




BEYOND BORDERS: ACTORS AND CANONS OF PEDAGOGY¹

Repressed Teachers of Ukraine: Yakiv Feofanovych Chepiha (Zelenkevych) (1875-1938)

Larysa BEREZIVSKA

Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences, Professor | Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Educational Sciences of Ukraine
Director | V. Sukhomlynskyi State Scientific and Educational Library of Ukraine

ORCID  0000-0002-5068-5234
lberezivska@ukr.net

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ABSTRACT

The article reveals the significant milestones in the life and work of the Ukrainian teacher, psychologist, and public person, author of more than 150 works (articles, manuals, textbooks) Yakiv Feofanovych Chepiha (1875-1938). It is argued that the educator, relying on Western European and American researchers, developed the ideas of the national school, native language education, national, labor, and free education, and pedagogy. He became a victim of Stalin's totalitarian system as his views did not match communist ideology. Nowadays, in independent Ukraine, his name has been brought back from oblivion, and his creative heritage has gained relevance.

ABSZTRAKT

Ukrajna elnyomott tanárai: Yakiv Chepiha (1875-1938) | Yakiv Chepiha ukrán pedagógus, pszichológus és közéleti személyiség több mint 150 művet (cikket, kézikönyvet, tankönyvet) írt és jelentős szerepet játszott az ukrán nemzeti oktatás megalapozásában. Nyugat-európai és amerikai kutatókra támaszkodva járult az anyanyelvi oktatás, a nemzeti, munka- és szabad nevelés, valamint a pedológia elveinek meghonosításához. Kiemelkedő fontosságú az 1913-ban megjelent Ukrán iskola projekt című munkája, amiben kidolgozta a nemzeti alapokon nyugvó oktatási rendszer elveit és gyakorlati megvalósításának lehetőségeit. Az oktatásban a gyermek egyéni szükségleteire és képességeire helyezte a hangsúlyt. Chepiha munkásságának jelentős részét a tankönyvírás tette ki: az ukrán forradalom előtti és utáni időszakban is aktívan részt vett tankönyvek készítésében az ukrán iskolák számára. Tankönyvei az új tartalmak mellett helyi anyagokon alapuló feladatokat és ukrán terminológiát is tartalmaztak. Chepiha bízott a szovjet rendszerben, és aktívan részt vett az új rendszer oktatási intézményeinek munkájában, azonban a sztálini terror áldozatává vált, mivel nézetei nem egyeztek a kommunista ideológiával. 1938-ban letartóztatták, és 10 év száműzésre ítélték – de még abban az évben meghalt. A független Ukrajnában rehabilitálták, s munkássága ismét elismerést nyert. Pedagógiai öröksége ma is fontos az ukrán oktatás számára.

Introduction

In the twenty-first century, Europe was unexpectedly confronted with the fact of the Russian Federation's armed attempt to destroy its neighboring sovereign country, Ukraine, a state whose legitimate existence was recognized by the entire world community in 1991. This unprovoked aggression is an expression of the traditional imperial aspirations of Russia, which has been trying unsuccessfully for several centuries to assimilate the Ukrainian nation. One of the methods of Stalin's genocidal policy in 1920-1940 was mass repression against nationally conscious educators

¹ The History of Pedagogy Review (Pedagógiatörténeti Szemle) is committed to joining the international scientific discourse. Considering this, we are opening a new section in this issue: *Beyond Borders: Actors and Canons of Pedagogy* aims to be a forum for biographical sketches and interpretations of pedagogic oeuvre - beyond national and large-regional borders.





of Ukraine. The Soviet totalitarian system removed their names from the scientific discourse. It deprived numerous generations of teachers, particularly Ukrainian society, of studying the creative heritage of educators based on democratic, national, and humanistic principles. The life and works of these people are now being brought back into academic circulation in Ukraine while they remain unknown to the world community. We can list amongst them a Ukrainian educator, psychologist, and public figure, Yakiv Feofanovych Chepiha (Zelenkevych) (1875-1938).

A historiographical search shows that there are few biographical works by Ukrainian scholars (L. Berezivska, N. Bohdanets-Biloskalenko, I. Zaichenko, V. Marochko, L. Nikolenko, O. Shcherbakova, O. Sukhomlynska, and others) about the life and activity of him (Lysytsia, Aivazova, Bublik and Stelmakh, 2013). It is worth noting selected works of the educator (Berezivska, 2006) and an electronic resource about his life and activity (Berezivska & Derevianko, 2020). However, at the same time, this person is still not well known to Ukrainian educators, in particular and to the general public, and even more so to the international audience.

Our study aims to introduce historical and biographical knowledge about the Ukrainian educator, psychologist, and public person Yakiv Feofanovych Chepiha to integrate him into the European educational and scientific discourses.

Sketch of a Biographical Portrait

Yakiv was born on 12 May 1875 in the village of Mariantsi in the Kherson region (now Mykolaiv region) in the family of a palamary who died when the boy was 12 years old. Zelenkevich is the patronymic surname, and Chepiha is the maternal surname. After graduating from the Hrushivskiy two-class folk school of the Ministry of Public Education in September 1892, Yakiv entered the Novobuzka Teachers' Seminary. He obtained an excellent pedagogical education at that time. The Novobuzk period of his life was effective and he played an important role in shaping his pedagogical outlook. After graduating from the seminary in 1895, the twenty-year-old was appointed a teacher at the Zeletskiy Zemstvo School (Odesa Educational District, Kherson province).

It is essential to acknowledge that the educator lived and worked in a historical period, namely the early 20th century (1917) when part of the Ukrainian territories was under the rule of the Russian Empire. During this period, the Russian Empire pursued an anti-Ukrainian policy, banned the Ukrainian language and education, and sought to Russify the region. In 1921, the development of the Ukrainian state and Ukrainian schools' development commenced following the Russian Empire's fall during the Ukrainian Revolution. Between 1921 and 1938, attempts were made to continue the policy of Ukrainisation of education despite the persistently pursued policy of Russification by the Soviet authorities following the defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution.

The Struggle for the Ukrainian School and the Development of its Scientific and Methodological Basis

In the context of Russia's anti-national imperial policy, Yakiv Chepiha, along with other Ukrainian educators, raised the most pressing national education issue, the creation and development of the Ukrainian school. He devoted many articles to these issues ("Do natsionalnoyi shkoly [Towards a National School]", 1909; "Gruntovni pryntsyipy normalnoi shkoly [Fundamental Principles of a Normal School]", 1910; "Natsionalnist i natsionalna shkola [Nationality and the National





School]”, 1910; “Narodnyi uchytel i natsionalne pytannia [The Folk Teacher and the National Question]”, 1912; “Proiekt ukrayinskoi shkoly [The Project of the Ukrainian School]”, 1913; “Natsionalne vykhovannia [National Education]”, 1913, etc.)

Yakiv Chepiha revealed the essence of the mutual influence of the mother tongue, the activities of the nation, and the general development of the child, as well as defining the concept of „national education”, etc. The educator wrote,

“To compel the Ukrainian people to speak Russian, to establish schools everywhere in Ukraine in this language, to acquire knowledge in a foreign non-native language is tantamount to condemning millions of people to spiritual death” (Chepiha, 1909. 338).

He argued that every nation has a natural right to national independence.

The educator schemed the foundations on which a school should be built. It should be folk, national, natural, free, and close to the everyday realities:

“...a true folk school can only be created in the spirit of the nation, its language, its history, customs, traditions, its culture, its spiritual creativity, and only such a school will not alienate the child from their true cultural roots...” (Chepiha, 1911a. 4.).

People can develop their strengths, improve their material well-being, and have a high culture only when it has a national school. The role of the school is to facilitate the natural development of students. It should prepare students for real life, not limited to the so-called book knowledge. Chepiha demonstrated that national education is crucial and necessary for the nation and should be registered in rights and laws. The foundation of such education is the family and the school. The school is responsible for facilitating the growth and development of the native language (Chepiha, 1910. 24.).

Yakiv undertook an in-depth examination of foreign pedagogical experience, as evidenced by his 1911 article, “Narodna osvita v Pivnichno-Spoluchenykh derzhavakh [Public Education in the Northern United States]” in which he posited that education represents “*the main factor in the cultural progress of a nation*”. „*In particular,*” he stated, “*Americans have long looked upon education as a value that will always pay for itself several times over.*” He made the strategic point that education was “*the main factor in the cultural progress of the nation*” (Chepiha, 1911c. 45.).

Pedology, which was very popular then, was an essential area of research for Yakov Chepiga. He devoted several articles to this problem (“Pedolohiia, abo nauka pro ditei [Pedology or the Science of Children]”, (1911), “Uvaha i rozumovyi rozvytok dytyny [Attention and Mental Development of the Child]”, (1911), “Brekhlyvist u spravi vykhovannia [Falsehood in Education]”, (1912), “Strakh i kara [Fear and Punishment]”, (1912), etc.) Based on a thorough analysis of the works of American psychologist S. Hall and German educator W. Lay, Yakiv concluded that it was necessary to build a new system of education and upbringing based on a deep study of the nature of the child. In particular, he believed that experimental pedagogy had been introduced into schools in other countries and that “experiment, by giving a glimpse into the mysteries of childhood nature, helps parents and teachers to perform their duties more perfectly and consciously” (Chepiha, 1911b. 9.).

In his psychological and pedagogical essay, “Strakh i kara [Fear and Punishment]” Yakiv Chepiha elucidates the underlying causes of children’s fear through an examination of their awareness of the inevitability of punishment and its subsequent impact on their personal growth and development. Chepiha based this work on his research and observations and a detailed analysis of the theories put forth by prominent thinkers such as Ch. Darwin, H. Spencer, N. Lange,





J. Locke, and J.-J. Rousseau (Chepiha, 1912a, 1912b). The author stated that all motivating factors that instill fear should be bypassed in the educational process, as such an approach can result in the formation of an unwilling, fearful, and potentially harmful individual. He wrote, “*The happiness of a child is the only real happiness on earth*” (Chepiha, 1912b. 36).

The result of the scientist's extensive reflection on the establishment of a national school was the “Proiekt ukrainskoi shkoly [Project of the Ukrainian School]” (1913), which he authored in response to an appeal from the editorial board of the journal “Svitlo [Light]” to the pedagogical community (Chepiha, 1913a, 1913b, 1913c). In his preface, Chepiha underscored the necessity of establishing a natural school where children would be afforded a genuine education instead of a substitute that would prove detrimental to their spiritual growth and folk culture. In formulating the requirements for a new Ukrainian school, he set out the following: 1) all Ukrainian teachers should create it; 2) the school should be folk and meet the interests of the masses; 3) it is vital for education to be deeply national, native-language, consistent with the soul and mind of the people, their cultural, social and economic development. 4) the school should be constructed on the foundation of principles that do not contravene the child's rights, the free and normal development of their physical and spiritual capabilities, and their individuality (Chepiha, 1913a. 36-37.).

Chepiha's project envisaged a two-stage primary education with a six-year term of study, which was to begin at the age of six. The first stage is designed for two years, during which a child is taught systematic learning, developing his or her consciousness and understanding of the world around him or her. During this period, the curriculum should include games, fun, walks, gardening and fieldwork, caring for pets, modeling, etc. Young pupils get acquainted with nature in a free environment and learn fairy tales, poetry, and songs. The second stage covered the next four years of schooling: learning to read and write and the parallel development of children's amateur activities and creativity. The author emphasized the special role of manual labor in children's education. This is the first thorough project of a new Ukrainian school as the basis for preserving the Ukrainian nation.

In the early 20th century, Yakiv Chepiha developed the issues of national education and upbringing (national, mental, moral, labor, and family) with other Ukrainian educators, promoting the concept of the national school, including teaching subjects in the mother tongue, and so forth. His child-centered ideas remain relevant today during the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Russian aggressor.

The Development of the Ukrainian School: Creation of the Textbooks

1917-1921 in the history of Ukraine were a period of liberation struggles for the Ukrainian people. In this period, various forms of the Ukrainian state were tested: the Ukrainian People's Republic of the Central Rada period (March 1917 – April 1918), the Ukrainian State of Hetman Skoropadskyi (29 April – 14 December 1918), and the Ukrainian People's Republic of the Directory period (December 1918 – 1921). Concurrently, the Bolshevik Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic was also experiencing rapid growth. Unfortunately, this republic was ultimately established for an extended time due to the military and economic support provided by the RSFSR. The Ukrainian Revolution was eventually unsuccessful, yet it played a role in forming a modern political nation and reviving the tradition of Ukrainian statehood. As governments changed, so did educational policy. Despite the controversial nature of the era, Yakiv Feofanovych, along with other rep-





representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, continued the path chosen in previous years in the field of education – the creation of a national school.

According to sources, Yakiv Chepiha collaborated with various political forces. One might think that he hesitated between two ideologies: national and Bolshevik. At the time, Yakiv Chepiha served as the head of public education of the reformed Kyiv District Zemstvo (1917), an expert in primary schools in Kyiv (1918), took part in the activities of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR (Soviet educational authority). In addition, he covered various issues of education and upbringing (labor school, free school, etc.), namely: "Sotsializatsiia narodnoi osvity [Socialisation of Public Education]" (1917), "Tymchasovi prohramy dlia nyzhchyykh pochatkovyykh shkil na 1918-1919 shkilnyi rik (krytychnyi narys) [Temporary Programmes for Lower Primary Schools for the 1918-1919 School Year (Critical Essay)]" (1918-1919), "Shkola y osvita na Vkraini [School and Education in Ukraine]" (1918-1919), "Trudova shkola" P. P. Blonskoho [P. P. Blonskyi's Labor School]" (1918-1919), "Do trudovoi vilnoi shkoly! [To the Labour Free School]" (1918-1919), "Shkola v Zakhidnii Yevropi y Amerytsi [School in Western Europe and America]" (1919-1920), "Navchannia hramoty bez bukvaria [Teaching Literacy without a Primer]" (1919-1920), etc.

In February 1919, part of Ukraine, including Kyiv, was occupied by the Bolsheviks. In his article "Shkola y osvita na Vkraini [School and Education in Ukraine]" the educator immediately reacted to the paragraph of the declaration of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Republic that addressed educational concerns. In particular, he rejected the clause about the dependence of the language of instruction of students on the will of the local worker-peasant population, stating that it was an attempt to denationalize the school and build it on a class basis. He considered such an experiment to be a threat to the cultural and educational development of the Ukrainian people, as it would result in the Russification of the country and an obstacle to the Ukrainian language's development. Furthermore, he stated that "in no country do they ask parents what language to teach their children, but they provide a national school for everyone who belongs to which nation" (Chepiha, 1918–1919. 64.).

Between 1917 and 1921, Yakiv Chepiha, along with other representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, played an active role in creating textbooks for Ukrainian schools, thereby continuing the work that had begun prior to the Ukrainian Revolution. In February 1917, the General Secretariat of Education (subsequently renamed the Ministry of Public Education in January 1918) published a list of recommended textbooks for Ukrainian schools in the journal "Vilna ukrainska shkola [Free Ukrainian School]." This included the "Zadachnyk dlia pochatkovyykh narodnykh shkil. Rik pershyi i druhyi [Textbook for Primary Folk Schools. Years One and Two]", authored by Ya. Chepiha was published in 1918 in their third edition, with the addition of a third-grade textbook. These were among the inaugural textbooks written in Ukrainian. They differed from their predecessors in incorporating new content, comprising problems based on local material and using Ukrainian terminology.

These books were published, like many others, by the "Ukrainska shkola [Ukrainian School]" publishing house, which was run by Ya. Chepiha together with S. Rusova, Yu. Shevelov, S. Cherkasenko. The same publishing house, under the heading "Ukrainska pedahohichna biblioteka [Ukrainian Pedagogical Library]" published a methodological manual for teachers by Yakiv Feofanovych "Pysmo v shkoli [Writing in School]" (1918). The researcher's monograph "Samovykhovannia vchytelia [Teacher's Self-Education, 1914 – 1st edition, 1917 – 2nd edition]" was published for the second time, defining the role of teachers in society, revealing the need and ways of their self-education, development, and improvement (Chepiha, 1917). The subsection "Natsionalne rozuminnia dytyny i natsionalne samovykhovannia vchytelia [National Understanding of





the Child and National Self-Education of the Teacher]” is especially valuable. Criticizing the anti-national Russian school, which did not meet the requirements of the Ukrainian people, Yakiv defined a special cultural mission of the teacher who should consider the nationality of the child. “*To preserve the child’s nationality is to preserve the child’s spiritual creative powers*” this conclusion of the educator is still relevant today (Chepiha, 1917. 27.).

The Tragedy of Trusting Bolshevism

Having trusted the Soviet government, Yakiv Chepiha continued his active research and teaching work even after the seizure of Ukrainian lands by the Russian Bolsheviks. From 1920, he was the head of the preschool department and later the section of orphanages of the Kyiv Provincial Public Education. From 1921, he worked as deputy head of the Kyiv Provincial Social Organisation. In 1920, he actively created the Kyiv Institute of Folk Education (KIFE), where he later worked as the Dean of the Preschool Faculty, Dean of the Faculty of Social Education, Vice-Rector, and Professor. He taught the following courses: “Labour Processes,” “Organisation of Social Education Institutions,” “Methods of Primary Education,” and “System of Social Education”. He worked with V. Doha, O. Doroshkevych, H. Ivanytsia, B. Manzhos, K. Lebedyntsev and others. In 1938, these teachers were accused of creating an anti-Soviet nationalist organization at the KIFE that promoted nationalist views among teachers and students.

Regrettably, the Ukrainian Revolution was ultimately unsuccessful, resulting in the Russian Bolsheviks’ occupation of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic was ultimately established for an extended period due to the overwhelming military and economic influence of the RSFSR. As governments shifted, so did educational policy. Despite the controversial nature of the era, Yakiv, along with other representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia who supported the Soviet government, continued the trajectory initiated in previous years in the field of education – the establishment of a national school.

Yakiv became the founder of the Pedological Institute in Kyiv. From 1922 to 1925, he headed the Practical Pedagogy section of the Research Department of Pedology (Institute of Pedology in Kyiv). In 1925, he headed the Section of Methodology and Didactics of the Kharkiv Research Department of Pedagogy. Between 1926 and 1934, he held the position of Researcher in the Adult Education Sector of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Pedagogy (URIP).

In the 1920s he published his theoretical works „Azbuca trudovoho vykhovannia y osvity [The ABC of Labor Training and Education]” (1922) and „Praktychna trudova pedahohika [Practical Labor Pedagogy]” (1924). In these works, Ya. Chepiha made a brief historical overview of the idea of labor education and substantiated the labor principle as the basis of the new school. In particular, the scientist focused on the following issues: the importance of movement and activity in the development of a child; the role of work and play in his or her upbringing; the development of the senses and their importance in the upbringing of a child; the labor method of teaching, etc. He believed that education should be based on pedological knowledge of the child (physiology, age, individual psychophysiological characteristics, heredity) (Chepiha, 1922, 1924).

In the 1920s, the ideas of integrated learning in Ukrainian schools were developed, and these were represented by the concepts of scholars H. Ivanytsia, O. Muzychenko, and I. Sokolianskyi. Yakov was generally pessimistic about the integrated system as the basis of the educational process and preferred the classroom system. He expressed his thoughts on this in his articles: “Shcho to ye kompleks [What is a Complex]” (1925), “Budova kompleksu [The Structure of the





Complex]” (1925), “Vid rozmov do dila (z pryvodu diskusii pro metody navchannia [From Talk to Action (on the Discussion of Teaching Methods)]” (1926), etc.

In the same years and the future, Ya. Chepiha created new textbooks for primary school, which had several reprints: a reader for the first year of study “Veselka [Rainbow]” (1921), “Veselka[Rainbow]” (second and third books after the primer, 1924); he revised problem books for primary education in the second and third grades (1924–1925). He also published a literacy textbook for adult schools, co-authored with H. Ivanytsia and B. Yakubovskiy, “Shliakhom zhyttia: Chytanka dlia 6–7 hrup trudovoi shkoly, robfakiv, shkil dlia doroslykh t. in. [The Way of Life: A Reader for 6-7 Groups of Labor Schools, Vocational Schools, Adult Schools, etc.]” (1923). Together with L. Yegorova and V. Pavlovskiy, the scholar prepared the “Rukhomu khrestomatiuu ukrainskoi suchasnoi literatury [A Moving Textbook of Ukrainian Modern Literature]” (1928).

The recognition of Ya. Chepiha’s activity and creative work are evident in the celebration on 25 March 1926 of the thirtieth anniversary of his pedagogical, literary, scientific, and public work. Representatives of state, professional, scientific, literary, and public organizations, as well as students and teachers, gathered in Kharkiv to celebrate the anniversary. The jubilee received telegrams of congratulations and appreciation for his work from various institutions, organizations, school groups, and even foreign institutions. The Deputy People’s Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR Ya. Riappo noted that in the person of the jubilee, he saw “a figure that can be placed alongside veterans of pedagogical thought in other countries” (O. H., 1926. 71.).

In the first half of the 1930s, Ya. Chepiha worked at the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute (USRI), particularly as a Researcher in the section on Adult Education Methods. At that time, the scientist wrote many methodological manuals for primary school teachers, which consisted of methodological advice and elaborations of various didactic problems: “Metodyka usnoi lichby ta vpravy u pershykh hrupakh seymrychky [Methods of Oral Counting and Exercises in the First Groups of the Seven-Year School]” (1930), “Metodyka navchannia v trudovii shkoli pershoho kontsentru [Methods of Teaching in the First Concentration of the Labour School]” (1930), “Chytannia y robota nad knyzhkoiu v pershomu kontsentri politekhnichnoi shkoly [Reading and Work on a Book in the First Concentration of the Polytechnic School]” (1932), “Metodyka roboty z pidruchnykom matematyky [Methods of Working with a Mathematics Textbook]” (1933), “Metodychni porady do roboty z chytankoiu pershoho klasu [Methodological Advice for Working with a First Grade Reader]” (1934) and others.

The End of the Career and Life

A detailed analysis of Ya. Chepiha’s textbooks and manuals revealed their significant contribution to advancing Ukrainian education during the first third of the 20th century. These resources served as the foundation for the subsequent development of textbooks for the national school system. The educator identified the following approaches to their creation: writing in the native language; ensuring content is accessible, logical, and free of unnecessary material; considering the child’s psychological and genetic characteristics; integrating with the surrounding world; incorporating local history and ethnography; including questions and tasks that encourage independent thought; and using high-quality illustrations to stimulate the child’s creative imagination. These approaches remain relevant for modern textbook creation.

Yakiv Feofanovych’s optimistic outlook on the potential for positive transformation in Ukrainian education and society under Soviet rule ultimately resulted in unfortunate events. In 1933, he was dismissed from the USRI for “*reducing the subject matter.*”





In 1935-1936, he was employed in Belarus, where he held the Head of the Department of Pedagogy position at the Mohyliv Pedagogical Institute. He fell ill and returned to Kharkiv. His daughters, Maria and Mylytsia, provided care for their ailing father. In 1937, the authorities apprehended the educator. The Special Troika of the Kharkiv Regional NKVD handed down a sentence of 10 years exile, citing his alleged participation in an anti-Soviet nationalist organization and the carrying out of terrorist acts against the party leadership and the Soviet government. However, on 16 February 1940, following a protest by the deputy prosecutor of the Kharkiv region of the NKVD, this decision was overturned, reducing the exile term to 5 years.

However, the elderly educator did not live to see this event. He died on 22 August 1938 at the age of 63 in exile (he served his sentence in Sevvostlag (the abbreviated name of North-Eastern Correctional Labor Camp, a structural unit of the system of correctional labor camps of the NKVD). The cause of death was a sharp decline in cardiac activity; the diagnosis was haemocolitis. He was buried in the OLP cemetery (the abbreviated name of the medical institution at the North-Eastern Camp of the Stakhanovets mine in the Susumanskyi district of the Magadan region of the Russian Federation).

Yakiv Chepiha thus made a notable contribution to advancing Ukrainian education theoretically and practically. He developed and furthered the ideas of the national school, native language education, national labor and free education, and pedagogy. The educator considered national education to be a means of developing and preserving the nation, viewing it as a natural education of the child, considering their individuality, and as a component of state policy. He bequeathed a substantial pedagogical legacy comprising over 150 works, including articles, manuals, and textbooks. In his research, he drew upon the work of Western European and American scholars. The culmination of his extensive deliberations was the "Proiekt ukrainskoi shkoly [Ukrainian School Project]" (1913). His ideas reflect the evolution of Ukrainian education and pedagogical science during the first third of the 20th century, encompassing a period of significant socio-political shifts, changes in ideologies, and the formation of Ya. Chepiha is a gifted and promising educator, scientist, and staunch Ukrainian patriot. It seems reasonable to posit that had he not been destroyed by the Soviet regime, which he had trusted, his work would have ensured the development of Ukrainian education on a national, democratic, and humanistic basis. Furthermore, the creative heritage of the educator would have become widely known and significant for European education. This article is a tribute to his rich and tragic life and wide-ranging and multifaceted activities in Ukraine and, consequently, worldwide.





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