

Children's literature fostering a humane attitude towards animals during the late 19th and early 20th century: bibliographical aspect

Lesia Sukhomlynska
Department of History of Pedagogy
Institute of Pedagogy of the NAES of
Ukraine (Kyiv)
1408koala@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, society reached a stage of development that allowed adults to come to an awareness of the need to educate their children to show care and compassion for animals. This led to the development of fiction and popular science literature for children in which caring attitudes towards animals were portrayed. This development was facilitated by prominent educators such as Tolstoy and Ushinsky, who wrote readers for children, and by the emergence of literary works, translations and anthologies that explored this theme, and led to the proliferation of ideas regarding the humane treatment of animals. Of particular note is a series of anthologies entitled *Animal Friend*, that is examined in some detail.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Education; Animals; Compassion; Children's literature; Ukraine; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *Formulation of the issue*

The hallmark of this century has been global crises and challenges that call into question the normal way of life of people on our planet. These have included forest fires that have affected entire continents, local wars that have led to mass migration, and the Covid-19 pandemic, all of which have changed people's lifestyles and behavior. Many, if not all, of the above problems have been provoked by the advent of the Anthropocene (an informal geochronological term for the current geological epoch), during which humanity, as a biological species, is destroying other life forms through its vital activity, provoking the

accelerated disappearance of biological species, contributing to global warming, deforestation, oxygen depletion, etc. Bringing a halt to these destructive processes depends largely on the consciousness and self-consciousness of human societies and of each individual.

It is generally recognized that humanitarian self-awareness needs to be formed from childhood, from the moment of a child's birth, but especially during early childhood and adolescence. We can thus see that the question of a caring, compassionate, and responsible attitude to every living being on the planet, and especially to the animals that have surrounded people and facilitated their lives throughout the existence of human civilization, and that people use for their own purposes, becomes particularly acute and relevant, and requires the development of appropriate methods and technologies that can be applied in the social and family upbringing of children. Placing this issue on the agenda provides a rationale for studying the history of this issue, for acquainting ourselves with examples and models used in the past, thus enriching teachers with historical and pedagogical competencies, and diversifying modern theory and practice.

2. *Analysis of recent research and publications on this issue*

The issue of educating a compassionate attitude towards animals in younger and older children has not received sufficient attention from our national researchers and appears not to have been a subject of interest, including the period from the late 19th to early 20th centuries. We have not found any relevant research relating to this period.

However, it should be noted that an important historiographical source for studying the origin of ideas about the humane treatment of animals is the international *Humanitarian Environmental Journal* (published from 1999 to the present-day) which is published by the Kyiv Ecological and Cultural Center. This journal is devoted to current issues of environmental ethics, but its pages include material that is extremely valuable for our study, describing significant people from the period under examination, which gives us the opportunity to draw conclusions about attitudes towards animals in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Among them there is an article by the well-known educator P.F. Kapterev, entitled *Educating a love of nature among children by means of aesthetic and moral feelings*¹. Also, of note are articles by the editor-in-chief

¹ P.F. Kapterev, *Vospitanie u detei lyubvi k prirode pri pomoshch'yu esteticheskogo i nraustvennogo chuvstv* [Educating a love of nature among children by means of aesthetic and moral feelings], «Gumanitarnyi ekologicheskii zhurnal» [Humanitarian environmental journal], vol. 1, n. 2, 1999, <<http://www.ecoethics.ru/old/m02/x40.html>> (last access: 17.05.2021) (in Russian).

of the journal V.Ye. Boreiko: *V. G. Chertkov – the first Russian biocentric philosopher*² and *Ivan Ivanovich Gorbunov-Posadov as an apostle of ecological ethics*³. These sources contribute to a deeper understanding of the historical context of the topic we are considering.

The lack of attention of researchers to the years that we have chosen for analysis is partially compensated by research which considers the current state of the problem. This includes the dissertation by N.B. Kravets *Formation of a system of knowledge about wildlife in primary school students*⁴. However, this work is devoted to academic courses in science and ecology, with little reference to animals. The study as a whole does not correspond to our concept of the integrated ethical and moral-aesthetic education in children of a humane attitude towards animals. Significantly more attention is paid to animal welfare by practicing teachers who conduct relevant lessons in preschools and primary schools. (See, for example, the site *Rozvytok dytyny* [Child Development]⁵. These materials provide material for conducting a comparative historical and pedagogical analysis).

3. *The aim of this article*

The aim of this article is to identify the factors that contributed to the emergence of ideas about the humane treatment of animals and to reveal ways to form appropriate feelings in children, so as to expand and rethink the educational potential of current environmental and ethical issues.

² V.Ye. Boreiko, *V. G. Chertkov – pervyi russkii filosof-biotsentrist* [V. G. Chertkov – the first Russian biocentric philosopher], «Gumanitarnyi ekologicheskii zhurnal» [Humanitarian environmental journal], vol. 7, Special issue on Animal Rights, 2005, <<http://www.ecoethics.ru/old/m7.1/>> (last access: 17.05.2021) (in Russian).

³ Id., *Ivan Ivanovich Gorbunov-Posadov kak apostol ekologicheskoi etiki* [Ivan Ivanovich Gorbunov-Posadov as an apostle of ecological ethics], «Gumanitarnyi ekologicheskii zhurnal» [Humanitarian environmental journal], vol. 4, 2007, pp. 25-28, <<http://www.ecoethics.ru/old/m4.07/>> (last access: 17.05.2021) (in Russian).

⁴ N.B. Kravets, *Formuvannia systemy znan pro zhyvu pryrodu v uchniv osnovnoi shkoly* [Formation of a system of knowledge about wildlife in primary school students], Candidate Thesis, Department of Didactics (Supervisor: A.V. Stepanyuk), Kyiv, Institute of Pedagogy, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, a.a. 2006-2007, 279 pp. (in Ukrainian).

⁵ *Rozvytok dytyny* [Child Development], <<https://childdevelop.com.ua/>> (last access: 17.05.2021).

4. *Exposition*

We focus our attention primarily on children's literature, which was the main conductor of the ideas about humane attitudes to the living world. The beginning of this process is comprehensively presented in the book *Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoj literatury* [Materials from the history of Russian children's literature (1750-1855)] published in 1927⁶. It contains a lengthy analytical article by Nikolai Vladimirovich Chekhov (1865-1947), a prominent Russian and Soviet teacher and educator, entitled *Ocherki po istorii russkoi detskoj literatury (1750-1855)* [Essays on the history of Russian children's literature (1750-1855)]⁷. The author notes that the first books for children in the 18th century, when indeed children's literature was born, were Aesop's primers and fables, which were adapted for Russian-speaking readers. But the most common phenomena were translations from French, German and, to some extent, English, of works by such authors as Daniel Defoe (*Robinson Crusoe*), Jonathan Swift (*Gulliver's Travels*), and François Fénelon (*The Adventures of Telemachus, Son of Odysseus*). Also enjoying popularity were some collections of teachings for children, and encyclopedias, which included biographies of kings, stories about travel and geographical descriptions⁸. At the same time the author emphasizes that these and other works were only adaptations for children's reading, and that the first real children's writers appeared only after 1830.

The founder of children's literature in Russia was M.I. Novikov (1744-1818), a journalist, publisher and public figure who published more than 40 books for children, mostly translations of foreign authors on moral and religious topics, and who also launched the first children's magazine *Detskoe chtenie dlya serdtsa i razuma* [Children's reading for the heart and the mind] (1785-1789), where, amongst other things, some texts about the lives and habits of animals were published.

But in the literature intended for children periodical publications also appeared. The idea that it was essential to acquaint children with the world around them through popular literature became widespread. Thus from 1815 to 1819 and from 1821 to 1929 a monthly periodical appeared entitled *Detskii muzeum* [The children's museum], with a lengthy subtitle that translates as «a collection of images of animals, plants, flowers, fruits, minerals, clothing

⁶ A.K. Pokrovskii, N.V. Chekhov (edd.), *Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoj literatury (1750-1855)* [Materials from the history of Russian children's literature (1750-1855)], Moscow, INVR (Institut Metodov Vneshkol'noi Raboty), 1927, 304 pp. (in Russian).

⁷ N.V. Chekhov, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi detskoj literatury (1750-1855)* [Essays on the history of Russian children's literature (1750-1855)], in *Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoj literatury (1750-1855)* [Materials from the history of Russian children's literature (1750-1855)], Moscow, INVR (Institut Metodov Vneshkol'noi Raboty), 1927, pp. 19-87 (in Russian).

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

of various nations, antiquities and other objects, for the instruction and entertainment of youth, compiled and engraved from the best models, with brief explanations appropriate to a child's understanding». This publication appeared with parallel texts in French, Russian and German, and 154 volumes were published⁹. There were also separate editions containing popular science expositions of natural science such as *Kratkaya estestvennaya istoriya ptits* [A Brief Natural History of Birds] (1821)¹⁰.

During the first third of the 19th century a large number of children's magazines (more than 20) on various topics were published, that incorporated material about nature and sometimes stories about animals. Some of them were published for just one or two years, but no matter how short-lived they were, the magazines reached children and familiarized them with their environment, including its geographical and natural components, and of course with the animal world.

During these years writers emerged who wrote for children, thus launching a new trend: children's literature. They included B.M. Fedorov (1786-1864), O.O. Petrovskiy (1787-1836), A.P. Zontag (1786-1864), V.P. Burnashev (1812-1888) and others. While these names will be unfamiliar to modern readers, there were some who are still presented in various collections for children such as V.F. Odoevsky (1803-1869) with his fairy tale *Town in a Snuff-box*.

Odoevsky's writing is characterized by a kindly, benevolent attitude towards animals. In his collection *Skazki i povesti dlya detei dedushki Irineya* [Fairy tales and stories for children by Grandfather Irenaeus] (1841), he included the story *Poor Gnedko*, in which he condemns the cruelty and ruthless treatment of a horse and notes: «I must say, my friends, that it is a sin to torment poor animals, which are there for our use or our pleasure. He who torments animals without any reason is a bad person. He who torments a horse or a dog is also capable of tormenting a human being»¹¹. Some works from the collection *Fairy tales and stories for the children of Grandfather Irenaeus* have repeatedly been included in various reading books, textbooks and educational literature.

During these years the field of children's literature was entered by women writers such as Augusta Voronova with her collection *Babushka-rasskazchitsa* [Grandmother-Storyteller] (1843), two of its three stories being about animals (*Yasochka* is about a cat and *Gulenka* is about a dove). Albeit in a rather sentimental manner, they promote the idea of educating children to have a kind and responsible attitude to animals¹². Another writer, Nadezhda Destunis

⁹ *Detskii muzeum* [The children's museum], St. Petersburg, Typography of Iv. Glazunov, 1815-1819, 1821-1829 (in Russian).

¹⁰ Pokrovskii, Chekhov (edd.), *Materialy po istorii russkoi detskoi literatury (1750-1855)*, cit., pp. 65-66 (in Russian).

¹¹ B. Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories: A History of Russian Literature for Children and Young People (1574-2010)*, Leiden, Brill, 2013, p. 51.

¹² A. Voronova, *Babushka-rasskazchitsa* [Grandmother-storyteller], St. Petersburg, Yu. A.

(1827-1866), may have been the first to use anthropomorphism in children's literature in her collection *Skazki i rasskazy dlya detei* [Tales and Stories for Children] (published posthumously in 1882). In her stories and tales, it is not only other living creatures that speak, but even inanimate objects¹³. These and other female writers paid some attention in their children's works to the animal world, although perhaps not as much as to other religious and moralistic topics, and their depiction of the animal world was aimed at forming a solicitous, benevolent attitude to nature and to all living creatures.

Children's magazines commissioned writers to write stories and fairy tales or offered to publish works they had already written. These magazines published works of various genres such as fairy tales, religious texts, translated literature, teachings, popular science articles on physics, chemistry, geography, agriculture etc. They also published works about animals, but there were very few of them.

It should be noted that the target audience for children's magazines and children's books were children from families whose educated parents, wealthy and not so wealthy, educated their children or hired governors and teachers for their education and upbringing. In general, children's literature played an entertaining or instructional and moralizing function, and its subject matter included the child's immediate environment, including nature.

Beginning with the second third of the 19th century there was a need to introduce primary education for children from different walks of life, and this entailed the creation of educational literature, including textbooks. Realism emerged as a dominant trend in the field of literature as a whole, and this trend led to changes in attitudes towards children's literature, which in turn led to the emergence of educational and popular science literature for children as a branch of children's literature, often presented in the form of thematic collections and anthologies.

Relevant to the theme of our research is Anna Daragan's textbook *Estestvennaya istoriya zivotnykh, rasskazannaya dlya detei* [A natural history of animals, narrated for children] (1849). The book has 370 pages and consists of an introduction, and several sections where animals are classified into sections and classes, such as a section on vertebrates (mammals and birds, reptiles and reptiles, fish), a section on annelids, as well as sections on invertebrates and "animal-plants"¹⁴. In her preface the author notes: «Wherever you look, all over the world there are animals everywhere, there is movement and life everywhere, and you will not find a place in the world where there is no kind of a living being. A human is also an animal, just significantly better, more intelligent than

Yungmeister, 1843, 133 pp. (in Russian).

¹³ Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories: A History of Russian Literature for Children and Young People (1574-2010)*, cit., p. 95.

¹⁴ A.M. Daragan, *Estestvennaya istoriya zivotnykh, rasskazannaya dlya detei* [A natural history of animals, narrated for children], St. Petersburg, Publishing House of V. Isakov, 1849 (in Russian).

all other animals... All living beings have feelings of pain, pleasure, satiety and hunger, and everything in the world is interconnected»¹⁵. The author provides texts in which the description of animals is presented with great love, and emphasizes that all life on earth is created by God, and that there is no need to disturb the existing order.

The processes of acquainting children with the world around them, with nature and the animal world, were augmented at that time by the rapid creation of public organizations with various orientations, whose activities addressed educational issues. These included various associations of intellectuals and teachers based on the idea of protecting children and mothers, parent committees and societies that dealt with children's reading and leisure, as well as boards of trustees, environmental unions, and other such organizations.

A significant impetus to the development of ideas about the humane treatment of animals came from the writings and pronouncements of teachers and public figures on this topic. It is significant that major teachers and thinkers of the time, such as Lev Tolstoy and the well-known educator Petr Kapterev, devoted their attention to the issue, bringing it to the attention of the wider public. In 1895, Kapterev, whose ideas have not lost their significance even today, published two extensive articles in the journal *Russkaya shkola* [The Russian School] (№1, №2): *Elements of aesthetic feeling* and *The development of aesthetic feeling in children*. Subsequently, excerpts from these two articles were submitted under the title *Education of children's love for nature through aesthetic and moral feelings*, and were published separately, and they are still being reprinted today¹⁶. In these articles the author emphasized the interaction of these two feelings and the corresponding aspects of education. The educator suggests that it is extremely important to awaken in children aesthetic feelings about nature, the ability to admire the simplest things: «If you look closely, you can see beauty everywhere, and a developed aesthetic sensitivity to nature will create a source of continuous and lofty pleasure»¹⁷.

The educator suggests that it is possible to achieve this state in two ways: theoretically and practically. He gives first preference to a practical approach, which means an active approach. The living conditions of a child in the city «are extremely unfavorable for direct contact with nature», while on the other hand rural conditions provide «a full opportunity to observe nature, to imbibe its spirit, to nurture in oneself a love for and interest in natural phenomena»¹⁸.

Kapterev considered that a prime way of influencing children's views was to read fairy tales with characters from the animal world that could «beautifully impart to children an understanding of the life of animals, their

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

¹⁶ Kapterev, *Vospitanie u detei lyubvi k prirode pri pomoshch'yu esteticheskogo i nraustvennogo chuvstv*, cit.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

natures and habits». His second preference was for various stories that children like so much that describe the life of nature and animals. He considered a third means of education to be «a systematic, theoretical acquaintance with various phenomena of nature and their explanation, accompanied of course by appropriate demonstrations»¹⁹.

P. Kapterev was convinced that «a person who unceremoniously tramples and destroys plants, who is harsh and ruthless to animals, a person who thinks nothing of killing a living creature, such a person will be cruel to other people and will be incapable of respecting their identity and their rights»²⁰.

The eminent writer and thinker Lev Tolstoy became an iconic figure, a symbol of the protection of all living things, especially animals, from arbitrary treatment by humans. He was a vegetarian, deeming it unacceptable and highly immoral to eat the flesh of living creatures. Following his convictions, he made his position as widely publicized as possible in his article *The first step*, where he wrote: «In whatever books it is written that it is a sin to kill animals, it is more clearly written in all our hearts that an animal should be pitied just like a human being, and we all know this if we do not suppress our conscience»²¹. The writer passionately preached the equality of human and animal rights, considering that a society that treats animals badly will always be beggarly and criminal. He actively promoted the vegetarian movement as part of animal welfare and participated in the establishment of vegetarian societies in the Russian Empire, which united many adherents around the idea of compassionate treatment of animals. Among them was Ivan Ivanovych Gorbunov-Posadov (1864-1940), who not only shared Tolstoy's views, but also worked closely with the writer in publishing. He was the editor-in-chief of the magazine *Svobodnoe vospitanie* [Free Education], and was an outstanding personality in his own right, making a significant contribution to the struggle for a compassionate attitude to all living creatures. We will make reference to this figure more than once in our research.

It should be emphasized that ideas concerning the humane treatment of animals arose among the educated, and therefore reasonably well-off strata of society, becoming a part of family upbringing and leisure activities, since formal education was aimed at acquiring knowledge, and was to some extent separate from the process of upbringing.

In the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century a movement developed in many countries to establish schools for the general population, to introduce changes in the content of education and teaching methods, to give women the right to education, etc. Educational organizations and literacy

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ P.F. Kapterev, *Ob esteticheskom razvitii i vospitanii* [On aesthetic development and education], «Russkaya shkola» [The Russian School], n. 1-2, 1895 (in Russian).

²¹ L. Tolstoy, *Pervaya stupen'* [The first step], in *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii, kniga 13* [Issues in philosophy and psychology, Book 13], St Petersburg, 1892, pp. 109-144 (in Russian).

committees were established, including the Kharkiv Literacy Society, which focused on compiling catalogs for elementary schools and writing textbooks. Schools were opened with new content and teaching methods.

In order to establish a successful pedagogical process in public schools, it was necessary to create appropriate educational literature, which had not been available prior to that time. The emergence of literature for these new schools is associated with the names of prominent educators such as Konstantin Ushinsky and Lev Tolstoy. According to the children's literature researcher Ben Hellman, «their readers became compulsory school reading for half a century onwards and, consequently, several of their stories became standard children's reading. Their books also provided an impetus for the breakthrough of Realism in children's literature»²². This "breakthrough" entailed acquainting children with the world around the child, including animals.

Ushinsky's two textbooks *Detskii mir* [Children's world] (1861), which was republished 50 times, and *Rodnoe slovo* [Our native language] (1864), which went through 150 editions with a circulation of more than 10 million copies, were the primary textbooks for many generations of children. During Soviet times, and even now, some of Ushinsky's stories, especially those about animals, are included in textbooks and children's readers.

The content of the texts, and the conciseness of the presentation, were aimed at students of public schools. The topics addressed in the textbooks are very diverse and of an encyclopedic nature: informative texts on geography, science, and history, and stories about nature to which Ushinsky attached great importance, believing that much needs to be learned from nature, and from observing the behavior of animals. Thus, from the example of two dogs in *Sobaki igrayut* [Dogs play], a father explains to his son the importance of respect and patience. In a section on pets, Ushinsky shows love for animals in his description of dogs (in the story *Bishka*), cats (in the stories *Vas'ka* and *Plutishka-kot* [The rascally little cat]), baby goats and sheep²³. These are from the genre of animal sketches, where pets are shown in different situations overcoming difficulties. In many of the stories (e.g. *Dva kozlika* [Two kid goats], *Umei podozhdat'* [Know how to wait]) the author shows the value of each living creature by describing the resolution of a dispute. Ben Hellman believes that Ushinsky was the first person to bring Pushkin into children's literature, along with other contemporary writers such as Goncharov, Turgenev, Zhukovsky, and Tiutchev, in whose work the description of nature occupies a major place²⁴. And although the percentage of fictional writing about animals

²² Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories: A History of Russian Literature for Children and Young People (1574-2010)*, cit., p. 84.

²³ K.D. Ushinsky, *Rodnoe slovo dlya detei mladshego vozrasta, god vtoroi*, *Izдание 128* [Native language for children in early childhood, year 2, 128th edition], St. Petersburg, 1914, 188 pp. (in Russian).

²⁴ Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories: A History of Russian Literature for Children and*

in these books is insignificant, their realistic depiction, the anthropomorphism, and the combination of moral education with emotional education, provided a foundation for children to discover the diversity of the animal world with its laws and rules of coexistence.

Another figure who greatly influenced the development of textbooks, and whose works are still present in children's literature, is Lev Tolstoy, who was involved in the education of peasant children, and who created on his estate Yasnaya Polyana the first school in the world to be inspired by the ideas of free education. His school used textbooks written by him: his *Azбука* [The ABC] (1872), which consists of 4 books (an introduction to the alphabet, texts for primary Russian and Church Slavonic reading, arithmetic and a teacher's guide), and his *Novaya azbuka* [A New ABC] (1875), both of which were recommended by the Ministry of Public Education for use in primary education. Lev Tolstoy had a unique understanding of free education, which was based on his deep religiosity. He worked on the development of religious and moral teachings which included ideas about compassion for animals.

Short stories and fairy tales in these textbooks, sometimes consisting of just three or four sentences, cover a very wide range of topics, including the animal world. Stories about animals promote love for all living creatures, because life is given by God to all without exception (e.g. his eight stories about the dogs Bul'ka and Milton, *Akula* [Shark], *Lev i sobachka* [The Lion and the Dog]). The writer also includes in his textbooks the prosaic fables of Aesop (for example, *The donkey and the horse*) which tells us about diligence, kindness, and honesty.

It is worth noting that Tolstoy's stories for children about animals are still in demand not just in children's educational institutions, but also in families²⁵.

Ushinsky's and Tolstoy's textbooks for public schools, described above, were used in the educational process, and some stories and fairy tales were included in various textbooks, including reading books, which were widespread at that time. They contained texts representing a variety of disciplines such as history and literature. They also appeared in primary school readers that appeared during the second half of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, and that were subsequently widely used in schools.

As for the anthologies of that time where the world of animals is described in a broader sense, they were compiled and prepared mainly to impart knowledge about natural science (zoology), and their descriptions were quite detached, objective and dry²⁶.

Young People (1574-2010), cit., p. 86.

²⁵ L. Tolstoy, *O zhivotnykh i ptitsakh* [About animals and birds], Saint-Petersburg, Rech', 2015, 19 pp. (illustrated), and *Detyam Rasskazy* [Tales for children], Moscow, Nigma, 2015, 16 pp. (illustrated) (in Russian).

²⁶ B. Raikov, *Chelovek i zhivotnyya, s 190 risunkami i 2 tsvetnymi tablitsami* [People and animals, with 190 drawings and two-colour plates], Kyiv, 1913, 205 pp. (in Russian).

However, literature that combined the provision of information and knowledge about the living world of life with the emotional and ethical upbringing of children became increasingly important. A striking example of such a pedagogical approach is a series of anthologies that were published under the general title *Drug zhyvotnykh* [Animal Friend] in the early 20th century, and consist of two parts, each with several issues. The anthologies were repeatedly republished until 1917, and have not lost their relevance even today, being still recommended by environmental and animal protection organizations.

The first of the anthologies was entitled *Drug zhyvotnykh. Kniga o vnimanii, sostradanii i lyubvi k zhyvotnym. Gumanitarno-zoologicheskaya khrestomatiya* [Animal friend. A book about care, compassion and love for animals. A humanitarian zoological anthology], and was published in 1905. It is consisted of texts selected by the compilers for young children (5-10 years). In his foreword to the book, I. Gorbunov-Posadov emphasizes «the importance of promoting the development and strengthening in young souls of active sympathy for all living things. We would just like to suggest that the development in children of a correct, fair, humane attitude to animals should be one of the most important tasks of education»²⁷. The compiler of this anthology and some that followed, was Vera Ippolitovna Luk'yanskaya, a children's writer, translator and public figure who worked closely with I. Gorbunov-Posadov.

The second part of the *Animal friend* zoological anthology consisted of two issues. The first issue, entitled *Zhizn' povsyudu (ot kholodnykh okrain k znoinomu yugu)* [Life is everywhere (From the cold border regions to the hot south)], is intended for older children (14-20 years). It was compiled by V. Luk'yanskaya and the introductory section *Sostradanie k zhyvotnym i vospitanie nashikh detei* [Compassion for animals and education of our children] was written by I. Gorbunov-Posadov²⁸. We have analyzed this publicistic essay, and the views and activities of its author in an earlier article²⁹.

The second issue of Part 2 of *Animal Friend* is entitled *Zhizn; v lesu* [Life in the Forest] and is for older children. It was compiled by V. Luk'yanskaya

²⁷ I. Gorbunov-Posadov, V. Luk'yanskaya (edd.), *Drug zhyvotnykh. Kniga o vnimanii, sostradanii i lyubvi k zhyvotnym. Gumanitarno-zoologicheskaya khrestomatiya, Chast' 1* [Animal friend. A book about care, compassion and love for animals. A humanitarian zoological anthology, Part 1], Moscow, I. N. Kushnarev & Co., 1905, p. 5 (in Russian).

²⁸ I. Gorbunov-Posadov, V. Luk'yanskaya (edd.), *Drug zhyvotnykh. Zhizn' povsyudu, Chast' 2, Vypusk 1* [Animal friend. Life is everywhere, Part 2, Issue 1], Moscow, I. N. Kushnarev & Co., 1909, 256 pp. (in Russian).

²⁹ L. Sukhomlynska, *Prosvititel' i pedagog I. I. Horbunov-Posadov pro formuvannya u ditei tsinnisnoho stavlennya do svitu zhyvoho* [The educator and teacher I. I. Gorbunov-Posadov on the development in children of a values-based approach to all living things], «Pedahohichna osvita: teoriya i praktika. Psikhohiia. Pedahohika» [Pedagogical Education: Theory and Practice], vol. 34, n. 2, 2020, pp. 57-65 (DOI: 10.28925/2311-2409.2020.34) Downloadable at: <<https://pedosvita.kubg.edu.ua/index.php/journal/article/view/276/370>> (last access: 17.10.2021) (in Ukrainian).



Pic. 1

and published in 1909³⁰. A third issue of the second part was published in 1913 and it was entitled *Zhizn' v polyakh i lugakh, v stepyakh i po proezhim dorogam* [Life in the fields and meadows, in the steppes and on the beaten ways] and was compiled once again by V. Luk'yanskaya³¹.

All these books contained many illustrations. They were approved for the libraries of secondary schools, public libraries and reading rooms, libraries of theological schools, and cadet corps, and this was indicated on the title pages of these anthologies. They were also approved by the Russian Society for the Protection of Animals.

It is significant that these books became accessible through libraries and educational institutions and were utilized as part of the education process. Notes to this effect were found in the libraries of the Kharkiv Literacy Society

and also in other institutions and organizations, providing direct evidence that children and youth of Slobozhanshchyna and other regions of Ukraine had the opportunity to become acquainted with them.

A main feature of all these anthologies is that introductory informative texts are combined with literary works: mainly poems and stories about animals or about nature in the broad sense. The first book, *Animal friend. A book about care, compassion and love for animals. A humanitarian zoological anthology*, is divided into 9 thematic sections: in the yard; in the orchard and vegetable garden; in the bee range, fields and meadows; in the forest; by river, pond, and swamp; the life of animals during different seasons (spring, summer, autumn, winter); in town; in the menagerie. In the texts accompanying each section there are appeals to children: «Take care of your animals in the summer heat» (in the section about summer); «Take care of your animals in the winter cold» (in the section about winter). In each section there are short, simple stories about the life and behavior of various animals. At the end of some sections

³⁰ V. Luk'yanskaya (ed.), *Drug zivotnykh. Zhizn' v lesu, Chast' 2, vypusk 2* [Animal friend. Life in the forest, Part 2, Issue 2], Moscow, I.N. Kushnarev & Co., 1909, 348 pp. (in Russian).

³¹ Ead. (ed.), *Drug zivotnykh. Zhizn' v polyakh i lugakh, v stepyakh i po proezhim dorogam, Chast' 2, vypusk 2* [Life in the fields and meadows, in the steppes and on the beaten ways], Moscow, I.N. Kushnarev & Co., 1913, 348 pp. (in Russian).

there are proverbs and sayings about animals. Most of the authors selected by the compilers are Russian, rather than foreign, with the greatest number being by Lev Tolstoy (*Dikii i ruchnoi osel* [The wild donkey and the tame donkey], *Korova* [The cow], *Zhivchik*, *Dve myshki* [Two mice], *Kak volki uchat svoikh detei* [How wolves teach their children], *Zayats-rusak* [The grey hare], and others). There are a significant number of stories by V. Luk'yanskaya herself (more than 15, mostly about birds). There are also stories by K. Ushinsky, taken from his textbooks, and by V. Odoevsky, S. Aksakov, and others³².

The title of the anthology *Life is Everywhere (From the Cold Border Regions to the Hot South)* speaks of the breadth of coverage of zoological topics: encompassing the inhabitants of the seas such as seals, walruses, and Arctic whales; birds, including eider ducks, willow grouse, and owls; animals like polar and Arctic foxes, deer, and sled dogs, that live in the far north, and animals that live in the hot south, such as monkeys, elephants, tigers, rhinos, hippos, sloths, and others. The informational texts in this volume are informative, selected by the compiler from literature intended for adults, but adapted by her for a children's readership. The compiler made use of a famous publication by the German naturalist and traveler Alfred Brehm, his *Illustrierten Thierleben* [Illustrated Animal Life] (1863-1869) in 6 volumes, which was repeatedly published in Russian translation. In this issue we counted 29 texts about various animals, that made reference to Brehm. In addition to texts by this German author, the anthology contains texts by the Russian zoologist Nikolai Vagner, the German author Otto Schmeil, the popular science writer Nikolai Rubakin, and others³³. There are only three literary works: *Life is One* (a poem by E. Arnold translated by A. Barykina), *Povsyudu lyubov* [Love is everywhere] (a prose poem by I. Turgenev), and *Tigritsa* [The tigress] (a poem by A. Barykina).

In the third issue of the *Animal Friend* zoological anthology, dedicated to «life in the fields and meadows, in the steppes and on beaten paths» we find a much larger number of literary works. These include poetic texts by V. Zhukovsky (*Pesnya zhavoronka* [Song of the lark]), I. Nikitin (*Na prostorakh polei* [In the wide-open fields], *Utro* [Morning], *Gore pakharya* [A plowman's grief]), and stories by Lev Tolstoy (*Prihod vesny* [The arrival of spring]) and I. Turgenev (*Dva golubya* [Two pigeons]).

This volume also contains popular science texts by the same authors as in the previous issue, mainly translations and adaptations for younger readers, which tell mainly about birds (rooks, cranes, starlings, pigeons, falcons, wagtails, partridges, etc.), with less information about insects and animals (horses)³⁴.

³² Gorbunov-Posadov, V. Luk'yanskaya, *Drug zivotnykh. Kniga o vnimanii, sostradanii i lyubvi k zivotnym, Chast' 1*, cit.

³³ Idd., *Drug zivotnykh. Zhizn' povsyudu, Chast' 2, Vypusk 1*, cit.

³⁴ Luk'yanskaya (ed.), *Drug zivotnykh. Zhizn' v polyakh i lugakh, v stepyakh i po proezhim dorogam, Chast' 2, vypusk 2*, cit.

Let us briefly analyze the texts in the anthology that, due to their content and emotional message, are likely to cause the reader, boy or girl, feelings of pain, pity, or anger at cruelty to animals. One such text is adapted from a work by N. Nosilov, entitled *Tyulenyia b'yut* [Seals are being beaten], in which the author painfully describes the mass murder of seals that fall into an ice trap and are unable to reach water to escape destruction³⁵.

No less tragic is the text *Ubiistvo* [Murder], an adapted translation from French, in which the author, while hunting, heartlessly and mortally wounds a small inquisitive monkey that has circled around him, and that dies in his arms, like a trusting child. After this tragic incident, the author feels like a bloodthirsty monster³⁶.

V. Veresayev's text *Radi nauki* [For the sake of science], about a doctor who conducts medical experiments on macaques is also eloquent. He befriends one of them and they enjoy spending time together. But when the monkey is injected with relapsing fever, and slowly dies, he feels «uneasy and ashamed» as if he had performed an experiment on a child³⁷. «But times are changing», says the author, because he believes that in the future such things will become unacceptable.

Similar texts are included in the third issue of *Animal Friend*. It is noteworthy that almost all texts are narrated from the first person, which significantly enhances the emotional impact on the reader, because the author deeply analyzes his feelings and emotions: regret, remorse, anger or revulsion towards himself.

We should also emphasize that in these anthologies, especially in the first one, there are materials from which children can learn to make a birdhouse or a bird feeder. These texts are reprinted in subsequent issues. Thus, in one of them there is a text describing how to arrange a birdhouse, with detailed explanations, calculations and diagrams, showing how to make a house for birds, and also providing information about their lives and habits³⁸.

All these anthologies represent a major achievement in the area of moral, emotional and intellectual education, in their careful selection of texts that foster in the reader, that is to say in children and young people, a compassionate attitude to all living creatures, and to the animal world as a whole, not only in a contemplative sense, but also in a practical sense, which, from the point of view of pedagogical science, is more constructive.

Amongst the literature with a humane orientation, we may also include several issues of I.S. Mikheyev's textbook *Sochineniya po kartinkam* [Compositions from pictures], which were published in Kazan in 1906 and later republished several times. They were approved by the Ministry of Education to be used

³⁵ Gorbunov-Posadov, Luk'yanskaya, *Drug zivotnykh. Zhizn' pousyudu, Chast' 2, Vypusk 1*, cit., pp. 62-63.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-130.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

in primary schools as a textbook for teaching Russian language, to develop children's ability to compose and retell texts at school and at home. They contain no text, but only a sequence of drawings on a single topic. The author of these manuals, Ivan Stepanovich Mikheyev, an Udmurt writer, teacher and methodologist, was declared an «enemy of the people» in 1937, and was executed and rehabilitated posthumously. Ten short visual aids by this author were published in total. The seventh book, for example, presents a series of drawings entitled *Pozhalei loshad* [Pity the horse]³⁹. It consists of five pictures which sequentially show a pair of horse-drawn sleighs, filled with firewood, and two carriers. In the second picture, the drivers are taking the sleighs up a steep slope. The first walks next to the sleigh and helps his horse, while the second rides on the sleigh on top of a pile of firewood, and whips his animal, which is struggling with the load. In the third picture, we can see that the first driver has already overcome the obstacle, while the second driver is still below the crest, and the peasant continues to beat the horse, which has already fallen onto its front legs. The whole scene is being observed by children who have been tobogganing on the slope. In the fourth picture, the horse has fallen to the snow and cannot get up, the owner is unharnessing him, and people who have witnessed the abuse of the animal are running down the slope, while the children stand nearby, horrified at such cruelty. In the fifth picture, the sleigh loaded with firewood stands alone, the horse lies motionless on the road, while peasants reproach the driver, who does not want to accept the fact that he has driven the animal into the ground.

Among Mikheyev's ten publications there are some visual aids that show the devotion of animals to humans, especially in the case of dogs. These include *Pozharnyi pes* [Fire dog] edition 7, *Vernyi pes* [The faithful dog] edition 6, *Ded Mazai i zaitisy* [Grandpa Mazai and the hares] edition 6, *Ne razrushai ptich' i gnezda* [Do not destroy bird nests] edition 2, and others.

To supplement these visual aids the author supplied teachers with a manual, where he set out recommendations for organizing and conducting corresponding lessons. He noted that the purpose of introducing this form of work with children in the educational process is to develop not only language, but also «the observation skills and aesthetic tastes of children». In the teacher's manual, Mikheyev provides sample questions that the teacher can ask the students together with possible answers. He also gives samples of children's compositions (with names and surnames) based on the drawings published in his original textbooks⁴⁰.

³⁹ I.S. Mikheyev, *Sochineniya v nachal'noi shkole po kartinkam. Kn. 7* [Compositions in the primary school from pictures], Kazan, Central Typography, 1906, 16 pp., illustrated (in Russian).

⁴⁰ Id., *Sochineniya v nachal'noi shkole po kartinkam. Knizhka dlya uchashchikhb, 2-e izd* [Compositions in the primary school from pictures. Book for teachers. 2nd edition], Kazan, Typography of I. E. Ermolaeva, 1906, 31 pp., <<https://elibrary.unatlib.ru/dspace/dsview.html>> (last access: 17.10.2021) (in Russian).

In order for anthologies, textbooks and manuals to provide adequate content for the educational process, children's literature was needed. And, as we have already noted, such a literature began to develop intensively during these years. Ideas expressing a humane attitude to the living world, to animals, developed at the same time. Specialists like Ben Hellman (2013) consider that one of the authors who developed this theme was Dmitry Mamin-Sibiryak, who wrote for both adults and children. His books include *Skazki i rasskazy dlya detei mladshhego vozrasta* [Fairy tales and stories for young children] (1895), and *Rasskazy i skazki* [Stories and tales] (1897-1898). In his first children's story *Emelya okhotnik* [Yemelya the hunter] (1884), the writer describes how the hunter Yemelia takes pity on a deer with a fawn, because he sees her show maternal love for her child, and mentally compares it with his daughter's love for her son, for whom she had risked her life when saving him from wolves. In another short story *Priemysl* [An adopted child] (1893) a grandfather-hunter takes care of a young swan all through the winter, after killing its parents, and the following autumn he emotionally farewells the young swan before it flies away to warmer lands. In the story *Bogach i Eremka* [The rich man and Yeremka] (1904) a hunter feeds a wounded hare during the winter, and this experience of care and humanity puts him off hunting forever, as it does his dog. One of his most popular stories is *Seraya sheika* [Gray Neck] (1893), which is still included in collections of stories and fairy tales. It describes how a wounded duck is saved from foxes and winter frosts by a man and some hares.

In addition to Mamin-Sibiryak, stories and fairy tales for children were published by Nikolai Vagner (*Skazki Kota-Murlyki* [Tales of the Cat Murlyka] (1872)), Aleksandra Kovalevskaya (*Rasskazy i skazki dlya detei* [Stories and Tales for Children] (1885)), V. Samoilovich (Sofia Sobolieva) (the collection *Volshebnye skazki* [Magic tales] (1896)), and others. These works for children are about animals, insects, and birds, and the idea is promoted that it is important to care for nature and for living creatures, to have a humane attitude to the living world. In these stories for children, plants and animals are often personified, and through them the authors proclaimed ideas of kindness and compassion.

These years also witnessed the development of informative literature, that, through an artistic and figurative presentation of its material, and through the humanization of flora and fauna, provided children with knowledge about nature and human activity in an interesting format. For example, Vasily Avenarius's book *Skazka pro Pchelu-Mokhnatku* [The tale of the shaggy bee] (1879) tells us about the life of a beehive that fights for the life of its swarm. Other informative works include *Kniga dlya pervogo chteniya v narodnykh shkolakh* [A reading book for public schools] (1871), a collection of works by a well-known educator of that time, Vasily Vodovozov, and *Iz zhizni russkoi prirody* [From the life of nature in Russia] (1889), a book on the natural sciences in which the publications of geographer and zoologist Modest Bogdanov were combined into one volume.

Among other children's books, or books that were considered as suitable for children, we may include the novel *Detstvo Temy* [Tyoma's childhood] by Nikolai Garin-Mikhailovsky, an excerpt from which became popular when published separately in the Soviet Union under the title *Tyoma i Zhuchka*. In it, the author tells the story of a boy named Tyoma, who rescues his dog named Zhuchka from a deep well into which he has been thrown. The story portrays a boy's deep love for his dog, with high emotional tension, and the adventure has a happy ending. In our opinion, this story can still be enjoyed with pleasure, and can be used in the educational process in the family and in educational institutions.

The eminent writer Anton Chekhov also contributed to children's literature. He himself selected for reading the short stories *Kashtanka* [Chestnut] (1887), about the life of a dog, its fidelity and love, and *Belolobi* [Whitebrow] (1895), about an encounter between a wolf and a puppy. All the animals in these works are presented anthropomorphically and endowed with human feelings.

These and other stories and tales were published in children's magazines, almanacs, and collections, published in the early 20th century in large print runs. Ben Hellman notes that «There were twenty-two magazines [for Russian children] published in the first half of the nineteenth century, and sixty-one in the second. In 1909 alone Russian children could choose between nineteen magazines»⁴¹. Among these magazines were *Detskoe chtenie* [Children's Reading], *Istochnik* [The source], *Yunyi chitatel'* [Young reader], *Vskhody* [Shoots], *Svet bozhii* [God's world], *Detskii dosug* [Children's Leisure], *Sem'ya i shkola* [Family and School], and *Mayak* [The Lighthouse] (1909-1918). The editor-in-chief of *Mayak* was Ivan Gorbunov-Posadov, who during the nine years of the magazine's existence popularized environmental and vegetarian ideas that, as already mentioned, originated with Lev Tolstoy. Tolstoy helped the magazine, in which he published his works and letters to children and adolescents. The main agenda of the magazine was «active love for all living creatures» so each issue contained material on nature or wildlife. The magazine was devoted to promoting a clear environmental ideology, rather than to entertainment. Naturalists such as William Long of the United States, Charles G. D. Roberts («A torpedo in feathers», «The little wolf of the air» etc.) and Ernest Thompson Seton were often represented. In a separate section, children were taught how to bind books, draw, sculpt from clay, how to make a birdhouse, take care of the garden and much more.

But the ideology of Tolstoy, Gorbunov-Posadov and many others, who promoted the humane ideal of living in a spirit of love and peace with all living creatures on Earth, came into conflict with the militant, aggressive orientation of the advancing Soviet ideology, and the magazine ceased to exist.

⁴¹ Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories: A History of Russian Literature for Children and Young People (1574-2010)*, cit., pp. 256-257.

The development of children's literature that had taken place during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the ideas it promoted, was cut short, and became anachronistic, because it contradicted the ideology of the Soviet government, which negated all previous achievements, especially those that preached love and compassion, rather than militant action. The only rare exceptions were works with a realistic orientation, such as some of those by Mamin-Sibiryak and a few others that survived in the field of children's literature.

Such was the path of development followed by children's literature during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As Ben Hellman noted it «It had perhaps not produced many great names and works, but it had found its audience and shown itself capable of growth. In 1917 the air was full of promise. What was actually achieved was an almost total breakdown of the existing literature through suppression, forced emigration, the closing down of magazines and purges of libraries. The new, Soviet Russian children's literature consequently began from a *tabula rasa*»⁴².

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 293.