DOI: 10.22394/2070-8378-2019-21-6-85-95

Кадры для царя и государства (XIX век)

ИГОРЬ НЯЗБЕЕВИЧ БАРЦИЦ, доктор юридических наук, профессор, директор Института государственной службы и управления
Российская академия народного хозяйства и государственной службы при Президенте Российской Федерации (119606, Российская Федерация, Москва, проспект Вернадского, 82). E-mail: bartsits-in@ranepa.ru
КОНСТАНТИН ПЕТРОВИЧ КРАКОВСКИЙ, доктор юридических наук, профессор кафедры государствоведения Института государственной службы и управления
Российская академия народного хозяйства и государственной службы при Президенте Российской Федерации (119606, Российская Федерация, Москва, проспект Вернадского, 82). E-mail: krakovskiy-kp@ranepa.ru

Аннотация: В XIX веке обнаружилась не только количественная нехватка чиновников, доставшихся от XVIII века, для вновь создаваемых министерств (их требовалось гораздо больше, чем в коллегиях), но и то, что их прежний опыт работы в коллегиях был мало полезен, а иногда и противопоказан в условиях министерств.

Именно в первой трети XIX века правители России осознали потребность чиновничьего государства в университетах, которая, по словам Г.В. Плеханова, удовлетворяется образованием в средство к карьере. В правительственных кругах постепенно привыкли к взгляду на значение просвещения.

Несмотря на это, в первой четверти XIX века основными формами воспитания были пансионное и военное. И только в эпоху правления Николая I конкуренцию им стало составлять университетское и элитарно-лицейское образование.

Статья посвящена анализу формирования системы образовательных учреждений, готовивших государственных служащих Российской империи в XIX веке.

Ключевые слова: государственная служба, юридические факультеты университетов, лицеи, Училище правоведения

Статья поступила в редакцию 28 октября 2019 года.

Барциц И.Н., Краковский К.П. Кадры для царя и государства (XIX век). *Государственная служба.* 2019. № 6. С. 85–95.

CADRES FOR THE TSAR AND THE STATE (XIX CENTURY)

IGOR N. BARTSITS, Dr. Sci. (Law), Professor, Director of the Institute of Public Administration and Civil Service
Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (82, prospekt Vernadskogo, Moscow, Russian Federation, 119571). E-mail: bartsits-in@ranepa.ru
KONSTANTIN P. KRAKOVSKY, Dr. Sci. (Law), Professor at the Department of State Studies, Institute of Public Administration and Civil Service
Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (82, prospekt Vernadskogo, Moscow, Russian Federation, 119571). E-mail: krakovskiy-kp@ranepa.ru

Abstract: In XIX century there was more than just a shortage of officials for new ministries (more officials were required than for collegiums), but also a lack of proper education for officials because the collegial management experience was not very useful, and sometimes it was even harmful.

In the first third of the XIX century, the heads of the Russian state realized the importance of officials' training in universities, which, according to G.V. Plekhanov, is achieved through career education. Government circles gradually accepted the importance of enlightenment to improve the quality of work of officials.

Despite this, in the first quarter of the XIX century, the basic organizations for education were in boarding houses and military schools. University and elite-lyceum education began to appear only during the reign of Nicholas I.

The article is devoted to the analysis of the formation of the system of educational institutions to train civil servants of the Russian Empire in the XIX century.

Keywords: civil service, law faculties of universities, lyceums, School of Law

The article was received on October 28, 2019.

Bartsits I.N, Krakovsky K.P. Cadres for the tsar and the state (XIX century). *Gosudarstvennaya sluzhba*. 2019. No. 6. P. 85–95.

Introduction

The reforms carried out at the highest levels of state administration, namely, the transition to the ministerial system of administration, the specification of the Senate responsibilities, the creation of the State Council and the Committee of Ministers, inevitably should increase the need for educated officials (primarily "legally savvy", or, to be more precise, the ones who passed "managerial and juridical" training).

There was more than just a shortage of officials for new ministries (more officials were required than for collegiums), but also a lack of proper education for officials because the collegial management experience was not very useful, and sometimes it was even harmful.

In the nineteenth century, a severe need for educational training for Russian officials occurred. A specific document titled "Preliminary Rules for Public Education" (1803) was directed at increasing the level of education in the country and, in particular, was aimed at improving the level of education of officials [Shepelev, 1999].

In the first third of the XIX century, the heads of the Russian state realized the importance of officials' training in universities, which, according to G.V. Plekhanov, is achieved through career education [Plekhanov, 1923]. Government circles gradually accepted the importance of enlightenment to improve the quality of work of officials. This quote illustrates the thought of D.N. Bludov, the Commander-in-Chief of the 2nd division, His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancery: "When N.N., in an important manner of a statesman, asks: "Enough, is it good for lower classes to study?" – I want to answer him with another question: "Is it good for children to grow?" [Belenkov, 1998. P. 41].

Despite this, in the first quarter of the XIX century, the basic organizations for education were in boarding houses and military schools. University and elite-lyceum education began to appear only during the reign of Nicholas I.

It should be noted that the former pride in belonging to the first estate, which turned into arrogance of the nobility ("we didn't go to universities" – this is obvious because there were no universities) in the XIX century began to be replaced by arrogance in scholarship, excellent knowledge of foreign (primarily French) languages.

If we talk about state support in the field of educational training and preparation for public service, we should discuss in detail two specific aspects.

The first aspect is the introduction of particular subjects (jurisprudence) into the curriculum of gymnasiums. Thus, in the fourth grade as a compulsory discipline was included "natural law" and "peoples' law". After the cancellation of legal disciplines at the gymnasiums in 1828, they returned in 1845. The educational program developed by Professor of Law at St. Petersburg University K.A. Nevolin included the study of the foundations of the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire ("fundamental laws", the charter on the civil service, and the basics of criminal and civil law). In 1830, the teaching of law was introduced in the educational institutions of the military department, such as the cadet and page-boy corps [Kandaurova, 2001; Kodan, 2005].

The second aspect is the introduction of a "rank exam", which required appropriate educational (rather than practical) training. Until the beginning of the XIX century, there was no educational qualification required for entering the civil service (otherwise, there would be no officials in the state apparatus). But now the conditions of the service itself have become more complicated ("mastering the profession of an official through working as an official"), the lack of practical training for college and clerical officials became apparent.

The reform of M.M. Speransky

In 1808, M.M. Speransky presented Alexander I with a note "On the improvement of universal public education" [Speransky, 1907; Korf, 1861. Vol. 1. P. 164], which included some proposals for improving the public service. Speransky was not satisfied with the existing system of officials' "practical legal training". He referred to the European experience, where education is an important element for entering the public service; in England, France, Austria, and Germany, "no one can be a lawyer or a prosecutor without a certificate and special testing in leading universities".

He did not like the fact that very young nobles were enlisted in military or court service. Even in the lack of proper education and practical experience, as they grew up and it was time to enter the real service they could apply for a high "pre-received" rank, and a corresponding high rank in central or provincial institutions.

M.M. Speransky considered it necessary to establish a direct relationship between the presence of general and professional education and the rank that is provided while entering the civil service. "...ranks cannot be recognized as necessary or useful for the state... They divide the people into two disproportionate classes, the nobility, and the mob; they leave almost no space for an average condition; they despise everything, where they are not present, give a false price to places and virtues, they confuse and put enlightened people with ignoramuses, fill posts with useless officials; poorly educated people come to the highest state ranks; by assentation and many minor cases of abuse, they corrupt the spirit of the people and, most regrettably, infect the sources of public education..."

Surprisingly, but he correlated the acquisition of education, which is necessary for successful completion of public service, with an age of **21 years** (similar to the age of modern bachelor's degree holders). At this age, a student could only apply for the rank of college registrar (14th rank), but a nobleman enlisted in infancy, according to the years of "pre-received" education, could apply for the place of a titular adviser (9th rank). Accordingly, the career advancements of the first and second person would be different.

In the XVIII and early XIX centuries, parents of noble children (sometimes as they are today) planned a successful career for their children, choosing *the easier ways*. These included the lack of education, but an earlier entry into the service.

Speransky proposed *the presence of education* as the main requirement for appointment to the post, meaning to "receive ranks concerning the level of training". Although it should be mentioned that Speransky considered the presence of a rank system unacceptable for public service.

Here is an important point: he expressed his dissatisfaction with the presence of ranks. He believed that the presence of rank system is the most attractive point for officials in the service. He saw this as the "root of evil": often ranks are given for the length of service, and not according to the performance indicators of an official. Officials are showing-off with their ranks because this is an indicator of the benefits received from the state and career success.

At the same time, Speransky understood that the cancellation of rank system would be too radical, the emperor would not go for it.

Nevertheless, he achieved changes that had positive impact on the fate of public service – the Tsar signed the draft of the decree of April 3, 1809 "On the non-assignment of the ranks to chamberlain and junker-chamberlain to acquire military or civilian rank, and on the persons' obligation in these ranks to enter the actual service and continue it in the established order from the initial rank"[1]. This act contained a significant provision on the need for educational training and the impossibility of serving "in absentia" for children of the nobles.

The end of this decree contained information on the importance of serving the Homeland for officials: "By setting these rules ... prohibiting by this decree to receive ranks that may conflict with the actual benefits of the service, we want to affirm the truth that each type of service requires performers with experience and gradual career progression; the transition and sudden transfers from one type of service to another is always fraught with inevitable inconvenience; it is necessary to improve various spheres of activity so that any person, assuming public duties, may choose his sphere of military or civil service, and according to his choice, based on experience and education, would follow his assignment steadily. In this way, each part of the civil service will have performers with the necessary experience and knowledge, clearly fulfilling their duties, and lay true honor and respect for the rank to which they have assigned themselves".

It is easy to imagine the anger of the nobility and the political elite (primarily the "Catherine's" nobles) concerning this decree. The "upstart" from the "bell nobles" was discussed and condemned on almost everywhere[2]. The honorable grandmothers cursed the "rude priest", who obstructed the path of the young nobles to the heights of bureaucratic posts without mandatory public service [Kodan, 2001].

M.A. Korf, the first biographer of M.M. Speransky, wrote about the situation that has occurred in society and around the initiator of the "decree of April, 3": "Naturally, this event excited a bitter murmur in those for whom its consequences should have affected either their present position or future hopes. The whole so-called aristocracy flinched at such a brave move that they used to consider as their common right, rebelled against the reformer, who, after such sudden arrogance, could be recognized as the most dangerous person attempting for the equation of all estates, to democracy and, after that, to the overthrow of all the foundations of the empire. The voices of those who impartially assessed the need for a measure called not to forcibly bring someone into service, but to protect the service from inexperienced people, came mainly from the middle and lower classes of society and could not protest to the opinion of the aristocracy. The aristocracy was also offended by expressions of the decree in which the "rude priest" so shamefully branded all former chamberlains and junker-chamberlains, showing what the government expects in the future and, therefore, what did not exist before" [Korf, 1861. Vol. 1. P. 174].

At the end of the summer of 1809, when Alexander I was traveling from Kamenny Island to Peterhof, the carriage for some reason capsized and the monarch seriously injured his leg (this wound bothered him until his death). He had to spend several weeks in one of the rooms of the Peterhof Palace. Speransky took advantage of this incident to convince the tsar to carry out the reform of officials. Having settled in Peterhof, he visited the tsar almost every day. During these visits, the final text of the decree was formed; the decree was published on August 6, 1809 [Korf, 1861. Vol. 1. P. 178].

The decree "On the rules for obtaining ranks in the civil service and on testing in the sciences for ranking in college assessors and state councilors" went even further in ensuring the increase of the level of competence of civil servants through education. It clearly stated that the ranks should be provided according to the general and professional training, and not at the expense of length of the service[3].

However, it did not concern all ranks (this would mean the introduction of an educational qualification), but only two of them. These are the 8th and the 5th ranks, which were of particular importance to the holder: college assessors (8th) received the right to hereditary nobility, and state advisers (5th) came into the bureaucratic elite, a group of dignitaries of the empire.

Perhaps the hidden purpose of the decree (probably of Speransky himself) was to introduce fresh cadres into the upper and middle layers of bureaucracy. S.N. Yuzhakov, Speransky's biographer, suggested that the decree of August 6, 1809, was directed "against old and poorly educated officials", opening up a "faster career for an educated young minority" [Yuzhakov, 1898].

The decree itself contained a program of tests in subjects, as well as a form for passing the exam (writing essays "in classroom", giving verbal answers "without leaving the test room"[4]). Examinations were conducted by a specialized committee composed of the rector of the university and three other professors.

The decree of August 6, 1809 contained provision on the organization of "summer sub-courses" at universities for

1 The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, Volume XXX. No. 23141.

2 F.F. Vigel saw Speransky's secret thought in the decree of August 6, 1809: "The nobles whom it touches will not want to continue the service; a little time will pass and the governing of the whole of Russia will be in the seminarians' hands" [F.F. Vigel's Notes, 1892. Part 3. P. 71].

3 The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, Volume XXX. No. 23771.

4 Teachers already knew about the students' tricks in passing the exams.

officials who wanted to raise their educational level "on-the-job" (this only applied to capitals and cities with universities). These continuing education courses were only allowed with the permission from the authorities of this official.

If the noble elite were against the first of the decrees described here, the second generated a wave of anger from the side of bureaucracy at all levels.

Kharkiv poet Akim Nakhimov ironically described the officials' perception of the decree on August 6:

So hard for me, being a man of ages,

Start once again, forgetting my own fifty years.

A.A. Arakcheev, knowing about the decree coming out, even before it was made public, hastened to get his subordinates (who had a long service record) promoted for further ranks of college assessor and state adviser so that they would not need to pass the necessary exams.

As it often happened in Russia, even a good initiative was condemned. For the initiator of the civil service reform, M.M. Speransky, it all ended in exile, although his idea was put into practice and "worked" until 1834.

To implement the decree of 1809, short-term educational programs were created: in both capitals, public lecture courses for civil servants were established in universities (simplified training). Professor M.A. Balugyanskiy, the future head of the II department His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancery, directly participated in the organization of the courses. In St. Petersburg, he lectured on state economy and finance. At Moscow University, for "on-duty-service" officials, there were lections on the natural, Roman, and people's law. Public courses for officials were also open in the provinces. In the classrooms there were titular and court advisers, provincial registrars, etc. Suddenly, an obstacle occured: it was difficult for an official to get the permission of his superiors to attend courses. Except for July, classes were held from May to November for 4 hours a day. Each subject was taught for 1 hour per day. The university professors usually read the lectures.

Before lunch, officials were sent from the service to lectures, without eating or resting. They were supposed to listen to lectures until 6 pm. But these sufferings were compensated by a certificate of course completion, which opened up some career prospects [Belenkov, 1998. P. 54–55].

Another area of training is the creation of specialized classes in gymnasiums and schools: a course of law in the fifth grade provided initial training for future officials to take lower clerical posts.

By order of Alexander I, on April 10, 1812, a specific committee was formed to "draw up general guidelines for all parts of the civil service, to consider the particular subjects that should be studied to determine which rank the applicant will be suitable for".

It should be noted that in the presence of home education, the rank exam was taken by such well-known statesmen as Chief Prosecutor of Synod S.D. Nechaev (1810), notable diplomat A.G. Kushelev-Bezborodko (1816), Minister of Justice V.N. Panin (1819), Minister of Posts and Telegraphs I.M. Tolstoy (1822), Minister of Internal Affairs P.A. Valuev (1832) and others [Kodan, 2005. P. 279].

However, any activity in this direction was successfully inhibited by the conservative bureaucracy [Kodan, 2005. P. 233].

The development of legal education (general and specialized – for future officials)

In Russia, the first half of the XIX century became the time of formation for legal education system with specialization for certain types of state activity.

In government, the task of training officials was still of big importance. In this regard, the Ministry of Justice turned out to be the most advanced.

Established in 1797, the School for training Junkers at the chancellery of the St. Petersburg departments of the Senate continued its work. The school had the task of "educating noble officials for the civil service" [5] [Tomsinov, 2010. P. 102–106].

However, four years later, the school was transformed into a specialized legal educational institution[6]. The decree on the transformation of the Junkers School stated that the main subject should be jurisprudence; less important "sciences" that needed to be studied in this institution included "oratory, suited to litigation; logic and accounting". Other sciences (e.g. foreign languages) were taught only as auxiliary so that the cadets did not lose their previously acquired knowledge. Those who passed the "strict public exam" were given the right to be appointed to the "assistant secretary" (nobles), the children of government officials were given the rank of a clerk[7].

Reinstalled by the decree of Paul I, the Junkers' training in the basics of public service (1797), a few years later, at the very beginning of the new reign, was recognized as ineffective. It was assumed that the Institute of Junkers, built on the basis of the Junkers School, would become the foundation for civil servants training.

In 1801, the Prosecutor-General A.A. Bekleshov criticized the procedure for preparing the nobility for civil service. In his report to Alexander I, he noted the existing shortcomings: the "early age" of students, the study of the "general sciences" instead of an in-depth study of law, the small size of the school itself, the accommodation of cadets outside the school, and as a result, the questionable moral character of students (we can only guess what the head of the prosecutor's office had in mind).

Bekleshov fulfilled the tsar's request to write the charter for a new school for government officials, but until 1805 it was not brought into effect. G.R. Derzhavin, who became his successor (combining the post of Prosecutor-General and Minister of Justice), presented his vision of an educational institution for noble youth, "wishing to serve the Homeland in the civil service", the main goal of the educational process in which should be "teaching domestic laws", i.e. legal training. He even designed the detailed content of this legal training

5 The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, Volume XXIV. No.17733.

6 The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, Volume XXVI. No. 20083.

7 The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, Volume XXVI. No. 20083.

(from the theory of law to the practice of legal proceedings and clerical work) [Bezrodny, 1903. P. 266–267].

In 1805, at the suggestion of the Ministry of Justice, Alexander I established the *Higher School of Law* under the Law Drafting Commission instead of the Junkers Institute (which level of education did not meet the needs of the state apparatus reformed in 1802)[8]. Gustav Andreevich Rosenkampf, a lawyer and state adviser, was appointed as the director. In that time, he was in charge of the systematization of Russian laws, and the school itself was under the direct supervision of the Minister of Justice P.V. Lopukhin and Senator N.N. Novosiltsev. It was assumed that, in opposition to ordinary law faculties of other universities (with an emphasis on theoretical training), the Higher School of Law was supposed to provide skills for practical judicial work.

In September 1806, the classes started at the new school (located in the building of the former Junkers Institute, sharing it with the Law Drafting Commission) with three-year study time. Only 25 applicants entered the new university; they had to pass the entrance examination and have a gymnasium or university education.

The Higher School of Law program was related to the program of law faculties of other Russian universities (faculties of moral and legal sciences). Among the teachers were famous legal scholars: P.D. Lodi, professor of natural and public state law, verbal sciences and philosophy, doctor of the Free Economic Society (Petersburg) and the Altenburg Botanical Society, professor of St. Petersburg University and Pedagogical Institute; G.I. Terlaich, professor of the law and general history at the Moscow Pedagogical Institute.

From the very beginning, it was found that students were very unwilling to attend lectures. To increase attendance, the director issued a special order, the essence of which was as follows: if the student is absent at lectures for the first time – forgive him, for the second – reprimand, for the third – proceed with his expulsion from school. A hard but efficient step to increase attendance at the lectures.

A notable innovation was the fact that students, who were studying at school, were immediately enlisted in the service at the Ministry of Justice with a salary of 300 rubles (a kind of scholarship). Moreover, students had the right to use the library of the Law Commission.

Graduates were enlisted in the courts with the rank of college secretary (Grade 10) with the addition of salary to the student scholarship established during their studies. And those who graduated from the Higher School of Law with honors entered the service immediately at the Ministry of Justice and were awarded the rank of the titular adviser (9th class)[9].

As for the students of the former Junkers Institute, they were distributed as follows: successful students were allowed to work, capable of learning entered the gymnasium, students



Figure 1. Yuriev (now Tartu) University (founded in 1802)

with low academic successes moved to the lower clerical posts of the 9th class.

But after the first graduation of 1809, the studying process was interrupted because of the reorganization in the Law Drafting Commission. In 1812, G.A. Rosenkampf tried to continue the work of the university, but war with Napoleonic France prevented this. In 1816, the school was closed due to the opening of new universities with law faculties.

Indeed, a number of higher educational institutions were created in Russia during the reign of Emperor Alexander I, these universities could provide training to future higher ranks of the state apparatus. These are the universities of Derpt (Yuryevsky – 1802), Vilensky (1803), Kazan (1804), Kharkiv (1805), Petersburg (1819). All of them joined a number of higher education institutions along with Moscow University, which was one of a kind in the second half of the XVIII century. In 1834, instead of the Vilensky University, which was closed in 1832, the University of St. Vladimir in Kyiv was founded.

It was said that only a graduate of a university with general education and relevant specialization for his field of activity could be of great value to the state. According to S.Y. Witte, this guaranteed the protection from a "narrow-minded specialist".

The charter of 1804 posed a definite task for universities: "to prepare young people for holding various ranks in the public service". It should be mentioned that getting academic titles and academic degrees granted access to the public service, even to children of the serfs. In this way became known A.V. Nikitenko, professor, member of the Academy of Sciences. He was born in the family of a well-off peasant, graduated from the county school, received a manumission, and graduated from the law faculty of St. Petersburg University. This allowed him to take a modest position in the office of the capital's educational district. The young man had a high efficiency at work and unpretentiousness, which contributed to his career advancement. Censor of many Pushkin and Gogol's works, a loyal compiler of royal draft messages, by the end of his career, he occupied a notable place in the department of the Ministry of Education [Belenkov, 1998. P. 41].

The three-year training (according to the university charters of 1835, 1863 and 1884 are 4 years) of lawyers in the

8 The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, Volume XXVIII. No. 21860.

9 It can be assumed that the receipt of benefits by young officials, depending on the success in studying at a specialized university (such as the RANEPA) would be the right measure.

departments of the "moral and political sciences" included lectures on the main branches of law and a short period of practices in the drafting of legal documents.

It is interesting to compare the subjects studied at the Universities, at the beginning, the first third, and the middle of the XIX century. At the beginning of the century, only seven specialized subjects were taught at the Faculty of Law (at that time it was called the "Department of the Moral and Political Sciences"), which had intricate titles: "The Law of the Most Notable Both Ancient and New Nations," "The Law of the Civil and Criminal Proceedings of the Russian Empire," "Natural Political and Popular Law", "Diplomacy and Political Economy", "Theoretical and Practical Philosophy", "Dogmatic and Moral Theology", "Interpretation of Holy Scripture and Church History".

The university charter of 1835 contained a list of subjects that closely matched the structure of the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire in 1832: "a general concept and a general overview of legal systems"; Russian state laws (basic laws, state laws, state institutions); laws of beautification and piety; financial laws and obligations; police and criminal laws; law of nations (ius gentium)[10].

Partly providing with competent officials, educational institutions did not give the necessary specialization. The diplomas they issued opened the way for work in official service and earning ranks[11]. B.N. Chicherin noted that after receiving the highest candidate points, the "civil service" was guaranteed [Chicherin, 1989].

But quite often, university training did not correspond at all with the future professional activity of an official. A university graduate could be a physicist or philologist, speak Oriental languages or have extensive knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, but after studying at the university go to work in the Ministry of Finance or the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Astronomers, mathematicians, physicists, and chemists were presented and even succeeded in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The general formula of the educational qualification "graduated from a university" only contributed to this.

Along with studying at domestic universities, the noble youth, especially from the Ostsey nobles (the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire) went to study at European universities. However, starting from the second quarter of the XIX century, especially after the Decembrist revolt, Nicholas I ordered: "to reduce this practice". He believed that Russian students were perverted there (especially he pointed at the University of Jena, Hessian, and Heidelberg universities), therefore it was necessary to save the youth from the infection of harmful influence. Some said they were taught "the rules of rebellion". In every possible way, the government began to persuade parents to withdraw their children from such academies or transfer them to other universities of a more conservative nature. The Committee of Ministers decided that danger for young men exists in all universities in Europe, so it was decided to withdraw all students from German universities in general. Russian students were supposed to study at Russian universities. However, the tsar considered that it was unacceptable to use such a measure publicly, so he secretly ordered to withdraw all the Russian students from these three universities, transfer them to other universities, and prevent them from entering such universities in the future.

Also, officials' trips in Europe were not welcome. Here is one significant case: in 1832, a clerk with the surname of Kondratenko, asked for a trip abroad for 4 months for mineral waters' treatment. Nicholas I responded: "In Russia, there are mineral waters that are no less healing, so no one should be allowed to go abroad without my permission" [Seredonin, 1902. P. 42].

Only by the middle of the XIX century the situation with the teaching of specific subjects at law faculties improved. The university charter of 1863 reflected this change. At that time, there were three blocks of disciplines taught at the law faculties, each of them served a specific purpose: the first – *general theoretical disciplines* (encyclopedia of law and Roman law); the second – *subjects of historical and legal nature* (the history of Russian and Slavic law and "major legislation"); the third – *industry disciplines* of Russian law[12].

In the 60s of the XIX century, the idea of specialization arose in the university environment: the division of law schools into two departments: "purely" legal and administrative. The latter would train officials for the administrative apparatus, and the emphasis there would be on the disciplines of the state and law (state law, police law, financial law, etc.). But such a restructuring could cause a lot of problems, for example, whether to accept applicants immediately to the "department" or separate students in senior courses, and in which courses? As a result, only Petersburg and Kazan Universities in the early 70s of the XIX century rearranged to such specialization, but already in the early 80s, they abandoned it. Administrative departments were significantly less popular [Zackharov, 2006. P. 88–92].

In the first half of the XIX century there was an urgent problem of the poor state of Russian justice. At the Council of State meeting on January 19, 1833, Nicholas I had to admit: "When I came to the throne, I considered it my duty to pay attention to various management subjects, about which I had almost no information. The main thing that involved me was justice. I have been hearing from a young age about our shortcomings in this regard, about sneaking, and extortion, about the non-existence of laws for all types of cases, or about mixing them because of an exceptional number of decrees, often with contradictions"[13].

10 The second edition of the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume X. No. 8337. In Russian. The famous historian and politician P.N. Milyukov noted: "... the study of existing legislation was introduced at the faculty of law to prepare students as lawyer-officials" [Milyukov, 1993. P. 791].

11 This practice was a double-edged sword. The Ministry of Education in 1863 stated that "there is no doubt that the rights to the rank, granted by universities, serve as a decoy for entering a university, many young people are not looking for education but to make up their careers" [Ikonnikov, 1876. P. 117].

12 The second edition of the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume XXXVIII. No 39752.

13 Quote from "The centenary of the birth of His Imperial Highness Prince Petr Georgievich Oldenburgsky". St. Petersburg, 1913. P. 43. In Russian

The answer to that was opening in St. Petersburg in 1835 (with the help of M.M. Speransky, but with the active support of Prince P.G. Oldenburg) the special legal university, the School of Jurisprudence "for the education of young *noblemen*[14] for the civil service in the *judicial part*" [Annenkova, 2006]. It was a departmental institution, under the Ministry of Justice and similar in status to the Imperial Lyceum (Imperatorskiy Tsarskoselskiy lyceum).

The School of Jurisprudence carried out a 6-year (starting from 1838, it became a 7-year) specialized training, offering a standard set of legal subjects (basic law, Roman law, state law, civil and land laws, criminal law, criminal and civil proceedings; local legislation, financial law with the basics of political economy). Together with theoretical knowledge, the students of the School received practical skills in the judicial profession. However, the first four years of education (as in the Imperial Lyceum) were devoted to the completion of gymnasium education. The graduates of the School of Jurisprudence were characterized by an outstanding education, while law faculties of universities taught broader and fundamental knowledge.



Figure 2. Prince P.G. Oldenburgsky

The School of Jurisprudence had extremely strict discipline. Such measures as the weekly scoring of points for lessons attended, the open readings of a behavior journal, etc. proved themselves considerably. "The young men were reminded of all their sins in their studies, and the highest punishment was rods". There was a punishment cell for especially malicious violators of discipline, like in most other educational institutions at that time [Gymnasium of higher sciences…, 1881. P. 103, 139]. Only with the beginning of the reign of Alexander II, a complete withdrawal from the educational process of rods and "drumming, permeating the daily routine" took place [Suzor, 1910. P. 147].

It is important to note that among the students, along with knowledge of the law, teachers were cultivating the formation of high *moral qualities* that are necessary for judicial activity.

Graduates of the School received a diploma of higher legal education, which allowed them to make a career both in the judicial department and in administration[15].

Upon graduation, students took exams in all subjects studied. The success was determined by what rank they received upon entering the service: from the 12th to the 9th. They were obliged to work in the civil service under the Ministry of Justice for 6 years[16].

The School granted more than 400 qualified lawyers for civilian institutions, the first one and a half dozen "Nikolayev's graduate courses" made a brilliant career, and, most importantly, made up some kind of the intellectual core of the "most bourgeois people" of the judicial reform of 1864.

In total, the School of Jurisprudence has trained more than 2000 highly qualified lawyers, ready to work in both the judicial and administrative systems. Among them are such famous statesmen as members of actual Privy Councilors (2nd rank) Senator V.A. Artsimovich, future Ministers of Justice D.N. Nabokov, N.A. Manasein, I.G. Scheglovitov, and Ministers of Internal Affairs A.G. Bulygin D.A. Obolensky, A.A. Polovtsov (Secretary of State), figures of judicial reform D.A. Rovinsky, N.I. Stoyanovsky, S.A. Taneyev (Head of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancery), Chief Prosecutor of the Synod K.P. Pobedonostsev, V.D. Filosofov (Chief Military Prosecutor). A significant group of graduates worked in the departments of the Senate [Wortman, 2003]. Later, during the reign of the "last three tsars", the School trained hundreds of highly qualified specialists in law and administration[17]. In the literature on the graduates of the School, we often see graduates who worked "without accordance to their specialty" such as composers P.I. Tchaikovsky and A.N. Serov, litterateur and notable slavophile I.S. Aksakov, poet A.N. Apukhtin, honorary academician, journalist and essayist K.K. Arseniev, poet A.M. Zhemchuzhnikov (one of the three creators of the image of Kozma Prutkov), art critic V.V. Stasov and even a chess player, world champion A.A. Alekhin.

The School of Jurisprudence has become a brand-new institution of education. Judicial figures of a new type were trained there: educated, honest and incorruptible, they saw their calling in serving the Law and the Fatherland [Tomsinov, 2010. P. 193]. They got a feeling of belonging to a group of the chosen ones, called to carry out a special mission in the name of the triumph of law and order in Russia [Wortman, 2003. P. 343].

Another part of the training of future officials was an elite *lyceum education*. In the first half of the XIX century, elite educational institutions were founded. Lyceums prepared grad-

14 Entering the School of Jurisprudence was possible only for hereditary noblemen, for children of military officials with a rank no lower than the colonel or civil officials no lower than 5th grade (state councilor), at the age of 12 to 15 years.

15 The second edition of the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume X. No. 8195. The new version of the Charter (1838); The second edition of the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume XIII. No. 11363.

16 For more information, see: A brief historical outline of the School of Jurisprudence for 50 years. St. Petersburg, 1855. In Russian; The fiftieth anniversary of the Imperial College of Law. 1835–1885. St. Petersburg, 1886. P. 5–70. In Russian

17 For more information, see: Complete list of graduates of the School of Jurisprudence (78 graduations during 1840–1918) [Annenkova, 2006. P. 343–379].

uates for public service "for the common good of the state" [Zakharov, 2006; Tomsinov, 2010. P. 61–92].

The most famous of them is the Imperial Lyceum; it was a unique educational institution, "a forge of imperial cadres". It was entrusted with the task of preparing the educated state elite, that is, figuratively speaking, "the top of bureaucracy". The idea of creating such an elite educational institution belonged to M.M. Speransky. In 1808, he prepared for Alexander I a note titled "Project of the Special Lyceum". He wanted this to be not just a legal school, but a state-science school, not only for the noble elite but for "everyone". It is easy to guess that such a radical proposal was not accepted.

In 1810, they again returned to the matter of creating the elite school for training of future officials. Two parties argued about the project – the reformers and the conservatives. Reformers, M.M. Speransky and I.I. Martynov, convinced Alexander I that the Lyceum could provide "moral education for noble youth". Conservatives, Minister of Education A.K. Razumovsky and Sardinian embassador J. de Mestre, warned that raising youth on the ideas of enlightenment of France "in less than 30 years brought up a generation that overthrew traditions and killed the king of France" [Kodan, 2005. P. 287].

The Imperial Lyceum was created with the help of Speransky, but everyone forgot about it as soon as he was sent out to exile. In 1815, to the question of Masalsky, "where would I educate my son?", Speransky advised sending him to the Lyceum and wrote: "This School was created by me and its charter was written by me, although others assigned it to themselves" [Korf, 1861. Vol. 1. P. 172].

After all the problems connected with the Speransky project, it was accepted; although, serious correction took place (the possibility of training for "all" was canceled). On August 12, 1810, the emperor approved the "Decree on the Lyceum" and the Charter. October 19th – the opening day of the Imperial Lyceum is still celebrated as a lyceum day by students and graduates of educational institutions (including at RANEPA, which trains qualified officials at present).

According to the Charter, the Lyceum set as its goal "the formation of youth, especially intended for public service"[18]. According to its status, the Lyceum was equated with Russian universities, which means that graduates received a diploma of higher education.

In 1843, the Lyceum, formerly located in Tsarskoye Selo (in 1918–1937 it was called Detskoye Selo; from 1937 to the present – the city of Pushkin), moved to St. Petersburg, and the next year it was renamed as Alexandrovsky. The new Charter of the Lyceum of 1848[19] stated that the main objective is to educate noble youth for the civil service in all spheres requiring higher education, mainly for serving in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Important aspects of the life of lyceum students were: training worthy and well-educated officials loyal to their country and creating a "family" atmosphere within the walls of the Lyceum. This became possible due to the meticulous choice of "applicants".

The training system was divided into two independent three-year stages: completion of general education (at the gymnasium level) and professional education (at the level of three university departments: legal, physical and mathematical, or verbal). The disciplines of the legal direction were: the encyclopedia of law and the history of Russian law, church, state legislation, civil, criminal, police (administrative), financial, international law, and the state structure of the eastern powers.

It is necessary to pay attention to the thorough training of lyceum students in subjects related to public service. In the final year of training in the course of "general legal proceedings", they studied such topics as: "on the civil service in general" (duties and rights, awards and responsibilities of civil servants); joining the service, "on higher governments in capitals" (i.e., on the State Council, Senate, Synod, Committee of Ministers, ministries), "on governments in provincial cities" (on chambers of the criminal and civil courts, state chamber, etc.), "on governments in county-level cities" (county court, noble custody, county treasury, magistrate, etc.), and the clerical work [Tomsinov, 2010. P. 78]. In the middle of the XIX century, such an unusual discipline was taught as legal paleography – "the science of correctly reading the ancient acts and determining their diplomatic authenticity" [Seleznev, 1861. P. 477] (like modern source studies).

Graduates of the Lyceum, depending on the quality of their education, could apply for civilian ranks from 14th (elementary) to high 9th (titular counselor) upon admission to the service. An interesting innovation (transferred to Soviet higher education) was the duty of the graduate to work in the public service from 4 (if they paid for their studies by themselves[20]) to 6 years (if the state paid for their studies).

As follows from the "Memorial Book of the Imperial Alexandrovsky Lyceum" for 1886, among the students of the lyceum were: 8 state secretaries, 6 members of the State Council, 26 senators, 2 ministers, 14 associates of the minister, 9 senior court officials, 7 governors, 5 presidents of the judiciary chambers and district courts, 9 members of the Russian Academy of Sciences [Melnikov, 2000. P. 177]. The real "Eaton University of Russia".

It is interesting that "for greater solemnity" and "moral education" of future civil servants, the awarding of civil ranks and swearing-in of graduates of the Alexandrovsky Lyceum and the School of Jurisprudence from 1841 started to be held not in the Senate building, but with a ceremonial atmosphere in the educational institutions themselves[21].

Among the graduates of the Lyceum, there were many statesmen of Russia: Chairman of the Committee of Ministers M.Kh. Reitern, Chairman of the Department of Laws of the State Council M.A. Korf, Foreign Secretary A.M. Gorchakov,

18 According to the Charter of the Lyceum of 1848, the institute was training officials mostly for the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, the graduates were also prepared for a military career.

19 The second edition of The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume XXIII. No. 22174.

20 Interestingly, the transition from paying tuition from their own pocket to the category of students for whom the state paid was strictly prohibited.

21 The second edition of the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume XVI. No. 14452.

N.K. Gears and A.B. Lobanov-Rostovsky, Minister of Railways A.P. Bobrinsky, Minister of Justice D.N. Zamyatnin, Ministers of Education A.P. Nikolai, A.A. Saburov and D.A. Tolstoy, and others [Rudenskaya, 1999].

Attention should be paid to such a phenomenon as "school nepotism". It helped young graduates with applying for jobs in ministries, thanks to the "assistance" of senior graduates who held the posts of directors of departments and branches. This situation was especially typical for graduates of the School of Jurisprudence and the Imperial Lyceum.

A significant aspect of the activities of educational institutions training future officials was student drop-out rates. In 1876, 296 students were studying at Moscow University, and only 60 graduated from the university. In 1913, student drop-out rates were almost 15%. At the School of Jurisprudence, about half of the number of students in the graduating class finished their studies. In 1906–1912, at Tomsk University for 6 years studying, about 60% of students were expelled for various reasons [Zakharov, 2006. P. 55].

As the saying goes, "What you lose on the swings, you gain on the roundabouts". Modern universities training future employees of the state apparatus should remember the wise words of the Ministry of Education (1856) about the need to "make exams stricter, and especially final exams"[22].

In the first half of the XIX century, another system for training the future officials for managerial and economic activities began to appear. Because universities could not satisfy the needs of a rapidly developing bureaucratic apparatus in educated (primarily with a legal education) cadres, educational institutions were opened on the initiative and at the expense of private individuals, of course, with permission and with the support of the government.

Thus, in 1805, the School of Higher Sciences was opened in Yaroslavl (at the expense of the scientist and philanthropist P.G. Demidov). Also in 1805, the Gymnasium of Higher Sciences of Prince A.A. Bezborodko was opened in Nizhyn (at his expense). In 1817, Richelieu Lyceum was opened in Odessa under the initiative of the Governor-General of Odessa and Novorossiysk Territory. In 1819, at the expense of the Polish scientist T. Chatsky, the Kremenetsky (Volynsky) Lyceum was opened[23].

In 1833, the Demidov Lyceum got a new charter and the main direction of its educational activity became the "cameral-legal" education. In 1833, the Demidov Lyceum got a new charter[24] and (there is also an extended version of the charter of 1845[25]) the main direction of its educational activity became the "cameral-legal" education. It suggested, along with legal disciplines, the study of a number of disciplines to qualify for the state civil service and service in the field of economic activity. In the Demidov Lyceum, the educational process included such disciplines as state law with additional materials on police (economic) and financial law, statistics, trade science, technology, rural economy, forestry, land surveying, etc[26].

Cadet corps should be included among the educational institutions that provided training for the civilian department. In 1825–1850, 1265 of their graduates began their work in the civil service; 963 of them (an average of 37 per year) were immediately promoted to class ranks, while the remaining 302 began their careers as clerical workers [Belenkov, 1998. P. 44].

Despite the truly breakthrough in education and training of future officials, the shortage of qualified personnel in the state apparatus was still present. According to academician A.V. Nikitenko, in the middle of the XIX century (1861), ***3000 official vacancies*** became available annually (a total of 80,000). And all existing Russia's universities, lyceums, and the School of Jurisprudence at that time produced annually ***400 graduates***[27] [Nikitenko, 1955. P. 243]. The number of graduates with the appropriate level of education is notably small, they simply are not enough. Job places were mostly filled by people with a low level of education (more than half). The lowest percentage of workers with higher education was seen in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (over 70% of all officials with a low level of education).

Only in 1864, after judicial reform, there was a real increase in legal and state education. The number of universities has increased: Warsaw (1869) and Tomsk (1888) universities have been opened, the number of students in law faculties, as well as in specialized universities (School of Jurisprudence), lyceums, has distinctly increased. In the 70–80s of the XIX century, every third student in Russia was a law student. Vacancies both in the judicial department and in the administrative apparatus were quickly filled with educated officials.

By the end of the century, competition for admission to universities appears, and the system of promotion is improved in state institutions. This situation was sensitively caught by the authorities, using career elevators to promote the "necessary" or politically loyal officials. The career of "nasty freethinkers" could easily be slowed down or even ruined.

The lack of a unified educational policy in the training of officials was explained by the multi-departmental subordination of educational institutions: the Nikolaev and Demidov Lyceum were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, The School of Jurisprudence – under the Ministry of Justice, the Military Law Academy – under the Ministry of Armed Force, the Imperial Lyceum – under the jurisdiction of the Empress Maria Fedorovna. All universities were subordinate to the Ministry of Education. In the second half of the XIX century, polytechnic and agricultural universities started providing specialists for public service.

By the end of the twentieth century, universities and

22 Collection of Orders on the Ministry of Education, Volume 3: 1850–1864. Column 215. St. Petersburg, 1867.

23 For more information about these educational institutions, see: Tomsinov V.A. Legal education and jurisprudence in Russia in the first third of the XIX century. M., 2010. P. 59–92. In Russian

24 The second edition of The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume VIII. No. 6730.

25 The second edition of The Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume XX. No. 19461.

26 For more information about cameral sciences, see: Tomsinov V.A. Legal education and jurisprudence in Russia in the second third of the XIX century. M., 2010. P. 154–156. In Russian

27 For example, only 79 lawyers graduated from Petersburg University in 10 years (1823–1832).



Figure 3. Imperial School of Jurisprudence



Figure 4. Demidov Lyceum



Figure 5. Students of the School of Jurisprudence reading newspapers (second half of the XIX century)

sectoral schools (about 30 in total) successfully provided public service with specialists. In the period from 1898 to 1916, almost 90,000 civil servants were trained there, a third of them were lawyers. It is important to note that approximately 3/4 of the graduates became state employees, holding various positions in government [Melnikov, 2000. P. 181].

According to some contemporaries, the presence of a university diploma has become more necessary for a career than even the level of knowledge or patronage [Burnashev, 1972. P. 48]. The university and lyceum uniform became fashionable in an aristocratic environment. However, in the first half of the century, at all levels of the official bureaucratic sphere, the majority remained with those who "didn't go to universities", with officials who, as M.A. Korf said, "only in the Code (Code of Laws of the Russian Empire – author) learned how to think and how to reason" [Korf, 1961. Vol. 2. P. 324–325]. Only in the second half of the XIX century severe changes took place.

Conclusion

Despite all the changes, the problem of the officials' level of education remained. In 1895, the commission created by the State Council to revise the Charter on the civil service concluded that only a third of those, who enter the civil service, had higher education, so, a suggestion was made to increase the educational qualification for acquiring the rank of an official [Melnikov, 2000. P. 185].

In 1903, an official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, E.N. Berendts, in his note "On the Past and Present of the Russian Administration", which he sent to the Minister of Internal Affairs, V.K. Pleve, pointed out the lack of special training for working as a government official being one of the serious personnel problems of the Russian management system [Berendts, 2006. P. 116–117]. He wrote, "It seems like participation in various activities of government requires less specialized education than counting stars, treating people or preaching" [Berendts, 2006. P. 118]. In his opinion, the exception was only the legal department, because since the opening of the School of Jurisprudence (1835), it was staffed with professionally educated lawyers.

At the beginning of the XX century, due to articles published in the *Sputnik chinovnika* journal, representatives of the public service paid attention to the problem of professional training of officials (1911–1914 – we dedicated a separate chapter to it). Along with discussing many topical problems of officials, the magazine also conducted surveys about their needs, how, in their opinion, problems could be solved. Among such issues

were the problems of special education of officials, and the case concerned not only narrow-profile, clerical but also humanitarian education related to philosophical questions about human activity [Chevtaeva, 2006. P. 69–70].

Among other things, there were suggestions such as one proposal to create a specific system of education for officials, the initial stage of which should be considered reading books on the history of culture, primitive and modern political economy. Then the author of the proposal suggested moving to essays on sociology, and at the end to a more abstract level – the history of philosophical thought and philosophy of history, after which there should have been a turn to the specifics – the thoughts on the social issues of Russia [Craving for light, 1913].

A new link in the system of professional education of officials at the turn of the XIX–XX centuries was the training committees at departments that were created to optimize the work of personnel. They considered questions and suggestions on the pedagogical part, draft charters of educational institutions, teaching programs, and training instructions, carried out the selection of textbooks on special and general subjects, and recommended them for publication; committees determined questions on the scholarly part in educational institutions of the department.

For example, for the period 1900–1907, in the training committee of the Ministry of Finance, there were 4 divisions: universities, commercial educational institutions, technical and craft educational institutions, art and industrial educational institutions. In January 1917, a Professional Education Bureau was established in the training department. The Bureau was in charge of such matters as collecting information on the state of professional education in Russia and abroad, consulting institutions and persons on the issues of organizing professional educational institutions, gathering works and products of students in professional educational institutions, publishing manuals and a journal [Higher and central state institutions of Russia, 2001. Vol. 2. P. 172–173].

References

Annenkova E.A. The Imperial School of Jurisprudence. St. Petersburg, 2006. In Russian

Belenkov O.V. Development of the institute of public service of Russia in the second half of the 1850s: The dissertation of a candidate of historical sciences. St. Petersburg, 1998. In Russian

Berendts E.N. On the past and the present of the Russian administration. Second edition. M., 2006. In Russian

Bezrodny A.V. On the preparation of qualified and educated officials for public service. *Zhurnal Ministerstva yustitsii*. 1903. No. 9 (November). In Russian

Burnashev V.P. Remembering the episodes from my private life and career (1834–1850). *Russkiy Vestnik*. 1872. No. 5. In Russian

Chevtaeva N.G. Corporationism of the social-professional group of Russian civil servants: Sociological analysis. Yekaterinburg, 2006. In Russian

Chicherin B.N. Student years. Moscow University in memoirs of contemporaries. M., 1989. 415 p. In Russian

Craving for light. *Sputnik chinovnika*. 1913. No. 29. Column 17–19. In Russian

Gymnasium of higher sciences and Lyceum of Prince Bezborodko. St. Petersburg, 1881. In Russian

Higher and central state institutions of Russia. 1801–1917. Volume 2. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2001. In Russian

Ikonnikov V.S. Russian universities in connection with the course of social development. *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvesh-cheniya*. 1876. No. 11. In Russian

Kandaurova T.N. Gymnasiums. Essays on Russian culture. Volume 3. The cultural potential of society. M., 2001. P. 69–94. In Russian

Kodan S.V. God's grace official. M.M. Speransky and the Russian state. Yekaterinburg, 2001. 80 p. In Russian

Kodan S.V. Legal policy of the Russian state in the 1800–1850s: figures, ideas, institutions. Ekaterinburg, 2005. In Russian

Korf M.A. The life of Count Speransky. Volumes 1 and 2. St. Petersburg, 1861. In Russian

Melnikov V.P. Public service in Russia: The domestic experience of organization and modernity. M.: RAGS Publishing House, 2000. In Russian

Milyukov P.N. Universities. Encyclopedic Dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron. Volume 68. M., 1993. In Russian

Nikitenko A.V. Diary: In 3 volumes. Volume 2. M., 1955. In Russian

Plekhanov G.V. Our differences: Works. Volume 2. M., Pg., 1923. P. 315–316. In Russian

Rudenskaya S.D. Alexandrovsky-Tsarskoselsky Lyceum. 1811–1917. St. Petersburg, 1999. In Russian

Seleznev I.Y. Historical outline of the imperial former Tsarskoselsky now Alexandrovsky Lyceum for the first fifty years, from 1811 to 1861. St. Petersburg, 1861. In Russian

Seredonin S.M. Historical overview of the Committee of Ministers' activity: In 5 volumes. Volume 2. Part 2. St. Petersburg, 1902. In Russian

Shepelev L.E. Bureaucratic world of Russia: XVIII – the beginning of the XX century. St. Petersburg, 1999. P. 113–114. In Russian

Speransky M.M. On the improvement of universal public education. *Russkaya starina.* 1907. No. 12. P. 730–735. In Russian

Suzor G.P. To the day of the LXXXV anniversary of the Imperial College of Jurisprudence 1835–1910. Anniversary essay. St. Petersburg, 1910. In Russian

Tomsinov V.A. Legal education and jurisprudence in Russia in the first third of the XIX century. M., 2010. In Russian

Tomsinov V.A. Legal education and jurisprudence in Russia in the second third of the XIX century. M., 2010. In Russian

Vigel F.F. Filipp Filippovich Vigel's Notes. M., 1892. In Russian

Wortman R. Rulers and Judges. M., 2003. In Russian

Yuzhakov S.N. Peter the Great. Menshikov. Vorontsov. Dashkovs. Speransky. St. Petersburg, 1898. 450 p. In Russian

Zakharov V.V. How to prepare a lawyer: studying Russian recipes. Essays on the history of legal education in Russia in the second half of the XIX – early XX century. Kursk: Kursk State University, 2006. In Russian