

ПРОБЛЕМИ ВСЕСВІТНЬОЇ ІСТОРІЇ ТА МІЖНАРОДНИХ ВІДНОСИН

ISSUES OF WORLD HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/mzu2023.32.106>
UDC 94(4)(32.019.51:378.4)(470+571)“18”

Oksana Ivanenko

PhD in History, Senior Researcher
Institute of History of Ukraine
the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
4, Mykhailo Hrushevskiy Street, Kyiv, 01001, Ukraine
E-mail: oxana_ivanenko@ukr.net
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6154-0444>
ResearcherID Web of Science: AAU-6834-2020

THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN MODERNISATION PROCESSES AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF ATTEMPTATIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE (60s–70s of the XIX Century)

The article highlights the role of universities as centres of intercultural communication in the broader context of analysing the reformist experience of the Russian Empire in the 60s and 70s of the nineteenth century on the basis of the study of memoirs, periodicals of the nineteenth century, as well as documents of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv, which were first introduced into scientific circulation. The conclusions emphasise that despite the implementation of peasant, judicial and military reforms, and the introduction of elected local government, the Russian empire did not undergo a radical modernisation of socio-political life, and the authoritarian principles of state governance remained unchanged. Attempts to implement liberal reforms remained half-hearted and incomplete, and the idea of establishing a constitutional monarchy proved unviable in the realities of an autocratic police

state. At the same time, during the nineteenth century, in the Russian empire, the role of universities as factors of modernisation and a wide range of socio-cultural processes related to the development and implementation of scientific ideas, scientific and theoretical support for economic development, the formation of staff potential and the cultivation of social consciousness focused on political emancipation was established. The development of a university corporate culture based on the principles of autonomy was in sharp contrast to the foundations of the Russian imperial autocracy. Despite the fact that imperial universities were founded to implement the autocratic (in particular, Russification) policy, they became the source and catalyst of modernisation processes, ensuring the rise of the educational and cultural level of society by training personnel for the most important spheres of social life — science, pedagogy, public administration, various sectors of the economy, legal activities, medicine, literature, journalism, etc. Universities were powerful instruments of westernisation processes, centres for the development of international scientific and educational cooperation, and conductors of scientific knowledge, technological innovations, and ultimately the legal principles and socio-cultural values of European civilisation. Representatives of the teaching corporation and university graduates were actively engaged in educational activities, popularising scientific knowledge among the general public, giving public speeches and open lectures, participating in the development of book publishing, periodicals and public scientific organisations, thus influencing public consciousness and developing the scientific and theoretical basis for modernisation reforms. The university environment provided fertile ground for the rise of opposition to the autocracy, national and cultural movements, and the cultivation of socio-political thought consonant with the European ideological trends of the time.

Keywords: *modernisation, westernisation, Russian Empire, reforms, universities, social and political life.*

Оксана Іваненко

канд. іст. наук, старш. наук. співроб.

Інститут історії України НАН України

01001, Україна, Київ, вул. Михайла Грушевського, 4

E-mail: oxana_ivanenko@ukr.net

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6154-0444>

ResearcherID Web of Science: AAU-6834-2020

РОЛЬ УНІВЕРСИТЕТІВ У МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЙНИХ ПРОЦЕСАХ НА ТЛІ СПРОБ СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ПЕРЕТВОРЕНЬ У РОСІЙСЬКІЙ ІМПЕРІЇ (60–70-ті рр. XIX ст.)

У статті висвітлюється роль університетів як центрів міжкультурної комунікації у ширшому контексті аналізу реформаторського досвіду Російської імперії 60–70-х рр. XIX ст. на основі дослідження мемуарної літератури, періодики XIX ст., а також вперше запроваджених до наукового обігу документів Центрального державного історичного архіву України м. Києва. У висновках наголошується, що попри проведення селянської, а також судової і військової реформ, запровадження виборного місцевого самоврядування, у Російській імперії не відбулося кардинальної модернізації суспільно-політичного життя, не порушними залишилися авторитарні засади державного управління. Спроби здійснення ліберальних реформ залишилися половинчастими й незавершеними, а ідея встановлення конституційної монархії виявилася нежиттєздатною в реаліях самодержавно-поліцейської держави. Водночас упродовж XIX ст. у Російській імперії утверджується роль університетів як чинників модернізації і широкого спектру соціокультурних процесів, пов'язаних із виробленням та реалізацією наукових ідей, науково-теоретичним забезпеченням економічного розвитку, формуванням кадрового потенціалу і плеканням суспільної свідомості, орієнтованої на політичну емансипацію. Розвиток університетської корпоративної культури, базованої на принципах автономії, різко дисонував із засадами російського імперського самодержавства. Попри те, що імператорські університети засновувалися з метою реалізації самодержавної (зокрема русифікаторської) політики, саме вони стали джерелом і каталізатором модернізаційних процесів, забезпечуючи піднесення освітнього й культурного рівня суспільства шляхом підготовки кадрів для найважливіших сфер соціального життя — науки, педагогіки, державного управління, різних галузей економіки, юридичної діяльності, медицини, літератури, журналістики, тощо. Університети були потужними інструментами вестернізаційних процесів, центрами розвитку міжнародної науково-освітньої співпраці, провідниками наукових знань, технологічних новацій і зрештою правових принципів і соціокультурних цінностей європейської цивілізації. Представники професорсько-викладацької корпорації і випускники університетів активно здійснювали просвітницьку діяльність, популяризували наукові знання серед широкої громадськості, виступали з публічними промовами й відкритими лекціями, брали участь у розвитку

книгодрукування, періодичної преси та громадських наукових організацій, здійснюючи в такий спосіб вплив на суспільну свідомість, розробляючи науково-теоретичну базу модернізаційних реформ. Університетське середовище надавало поживний ґрунт для піднесення опозиційних до самодержавства настроїв, національно-культурних рухів, плекання суспільно-політичної думки, співзвучної тогочасним європейським ідеологічним течіям.

Ключові слова: модернізація, вестернізація, Російська імперія, реформи, університети, суспільно-політичне життя.

In the context of ensuring the intellectual component of the processes of developing a model and mechanisms for modernising the state and legal foundations of the Russian empire under the influence of European experience, a crucial role belonged to the scientific and educational environment, in particular, to universities, which acted as conductors of the latest socio-political ideas and concepts, knowledge and innovative technologies. The study of the role of universities as a factor of modernisation processes and intercultural communication contributes to a deeper understanding and comparative study of the internal political situation in the Russian empire and the pan-European trends in the intellectual and state-legal development of the nineteenth century. In contemporary Ukrainian historiography, the topic of international scientific relations of the nineteenth century and the place and role of Ukraine universities in them is becoming more and more relevant¹. The purpose of this article is to reveal the role of universities as centres of intercultural communication in the broader context of analysing the reformist experience of the Russian empire in the 60s and 70s of the nineteenth century on the basis of the study of memoirs, periodicals of the nineteenth century, as well as documents of the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv, which were first introduced into scientific circulation.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, against the backdrop of rapid economic development, the Industrial Revolution and technological progress, universal processes of socio-political modernisation, driven by revolutionary events on the one hand and comprehensive reforms on the other, became of pan-European importance. Political modernisation also reached Central and Eastern Europe, in particular, as a result of the "Spring of Nations" of 1848–1849, Austria's defeat in the Austro-Italian-French War of 1859 and the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, as well as the dangers of Russian ideological expansion based on the ideas of pan-Slavism, the Austrian authorities faced serious challenges in the context of stabilising the internal political situation and interethnic relations within the state, and thus preserving its role in maintaining the balance of the Central European geopolitical space in the

system of international relations in Europe, by implementing political reforms and a balanced national and state policy under the auspices of the Habsburg dynasty, which was associated with the heritage of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. As a result of a compromise with the Hungarian national movement, the Austro-Hungarian dualist constitutional monarchy was established in accordance with the agreement signed in February 1867. According to the law dated 21 December "On the General Rights of Citizens of the Kingdoms and Lands Represented in the Reichsrat", democratic freedoms, equality of all before the law, inviolability of private property, etc. were introduced. Foreign policy, military, and financial issues remained under the general imperial jurisdiction. Freedom of religion, equality of rights of all nations of the state, especially in terms of preserving and developing their own national identity and language, were proclaimed.

In the Russian empire during the era of the Great Reforms, the role of public opinion in the context of transforming the system of social communications and public policy was on the agenda, and uncensored works were distributed, including publications of the Free Russian Printing House founded by A.I. Herzen in London in 1853. Awareness of the shortcomings of the Russian empire's foreign policy, which became apparent during the Eastern War of 1853–1856, prompted the tsarist government to take measures to overcome its isolation in the international arena and to ensure influence on the public opinion of foreign countries. However, the tsarist government had previously used the benefits of Western European modernity, such as liberal freedoms, in the propaganda interests of the autocratic regime, for example, in 1844, a polemical response by the Russian writer N. Grech was published in Paris and Brussels as a reaction to the resonance in Europe of the Marquis de Custine's travel notes "Russia in 1839" (Paris, 1843)². In 1855, under the guise of an independent, privately funded press, but in fact with the aim of providing propaganda support for Russia's official foreign policy to the Western European public, the newspaper "Le Nord" was founded in Brussels under the tacit patronage of the tsarist government (from 1863 it was published in Paris, and from 1864 to 1892 — again in Brussels). According to a secret report from the Russian envoy in Constantinople to the director of the Asiatic Department (dated 16 January 1866), "...a certain outrageous brochure in the Little Russian dialect was printed abroad, which was sent in large numbers to Ukraine, as they say, through some professors of the Kyiv University"³.

The process of developing programmes for the transformation of the state system of the Russian empire and socio-political reforms in accordance with the latest requirements of the time and modernisation processes in Europe began in the second half of the 1850s. Reforms aimed at state-political, economic, socio-cultural modernisation were designed to strengthen the

foundations of Russian imperial statehood through the use of Western technologies, and Westernisation tools were used to overcome the military-technological gap and strengthen positions in the competitive confrontation with the West, while not affecting the foundations of the authoritarian political regime, as well as the paternalistic values of socio-political life in the absence of civil society. In the context of attempts to instil elements of Western European political culture in Russia, there was no development of mechanisms of public influence and control over socio-political and economic processes in the state, no comprehensive transformation of the centralised and cumbersome bureaucratic system of public administration, no introduction of parliamentarism as an alternative to autocracy. The abolition of previous censorship for a certain segment of print media was accompanied by increased censorship pressure on the periodicals.

The impetus to public debate on the ways of reform in the Russian empire was given by the publication in 1869 of the work by the Pan-Slavic ideologue N.Y. Danilevsky "Russia and Europe. A look at the cultural and political relations of the Slavic world with the Romano-Germanic world", which advocated the thesis that the European (Romano-Germanic) cultural and civilisational type should be replaced by the East Slavic one. Danilevsky emphasised Russia's special path and the unacceptability of Western European models of development for it, of "the insignificant historical role of imitators of Europe", contrasting it with the idea of the Pan-Slavic Union under Russian hegemony, a prerequisite for the implementation of which was to be "the struggle against Europe"⁴.

The defeat of the Russian empire in the Eastern (Crimean) War of 1853–1856 clearly demonstrated the crisis in the political and economic systems and the need to create conditions for overcoming the gap with European countries in terms of industrial development, which included, first of all, the abolition of serfdom. However, the Russian nobility was not ready to abandon the actual preservation of the vestiges of serfdom, the land issue remained unresolved, and the economic dependence of the peasantry was still intact.

In connection with the implementation of reforms in the economic sphere, the agenda included the introduction of electoral bodies of local self-government common to all estates in the form of zemstvos, which were included in the feudal structure of Russia's state administration and had limited powers, and their activities were effective primarily in the development of primary education and health care in rural areas. In the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the liberal socio-political movement was formed on the basis of zemstvos.

The judicial reforms initiated in 1864 were intended to help introduce elements of Western European political culture based on Roman law (including

the concepts of judicial independence, separation of executive and judicial powers, adversarial proceedings, the bar and jury, and publicity of court hearings), as well as political and legal theories of the West, to establish legal norms that regulated social relations, and to develop jurisprudence as a scientific field. On the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine (Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn provinces), the government slowed down the introduction of important principles of judicial reform, such as the principle of elected magistrates, which would have allowed local landowners of Polish origin to be elected to these positions. Instead, starting in 1872, the Ministry of Justice appointed the magistrates in this region.

Against the backdrop of the modernisation processes of the 1860s and 1870s in the Russian empire, one of the central places belonged to military reforms aimed at strengthening the army and raising its authority in the international arena, which had been lost as a result of the Eastern (Crimean) War of 1853–1856. The system of state administration and the ideological foundations of social and political life were militarised.

Universities became a source of liberal ideas, constitutional concepts, and ideas about civil liberties, bringing the values and principles of pan-European university culture to the Russian empire, thus undermining the ideological foundations of autocracy. The university environment became a field of collision between the principles of autocratic rule and the ideas of academic freedom and autonomy, against the background of the growing number of students and their participation in socio-political processes. The General University Statute of 1863 laid the groundwork for reforming the scientific, educational, financial, and legal spheres of university activity and strengthening the legal framework for internal self-government. However, the trustees of the educational districts still had enough powers to restrict the rights of the teaching corporation and the autonomy of universities and to keep the entire range of their activities under their administrative control, along with the Minister of Education. Foreign, primarily German, scientists took part in the discussion of the draft statute, as the formation of universities in the Russian empire took place in close cooperation with Western European scientific institutions. The development of the statute was based on the work done by K.D. Kavelin during his business trip to European countries to study their experience in organising university activities. However, instead of the basic principle of the German university system — academic freedom (*akademische Freiheit*), i.e. freedom of teaching (*Lehrfreiheit*) and freedom of learning (*Lernfreiheit*) — the French model, which provided for mandatory compliance with curricula, was used as a basis for the preparation of the 1863 statute. The ideas of academic freedom and public control over university life were never enshrined in the reforms.

During the "Spring of Nations" of 1848–1849, when the tsarist government sought to prevent the spread of the influence of the European revolutionary process in the Russian empire, universities were threatened with closure, the number of students was limited, and the supervision and censorship of the press was intensified. University councils were deprived of the right to elect a rector, and not only business trips but also holidays abroad were banned. The teaching of social sciences was under strict control; state law of European states (from 1849) and philosophy (from 1850) were removed from the educational process, but logic and psychology were taught by professors of theology. Kharkiv and Kyiv universities were subordinated to the governors general.

Instead, in the second half of the 1850s and early 1860s, the wave of reforms saw the expansion of university rights, for example, in 1856 the practice of sending young scientists abroad to prepare for the professorship was fully restored; in 1859 it was allowed to import literature from abroad without censorship; in 1860 the department of philosophy was restored, etc. Focusing on the discussions that preceded the adoption of the university statute of 1863, V.S. Ikonnikov quotes one of the opinions typical for the public consciousness of the time: "What made Europe the first country in the world? What gave it tremendous power? — Science. Where is the source and support of science?" — In universities, mainly"⁵. On the eve of the introduction of the university statute of 1863, the staffing problem remained particularly acute, for example, St. Volodymyr's University lacked 1/3 of its professors. Among the reasons for this phenomenon was the strict regulation of teachers' activities, as well as the lack of proper scientific coordination both within the Russian empire and with European scholars. On the pages of the Herald of Europe P.G. Vinogradov compared the unresolved "university question" to a national catastrophe, emphasising: "Nevertheless, the viability of the rest of the country's educational system depends on the functioning of the university as a central educational body: all general and special schools, all higher, secondary and primary teaching, all professions, since they are based on knowledge and skills, to a greater or lesser extent receive their direction and vital impulses from the university. The alarming formulation of the university issue for society is the same as the diagnosis of a heart defect for a patient". In the end, the universities founded by the government began to arouse in the government itself "a distrust of the free spirit of university research and teaching, a fear that the leaven that introduces fermentation of thought into the minds of the people will undermine the foundations of order and power. From this point of view, rapprochement with the West seemed not only progress, but also a danger"⁶. A characteristic feature of the development of universities in the Russian empire was the frequent change of the statutes that regulated their activities, due to the influence of political factors.

In accordance with the 1863 statute, the university had the Faculties of History and Philology, Physics and Mathematics, Law and Medicine. The general management of the university was carried out by the rector, elected by the Council for four years from among the ordinary professors. The teaching staff and the number of departments were expanded, conditions were created for competition between professors and private associate professors, salaries were increased, and the activities of educational and auxiliary units (libraries, laboratories, classrooms, etc.) and textbooks were financed.

Since the second half of the 1850s, there has been a clear trend towards the renewal of university faculty, which was ensured primarily by the introduction of the tradition of foreign research trips for scientists preparing to become professors⁷. These scientific trips, which usually lasted about two years and covered several European countries, primarily Germany and France, had a significant impact not only on the professional development of young scientists, but also on the formation of their worldview, socio-political views, and cultural values. The subjects of the autocratic empire had broad prospects for studying state law, the foundations of the constitutional order, legal mechanisms for ensuring civil liberties, the specifics of local self-government in European countries, attending parliamentary and court sessions, and public rallies. Travels to Austria-Hungary provided rich material for comparative analysis, during which scholars from Dnipro Ukraine had the opportunity to learn about the legal situation of Ukrainians in Galychyna, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia, the peculiarities of the internal policy of the Habsburg monarchy, and to establish contacts with leading Slavic scholars and socio-political figures. Foreign research trips allowed scholars to directly observe and comprehend key events in the European history of the nineteenth century related to large-scale state reforms, the development of the constitutional process, dynamic scientific, technological and industrial progress, the development of a transport and communication network, modernisation and urbanisation, the growth of education, ideological trends and political parties, the expansion of voting rights, and the rise of national movements that affected the development of literature and art.

Foreign research trips of university scientists played an important role in the process of shaping public consciousness, broadening worldview horizons, overcoming stereotypes, and establishing intercultural dialogue. Immersing themselves in the socio-cultural environment of European countries, they inevitably compared their way of life, level of scientific and technological development, social and state system, and system of values with the realities of the Russian empire, deepened their understanding of its internal problems, and at the same time acculturated to Europe. Scientific missions should be seen as a social phenomenon, part of a wider network of intercultural communication,

exchange of socially important innovative knowledge and technologies that give impetus to global evolutionary processes. In Europe, the tradition of travelling for scientific and educational purposes dates back to the Middle Ages, when universities brought together students from different European countries, thus performing a unique function of cultural and civilisational integration. Scientific and technological progress, the modernisation of social and political life, and the development of transport infrastructure, including railways, communications and services, led to an increase in the mobility of the European population in the nineteenth century.

Understanding the macro-processes of intercultural interaction is impossible without analysing and reconstructing specific historical phenomena, the phenomena of interpersonal communications, one of the important sources for the study of which is, for example, the memoirs of A.V. Romanovych-Slavatynskyi. After being elected an adjunct of state law at St. Volodymyr's University, in 1860 A.V. Romanovych-Slavatynskyi received a two-year foreign assignment with a salary of 1600 rubles per year. It was the first trip to Europe for the Kyivan scholar, who "had never been further than Nizhyn and Kyiv, and had never even seen a railway"⁸. In the near future, from an inexperienced provincial tourist who, together with his wife, packed two huge suitcases with various, mostly unnecessary, things, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi was to adopt the "technique of voyage" from European tourists, and above all from the famous "masters of travel" of the British. Among the massive luggage, a special place belonged to books: N.V. Gogol's prose poem "Dead Souls", works by M.Y. Lermontov, and B.N. Chicherin's book "Regional Institutions of Russia in the Seventeenth Century", between the pages of which he dried a sprig of ivy cut at the grave of G.-W.-F. Hegel in Berlin. Along the way, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi looked closely at the landscapes and monuments of the Volyn province — Rivne, Novohrad-Volynskyi, Dubno, but he was especially interested in the city of Korets, "...in which I saw the ruins of a castle — a harbinger of the feudal castles that I would see on the banks of the Rhine"⁹. Describing Lublin as "quite an interesting city," the Kyivan scholar was fascinated by the "magnificent city" of Warsaw, walking its streets with his friend from the gymnasium and university, Mr Danczych. Here, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi overcame his fear of an unprecedented means of transport, the railway train, by purchasing a second-class ticket to Breslau, where he stayed in an inexpensive hotel and saw down duvets for the first time. He was deeply moved by the crowds of cheerful and carefree children in the gardens and boulevards, as such touching images of a happy childhood contrasted with the realities of the Russian empire. Recognising the beauty of Breslau, more than 20 years later, in 1881, the Kyiv scholar, during his second visit to Breslau, appreciated its rapid development and transformation into one

of the "best cities in Germany". In Berlin, he rented an apartment not far from the university, walked through Tiergarten Park in the centre of Berlin and the Zoological Garden, and the Charlottenburg Garden evoked nostalgic memories of Poltava landscapes. In Potsdam, the scholar saw the Prussian king, the "romantic on the throne" Friedrich Wilhelm IV, sitting on a bench near the art gallery, surrounded by several court footmen. Comparing Friedrich Wilhelm IV with his younger brother, the regent, the future German Emperor Wilhelm I, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi emphasised the fundamental differences between them in both appearance and character traits. Friedrich Wilhelm IV highly valued science and art, was friends with A. von Humboldt, supported construction in Berlin and Potsdam, in particular the construction of Cologne Cathedral, and refused to accept the imperial crown from the Frankfurt National Assembly (1849). In his memoirs, the Kyivan scholar assessed the first emperor of united Germany, Wilhelm I, as a diametrically opposed figure.

Romanovych-Slavatynskyi usually went to the University of Berlin with his wife, and while he was listening to lectures, she would take a walk in the chestnut garden. Among the variety of courses, he devoted most of his time to the lectures of the Prussian politician and lawyer, one of the leaders of the National Liberal Party, Y.-R.-H.-F. Gneist. Despite the fact that the Prussian professor had a belligerent appearance, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi remembered his lectures for their clarity of presentation, they were pleasant to listen to and take notes, and the expressiveness of the lecturer's German language greatly facilitated its understanding by foreign students. The Kyiv adjunct paid attention to the lectures on the history of the scholar and politician, member of the Frankfurt Parliament (1848–1849) J.-G.-B Droysen, who substantiated the idea of uniting Germany under Prussian leadership. It is no coincidence that Romanovych-Slavatynskyi focused on Droysen's role in ideological support for foreign policy aimed at achieving Prussia's pan-German and European leadership. After all, the presence of a significant number of military personnel at his lectures was evidence of active propaganda preparation on the eve of such armed conflicts as the Danish (Second Schleswig) War of 1864, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. Romanovych-Slavatynskyi's attention was drawn to the figure of the gifted "aristocrat of the Jews" German lawyer F.-J. Stahl, his elegance and elegant dress, and his social manners in dealing with ladies. Putting aside L. von Ranke's unusual manner of grimacing during his lectures, the Kyivan scholar recognised him as a "great force" in historical science. In Cologne, on the banks of the Rhine, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi experienced an emotional uplift, enjoyed local cuisine, especially poulardes, lobster, and bread baked from rye harvested in the Rhine fields, which evoked memories of Poltava province. In Liège (Lüttich), while walking with his wife in a public garden, he

met a former countrywoman, a fugitive serf from the village of Rudnytske, Pereyaslav district, who had almost forgotten her native language but had preserved her precious memories of her native village. After an excursion to the Belgian cities of Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi set out from Ostend on his first ever voyage by sea to London. At first, the dampness of London was depressing, but later he got used to "not parting with his umbrella". "The sights of London! Is there any city in the world that has so many of them? As a political scientist, anglophile, I was particularly interested in the Parliament and the Westminster courts, which I visited quite often," the Kyiv adjunct noted. He studied parliamentary procedure, watched debates in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons, improved his English by listening to MPs' speeches and reading "The Times", and in the Westminster courts he was struck by the delicate treatment of defendants. On the table of the British Museum's lecture theatre, he saw the Economic Index, a journal published by I.V. Vernadsky in St. Petersburg in 1857–1861.

According to Romanovych-Slavatynskyi, the beauty of London's parks was superior to the Summer Garden in St. Petersburg, the Tuileries and Luxembourg Gardens in Paris, the Tiergarten in Berlin, and the parks of Vienna. During his stay in London, he took the opportunity to visit A.I. Herzen with his wife, who started a conversation about the work of the English historian H.-T. Buckle and the magazine *Sovremennik*, but was dissatisfied with the lack of knowledge of these issues of the Kyiv adjunct, who was busy exclusively with his exams and dissertation. During a charity concert in support of the Garibaldi people, where Bortnyansky's works were performed, Romanovych-Slavatynsky observed the enthusiasm of the English public. As a subject of the autocratic empire, he watched the rally in London with particular interest and even signed a petition, which he later wrote down in his memoirs: "In 1860, the House of Commons decided to abolish Stamp-duty, a tax on newsprint stamps, i.e. a tax on paper. The House of Lords disagreed and decided to keep the Stamp Duty. A cry went up all over England: the House of Lords had exceeded its constitutional powers... Meetings began to gather all over England to protest against this unheard-of usurpation of the House of Lords, which violated all the customs and traditions of the country"¹⁰. Having seen the sights of London, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi stated that to get to know England, it is not enough to visit its capital, because it is in the rural life of this country that its aristocracy, strength and charm are most clearly reflected. After reaching Oxford by train, he walked around the city, surrounded by green meadows and fields, and enjoyed the aroma of mown grass, but a glass of local whiskey seemed no better than the potato vodka of Polissia. In Birmingham, the Kyivan scientist accidentally came to a Quaker meeting. He was deeply impressed by the "smoky factory city" of Manchester, which contrasted with the aristocratic Leamington.

Romanovych-Slavatynskyi and his wife travelled across the English Channel by steamer to France, which greeted them with bright sunshine. "I don't know why," he remarked, "but as soon as I enter its borders, my soul is filled with a kind of joyful, comforting feeling — as if I had come home. Is it because I have many drops of my grandfather's French blood in my blood, because I was called a Frenchman as a child, and I have always considered France my second homeland?"¹¹ Romanovych-Slavatynskyi highly appreciated the melodiousness of the French language, the giftedness of the French people and their contribution to the enrichment of the world's cultural heritage. Recognising the petite and graceful Parisian women as representatives of "one of the most extraordinary female types", he regretted that they often had to do men's hard work. The Kyiv adjunct managed to visit the Louvre, Palais Royal, Champs Elysées, Tuileries Garden, and Versailles. In Paris, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi accidentally met F.F. Erhardt, an extraordinary professor of public health at the St. Volodymyr's University, who entertained others with his jokes during lunch at the boarding house.

Welcoming the introduction of the 1863 statute, Romanovych-Slavatynskyi noted that if it had been established in the universities of the Russian empire, "the history of the latter would not have had many sad pages." In 1872, in accordance with an order of the Ministry of Public Education, the Council of St. Volodymyr's University considered revising the 1863 statute. It was about proposals to amend the existing statute "in order to fully and properly fill all vacant chairs in a timely manner and to enhance the studies of students". The development of such proposals was entrusted to an 8-member commission, specially created by the Council and headed by Rector N.-K.-P. Bunge. In general, the process of revising the 1863 university statute, which took place during the 1870s under the influence of the Ministry of the Interior, resulted in a restriction of the autonomy of the teaching corporation, the powers of the Councils, and increased administrative and police pressure.

In his memoirs, Professor N.K. Rennenkampff of St. Volodymyr's University pointed to a social "awakening" as a result of the events of the Eastern (Crimean) War of 1853–1856, first of all, it was about the intensification of scientific and literary life, the establishment of convictions about the need for reforms — "soon they started talking about the liberation of the peasants, the ever-memorable blessed abolition of serfdom was revealed, which charged all segments of society and was a dead noose on the government itself...". "Sevastopol's troubles and disorder", — the professor noted, — "revealed our inner powerlessness and so many dark sides of society that they upset everyone and undermined faith in the superiority and firmness of our order"¹². The social "awakening" of 1855–1856 also affected Kyivans, especially students of St. Volodymyr's University, "in whom it manifested

itself with particular force and fervour"¹³. At the same time, the student movement in Kyiv in the early 1860s was characterised by local specifics due to the distinct influence of the "Polish element". A.V. Romanovych-Slavatynskyi wrote about the quantitative predominance of students of Polish origin at Kyiv University in his memoirs about his student life in 1850–1855: "In short, this part of the student body was especially spectacular and shone in Kyiv salons. St. Volodymyr's University — this stronghold of the Russian nation in the opinion of its founder, Emperor Nicholas — was located as if in Krakow, not in Kyiv"¹⁴.

In the context of the Polish national liberation movement of the 1860s, Polish students at Kyiv University were the driving force behind a wide range of anti-government protests. Thus, during the announcement of the tsarist manifesto of 19 February 1861 on peasant reform on Khreshchatytska Square in Kyiv, several people, including students, refused to take off their hats despite the remarks of the quartermaster. Among them was student Konrad Paszkiewicz, who had previously been the focus of administrative and punitive authorities because of his participation in memorial services for the dead Poles (during the shooting of a demonstration in Warsaw on 27 February 1861 by the Russian military)¹⁵.

In 1861, an appeal to Poles, Ruthenians, and Lithuanians was circulated on the territory of the Kyiv Military, Podillia, and Volyn Governorate, inviting them to send deputies from scientific and literary societies, universities, and various estates to the city of Horodło in the Kingdom of Poland to participate in the celebration of the anniversary of the Union of Horodło in 1413, concluded on 2 October in the city of Horodło on the Western Bug between King Władysław II Jagiełło and Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas. This Polish-Lithuanian agreement proclaimed the unification of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into a single state. Accordingly, the administration of the Kyiv military, Podillia, and Volyn governor general recommended that the leadership of the Kyiv educational district, in order to prevent the participation of students of St. Volodymyr's University in the demonstration in Horodło, not grant them leave to the Kingdom of Poland and the provinces of the Southwestern Krai¹⁶. However, in October 1861, Governor-General I.I. Vasylychikov received information that two students were being sent to Horodło as deputies from the university¹⁷. In response to I.I. Vasylychikov's request, the leadership of the Kyiv educational district sent the following statement, classified as "secret" (4 November 1861):

"In consequence of my letter No. 4523, dated 7th October this year, I have the honour to inform your excellency that, as the acting inspector of students informs me, no one has been dismissed from St. Volodymyr's University to Gorodło, but it is believed that there may be there some of those who were

dismissed on leave to the Kingdom of Poland by special order of 4th July this year, and have not returned to the present time, namely: Severin Bronevsky and Fomas Trombczewski, or Osip Vasevich and Stepan Kotsyubsky, who were dismissed on the 29th of last September to enter the Moscow University"¹⁸.

At the request of Governor-General I.I. Vasilchikov, Alexander II personally granted permission to dismiss from St. Volodymyr's University and send to their place of residence under strict police supervision all Polish students who had participated in demonstrations and "whose behaviour the police and university authorities have bad information about"¹⁹. For example, student V. Yaroshynskyi, who had been involved in anti-government demonstrations three times, had to leave Kyiv for his family in Nizhyn and provide a receipt undertaking not to return without a special order²⁰.

In general, despite the implementation of peasant, judicial and military reforms, and the introduction of elected local government, the Russian empire did not undergo a radical modernisation of socio-political life, and the authoritarian principles of state governance remained unchanged. The inconsistent nature of the "Great Reforms" culminated in the rejection of M. Loris-Melikov's draft of the so-called "Constitution", followed by the launch of Alexander III's counter-reforms. Attempts to implement liberal reforms remained half-hearted and incomplete, and the idea of establishing a constitutional monarchy proved unviable in the realities of an autocratic police state. At the same time, during the nineteenth century, in the Russian empire, the role of universities as factors of modernisation and a wide range of socio-cultural processes related to the development and implementation of scientific ideas, scientific and theoretical support for economic development, the formation of staff potential and the cultivation of social consciousness focused on political emancipation was established. The development of a university corporate culture based on the principles of autonomy was in sharp contrast to the foundations of the Russian imperial autocracy. Despite the fact that imperial universities were founded to implement the autocratic (in particular, russification) policy, they became the source and catalyst of modernisation processes, ensuring the rise of the educational and cultural level of society by training personnel for the most important spheres of social life — science, pedagogy, public administration, various sectors of the economy, legal activities, medicine, literature, journalism, etc. Universities were powerful instruments of westernisation processes, centres for the development of international scientific and educational cooperation, and conductors of scientific knowledge, technological innovations, and ultimately the legal principles and socio-cultural values of European civilisation. Representatives of the teaching corporation and university graduates were actively engaged in educational activities, popularising scientific knowledge among the general public, giving public

speeches and open lectures, participating in the development of book publishing, periodicals and public scientific organisations, thus influencing public consciousness and developing the scientific and theoretical basis for modernisation reforms. The university environment provided fertile ground for the rise of opposition to the autocracy, national and cultural movements, and the cultivation of socio-political thought consonant with the European ideological trends of the time.

¹ Див., наприклад: Стельмах С.П. Міжнародні зв'язки істориків України у другій половині XIX ст. *Вісник Київського національного університету, серія «Історія»*. 1998. Вип. 38. С. 3–9; Стельмах С.П. Історична думка в Україні XIX — початку XX століття. Київ, 1997; Стельмах С.П. Вчені Київського університету в німецьких університетах (XIX — початок XX ст.). *Етнічна історія народів Європи*. 2004. Вип. 16. С. 148–152; Стельмах С.П. Історична наука в Україні епохи класичного історизму. XIX — початок XX століття. Київ, 2005; Баженова Г.Ю. Міжнародні зв'язки істориків Росії (др. пол. XIX — поч. XX ст.): автореф. дис. ... канд. іст. наук. Київ, 2008; Єгорова О.В. Наукові закордонні відрядження правознавців університетів України (остання третина XIX — початок XX ст.). *Гуманітарний журнал*. 2013. № 3. С. 20–29; Лиман С.І. «Звіт про подорож Західною Європою в 1858–1859 рр.» професора Харківського університету Д.І. Каченовського як джерело з історії вітчизняного туризму. *Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету, серія «Історія»*. 2016. Вип. 1 (34). С. 126–130; Лиман С.І. Из истории международного туризма: Англия начала 1860-х гг. глазами адъюнкта Киевского Университета Св. Владимира А.В. Романовича-Славатинского (1832–1910). *Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету, серія «Історія»*. 2016. Вип. 2 (35). С. 107–112; Лиман С.І. Из истории международного туризма: Франция начала 1860-х гг. глазами А.В. Романовича-Славатинского. *Стан і перспективи сучасного туризму: Матеріали III Всеукраїнської науково-практичної інтернет-конференції з міжнародною участю (м. Суми, 29 листопада 2017 р.)*. Суми, 2017. С. 237–244 та ін.

² Див., напр.: Custine, Astolphe de. *Rosja w roku 1839*. Warszawa : Państwowy instytut wydawniczy, 1995. 1 / tł., przypisami i posłowiem opatrz. P. Hertz. 570 s.; 2 / tł. 525 s.;

³ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ (далі — ЦДАК України). Ф. 489. Оп. 1. Спр. 174. Арк. 56.

⁴ Данилевский Н.Я. Россия и Европа. Взгляд на культурные и политические отношения Славянского мира к Романо-Германскому. Спб.: «Общественная Польща», 1871. С. 469, 470, 429, 435.

⁵ Иконников В.С. Русские университеты в связи с ходом общественного образования. *Вестник Европы*. 1876. № 11. С. 117.

⁶ Виноградов П.Г. Учебное дело в наших университетах. *Вестник Европы*. 1901. № 9. С. 537–538.

⁷ Див.: Иваненко О. Університети України в міжнародних наукових зв'язках Російської імперії (друга половина XIX — початок XX ст.). Київ, 2013. 375 с.

⁸ Романович-Славатинский А.В. Моя жизнь и академическая деятельность. 1832–1884 гг. *Вестник Европы*. 1903. № 3. С. 192.

⁹ Романович-Славатинский А.В. Моя жизнь и академическая деятельность. 1832–1884 гг. *Вестник Европы*. 1903. № 3. С. 193.

- ¹⁰ Романович-Славатинский А.В. Моя жизнь и академическая деятельность. 1832–1884 гг. Вестник Европы. 1903. № 3. С. 207.
- ¹¹ Романович-Славатинский А.В. Моя жизнь и академическая деятельность. 1832–1884 гг. Вестник Европы. 1903. № 3. С. 211.
- ¹² Ренненкампф Н.К. Киевская университетская старина (События в университете Св. Владимира в 1860–1862 гг.). *Русская старина*. 1899. № 7. С. 33.
- ¹³ Ренненкампф Н.К. Киевская университетская старина (События в университете Св. Владимира в 1860–1862 гг.). *Русская старина*. 1899. № 7. С. 35.
- ¹⁴ Романович-Славатинский А. Моя жизнь и академическая деятельность. 1832–1884 гг. *Вестник Европы*. 1903. № 2. С. 623.
- ¹⁵ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 442. Оп. 811. Спр. 59. Арк. 1–1 зв.
- ¹⁶ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 707. Оп. 261. Спр. 7. Арк. 30–30 зв.
- ¹⁷ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 707. Оп. 261. Спр. 7. Арк. 50.
- ¹⁸ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 707. Оп. 261. Спр. 7. Арк. 52–52 зв.
- ¹⁹ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 707. Оп. 27. Спр. 457. Арк. 142–142 зв.
- ²⁰ ЦДІАК України. Ф. 707. Оп. 27. Спр. 457. Арк. 107–107 зв.

REFERENCES

1. Bazhenova, H.Yu. (2008). Mizhnarodni zv'iazky istoriyiv Rosii (dr. pol. XIX — poch. XX st.). *Extended abstract of PhD thesis*. Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
2. Custine, A. de. (1995). *Rosja w roku 1839*. (Vols. 1–2). Warszawa: Państwowy instytut wydawniczy [in Polish].
3. Danilevskij, N.Ja. (1871). *Rossija i Evropa. Vzgljad na kul'turnye i politicheskie otnoshenija Slavjanskogo mira k Romano-Germanskomu*. Sankt-Peterburg [in Russian].
4. Ikonnikov, V.S. (1876). Russkie universitety v svjazi s hodom obshhestvennogo obrazovaniya. *Vestnik Evropy*, 11, 73–132 [in Russian].
5. Ivanenko, O. (2013). *Universytety Ukrainy v mizhnarodnykh naukovykh zv'iazkakh Rosijs'koi imperii (druha polovyna XIX — pochatok XX st.)*. Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
6. Liman, S.I. (2016). Iz istorii mezhdunarodnogo turizma: Anglija nachala 1860-h gg. glazami adjunkta Kievskogo Universiteta Sv. Vladimira A.V. Romanovicha-Slavatinskogo (1832–1910). *Naukovyj visnyk Uzhhorods'koho universytetu. Istoriia*, 2(35), 107–112 [in Russian].
7. Liman, S.I. (2017). Iz istorii mezhdunarodnogo turizma: Francija nachala 1860-h gg. glazami A.V. Romanovicha-Slavatinskogo. *Stan i perspektyvy suchasnoho turizmu: Materialy III Vseukrains'koi nauково-praktychnoi internet-konferentsii z mizhnarodnoiu uchastiu (m. Sumy, 29 lystopada 2017 r.)*. Sumy [in Russian].
8. Lyman, S.I. (2016). Zvit pro podorozh Zakhidnoiu Yevropoiu v 1858–1859 rr. profesora Kharkivs'koho universytetu D.I. Kachenovs'koho iak dzhерelo z istorii vitchyznianoho turizmu. *Naukovyj visnyk Uzhhorods'koho universytetu. Istoriia*, 1(34), 126–130 [in Ukrainian].
9. Rennenkampf, N.K. (1899). Kievskaja universitetskaja starina (Sobytiya v universitete Sv. Vladimira v 1860–1862 gg.). *Russkaja starina*, 7, 31–49 [in Russian].
10. Romanovich-Slavatinskij, A.V. (1903). Moja zhizn' i akademicheskaja dejatel'nost'. 1832–1884 gg. *Vestnik Evropy*. 1903, 3, 168–214 [in Russian].
11. Stel'makh, S.P. (1997). *Istorychna dumka v Ukraini XIX — pochatku XX stolittia*. Kyiv [in Ukrainian].
12. Stel'makh, S.P. (2005). *Istorychna nauka v Ukraini epokhy klasychnoho istoryzmu. XIX — pochatok XX stolittia*. Kyiv [in Ukrainian].

13. Stel'makh, S.P. (1998). Mizhnarodni zv'iazky istorykiv Ukrainy u druhij polovyni XIX st. *Visnyk Kyivs'koho natsional'noho universytetu. Istoriia*, 38, 3–9 [in Ukrainian].
14. Stel'makh, S.P. (2004). Vcheni Kyivs'koho universytetu v nimets'kykh universytetakh (XIX — pochatok XX st.). *Etnichna istoriia narodiv Yevropy*, 16, 148–152 [in Ukrainian].
15. Vinogradov, P.G. (1901). Uchebnoe delo v nashih universitetah. *Vestnik Evropy*, 9, 537–573 [in Russian].
16. Yehorova, O.V. (2013). Naukovi zakordonni vidriadzhennia pravoznavtsiv universytetiv Ukrainy (ostannia tretyna XIX — pochatok XX st.). *Humanitarnyj zhurnal*, 3, 20–29 [in Ukrainian].

Received: 15.05.2023. Approved: 28.09.2023. Published: 20.11.2023.