 97 boys enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (16 children of nobles and functionaries, 66 children of petit bourgeois, and 15 children of peasants). The students in attendance at the eight parish schools in operation in the villages of state peasants numbered a combined 406 boys and five girls ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 339](#)).

The town of Pavlovsk had a combined 100 boys enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (eight children of nobles and functionaries, 72 children of petit bourgeois, and 20 children of peasants). The students in attendance at the four parish schools in the villages of state peasants numbered a combined 257 boys and seven girls, and the single school in the sloboda of Vorontsovka (on the estate of Prince Vorontsov) had 154 boys on its roll ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 339](#)).

The town of Novokhopersk had a combined 81 boys enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (10 children of nobles and functionaries, two children of persons of ecclesiastical status, 63 children of petit bourgeois, and six children of peasants). The students in attendance at the five parish schools in operation in the villages of state peasants numbered a combined 148 boys and seven girls ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 339](#)).

The town of Bobrov had a combined 82 boys enrolled in its single district and single parish schools (17 children of nobles and functionaries, 64 children of petit bourgeois, and one child of a peasant). The students in attendance at the seven parish schools in operation in the villages of state peasants numbered a combined 390 boys and 18 girls, and the two schools on squire's estates had a combined enrollment of 70 students ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 339](#)).

Table 1. Total Numbers of Educational Facilities and Students in Voronezh Governorate in 1854 and 1860 ([Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1856: 13-15](#); [Pamyatnaya knizhka, 1861: 337-339](#))

Educational institution	1854				1860			
	Number of facilities	Number of students			Number of facilities	Number of students		
		Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total
Voronezh gymnasium (inclusive of the boarding school)	1	242	-	242	1	361	-	361
Private boarding school	3	-	102	102	4	-	158	158
District schools under the Ministry of Public Education	10	423	-	423	10	1,088	-	1,088
Parish schools under the Ministry of Public Education	15	853	5	858	12			
Private schools	2	22	38	60	1	15	20	35
Female schools	-	-	-	-	2	-	136	136
Sunday school	-	-	-	-	2	78	-	78
Ecclesiastical seminary	1	477	-	477	N/A			
District ecclesiastical school	4	1,209	-	1,209	2	360	-	360
Schools under the	58	3,084	409	3,493	64	3,238	276	3,514

Department of State Property								
Private school on a squire's estate	6	183	12	195	9	460	5	465
Total	100	6,493	566	7,059	107	5,600	595	6,195

Table 1 does not include the data for schools under the Department of Military Affairs. Thus, the number of students for 1854 is reduced by 3,300. Note that the statistics for 1860 contain no information about an ecclesiastical seminary and two ecclesiastical schools that were in operation at the time. Thus, the data for 1860 should be regarded as incomplete. As evidenced from Table 1, the period 1854–1860 witnessed a 50 % increase in the number of schools on squire's estates (from six to nine), with the number of students at them rising nearly 2.5 times. In addition, there was an increase in the number of schools under the Department of State Property (i.e., schools situated on lands inhabited by state peasants). Another fact worthy of note is the general public's growing interest in female education, illustrated by the emergence of at once several female schools in Voronezh Governorate on the eve of the abolition of serfdom.

5. Conclusion

Overall, the public education system in Voronezh Governorate developed in complicated conditions. During the 18th century, this process was influenced by both external (e.g., wars) and internal (e.g., lack of funding and teachers' daily-life difficulties) factors. The lack of consistency in the operation of the governorate's school system was resolved only after there appeared in the region educational institutions funded by the government. By the beginning of the 1860s, Voronezh Governorate witnessed the creation of an entire network of educational institutions that were subordinate to governmental agencies (the Ministry of Public Education, the Department of Religious Affairs, and the Department of State Property). During that period, the region witnessed the establishment of a gymnasium, a teachers' seminary, and an ecclesiastical seminary, i.e. educational institutions that were potential providers of a skilled local workforce essential to the development of the public education system.

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