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## CHAPTER 5

### NICHOLAS I AND RUSSIA

Perhaps no ruler left more of an impression upon nineteenth-century Russia than did the Emperor Nicholas I, for the origins of nearly every major change or event during the last century of Romanov rule can be traced to his reign.<sup>1</sup> --W. Bruce Lincoln

The crucial event that shaped Nicholas's reign was the Decembrist uprising that greeted his assumption of the throne on 14 December 1825. The conspirators were, for the most part, highly educated, noble army officers who had been raised on Enlightenment philosophy. After the Napoleonic wars, these men expected some reward for Russia's efforts, but while Alexander gave constitutional regimes to France, Poland, and Finland, he refused to establish one in his own country. These individuals then formed a series of secret societies dedicated to the task of instituting a constitution in Russia by means of a political revolution. Their failure ended any chance of

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immediate liberal reform in the country, but the tsar's severe punishment of them made them martyrs to a cause.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Decembrists and Moscow University

Moscow University played a role in the formation of the intellectual milieu from which the Decembrist revolt's participants emerged. In addition to the usual academics, the public lectures, scholarly societies, and press had aided the transmission of Western ideas to Russian society. Prior to 1820, the teachings of philosophers like Hobbes, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire had not been hindered, and furthermore, students were well aware of progressive Russian authors, such as Aleksandr Radishchev.<sup>3</sup> At the University, some law professors taught that Natural Law consisted of rules that applied to all people without exception.<sup>4</sup>

The University had even seen political protests and secret societies. In 1815 Stepan Semenov, a future Decembrist, organized a protest over Mikhail Malov's dissertation, Monarkhicheskoe pravlenie sut' samoe

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<sup>1</sup>W. Bruce Lincoln, Nicholas I (Bloomington, 1978), 9.

<sup>2</sup>Anatole Mazour, The First Russian Revolution (Stanford, 1971), 65, 213, 46-63.

<sup>3</sup>Aleksandr N. Radishchev, 1749-1802, was exiled by Catherine the Great for his attack on serfdom in Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow.

<sup>4</sup>Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 192-94; Vasilii Orlov, Studencheskoe dvizhenie Moskovskogo

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prevoskhodnoe iz vsekh drugikh pravlenii (Monarchical Government is the Most Superior of All Forms of Government), at which many students spoke in defense of republicanism. In 1811 Nikita Murav'ev, another future Decembrist, set up a trial secret society at the school to study Voltaire and Rousseau and elaborate a plan for a future restructuring of Russia.<sup>5</sup>

All told, a significant number of Decembrist conspirators passed through the University.<sup>6</sup> Of the six officers who founded the Soiuz spaseniia (Union of Salvation) in 1816, four had been students at the University, including Aleksandr and Nikita Murav'ev, the sons of the former curator. Nikita graduated as a candidate and led the more moderate wing of the movement. He wrote the republican-oriented, "Murav'ev constitution." Ivan Iakushkin had attended the University for three years and, while there, lived with Professor Merzliakov. Prince Sergei Trubetskoi also attended for a short time. Of the thirty members in the Union, twelve had passed through the

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universiteta v XIX stoletii (Moscow, 1934), 54.

<sup>5</sup>Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 199-200; Mazour, First Russian Revolution, 64.

<sup>6</sup>I. G. Petrovskii, "Dvesti let Moskovskogo universiteta," Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta, nos. 4-5 (1955): 6; Ia. A. Shchipanov, ed., Moskovskii universitet i razvitie filosofskoi i obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli v Rossii (Moscow, 1957), 105-07, 108-

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University or its Noble Pension.<sup>7</sup>

In the Soiuz blagodenstviia (Union of Welfare), founded in 1817, Nikolai Turgenev, later a noted Russian author in exile, studied at the Noble Pension for eight years and at the University for two more years. Semenov, who had challenged Malov, was also a member. Combined with the previous twelve, these nineteen increased the total of members who had been at the University to thirty-one.<sup>8</sup>

By 1821 two more societies had arisen: the Severnoe obshchestvo (Northern Society) and the Iuzhnoe obshchestvo (Southern Society). In the Southern Society, a total of fifteen had studied at the University, and a smaller number, perhaps eight of the Northern Society, including Aleksandr Griboedov, the famous author, had been there. This gave a total of at least fifty-four men with connections to Moscow University who participated in the Decembrist conspiracy.<sup>9</sup>

#### The Decembrists and intellectual developments

The revolt prompted Nicholas I to attempt to control

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<sup>7</sup>Shchipanov, Moskovskii universitet i razvitie, 131-35, 108-16; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 185-87. It is difficult to say exactly since the 1812 fire destroyed all records.

<sup>8</sup>Shchipanov, Moskovskii universitet i razvitie, 116-21; Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 187-89.

<sup>9</sup>Tikhomirov, Istoriia, 190-92, citing archival records.

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the effects of Western ideas by increased supervision over his subjects and ideological instruction of them. At the same time, the Decembrist failure also compelled society to search for an alternative means of handling the reality of the country's authoritarian political climate. In the 1830s that search led into the realm of idealistic philosophy, resulting in a golden age of Russian thought.

Society fell under the influence of the German philosophers Friedrich Schiller and Friedrich Schelling, whose ideas were disseminated in Russia by teachers at Moscow University. Schiller was a poet of individual liberty who felt that friendship, love, idealism, and the self-fulfillment of the individual could be combined to create die schöne Seele (the beautiful soul). Schelling broke with the rationalist legacy of the Enlightenment and taught in his Naturphilosophie (Nature Philosophy) that nature and the mind were one and that all knowledge is self-knowledge. It was an egocentric and solitary theory, perhaps appropriate to an age of disillusionment, and it symbolized the alienation of educated society from official Russia. It touted intuition, i.e., the notion that what the mind thinks or feels is true and fit in well with the

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prevailing air of romanticism.<sup>10</sup>

Because the regime condemned the cultural achievements of the West, an intellectual opposition, or intelligentsia, emerged in an effort to keep those ideas alive.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, others withdrew from political matters and immersed themselves in scholarly pursuits:

Like a swollen river suddenly confronted with a major obstacle, the flow was merely diverted into channels that had hitherto carried only a small trickle of ideas. Philosophy, history, and literary criticism replaced politics and religion in the mainstreams of Russian culture.<sup>12</sup>

At the center of these developments were the Russian universities. As Nicholas Riasanovsky, an important Western Scholar, states:

It is hard to overestimate the importance of universities...for the intellectual and cultural development of Russia in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. They constituted the main conduit

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<sup>10</sup>Malia, Alexander Herzen, 40-42, 69-98.

<sup>11</sup>Martin Malia, "What Is the Intelligentsia," in The Russian Intelligentsia, ed. Richard Pipes (New York, 1961), 1-18.

<sup>12</sup>James Billington, The Icon and the Axe (New York, 1966), 308.

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of Western knowledge and thought into Russia.<sup>13</sup>

It was the universities that provided the "institutional setting" for these processes.<sup>14</sup>

### Nicholas I

For Moscow University and Russian education in general, Nicholas brought to the throne certain fixed ideas. Although denied the "enlightened" upbringing of his older brothers Alexander and Constantine, he did receive a rigid and thorough education which, however, had brought him "little profit." He was not a good student, and though he had good tutors he only remembered them as giving "sleep-inducing lectures."<sup>15</sup> He was well-versed in European and domestic matters, but the conclusions he drew from his experiences made him very conservative. He once told the King of Prussia that constitutional government:

Is absurd, invented for and by jugglers and intriguers. I can understand monarchical and republican regimes, but I can not comprehend a

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<sup>13</sup>Riasanovsky, Parting of the Ways, 275.

<sup>14</sup>McClelland, Autocrats and Academics, 112.

<sup>15</sup>Materialy i cherty k biografii Imperatora Nikolaia I, ed. N. Dubrovin, in Sbornik Imperatorskago russkago istoricheskago obshchestva (St. Petersburg, 1896), 30; Nicholas Riasanovsky, Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia (Berkeley, 1959), 26.

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constitutional charter.<sup>16</sup>

His chief interest always remained the military:

Duty! Yes, this is no empty word for those who since their youth have become accustomed to understand it as I do. This word has a holy meaning before which every personal consideration retreats.<sup>17</sup>

More specifically, the tsar loved "order":

Here [in the army] there is order, a strict unconditional legality, no one claiming to know all the answers, no contradictions, everything flows logically one from the other; no one commands before he himself has learned to obey; no one steps in front of anybody else without lawful reason; everything is subordinated to one definite goal, everything has its purpose. That is why I feel so well among these people, and why I shall always hold in honor the calling of a soldier. I consider all of human life to be merely service.<sup>18</sup>

Nicholas's investigation of the Decembrists revealed the danger of Western ideas. In an attempt to control

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<sup>16</sup>Theodor Schiemann, Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1904-09), 3: 171.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 4: 209.

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those ideas, he expanded his chancery, which originally had handled a tsar's personal matters. A Second Section, directed by Mikhail Speranskii, supervised the codification of Russian law. The Third Section, under Count Aleksandr Benkendorf, contained the Corps of Gendarmes (the secret police) and was dedicated to controlling the spread of ideas that challenged the existing order. This police and its informants became an omnipresent symbol of the regime.

#### Nicholas and education

The Decembrist revolt also convinced Nicholas that defects existed in the educational system, which he described as the "infection of ideas imported from abroad."<sup>19</sup> Some of his important advisors also blamed education for the revolt. In 1826 the tsar's aide-de-camp, General Ilarion Vasil'chikov, urged that since "all the contemporary generation [was] infected," a series of military schools should be established in the guberniia capitals under the control of loyal generals. He also recommended that the universities of Kazan and Kharkov should be closed and the hiring of private tutors by the

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<sup>18</sup>Nikolai Shil'der, Imperator Nikolai Pervyi, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1903), 1: 147.

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nobility should be forbidden.<sup>20</sup> General Leontii Dubel't, later deputy head of the Third Section, recommended that:

In our Russia scholars should be treated like druggists who possess both wholesome, useful means and poison--and should allot that knowledge only on the prescription of the government.<sup>21</sup>

After 1825 the government tried to isolate youth from the West and restrict access to higher education to the nobility. In 1831 Nicholas forbade youth between the ages of ten and eighteen to study abroad because:

Young people sometimes return to Russia with the most distorted understanding of her and not knowing her true needs, laws, morals, order, and, not infrequently, the language. They are aliens in their own Fatherland.<sup>22</sup>

The tsar also felt strongly that education should coincide with social position. He once told Amalbe Barante, the French ambassador, that education should be for "each in accord with what he must do to occupy the

<sup>19</sup>Darlington, Education in Russia, 64.

<sup>20</sup>Shil'der, Imperator Nikolai Pervyi, 1: 428.

<sup>21</sup>Ivan Fedosov, Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii vo vtoroi chetverti XIX v. (Moscow, 1958), 25; Eroshkin, Krepostnicheskoe samodержavie, 55.

<sup>22</sup>"O vospitanii rossiiskago iunoshestva v otechestvennykh zavedeniakh," Sbornik

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place [in society] that he has been assigned in advance."<sup>23</sup>

Nicholas and Sergei Uvarov

Sergei Uvarov in many ways perfectly embodied Nicholas' conservative views on education. By 1825 he had already enjoyed a long career in education and had become a respected scholar, having published his first article in 1810 at the age of twenty-four--the same year that he became curator of the St. Petersburg Educational District. At the age of thirty-two, he became president of the Academy of Sciences. In 1833 the tsar appointed him as deputy minister of education, and the following year he became acting minister.<sup>24</sup>

Uvarov has remained a complex and controversial figure in Russian history. Recently, Cynthia Whittaker described him as a "statesman of progressive vision but cautious disposition" whose goal was to create a "Russian system" of education. James Flynn also found him to be a persistent, veiled reformer, but Judith Zimmerman more traditionally noted that he was basically a conservative carrying out

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postanovlenij, 2: pt. 1, 336-37.

<sup>23</sup>Amalbe de Barante, Notes sur la Russie, 1835-1840 (Paris, 1875), 46.

<sup>24</sup>Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 220-22.

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"sterile" policies.<sup>25</sup> He was greedy, extremely vain, and convinced that his alone was the right system for Russia.<sup>26</sup>

Uvarov first came to the tsar's attention with an 1832 report that he wrote on conditions at Moscow University. He praised the caliber of instruction but found some "immoral" tendencies and "destructive notions" among students. Uvarov recommended a new approach:

The correct, basic, and necessary education of our age ought to be blended with deep conviction and with warm faith in the truly Russian conservative principles of Orthodoxy, autocracy, and national spirit (narodnost'), which constitute the ultimate anchor of our salvation and the surest guarantee of the strength and the greatness of our Fatherland.<sup>27</sup>

This report, which echoed the earlier words of Magnitskii, contained the first expression of what came to be known as Official Nationality.

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<sup>25</sup>Whittaker, Origins of Modern Russian Education, 1, 4; James Flynn, "The Committee on the Organization of Academic Institutions and the Dorpat Professors' Institute," Slavic and European Educational Review, nos. 1-2 (1985): 56-57; and Judith Zimmerman, "The Uses and Misuses of Tsarist Educational History," History of Education Quarterly, 16 (Winter 1976): 490.

<sup>26</sup>Whittaker, Origins of Modern Russian Education, 7.

<sup>27</sup>"S predstavleniem otcheta tainago sovetnika Uvarova po obozreniiu im Moskovskago universiteta," Dopolnenie, 339-70, 350; "Tsirkuliarnoe predlozhenie G. upravliaiushchago ministra narodnago prosveshcheniia," Zhurnal, 1 (1834): xlix-l; and

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Like Nicholas, Uvarov believed in the need for the state's pre-eminence in education:

Only the government has all the means to know both the great progress of general education and the present requirements of the fatherland....It protects the true interests of the people and saves them from moral and political evils.<sup>28</sup>

He also stood for a form of class education. He explained that:

The distinction in the needs of the different estates and the different conditions of the people inevitably leads to a proper division among them of the subjects of study. A system of general education may then only be called properly organized when it offers the means to each one to receive that instruction which corresponds to the nature of his life and his future calling in society.<sup>29</sup>

Uvarov especially tried to use the periodical press and censorship to further his aims. When he reviewed Moscow University in 1832, he criticized at length the

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Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 107-08.

<sup>28</sup>Zhurnal, 1 (1834): iv-v.

<sup>29</sup>Sergei Uvarov, Desiatiletie Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia, 1833-1843 (St.

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local press for its "journalistic filth" and harmful influence upon the public. He insisted that it be "loyal and national in bias."<sup>30</sup> In fact, he closed two journals that he found dangerous: Nikolai Polevoi's Telegraf in 1834 and Professor Nikolai Nadezhdin's Teleskop (Telescope) in 1836. When Uvarov became minister of education, he began to publish the Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia (Journal of the Ministry of Education) in an effort to foster a greater awareness of Official Nationality. He also supported a number of conservative journals, including that of his friend, Mikhail Pogodin's Moskvitianin (The Muscovite).<sup>31</sup>

#### Educational reform and the universities

Shortly after he assumed the throne, Nicholas began to reorganize the educational system in accordance with his beliefs, and this had a profound impact on Moscow University. In May 1826 he established the Komitet ustroistva uchebnykh zavedenii (Committee for the Organization of Educational Institutions), which consisted

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Petersburg, 1864), 8.

<sup>30</sup>"Otcheta Uvarova po obozreniiu Moskovskago universiteta," 339-70; Flynn, University Reform, 218-20; and Whittaker, Origins of Modern Russian Education, 112.

<sup>31</sup>Semen Okun, Ocherki istorii SSSR, vtoraiia chetvert' XIX vek (Leningrad, 1957), 309.

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of a diverse group of people, including: Shishkov, Speranskii, Uvarov, and Count Sergei Stroganov.<sup>32</sup> While Shishkov headed the committee, work proceeded rather slowly, but it picked up when Karl Lieven became minister in 1828. That year, the committee finished statutes for the lower and middle schools and the Main Pedagogical Institute. By 1835 it had produced twenty-one pieces of legislation.<sup>33</sup>

The committee eventually turned its attention to the universities. Shishkov had recommended that the curator's powers be expanded, that the tsar should appoint the rector, and that professors should be removed from administrative work.<sup>34</sup> The committee's debate on university autonomy and curatorial powers, though, proved inconclusive. For example, in July 1826 the committee did not allow the St. Petersburg curator to appoint a rector, but, at the same time, the tsar allowed the Vilna curator

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<sup>32</sup>"Ob uchrezhdenii komiteta dlia slizheniia i uravneniia ustavov uchebnykh zavedenii i opredeleniia kursov ucheniia v onykh," Sbornik Postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 22-24; "Stroganov," 524; Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 21-22; and Galskoy, "Ministry of Education," 166, 174-75.

<sup>33</sup>"Ob ustave gimnazii i uchilishch uezdnykh i prikhodskikh," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 150-209; Galskoy, "Ministry of Education," 175, 290-91; and Flynn, "The Dorpat Professors' Institute," 53-54.

<sup>34</sup>Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 181; Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 29-30.

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to appoint one.<sup>35</sup>

A rough draft of a university statute was ready by April 1829, and a commission that included Stroganov, wrote a final draft and submitted it to the tsar. The tsar passed it on to the State Council, which returned it to the committee in May 1833 because Uvarov, who had become acting minister, wanted to postpone the introduction of the statute. He felt that he should have more input if he was going to be the one to implement the statute.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, Nicholas himself undertook a series of measures affecting students, nobles, and professors. In July 1826 he tried to resolve the class problem by asking the State Council for a law to prevent serfs from attending any school, but his advisers persuaded him to let the Ministry restrict admissions by means of a ministerial circular so that Europeans would not get an unfavorable image of Russia.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>"Ob opredelenii rektorov Vilenskago universiteta po naznacheniiu pravitel'stva," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 27-30; Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 185-86; and Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 171.

<sup>36</sup>Galskoy, "Ministry of Education," 203-05, 207-08; Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 191-92; Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 87-88; and Whittaker, Origins of Modern Russian Education, 156-57.

<sup>37</sup>Shi'lder, Imperator Nikolai Pervyi, 2: 32-33; Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 132; Galskoy, "Ministry of Education," 183; and Flynn, "Tuition and Social Class," 237.

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The regime also tried to lure the nobility into the school system by tinkering with rank and advancement benefits. According to the new 1835 statute, a "real" student received rank 12, a candidate--rank 10, a master's--rank 9, and a doctor--rank 8, which conferred personal nobility.<sup>38</sup> The 1834 "Regulations on the Order of Promotion in Civil Ranks" also gave graduates a faster promotional track in the bureaucracy by dividing officials into three categories. For nobles to rise from rank 14 to 5, took twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-seven years respectively depending on how much education they had received.<sup>39</sup>

The tsar partially eliminated the shortage of qualified teachers by establishing the "Professors' Institute" at Dorpat University. In September 1827 George Parrot, a member of the Academy of Sciences, presented a "Memorandum on the Russian Universities" in which he proposed to train young scholars, beyond the age of eighteen, at Dorpat for five years and at Berlin or Paris for two years. After seven years, all professors at Moscow, Kharkov, and Kazan Universities could be replaced.

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<sup>38</sup>"Obshchii ustav Imperatorskikh rossiiskikh universitetov," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 762.

<sup>39</sup>Lincoln, In the Vanguard of Reform, 14; Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 250.

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Though Shishkov, Speranskii, and Stroganov opposed the plan, Uvarov persuaded the tsar to support the training of twenty of the best "Russian" students at Dorpat for four years and at Berlin for two more years. The Professors' Institute began to function in late 1828, after fourteen students had shown up in St. Petersburg for testing. In the second group, selected in March 1833, only nine were chosen.<sup>40</sup> Some students also received legal training in the Second Section under the direction of Mikhail Speranskii. In this program, which also began in 1828-29, students studied at St. Petersburg and then abroad. These two sources provided about thirty-six new university professors.<sup>41</sup>

The tsar passed two other measures that added further duties for professors. In 1834 he prohibited the hiring of tutors who had not passed a certification exam in a university. After tutors had presented evidence of their educational and moral backgrounds, a committee of professors tested them orally and listened to a test

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<sup>40</sup>Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 186-87; Flynn, "Dorpat Professors' Institute," 57-58; Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 182-84; and Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 59-61.

<sup>41</sup>Flynn, University Reform of Tsar Alexander I, 184-85

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lecture.<sup>42</sup> The tsar also enacted provisions for the inspection of private schools in 1833 and 1835. Moscow and St. Petersburg each had two inspectors, preferably professors, to monitor all private schools.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, in line with Nicholas's idea of "order" was the establishment of state-appointed inspectors at the universities. Previously, each university had elected a professor to watch over state-supported students, but in late 1833 Uvarov created the post of inspector of all students at the University of St. Petersburg.<sup>44</sup> The inspector was either a civil or military official who exercised moral, academic, police, and economic functions. He constantly observed all student activities and reported directly to the curator. He took special care "that students...[did] not frequent taverns, coffee houses, and all such places where there is a sale of strong spirits,

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<sup>42</sup>"O vospreshchenii priminat' v dolzhnosti po domashemu vospitaniiu inostrantsev, nepoluchivshikh attestatov ot russkikh universitetov," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 553-54; "Polozhenie o domashnikh nastavnikakh i uchiteliakh," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 578-92; and Uvarov, Desiatiletie Ministerstva, 16.

<sup>43</sup>"Ob uchrezhdenii inspektorov nad chastnymi uchebnymi zavedeniami v stolitsakh," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 499-500; "Polozhenie o chastnykh uchebnykh zavedeniiakh," Zhurnal, 5 (1835): xxxiv-xlvi.

<sup>44</sup>"Ob opredelenii pri S. Peterburgskom universitete inspektora studentov," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 480-81.

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billiards, or such."<sup>45</sup> In July 1834 Nicholas named Captain Platon Nakhimov to the post at Moscow University at an annual salary of three thousand rubles.<sup>46</sup>

As for the university statute, Uvarov seized control of it in May 1833. He had just supervised the creation of St. Vladimir's University in Kiev and wanted to apply that experience. The essential changes he introduced were: abolition of university judicial autonomy, a clear definition of the powers of curator and minister, a separation of administrative from academic matters, and the use of the Svod zakonov (Code of Laws) as the basis of legal study.<sup>47</sup> In 1835 two imperial acts defined the new educational structure: the General Statute of the Imperial Russian Universities (26 July 1835) and the Regulations Concerning the Educational Districts (25 June 1835).<sup>48</sup>

The curator, named by the tsar, "now became the most important figure in the whole university structure." He lived in the university city and personally oversaw all

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<sup>45</sup>"Instruktsiia inspektoru studentov Imperatorskago Moskovskago universiteta," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 619-35.

<sup>46</sup>"Ob opredelenii pri Moskovskom universitete inspektora studentov," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 569-70.

<sup>47</sup>Borozdin, "Universitety v Rossii," 371; Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 243.

<sup>48</sup>"Obshchii ustav"; "Polozhenie ob uchebnykh okrugakh," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 730-35, 742-69, 29-34; Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 115; and Galskoy,

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academic and administrative aspects of the district. He could preside over the executive board and council, and he enjoyed the right to remove "disloyal" professors, control budget allotments, and appoint the inspector. The inspector assisted the curator and ensured that students complied with the rules of conduct.<sup>49</sup>

The council of professors, previously the real center of power, had its jurisdiction restricted to university affairs only. It still elected the rector for a four-year term, confirmed by the tsar, and deans for four years, confirmed by the minister. It also selected professors, assigned them duties, conferred academic degrees, and approved books to be printed by the press.<sup>50</sup>

A number of other changes occurred. The executive board, still composed of the rector, deans, and legal advisor, now came under the control of the curator. As the curator gained in power, the rector lost. The independent university court system also disappeared, and all student and faculty legal matters now came under the jurisdiction

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"Ministry of Education," 226.

<sup>49</sup>Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 115, 129-31; Galskoy, "Ministry of Education," 194; Johnson, Russia's Educational Heritage, 96; and Rozhdestvenskii, Istoricheskii obzor, 238-39.

<sup>50</sup>Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 128-29.

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of the state system. Administrative action by the inspector and curator replaced that of the council and rector.<sup>51</sup>

University organization remained relatively unchanged. There were three departments: medicine, law, and philosophy, which was divided into two divisions (historico-philological [letters] and physico-mathematical [mathematics]). Department meetings controlled the distribution of courses, reviewed methods of instruction and texts, conducted degree examinations, considered publications for the press, censored faculty publications, and oversaw the selection of essay prizes.<sup>52</sup>

The types of professors remained the same, as did their ranks. At Moscow University, the formal number of professors increased to fifty-six with each teaching a minimum of eight hours a week, for which the regime considerably increased their salaries.<sup>53</sup>

As evidenced by the new distribution of chairs, Uvarov changed the curriculum to fit better the goals of Official Nationality. For a law degree, a student no longer took

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<sup>51</sup>Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 128-29; Galskoy, "Ministry of Education," 210, 226; and Mathes, "University Courts," 369.

<sup>52</sup>Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 126, 129.

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courses in thirty subjects in all departments but specialized in Russian law courses. The minister added courses in Slavic dialects in Letters, merged political economy with statistics, and created an independent chair of Theology, Church History, and Law.<sup>54</sup>

Scholars have evaluated the 1835 statute with varying degrees of sympathy. Aleksandr Presniakov criticized it for introducing "the order of military service and in general a strict observance of established forms" into the schools, while Vladimir Ikonnikov noted that it "was even more liberal than that of the German universities." Alain Besançon even asserted that as a result of the statute, the Russian universities "were not very far" from being among the best in Europe.<sup>55</sup>

The new statute did eliminate some of the university autonomy of 1804 by placing more power in the hands of the curator, but, in reality, it was just a recognition of the fact that the post of curator had always been powerful. The new statute did provide the universities with a more professional administrative basis--more formal rules for degrees, admission, behavior, and more bureaucracy--but much still depended on just who held the post of curator.

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<sup>53</sup>"O pravilakh," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 402; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 479.

<sup>54</sup>Allister, "Reform of Higher Education," 123-25; Galskoy, "Ministry of Education," 203-06; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 488-89; and Hans, History of Russia's Educational Policy, 76-77. See Appendix 3.

<sup>55</sup>Aleksandr Presniakov, Emperor Nicholas I of Russia, ed. and trans. J. Zacek (Gulf Breeze, 1974), 29; Ikonnikov, "Russkie universitety," 90; and Besançon, Education et société, 52.