The article is devoted to the analysis of modern historiography regarding to the issue of establishment and development of the national movement for Ukrainization of education in the second part of the 19th century - the beginning of the 20th century. It is considered that in a historiographical discourse the issue of Ukrainization of education of the examined period is expansively presented. Based on the systematization of the scientific and historical material, two historiographical units were identified: the first was the history of Ukrainian education of the second half of the 19th century; the second referred to the history of the movement for the institutional establishment of Ukrainian education between 1917-1921-s. It is highlighted that a synthesis of a historiographical narrative permits to consider the movement for Ukrainization of national educational space in temporal, territorial and content unity, understanding its logical process of national establishment of Ukrainian civilization in the second half of the 19th century - the beginning of the 20th century. It is concluded that the preconditions of the emergence of the movement for Ukrainization of education in mid-19th century, the essence and consequences of imperial policy of assimilation in educational sphere, the organizational bases of Ukrainization of education, the leaders of the national movement are in the focus of historians’ attention, the works of which united in the first historiographical unit. It is determined that the researchers are common in a thought regarding Sunday schools that are considered to be the main representors of struggle for Ukrainization of education in 19th century. The historians had concluded that the policy of assimilation and chauvinism impeded the development of Ukrainian schools and prevented Ukrainian language implementation to the learning process. The historical, pedagogical and local history syntheses devoted to the analysis of the ways and content of Ukrainian education during 1917-1921-s. were united within the second historiographical unit. It is considered that the historians have focused on the following aspects: social and political conditions, content and peculiarities of the state policy in educational sphere; a place and role of pedagogical personnel in strengthening of the national movement for establishment of Ukrainian education; value bases of an educational reform and a pedagogical thought; the educational organizers and leaders of the movement for Ukrainization of schools; the essential changes in a structure, content, methodical, organizational and pedagogical bases of education and nurture children and the youth; historical meaning, achievements and miscalculations in Ukrainization of educational space, its further development in Ukrainization policy of Bolsheviks in 1920-s. It has been concluded that the active study of national philosophy, ways and methods of establishment of the movement for Ukrainization of education by modern historians has informative as well as practical-oriented meaning for the context of positive experience mainstreaming of Ukrainization of education under the modern circumstances of state and innovative development of national educational space.

Key words: national and cultural enlightenment; modern historiography; Ukrainization of education; Ukrainian language; school education; national consciousness; russification; Sunday schools.

Introduction

The creation of a nation is inseparably connected with a level of literacy and the general level of educated people. High school, secondary education and national oriented education are recognized to be the key factors of contemporary national movements in modern historiography. A level of literacy and language knowledge determined a capacity of national self-identification, were the initial reasons for enlightenment of "people who waked" according to the national construction and restoration. Moreover, an organization of national education is one of the main conditions and a crucial indicator of state success. The state national development, language, national consciousness establishment and the value bases of national identity directly depend on a content and scale of the secondary education extension. Consequently, it was legitimate to state that the movement for Ukrainization of education was the mainstream of Ukrainian national and cultural enlightenment of the second part of the 19th century - the first third of the 20th century. The significance of the secon-
dary education for the national enlightenment of the Ukrainian society was strengthened by the unique educational role in the Ukrainian language development as well as by the fact that colonial power of Romanov's and Habsburger's states considered education as the key instrument of denationalization, Russification and Polonization of the Ukrainians, therefore, a lot of endeavors were applied for ensuring that the secondary education would uncritically serve to the empires' interests. Education was the main way of the national enlightenment implementation at the same time, since the distribution of national ideas and social and political leaders were directly correlated with the existed system of Ukrainian education that was a bridge to the vast national mass consciousness in the second half of the 19th century.

The movement for Ukrainization of education demanded national consolidated efforts of a conscious part of people as the authorities' attitude to the expansion of Ukrainian content in the secondary education was negative that destructively influenced on the reforms of the education space founded on the national bases. The appropriate efforts of the national conscious segments of the population about Ukrainization of education have logically become an issue of an accurate study of the Ukrainian historians as the past experience of establishing the national system of secondary education is urgent under the modern conditions of new Ukrainian school innovative development, furthermore, its contextual, methodological, organizational and pedagogical potential is aimed at resistance to chauvinism and hybrid aggression as in the previous century.


A defining characteristic of modern historiography is that the scientists consider separately the emergence of the processes of Ukrainization of education of the second part of the 19th century, study their activity during the Ukrainian national democratic revolution of 1917-1921-s and analyze independently Ukrainization policy of Bolsheviks which despite the political context played a significant role in the continuation of the social movement for establishment of Ukrainian national school system. Simultaneously, a historiographic dimension of obtained scientific and historical material has not become an issue of a particular study which serves as the cognitive relevance of the article.

The aim of the study is a conceptual analysis of the modern historical narrative devoted to the analysis of the movement for Ukrainization of education of the second part of the 19th century - the beginning of the 20th century. The attention will be paid to the modern historical studies where the social and political conditions of the movement for Ukrainization of education of the second part of the 19th century are considered, its conceptual content and effectiveness are determined. Moreover, among the other objectives of an article are the systematization of historiography of Ukrainization of education during the Ukrainian national democratic revolution of 1917-1921-s, an analysis of historical views according to ideological, organizational and personalization dimensions of the educational space development.

Methods
The civilizational, social and cultural methodologies, systematic scientific and conceptual approach of the historiographic analysis, the tool of which provides an opportunity to achieve the priorities of being scientific and objective in demonstration of the historiographical facts, historicism and the coherence in establishing historiographical narrative, cross-cultural approach and integration of historiographical conclusions, are in the base of the study. The complex of historiographical methods was applied: a method of a historiographical analysis and synthesis, comparative, retrospective, problem-chronological methods, a method of hermeneutic study of historical texts.

Research and results
The systematization of the scientific and historical material according to the issue of the movement for Ukrainization of education during the researched period provides the reasons for separation of two historiographical units: the first is the history of Ukrainian education of the second half of the 19th century, the second refers to the history of the movement for the institutional establishment of Ukrainian education during 1917-1921-s. The synthesis of the relevant historiographical narrative permits to consider the movement for Ukrainization of national educational space in its temporal, territorial and conceptual unity, taking into account the logical process of determination of Ukrainian civilization in the second part of the 19th century - the beginning of the 20th century.


The scientists mentioned that the movement for establishment of Ukrainian education was implemented due to two directions: on the one hand, it was "Ukrainization" of the existed educational institutions that partially contradicted with the strong resistance of Russian-oriented teachers of Russian language who having realized a threat to their dominant position and tried to delay school rebuilding on the national basis (Rublov, 2004: 76), from the other hand, there was the establishment of the new
Ukrainian value-oriented educational institutions and cultural organizations. Despite all endeavors of the imperial power for preventing Ukrainian language usage in school environment, the Ukrainian intellectuals found the necessary resources for the self-organization in the struggle for Ukrainization of educational sphere, having repaid into "a case of Ukrainian school establishment the personal experience, professional knowledge as well as the high level of national consciousness" (Ibid). 

Analyzing the conditions of education development of the second half of the 19th century, the historians draw initial conclusions: in the context of the Ukrainian and chauvinistic invariants. The absolute form of negative influence of the imperial policy in cultural sphere on education is typical for historiography. For instance, O. Reent paid attention to the imperial condition of Ukrainian lands that determined elimination of Ukrainian language in any spheres of social life. He mentioned that "Russian chauvinistic press persistently propagated a thought that education on Ukrainian language cultivated a spirit of imperial alienation. The Polish and Jewish chauvinists maintained the bullying of an idea of education the pupils of primary school on Ukrainian language. The national language was banned in the educational and state institutions" (Reyent, 2003: 111).

Ya. Grytsak described the tough position of Ukrainian education; he explained it via several factors: firstly, the Russian authorities' fear of the spread of education and literacy among the peasants that could transform them into a social active element; secondly, the political persecutions of Ukrainian language and culture in Russian and Austrian empires. The historian drew attention to the fact that except the political obstacles on the way of Ukrainian education development, there were the social ones: "A Ukrainian peasant, - stated Ya. Grytsak, - could not permit to buy a book or, furthermore, subscribe to a newspaper due to his poverty. Education was not in the first place or in the rank of family priorities" (Hrytsak, 1996: 61). The Ukrainians tried to have an access to the secondary and high education at the same time; consequently, they were influenced by imperial culture, forced to assimilation and deeply felt their alienation from the Ukrainian nation, having excluded from it socially as well as nationally (Ibid: 62).

Under such conditions as Ya. Grytsak mentioned the only way was a program of the national movement where Ukrainization of education occupied a significant place (Ibid).

Simultaneously, the historians underlined the difference in the state of education between Russian and Austrian empires. In particular, Ukrainian language was banned as the language of education and subject in Naddniprianshchyna since the educational reform of 1804 and till 1917. The Ukrainian children studied in Russian that negatively influenced on their general personal formation and development of national identity (Ibid: 61). The conditions of Ukrainian language assimilation in education were implemented by the imperial laws of the second half of the 19th century. For instance, The Valuev Circular of 1863 introduced total ban of textbooks publishing and education in Ukrainian, and Emsky Edict of 1876 almost displaced Ukrainian language from cultural and educational life of the Ukrainian.

Despite rather flexible administrative and political circumstances in the Ukrainian lands that were the part of Austria-Hungary, still the position of Ukrainian education suffered from a chauvinistic strategy as well as in the part of Ukraine within Russian Empire. As O. Reent noticed Zakarpatsya was encompassed by total Magyarisation (there were 352 Ukrainian schools by 1881, 282 Ukrainian schools by 1883, and there were none Ukrainian schools in 1914); Bukovina and Galicia were under the influence of Polonization and Latinization of education, and all endeavors to protect a right of the Ukrainians to obtain education in native language encountered inactivity of the center and strong resistance of the Polish elite (Reyent, 2003: 113-114).

The historians mentioned that the cultural and educational activity of communities, the leaders of which were occupied by opening Sunday schools, editing and publishing textbooks, was crucial for the movement for Ukrainization of education of the second half of the 19th century. V. Sarbey underlined the role of Sunday schools on the base of the communities, focused attention on the process of education in Ukrainian language that was a step forward strengthening the national basis of spiritual life of the population in general. The great value of communities’ activity in the case of Ukrainization of schools transformed the participants of the movement into enemies of the imperial authorities. V. Sarbey explained that Sunday schools meant a decline of Catholic university and undermining Latin, whereas Russian autocraty was concerned regarding the democratic tendencies in the general activity of communities and much less regarding the endeavors of Ukrainian language and literature to be separated from Russian (Sarbey, 1994: 58-59).

Although, the significant endeavors of the national consciousness parts of the society for establishing the movement for Ukrainization of education, the great results were not reached. We needed to agree with the conclusions of V. Sarbey that Ukrainian national enlightenment in educational sphere was hardly noticed and short-term, "it shined in the activity of Sunday schools that used in their education ABC books of Schevchenko, Schejkovsky, Stronin and grammar of Kulish, etc." (Ibid: 87). Consequently, V. Sarbey summarized that despite schools’ activity, their work in the sphere of developing national spirit did not bring the desired results (Ibid: 88). The better was a situation with the institutional implementation of the movement for Ukrainization of education in the Western Ukrainian lands where "Prosvita" (established in Lviv in 1868) was at the forefront.

The second historiographical unit includes historical, pedagogical and local historical syntheses devoted to the analysis of the ways and content of Ukrainization of education during 1917-1921-s. The range of issues is rather wide - from social and political conditions of education development, its organizers and ideological bases to content and methodological, organizational, pedagogical, personal dimensions of the movement for Ukrainization of educational space.

It is generally known that the processes of Ukrainization of education during 1917-1921-s were determined by the emergence of Ukrainian state establishments and their dynamic was defined by the particular social and political circumstances. The well-known modern historian S. Siropolko identified four periods of Ukrainian educational establishment according to such criterion: the first was educational development during the Provisional Government (March 8th - June 10th 1917); the second referred to the changes in Ukrainian schools since the creation of the First Universal of the Central Council of Ukraine to Hetmanat of Skoropadskyi (June 10th 1917 - April 30th 1918); the third was the reforms of education during the government of Petro Skoropadskyi (April 30th - December 15th 1918); the fourth referred to the development of Ukrainian education at the time of Directory of UNR (February 1919 - November 1920) (Siropolko, 2001: 459-460). The presented periodization was correlated with the changes in social and political conditions that were a crucial factor of
efficiency of all educational changes. Establishment of Ukrainian system of education included a number of components of state policy: ideological and strategical bases of educational revolutions; factors and moving forces of educational changes; system of educational management; development of educational institutions; content, methods, organizational and pedagogical bases of education and nurture, etc. All the issues were the subjects of meticulous study to some extent in modern Ukrainian historiography.

The separate direction of the study in modern historiography was devoted to the investigation of the social and cultural bases and content of the state policy in the sphere of Ukrainization of education during 1917-1921-s. It is presented by the following works: L. Berezivska (2008), B. Kravchenko (1997), V. Krupianchuk (2012), O. Kudlay (2019), V. Kundry (2000), V. Lypynskyi (2007), S. Malboroda (2002), O. Maschevskyi (1997), I. Iperyedy (2009), N. Rotar (1996), N. Samandas (2001), S. Siropolko (2001), N. So- rochynskyi (1998), Yu. Telichy (2009) and others. The scientists studied the activity of Ukrainian national-democratic governments in the educational sphere in detail. They considered the contents and differences of their educational policy, analyzed the achievements and miscalculations, endeavored to provide historical evaluation and identify the civilizational meaning of the state institutes in the support of the movement for Ukrainization of educational space.

It is known that the special institutions were established such as the General Secretary of Education (later the Ministry of Education of UNR) and the State Secretary of Education in the Western Ukrainian lands for management of Ukrainization of education during 1917-1921-s. The new established institutions were occupied by the problems of school Ukrainization and considered related organizational and pedagogical tasks. The researchers defined the following tasks: formulation and approval a strategy of development of educational sphere; preparation of the national conscious teachers; design and publishing the necessary educational literature (textbooks, manuals, cartographic materials); establishment of communication with the Ukrainians cultural and educational organizations; teachers' gathering according to the professional groups and communities, etc. (Heley, 2015: 47).

The monography of O. Kudlay was a significant step in the historical knowledge expansion about establishment of a system of Ukrainian education in revolutionary times, which was devoted to the historical study of establishment, structure and activity of the Ministry of Education of UNR in the times of the Central Council of Ukraine existence (Kudlay, 2019). The researcher offered a complete analysis of the internal institutional structure, revealed the content of the main directions of the departments about Ukrainization of education, identified the developments of national educational legislation, organization of pre-school and outside school education, etc. O. Kudlay mentioned that the process of Ukrainization that had been initiated by the Central Council of Ukraine based on the principles of democracy and decentralization of education, namely the nations inhibited in Ukraine obtained a right for free development of their national schools as well as a part of responsibilities of the management of educational sphere was foreseen to be transmitted to the local authorities (Ibid: 143). Moreover, the researcher cleared that Ukrainization of educational institutions was more efficient in primary school that implied the including of Ukrainian language, Literature, History and Geography of Ukraine to the education programs and transition to the education in Ukrainian. Ukrainization of secondary and high school encountered the obstacles from the side of local partially pro-Russian population by contrast (Ibid).

We agree with the position of O. Kudlay about the exceptional role of a number of the departments affiliated to the Ministry of Education of UNR in the context of educational reforms that were not minor and shallow, but structural and deep. The Ministry was consisted of five departments: a department of high and secondary education; primary education; pre-school and outside school education; professional education; department of arts. The activity of the last department had significant value, whereas it cooperated with the sphere of the youth directly connected with education such as art, folk art, preservation of monuments, museum sciences, theatre, archives and libraries (Ibid: 3).

Organization of the managerial system of Ukrainization of education encountered with some difficulties. Having determined the obstacles, O. Kudlay mentioned the following: strong resistance of Russian teachers' circles, the lack of national oriented teachers, the lack of education programs, textbooks and other education facilities, and generally the lack of funds on the dynamic state and political changes that were not favorable for the Ukrainians (Ibid: 143).

Having analyzed the directions of the Ministry of Education of UNR, the researcher figured the main spheres of its activity: Ukrainization of "old" educational institutions; opening of the new educational institutions; organization of publishing; establishment of teachers' courses; teachers' material support; preservation of monuments; coordination of cooperation with national educational organizations; administration of orphanages, etc. (Ibid: 72, 82).

O. Kudlay stressed the capacity of the Ministry of Education of UNR to organize a systematic activity directed to Ukrainization of high, secondary and prime education as well as obtain the resource of Ukrainian culture to national nurture children and the youth despite the resistance of some high and secondary schools (Ibid: 143).


The conclusions of S. Siropolko about a significant role of pedagogical personnel in the organization of the movement for Ukrainization of education should be considered in this context. He mentioned that the teachers took responsibility for custody of Ukrainization of school, were committed to support the state policy of Ukrainian language development in educational process (Siropolko, 2001: 460).

It should be underlined that not all teachers were positively oriented at a reform of education based on the priority of Ukrainian national philosophy. The essential clarifications about the ways of implementation of organizational and pedagogical bases of Ukrainian school development in revolutionary times were in conclusions of A. Kravchenko. He revealed that due to the resistance of the Russian teachers' circles who did not understand the necessity of Ukrainization of school for the national state establishment, the development of secondary schools was via the new educational institutions' foundation. The initial stages of such approach were tough as the General Secretary of education had been forced to coordinate the
actions with Petrograd till UNR was proclaimed. Furthermore, all material and financial support of the new Ukrainian schools depended on the local budgets and public organizations (Kravchenko, 2001: 75).

The famous researcher O. Rublov paid significant attention to the issue of participation of the intellectuals in the process of Ukrainization of education during the period of Ukrainian revolution. He noticed a positive effect of cooperation between Galicia intellectuals and intelligentsia from Naddnipriansky region of Ukraine in the case of Ukrainian school development. A quotation of the Educational Commissioner V. Andreievsky from Poltava region deserved attention: "Anyone who thinks that the Russians wish good for us is badly mistaken! We had an opportunity to know their love and dedication. But it is pointless! We should not waste our time on it. I want to talk about the most crucial case, about our schools. A great mistake has been made and still is being made in this case! All even the most adamant Russians and Polish were sure that the schools would be immediately under the process of Ukrainization. When our Education Secretary hesitated and demonstrated unnecessary and harmful humanity, all had raised their heads and the Ukrainians began to transform into cowards, potential traitors and even monarchists who had courage to say that Ukrainization was uncertain case" (Rublov, 2004: 77). With the above mentioned words, O. Rublov clarified the thought that the authorities were incapable to start the processes of Ukrainization of schools quickly and dynamically, that gave an opportunity for the Russian-oriented teachers to slow the movement for Ukrainization of education and sabotage reforms implemented by the Ministry of Education of UNR.

Studying a role and place of the intellectuals in Ukrainization of education space, the researchers apply to the autobiographical data while analyzing activity of the prominent organizers and ideologists. There are several works where the considerations of reformation activity of education leaders are presented. There is the synthesis work of O. Zavalniuk "Ukrainian Elite and Establishment of National Ukrainian Education: Founders and Builders (1917-1920-s)" (2005). And the other works of I. Likarchuk "Ministers of Education of Ukraine" (2002), O. Sucho-mlynska, L. Berezivska and others "Ukrainian Pedagogy in Persons* (2005). The personality of the main organizer of school education, General Secretary of National Education I. Steshenko became the main issue of investigation. The following historians studied that theme: V. Bilotserkivs'kyi and V. Golovchenko (1997), O. Zavalniuk (2005), A. Koretska (2009), Yu. Telyachyy (2001). The issues of the other studies were the pedagogical views and public activity of S. Rusova examined by L. Honyukova (1999), E. Kovalenko (2000). The researchers were common in mind about the exceptionally high level of national consciousness and pedagogical skills of the educational organizers at that time, who secured success of Ukrainization of schools, provided an opportunity to establish the movement for Ukrainization of high schools and launch publishing of the necessary educational literature, arranged a system of teachers' requalification.

The historians studied separately the developmental peculiarities, activity, material and personnel support, methodical supply, the regional peculiarities of the educational institutions of high, secondary and primary school, professional teachers' unions, etc. The issues are presented in the scientific studies of the following authors: G. Blavych (2001), V. Boguslavskaya (2001), A. Borovyk (2008), S. Heley (2015), A. Kravchenko (2001), V. Kurylo (2000), V. Mayboroda (1992), T. Ostaschko (1999), P. Po- birchenko (2002), N. Rotar (1996), B. Stuparyk (1994), G. Vaskovych (1996), I. Zajchenko (2002), O. Zavalnyuk (2011) and others. The researchers considered organizational and pedagogical content of a process of Ukrainization of the educational institutions, the main measures for establishment of the national school system, the peculiarity of the necessary preparation of material and methodological base, the process and problems connected with textbooks publishing, financing of the educational institutions, etc. The historians paid the sufficient attention to the analysis of a reformation process of all educational levels - from pre-school, primary and secondary school to high school and post-graduate level. Further, the regional and everyday dimensions of Ukrainization of education, the peculiarities of a reform in Naddnipriansky region of Ukraine and WUNR territory were not ignored.

Conclusions

The issue of the movement for Ukrainization of education in the second part of the 19th century - the beginning of the 20th century is expansively presented. The historians were managed to highlight the vast majority of characteristics of educational space, particularly: social and political conditions and assimilation policy of Romanov's and Habsburger's empires regarding schools; the content and peculiarities of state policy in educational sphere during the Ukrainian national democratic revolution of 1917-1921-s, a place and role of pedagogical personnel in strengthening of the national movement for establishment of Ukrainian education; value bases of an educational reform and pedagogical thought; educational organizers and leaders of the movement for Ukrainization of schools; the essential changes in a structure, content, methodical, organizational and pedagogical bases of education and nurture children and the youth; historical meaning, achievements and miscalculations in Ukrainization of educational space, its further development in Ukrainization policy of Bolsheviks in 1920-s, etc. The accumulated historiographical narrative permits to analyze the positive experience of Ukrainization of education under the modern circumstances of innovative development of national educational space, caution modern society against unseerss attitude towards nurture the youth who is the crucial resource in the formation of nationally conscious and socially active citizens.

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Стаття присвячена аналізуванню історії і оцінці ролі вітчизняних вчених-філософів у формуванні освітньо-виховних умов університетської навчальної громади в Білорусі в другій половині ХІХ – на початку ХХ століття. З'ясовано, що в історіографічному дискурсі проблематика українізації освіти окреслена різними історичними періодами: перший - історія української освіти другої половини ХІХ століття; другий - історія руху за українізацію освіти у середині ХІХ століття; третій - історія руху за українізацію освіти у другій половині ХІХ - початку ХХ століття. Підкреслено, що синтез історичного дискурсу дозволяє розглядаТИ такі аспекти як суспільно-політичні умови, сутність та особливості державної політики вимоги, організаційні засади українізації та інноваційного розвитку вітчизняного освітнього простору.

Слова ключові: націоно-культурне відродження; новітня історіографія; українізація освіти; українська мова; шкільництво; національна свідомість; русифікація; недільні школи.

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