

## CHAPTER 7

### MOSCOW UNIVERSITY, 1835-1847

With a population of around three hundred fifty thousand in the 1840s, Moscow was Russia's second largest city and its second capital. It had been a city of the old nobility who liked to live away from the bureaucracy of St. Petersburg, but the fire of 1812 had greatly altered the character of the city. It had become more of a manufacturing center, mainly textiles, but it remained a unique city. The Marquis de Custine insisted that "at Moscow we forget Europe" and that Moscow was more "Russian" than St. Petersburg. Most importantly, with respect to the intellectual climate, he claimed there was a "more lively, free, and careless bearing of the population" than in St. Petersburg. "An air of liberty is breathed [there] that is unknown to the rest of the empire."<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the educational facilities under Sergei Stroganov's control in 1835, there was little or no primary education in the city itself. Most children received that at home, though some textile factories did operate their own schools. Secondary education consisted of the Nobles' Institute, organized in 1833, the guberniia gymnasium, which in 1833 became the "First" gymnasium, and a number of private schools: twenty-five in 1834 with 1,278 students and

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<sup>1</sup>Astolphe Custine, The Marquis de Custine and His "Russia in 1839," ed. George Kennan (New York, 1989), 433, 403; August Haxthausen, Studies on the Interior of Russia, ed. S. F. Starr

twenty-three in 1847 with 1,214 students.<sup>2</sup> The city also boasted a smattering of professional schools, including a drawing and drafting school that Stroganov had founded in 1825. Even serfs could attend Stroganov's school, because he felt that "the knowledge of drafting [was] an incalculable advantage for artisans." The school could support 360 students in its six-year course, and by 1842 the seventy-six students who graduated all had jobs.<sup>3</sup>

### The Stroganov family

The Stroganov family was one of Russia's oldest, richest, and most prestigious clans.<sup>4</sup> Its first conspicuous representative was Spiridon, who lived near Novgorod during the reign of Dmitrii Donskoi.<sup>5</sup> Under Tsar Ivan IV, the family, as part of the "oprichnina," amassed enormous riches when the tsar granted it a series of charters to vast stretches of land along the Kama River in return for protecting the Perm area from Siberian tribes. This "protection" eventually led to the conquest of Siberia by the Cossack chief Ermak in the

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(Chicago, 1972), 14-35.

<sup>2</sup>Istoriia Moskvyy, 461-69.

<sup>3</sup>"Ob uchrezhdenii v Moskve grafom Stroganovym risoval'noi shkoly," Sbornik postanovlenii, 1: 1604-10; Istoriia Moskvyy, 473-76.

<sup>4</sup>See, "Stroganov," Russkii biograficheskii slovar'; Kolmakov, "Dom i familiia grafov Stroganovykh"; "Stroganovy," Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'; Nikolai Ustrialov, Imenityia liudi Stroganovy (St. Petersburg, 1842), 2-4; and Velikii Kniaz' Nikolai Mikhailovich, Graf Pavel Aleksandrovich Stroganov, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1903).

<sup>5</sup>Graf Pavel Stroganov, 1: xi.

1580s.<sup>6</sup> For their services to the tsars, the Stroganovs acquired the title of "imenityi" (distinguished). This meant that they were only subject to the tsar's personal justice; they could build towns and fortresses and arm regiments; they maintained their own court system on their property; and they could trade freely with Asian tribes.<sup>7</sup> The last "imenityi," Grigorii Dmitr'evich, died in 1722, and Peter the Great gave his three sons the title of "baron." They--Nikolai, Aleksandr, and Sergei--formed the three branches of the family.<sup>8</sup>

The richest line of the family ran through Sergei Dmitr'evich, a lieutenant-general closely connected to the imperial court. He built the huge house, designed by the renowned Italian architect, Bartolomeo Rastrelli, on the corner of the Nevskii Prospekt and the Moika Canal in St. Petersburg. His only son, Aleksandr Sergeevich, supervised the building of the massive Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg, and his only son, Pavel Aleksandrovich, became another success story. Born in 1774 in Paris, Pavel and his tutor, Gilbert Romme, were ardent republicans and supported the Jacobins during the French Revolution. Pavel was also a close friend of Alexander I and a member of the Unofficial Committee. Later, he served as the minister of the interior. He and his wife, Princess Sof'ia Vladimirovna Golitsyna, had five children: Aleksandr, Natal'ia, Adelaida,

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<sup>6</sup>Ustrialov, Imenityia liudi Stroganovy, 8-16; Graf Pavel Stroganov, 1: xii.

<sup>7</sup>Ustrialov, Imenityia liudi Stroganovy, 20, 22; Graf Pavel Stroganov, 1: xii-xiii; and Kolmakov, "Dom i familiia grafov Stroganovykh," 577.

<sup>8</sup>Ustrialov, Imenityia liudi Stroganovy, 24. See Appendix 7 for the Stroganov family tree.

Elizaveta, and Ol'ga, but their only son died in battle in 1814, almost in front of his father's eyes. The father, Pavel, died three years later in Copenhagen.<sup>9</sup>

Sergei Stroganov descended from one of the other lines of the family. His father, Baron Grigorii Aleksandrovich, had been an ambassador to Sweden, Spain, and Turkey and had married Princess Anna Sergeevna Trubetskaia. They had five sons--Sergei, Aleksandr, Nikolai, Aleksei, and Valentin--and a daughter, Elena.<sup>10</sup>

Sergei Grigor'evich Stroganov was born 8 November 1794, the first son of his father, and in most respects his upbringing and early career mirrored that of other aristocratic youth of his age. When he turned fifteen, he enrolled in the newly-founded Institute of Engineers of Ways and Means in St. Petersburg, and on completion of his studies, he embarked on a military career. He took part in a number of battles in 1812, distinguishing himself at Borodino and in the campaigns in France.<sup>11</sup>

The young man took the opportunity offered by the Russian army's stay in France to become better acquainted with Western Europe. He travelled widely and visited various educational and art institutions. Later, he continued his military career and fought in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29 and the Crimean War of 1854-55. He reached the rank of major-general in 1828, adjutant-general

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<sup>9</sup>Kolmakov, "Dom i familiia grafov Stroganovykh," 581-83, 575-77, 587, 71-75, 77, 82; Graf Pavel Stroganov, 1: 3, 14, 27-29, 37.

<sup>10</sup>Kolmakov, "Dom i familiia grafov Stroganovykh," 82-83.

<sup>11</sup>For a list of his decorations, see Appendix 9.

in 1835, and finally general of cavalry in 1852.<sup>12</sup>

In 1817 Stroganov married his distant cousin, Natal'ia Pavlovna Stroganova--the daughter of Pavel Stroganov, and over the years they had six children: Aleksandr, Pavel, Grigorii, Nikolai, Sof'ia, and Elizaveta. Since Natal'ia's father had no male heir--the only son died--Sergei eventually inherited the title of "count" and the family's wealth because her father, just before his death, created an entailed estate which made the property indivisible. Control passed first to his widow and then, on her death, to Natal'ia--Stroganov's wife--and to Stroganov on her death.<sup>13</sup>

As a result, Stroganov eventually became one of the wealthiest men in the country. According to the 1817 deed, the properties located in five districts of Perm guberniia included 45,875 male serfs. There was also a small estate in Nizhnii Novgorod and two houses in St. Petersburg. To this estate, Sergei later added thirteen thousand serfs that he inherited from his father and brother. At the time of the Emancipation in 1861, estimates placed his estate at over ninety-four thousand male serfs and millions of acres of land. After the serfs received their allotments of land, Stroganov still retained an estimated 3.5 million acres.<sup>14</sup>

A number of artistic avocations interested Stroganov. For over thirty

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<sup>12</sup>"Stroganov," Russkii biograficheskii slovar'.

<sup>13</sup>Kolmakov, "Dom i familiia grafov Stroganovykh," 82-83; Ustrialov, Imenityia liudi Stroganovy, 1: 222-23; and "Stroganovy," 802-05.

<sup>14</sup>Kolmakov, "Dom i familiia grafov Stroganovykh," 87-88; Ustrialov, Imenityia liudi Stroganovy, 1: 224.

years, he chaired the Historical Society, and in 1859 he founded the Arkheologicheskaiia komissiia (Archaeological Commission) and for many years remained its president and driving force, even allocating it space in his house. Because of the Commission's work, the Hermitage Museum received valuable Kerch and Scythian collections of gold. In addition, Stroganov was well-known in the field of numismatics and amassed a rich collection of Russian coins.<sup>15</sup> He also had an interest in painting and sculpture and maintained a famous gallery of Italian and Dutch masters that he had collected during his repeated trips to Europe. They hung in the St. Petersburg home, which reputedly held the best private art collection in Russia and one of the best in Europe.<sup>16</sup> Finally, Stroganov was a renowned expert on ancient architecture and iconography. During his long stay in Moscow, he assembled a rich assortment of ancient icons. He financed the restoration of the famous Dmitrievskii Cathedral in the town of Vladimir and later published a description of the building. He also wrote two works dealing with Russian art.<sup>17</sup>

Although technically Stroganov remained in military service all his life, he spent much of his career in the field of education, which he began in 1826 when

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<sup>15</sup>Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 168-69.

<sup>16</sup>Aleksandr Andreev, "Davnie vstrechi," RA, 28, bk. 1 (1890): 550; Kolmakov, "Dom i familiia grafov Stroganovykh," 575-77.

<sup>17</sup>"O serebrianykh veshchakh, naidennykh vo Vladimire i Iaroslavskoi gubernii v 1837 g.," Russkii istoricheskii sbornik, 4, bks. 2-3 (1840); Dmitrievskii sobor vo Vladimire-na-Kliaz'me, stroennyi s 1194 po 1197 gg. (St. Petersburg, 1849); and Russkoe iskusstvo: V. Violle de-Diuk i arkhitektura v Rossii ot X do XVIII stoletii (1878).

the tsar named him to the Committee for the Organization of Educational Institutions. Active in all of the committee's work, Stroganov deviated significantly from the majority on only a few issues. For example, he unsuccessfully joined Speranskii and Shishkov in opposing the Parrot memorandum that became the basis for the Professors' Institute. Stroganov was also a member of the sub-committee that reviewed the draft statute for lower schools, and he was a member of the committee that drafted a university statute.<sup>18</sup>

His committee work, though, did not hinder his other services to the tsar. For example, in 1828 Nicholas dispatched him to Vienna to meet with Prince Metternich and inform him about the results of the Turkish campaign. Then in 1830 the tsar sent Stroganov to investigate the situation in Novgorod and take appropriate measures with regard to the cholera riots. Additionally, he was the military governor of Riga and Minsk gubernii from 1831 to 1834, just after the Polish rebellion.<sup>19</sup>

### Stroganov and Moscow University

In June 1835 the tsar named Stroganov as the new curator of the Moscow Educational District. According to the statute, which went into effect on 1 January 1836, each university still had autonomy over its internal academic

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<sup>18</sup>"Stroganov," Russkii biograficheskii slovar', 524.

<sup>19</sup>A. I. Lomachevskii, Iz vospominanii zhandarma 30 i 40 godov (St. Petersburg, n.d.), 5-6; "Iz razskazov gr. Sergei G. Stroganova," RA, 34, bk. 2 (1896): 292-92; Okun, Ocherki istorii SSSR, 56; and Schiemann, Geschichte Russlands, 3: 151.

affairs, but the curator now managed the district by himself.<sup>20</sup> Though lacking formal preparation for an educational post, Stroganov was, in other respects, well-fitted for the role: financially independent, indifferent to the rewards of a service career, acquainted with Europe, enlightened, tolerant of other people's convictions, and a firm upright character. His administration was to be "a shining epoch of prosperity," and students always remembered the period as "Stroganov's era."<sup>21</sup>

During his tenure as curator, the University passed a turning point that coincided with, or better, initiated the general upswing in intellectual life in the country. For the University itself, the first years of his curatorship were a divide between the old and new:

On that side of the line was the University's old building, the old professors with [their] patriarchal morals and customs, and a very old fashioned administration,...and on this side--the new University building..., a whole phalange of new and young professors, only recently returned from abroad where they had studied according to their specialities, and, simultaneously with them appeared, a new, still young, forty-year old curator.<sup>22</sup>

The mid-1830s had been a time of pessimism and depression for

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<sup>20</sup>"Obshchii otchet 1836," Zhurnal, 14 (1837); "Polozhenie ob uchebnykh okrugakh, 730-35, 29-30; and Eroshkin, Krepostnicheskoe samoderzhavie, 62.

<sup>21</sup>"Stroganov," Russkii biograficheskii slovar'.

<sup>22</sup>Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 108-09.

intellectuals because of the general reactionary measures of the regime.

Polevoi's Moskovskii telegraf was closed in 1834, and Nadezhdin's Teleskop in 1836; Vladimir Pecherin fled Russia in 1836; Petr Chaadaev was declared insane in 1836; Herzen was in exile; and Aleksandr Pushkin, Russia's greatest poet, died after a duel in January 1837. Nikitenko wrote that "any kind of trust in a higher order of things, in a higher motive for activity, has been lost."<sup>23</sup>

Around 1840, though, there was a change when Belinskii and Herzen, who had returned to Moscow from exile, both became active in journalism. They played an important role in creating a vibrant intellectual atmosphere. At the same time Moscow University, under Stroganov, also moved to the forefront of events, through its professors, large concentration of eager youth, and benevolent administration. They were creating a new intellectual society and continuing the philosophical debates that had begun in the early 1830s, and that culminated in the split between the Westerners and Slavophiles in the 1840s.

The Westerners attempted to use a historical scheme to show how Russian history fit with that of the West, i.e., that Russia had to follow Europe's example. Their key word was zakonomernost' (in accordance with historical laws), and they hoped that Russia would attain a constitution and basic human rights in the future. At the University they included Professors Timofei

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<sup>23</sup>Nikitenko, Dnevnik, 1: 142; Okun, Ocherki istorii SSSR, 340-41. Vladimir Pecherin, 1807-1885, taught Greek literature at Moscow University in the fall of 1835 and then emigrated. He became a poet and a Catholic priest. Petr Chaadaev, 1794-1856, was a philosopher and one of the first "Westerners." His "First Philosophical Letter" was a critique of Russia, for which the tsar declared him insane.

Granovskii, Konstantin Kavelin, Nikita Krylov, Petr Kudriavtsev, Petr Redkin, and Sergei Solov'ev.

The Slavophiles, by contrast, believed that Russia had its own unique path to follow. Theirs was a highly romantic world view, looking back to the pre-Petrine era when Russian society revolved around the throne, the church, the peasant commune, and the zemskii sobor (Assembly of the land). They believed that Russia possessed a special characteristic of sobornost' (communality) that the West lacked. Among the leading Slavophiles were the Kireevskii brothers (Ivan and Petr), the Aksakov brothers (Konstantin and Ivan), Iurii Samarin, and Aleksei Khomiakov.

#### Stroganov and his administration

Stroganov held the Moscow curatorship from mid-1835 until his retirement in November 1847, and almost everyone connected with the University has described him as a true "aristocrat," proud, serious, and sparing of words.<sup>24</sup> His long travels and military and administrative experience had led him to believe that his goal was to "raise the higher nobility in Russia and give it the means to support its position and remain always the highest estate." Though he had a rather superficial education, his instincts told him that education was the way to achieve that goal. As a result of the new university statute, he had the means to

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<sup>24</sup>Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 25-26; A. D. Galakhov, "Sorokovye gody," Istoricheskii vestnik, 47 (January 1892): 131; N. D., "Studencheskie vospominaniia o Moskovskom universitete," Otechestvennyia zapiski, 119 (August 1858): 85-86; and A. D. Shumakher, "Pozdniia vospominaniia o davno minuvshikh vremenakh," Vestnik Evropy, 34 (March 1899): 98-99.

put the University at its peak, and he did.<sup>25</sup>

Stroganov was proud before equals, but he willingly recognized his intellectual superiors. Though he had thousands of serfs under his control, he tended to be rather thrifty--others called him stingy--as he did not want to squander money needlessly, but when the school needed to acquire a rare map or book, the money was there. While Uvarov was said to be more intelligent, Stroganov had the better character, and one student recalled that the "time of his curatorship was like a ray of light in the long night."<sup>26</sup> He did not like people who complained a lot or who liked money, and, as a result, he had many enemies. He was especially hostile towards the Slavophiles, who he felt produced mostly "empty gossip."<sup>27</sup>

While he was curator, Stroganov ran the district almost single-handedly, visiting countless schools and talking with many students and teachers. He took a very active role in all University matters, often sitting with students and quietly listening to lectures from the back of the hall. Afterwards, he would talk with professors about what had been said. He was always present at degree defenses. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, he would not tolerate police interference in student affairs. The city police could inform the University about possible disciplinary breaches, but the school itself handled the matter. This was

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<sup>25</sup>Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 25-27; N. D., "Studencheskie vospominaniia," 83-84.

<sup>26</sup>Chicherin, Vospominaniia, 28.

<sup>27</sup>Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 29-30; Chicherin, Vospominaniia, 28-30.

very important in establishing an intellectual sanctuary, albeit a limited one.<sup>28</sup>

His relations with both professors and students were "polite," though the latter rarely had direct contact with him because they considered him too highly ranked to be accessible. In all, he seemed to be a good model of behavior for the students, and they responded to his curatorship. Former students later recalled that "we believed in him" and "we were proud of him."<sup>29</sup>

The assistant curator of the district from 1831 to 1847 was Dmitrii Golokhvastov, and he managed the district while Stroganov was abroad in 1839 and 1840. According to the historian Sergei Solov'ev, Golokhvastov was not overly aristocratic, and, though honest and knowledgeable, he was very formalistic and liked to talk rhetorically, to "clothe an idea in formal dress." Golokhvastov held very conservative political views, and, in fact, "he hated the University and considered it a dangerous institution for the existing order." He did not "advise anyone to send their sons" there.<sup>30</sup>

Inseparably linked with the name of Stroganov was that of the inspector of students, Captain Platon Stepanovich Nakhimov, the brother of the famous naval hero of the Crimean War. He had finished the Naval Cadet Corps and served

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<sup>28</sup>Iakov Polonskii, "Moi studencheskiiia vospominaniia," Niva, supplement (December 1898): 975-76; P. D. Shestakov, "Moskovskii universitet v 1840-kh godov," RS, 55, no. 9 (1887): 646; and Chicherin, Vospominaniia, 28-29.

<sup>29</sup>N. D., "Studencheskie vospominaniia," 85-86; Shestakov, "Moskovskii universitet," 646.

<sup>30</sup>Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 40-41; Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 109.

twenty years in the navy before retiring because of an illness.<sup>31</sup>

Students called Nakhimov "Flakon Stakanovich" (Flagon-glass) in jest, because of his alleged love of alcohol, but they all considered him "a true friend of the students."<sup>32</sup> Nakhimov, at one time or another, helped almost every student in some way, and there were many anecdotes about him that circulated.<sup>33</sup>

Nakhimov began his work at the University in 1834 after a naval career that left its traces on his behavior--he rose very early each morning, wore his hair "cropped," and loved rum. He was "forever in his naval uniform" and usually stood against a wall with his arms folded on his chest while standing on his right leg. Somewhere along the way he had learned to be tolerant of youthful excess.<sup>34</sup> If he saw a student on the street not in proper attire, he would look the other way, so as not to be obliged to expel him from school for not wearing a uniform.<sup>35</sup> The basic disciplinary problems he dealt with were long hair, unbuttoned uniforms, not wearing the three-cornered hat, not going to lectures,

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<sup>31</sup>"Ob opredelenii pri Moskovskom universitete inspektora studentov"; Shevyrev, Istoriia, 482-83; and Nasonkina, Moskovskii universitet posle Dekabristov, 123.

<sup>32</sup>Aleksandr Afanas'ev, "Moskovskii universitet v vospominaniakh," RS, 51 (August 1886): 359-60; Chicherin, Vospominaniia, 32-33.

<sup>33</sup>D. N. Dmitr'ev, "Iz pamiatnoi knizhki," Russkoe obozrenie, 19 (February 1893): 726-27; N. D., "Studencheskie vospominaniia," 85-86; and Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 17.

<sup>34</sup>Afanas'ev, "Moskovskii universitet," (August 1886): 359-60; Shestakov, "Moskovskii universitet," 647.

<sup>35</sup>Shumakher, "Pozdniia vospominaniia," 99.

and drinking. His standard response to any infraction was, "What will the Count say?"<sup>36</sup> In order to escape punishment, a student would try to slip in a few well-chosen words during Nakhimov's tirade, such as, "Platon Stepanovich, you see, you are our father."<sup>37</sup>

Nakhimov loved to give the students advice, but it varied in its quality. For example, he recommended walking three times around the "old" building to get rid of the smell of cigar smoke before going home.<sup>38</sup> When the owner of a local tavern lodged a complaint that a student had not paid his bill, Nakhimov went there to investigate the facilities. He tried out the tavern's wares and then told the student that he would be better off drinking rum since the vodka was watered-down.<sup>39</sup> Once during Lent, Petr Ternovskii, the University priest, told two state students that they could not receive communion because of some sin that they had committed. They went to Nakhimov, who spent a great deal of time arguing with Ternovskii about the matter and tried to convince him to allow the students to receive communion. Finally, Ternovskii said:

"I can not. Jesus Christ said such and such," and he began to recite biblical passages when Nakhimov interrupted him, "Who cares about

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<sup>36</sup>Shestakov, "Moskovskii universitet," 652-53, 647.

<sup>37</sup>Afanasei Fet, "Raniie gody moei zhizni," Vestnik Evropy, 20 (April 1893): 543-44.

<sup>38</sup>Shestakov, "Moskovskii universitet," 652.

<sup>39</sup>Afanas'ev, "Moskovskii universitet," (August 1886): 360.

Jesus Christ? What is the Count going to say?"<sup>40</sup>

### Stroganov and the educational district

Once in his new position, Stroganov immediately set about improving the schools of his educational district. The Noble Pension had been closed in 1830, and then re-opened three years later as a Nobles' Institute.<sup>41</sup> Aleksandr Georgievskii, a student at the Institute, noticed an immediate improvement after Stroganov assumed office, because Stroganov frequently dropped in on the classes and took notes. Stroganov later told Georgievskii that he visited the classes to monitor teachers and to identify the best students in order to urge them to continue their studies at the University.<sup>42</sup>

Secondary education in Moscow also improved under Stroganov, as the number of gymnasia increased from one to three. Because of overcrowding, Stroganov opened a second in 1835 and a third four years later. He explained his reasoning as follows:

Both for the satisfaction of the growing need for educated youth in general and in particular for the teaching, in this industrial center, of a technical course of science.

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 359.

<sup>41</sup>"Polozhenie o Moskovskom Dvorianskome institute," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 875-84, 39-40; "O uvelichenii platy, vzimaemoi nyne v Moskovskom universitet za studentov-pansionerov," Zhurnal, 16 (1837): iii; and "Ustav Moskovskago Dvorianskago instituta," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 2, 569-78.

<sup>42</sup>A. I. Georgievskii, "Moi vospominaniia i razmyshleniia," RS, 162 (May 1915): 355.

The Third Gymnasium was unique in that it had two seven-year courses, the "real" for *raznochintsy* and the regular "classical" preparation for nobles entering a university. The "real" had added courses in natural history, chemistry, technology, commerce, bookkeeping, and drafting.<sup>43</sup> Solov'ev, who studied in the First gymnasium, confirmed how everything changed once Stroganov took over. Stroganov restored order, and students began to respect their teachers. Everyone recognized that now there was a "nachal'nik" (boss) in charge.<sup>44</sup>

Stroganov also attempted to improve the lower schools with his 1839 "Polozhenie o gorodskikh nachal'nykh uchilishchakh v Moskve" (Regulations on Moscow City Primary Schools), which aimed to increase the number and quality of primary schools in the city. The Regulations, later copied by St. Petersburg, also created the positions of "supervisor" and "honorary guardian," which gave the possibility of some input from society into the conduct of school matters.<sup>45</sup> In 1844 Stroganov even tinkered with the idea of starting up Sunday schools, and he approached Metropolitan Filaret to get his blessing.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>"Polozhenie o tret'ei gimnazii v Moskve," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 1160-64; "Polozhenie o real'nykh klassakh pri uchebnykh zavedeniakh," Sbornik postanovlenii, 2: pt. 1, 1164-67; "Obshchii otchet 1839," Zhurnal, 26 (1840): 31-40; and Istoriia Moskvyy, 464-69.

<sup>44</sup>Solov'ev, Moi zapiski, 25-26.

<sup>45</sup>"K Polozheniiu o gorodskikh nachal'nykh uchilishchakh v Moskve," Dopolnenie, 615-18; Rozhdestvenskii, Istoriicheskii obzor, 284-85.

<sup>46</sup>"Pis'mo Mitropolita Moskovskago Filareta k g. popechitel'iu Moskovskago uchebnago okruga, grafu Sergeiu Grigor'evichu Stroganovu," Chteniia, no. 3 (1874): 89-90.

TABLE 8  
Number of Educational District Employees/Teachers

<u>Year</u>	<u>Moscow</u>	<u>Petersburg</u>	<u>Kharkov</u>	<u>Kazan</u>	<u>Kiev</u>	<u>Dorpat</u>
1834	949	524		549	511	291 248
1836	1,160	874		833	667	481 245
1838	1,034	963		890	724	529 248
1840	1,126	1,020		835	884	711 244
1842	1,143	978		781	808	709 247
1844	1,126	1,020		835	884	711 244
1846	1,131	695		862	844	761 238
1848	1,285	700		791	997	777 242

Source: Ministerial annual reports in Zhurnal.

Stroganov did a good job managing his educational district and overseeing its improvement, and the figures show just how big a job it was. (Table 8)

Though Kazan and Kiev had greater proportional increases than Moscow, the latter was, by far, the largest educational district in Russia, and Stroganov still oversaw an increase in the district's number of employees and instructors by over thirty-five percent.

The number of students in the district under Stroganov also increased by a little over fifty percent, and the district maintained its pre-eminent place in Russia. The large growth at Kiev was due to the fact that it was only just being organized and, thus, experienced a fast initial growth. (Table 9)

TABLE 9  
Number of Educational District Students  
(Private and State)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Moscow</u>	<u>Petersburg</u>	<u>Kharkov</u>	<u>Kazan</u>	<u>Kiev</u>	<u>Dorpat</u>
1834	13,249	6,858	10,220	7,585	5,742	8,344
1836	17,785	11,884	13,374	9,060	7,896	8,471

1838	16,925	12,987	13,788	11,530	8,462	9,341
1840	18,053	15,094	10,698	10,170	9,682	9,682
1842	17,282	16,760	11,395	10,706	9,202	9,697
1844	18,995	18,058	12,358	11,890	9,823	9,823
1846	20,387	16,628	11,684	13,213	10,286	10,454
1848	20,418	16,302	11,037	17,710	10,356	*

Source: Ministerial annual reports in Zhurnal.

### Stroganov and the University administration

While Stroganov was curator, his supporting cast at the University grew steadily--but not as fast as the student body--until late in the 1840s. (Table 10) This showed that Stroganov achieved a more-streamlined administration of the University, but also, consequently, a more burdened staff.

TABLE 10  
University Employees

<u>Year</u>	<u>Religious</u>		<u>Economic/Police</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	<u>Scholarly</u>		<u>Press</u>		<u>Total</u>	
1834	4	74	52	273	128	531
1836	4	59	33	214	124	434
1840	3	72	37	204	138	454
1842	3	69	38	200	141	451
1844	3	86	39	205	154	487
1848	3	97	46	207	256	609

Source: University annual reports.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup>The main source of information on University activities are the Otchet (reports) which contained: Chapter 1 on the staff and composition of the university, Chapter 2 on the activities and state of the university, students, academics, economic, paperwork, and Chapter 3 on special events. Appendices followed that included lists of all students, employees and teachers, class lists, degrees, library holdings, press, and paperwork.

The record of the administrative activity of the University was mixed. While the council exhibited a marked fall-off in the number of its meetings, the executive board's sessions also became fewer in number, a sign of the fact that efficiency increased or that Stroganov did more of the work on his own. It was also a sign that the larger collegial body found it difficult to accomplish anything and did not have to do so because of the professors' confidence in Stroganov's administration. The Departments of Letters and Law maintained a constant frequency of meetings, while Mathematics increased its number, which was consistent with the large influx of students into that Department in the 1840s. The Medical Department also increased its annual meetings as it expanded its facilities. (Table 11)

TABLE 11  
Bureaucratic Sessions

<u>Year</u>	<u>Council</u>		<u>Letters</u>			<u>Law</u>
	<u>Pravlenie</u>		<u>Mathematical</u>		<u>Medicine</u>	
1834	48	91	13	9	15	32
1836	37	71	13	7	12	34
1840	14	65	21	15	15	45
1842	14	62	6	15	11	54
1844	9	53	13	10	12	59
1848	12	74	16	19	18	32

Source: University annual reports.

Another measure of the workload of professors was the paperwork generated by and dealt with by the them. (Table 12) The paperwork processed by the University council climbed dramatically, even though the number of

sessions fell, while that of the executive board decreased slightly.

TABLE 12  
Bureaucratic Paperwork  
Council

<u>Year</u>	<u>Matters resolved</u>	<u>Incoming</u>	<u>Papers Outgoing</u>
1834	395	975	1,588
1836	183	642	1,237
1838		645	1,409
1840	179	865	1,270
1842	248	870	1,628
1844		1,724	1,779
1845	263	1,850	1,842
1848		2,267	2,094

Executive Board  
Papers

<u>Year</u>	<u>Matters resolved</u>	<u>Incoming</u>	<u>Outgoing</u>
1834	1,098	5,080	4,639
1836	736	3,169	3,389
1838		3,255	3,796
1840	718	2,984	3,777
1842	444	3,222	2,989
1844		2,579	2,799
1845	515	2,446	3,262
1848		2,716	3,936

Source: University annual reports.

In the individual departments, incoming paperwork decreased slightly,

while outgoing increased. (Table 13) It appears that department work was better accomplished in meetings without the necessity of having to resort to written records.

TABLE 13  
Bureaucratic Paperwork of the Departments

<u>Year</u>	<u>Letters</u>		<u>Law</u>	
	<u>Papers in</u>	<u>Papers out</u>	<u>Papers in</u>	<u>Papers out</u>
1834	123	17	76	13
1836	60	16	56	97
1840	38	15	37	12
1844	50	44	46	25
1848	65	51	45	33

<u>Year</u>	<u>Mathematics</u>		<u>Medicine</u>	
	<u>Papers in</u>	<u>Papers out</u>	<u>Papers in</u>	<u>Papers out</u>
1834	69	11	280	94
1836	87	20	282	145
1840	35	15	185	104
1844	60	28	370	217
1848	61	30	141	187

Source: University annual reports.

These figures provide just an inkling of how complicated it was to be a professor, for even though the University maintained an administrative staff, professors were still responsible for much of the paperwork. They still had meetings to attend and matters to deal with and record. If professors met fewer times in council, they still generated more paperwork, and they met more often in

some of the departments. They might have had a lesser number of matters to deal with if the size of the student body had not increased as rapidly as it did.

One of Stroganov's major achievements was to oversee this entire bureaucratic mechanism, to introduce improvements where possible, and to keep both the district and University running smoothly, despite the increasing demands on them, i.e., the growing number of students and the rising expectations of society. This he seems to have performed very skillfully.

His other major achievement was psychological: he "reconciled the emperor with Moscow University."<sup>48</sup> The tsar's last visit to the school, during the coronation in 1826, had not gone off very smoothly. On 22 November 1837, however, the tsar performed an inspection of the school and church. In the space of less than three hours, he looked at the new building with its auditoriums and reception hall, the old building, student dining hall and apartments, museum, laboratories, library, clinics, the nearly completed new chemistry building, and the church. His majesty expressed his "satisfaction" in having found everything in order. That winter, Nicholas even sent the tsarevich there to hear a special course on anatomy by Professor Petr Einbrodt.<sup>49</sup> The fact that the tsar had finally visited the school was good news for the University. This reconciliation between tsar and University was further evidenced by several awards given

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<sup>48</sup>Nil' Popov, "Imperator Nikolai I v Moskovskom universitete," RS, 39 (September 1883): 589-90

<sup>49</sup>Otchet 1836/37, 36; "Obshchii otchet 1837," Zhurnal, 18 (1838): xxxiii; Buslaev, Moi vospominaniia, 110-11; and Shevyrev, Istoriia, 505.

Stroganov for his work at the school. In 1839 the tsar awarded him the honours of Knight of the Empire and the Order of the White Eagle, and, six years later, the Order of St. Aleksandr Nevskii.<sup>50</sup>

In 1835 and 1834, Moscow University and the Educational District received two key appointments, Stroganov and Nakhimov. These two men, because of their personalities and beliefs, proved to be vital for the rebirth of the University that took place in the 1840s.

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<sup>50</sup>"Vysochaishii reskript...grafu Stroganovu," Zhurnal, 22 (1839): 146; Zhurnal, 46 (1845): 154; and Shevyrev, Istoriia, 473.