UDC 37.014.5(477)"1917/1920"
DOI https://doi.org/10.24919/2308-4863/88-2-6

# Inna FEDOROVA,

orcid.org/0000-0002-6345-2309 Senior Lecturer at the Department of Social and Human Sciences Odessa State Agrarian University (Odessa, Ukraine) fedorovainna2505@gmail.com

# Oksana CHEBAN,

orcid.org/0000-0002-7271-1704
PhD in Philosophical Sciences,
Associate Professor at the Department of Social and Human Sciences
Odessa State Agrarian University
(Odessa, Ukraine) chebanoksana72@gmail.com

# Tetiana ROMANENKO,

orcid.org/0000-0002- 3752-8701 Lecturer at the Department of Social and Human Sciences Odessa State Agrarian University (Odessa, Ukraine) tatroma@ukr.net

# CONTINUITY OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AS A COMPONENT OF UKRAINIAN STATESHIP (1917–1920)

The article examines the continuity of educational and cultural policy in Ukraine in the period of 1917–1920 as a key factor in the formation of Ukrainian statehood. The authors examine the educational reforms initiated by the governments of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Hetmanate, the Directory, and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, which, despite the difficult political situation, contributed to the formation of the national education system. Special attention is paid to the processes of Ukrainization of the educational process at all levels - from primary school to higher educational institutions. The creation and development of new Ukrainian schools, gymnasiums, universities, and institutes, as well as the introduction of curricula and textbooks in the Ukrainian language, are noted. The article highlights the role of public organizations, teachers and scientists in the formation of the educational system, in particular the significant contribution of the All-Ukrainian Teachers' Union, "Prosvita" and leading scientists. The creation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences as an important center of scientific activity, which united outstanding scientists and initiated scientific research in various fields, is separately analyzed. The authors emphasize that the above-mentioned processes contributed not only to the development of education, but also to the cultural revival of the Ukrainian people, laid the foundation for the further European integration of Ukraine. Despite the short duration of the existence of Ukrainian state formations during this period, their educational policy was systemic, consistent and became the foundation for the formation of national identity and intellectual potential. The article demonstrates that the continuity and purposefulness of educational reforms are a component of the national statehood of Ukraine.

**Key words:** Ukrainian Central Rada, Ukrainian People's Republic, Hetmanate, Directory, Western Ukrainian People's Republic, education, higher education, culture.

.....

# Інна ФЕДОРОВА,

orcid.org/0000-0002-6345-2309 стариий викладач кафедри суспільно-гуманітарних наук Одеського державного аграрного університету (Одеса, Україна) fedorovainna2505@gmail.com

# Оксана ЧЕБАН,

orcid.org/0000-0002-7271-1704 кандидат філософських наук, доцент кафедри суспільно-гуманітарних наук Одеського державного аграрного університету (Одеса, Україна) chebanoksana72@gmail.com

# Тетяна РОМАНЕНКО,

orcid.org/0000-0002-3752-8701 викладач кафедри суспільно-гуманітарних наук Одеського державного аграрного університету (Одеса, Україна) tatroma@ukr.net

# БЕЗПЕРЕРВНІСТЬ ОСВІТНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ ЯК СКЛАДОВА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ (1917–1920 РОКИ)

У статті розглядається безперервність освітньої та культурної політики в Україні в період 1917–1920 років як ключовий чинник становлення української державності. Автори досліджують освітні реформи, започатковані урядами Української Народної Республіки, Гетьманату, Директорії та Західно-Української Народної Республіки, які попри складну політичну ситуацію сприяли формуванню національної системи освіти. Особлива увага приділяється процесам українізації навчального процесу на всіх рівнях – від початкової школи до вищих навчальних закладів, Відзначається створення та розвиток нових українських шкіл, гімназій, університетів і інститутів, а також впровадження навчальних програм і посібників українською мовою. У статті висвітлюється роль громадських організацій, педагогів і науковців у формуванні освітньої системи, зокрема значний внесок Всеукраїнської вчительської спілки, «Просвіти» та провідних наукових діячів. Окремо аналізується створення Української академії наук як важливого центру наукової діяльності, що об'єднала видатних учених і започаткувала наукові дослідження у різних галузях. Автори наголошують, що вищезазначені процеси сприяли не лише розвитку освіти, але й культурному відродженню українського народу, заклали підвалини для подальшої європейської інтеграції України. Попри короткотривалість існування українських державних утворень у цей період, їх освітня політика мала системний, послідовний характер і стала фундаментом для формування національної ідентичності та інтелектуального потенціалу. Стаття демонструє, що безперервність і цілеспрямованість освітніх реформ є складовою національної державності України.

**Ключові слова:** Українська Центральна Рада, Українська Народна Республіка, Гетьманат, Директорія, Західно-Українська Народна Республіка, освіта, вища освіта, культура.

Problem statement. Ukrainian statehood has been under threat since 2014 due to Russia's armed aggression. The restoration of statehood in Ukraine since 1991 has been based on the reform of the education sector. Ukrainian science of the 21st century requires innovative approaches to the Europeanization of all levels of education – from secondary to higher. Despite the war, Ukrainian educators are improving the quality and effectiveness of the use of human resources and scientific potential in all areas of national state policy towards European integration, ensuring Ukraine's competitiveness in world markets. The modern scientific community is actively integrating into the European educational space. At the same time, scientists are of the opinion that the future of Ukrainian education is impossible without the use of historical achievements, in particular, during the active period of building the statehood of the UPR, its formation and development.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Studying sources on the development of education during the Ukrainian People's Republic, we discovered a significant number of historical documents that reveal the multifaceted development of education. In particular, the magazine «Free Ukrainian School» 1917–1920 (organ of the All-Ukrainian Teachers' Union). Ukrainian public figures and teachers with world names O. Doroshkevych, O. Muzychenko,

Ya. Chepiga, S. Siropolko, P. Kholodnyi, S. Rusova and others formulated the principles of a unified general education school. The works of scientists, participants in revolutionary events – M. Hrushevsky, D. Doroshenko, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, P. Skoropadsky – reveal the secrets of the levers in those turbulent times of the formation of state institutions of the Ukrainian state. Review of the works of V. Ivanys, B. Lonchyna, I. Keyvan, V. Yaniv, A. Zhyvotko, M. Semchyshyn, O. Subtelnyi gives an understanding of formulated and reasoned, non-ideologized conclusions about the place and role of liberation struggles in the history of Ukraine, the cultural and spiritual revival of the Ukrainian people. The works of L. Bilan, O. Mykhalyuk (Poltava region), D. Rybchenko (Kyiv region), I. Fedorova (southern Ukraine) reveal aspects of the formation and development of institutions of higher and lower agricultural education in Ukraine at the beginning of the 20th century.

The purpose of the article is to analyze certain historical facts regarding the features of the intensive development of education and culture in the Ukrainian People's Republic at all levels from extracurricular to higher.

Within the framework of the defined goal, it is necessary to solve scientific tasks: to reveal the basic principles of the historiography of the problem, its state at the present stage; to investigate the main prerequisites and determine the features of the development of education in the UPR; to analyze the process of the formation of education in the studied period; to identify the main debatable issues that require further research.

**Presentation of the main material.** The February Revolution of 1917 and the democratic freedoms proclaimed by the Provisional Government were perceived by the Ukrainian people in the territories of the former Russian Empire as an opportunity to begin the struggle for their national liberation. Delegates from various Ukrainian public organizations and parties gathered in Kyiv for a meeting on March 20, 1917, at which the Ukrainian Central Rada (UCR) was formed. Mykhailo Hrushevsky was elected chairman of the UCR. The process of struggle for the revival of the Ukrainian state began. Organizational, economic and political measures were actively implemented. The development of national education and culture in the UPR became a priority area. The urgency was determined by several factors. First of all, we should note that since the beginning of the activities of the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917, the level of illiteracy in Ukraine reached up to 80 percent among the population of Ukraine. School-age children did not have equal access to education, so society still had 50 percent illiteracy among this category. On the other hand, we are faced with the Russification of Ukrainian culture. After all, this is a consequence of the Valuev Circular and the Ems Act. Publishing, theater, music, fine arts, etc. developed quite slowly (Sydorenko, 2014: 449).

The governments of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the government of the Ukrainian State of P. Skoropadsky promoted the development and actively involved the public in the development of education in Ukraine at all levels, and also supported all aspirations for the development of Ukrainian culture. The goal of the cultural development of Ukraine was actively considered in the process of public hearings during the work of the Ukrainian National, Military, Peasant, Trade Union, Teachers' and other congresses in the spring and summer of 1917. In the direction of humanitarian policy, party conferences and the second session of the Central Rada were held. Thanks to active public and political activity, a concept of cultural construction in Ukraine was formed in the process of creative discussions. They focused on the development of both the education system and its Ukrainization. Radical changes were made in publishing, library and archival affairs. The system of music, theater and fine arts was reformed. Ukrainian governments have never neglected the interests of national minorities. After all, representatives of all nationalities of the world have lived in Ukraine at all times, from the Trypillians to the present day. That is why the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic created favorable conditions for the development of the culture of national minorities.

The democratic intelligentsia was responsible for the development of state institutions of Ukraine and the support of the development of its culture at the state level. In particular, we have a source of Vynnychenko's own memories about the preparation of the I–IV Universals of the Central Rada and his negotiations with the Provisional Government and the Council of People's Commissars (Vynnychenko V., 1920: 348). Here the author describes in detail the preparation of the content of the Universals, the course of constant and complex negotiations with the Provisional and Soviet governments.

A change in the trajectory of his own activities is the subordination of M. Hrushevsky's scientific activities to the work of the parliament. After all, M. Hrushevsky worked on the political strategy and tactics of the Ukrainian state (Shchapoval, 1996: 304). M. Tugan-Baranovsky organized the financial system. He wrote a thorough work «Fundamentals of Political Economy», which was published in 1917. (Yas, 2004: 35-45). M. Savchenko-Belsky as a member of the General Secretariat dealt with issues of land relations within the framework of the agrarian reform. I. Steshenko was in charge of reforming public education (Boyko, 2008: 57-64). O. Oles as a poet spoke out in defense of Ukrainianness, wrote articles, poems of 1917-1918, aimed at the formation of national selfawareness. His field of activity was journalism and the establishment of work in daily newspapers, etc.

In the wide range of urgent political tasks of that time, the development of education, primarily school education, occupied a prominent place. The Central Rada considered its main task in this area to be the revival of the Ukrainian language and the creation of a national school. Significant support in this direction was provided by Ukrainian public organizations – in particular, «Prosvita», the School Education Society, as well as teaching staff. The first Ukrainian schools were opened mainly at the expense of the community and with the financial support of the population.

In primary schools, Ukrainization took place relatively smoothly. In contrast, in secondary and higher educational institutions, the situation was more complicated: Ukrainization encountered resistance from part of the teaching community and parents of students, which negatively affected the language situation in cities and large settlements of Ukraine.

Therefore, the issue of the revival of the Ukrainian school became one of the key ones at the two All-

.....

Ukrainian Teachers' Congresses, which were held in April and August 1917. The congresses recommended the Ukrainization of secondary schools both by establishing new Ukrainian gymnasiums and by gradually introducing teaching subjects in Ukrainian in existing Russian-language gymnasiums.

The subjects of the Ukrainian studies cycle – Ukrainian language, literature, history and geography of Ukraine – were recognized as normative and mandatory for study in all secondary schools. To ensure the rights of national minorities, the congresses also recommended opening parallel classes with teaching in the native language of students.

In order to promptly resolve urgent issues related to improving the content and methods of teaching, the Second All-Ukrainian Teachers' Congress established the All-Ukrainian Teachers' Union with branches in provincial centers. By the end of 1917, it had about 10,000 members. The union played an important role in the formation of Ukrainian primary and secondary schools, making a significant contribution to the organization of the educational process.

The development of a new Ukrainian school set the General Secretariat of Education and the pedagogical community the task of creating curricula and providing schools with Ukrainian-language, Ukrainian-scientific educational, methodological and artistic literature. To solve this task, a state commission was created to prepare new textbooks, which at various stages included leading scientists and teachers: Ivan Steshenko, Pavlo Kholodny, Petro Sushitsky, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Dmytro Bahaliy, Ivan Ohiyenko, Oleksandr Kysil, Borys Biletsky, Sofia Rusova, Andriy Leshchenko, Ivan Vlasenko and others.

Experienced teachers – specialists in the methodology of teaching school subjects – were also involved in this large-scale and responsible work. Through joint efforts, dozens of textbooks and methodological manuals on the Ukrainian language, literature, history, geography, ethnography, mathematics, physics, chemistry and other subjects were created. The design of educational literature was carried out by well-known artists and graphic designers: Heorhiy Narbut, Antin Sereda, Yuriy Pavlovych, Mykola Kozyk, Karpo Trokhymenko, Kateryna Antonovych.

The publication of textbooks was handled by leading Ukrainian publishing houses: Slovo, Krynytsia, Promin, Siyach, Vernygora. The total circulation of textbooks and manuals published in 1917 was about 300 thousand copies, and in 1918 – over 2 million.

Evidence of the priority and relevance of education among the complex of other urgent tasks that faced the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic was its intention to urgently reform the education system. Already at the end of 1917, curricula and programs for labor (general) schools with a 12-year term of study were developed, which indicated a strategic vision for building a new educational model.

At the same time, the Ukrainian authorities paid considerable attention to the elimination of illiteracy among the adult population and the improvement of its general cultural level. For this purpose, the Central Rada created a special Department of Extracurricular Education within the structure of the General Secretariat of Education. Similar structures subsequently functioned under subsequent governments of Ukraine. Their task was to organize large-scale measures to overcome illiteracy, monitor the effectiveness of relevant programs, and disseminate best practices in the field of public education.

Within the framework of this activity, a network of evening schools, educational courses, reading houses was created. For people who already had a basic education, folk universities, educational houses, educational circles, as well as cultural and educational clubs with various thematic sections were organized. Such a comprehensive system of extracurricular education became an important factor in the process of forming a conscious, educated and responsible citizen of the new Ukrainian state.

An important role in establishing the system of extracurricular education was played by the congress of delegates of the «Prosvita» societies, which took place in September 1917 with the participation of more than 400 representatives not only from different regions of Ukraine, but also from territories of compact residence of Ukrainians – in particular, the Don, Voronezh and Kursk provinces, Kuban, Bessarabia. During the congress, the All-Ukrainian Union «Prosvita» was created, which took on the functions of coordinating activities in the field of extracurricular education and cultural and educational work.

According to the adopted decisions, education for children was to begin at the age of eight, be compulsory and free. In addition, the congress initiated the creation of children's interest groups and the development of a preschool education system. Such steps laid the foundation for the formation of continuous education and social support for youth and adults.

Over the next four years, about 8 thousand permanent evening schools and literacy courses were opened in Ukraine, which covered more than 250 thousand people – both adults and children not involved in the formal education system. In parallel, self-education circles operated at more than 100 folk universities, clubs, Prosvita societies and libraries, which involved approximately 2 million illiterate citizens in the educational process. Cultural and educational events cov-

ered millions of residents of Ukraine, which indicates the scale and social significance of this activity.

To provide the new Ukrainian school and the network of extracurricular education with qualified personnel, Ukraine actively trained teachers. For this purpose, departments of the history of Ukrainian art and the history of Ukrainian ethnography were opened in higher educational institutions.

The government of the Ukrainian People's Republic paid considerable attention to the reorganization of the entire higher education system. Existing universities and institutes were gradually Ukrainianized, and new higher educational institutions of Ukrainian orientation were also created. As part of the implementation of this policy, on October 5, 1917, the first Ukrainian People's University was solemnly opened in Kyiv, which included three faculties: historical and philological, physical and mathematical, legal, and preparatory courses. The total number of students and course participants at the university at the time of opening was 1,370 people. Among them were graduates of secondary and higher schools, folk teachers, and students of other Kyiv higher educational institutions.

The next step in the creation of a Ukrainian higher school was the opening of the Pedagogical Academy in Kyiv on November 7, 1917. Its activities began with the establishment of pedagogical courses, the main goal of which was to train teachers for Ukrainian secondary schools, in particular, teachers of subjects of the Ukrainian studies cycle – primarily the Ukrainian language and literature. The actual students of the academy were considered to be persons with higher education and graduates of pedagogical institutes; free students – students of the last years of higher educational institutions, pedagogical institutes and graduates of teacher seminaries. At the time of its opening, 50 actual students with higher education were enrolled in the academy.

An important event in the cultural life of the Southern region of Ukraine was the establishment in February 1918 of the Odessa Agricultural Institute (Fedorova, 2012: 109). For the Central region, a similar landmark step was the opening of the Second Ukrainian People's University in Poltava on April 21, 1918. The initiative to create these institutions belonged to local public organizations. In particular, part of the funds for the maintenance of the Second People's University were provided by the Poltava «Prosvita», the rest was made up of private donations and fees from students.

These events were preceded by the opening of the Geographical and Technological Institutes in Kyiv, the Art and Industrial Institute in Myrhorod, and the Higher School of Economics, which trained specialists in the fields of banking, trade, and economics. In newly created and already operating higher educational institutions, the Ukrainization of the educational process gradually took place: faculties and departments of Ukrainian studies were opened, specialization was introduced, all types of classes – lectures, seminars, colloquiums, debates – were held in Ukrainian.

Thus, in a short period and in a difficult political situation, the Central Council, with the active participation of Ukrainian public organizations, managed to lay the fundamental foundations for the revival of the system of primary, secondary, and higher education. This created the prerequisites for its further development by future Ukrainian governments.

The Hetmanate government, which came to power on April 29, 1918, continued the educational, scientific and cultural policy initiated by the Central Rada. It resolutely pursued a course towards the Ukrainization of spiritual life, in particular in the field of education. The first step of the Ministry of Public Education and Arts in this direction was large-scale work on the implementation of a single labor school — a project developed back in the days of the Central Rada.

Particular attention was paid to expanding the network of Ukrainian-language private and state schools and gymnasiums. If in 1917 there were 39 gymnasiums with Ukrainian as the language of instruction in Ukraine, then only in the summer of 1918 their number increased to 54, and such institutions were opened not only in cities, but also in villages. At the end of the Hetmanate, the number of Ukrainian-language gymnasiums reached about 150. The Minister of Public Education and Arts of the Ukrainian State, Professor M. Vasylenko, took a particularly active part in these reform processes.

The government of P. Skoropadsky also paid considerable attention to reforming the higher education system. For this purpose, a special commission headed by Academician V. Vernadsky was created. Thanks to its activities, as well as financial and organizational support from the state and the scientific community, on October 6, 1918, the first State Ukrainian University was opened in Kyiv on the basis of the People's University. On October 22 of the same year, a second one was founded – in Kamianets-Podilskyi. Later, similar universities and institutes began to operate in Katerynoslav, Yalta and Sumy. Kyiv University of St. Volodymyr, Kharkiv and Odessa universities were officially declared Ukrainian.

The urgent need for the revival of industry actualized the development of higher technical education. The Hetmanate government allocated

funds for the opening of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, and also contributed to the establishment of polytechnic institutes in Odessa, Mykolaiv, Kherson and a number of other technical higher educational institutions.

Ukraine's entry into the international arena actualized the need to train specialists for work in diplomatic institutions, which became a completely new task for the state. In response to this challenge, the Consular and Middle Eastern Institutes were founded in Kyiv, which trained specialists in international relations.

In parallel, the creation of higher educational institutions began to train railway and water transport engineers, doctors, trade and cultural workers, as well as military personnel. In total, it was planned to open about 65 higher educational institutions, of which 35 were implemented in a short time.

During the same period, the State Ukrainian Archive was established to preserve historical documents, some of which were planned to be transported from Moscow and Petrograd. The Ukrainian National Library, the National Gallery of Arts, and the Ukrainian Historical Museum were also founded. These institutions played an important role not only in the development of historical science and fine arts, but also in the formation of the scientific and aesthetic consciousness of Ukrainian society.

The culmination of the educational and scientific policy of the government of P. Skoropadsky was the founding of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS) on November 24, 1918, the first president of which was the outstanding scientist-chemist Volodymyr Vernadsky (1863–1945).

The Hetmanate existed for less than eight months, but during this short time the government made a significant contribution to the development of education, science, and culture, laying the foundations for the future achievements of Ukrainian statehood in the humanitarian sphere.

On November 13, 1918, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR) was proclaimed in Lviv, with Yevhen Petrushevych as its president. On January 22, 1919, the solemn proclamation of the Act of Union of the UPR and the WUPR into a single sovereign state took place on Sophia Square in Kyiv. Despite its short existence (eight months), the WUPR managed to implement a number of important educational and language reforms: the Ukrainian language received the status of the state language, became mandatory in schools and state institutions, while national minorities had the right to study in their native language. The school system was reorganized, public schools became state-owned,

teachers became civil servants, and a number of gymnasiums and seminaries were nationalized. In parallel, the UNR Directory, despite its short term of office, financed the Academy of Sciences, Kamianets-Podilskyi University, the opening of ten pedagogical institutes, initiated the creation of new universities, and continued the policy of Ukrainization of higher education, which contributed to the development of scientific research and the formation of the higher education system in Ukraine.

The efforts of Ukrainian governments in the direction of developing higher education in 1917–1920 yielded positive results: the number of institutes and universities increased from 26 to 60, and the number of students from 35 to 82 thousand. At the same time, an active search was carried out for ways and means to support the proper level of training of specialists. This indicates that during the years of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, a purposeful course was pursued to form a national system of higher education. Science continued to play an important role in the spiritual life of society, the centers of which were the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS), universities, institutes and scientific societies.

In 1919, about 1,100 employees worked at the UAS, among whom were such prominent scientists as V. Vernadsky, D. Bahaliy, S. Efremov, A. Krymsky, M. Kashchenko, S. Smal-Stotsky, M. Petrov, S. Tymoshenko, F. Tarnavsky and others. The Academy had three main departments: historical and philological, physical and mathematical, and socio-economic sciences. There was also a national library, a number of commissions, research institutes, museums, a botanical garden, an astronomical observatory, laboratories, and other institutions that conducted research in the fields of history, literature, linguistics, natural sciences, and economics.

The activities of specialized commissions were fruitful: for example, under the leadership of S. Yefremov, the literary heritage of I. Kotlyarevsky, T. Shevchenko, I. Franko, V. Antonovych, M. Dragomanov, and O. Potebnia was prepared for publication. The archaeological commission developed a program for the development of archaeology in Ukraine and compiled a map of monuments, and the commission for the study of natural resources made recommendations for their effective use. Scientific problems were also actively solved by the teaching staff of higher educational institutions, as well as by all scientific societies operating in Ukraine without exception.

**Conclusions**. During the years of the national liberation struggle of 1917–1920, Ukrainian governments laid the foundations for the creation

of a national education system, in particular higher education. Despite political instability, the governments of the Central Rada, the Hetmanate, the Directory, and the WUPR consistently implemented a policy of Ukrainization of the educational space. In a short time, the network of educational institutions was significantly expanded. The number of universities and institutes increased from 26 to 60, and the number of students from 35 to 82 thousand. The establishment of new institutions was accompanied by the introduction of Ukrainian-language education, the opening of faculties of Ukrainian studies, and the state status of the Ukrainian language in education and public administration. Considerable attention was paid not only to higher education, but also to the development of schooling. The WUPR and UPR introduced legislative mechanisms for the development of public schools, support for teachers,

the creation of curricula and textbooks in the Ukrainian language, ensuring equal access to education for national minorities. The creation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in November 1918 was the culmination of the scientific and educational policy of the Ukrainian State. The Academy united the leading scientists of the era and laid the foundations for scientific research in the fields of natural sciences, social sciences, and the humanities. Its activities, as well as the work of universities, institutes and scientific societies, contributed to the formation of the Ukrainian scientific tradition. Despite the short period of existence of independent Ukrainian state formations in 1917–1920, their activities in the educational and scientific spheres were of a systematic nature, testifying to a deep awareness of the need to form an original humanitarian policy and national intellectual potential.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- 1. Бойко О. Д. Іван Стешенко і становлення системи освіти в УНР. *Історія української школи і педагогіки*. 2008. № 2. С. 57–64.
  - 2. Відродження нації: у 3 т. / Володимир Винниченко. Київ: Політвидав України, 1990. Т. 1. 447 с.
  - 3. Гнатюк М. Олександр Олесь і духовне пробудження нації. Київ : Либідь, 1999. 216 с.
  - 4. Грушевський М. С. Про українську мову і українську школу. Київ : Веселка, 1991. 46 с.
  - 5. Історія української культури : навч. посіб. / О. П. Сидоренко та ін. ; за ред О. П. Сидоренка. Київ, 2014. 576 с.
- 6. Онопрієнко В. Осередки національного відродження: Українські університети в 1917–1919 рр. *Вісник Академії наук України*. 1992. № 2. С. 77–87.
  - 7. Пижик А. М. Реформування системи національної освіти в добу Директорії УНР. Київ : [Б. в.], 1998. 44 с.
  - 8. Постернак С. Із історії освітнього руху на Україні за часи революції 1917–1919 рр. Київ : Друкарь, 1920. 128 с.
  - 9. Стешенко І. М. 3 питань шкільної справи в Україні. Київ : Друкарня В. Кульженка, 1918. 48 с.
  - 10. Туган-Барановський М. І. Основи політичної економії. Київ : Либідь, 1994. 468 с.
- 11. Українська Центральна Рада. Документи і матеріали: у 2 т. Т. 1 : Березень—серпень 1917 р. / упоряд. В. Ф. Верстюк та ін. Київ : Наукова думка, 1996. 588 с.
- 12. Федорова І. В. Розвиток освіти в Україні на початку XX століття: педагогічний аспект. *Проблеми і перспективи розвитку освіти:* матер. III Міжн. конф. Херсон: Видавничий дім «Гельветика», 2017. С. 24–30.
- 13. Федорова І. В. Сільськогосподарська освіта півдня України: педагогічний аспект. *Сучасні тенденції педагогічної освіти і науки України та Ізраїлю: шлях до інтеграції:* матер. ІІІ Відкр. міжнар. форуму. Аріель: Університетський центр в Самарії, 2012. С. 108–110.
- 14. Центральна Рада. Документи і матеріали: у 2 т. Т. 2: Червень—грудень 1917 р. / упоряд. В. Ф. Верстюк та ін.. Київ : Наукова думка, 1997. 686 с.
  - 15. Шаповал Ю. І. Михайло Грушевський: життя, діяльність, погляди. Київ : Генеза, 1996. 304 с.
- 16. Ясь О. В. Туган-Барановський і формування економічної програми УНР. *Український історичний журнал*. 2004. № 2. С. 35–45.

#### REFERENCES

- 1. Boyko O. (2008) Ivan Steshenko i stanovlennya systemy osvity v UNR. [Ivan Steshenko and the formation of the education system in the UNR]. History of the Ukrainian School and Pedagogy. 2. 57–64. [in Ukrainian].
- 2. Vynnychenko V. (1990) Vidrodzhennya natsiyi: u 3 t. [Revival of the Nation: in 3 vols.]. T. 1. Kyiv: Politvydav Ukrayiny. 447. [in Ukrainian].
- 3. Hnatyuk M. (1999) Oleksandr Oles i dukhovne probudzhennya natsiyi [Oleksandr Oles and the Spiritual Awakening of the Nation]. Kyiv: Lybid. 216. [in Ukrainian].
- 4. Hrushevskyy M. S. (1991) Pro ukrayinsku movu i ukrayinsku shkolu. [On the Ukrainian Language and Ukrainian School.]. Kyiv: Veselka. 46. [in Ukrainian].
- 5. Istoriya ukrayinskoyi kultury: navch. posib. [History of Ukrainian Culture: Textbook]. O.P. Sydorenko, O.M. ta in.; za red O. P. Sydorenka. Kyiv. 576. [in Ukrainian].
- 6. Onopriyenko V. (1992) Oseredky natsionalnoho vidrodzhennya: Ukrayinski universytety v 1917–1919 rr. [Centers of National Revival: Ukrainian Universities in 1917–1919.]. Visnyk Akademiyi nauk Ukrayiny. 2. 77–87.
- 7. Pyzhyk A. M. (1998) Reformuvannya systemy natsionalnoyi osvity v dobu Dyrektoriyi UNR. [Reforming the system of national education in the era of the Directory of the Ukrainian Peoples Republic.]. Kyiv: [B. v.]. 44. [in Ukrainian].

.....

- 8. Posternak S. (1920) Iz istoriyi osvitnoho rukhu na Ukrayini za chasy revolyutsiyi 1917–1919 rr. [From the History of the Educational Movement in Ukraine during the Revolution of 1917–1919.]. Kyiv: Drukar. 128. [in Ukrainian].
- 9. Steshenko I. M. (1918) Z pytan shkilnoyi spravy v Ukrayini. [On the issues of school affairs in Ukraine]. Kyiv: Drukarnya V. Kulzhenka. 48. [in Ukrainian].
- 10. Tuhan-Baranovskyi M. I. (1994) Osnovy politychnoyi ekonomiyi. [Fundamentals of Political Economy]. Kyiv: Lybid. 468. (perevydannya oryhinalu 1917 r.) [in Ukrainian].
- 11. Ukrayinska Tsentralna Rada. (1997) Dokumenty i materialy: u 2 t. [Ukrainian Central Rada. Documents and materials: in 2 vols.]. T. 1: Berezen–serpen 1917 r. uporyad. V. F. Verstyuk ta in. Kyiv: Naukova dumka. 588. [in Ukrainian].
- 12. Fedorova I. (2017) V. Rozvytok osvity v Ukrayini na pochatku KHKH stolittya: pedahohichnyi aspect. [Development of Education in Ukraine at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Pedagogical Aspect.]. Problemy i perspektyvy rozvytku osvity: mater. III Mizhn. konf. Kherson: Vydavnychyi dim «Helvetyka». 24–30. [in Ukrainian].
- 13. Fedorova I. V. (2012) Silskohospodarska osvita pivdnya Ukrayiny: pedahohichnyi aspect. [Agricultural Education of the South of Ukraine: Pedagogical Aspect] Suchasni tendentsiyi pedahohichnoyi osvity i nauky Ukrayiny ta Izrayilyu: shlyakh do intehratsiyi: mater. III Vidkr. mizhnar. forumu. Ariel: Universytetskiy tsentr v Samariyi. 108–110. [in Ukrainian].
- 14. Ukrayinska Tsentralna Rada. (1997) Dokumenty i materialy: u 2 t. [Ukrainian Central Rada. Documents and materials: in 2 vols.]. T. 2: Cherven–hruden 1917 r uporyad. V. F. Verstyuk ta in. Kyiv: Naukova dumka. 686. [in Ukrainian].
- 15. Shapoval Y.U. (1996) I. Mykhaylo Hrushevskyy: zhyttya, diyalnist, pohlyady. [Mykhailo Hrushevskyi: Life, Activity, Views]. Kyiv: Heneza. 304. [in Ukrainian].
- 16. Yas O. V. (2004) Tuhan-Baranovskyy i formuvannya ekonomichnoyi prohramy UNR. [Tugan-Baranovskyi and the formation of the economic program of the UPR]. Ukrayinskyi istorychnyi zhurnal. 2. 35–45. [in Ukrainian].