

# Participation of the municipal self-government of Katerynoslav in the development of secondary education at the end of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century

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## ABSTRACT

The article examines the involvement of Katerynoslav's municipal self-government in the development of secondary education during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It was found that municipal institutions in Katerynoslav began directly contributing to secondary education relatively late, primarily due to the constraints of the municipal budget. The study highlights that, under existing legislation, the establishment of women's gymnasiums was the most feasible field for municipal self-governments to implement educational initiatives in secondary education. Organizing such gymnasiums enabled municipal bodies to actively participate in managing educational institutions. The research demonstrates that the women's pro-gymnasium, which was later upgraded to a full gymnasium, serves as a prominent example reflecting the challenges faced by municipal self-governments in advancing secondary education. This case also vividly illustrates the process of acquiring valuable experience, thereby enriching the historical memory of educational development. The primary funding source for both the pro-gymnasium and the gymnasium was tuition fees. Significantly, the most substantial progress in municipal women's secondary education occurred after 1907, when Katerynoslav's municipal self-government, benefiting from new budgetary revenues, facilitated the operation of three women's gymnasiums and one real school. These institutions were provided with dedicated facilities constructed using municipal funds. However, alongside these positive developments, challenges emerged, including increased individual tuition fees for female students in Yekaterinoslav and occasional refusals of admission due to limited vacancies.

## KEYWORDS

*Katerynoslav, city self-government, city council, budget, education, gymnasium, real school, historical memory*

## Introduction and research methods

The municipal self-governing bodies established as a result of the reforms of 1870 and 1892 were unable to provide an adequate response to the challenges of urbanization and the needs of comprehensive socio-economic modernization. However, they made a significant contribution to the progress of urban life, particularly in the development of education Katerynoslav, as both a provincial and district center, became a hub for civil servants and entrepreneurial activity, while simultaneously transforming into a center for the development of education in Southern Ukraine. Municipal institutions played a significant role in providing conditions for education in the city. Studying the achievements and obstacles on this path is an extremely important condition for expanding and enriching historical knowledge about municipal self-government and the history of the national school, and for understanding their legacy. The relevance of the topic is also related to the need to present a new history of cities, free from the distorted

events, phenomena, and processes of totalitarian ideology, and to restore the reputation of unfairly discredited pre-Soviet municipal institutions in public opinion. The study of the proposed topic is designed to deepen the understanding of the course of Ukrainian history, its causal relationships, which is absolutely necessary in the confrontation with Russian historical propaganda.

Important information about the participation of Katerynoslav's municipal self-government in the development of secondary educational institutions is contained in descriptive and statistical materials (*Dontsov, 1894; Istoricheskaya zapiska ..., 1909; Pamyatnaya knizhka Odesskago uchebnago okruga ..., 1914; Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914*).

The role of the Katerynoslav City Duma in the development of municipal and state secondary educational institutions in terms of allocating budgetary expenditures for the supporting real schools and women's gymnasiums was

studied by O. Dvurechenska. Among other things, the researcher considered the issue of setting tuition fees and scholarships for needy students established by the municipal governing body (*Dvurechenska, 2009: 171–172, 174*).

The research conducted by Vadym Korobka and Sergiy Prokopenko focused on the implementation of municipal self-government initiatives in founding and financially supporting municipal women's gymnasiums and real schools (*Korobka, 2012; Prokopenko, 2010; Prokopenko, 2015*).

Oleksandr Cheremisin considered the issue of financing secondary educational institutions in Katerynoslav, among other cities, and its high standing in national statistics (*Cheremisin, 2016*).

In general, the participation of Katerynoslav's municipal self-government institutions in the development of secondary educational institutions in the last third of the 19th century – early 20th century has not been the subject of a special separate study. To reconstruct such a phenomenon as the participation of Katerynoslav's municipal self-government in the development of secondary education in late 19th century – early 20th century, we proceeded from the idea of this city as an administrative and industrial-transport center, which, with the deepening of the industrial revolution and urbanization, acquired the properties of a cultural and educational center of regional significance. In analyzing the sources, the authors used the chronological method, which makes it possible to study events in a time sequence, taking into account the changes that have occurred. The presence of a large amount of statistical data conditioned the use of elements of the statistical method in the article, on the basis of which quantitative data were summarized and grouped in the form of various diagrams and tables. Quantitative and percentage indicators were used as grouping features. In particular, data on the number of secondary education students, total expenditures on the maintenance of educational institutions, the amount of tuition fees for female students of municipal institutions, appropriations from the municipal budget, donations, and incidental income were used. Changes over time were analyzed using dynamic series, where statistical indicators tracked the progression of phenomena and processes chronologically. Comparing absolute values allowed for the formation of relative indicators, such as the proportion of various sources contributing to the maintenance of educational institutions. Using computer technologies, authors visualized the quantitative dependencies of various phenomena related to the development of educational institutions.

### Results and Discussion

Only with the introduction of the City Statute of 1870 did the Katerynoslav City Duma become involved in the founding and further development of secondary educational institutions, particularly the real school. In 1874, the municipal self-government petitioned officials to transform the county school into a municipal six-year school. The head of the Odesa educational district rejected this initiative on the grounds that the institution planned by the city administration was similar in type to a real school. Therefore, the municipal self-government was recommended to establish a real school at the expense of the government, city, and zemstvo (*Korobka, 2012: 81*).

As a result of the coordination of positions between the state, the provincial zemstvo, and the municipal self-government, an imperial law was issued - the highest approved opinion of the State Council of April 23, 1875 - on the establishment of a real school in Katerynoslav, among seven other cities. Local self-governments were obliged to

pay 9,640 rubles to assist the state treasury in maintaining the educational institution (*PSZ, 1877: 428*).

The new educational institution in Katerynoslav opened on September 26, 1875 (*Pamyatnaya knizhka Odesskago uchebnago okruga ..., 1914: 126*). With the opening of another real school in 1901, the previous one was called the 1st real school. To furnish and equip the real school, the Katerynoslav City Duma allocated 3,000 rubles. At the same time, out of 22,280 rubles required for the annual maintenance of the educational institution, the city was obliged to allocate 3,000 rubles annually. Moreover, an additional seventh grade had to be maintained at the expense of the budget for 725 rubles (*Korobka, 2012: 81*). Subsequently, the amount of these expenditures from the city budget changed. In 1891, a building for the school was constructed using funds donated by Prince Kudashev, on a city-owned plot valued at 35,000 rubles (*Prokopenko, 2010: 325–326*). This building was considered the property of the city. Its repair was carried out at the expense of city funds, with 1,500 rubles being spent annually (*Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 63*).

In the area of secondary education for girls, the Katerynoslav municipal self-government began with modest contributions of 360 rubles in 1872 for "the education of children of poor citizens of the city of Katerynoslav" in the Mariinsky Gymnasium, founded on the initiative of the provincial nobility in 1865. The founding of a municipal women's secondary educational institution that would belong to the city was connected with the fact that difficulties arose in the Mariinsky Gymnasium due to a lack of premises. Many female students who tried to enter the fifth grade had to be refused (*Korobka, 2012: 81, 82*). Consequently, the municipal self-government was forced to initiate a municipal women's pro-gymnasium (*Dontsov, 1894: 19*). The implementation of this plan was preceded by a number of organizational measures. Among other things, an important step in this process was the formation of a board of trustees for the educational institution. The legislation imposed a number of important duties on this public body, including appointing a patroness and headmistress, securing funds to improve the institution's material conditions, drafting an annual budget, and setting salaries for the headmistress and staff (*PSZ, 1870: 702*).

On September 27, 1883, elections to the board of trustees of the city pro-gymnasium took place in the Katerynoslav City Duma. The city mayor, Petro Kulabukhov (ex officio), and 10 members, 9 of whom were members of the city duma, were included in its composition. The term of office of the collegial governing body of the educational institution ended after 3 years. On September 28, at the first meeting of the newly elected board of trustees, the tuition fee was determined, the amount of the headmistress's maintenance was established, and the salaries of teachers were set. At the same meeting, the board of trustees elected Alexandra Vallyano as the headmistress of the educational institution, and at the next meeting, on October 17, Kateryna Messaros was elected as the honorary patroness (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ..., 1909: 19, 22*). The last two officials, as well as the head of the pedagogical council of the pro-gymnasium, Vasily Zozulyan (director of the classical gymnasium), ex officio, were included in the composition of the board of trustees. Similar electoral procedures occurred every three years. Information about the formation of the board of trustees is important for us as an example of the formation of a public institution through which the municipal self-government could exert its influence on very important aspects of secondary educational

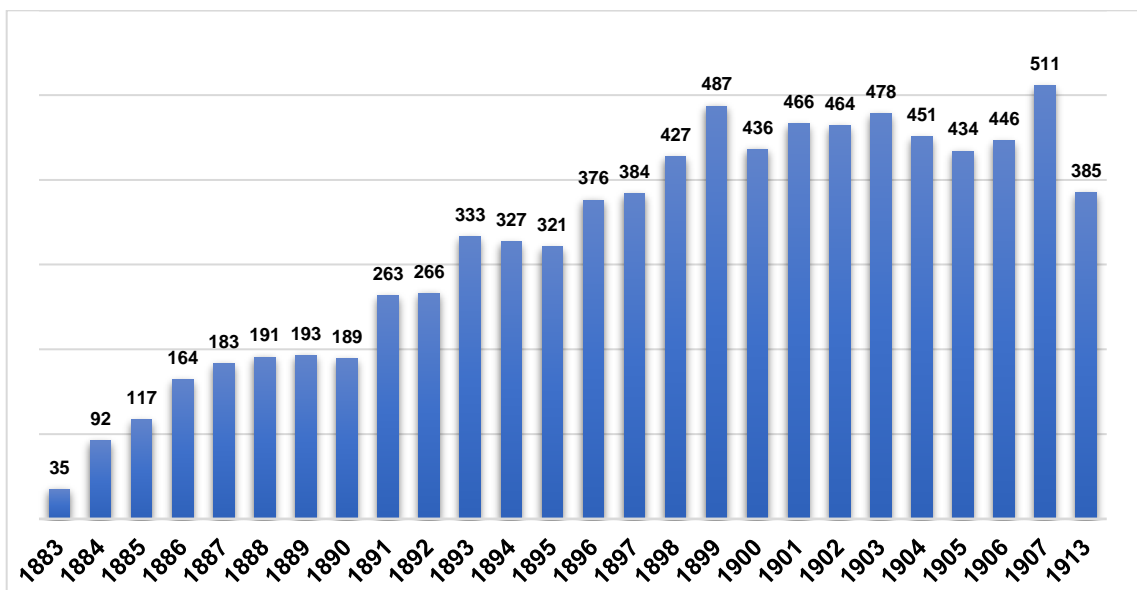
institutions - their maintenance and staffing. The pro-gymnasium began to function on November 1, 1883, consisting of preparatory and first classes (*Pamyatnaya knizhka Odesskago uchebnago okruga ...*, 1914: 201).

Due to the long existence and the substantial documentation it generated, the Katerynoslav city women's pro-gymnasium and, later, the gymnasium offers valuable insights into the role of local self-government in secondary education.

New classes were added yearly to the pro-gymnasium, culminating in the fourth grade. Since 1887, graduates of an incomplete secondary educational institution began to enter the fifth grade of the Mariinsky Gymnasium, in a parallel department created for them. By decision of the Katerynoslav Duma, and with the district head's consent, the pro-gymnasium was upgraded to a full-fledged gymnasium starting in the 1893–1894 academic year, coinciding

with the opening of the seventh grade on August 1 (*Korobka*, 2012: 82).

In 1897, at the request of the educational district, the city gymnasium was allowed to open an eighth, additional class for the special pedagogical training of female students who had completed a seven-year course of study at the gymnasium (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 31). Figure 1 shows the growth in the number of female students from 1884 to 1907. Throughout the entire period under study, there was no established annual increase in the number of female students. However, we have a vector directed towards an increase in their number. The largest number of female students is observed in 1899 and 1907 - 487 and 511, respectively.

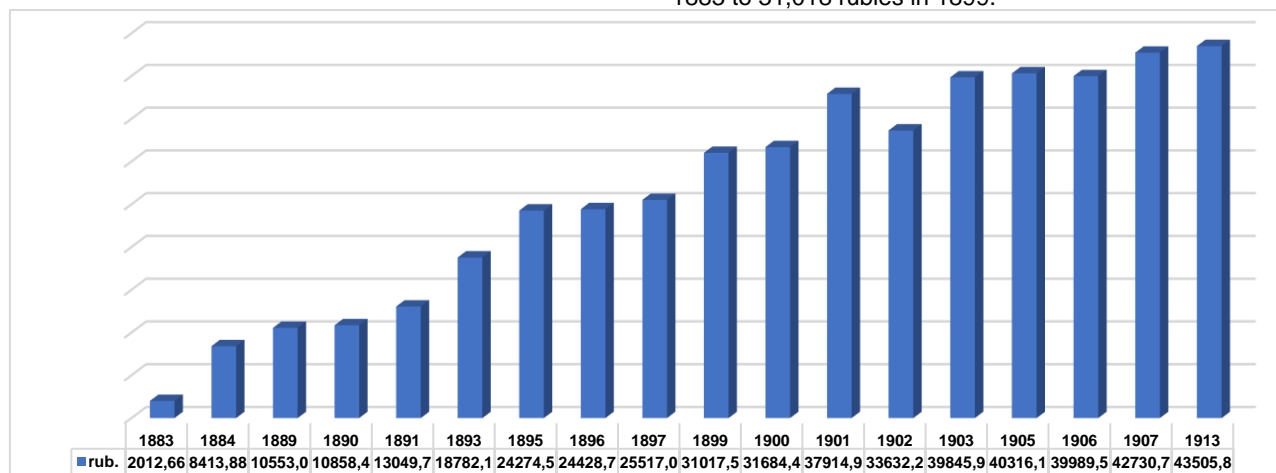


**Figure 1. The number of female students in the 1st city girls' gymnasium in 1883–1913** (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909:71; *Kratkiy obzor ...*, 1914: 56)

The pivotal role of Katerynoslav's municipal government in fostering secondary education was underpinned by its financial commitment to educational institutions. The annual budget allocated to the gymnasium consistently

grew over time, reflecting a deliberate strategy of institutional expansion.

Figure 2 clearly illustrates this trend, showing a more than 15-fold increase in appropriations from 2013 rubles in 1883 to 31,018 rubles in 1899.



**Figure 2. Allocation for maintenance of the 1st City Girls' Gymnasium in 1883–1913** (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 77; *Kratkiy obzor ...*, 1914: 58)

At the beginning of the 20th century there was a change from a smooth increase to a jump-like growth in 1901, 1903, and 1907 (42,731 rubles), as well as a short-term decrease in 1902.

The highest expenses for maintaining the gymnasium, recorded in 1907 before its relocation to its own building,

amounted to 42,731 rubles. This was directly related to the maximum number of female students – 511 – reflected in Figure 1. As illustrated in Figure 3, the primary components of the gymnasium's budget were student tuition fees and allocations from the city.

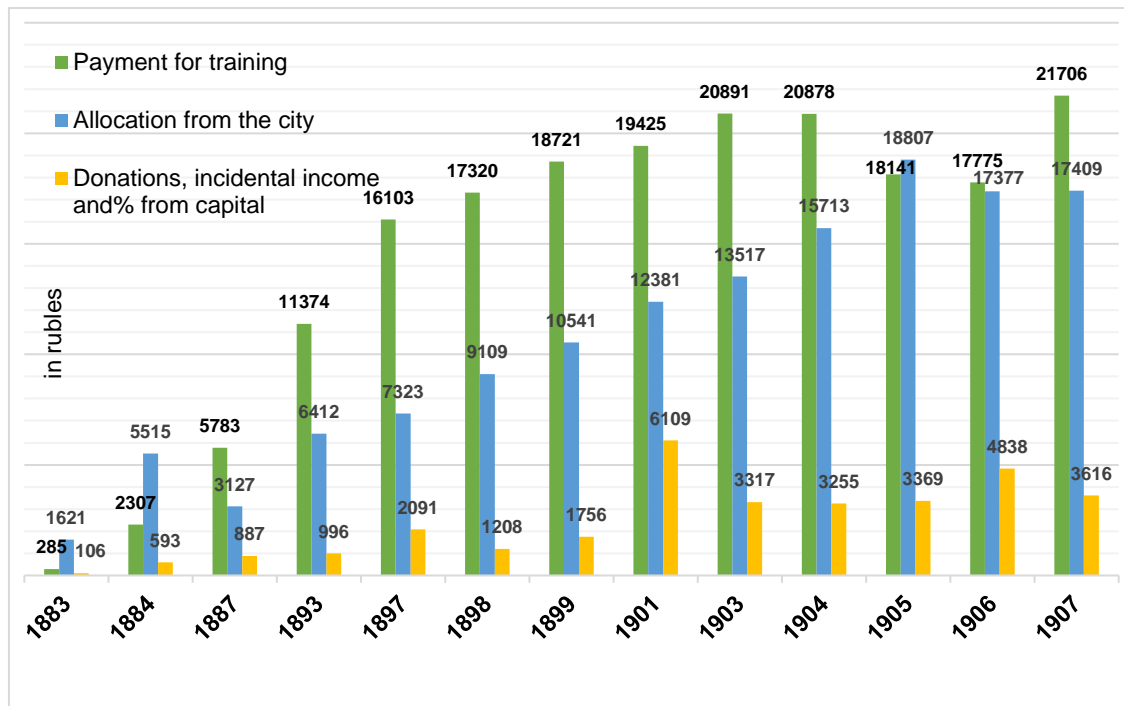


Figure 3. Components of the budget of the 1st city girls' gymnasium in 1883–1907 (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 77)

In the initial two years of operation, 1883 and 1884, the city's financial contributions to the educational institution were relatively modest, amounting to 1,621 and 5,515 rubles, respectively. This modest allocation was primarily due to the small number of female students enrolled. In 1883, the pro-gymnasium offered only two classes: preparatory and first grade. Consequently, the city's funding exceeded the total tuition fees collected. As depicted in Figure 3, this trend reversed in 1887, when tuition revenue surpassed municipal contributions. The student body in that year, as indicated in Diagram 1, numbered 183. Except for the tumultuous year of 1905, this upward trend in tuition income continued until 1907, when tuition fees reached 21,706 rubles, while municipal appropriations stood at 17,409 rubles. Notably, 1907 also recorded the highest enrollment of 511 female students. Contributions from sources such as donations, incidental income, and interest on capital played a less significant role. The peak of these contributions occurred in 1901, amounting to 6,109 rubles. These funds were generated from events like celebrations, concerts, and parties (Dontsov, 1894: 16).

Figure 4 reveals that over the 25-year period from 1883 to 1907, tuition fees constituted the primary source of revenue for the educational institution, with exceptions in 1883, 1884, and 1905. The highest proportion of tuition fees relative to total revenue was observed in 1897 and 1898, reaching 63%.

Municipal appropriations for the maintenance of the educational institution constituted the majority of the institution's maintenance in 1883 and 1884 - 80.5% and 66%, respectively. Subsequently, this indicator decreased to

29% in 1897. Only in 1905 did municipal appropriations constitute the largest part of the gymnasium's maintenance budget. The share of the item "Donations, incidental income, and interest on capital" in the gymnasium's budget during the specified period fluctuated between 3 and 16 percent.

The Katerynoslav City Gymnasium is a vivid example of the difficulties in the development of a recently established secondary educational institution that did not have its own building. For 25 years, four "apartments" were changed due to the need for expansion in connection with the increase in the number of classes. At the meetings of the board of trustees, there were discussions about the need to acquire one's own a permanent building, but the lack of funds within the existing municipal budget hindered the implementation of such proposals (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 42).

The lack of premises adapted to ensure the educational process, particularly in terms of meeting school hygiene requirements, led to refusals to accept female students from among those who had the right to do so, that is, who passed the corresponding entrance exam for the preparatory and first grades. For ten years, between 10% and 49% of applicants were denied admission to the pro-gymnasium and, later, the gymnasium, due to insufficient space (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 38, 40). Over 25 years, the gymnasium paid 82,430 rubles for rented premises (the amount includes small expenses for arranging some adaptations in rented premises for the educational institution) (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 55).

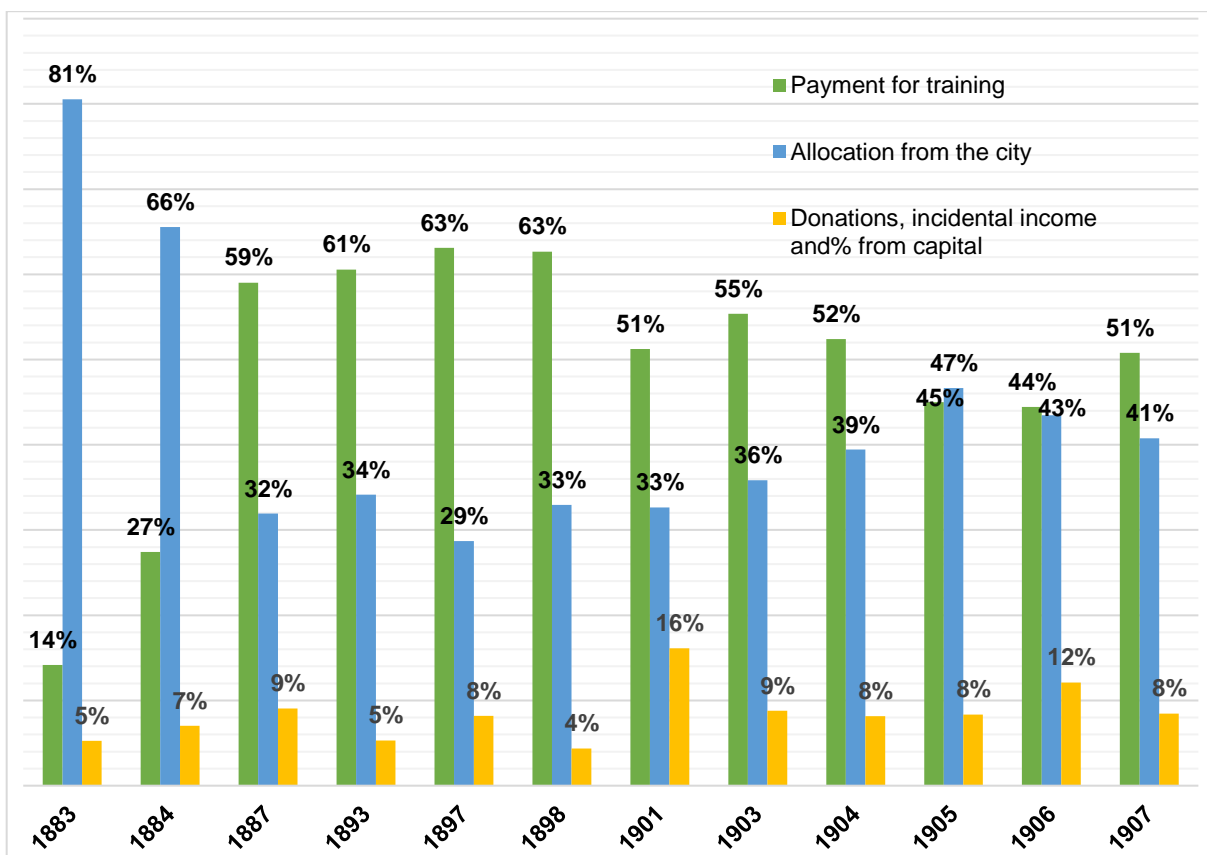


Figure 4. Breakdown of the budget of the First city Women's Gymnasium by percentage, 1883-1907 (calculated by the authors)

A significant challenge of secondary education was the tuition fee. The Katerynoslav city administration declared its intention to make education more accessible to the less affluent urban strata. This was reflected in the relatively low tuition fees, as well as in a self-imposed obligation by the initial composition of the Board of Trustees, who, in a decision made on November 12, 1883, followed the example of state educational institutions by exempting 10% of all female students from tuition fees. At the same time, following the example of state educational institutions, a rule was introduced to cancel tuition fees for the children of teachers (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 68, 72).

Over time, the lack of funds for the maintenance of the educational institution prompted the board of trustees to increase the cost of educational services and reduce the number of preferential categories. However, these adjustments were made cautiously and incrementally. When the

pro-gymnasium was opened, a fee of 25 rubles per year was set for the preparatory class, and 35 rubles for the following classes for compulsory subjects. At the same time, a fee of 3 rubles was set for drawing and 5 rubles for dancing classes. With the opening of grades 5 and 6 in 1891, at the insistence of the city дума, contrary to the opinion of the board of trustees, the fee remained no more than in the lower grades. (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 68-69). According to Table 1, in 1893, the fee for compulsory subjects was increased to 38 rubles, while at the same time the reimbursement of the cost of drawing lessons was canceled. In the 8th grade, opened in 1897, the tuition fee was 70 rubles per year. In 1907, the tuition fee changed. From then on, as can be seen from Table 1, the preparatory class required a fee of 35 rubles, the following grades had a fee of 50 rubles, and the 8th grade tuition was set at 80 rubles.

Table 1. Tuition fees in the 1st City Girls' Gymnasium for compulsory subjects in 1893–1907 (rubles) (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ...*, 1909: 69, 70)

Classes	Years		
	1893	1897	1907
Preparatory	25	25	35
1-4	38	38	50
5-6	38	38	50
7	–	38	50
8	–	70	80

The early 20th century witnessed the municipal government of Katerynoslav undertaking ambitious projects in the realm of education. This was made possible by the remarkable achievements of local municipal authorities in boosting the city's revenue. Figure 5 provides a visual representation of the progress made in Katerynoslav's budget policy between 1900 and 1913.

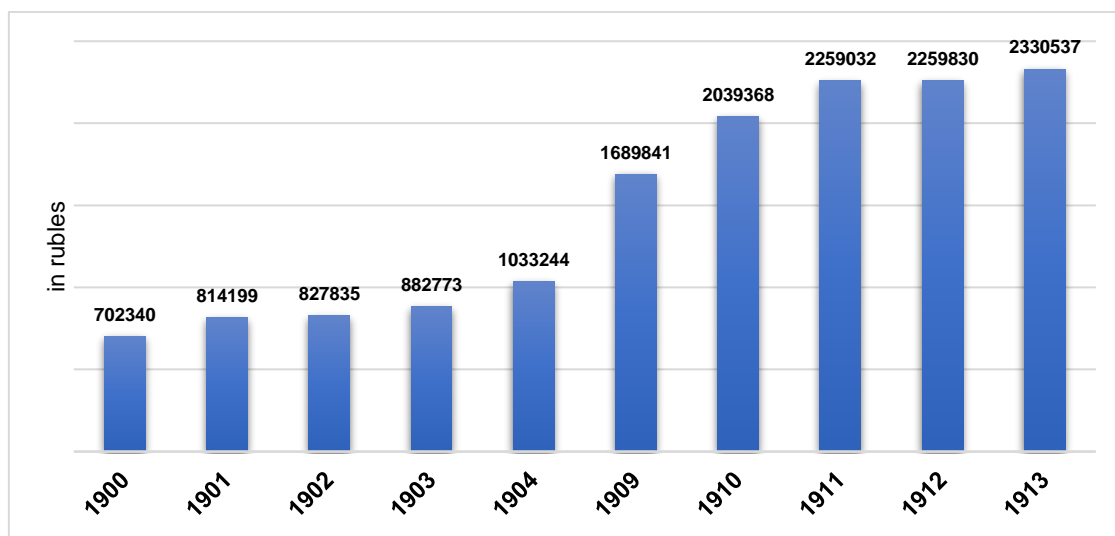
The beginning of the 20th century in Katerynoslav was marked by the municipal self-government's implementation of significant projects in the field of education. This progress became possible due to the significant successes of local municipal authorities in increasing the city's income. The achievements of Katerynoslav's budget policy during 1900-1913 are shown in Figure 5.

In 1900, the city's income stood at 702,340 rubles. Four years later, in 1904, Katerynoslav's income level exceeded one million rubles. The following nine years, from 1905 to 1913, were particularly successful for the city's treasury, with the budget growing by more than 1.3 million rubles,

reaching over 2.3 million rubles. This marked a 3.3-fold increase from the 1900 level. Borrowed funds played a significant role in the city budget's income. This opened up new opportunities for Katerynoslav's self-government, including in the field of secondary education.

In particular, in 1901, at the request of the merchant community, the city дума, and the zemstvo, and with the direct involvement of the city mayor O. Tolstikov, a secondary commercial school was established under the Ministry of Finance (*Poliakov, 2003: 23*). By the decision of the city дума, 25,000 rubles were allocated at once for the opening of this educational institution, and a site was allocated free of charge for the construction of its building (*Yekaterinoslavskoe kommercheskoe uchilishche ..., 1911: 21*).

That same year, at the initiative of the дума, a second real school was established in the city. Its annual maintenance, carried out by the municipal self-government, cost about 35 thousand rubles (*Smeta dokhodov i raskhodov ..., 1911: 226*).



**Figure 5. Incomes of the city budget of Katerynoslav in 1900–1913.**

(*Otchet ... za 1900, 1902: 12; Otchet ... za 1901, 1904: 12; Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 3; Obzor ... za 1902, 1903: 48–49; Obzor ... za 1903, 1904: 44–45; Obzor ... za 1909, 1910: 48–49; Obzor ... za 1910, 1911: 50–51; Obzor ... za 1911, 1912: 50–51; RSHA*)

In 1910, a special building was constructed for the school, costing 197,203 rubles, excluding the cost of 3600 sq. sazhen of land (*Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 55*). In the first decade of the 20th century, two more women's secondary educational institutions in Yekaterinoslav were opened. Those were the 2nd and 3rd women's gymnasiums established at the city's expense. The 3rd gymnasium was particularly notable for being funded by a bequest from the noblewoman Yulia Iosifovna Nesteley. The construction of the educational institution's building cost 186,603 rubles. This amount included 30,000 rubles allocated by the дума to increase the donated capital. In memory of the deceased who made the donation, the gymnasium was named after Yu. Nesteley (*Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 61; Izvestiya ..., 1909: 1355*). In the new educational institutions, the city дума elected boards of trustees.

In 1908, in six months from March to August, the city built a large own building for the 1st gymnasium, worth 150 thousand rubles located in a part of the city with clean air. In October, the gymnasium moved to its own premises (*Istoricheskaya zapiska ..., 1909: 55*). A society to assist

needy students was also formed, providing a hostel for students from low-income families. For it, the city дума allocated municipal land and 2,000 rubles for the construction of the building in 1910 (*Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 58*).

All three city women's gymnasiums received "excellent" stone buildings with central heating and modern ventilation for that time, as the contemporary reports note. The classrooms in them were bright and spacious. To implement these projects, the municipal self-government had to take out substantial loans and pay interest on them (*Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 62*). These loans were permitted by the government due to the positive financial results of the Katerynoslav's city management.

Despite these successes, it would not be accurate to idealize the role of Katerynoslav's self-government in developing secondary education. Although the reports from the gymnasiums and city administration of the last decade before the First World War largely omit shortcomings, some negative aspects are evident, particularly in regard to the limited municipal budget. This constant companion of municipal life in Katerynoslav, for example, did not allow

for the creation of a more perfect educational and material base for secondary educational institutions. In particular, in the 1st city gymnasium in 1913, there was no dedicated gym. The large room used for gymnastics, dancing, and singing classes had to serve multiple purposes (Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 57).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Katerynoslav City Duma continued to provide assistance to state secondary educational institutions. In particular, in 1908, a 2nd men's gymnasium was founded in the city. The city supported it by allocating 3,000 rubles for its operational needs (Smeta dokhodov i raskhodov ..., 1911: 208). At the request of the pedagogical council of the 1st real school, in 1911, 25,000 rubles were allocated for the construction of a gymnasium class and other premises to the building of the educational institution. The city borrowed funds from the provincial zemstvo for 10 years with a payment of 4% per annum. In 1913, part of the debt (7,500 rubles) was written off by the borrower. Annually, the city allocated

3,310 rubles for the maintenance of the school and 300 rubles for the preparatory class. In addition, funds were allocated one-time for the maintenance of parallel classes if necessary (Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 63).

As shown in Table 2, the most significant budgetary efforts to expand secondary education in Katerynoslav were made by the municipal self-government during 1908-1910.

At that time, mainly at the expense of the city, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd women's gymnasiums and the 2nd real school were built, with a total cost exceeding half a million rubles. At the same time, the city duma allocated 5.4 hectares of municipal land for the educational institutions listed in the table, which was a significant asset of communal property.

The data provided in Table 3 confirms the presence of physics laboratories in the 1st and 2nd gymnasiums at the end of 1913, which were equipped with 455 and 265 units of various equipment, respectively.

**Table 2. Secondary school buildings in Katerynoslav, built at the expense of the city budget as of the end of 1913. (Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 55, 56, 58, 61)**

Educational institution	Year of construction of the building	Price in rubles	The size of the plot of city land on which the educational institution is located in sq. m
The First City Female Gymnasium	1908	179750 <sup>1</sup>	15388,1
The Second City Girls' Gymnasium	1908	179750*	16088,8
The Third City Women's Gymnasium	1910	186603**	5801,25
The Second Real School	1910	197203	16380
Result		737306	53658,15

**Table 3. Subject offices of city secondary educational institutions as of the end of 1913 (Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 58, 60, 62)**

Educational institution	Types of classrooms	Completion of classrooms		
		equipment	objects	cost in rubles
The First City Female Gymnasium	physical	455	–	6646
	natural sciences	–	885	5262,28
The Second City Girls' Gymnasium	physical	265	–	3338
	natural sciences	–	558	1323,81
The Third City Women's Gymnasium	natural sciences	–	803	924,14

Their value was estimated at 6,646 rubles in the 1st gymnasium and 3,338 rubles in the 2nd. According to Table 3, all three women's gymnasiums had natural science laboratories filled with a significant number of natural objects, models, and specimens in the corresponding quantities - 885 (worth 5,262 rubles), 558 (worth 1,323 rubles), and 803 (worth 924 rubles).

The municipal self-government of Katerynoslav played an exceptional role in replenishing the funds of the libraries of secondary educational institutions. As can be seen from Table 4, by the end of 1913, the largest number of titles and copies of books were accumulated in the fundamental and student libraries of the 1st city women's gymnasium, with 2,333 (3,876 volumes) and 3,489 (5,295 volumes), respectively, totaling a value of 9,670 rubles.

<sup>1</sup>Inventory assessment as of 1913.

\*\* Together with the funds under the will of Yu. Nesteli.

**Table 4. Provision of libraries of city female gymnasiums of Katerynoslav institutions at the end of 1913.**  
(*Kratkiy obzor ...*, 1914: 57, 58, 60, 62)

Educational institution	Fundamental library		Student library		The cost of the book fund is in rubles
	Number of names	Number of volumes	Number of names	Number of volumes	
The First City Female Gymnasium	2333	3876	3489	5295	9670,24
The Second City Girls' Gymnasium	403	976	2659	4210	5269,28
The Third City Women's Gymnasium	38	91	2145	2260	7480***

The 2nd city gymnasium had 403 titles and 976 volumes in its main library, and 2,659 titles and 4,210 volumes in its student library, with a total value of 5,269 rubles. The 3rd city gymnasium had 38 titles and 91 volumes in its main library, and 2,145 titles and 2,260 volumes in its student library. The value of the main library fund was 1,364 rubles. Information about the student library is only available for 1913, with expenses on books amounting to 6,116 rubles. The unequal filling of libraries in different secondary educational institutions is likely explained by the different ages of these institutions.

Tuition fees remained an important resource for maintaining the secondary educational institutions established by the Katerynoslav municipal self-government until the end of 1913. The management of each gymnasium determined the average cost of education for one female student in accordance with the expenses of maintaining the educational institution. According to Table 5, the average cost of education for one female student in 1913 ranged from almost 97 rubles to over 103 rubles

**Table 5. The average cost of education for one female student in Katerynoslav city gymnasiums in 1913 and tuition fees in rubles.**  
(*Kratkiy obzor ...*, 1914: 57, 60, 62)

Educational institution	The average cost of education for one student per year	Tuition fees		
		classes	total	Part of private funds (%) that covered the average cost of education for one student
The First City Female Gymnasium	98,05	1 – 6	70	71
		7 – 8	80	82
The Second City Girls' Gymnasium	103,25	1 – 7	80	77
		8	100	97
The Third City Girls' Gymnasium	96,91	1 – 7	80	83
		8	100	103

The actual tuition fee, varied depending on the grade the female student was in, constituted a very significant percentage of this conditional amount. The lowest tuition fee in Katerinoslav's women's secondary schools was charged to students of the 1st gymnasium: 70 rubles for grades 1-6 and 80 rubles for grade 8. These fees constituted 71% and 82% of the average cost of education for female students, respectively. Tuition fees were higher at the newer city gymnasiums, the 2nd and 3rd, with rates of

80 rubles for students in grades 1-7 and 100 rubles for grade 8. Compared to the average cost of education for one female student, these actual fees ranged from 77% to 103%.

After the opening of the 2nd and 3rd women's gymnasiums, the number of female students receiving secondary education in the 1st women's gymnasium decreased significantly, as can be seen from diagram 1 and table 6, dropping from 511 students in 1907 to 385 in 1913.

\*\*\* In aggregate, the financial records solely for the fundamental library, combined with the funds allocated for the acquisition of books for the student library, pertain exclusively to the year 1913.



**Table 6. The contingent of female students studying in the city secondary educational institutions of Katerynoslav as of the end of 1913. (Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 56, 59, 61)**

Educational institution	Number of students	Accepted to study in 1913.	Not accepted due to lack of facilities
The First City Female Gymnasium	385	87	23
The Second City Girls' Gymnasium	380	83	85
The Third City Girls' Gymnasium	380	126	118
Total	1145	296	289

However, a total of 1,145 female students were educated in the three women's secondary schools. Thus, over 6 years, the number of female students in municipal educational institutions more than doubled. Table 6 shows that the number of female students in all three gymnasiums was approximately the same. This reflects the regulatory role of municipal self-government. In 1913, 87, 83, and 126 female students were admitted to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd gymnasiums, respectively, totaling 296. At the same time, as in previous years, a significant number of applicants were not accepted due to a lack of space. The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd gymnasiums did not accept 23, 85, and 118 girls, respectively (a total of 289), who wanted to enroll. The 2nd

real school deserves a separate mention, where 483 boys were educated in 1913 (Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 55).

Table 7 provides information on the costs of maintaining Katerynoslav's women's gymnasiums at the end of the studied period.

Despite the decrease in the number of female students and the absence of rent payments for the building, as can be seen from Table 7 and diagrams 1 and 2, the costs of maintaining the 1st City Women's Gymnasium increased compared to 1907 and amounted to 43,506 rubles in 1913. The costs of operating the 2nd and 3rd gymnasiums were 35,945 rubles and 35,105 rubles, respectively.

**Table 7. Expenses for the maintenance of city female gymnasiums in Katerynoslav in 1913. (Kratkiy obzor ..., 1914: 58, 60, 62)**

Educational institution	Expenses in rubles
The First City Female Gymnasium	43506
The Second City Girls' Gymnasium	35945
The Third City Girls' Gymnasium	35105
Total	114555

The similarity in the size of these expenses indicates the regulating role of municipal self-government. In total, in 1913, 114,555 rubles were spent on maintaining women's city gymnasiums, excluding repair costs. These sums consisted of tuition fees from female students, budget allocations, donations, incidental income, and interest on capital.

### Conclusion

The capabilities of Katerynoslav's municipal self-government in developing secondary education institutions were hindered by limited financial resources. Its direct involvement in establishing secondary educational institutions began with the coordination of positions regarding the joint and permanent financial support of the 1st real school with state bodies and the zemstvo. There were also numerous instances of one-time allocations of funds for the opening of secondary educational institutions of various departments.

Relatively late, after the implementation of the 1870 municipal reform, which granted a certain degree of economic independence to municipal institutions, the Duma and the administration of Katerynoslav began to establish a city women's pro-gymnasium, which was later transformed into a gymnasium. Its relatively long existence, compared to other secondary educational institutions, most vividly reflects all the problems that the munic-

ipal self-government faced in the development of the secondary education sector, urban schooling, and the process of acquiring valuable experience.

The main source of funding for the pro-gymnasium and gymnasium was tuition fees, a portion of which, with the exception of certain years, exceeded fifty to sixty percent of the total budget for maintenance. Allocations from the city for the maintenance of the women's pro-gymnasium/gymnasium were significantly lower than private contributions for the right to study. Donations, incidental income, and interest on capital were the third-largest funding source for this educational institution.

The governing board, elected by the city дума, played an important role in the competent management of personnel and material and technical support. It consisted of leading city figures who identified all the pressing problems in the development of the educational institution and officially petitioned the governing body of the municipal self-government for their resolution, making appropriate proposals. In general, the governing board served as a kind of connecting link or liaison between the gymnasium and the municipal self-government. When necessary, the city дума made adjustments to the decisions of the governing board.

The most significant growth in the development of urban women's secondary education was observed after 1907. Due to its successes and new revenue opportunities,

Katerynoslav's municipal self-government ensured the functioning of three women's gymnasiums and one real school, each of which received its own building funded by the budget. Governing boards were established at the new women's gymnasiums. From 1907 to 1913, the number of female students in urban secondary educational institutions in the city more than doubled. In the three city gymnasiums, because of the participation of municipal self-government, library funds, physics laboratories, and natural science laboratories were created. Each time a new secondary educational institution, whether municipal or departmental, was opened, significant plots of land were allocated, which was a significant asset of communal property.

The study revealed that women's gymnasiums were the most suitable field for the implementation of educational projects by municipal self-government. At the same time, along with the positive consequences of the activities of municipal self-government in the field of secondary education in Katerynoslav, there were negative phenomena. The greatest inconvenience, apparently, was associated with the increase in individual tuition fees for female students. Another related issue was the frequent refusals of admission due to a lack of vacancies. It can be inferred that a similar situation existed in lower education institutions. As a result, some school-age children in the city were unable to receive even the most basic education.

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## Участь міського самоврядування Катеринослава в розвії середньої освіти наприкінці XIX – на початку XX століття

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У статті представлено участь міського самоврядування Катеринослава в розвитку середньої освіти в останній третині XIX ст. – на початку XX ст. Встановлено відносно пізнє долучення катеринославських міських установ до безпосереднього розвитку закладів середньої освіти через недостатні можливості комунального бюджету. Розкрито, що найбільш придатним полем здійснення освітніх проєктів у галузі середньої освіти для міського самоврядування у відповідності до чинного законодавства була жіноча гімназія. Саме її організація дозволяла міським установам брати участь в управлінні навчальним закладом. Доведено, що жіноча прогімназія, згодом перетворена на гімназію, через відносно довгий вік існування найбільш яскраво відображає всі проблеми, з якими зіштовхнулось міське самоврядування з питань розвитку галузі середньої освіти, та процес набуття корисного досвіду на цій ниві, що збагачує арсенал історичної пам'яті. Головним джерелом фінансування прогімназії та гімназії була плата за навчання. З'ясовано, що найбільший ривок у розвитку міської жіночої середньої освіти спостерігається після 1907 р., коли катеринославське міське самоврядування, внаслідок нових доходних можливостей бюджету, забезпечило функціонування трьох жіночих гімназій та одного реального училища, які отримали власні приміщення, збудовані на бюджетний кошт. Визначено, що разом із позитивними наслідками діяльності міського самоврядування в галузі середньої освіти Катеринослава спостерігались негативні явища – зростання індивідуальної плати за право навчання учениць та непоодинокі відмови у прийомі в гімназії через брак вакантних місць.

Наукова новизна цього дослідження реалізується завдяки використанню опублікованих джерел, які до цього часу не введено до наукового обігу і не застосовано науковцями для історичного аналізу, з метою розкриття історичних ознак участі міського самоврядування Катеринослава в розвитку середньої освіти в останній третині XIX ст. – на початку XX ст.

**Ключові слова:** Катеринослав, міське самоврядування, міська дума, бюджет, освіта, гімназія, реальне училище, історична пам'ять.

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