

The Images of the Ukrainian Teachers of the Early 20th Century (after materials of obituaries in pedagogical journals)

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ABSTRACT: Obituaries to teachers, published in Ukrainian pedagogical journals of the beginning of XX century: «Svitlo» (Kyiv, 1910-1914), «Vilna Ukrainaska Shkola» (Kyiv, 1917-1920), «Prosvitianyyn-kooperator» (Romny, 1919-1920) are analyzed in the article. It is revealed that the majority of obituaries are devoted to unknown or little-known teachers, who appear in the texts of obituaries as models for inheritance, as moral guidelines for the entire teacher community. It was cleared that honoring the memory of teachers in the form of obituaries was a national trend in Ukraine in the early twentieth century, a sign of the formation of corporate culture of Ukrainian teachers. It was argued that the commemoration of colleagues in the form of obituaries indicates the solidarity of Ukrainian teachers on the basis of moral values and is a marker of mentality of the teachers' community as a micro-society of Ukrainian society of early twentieth century. Prospective directions for further research on obituaries have been proposed.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Obituary; Pedagogical journal; Ukrainian teacher; Biography; Ukraine; XX Century.

Introduction

Attitude toward the dead is one of the main characteristics of any society. Among the practices that ensure the functioning of collective memory, respect for the dead occupies a special place. In European culture, the reflexion of death that emerged in the Renaissance developed specifically in the academic obituaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They turned out not so much as «a word about the dead» as the space of discourse about the scientific community and its living representatives. And this is not coincidental,

because the scientific community, which is forging an identity around tradition, which is identified mainly by the names of its prominent representatives, is sensitive to the practices of preserving and transmitting memory through the taking in of forefathers.

This applies in full measure to the teaching community: teachers, education officials, and educational scholars. In this context, it is interesting to see the results of the research conducted by Italian scientists Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani “*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*”. *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistral nel primo secolo dell’Italia unita (1861-1961)*¹. By examining the obituaries, authors reconstruct the evolution of the image of the teacher at different historical stages and in the light of different ideological, political and cultural contexts, as well as examine the role of education and school in the development of national identity and the values of citizenship at different stages of Italy’s history. We would like to point out that the book by A. Ascenzi and R. Sani has aroused considerable interest of the scientific community, which responded to it with several extensive reviews: Maria Helena Camara Bastos², Michel Ostenc³, Chiara Venturelli⁴. We can say that the study of Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani became a kind of methodological reference point for us, in particular, it prompted us to analyze obituaries according to the historical-chronological principle. But we are not talking about a mechanistic consequence, because the history of Italy and the history of Ukraine are very different. Unlike Italy, Ukraine did not have independence for a long time and throughout the entire twentieth century the Ukrainian lands were part of other states: the Russian Empire and the totalitarian Soviet Union. The very absence of statehood had a significant impact on the development of Ukrainian education in the early twentieth century and the formation of the identity of the Ukrainian teacher of the period. This was also reflected in the texts of obituaries, which were published in pedagogical periodicals.

¹ A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, “*Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere*”. *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistral nel primo secolo dell’Italia unita (1861-1961)*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

² M.H.C. Bastos, *Construção de identidades: discente e docentes - Identities of construction: students and teachers*, «Revista História Da Educação», vol. 20, n. 49, 2016, pp. 279-285. Available at <<https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/asphe/article/view/63902>> (last access: 04.09.2022).

³ M. Ostenc, *Review of “Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere”*. *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell’unità (1861-1961)*, by A. Ascenzi & R. Sani, «Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions», vol. 62, n. 180, 2017, pp. 262-263. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26612710>> (last access: 04.09.2022).

⁴ C. Venturelli, *Anna Ascenzi, Roberto Sani, “Oscuri martiri, eroi del dovere”*. *Memoria e celebrazione del maestro elementare attraverso i necrologi pubblicati sulle riviste didattiche e magistrali nel primo secolo dell’Italia unita (1861-1961)*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016, «Ricerche di Pedagogia e Didattica - Journal of Theories and Research in Education», vol. 11, n. 3, 2016, pp. 147-149.

Objective: to reconstruct the images of Ukrainian teachers on the basis of the analysis of obituaries in Ukrainian pedagogical journals of the early twentieth century.

As a methodological matrix we used methodological approaches characterized by historical modeling and reconstruction of the past: the source-based approach (identification, systematization and analysis of sources – Ukrainian pedagogical journals of the early twentieth century), historical-chronological approach (review of obituaries in the context of socio-economic and socio-political changes), micro-historical approach (used to analyze the texts of obituaries, when we look at the individual and the specific, reflected in a particular text, we identify the general, significant, and universal for the necrologies of the early twentieth century), regional approach (by engaging the obituaries from regional educational journals, we were able to show this practice of inscription of the deceased educators on a nationwide scale), narrative approach (used as an algorithm that allows you to present a single history – obituaries to teachers – against the background of the general history of education).

In Ukraine, the practice of honoring deceased educators began at the beginning of the twentieth century. Three stages can be schematically summarized as follows: 1) an obituary in a teacher's periodical immediately after the death of the teacher, 2) a public memorial evening (in the public domain or among a group of teachers) and 3) a collection of remembrances of the deceased. This was a single process where each successive stage was preceded by the previous ones. It should be noted that such an algorithm of memorialization was used after the deaths of famous educators.

We will consider the initial phase in more detail, namely the obituaries in early twentieth-century Ukrainian educational journals: «Svitlo» (Kyiv, 1910-1914), «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola» (Kyiv, 1917-1920), «Prosvitianyyn-kooperator» (Romny, 1919-1920). In total, we found 23 obituaries in these journals. Before analyzing them, we should note that the obituary is a small text, produced according to a traditional scheme, which contains a short biography of the deceased, a description of his services to society, awards, and an expression of feelings of grief. The aim of the obituary is to provide information about the deceased and to express feelings of grief. But the obituary is not just a presentation of the circumstances of the life of a loved one, but also an assessment of someone's life in the form of a short biography. And the evaluation factor is the element that distinguishes the obituary from the standard notification of death, which often included only the dates of birth and death and information about the time and place of the funeral.

Detailed obituaries in pedagogical journals are not limited to purely informational function; they more deeply analyze the contribution of the deceased to the development of pedagogical science and schooling, provide more biographical data, and contain more information about the everyday life of teachers.

Pic. 1. The cover of the journal «Svitlo», 1911, n. 3 (Pedagogical Museum of Ukraine, Kyiv)



«Svitlo» [«Light»] was the first official Ukrainian pedagogical journal. It was published in Kyiv in 1910-1914 and played an important role in the consolidation of Ukrainian educators and public figures before the idea of a national school. It was a rostrum for discussing ways to develop national education, a platform for the formation of Ukrainian methodological science. The journal «Svitlo» presents the concept of the future of the Ukrainian national school, in particular, it tries to analyze the fundamental theoretical and methodological problems of its development, such as the definition of the goal, objectives, methods, forms, structure, etc.

The journal drew together all of the leading Ukrainian educators of the early twentieth century. It is a valuable source for the history of Ukrainian education and pedagogical biography.

Obituaries in the journal «Svitlo» (Kyiv, 1910-1914)

In addition to biographical information, the authors of the obituaries paid attention to the personal qualities of those whom they were dedicated to. The obituaries of the educator summarized the activities of the deceased and evaluated them in terms of accepted educational norms and principles. Obituaries provide an opportunity to see the principles of interaction with colleagues and students, views on the profession, the purpose of the teacher, an assessment of his or her moral and professional qualities, and other components of corporate culture that are widespread among educators.

A good example of such an obituary is the text by the Ukrainian public and political leader, literary critic, literary historian Serhiy Yefremov (1876-1939), dedicated to Grigory Sherstyuk (1882-1911), his colleague, «comrade-friend», «a teacher by vocation, a teacher by nature and character»⁵.

Serhiy Yefremov begins his obituary with «a resounding commemoration of the Spiritual Head of «Svitlo» and the most outstanding of its members»⁶ and very figuratively and penetratingly argues for the necessity of commemorating the memory of its predecessors. He says that even after people's death «their work still lives on, having been transformed in accordance with the new circumstances, and that this immortal work, the unharmed portions of the human energy once expended, will be used by generations long after they die: the spirit of the worker will be hanging over them»⁷.

Further, the author of the obituary provides some facts about Grigory Sherstyuk's biography, emphasizing his tireless energy and calling him «the soul of Svitlo», «a valuable, harmonious person», «a person primarily engaged in the living activity», «a tireless worker», «a coach and teacher of the Ukrainian culture», «a generous citizen»⁸.

An important feature of the obituary is that S. Efremov records the place of the deceased in the history of Ukrainian education and schooling: «Sherstyuk's name will be associated for a long time with the first measures for the benefit of our native school, pedagogical literature, and especially the first in Ukraine Naddnipyrianska pedagogical journal»⁹. Note that the author of the obituary mentions the reason and, at the same time, the goal that Grigory Sherstyuk was wielding as the initiator of the creation and the first head editor of Svitlo: «All the time he was thinking about creating a wider audience, before whom he could present ideas dear to him»¹⁰.

⁵ S. Yefremov, *Dusha «Svitla». Pamiati tovarysha-druha* [The soul of «Svitlo». In memory of a comrade-friend], «Svitlo», Lystopad, 1911, pp. 3-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

The value of any obituary, including this one, is that its author is a person who knew the deceased intimately – a colleague, a friend, a student. Obituaries also often include personal arguments about the deceased, which confirm this or that picture of him. For example, Serhiy Yefremov mentions such a feature of Sherstyuk as his firm adherence to his ideals and beliefs: «Ukrainianism was his life, and I have not seen, I do not know of any instances where Grigory Pilipovich's firm conviction would have been shaken, even if only for a twinkle, even he became frustrated about his native cause in his thoughts»¹¹.

The obituary of Grigory Sherstyuk's obituary is not only a manifestation of sorrow, gratitude and friendly feelings, but also demonstrates a high scientific ethics, the academic culture of interdisciplinary relations in the current Ukrainian scientific and pedagogical community, which was characterized by mutual support, mutual assistance, and generous appreciation of colleagues.

We can add that the resolution of the Supreme Council of Ukraine «About the commemoration of anniversaries and anniversaries in 2022-2023» 130 years from the date of Grigory Sherstyuk's birth will be celebrated at the state level. We consider it significant and symbolic that in commemoration of Sherstyuk's memory, the first mention was the obituary in his creation – the journal «Svitlo». Moreover, in our opinion, this is evidence of the rare tradition of honoring the dead teachers and is a reflection of the current official policy of remembrance in Ukraine, which, as we can see, is based mainly on obituaries.

In addition to the obituary of Grigory Sherstyuk, the journal «Svitlo» published obituaries of prominent Ukrainian educators such as Pavlo Zhitetsky (1837-1911) and Yakiv Shulgin (1851-1911). These are just descriptions of their places of work, a brief analysis of their main scientific and pedagogical works, and their contribution to the development of Ukrainian science. However, only 3 out of 9 obituaries from the journal «Svitlo» are dedicated to the famous teachers, while the remaining 6 are devoted to the unknown. Moreover, these are also relevant texts which are evidence of the development of the obituary genre in Ukraine in the early twentieth century as well as the high corporate culture of Ukrainian teaching at that time. For example, the obituary to the teacher from Zaporizhzhya Dmytro Sygarevich (1870-1914) begins with the author's warm recollection of his acquaintance with his neighbor and their plans to travel together to the west of Ukraine – to Volyn. Here is a strong, but powerful characteristic of Dmytro Sygarevich as a teacher: «...he is standing in front of our eyes like a living person – lively, nervous, fascinated by his native work», «a talented lecturer who was able to fascinate students extraordinarily with his lectures on history, a good friend of children»¹². The obituary also gives a detailed biography of Sygarevich as a teacher. Further in the obituary is detailed biography of Sygarevich: his work at various educational institutions

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² D.D., D.D. *Syharevych*, «Svitlo», Berezen-kviten, 1914, p. 98.

in Odesa and Zaporizhzhya and peculiarities of his methodology of teaching history, which included the organization of excursions for students, as well as excavations of steppe graves. Thus, the obituary not only contains facts about the life of this common Ukrainian teacher, but also provides important information about the history of education, in particular about the specifics of history teaching at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The obituary of the teacher Mykola Khaletsky (1888-1912) includes an interesting fact about the fact that at the beginning of the twentieth century some Ukrainian teachers had nicknames, which their colleagues called them. For example, M. Khaletsky was nicknamed «chair» because he was highly educated, «always anxious and with books in hand, lively and energetic»¹³.

Another interesting example is the collective obituary titled «Instead of a Wreath» dedicated to common teachers Semen Ivakhnenko (1889-1912) and Grigory Manchuk (1891-1912). As for the personalities in the obituary, we can only read their names and dates of life and understand from the text what they were like. Two teachers died quite young, one might say, very early: Semen Ivakhnenko was only 23 years old, and Grigory Manchuk – only 21.

The author of the obituary, who signed it with a cryptonym S. B-ko, writes: They did not have a long time to teach, but even in that short time they earned a warm love of the children and villagers where they worked, and of their comrades for their kind love of their native land»¹⁴. Before saying a word about the deceased, the author describes the current state of Ukrainian schools and focuses on the main problem: «Being thoughtful and respectful of their work in their native school, every teacher is forced to face the rock that stands in the way of the children's soul at the school door and that is called not the native language»¹⁵. Further, speaking about S. Ivakhnenko, he says that he, having taught in Ichni of Chernigiv region for about four years, «bravely and openly, with the fervor of a young neophyte» was waking up «the national awareness in local people»¹⁶.

G. Manchuk was a teacher for no more than two years and did not manage to show himself clearly as an advocate of the Ukrainian school. But, as noted in the obituary, «he always had a deep love for his native land, for its songs, language and customs»¹⁷. According to his friends, they never heard empty talk about patriotism from him,

and only after on his last way, he had ordered his mother to put the Gospel next to Kobzar [*a book of poems by the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko – O.Mikhno*] in his coffin several hours before his death, did they understand the immense power of love for

¹³ M.Z., M.H. Khaletskyi, «Svitlo», Hrudn, 1912, p. 63.

¹⁴ S. V-ko, *Zamist vinka* [Instead of a wreath], «Svitlo», Kvitn, 1912, p. 46.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Pic. 2. The cover of the journal «Vilna Ukrainaska Shkola», 1917, n. 1 (Pedagogical Museum of Ukraine, Kyiv)



«Vilna Ukrainaska Shkola» [«Free Ukrainian School»] is an educational and public-political journal; the body of the All-Ukrainian Teachers' Union. It was published in Kyiv from November 1917 to June 1920; it was the follower of the pedagogical ideology of the journal «Svitlo». The activity of the Vilna Ukrainaska Shkola was aimed at creating a national system of education in Ukraine and rebuilding it on the basis of European pedagogy. The journal was banned during the Soviet period.

It is a valuable source of information on the history of education in Ukraine: pedagogical biographies (biographical information, peculiarities of activity of famous, little known or unknown teachers); different types of educational institutions in the regions of Ukraine; educational literature; regulatory documents as a reflection of the activities of the governing bodies of education, government, etc.

his native land and for its great singer, which he had been hiding from dirt so jealously in his young heart¹⁸.

The obituary concludes in a very friendly way: «I wish the earth blossom for you, dear young people, and may your pure, true love for the native people open eyes and wake up the heart of the indifferent»¹⁹.

In our opinion, this obituary to ordinary teachers demonstrates that at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Ukrainian national school with teaching in the native language was being established, they greatly valued everyone who implemented the Ukrainian national idea, and considered it necessary to support and encourage their fellow thinkers. And they were quite right, because this attitude toward colleagues formed the corporate culture of Ukrainian teaching and thus, we assume, brought more and more educated people into Ukraine.

As for the style of the obituary, it is, without a doubt, a publicistic style, even if it is open to expressive manifestations, as we have demonstrated above.

Obituaries in the journals of the period of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921: «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola» (Kyiv, 1917-1920), «Prosvitianyyn-kooperator» (Romny, 1919-1920)

An obituary, like no other document, allows you to feel the spirit of the time, the spirit of the day. Why? Because the obituary is written immediately after death. Written by the contemporary of the deceased, as a rule, by those who knew him well, saw him in various life situations. In necrosis, the time is somehow concentrated, condensed, on the one hand, by the dates of birth and death, the period of active life of the deceased, and on the other hand, by historical, political, social circumstances in which the deceased lived and created. Sometimes this time is broadened, when it comes to the creative interests and scientific interests of the deceased, but more often it is narrowed, limited by the above-mentioned circumstances. The most important thing is that the obituary describes not just historical events but also the way they influenced the people, their choice, their choice to join the national school, as far as the period of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 is concerned. This time in the history of Ukraine is also called the period of the liberation struggle for independence, which, unfortunately, ended in defeat. Nowadays, during the Russian-Ukrainian war, many Ukrainians remember their history and believe that today's war is a continuation of the struggle for the independence of Ukraine in 1917-1921.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Рис. 3. The cover of the journal «Prosvitianyyn-kooperator», 1919, n. 4 (Pedagogical Museum of Ukraine, Kyiv)



«*Prosvitianyyn-kooperator*» [«Enlightener-cooperator»] was a cooperative cultural and educational journal that published articles on cultural, educational, and economic subjects. It was published from May 1919 to February 1920 by the same association «*Prosvitianyyn-kooperator*» which operated in the city of Romny, Poltava region (now the Sumy region). There was a message of the journal on the title page: «In unity is strength; knowledge is strength». The journal had a special place in the Ukrainian period of the first quarter of the XX century because it was the edition that combined educational, cultural, economic and business themes. «*Prosvitianyyn-kooperator*» vividly depicts the cultural and economic processes in Ukraine during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921. It is a valuable source for the history of education and cooperation.

It is interesting (and important) that obituaries of that time confirm this idea. For example, we found 14 obituaries in the journals «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola» (Kyiv, 1917-1920) and the «Prosvitianyyn-Kooperator» (Romny, 1919-1920). There were five obituaries dedicated to prominent Ukrainian educators: Borys Doroshkevich (1881-1918), Ivan Steshenko (1873-1918), Fedir Matushevskiy (1871-1919), Volodymyr Naumenko (1852-1919), Kostyantyn Shirotskiy (1886-1919). The other nine names are unknown, common Ukrainian teachers the memories about whom have survived only in obituaries: Stepanyda Karaskevych-Yushchenkova (1863-1917), Olga Samiilenko (? -1918), Borys Babych (?-1919), Ivan Vasylenko (1861-1919), Ivan Havrysh (1883-1919), Eumen Gardetskyi (1843-1919), Dmytro Lysenko (1875-1919), Anton Pinchuk (1885-1919), Yuhim Schyrytsia (1890-1919). An analysis of the texts of the obituaries shows that the lives of all 14 ended tragically: all of them died because of difficult living conditions, illness and poor health. And seven teachers were shot dead as a result of the terror, when the enemy came to the Ukrainian land, the occupant, for whom, as it is now, everything Ukrainian, especially culture and education, was alien, incomprehensible, and had to be destroyed. It is impossible to read the lines of obituaries without emotion

he was arrested two times and was killed by a savage bullet in the darkness of the night without a trial. With great difficulty, his family asked for his body and in the dark night on a dusky autumn day – gave his ashes to the earth²⁰. He was arrested by the Red Army. They took him to the station (Novomirgorod station) allegedly for talks with the «squad headquarters» and finished with him on the way²¹; [...] When Trypillia [*a village in Kyiv region – O. Mikhno*] was occupied by the Bolsheviks after Easter, Gavrysh, as the ideological enemy of Bolshevism, fled from Trypillia and went to the marshes; two weeks later (on Trinity Day)... Havrysh was shot on 9 June (at night on 10) of the year. His body was not found²².

The above quotations are from obituaries to ordinary Ukrainian teachers who were murdered by the Russian military. But the Bolsheviks purposefully killed prominent Ukrainian teachers: on 31 February 1918 Ivan Steshenko, the minister of education of the Ukrainian State in January and February 1918 was murdered in Poltava²³, and on 8 June 1919 Vladimir Naumenko, a Ukrainian teacher, director of the Pedagogical Museum in 1917 was shot in Kyiv²⁴. We can therefore conclude that the Bolsheviks targeted Ukrainian teachers, considering the creation of a Ukrainian national school a danger to themselves.

²⁰ I.M. Vasylenko, «Prosvitianyyn-kooperator», n. 15, 1919, p. 42.

²¹ M. Zerov, *Zhertvychervonohoteroru: A.A. Pinchuk* [Victims of the Red Terror: A.A. Pinchuk], «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 1-3, 1919-1920, p. 70.

²² *Zhertvychervonohoteroru: I.A. Havrysh* [Victims of the Red Terror: I.A. Havrysh], «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 1-3, 1919-1920, p. 66.

²³ L. Biletskyi, *Ivan Steshenko*, «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 1, 1918-1919, p. 1.

²⁴ V. Miiakovskiy, *Zhertvychervonohoteroru: V.P. Naumenko* [Victims of the Red Terror: V.P. Naumenko], «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 1-3, 1919-1920, p. 66.

The obituaries to the teachers who were executed begin with this very fact: the date of the shooting. The text of the obituary further describes the life of the teacher in detail, his activity and contribution to the formation and development of Ukrainian education, which was the main reason for the shooting.

Obituaries to known and unknown educators vary in scope, but what they have in common is a tone of grief and emphasis on the importance of the teacher, regardless of whether this work was of national or regional level. The teacher's performance is evaluated on a daily basis, usually with emotional sentences. They are submitted in the form of a table.

Table 1. Evaluation of the teacher's activity in the obituaries of the early twentieth century

Name and surname of the teacher	The teacher's activity assessment
Stepanyda Karaskevych-Yushchenkova (1863-1917)	«has sincere respect of students and teachers» ²⁵
Olga Samiilenko (?-1918)	«She taught in public schools in the Poltava region and the Volyn region for more than 36 years» and «she gave her life for the education of the people without having a family of her own» ²⁶
Ivan Steshenko (1873-1918)	«One of the first Ukrainian politicians who resolutely raised the issue of Ukraine's statehood and its own national school», «he gave his life for the people to be able to educate their national pride» ²⁷
Borys Babych (?-1919)	«A honest and brave worker of the people's education» ²⁸
Borys Doroshkevych (1881-1918)	«wrote articles on secondary school and rural public education» ²⁹
Ivan Vasylenko (1861-1919)	«he worked as a teacher for 28 years - the term which not all teachers can bear», «a generous citizen» ³⁰
Ivan Havrysh (1883-1919)	«he gained great popularity and authority among the population» ³¹

²⁵ S. Smolynskiy, St. St. Karaskevych-Yushchenkova, «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 2, 1918-1919, p. 119.

²⁶ A.V., *Uchytelka O.M. Samiilenko (nekroloh)* [Teacher O.M. Samiilenko (obituary)], «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 10, 1918, p. 355.

²⁷ Biletskyi, *Ivan Steshenko*, cit., p. 3.

²⁸ *Zhertvy chervonohoteroru: Borys Babych* [Victims of the Red Terror: Borys Babych], «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 1-3, 1919-1920, p. 65.

²⁹ *Smert B.K. Doroshkevycha* [The death of B.K. Doroshkevich], «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 2, 1918-1919, p. 119.

³⁰ I.M. Vasylenko, cit., p. 42.

³¹ *Zhertvy chervonoho teroru: I.A. Havrysh*, cit., p. 66.

Eumen Gardetskyi (1843-1919)	«a little pioneer of the Ukrainian people's will» ³²
Dmytro Lysenko (1875-1919)	«He honestly fulfilled his work, highlighting a broad time of cultural development of the native people» ³³
Fedir Matushevskiyi (1871-1919)	«A pedagogue in the best sense of the word, a pedagogue who approached the child's soul with great care and delicacy and knew how to pick up the right strings in it and influence it in such a way that the good attitudes of a person's disposition would be developed and bad ones would be soothed» ³⁴
Volodymyr Naumenko (1852-1919)	«His pedagogical skill and the methodology he himself had developed gave him the qualities that attracted his students to him and induced them to respect him» ³⁵
Anton Pinchuk (1885-1919)	«an honest and pure man, with strong convictions and a clear course of civic work» ³⁶
Kostyantyn Shyrotskyi (1886-1919)	«a scholar with tremendous diligence and an original scientific outlook», «a great citizen of Ukraine» ³⁷
Yuhim Shchyrytsia (1890-1919)	«With his gentle, charming smile on his face, his sensitive, trustworthy word, he gave the impression of a cultural worker, a typical teacher» ³⁸

Despite the fact that the personality of the teacher and his human qualities are extremely important in the educational process, the obituaries do not include such information or they are very laconic: «serene spirit»³⁹, «clear soul and a pure heart»⁴⁰, «a sweet, gentle, crystal-clear man»⁴¹, «personal mental qualities – friendliness, tenderness, equality, tranquility»⁴², «a humane and very tolerant person»⁴³. The obituary to Kostyantyn Shyrotskyi (1886-1919), from which the pedagogue is seen as a living person, is an exception:

Shyrotskyi left a very bright, pleasant feeling in the soul of everyone who had the pleasure of being close to him... He was extremely careful in his approach to everyone, looking for the person in him first. Because of this no one ever saw Shyrotskyi irritated or angry, no one

³² M.M., E.M. *Hardetskyi*, cit., p. 18.

³³ D.M. *Lysenko*, cit., p. 42.

³⁴ *Matushevskiyi*, «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 4-5, 1919-1920, pp. 166-167.

³⁵ Miiakovskiyi, *Zhertvy chervonohoteroru: V.P. Naumenko*, cit., pp. 66-67.

³⁶ Zerov, *Zhertvy chervonohoteroru: A.A. Pinchuk*, cit., p. 70.

³⁷ O. Doroshkevych, *Prof. Kost Shyrotskyi*, «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 1-3, 1919-1920, pp. 62-63.

³⁸ *Zhertvy chervonohoteroru: Yuhym Shchyrytsia* [Victims of the Red Terror: Yuhym Shchyrytsia], «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola», n. 1-3, 1919-1920, pp. 71-72.

³⁹ Smolinskyyi, *St. St. Karaskevych-Yushchenkova*, cit., p. 119.

⁴⁰ M.M., E.M. *Hardetskyi*, cit., p. 18.

⁴¹ F.P. *Matushevskiyi*, cit., p. 167.

⁴² Miiakovskiyi, *Zhertvy chervonohoteroru: V.P. Naumenko*, cit., p. 67.

⁴³ Zerov, *Zhertvy chervonohoteroru: A.A. Pinchuk*, cit., p. 70.

heard his swear, bitter or unfriendly words. Everyone who turned to him for some kind of help, came out of his place highly enchanted with the gentlemanly attitude of the deceased, fully satisfied with his wishes. And a strong desire to help others, to please them in some way disarmed people, even those of a dry, formal disposition⁴⁴.

The obituary begins with such warm and generous words. Further, it is briefly mentioned in the text that K. Shyrotskyi graduated from the St. Petersburg University and after the trip to Italy in 1915, he began to teach at this university. During the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921 he returned to Ukraine and worked as a professor at the Kamyanets State University from 1918. A large part of the obituary is a list of scientific works by K. Shyrotskyi on the history of Ukrainian culture. The scientific and pedagogical activity of the deceased is summarized in great detail at the end of the obituary:

Shyrotskyi suggested one idea in his works: independence of Ukrainian culture in its past from the influence of Moscow and its closer relations with the West (mainly with Bulgaria, Moldavia, Poland as mediating countries); Ukrainian culture, especially art, in K. Shyrotskyi's opinion, had fully independent foundations which placed it on the same level with the glorious cultures of Europe⁴⁵.

A significant place in the obituaries to Ukrainian teachers is taken by information about other kinds of activities besides the teaching profession. This can be explained by the fact that a fundamental change was taking place during this period in the history of Ukraine and, in particular, in the history of Ukrainian education, and the Ukrainian national school with the Ukrainian language of instruction was actively developing. Ukrainian teachers took an active part in these processes, combining teaching with scientific, literary, journalistic, civic and political activities. The types of activities of Ukrainian teachers are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Types of Activities of Ukrainian Teachers at the Early XX Century

Name of the teacher	Types of activity				
	Scientific	Writer's	Public	Journalistic	Political
S. Karaskevych-Yushchenkova		+	+		
O. Samiilenko					+
I. Steshenko	+	+	+		+
B. Babych			+		+
B. Doroshkevich				+	

⁴⁴ Doroshkevych, *Prof. KostShyrotskyi*, cit., p. 62.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

I. Vasylenko			+		+
I. Havrysh					+
E.Gardetskyi			+		
D.Lysenko			+		
F.Matushevskyi	+		+	+	+
V. Naumenko	+		+	+	
A. Pinchuk			+		
K. Shyrotskyi	+				
Yu. Schyrytsia			+		+

As we can see, apart from pedagogical activity, almost all Ukrainian teachers took an active part in public life, and the majority were engaged in political activity (and some, such as Borys Babych, were elected to the first national parliament, the Ukrainian Central Council⁴⁶). But first of all they were teachers, the teaching profession was the basis for other areas of activity, in which they proved themselves to be the implementers of the ideas and aspirations of the teaching community.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the XX century there were several pedagogical journals in Ukraine which regularly published obituaries to teachers. The journals «Svitlo» (1910-1914) and «Vilna Ukrainka Shkola» (1917-1920) were published in Kyiv and distributed to all regions of Ukraine. The journal «Prosvityanin-koooperator» (1919-1920) was published in the small town of Romny (now Sumy region) and had a regional significance. But all of these publications published obituaries, which provides grounds for the conclusion that the commemoration of teachers in the form of obituaries was a general national trend in Ukraine at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The obituaries to Ukrainian teachers at the beginning of the twentieth century accurately convey the spirit of that time, its tragedy and its importance in Ukrainian history, because teachers were in the vanguard of the struggle for the Ukrainian state and the national school as the basis for that state at that time. A participant of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921, the head of the All-Ukrainian Teachers' Union, one of the founders and constant author of the journal «Vilna Ukrainska Shkola» Sofia Rusova defined the place of the school in society this way: «There are two sacred things for a people who live in an independent way: their own school and their own army. The school gives

⁴⁶ *Zhertvy chervonohoteroru: Borys Babych*, cit., p. 65.

armor against poverty, against the inferior state among other nations; the army is a certain defense of the independence and the will of the people»⁴⁷.

The obituaries in Ukrainian pedagogical journals are devoted not only to famous, but also to little-known or unknown personalities. Moreover, obituaries to unknown teachers outnumbered: 15 out of 23, i.e. 65%. In our opinion, the prevalence of obituaries to unknown teachers is a sign of the formation of a corporate culture of Ukrainian teachers in the early twentieth century. The commemoration of colleagues in the form of obituaries shows the solidarity of Ukrainian teachers on the basis of moral values and is a kind of marker of mentality of the teachers' community as a micro-society of Ukrainian society at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the texts of the obituaries, ordinary teachers are set as role models for inspiration, as moral standards for the entire teaching community: one obituary states that «the personal fate of a teacher is in some ways typical of certain members of our Ukrainian intellectual class»⁴⁸.

The analyzed obituaries were included in the publication *In memoriam: nekrolohy na storinkakh ukrainskykh pedahohichnykh chasopysiv kintsia XIX – pochatku XX st. (za materialamy fondiv Pedahohichnoho muzeiu Ukrainy)* [In Memoriam: Obituaries on the Pages of Ukrainian Pedagogical journals of the late XIX - early XXI Century (based on the materials of the funds of the Pedagogical Museum of Ukraine)]⁴⁹. This edition contains 112 obituaries, which are systematized in the following 6 sections: «Obituaries in the journals of the Late XIX – Early XX Centuries», «Obituaries in the Editions of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921», «Obituaries in the Editions of the Western Region of Ukraine of the 1930s», «Obituaries in Ukrainian Periodicals of the 1920s-1980s», «Obituaries in Ukrainian Diaspora Editions of the 1980s-2010s», «Obituaries in Editions of the Period of Renewed Independence of Ukraine (since 1991)». The book can be a source for further research on teachers' obituaries in the following areas: analysis of obituaries of different historic periods, creating a collective portrait of a Ukrainian teacher of a certain period (for example, a Ukrainian teacher of the Soviet period), examining obituaries of different periods in the comparative aspect, identifying the main trends in writing obituaries during the twentieth century. etc. Another interesting aspect of further scientific research could be a comparative analysis of obituaries to teachers in different countries.

⁴⁷ O.V. Dzhuz, *Tvorcha spadshchyna Sofii Rusovoi periodu emihratsii* [The creative heritage of Sofia Rusova during the period of emigration], Ivano-Frankivsk, Plai, 2002, p. 130.

⁴⁸ M.H. Khaletskyi, cit., p. 64.

⁴⁹ O. Mikhno, Uklad, *In memoriam: nekrolohy na storinkakh ukrainskykh pedahohichnykh chasopysiv kintsia XIX – pochatku XX st. (za materialamy fondiv Pedahohichnoho muzeiu Ukrainy)* [In memoriam: obituaries on the pages of Ukrainian pedagogical journals of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (based on materials from the funds of the Pedagogical Museum of Ukraine)], Vinnytsia, FOP Kushnir Yu.V, 2022.