

Ideas of a free higher education: reflection in the intellectual space of Ukraine at the end of the XIX-th – the beginning of the XX-th century

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Paper received 24.10.19; Revised 06.11.19; Accepted for publication 10.11.19.

<https://doi.org/10.31174/SEND-PP2019-208VII85-07>

Abstract. In exploration found out dynamics approaches generators scientific and pedagogical ideas to address the problem of free high school in the context of the European and global dimension. It is proved that the local representatives of the public-pedagogical movement were guided by the ideas and experience of free higher education institutions in Europe and the USA, the practice of the first systematic academic and popular science courses for the people. The statement of the priorities of reform pedagogy on the territory of Ukraine at the end of XIX-th – the beginning of the XX-th centuries, aimed at the implementation of the principles of science, culture, democratization, civic orientation of education.

Keywords: *pedagogical history, scientific-pedagogical thought, community pedagogical movement, ideas of free higher education, reform pedagogy.*

Introduction. The growth of national identity population with the rising of the crisis in higher education, deepening the differentiation of scientific knowledge urgent practical challenges, a wide public resonance "Universal question" on the brink of XIX-th – centuries led intellectuals to search for alternative systems of teaching, generating new ideas aimed to review the mission of the university, the higher education of state and non-state universities.

A brief overview of publications by topic. The first attempts at reflection of the chosen problem were made by contemporaries. The important source of information is collected works and some investigations dedicated to the talented scientists and teachers written by collages, teammates and grateful students who partially covering their views on the question of the organization of free high schools. The writings of the protective scientists and educational leaders (T. Arnold, T. Veblen, W. Grundtvig, E. Durkheim, Karl Mannheim, F. Morris, P. Natorp, J. Ruskin, J. Stewart, A. Toynbee, M. Scheler and others) the model of "free of high school", "open", "people's university", designed to promote "social and intellectual emancipation" of the people, massification of the education, success in implementation of communities functions.

It should be noted that the works of modern researchers are mostly narrow expected. Instead, there is a lack of generalized intelligence investigations that addresses the problem raised in terms of the development and implementation of the ideas of a free higher education institution and a people's university, which is relevant in the intellectual environment of the study period.

The purpose of the study – to figure out the dynamics approaches representatives of scientific and educational ideas, to address the problem of free high school and establishing priorities for reform pedagogy in the territory of the Ukraine at the end of XIX-th – the beginning of XX-th century.

Materials and methods. Textological analysis of archival materials and scientific literature made it possible to determine the range of interpretations of the chosen problem and to develop the author's point of view on the basis of involvement of little-known primary sources. Simultaneous analysis made it possible to define common and different approaches to the idea of free reflection of high school in the conditions of the Ukrainian and European intellectual space.

Following the generalization method, the conclusions of the proposed solution are highlighted.

Results and Discussion. Particular attention is paid to the ideas of scientists, educators, educational and public figures who worked in higher educational establishments, scientific, public and cultural educational institutions in the territory of Ukraine, or worked closely with representatives of the national intelligentsia, influencing substantially private and public development of the higher education. We consider it appropriate to note the value of archival research, epi carpentry and memories sources for illumination the definite problem, especially "Autobiography" and "Diary" M. Grushevsky with memories "Lived and Experienced" M. Karreev, materials of the First Congress performance of People's universities in 1908 year in St. Petersburg.

The essential evristic potential is rich in the western works of the reform pedagogy representants at the second half of XIX-th – the beginning of the XX-th century, T. Arnold, T. Veblen, W. Hruntdviha E. Durkheim, Karl Mannheim, F. Morris, P. Natorp, J. Reskin, D. Steward, A. Toynbee, M. Scheller etc. It is worth noting that these figures were not only theorists, but also active practitioners, participants in the movement for free higher education. The pioneer in the field of adult education in Denmark was protestant theologian W. Grundtwig, who linked the calling of the people's university to the strengthening of the religious outlook in the people's environment, the deepening of knowledge about the native land and folk culture. Apologist of Oxford model was Professor F. Morris, who sought through lecture work among the lower classes, carried on Christian principles and included the popular science content, promote and relieve social tension and neutralize the revolutionary nature of the labor movement. Professor D. Steward is the author of the Cambridge model of the People's University aimed at attentive scientific training in the use of listeners' knowledge control. According to the English Professor J. Reskin, obtaining education at a people's university should serve not so much as a personal exaltation, but above all as a means of realizing the great social and political problems of the present, the basis for public service activities [20]. In the understanding of English professor A. Toynbee it was most important to instill to the listeners – native of the people the realization that "a person is like a tree: the roots run into the earth and the top reaches to heaven" [22, p. 218].

Considerable popularity among the representatives of the national intelligentsia, as well as the motives of the educational case of the studied period, became devoted to the theory and practice of free higher schools for the people, in particular, J. Russel "National Universities in England and America" [26], S. Webb and S. Wales "Universal treasures for workers in London" [10].

K. Mannheim linked the prospects of implementing the idea of continuing education with the founding of new types of higher education, which began to emerge in many Western countries, seeking to deepen the meaning of the concept of "social education", to open its opportunities for the consolidation of society, the affirmation of worldviews of different attitudes regardless of age citizens, in deepening their understanding of the world, society, profession, and gaining confidence in broad public dialogue [21]. In the book "Higher Education in America" T. Veblen acknowledged the commercialization of higher education in the Western capitalist world was far more dangerous than state usurpation. After all, in the new realities, the leaders of public opinion are entrepreneurs and the "technical elite", for whom knowledge is a commodity in the services market, which transforms higher education into an enterprise with certain indicators of success and attractiveness for the consumer, which is accompanied by the transition from elitism to massification of education.

According to the vision of neo Kantianism, patriarch of social pedagogy Professor P. Natorp, "People's Academies" are a platform where everyone can successfully improve the social function, to achieve the common goods and promote the formation of the individual who is able to create culture together with other people. Professor E. Durkheim connected the people's high schools mission in increasing conscience of moral monolithic and solidarity of all members of society [8]. Thanks to people's universities, according to the scientist, it would be possible to improve the material and social status, life and career prospects of workers and the nation as a whole. According to E. Durkheim's plan, the confluence of public higher schools as full-fledged self-sufficient units in the composition of "big universities", the solution of content and personnel problems (coordination of curricula, raising the professional level of teaching staff), will allow the newly created university colleges to become complex societies – political processes. According to A. Flexner's definition, a university must be a "mirror" in which reflects the soul of the people. For Professor M. Scheller, the calling of the people's university is primarily related to the implementation of the national consolidating function and to the spiritual unity of the nation [32]. In the interpretation of free higher education theorists, the religious dominant in the activities of popular universities was gradually superseded by the socially useful, cultural and nation-building.

Taking into account the evolution of foreign theories and educational practice, the representatives of scientific and pedagogical thought of the Russian Empire (D. Bagaliy, V. Buzeskul, V. Vernadsky, M. Gredeskul, V. Danilevsky, M. Dovnar-Zapolsky, M. Kareev, M. Kovalevsky, M. Kostomarov, M. Lange, P. Lesgaft, I. Luchytsky, L. Petrazhitsky, M. Sumtsov) insisted on the need to build a new free higher education, enhance private and public initiatives, the development of the autodidactic model, realizing the idea of "after university education", with orientation on

the European standards, enhanced cooperation with western scholars, assimilation of positive world experience, building trust in civil society institutions.

Significant influence on the development of scientific-pedagogical thought in the study period was made by reputable scientists, especially political immigrants, active opponents of the state course in the field of education, who had experience in teaching in the leading foreign centers. Thus, the eminent mathematician, Professor Sophia Kovalevskaya in the essay "Three days in a peasant university in Sweden" highlighted the practice of raising the mental and cultural level of the population in Western Europe by creating educational institutions of a new type, directly participating in their work in the Scandinavian countries. Professor G. Henkel, based on the systematization of foreign experience, analyzed the advantages and disadvantages of the Cambridge and Oxford models of people's universities, according to the systematic and scientific popular training of students [1]. Unlike G. Henkel, M. Kovalevsky, P. Lesgaft – supporters of the academic mission of free high schools, Professor B. Syromyatnykov proposed copyright to determine the people's universities as the educational organizations aimed at popularizing generally comprehensive knowledge among the adult working population [30] and a radical change in social consciousness.

Special attention for deserve the views of Professor M. Kovalevsky – a sociologist, historian, anthropologist, lawyer accused of cover those autocracy and deprived of opportunity to teach sociology at the universities of the Russian Empire, which at the end of XIX-th century read lectures not only in Oxford university, but in a new type of institutions: Free University of Stockholm, New university in Brussels, the Free school of social sciences in Chicago, the Free college of social sciences, Graduate school of social sciences in Paris. The scientist drew attention to the urgency of the idea of a free university in the intellectual environment of Europe, where by that time a certain tradition of spreading public knowledge in the general population was already formed [16, p. 5-6]. The difference between the new type of higher education institutions and the traditional ones, according to the scientist's definition, was their complete formal independence from the state, openness to the new trends in the field of science and politics. Working on the conceptual and organizational and pedagogical principles of free higher education, M. Kovalevsky together with associates primarily guided by the statutes and rules of newly created universities: university in Brussels, Paris school of social sciences, various people's universities or university courses such as Heheshtyftunh, Berlin and other vacation courses [31]. It should be noted exceptional the role of M. Kovalevsky in the development of original curricula of a number of higher schools of new type for the implementation of a thorough "synthesized" social studies training, ensuring full academic freedom, respect for the personality of the teacher and student, the unity of humanitarian knowledge with emphasis on modern scientific research.

The idea of the democratization of education to form responsible citizens and active members of society based on the accumulation of positive international experience of the private higher schools has become a leitmotif of scientific-pedagogical refinement M. Kovalevsky, with his associates (I. Mechnikov, Y. Gambarov, E. de Roberti, M. Kareev, I. Luchytsky) was the founder of the higher school of social

sciences in Paris (1901), included on the basis of the autonomous establishments in Sorbonne. In teaching process into the new establishment were involved prominent scientists from the different countries of the world, including a sociologist, a representative of reform pedagogy E. Durkheim, a historian, apologist of neo positivism Sh. Senobos and Professor of L'viv University M. Grushevsky and Dr. F. Wolf in Sorbonne, reading such courses in Ukrainian history and ethnography contributed to the institutionalization of the Ukrainian studies in the European space [18, p. 54]. Concerning belief of M. Kovalevsky, at the end of the XIX-th century the most necessary and the most popular is knowledge which reflects historical-cultural characteristics, problems and prospects of development of every nation. As a native of the well-known Cossack-way of Slobozhanshchina, M. Kovalevsky, according to the testimonies of S. Rusova and P. Stebnytsky, sympathized the Ukrainian movement: the scientist in the field of rights of the Ukrainian language, was the author of "A Short History of the Little Russian People" infused Ukrainian conciliar idea, co-editor of Ukrainian encyclopedic reference book "The Ukrainian people in the past and in the present," chairman of the Charitable society named after Taras Shevchenko to support students from South Russia, who studied in St. Petersburg [25, 27]. M. Kovalevsky and M. Kareev made considerable efforts to publish the works of M. Grushevsky in French and Russian.

Based on the model of the Higher School of Social Sciences in Paris, during the revolution of 1905-1907, M. Kovalevsky and P. Lesgaft opened a free university in the capital of the Russian Empire, in which sociology was "legalized" and the departments of Ukrainian History and Languages were started letter of the tour [6, p. 23]. However, soon after, the university was closed by the government, and M. Kovalevsky headed the A. Shanyavsky People's University in Moscow. In 1908, under the chairmanship of M. Kovalevsky, was held the First All-Russian Congress of People's Universities, which was of equal importance for the reflection of the ideas and practices of free higher education, taking into account the national component of education.

The educational ideals of M. Kovalevsky were shared by Professor M. Kareev – a historian, philosopher, sociologist, ethnographer, supporter of the versatile character of higher education, not limited to special training [17]. According to M. Kareev's definition, under the new conditions, the goal of a free higher education should be to democratize the higher development of the individual by absorbing the universal knowledge. "Truly a democratic general education, it can only be such as accessible to a wide range of society, and so the latest forms of University Extension and systematic self-education are only the first democratization of scientific knowledge", said the professor. According to the belief of the scientist, during the gradual remove Russia from the police to the rule of law, the growing role of self – government and public performances, became extremely urgent to overcome the complete ignorance of members of society with their own rights and responsibilities. In order to become a free people in a free state, people urgently need quality legal education as a means of strengthening political freedom and improving the social order [10, p.113].

Deserved attention M. Kareev's thoughts about the priorities of the development of higher education on the revitalization of public and private initiatives, complementarity the

sectors of state and non-state higher schools, opening opportunities for self-knowledge and self-education of the youth, strengthening civic awareness, activism of students municipality. It was M. Kareev, as the leader of the opposition-minded professorship, at the congress of All-Russian and his academic union in 1905, who was commissioned to prepare the draft statute of a free higher school. Guided by the model of the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences in Paris, the scientist had developed a text of the statute aimed at democratizing higher education (abolishing class, property and age qualification for entrants) and granting non-state higher education institutions the rights of autonomy [14]. At the same time, the author emphasized that free higher education institutions did not claim to replace state universities, performing primarily complementary and compensatory functions [19].

According to M. Kareev, in the process of higher education it is more important to focus on the "ideological" content and all the indigenous knowledge. "Education is not so much the possession of factual knowledge, but the ability of understanding, which presupposes the possession of known ideas... The higher ideal of education, is not to know everything that only all scientists of the world know, but to understand all the ideas of the century, what general interest has and can be accessed by everyone", – said the scientist [15, p. 26]. So education and self-education, formation of scientific, moral and social outlook, self-realization in professional activity, in his opinion, are priority tasks for the young generation. In the spirit of sentiments of M. Skovoroda M. Kareev remarked that "a person has besides duties towards other people, has duties towards himself" [13, p. 22]. To the most important duties of academic youth, the scientist attributed the free autonomous solution of the question of the purpose of life and professional vocation of man: "Let everyone first" know himself "and determine his life vocation depending on the inclinations and abilities of his nature. To get into your life not in your place, to take deals not on your own abilities or powers, to choose an activity to which you do not feel an inner inclination... all this is a great misfortune for a person who brings into his life only one pity, one dissatisfaction with oneself and their situation, one falsehood" [13, p. 28].

Considering the critical thinking personality as the driving force of history, the scientist repeatedly removed himself from the teaching staff of Russian universities, worked in non-state higher schools, lectured on problems of self-education for the academic youth of Bukovina and Galicia. The work of M. Kareev "Self-education" was translated by a student of M. Grushevsky, leader of the Ukrainian student movement, M. Zaliznyak and published in two parts in L'viv [11]. In general, ideological kinship and constructive cooperation have contributed to the consolidation of progressive intellectuals who have been aware of the importance of the national component in the development of free higher education [3]. An example is the telegram sent in 1914 by M. Kareev to the Professor I. Luchytsk, who defended the rights of the Ukrainian language in educational institutions at the State Duma: "Dear Ivan Vasilyevich, on your great holiday day, we congratulate you as a man, who in the history of you native land became the model of an honest figure who was able to unite human ideals in a well-deserved national Ukrainian cause, glory to you old friend" [23].

On the differences in the vision of public and nonpublic

schools structure in the environment of Ukrainian intellectuals on the verge of the XIX-th and XX-th centuries, showed discussions among members of the "Scientific partnership named after Taras Shevchenko" in L'viv, in the pages of periodicals in Galicia and Bukovina. At this time, M. Grushevsky's supporters argued for the benefits of starting a full-fledged public higher education institution for the Ukrainians under pressure from the public, while S. Dnistryansky, O. Kolessa, E. Ozarkkevich, M. Pavlik pointed out the reality of opening a private university in Lviv on the basis of good national tax imposed on the Ukrainian population [24]. The movement for the "university by correspondence" has gained considerable scope, covering all sections of the Ukrainian population of Galicia. According to M. Pavlik, "only the creation of a private Ukrainian university, which requires about 1 million kroons, convinces the relevant circles in the seriousness of the intentions of the Ukrainians to defend their rights" [28, p. 15]. On the other hand, M. Hrushevsky noted the complexity and length of the procedure of establishing a private higher education institution under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which did not concede to the state authorities in terms of bureaucratic regulation. It was M. Grushevsky and members of the "Society supporters of the Ukrainian literature, science and pieces" belonged the idea in 1904 about summer academic courses in L'viv involving stakeholders from Under Dnieper Ukraine [5, p. 83-90], which was considered by the organizers as an important step towards the implementation of the project of a private Ukrainian university.

Emphasizing the importance of taking into account the national component in higher education, the representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, Under Dnieper Ukraine, Galicia, Bukovina (M. Galushchinsky, F. Kolessi, O. Kolessi, M. Korduba, O. Kosach, I. Krypiakevich, T. Lubenets, O. Makovei, K. Malyska, M. Rudinsky, S. Rudnitsky, S. Rusova, S. Siropolko, S. Smal-Stotsky, D. Starosolska, I. Steshenko, M. Sumtsov, G. Hotkevich, V. Shcherbakisky) associated expectations with people's universities, takes into account the spiritual needs and native people as an alternative to "official" higher schools, alienated from their sources. According to D. Doroshenko, working on appropriately designed programs, people's universities are able to lay the foundations of the "great cause of national education and upbringing" [7, p. 2].

At the beginning of the XX-th century, when the purpose of higher education was revised, as defined by D. Starosolskaya, the result of education and training "should not be a diploma, title or government, but an intellectual person, independent, able to live and act according to the needs of this life", that represented as the type of free self-independent personality. Personal vision of the national programs for the people's university for the Ukrainian peasants laid out the wise women's movement member K. Malitska in the article "Some exercises about the presentation and thoughts for farmers" (1905). Generator and promoter of the idea of "the people's university" for the Ukrainian district in Bukovina became Professor S. Smal-Stocki in Chernivtsi university, that in order to develop an optimal model of national high school education made the educational journey to the Western Europe by selecting an example Vienna people's university – one of the best in the world. According to thoughts of the founder, the university would be able to form an awareness of belonging to the Ukrainian

nation, so that the students would become "the beauty and pride of our country" [4]. The organizer of systematic scientific and scientific popular science lectures in Galicia was the Society of Ukrainian Scientific Exercises named after Peter Mohyla (1906), which in 1913, together with the L'viv "Enlightenment", started higher education courses "on the look" of Danish people's universities. The idea of English "university settlements" was developed by M. Galushchinsky – one of the pioneers of domestic andragogy, the founder of the people's boarding school near Rogatin, whose creative achievements were highly appreciated by S. Rusova.

However, it is necessary to point out a correction of the indicated position of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, depending on changes in the socio-political situation: by the time Professors S. Dnistryansky and A. Kolessa as the members of the Vienna parliament, hoping for their ability to convince the official Austrian circles in the opening state Ukrainian University in L'viv. Instead of delay of the authorities structures with solving definite problem in terms of Dunay monarchy led M. Grushevsky to intensify efforts to study possibilities of establishing a private Ukrainian institute or people's university in the Under Dnieper Ukraine, which seemed quite realistic after the declaration of a number of constitutional rights and freedoms in times of the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 years.

The program of starting a private Ukrainian institute or "Ukrainian institute of social sciences" (*école des hautes études sociales ukrainienne*) was developed by M. Grushevsky (1907), considering it the most expedient to open this institution in Kiev – the historical capital of "Ukraine-Russ". According to the initiator's vision, the institute could serve as a supplement to official schools, would allow students to supplement their education with different knowledge of Ukrainian studies, and would prepare contingents of specialists for teaching in secondary schools, for scientific, public and literary activities. The basis of the content block would be based on the Ukrainian language; literature; folklore (folk literature); political history and social science with political science; cultural history; artistic creativity; archeology and ethnology, anthropology; geography; Ukrainian law; modern state law of different parts of the Ukrainian territory; economy and statistics. In terms of ensuring a high level of methodological audience and deepen interdisciplinary connections would be preferred general courses – such as philosophy of law, government, social economy and others.

A scientist appealed to the best practices of the international experience, gained primarily in the "special various private high schools in Paris as *école des hautes études sociales, école d'anthropologie*", the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences and as a result of the first steps of the Free University in Empire (Lesgafta and Shanyavsky). According to M. Grushevsky, such establishment as a center can be made a "gift of invaluable cultural and national value" for modern society and the native people. "American millionaires and billionaires, practitioners from practitioners, have evaluated, respectively, the value of scientific institutions for the public and for public oppression, and have turned their oil, iron and others into a number of scientific institutions that have become a powerful engine of scientific and cultural life in modern America", – the professor remarked [2].

As to S. Efremov, hoping for the resources of the "Ukrainian Fund" of the philanthropist V. Semirenko,

M. Grushevsky planned to open a private institute of Ukrainian studies with a printing house based on the principles of people's university and intended for the systematic teaching disciplines of Ukrainian disciplines [9, 72]. However, due to lack of funds and due to official obstacles in times of intensified reaction, the plans were only partially implemented – M. Grushevsky succeeded in establishing the Ukrainian Science Society in Kiev. Public means of popularizing academic achievements in the field of Ukrainian attempts became members of the organization series of public lectures (M. Grushevsky I. Kamanin, I. Luchytskoho, Alexander Loboda, A. Levitsky, V. Peretz, I. Steshenko) discontinued by the instructions of power structures. To deepen the Ukrainian knowledge for all interested persons lecture activity was directed. Literary-arts-ethnographic society named after of Kvitka-Osnovyanenko in Kharkiv [29], was founded by the participation of H. Alchevsk, D. Bahaliy, M. Pylchikova, M. Sumtsov.

However, despite the request of the members of the Kiev Society "Enlightenment" led by Boris Grinchenko to the State Duma, about People's University named after Taras Shevchenko, to realize this idea could become possible only in 1917 – in times of national state formation. At that time, well-known teachers I. Steshenko and S. Rusova, among different types of higher schools, favored the advantage of peasants universities, which allowed to bring the light of

knowledge to the corner of Ukraine farthest from the benefits of civilization. In the course of S. Rusova's lectures "Extra-curricular education and its means of conducting" (1918) educational opportunities of visiting lectures in the province, development excursions to exhibitions, stations, educational farms, scientific laboratories, teaching due to the correspondence (appeals of those wishing to deepen self-education and organizations on the list of the latest scientific literature) were revealed, which, in our opinion, is the prototype of distance education.

Conclusions. Thus, during the period under review, representatives of the public-pedagogical movement focused on the ideas and educational experience of free higher education institutions in Europe and the USA (especially France, Denmark, Austria-Hungary, Germany), the practice of the first systematic academic and popular science courses for the people (Odessa, Kharkiv, Ekaterinoslav, Kiev, Lviv, Chernivtsi). Despite the diversity of the proposed models of non-state higher education institutions, it was common to recognize humanistic and democratic values, principles of science, culture, democratization, civic orientation of education, abolition of national, gender, religious, age and social standards, educational standards, academic freedom, respect for the personality and free amateurism of a teacher and a student.

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