## UVAROV'S GYMNASIUM REFORM OF 1811 IN THE HISTORY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

# ГИМНАЗИЧЕСКАЯ РЕФОРМА УВАРОВА 1811 Г. В истории среднего образования россии

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#### Annotation:

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# The ten-year era of S.S. Uvarov's trusteeship in the St. Petersburg Educational District has been out of sight of historians for a long time for ideological reasons. Nevertheless, it was thanks to the efforts of Uvarov as a trustee that the St. Petersburg educational district received its final and full-fledged registration. This article examines one of the pages of S.S. Uvarov's successful curatorship

- his gymnasium reform of 1811, which brought the St. Petersburg Provincial Gymnasium into a "flourishing" state. Uvarov was one of the first to notice the shortcomings of the gymnasium's "multisubject" plan and managed to offer a definitely more convenient educational program that connected the gymnasium with the university through a complementary schedule. The gymnasium reform of. Uvarov became successful, since the gymnasium curriculum proposed by Uvarov was extended to all gymnasiums of the Russian Empire in 1817.

#### Аннотация:

Десятилетняя эпоха попечительства Уварова С.С. в Санкт-Петербургском учебном округе долго оставалась вне поля зрения историков по идеологическим соображениям. Тем не менее, именно благодаря усилиям Уварова в качестве попечителя, Санкт-Петербургский учебный округ получил своё окончательное и полноценное оформление. В данной статье рассматривается одна из страниц успешного попечительства С.С. Уварова – его гимназическая реформа 1811 года, приведшая Санкт-Петербургскую губернскую гимназию в «цветущее» состояние. Уваров одним из первых заметил недостатки «многопредметного» плана гимназии и сумел предложить определенно более удобную образовательную программу, которая связывала гимназию с университетом посредством взаимодополняющего расписания. Гимназическая реформа С.С. Уварова стала успешной, поскольку гимназическая учебная программа, предложенная Уваровым, была распространена на все гимназии Российской империи в 1817 году.

### Key words:

# S.S. Uvarov, gymnasium, new schedule, the history of education, reforms.

### Ключевые слова:

С.С. Уваров, гимназия, новое расписание, история образования, реформы.

# **UVAROV'S GYMNASIUM REFORM OF 1811 IN THE HISTORY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN RUSSIA**

The famous statesman S. S. Uvarov served as a trustee of the St. Petersburg School District for ten years – from 1811 to 1821. However, this period of S. S. Uvarov's biography turned out to be underestimated, although the founding documents of 1803–1804 already charged universities, and in the St. Petersburg educational district Pedagogical Institute, with the duty, "expanding the range of knowledge in their departments, to assume supervision over all other schools and to assist members in the management of their departments". The trustee, as the head of the district and a member of the Main Board of Schools, was supposed to lead this process<sup>1</sup>. Uvarov's huge contribution to the educational reforms of the 1810s - early 1820s was recognized by his contemporaries. For instance, speaking about Uvarov, the rector and the first historian of St. Petersburg University, P. A. Pletnev, wrote: "His name has long been inseparable from the development of thorough and generally useful information in Russia. In his blooming youth, called by the monarch's will to act in this noble and then still new field, he was the inspiration of youth, understanding and sharing fresh impulses"2.

Despite this, not so much research has been devoted to the activities of S. S. Uvarov in relation to gymnasiums and colleges. Historians of the XIX – early XX century S. V. Rozhdestvensky, P. N. Milyukov and I. A. Aleshintsev, who dealt with the problem of the development of education in Russia, pointed out in their works only the problems facing schools and gymnasiums in the first years of the reign of Alexander I, namely: "the estate question", i.e. the reluctance of the nobility to send their offspring to these institutions, the shortage of teachers, poor funding, ill-conceived teaching of subjects and the general disregard of this area by the leadership of the Ministry of public education<sup>3</sup>. The role of S. S. Uvarov, his gymnasium reform of 1811 was given secondary attention, it was mentioned casually and without any complimentary assessments. In recent years, publications by E. A. Kalinina and T. N. Zhukovskaya have appeared, in which, through the introduction of new documents, the topics of the reorganization of schools and gymnasiums, their continuity with subsequent levels of education, the solution of the personnel issue in them with the help of university graduates are raised for the first time<sup>4</sup>. At the same time, the participation of S. S. Uvarov in this issue remains not fully disclosed.

Based on unpublished and published sources, we will try to give a proper assessment of the importance of one of the main and unfairly forgotten merits of S. S. Uvarov as a trustee of the St. Petersburg educational district – the gymnasium reform of 1811. For the disclosure of the topic, materials from the collection 733 of the Russian state historical archive are of great importance, where the reports of S.S. Uvarov to the Minister of education A.K. Razumovsky have been preserved. One of these reports contains the proposed S. S. Uvarov measures to update

- Schmid E. K. The history of secondary educational institutions in Russia. St. Petersburg: V. S. Balashev Printing House, 1878. P. 14.
- Pletnev P. A. The first twenty-fifth anniversary of the Imperial University. St. Petersburg, 1844. P. 10.
- Aleshintsev I.A. The history of gymnasium education in Russia (XVIIII and XIX century) / I. Aleshintsev. St. Petersburg: publication of O. Bogdanova, 1912. 346 p.; Milyukov P. N. Essays on the history of Russian culture: Part 2. Church and school (faith, creativity, education) // Type. I.N. Skorokhodova. SPb. 1897. 365 p.; Rozhdestvensky S. V. The estate question in Russian universities in the first quarter of the XIX century / S.V. Rozhdestvensky. - St. Petersburg: Senate. type., 1907. - 28 p.
- 4 Kalinina, E. A. Sistema narodnogo prosveshcheniya na Evropejskom Severe Rossii v pervoj polovine XIX veka [The system of public education in the European North of Russia in the first half of the XIX century], Dr. hist. Sci. diss. Abstr. Moscow, 2018. – 44 p.; Zhukovskaya T. N., Kalinina E. A. "From the alphabet to the university": administrative activity of St. Petersburg University in the academic district in the first half of the XIX century // Bulletin of St. Petersburg University. History, No. 2, 2014. pp. 22–32.

the schedule at the St. Petersburg provincial gymnasium – the starting point of the Uvarov reform. In addition, the work uses materials from published sources, which also reflect the thoughts and plans of S. S. Uvarov regarding the reorganization of lower and secondary educational institutions<sup>5</sup>.

- S. S. Uvarov became one of the first figures in the Ministry of public education who consistently considered graduates of gymnasiums as the main contingent for universities, demanding to establish a strong link between the gymnasium and the university through the organization of a complementary schedule, raising the status of these institutions, as well as increasing the requirements for applicants and employees. The great role played by lower and secondary educational institutions in the dissemination of education in the Russian Empire in the eyes of the trustee is indicated by the content of the report of S. S. Uvarov to the Minister of spiritual affairs and public education A. N. Golitsyn in 1817. "Without teachers for the lower public schools, Uvarov wrote in a report to Minister A. N. Golitsyn in 1817, due to the inevitable connection, the highest schools will not be able to exist in public education". In the same report, S. S. Uvarov asked to draw the attention of the heads of the Ministry of education to the need to perceive the education system as a whole, as a kind of unbroken chain, where one "step" of learning leads to the next "step", and nothing else. "Consequently, Uvarov continued, good public schools contribute to the flourishing state of gymnasiums by preparing them capable students and teachers in sufficient numbers always. Gymnasiums serve universities in the same way, and from these they can acquire academies of men with talents and thorough knowledge"<sup>6</sup>.
- S. S. Uvarov had a lot to worry about, because lower and secondary educational institutions were really drowning in problems and short-comings. The fact is that, preoccupied with the idea of attracting the population (the nobility in particular) to their educational institutions and their external structure, the Ministry of Public Education for the first five or six years completely lost sight of the gymnasiums and their curricula. All this resulted in the fact that most of the gymnasiums, then run mainly by retired military personnel<sup>7</sup>, dragged out a miserable existence. Not having proper supervision over themselves, corruption scandals<sup>8</sup> regularly broke out in gymnasiums, causing great damage to these institutions and, accordingly, repelling pupils from themselves. In addition, the gymnasiums, apparently, again due to corruption and insufficient funding, were a frightening sight. Memoirists as one recall with horror their stay in the pupils of the gymnasium. "Bare, said M. M. Pogodin, slightly smeared walls in a hired house, plank floors, which were often not visible from under the dirt, somehow put together benches, burning floors. Clothes we wore coats made of such cloth, which could be called felt without offense; we wore shirts made of such canvas, which argued with the cloth in thickness, but was inferior to it in softness; our vests were shabby. The food was liquid soup with a piece of beef, which was hardly inferior to a knife, and buckwheat porridge with butter, the closest to fat. There was no supervision, we didn't have a single supervisor, and their position was filled by students from the senior two classes" 9.

One way or another, the main problem of gymnasium education was its encyclopedic nature and overload, which S. S. Uvarov first of all drew attention to. The gymnasium program established in accordance with the charter of 1804 caused great difficulties for children and adolescents, since it did not take into account age characteristics. So, a student of the first grade of the gymnasium (about 10–11 years old) had to understand complex problems in algebra, geometry and trigonometry, know the chronology and mythology of ancient history, study geography, understand logic, master the grammar of Latin, German and French. In addition, there were other equally difficult creative tasks, in which students were asked to write essays, acquire versification skills, as well as the ability to translate texts from foreign languages (including Latin) into Russian. The fulfillment of these requirements was hindered by such factors as the scarcity of gymnasium libraries and the heterogeneity of students<sup>10</sup>. Thus, there was practically no preparation of students for university, and those who were not going to university after high school did not receive the skills necessary in real life.

Probably, the weaknesses of the educational system of 1804 had not yet fully manifested themselves by that time, so A. K. Razumovsky, who took up the post of Minister of public education on April 11, 1810, did not change, and could not change the general direction of the ministry's activities, nor the academic plans of gymnasiums, partly because he was not prepared for broad administrative activities at all and, despite his education, was alien to pedagogical ideas. Indeed, "A. K. Razumovsky is a man, according to contemporaries, intelligent, a scientist and brilliantly educated at that time, especially fond of studying botany. He reluctantly parted with his cabinet duties and accepted the post of minister solely out of pleasing the will of the sovereign", as it was said in the rescript of his appointment<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, Razumovsky's education was not specifically pedagogical, therefore, when in 1810 a well–known teacher from Switzerland, John von Muralt was introduced to him, the Muralt learned that the minister did not know the name of Pestalotia, nor his method<sup>12</sup>, nor even a single essay on this subject. In this regard, "it is not surprising that he (A. K. Razumovsky – I. P.) did not notice at all the sterility of encyclopedic education, which necessarily followed from the structure of the then gymnasiums, on the contrary, he defended this device" S. S. Uvarov, on the contrary, was aware of and approved the methodology of Pestalocia, and was against encyclopedic education, starting in 1811 the reform of gymnasiums – a direct step against this problem.

Thus, major changes in the curricula of gymnasiums are associated not with the name of the Minister A. K. Razumovsky, but with the

- <sup>5</sup> Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of public enlightenment. / Russia. Ministry of public enlightenment. Vol. 1. 1802–1825. St. Petersburg., 1864. 1864 columns; Voronov A. S. Historical and statistical review of educational institutions of the St. Petersburg educational district from 1715 to 1828 inclusive / Comp. on behalf of the trustee of St. Petersburg educational district M. N. Musin–Pushkin. St. Petersburg: type. Ya. Treya, 1849. 293 p.
- <sup>6</sup> Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of public enlightenment. / Russia. Ministry of public enlightenment. Vol. 1. 1802–1825. St. Petersburg., 1864. Column 1015.
  - Voronov A. S. Historical and statistical review of educational institutions... P. 106.
- One of such scandals was the case of Baron Dolst, the director of the St. Petersburg provincial gymnasium in 1807–1810, whose dismissal was accompanied by a serious criminal trial that revealed significant material embezzlement on the part of the gymnasium management (Russian state historical archive, coll. 732, aids 1, fol. 15, p. 216–219).
- <sup>9</sup> Dubrovin N. F. Russian life at the beginning of the XIX century / Edition prepared by P. V. Ilyin. St. Petersburg: DNA Publishing House, 2007. Pp. 130–131.
- Kalinina E. A. Schools of the Olonets province of the first half of the XIX century: historical essays and documents / E.A. Kalinina. St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, 2015. P. 81.
  - <sup>11</sup> Aleshintsev I. A. The history of gymnasium education in Russia... P. 56.
- <sup>12</sup> Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) was a Swiss teacher, one of the greatest humanist teachers of the late XVIII early XIX century, who made a significant contribution to the development of pedagogical theory and practice. The "Pestalozzi method" means a system of teaching children focused on their comprehensive development, the formation of "mind, heart and hand". Leading in this concept is the interpretation of the nature of education, understood as the need to build it in accordance with the inner nature of the child and the installation for the development of all the spiritual and physical forces inherent in it.
  - Schmid E. K. The history of secondary educational institutions... P. 80.

name of his son-in-law<sup>14</sup>, the St. Petersburg trustee S. S. Uvarov, from whose attention the "disproportionality" of gymnasium education could not hide<sup>15</sup>. The "disproportion" of the gymnasiums was expressed in the fact that they tried to play the role of the university, to fulfill its tasks. Historian P. I. Milyukov wrote about this: "University courses were taught in the gymnasium, it is unknown for whom, which then had to be taught at the university for the second time. As a result, the university suffered from the staging of teaching in gymnasiums, and the gymnasium suffered from the staging of teaching at the university. It was necessary to get out of this circle"<sup>16</sup>. As a result, the trustee S. S. Uvarov, who was directly involved in the "supervision and management" of lower and secondary educational institutions<sup>17</sup>, having understood this problem, was able to propose an "incomparably more important" gymnasium curriculum<sup>18</sup>.

The gymnasium reform of S. S. Uvarov was begun on October 31, 1811, when S. S. Uvarov presented his report to the Minister A. K. Razumovsky, which contained S. S. Uvarov's conclusions about the failure of the functioning of gymnasiums during the first years of the existence of the Ministry of public education and measures for their transformation. Uvarov's report began with an open statement that "he (Uvarov – I. P.) made sure that the course of the St. Petersburg provincial gymnasium still did not correspond to the intentions of the government" According to Uvarov, the "multi–subject" training schedule was a mistake On the contrary, Uvarov believed that the curriculum of gymnasiums should have been simple and should obey no less simple, practical and related to the subsequent study at the university goal. Uvarov saw in gymnasiums "steps" on the way to university: "The purpose of gymnasiums in general is to prepare students for listening to academic or university courses of sciences. A boarding school established at the local gymnasium, as well as all institutions of this kind, can equally have no other purpose, why the gymnasium course should not include such subjects that are provided to one university".

Consistent with this idea, Uvarov further noted that "incompatible disciplines" were taught in gymnasiums, which, "without developing mental strength in students, burdened only memory and distracted": "Political economy, commercial sciences, finance, aesthetics and philosophical grammar, requiring a mature and prepared mind, and therefore provided for universities, were not only not useful to pupils of gymnasiums, but even very harmful". Thus, Uvarov believed that it was necessary to exclude these disciplines from the cycle of sciences in order to return in teaching in gymnasiums to those subjects that serve as "the first foundation of true enlightenment in all states and in every century". According to the trustee, "the subjects and principles to which gymnasiums should return are the law of God, Russian and classical languages, history in a broad and deep sense, geography with all departments, mathematical sciences, grammar, logic, rhetoric, domestic and foreign literature"<sup>21</sup>. The Russian language in the schedule of S. S. Uvarov for the first time in general received a proper place in the new curriculum, and then they began to study him more than ever before. This curriculum was approved by Minister A. K. Razumovsky.

Table 1.

The curriculum in the St. Petersburg Gymnasium, according to the report of S. S. Uvarov to the Minister A. K. Razumovsky. 1811.

Academic subjects		Classes							Total lessons	
		I	II	Ш	IV	V	VI	VII		
The Law of God	A short catechism	2	2	2	ĺ	4	-	I		
	Sacred History	_	2	2	ĺ	-	-	I	14	
Russian language	"Reading civil"	8	2	1	1	-	-	-		
	"Church reading"	4	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	Grammar and dictation	-	4	4	-	-	-	-		
	Grammar with syllable exercises	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	40	
	Rhetoric and exercises in the syllable	-	-	-	-	4	2	-		
	Logic	-	-	-	-	2	2	-		
	Literature and its history	-	-	-	-	-	-	4		
Mathematics	Arithmetic	6	6	6	-	-	-	-		
	Algebra	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	42	
	Geometry	-	-	ı	4	-	-	-		
	Mathematics	-	-	ı	-	4	4	4		
	Physics	_	-	-	-	-	2	2		

Source: Aleshintsev I. A. History of gymnasium education in Russia... P. 58.

As can be seen from the table, teaching at the St. Petersburg gymnasium, judging by the number of subjects, hours and variety of teachers, was truly exhaustive. After all, despite the fact that, according to S. S. Uvarov's reform, some subjects were completely excluded from

- <sup>14</sup> Cynthia H. Whittaker. The Impact of the Oriental Renaissance in Russia: The Case of Sergej Uvarov // Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, 1978, Neue Folge, Bd. 26, H. 4 (1978). P. 517.
- Voronov A. S. Historical and statistical review of educational institutions... P. 215.
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- Kalinina E. A. Schools of the Olonets province... P. 25.
- Schmid E. K. The history of secondary educational institutions... P. 86.
- <sup>19</sup> Russian state historical archive, coll. 733, aids 20, fol. 110, p 8.
- James T. Flynn. S. S. Uvarov's "Liberal" Years /// Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Neue Folge, Bd. 20, H. 4 (DEZEMBER 1972). P. 481–482.
- Russian state historical archive, coll. 733, aids 20, fol. 110, pp. 9–10.

the cycle, Uvarov compensated for this by increasing the number of hours in Latin, Greek and the Law of God. The central position of these objects became obvious at a glance. At the same time, the teaching of these "central" subjects should not have been "superficial" or only memorization, when teachers "rely only on the memory of students", should not "surprise with the multiplicity of academic subjects", but should "deserve the public's power of attorney and the benevolence of the authorities, since students are formed from the moral and educational sides"<sup>22</sup>. Knowledge of the Latin language by all students of gymnasiums now became mandatory, because "it proves the acquisition of deep and solid information in literature in general, history, archeology, mythology and other similar sciences", as stated in the decree of the Minister of November 7, 1811, which approved the reform of Uvarov<sup>23</sup>. The Law of God in the Uvarov gymnasium also took a strong position, although in comparison with other subjects it was still modest – 14 lessons in grades I, II, III, V. At the same time, when looking at the table of academic subjects of the gymnasium, it is clear that the law of God here meant mainly the teaching of the catechism: 10 lessons were assigned to it and only 1 to sacred history, and church history and the doctrine of worship were completely absent.

Nevertheless, looking closely at the Uvarov gymnasium, it is not difficult to see that it differed sharply from the gymnasium of the 1804 model by the greater uniformity and certainty of its course, and by a smaller number of academic subjects. For the most part, a significant number of study hours in individual classes arose from the fact that students, depending on their knowledge, went to different classes in different subjects and that not all subjects were actually compulsory<sup>24</sup>. In particular, there were subjects in the gymnasium, the attendance of which was a voluntary matter of "distinguished" students: English, fencing, dancing. Needless to say, such an element was striking for educational institutions of that era, since such an order of study, when there is freedom of choice of disciplines, existed at that time only in Prussia and was abolished there only in 1820<sup>25</sup>. In general, S. S. Uvarov was able to offer a significantly simplified seven—year program, which made the gymnasium a more effective preparatory school for the university<sup>26</sup>.

At the same time, it is obvious that the choice of subjects was affected, of course, by Uvarov's personal sympathies for classical education, and the capital gymnasium was the first classical one<sup>27</sup>. This was also suitable for the university, since according to the charter of 1804, Latin was one of those subjects whose knowledge was tested upon admission to a higher educational institution<sup>28</sup>. Realizing this, S. S. Uvarov, at the conclusion of his report, drew the Minister's attention to the fact that in the schedule he proposed for the gymnasium, "classical languages are recognized as one of the main ways of education". In this presentation, Uvarov expressed his indignation about the fact that previously classical languages in the St. Petersburg Gymnasium were "revered only as auxiliary subjects". Now, according to the plan proposed by Uvarov, they will be able to return to their central place, "which has always belonged to them", and the minister, for his part, could make "attention and orders" in this regard.

This view of the place of the Latin language in teaching had an important historical significance. E. K. Schmid believes that it was, in principle, "the first experience to give ancient languages their proper place in the gymnasium course". It is also important that this "experience" was not ignored, the example of S. S. Uvarov's plan was followed by imitations. For example, in 1815, a Greek class was opened in the Moscow gymnasium, and in §61 of the charter of the Richelieu lyceum it was said: "The Latin and Greek languages are one of the main principles on which the teaching is based. Experience has shown how insufficient the newest languages are for the perfect education of the mind and taste of young men, and how much the ancient ones are necessary for it"29.

The change in the position of the Latin language in the gymnasium also required personnel changes, which have been dragging on since the days of the "Dolst case", also touched upon by Uvarov in the report. It turned out that at the request of Uvarov and with the consent of Minister A. K. Razumovsky, after scandals with baron Dolst and director Engelbach, five teachers were dismissed from the St. Petersburg gymnasium, but by that time Uvarov had identified only three in their place. Uvarov considered that the remaining free salary should be "turned in favor" of the Latin language in order to make three classes instead of only two classes for this subject, and to find a teacher in the highest of them, "known for his knowledge of this subject with a salary of 1200 rubles on a par with the teacher of Greek, which Professor de Ballu now occupies in the gymnasium". Already on November 22, 1811, S. S. Uvarov informed the Minister that he had found a professor of Latin for the upper class of the gymnasium – the "well–known to Uvarov in knowledge and behavior" doctor of philosophy F. F. Gedike. All these measures received the "permission" of the Minister<sup>30</sup>.

S. S. Uvarov assured the Minister A. K. Razumovsky that the innovations proposed by Uvarov and approved by Razumovsky would certainly bring the capital gymnasium into a "flourishing" state<sup>31</sup>. After all, now, "the economic part [of the gymnasium], — Uvarov wrote, not without a hint of the "Dolst case", — having finally been entrusted to people deserving of a general power of attorney, has reached the proper degree of organization and lasting order. I have also used, and not without success, all methods in order to improve the supervision of morality. Now it remains for the training part to return to its true limits. In a word, the St. Petersburg Gymnasium receives a new existence from Your Excellency (the Minister — I. P.)"<sup>32</sup>. And so it turned out, because six years later the Main Board of schools recognized S. S. Uvarov's gymnasium reform as successful, extending his gymnasium curriculum to all other gymnasiums of the country<sup>33</sup>, and the "culprit" of the "blooming" state of the St. Petersburg Gymnasium S. S. Uvarov was awarded the Order of St. Petersburg. Vladimir of the 2nd degree<sup>34</sup>!

As the researcher Cynthia Whittaker believes, implementing his gymnasium reform in life, S. S. Uvarov always adhered to an objective position, his own beliefs and acted only for the benefit of Russia: "Although S.S. Uvarov admired the achievements of antiquity and believed in the great importance of the classical heritage for the world community, but in this matter he never deviated from his principles, believing that Russia has its own special path. As a trustee, he did a lot to ensure that the study of classical languages, especially Greek, became the basis of humanitarian education. His introduction of the classical program in gymnasiums is the most important stage in the history of educa-

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  - <sup>29</sup> Schmid E. K. The history of secondary educational institutions... P. 89.
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tion"<sup>35</sup>. For his part, historian E. A. Kalinina sees the gymnasium reform of S. S. Uvarov as "the first attempt to create an education system that was supposed to cover the whole of Russia and give the opportunity to study to children of all the outskirts of the empire and all classes"<sup>36</sup>.

Thus, the Uvarov gymnasium became an approbation of new methods, which the entire ministry was looking at. The gymnasium reform initiated by S. S. Uvarov was one of the first in a series of successful transformations of Uvarov as a trustee of the St. Petersburg School District. The measures taken by S. S. Uvarov in his gymnasium reform, namely: a large number of hours for Latin and Russian, "linking" the gymnasium with the university, determining subjects of choice of pupils were ahead of their time. At least, the witnesses of these events spoke extremely positively about the changes made by S. S. Uvarov. Particularly, the publisher of the magazine "Son of the Fatherland" N. I. Grech in August 1818, in a personal letter to Uvarov, recognized "in full everything that was done by the beneficent enlightened government, especially in the St. Petersburg educational district" 137.

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