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THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN DNEPER UKRAINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH – AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE UKRAINIAN “NATIONAL REVIVAL”: HISTORIOGRAPHY

The article focuses on historiographic analyses of the student movement in Dnieper Ukraine in the second half of the 19th till the early 20th century and is the first attempt of complex research on the issue. It provides theoretic-methodological basis for examination of Ukrainian student movement within the context of the “national revival”. The author defines specific representation of the notion in Ukrainian as well as in foreign historiography. Applying to the definite historiographic sources, it was proved that the student environment should be recognized as one of the key forces in the national-patriotic movement on the Ukrainian territory within the context of its European tendencies.

Key words: historiography, student movement, “national revival”, national movement, Dnieper Ukraine.

In creation of the Ukrainian “national history” as one of the examples of socio-intellectual manifestation of the modern nation formation in 19th century the major role played a peculiar socio-professional group – the *studentstvo*. Modification of the educational sphere in the Russian Empire, “upbringing” of “a genuine and positive” youth by the imperial universities together with the development of “national revival” and national movements in neighborhood countries, growing popular discontent in all-Russian Empire were the most effective breeding grounds for creating a new generation. The activity of a new generation allowed the development of socio-cultural phenomenon – the student movement. Historiographic representation as an essential element of its historical reconstruction was formed by various political, cultural and methodological basis and is currently developing. The specific subject of the research needs critical consideration of its empirical basis in accord with the latest achievements of historical scholarship.

The works of M. Hroh¹, R. Shporliuk², Y. Hrytsak³, I. Lysiak-Rudnyts’kyi⁴, S. Jekel’chuk⁵ and others helped to define the main approaches within the context of historiographic analyses of the Ukrainian student movement during the “national revival”. The issue has a dual representation. On the one hand, the controversy and coexistence of the primordial and modernist conceptions of nation formation, and, on the other hand, the variation in use of the M. Hroh’s scheme for the national movement development. Furthermore, the historiography of the national-patriotic youth movement on the Ukrainian territory has chronological as well as national (regional) characteristics.

The universal youth appeared in the public-political life of Dnieper Ukraine in the 1830–1840s. Romantic tendencies of the nineteenth century (T. Shevchenko), the “antique”, historic-ethnographical and philological activity of foremost Ukrainian’s scientists (M. Bagaliy, M. Maksymovych, M. Kulish and

¹ Грох, М. (2013). Національна історія як конструкт: чеський виняток чи європейська норма? <<http://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/dyskusiya/558-miroslav-hrokh-natsionalna-istoriia-iak-konstrukt-cheskyi-vyniatok-chy-ievropeiska-norma>> (2015, December, 23).

² Шпорлюк, Р. (1991). Українське національне відродження в контексті європейської історії кінця XVIII – початку XIX століть. *Україна: наука і культура*, вип. 25. Київ: НАН України, Товариство «Знання» України, 159-167.

³ Грицак, Я. (1992). До генези ідеї політичної самостійності України. *Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність*, вип. 1. Київ: Наукова думка, 119-143.

⁴ Лисяк-Рудницький, І. (1994). Історичні есе: У 2 томах. Т. 1. Київ.

⁵ Скульчик, С. (1994). *Пробудження нації. До концепції історії українського національного руху другої половини XIX ст.* Мельбурн: ун-т ім. Монаша, Відділ славістики.

others) have made a specific (for the given territory) *Ukrainophile* stage in the development of the national movement. As one of the prominent ideological stereotypes of young imperial intellectuals made by nationalist scholars, the *Ukrainophile* remained a topical research subject of historical thought at the time. The first Ukrainian-language newspapers began to appear – *Osnova*, *Kievskaja starina*, *Kievskii telegraf* as well as large amount of ethnographic scholarly publications. At the end of the nineteenth century – at the beginning of the twentieth century this notion was considered in a different way, with the stress on its manifestation in the student environment in Russian-ruled Ukraine. M. Drahomanov and M. Hrushevsky play the dominant role within this context.

M. Drahomanov's scholarly publications illustrate the terminological repertoire of the "*Ukrainophile*" movement. The peculiarity of works written by this prominent Ukrainian member of the *hromada* movement was complex research on the given notion, when the spread of European liberalists and democratic ideas on the Ukrainian territories were clarified in accord with the chronological features of "ethnographic-national" feelings. Chronological framework of the *Ukrainophile* movement (1840-1860s) defined by M. Drahomanov support the majority of scholars. He was one of the first scholars who showed the evolution of the views of university graduates in Dnieper Ukraine. He calls the Shevchenko period as well as the activity of Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood the "*Ukrainophilia*", which after 1847 "has lost its scientific basis" and "could hardly spread its wings" in 1857¹, moreover, during the 1860s "neither biblical revolutionary mysticism nor the idealization of Cossack antiquity of Shevchenko could hold interest of the university youth anymore"², that's why "it has happened that the ideological apparatus of Ukrainian and Great Russian university youth became Gertsen, Chernyshevsky, Nekrasov, ... rather than special Ukrainian writers"³.

M. Hrushevsky as well as M. Drahomanov draw their attention to the sphere of language and literature as the main scientific basis in the Ukrainian movement. Interpretations of these historians represented fundamentally opposing views of the subject. M. Drahomanov welcomed the European ideas of democracy and cosmopolitanism, according to him, "they must lead the Ukrainian intellectual *hromada* to the national independency"⁴. Supporting the spread of these ideas through the Russian literature, cosmopolitic "in its principles, ideas and methodology"⁵, a prominent member of the *hromada* movement indicated the limited prospects of exclusively "national patriotism" within the sociopolitical context.

For the Hrushevsky point of view, Ukrainian language should be recognized at the official level, students should revive the discipline of Ukrainian studies, and Ukrainian literature should be removed from "the inter-institutional area"⁶. At the beginning of the 20th century he published a number of historiographic works⁷, where he represented the achievements of the *Ukrainophile* generation in returning to the statist past, their contribution to the national movement development in Dnieper Ukraine in the second half of the 19th century.

Considering the student activity in the imperial higher schools throughout the 1860s till the early 20th century, the Soviet historical scholarship accepted the notion of "student movement". The peculiarity of this notion was its revolutionary feature determined by the prevailing scholarly methodology and its characteristic as one of the key elements of the imperial nationwide movement against the autocratic rule as well as the workers movement and the peasant movement. And that's why the national basis for the student movement couldn't find its interpretation. The only example of the investigation of this notion on the Ukrainian territory were the historical surveys by a prominent literary scholar, the graduate of the

¹ Драгоманов, М. (1970). Шевченко, українофіли й соціалізм. *Літературно-публіцистичні праці*. Т. 2. Київ: «Київський поліграфічний комбінат», 8.

² Драгоманов, М. (1970). Література російська, великоруська, українська і галицька. *Літературно-публіцистичні праці*. Т. 1. Київ: «Київський поліграфічний комбінат», 116.

³ Драгоманов, М. (1970). Література російська, великоруська, українська і галицька. *Літературно-публіцистичні праці*. Т. 1. Київ: «Київський поліграфічний комбінат», 117.

⁴ Драгоманов, М. (1970). Листи на Наддніпрянську Україну. *Літературно-публіцистичні праці*. Т. 1. Київ: «Київський поліграфічний комбінат», 439.

⁵ Драгоманов, М. (1970). Література російська, великоруська, українська і галицька. *Літературно-публіцистичні праці*. Т. 1. Київ: «Київський поліграфічний комбінат», 134.

⁶ Грушевський, М. (2002). Справи українських катедр і наші наукові потреби. *Твори*. Т. 1. Львів: «Світ», 279-280.

⁷ Грушевський, М. (1984). «Малоросійськіє песни» Максимовича і століття української наукової праці. *Український історик*, 1-4, 132-147; Грушевський, М. (1980). Розвиток українських досліджень у XIX ст. і вияви у них основних питань українознавства. *Український історик*, 1-3, 82-91 та ін.

St. Volodymyr University – O. Nazarevskiy¹, who analysed the student movement of the 1870s in Kyiv. One of the main reasons of its widespread expansion was according to O. Nazarevskiy “cultural and national movement among Kyievan Ukrainian intelligentsia”². The thesis of S. Simonov (1964)³ was the first attempt of complex research of the student movement at Kyiv University in the 19th century. His Marxist-Leninism-influenced thesis analyses Polish “noble-bourgeois historiography”. The historian accused its members of bourgeois nationalism and separation of Polish *studentstvo* from Ukrainian and Russian *studentstvo*. Moreover, S. Simonov described how Poles influenced the formation of the student movement at universities. The author concluded that the first organizations of the university graduates “included mainly ethnic composition of students, who were mostly representatives of the Polish gentry”⁴, whereas the development of its social and political interests resulted in *zemlyatstvos*, and was affected by the events in the West at the end of the 1890s as well as by the growing number of the Polish *gminy* membership.

The American historian, the graduate of Princeton University S. Kassow dedicated his work (1989)⁵ to the socio-political notion of the Russian student movement. This work demonstrates the contradiction between the Soviet and Western scholars on this topic. The American historian defined the given notion as “a particular form of collective protest” of the Russian *studentstvo* and analyzed liberal policies of the government in the university sphere and their reflection on the national-patriotic feelings of the Ukrainian students (on the example of Kyiv, and particularly by the wearing of a national costume after the student uniform abolishment).

Change of the methodological repertoire in the modern period, scientific investigation of the student movement entirely defined new aspects of its study. After receiving a new political status in the early 1990s in the Ukrainian historical thought developed the so-called national paradigm. “National revival” and the history of national movement were major themes in the domestic scholarly research of the sociopolitical processes in the 19th – the early 20th century.

The dominant conception in the Ukrainian historiography at the time was the primordial conception of nation formation. Activity of the *studentstvo* as the essential part of the intelligentsia in the second half of the 19th – the early 20th century was represented due to the Hroh’s scheme, which helps to observe the interests and aims of the intelligentsia from the academicism to the policy of the statehood “revival”. The development of the modernist conceptions with the emphasis on the subjectivity in the nation formation process (in this case – the intellectual environment) helped to develop new interpretations of the national movement within the “nation-building” process. In the present the correlation of these tendencies in historiography could be illustrated by the research of the particular historical aspects of the “national revival” in the 19th till the early 20th century as well as by a few historical surveys conducted by the supporters of the modernist conceptions of the Ukrainian “nation-building”.

A subsequent research of the student movement in Dnieper Ukraine starts with the examination of its intellectual environment⁶. The initial stage in the political activity of the student movement is connected mostly with the cultural activity⁷, the *khlopomanstvo* movement⁸ as well as the *hromada*

¹ Назаревський, О. (1994). Київське студентство 50 років тому (Напередодні «березневого руху» 1878-го року). З іменем Святого Володимира. Т. 2. Київ: «Заповіт», 222-228; Назаревський, О. (1928). «Березневий рух» київських студентів р. 1878. *За сто літ, кн. 2. Київ: Державне видавництво України, 102-122.*

² Назаревський, О. (1994). Київське студентство 50 років тому (Напередодні «березневого руху» 1878-го року). З іменем Святого Володимира. Т. 2. Київ: «Заповіт», 222.

³ Симонов, С.С. (1964). *Студенческое движение в Киевском университете в XIX веке*: автореф. дис. на соискание науч. степени канд. ист. наук: спец. 07.00.01 «Отечественная история». Київ.

⁴ Симонов, С.С. (1964). *Студенческое движение в Киевском университете в XIX веке*: автореф. дис. на соискание науч. степени канд. ист. наук: спец. 07.00.01 «Отечественная история». Київ, 5.

⁵ Kassow, S. (1989). *Students, Professors, and the State in Tsarist Russia*. Berkeley: «University of California Press».

⁶ Шип, Н. (1991). *Интеллигенция в Украине (XIX в.): Историко-социологический очерк*. Киев: «Наукова думка»; Головенько, В.А. (1995). *Український молодіжний рух у ХХ столітті (історико-політологічний аналіз основних періодів)*: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. політичних наук: спец. 23.00.02 «Політичні інститути та процеси». Київ.

⁷ Окаринський, В. (2012). *Українофільські нонконформістські рухи демократичного спрямування серед польської та української молоді Києва (50-ті рр. ХІХ ст.): формування та еволюція. Київ і кияни у соціокультурному просторі ХІХ–ХХІ століть: національний та європейський контекст: матеріали Всеукр. наук.-практ. конф., 12 квіт. 2012 р.* Київ, 89-95.

⁸ Сарбей, В. (1999). *Національне відродження України*. Київ: Видавничий дім «Альтернативи».

movement¹. The communities of national consciousness intelligentsia on the Ukraine territory during the 19th till the early 20th century was provoked by the formation of its ideology in multinational environment, defending its own position with the Polish national movement, and the acknowledgment of the tendencies in European sociopolitical thought. The supporter of these ideas in foreign historiography is A. Kappeler², who insisted on the cultural goal of the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire as well as the occurrence of such notions as the result of “cultural awakening”³.

The main problem in this connection is the *Ukrainophile* stage. It remains the subject of scholarship research for the Ukrainian as well as for the foreign historians. The first attempt of complex historiographic research of this notion in accord with the idea of nation-building in Ukraine is the work of a modern Ukrainian historian A. Kotsyr⁴. He focuses his attention on the members of a new generation who have played a major role in realization of this idea. The author emphasizes that the *Ukrainophilia* has an apolitical character as well as that “it became the ideological basis for the formation of an actual Ukrainian intelligentsia”, and it was developing “at the turn of the 19th – 20th century, at the time of the defensive struggle only for the possibility of the national-political intelligentsia existence”⁵. The Canadian historian S. Jekel’chuk also claimed that it has cultural character and illegal activity as “there is a big difference between the Ukrainian national revival and the other national revivals in the 19th century within and beyond the Slavic world”⁶. Russian historians give their own interpretation of the *Ukrainophilia*⁷. They differ between the “Little Russian local movement”, and its peculiarity – the *Ukrainophile* development “on the basis of bitter Russian-Polish political, cultural, and later also economical rivalry for the borderland territory”⁸.

Despite the large number of works referred to this issue, in the Ukrainian historical discourse remains the question of the correlation between the cultural and political stages. The transformation of the politic-ideological basis of the student environment within the context of the Ukrainian national revival in so-called “crisis period” in the 60s of the 19th century was firstly examined by L. Ivanova and R. Ivanchenko⁹. The connection between Ukrainians and Polish organizations are considered as the result of their relationships with the Polish and Russian movements, that “will be very important later, because the question of the future relationships with the ruling nations wouldn’t even be considered in the program documents of the Ukrainian democratic organizations”¹⁰. Basing on the examination of the organizational institutions of the Dnieper Ukrainian *studentstvo*, the most scholars emphasize its political interest. Y. Hrytsak was the founder of this approach. Having analyzed the idea of the political independence in the Ukrainian national movement, he named “a social communication as a network of public social organizations, national schools,... on the territory of a particular historical region,... the skeleton, on which the body of nation is living and developing”¹¹. Applying the history of the student organizations,

¹ Катренко, А. (2003). *Національно-культурна та політична діяльність Київської громади (60–90-ті роки XIX ст.)*. Київ: «Видавництво КНУ».

² Каппелер, А. (1992). Національний рух українців у Росії та Галичині: спроба порівняння. *Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність, вип.1*. Київ: Наукова думка, 104-119.

³ Каппелер, А. (2007). *Мала історія України*. Київ, 99.

⁴ Коцур, А. (2000). *Ідея державності в історичній думці та суспільно-політичному житті України кінця XVIII – початку XX століття*. Чернівці: «Золоті литаври».

⁵ Коцур, А. (2000). *Ідея державності в історичній думці та суспільно-політичному житті України кінця XVIII – початку XX століття*. Чернівці, 200.

⁶ Скульчик, С. (2010). *Українофіли: світ українських патріотів другої половини XIX ст.* Київ, 20.

⁷ Миллер, А. (2000). *«Український вопрос» в политике властей и русском общественном мнении (вторая половина XIX века)*. Санкт-Петербург: «Алетейя».

⁸ Колмаков, В. (2010). Об одном националистическом нарративе начала XX века. *Вестник ВГУ. Серия: Философия, 1*, 48-62.

⁹ Іванова, Л. (1999). *Громадівський рух 60-х рр. XIX ст. в Україні: проблеми, ідеологія*. Київ: «Міжнародний інститут лінгвістики і права».; Іванова, Л. (2000). *Суспільно-політичний рух 60-х рр. XIX ст. в Україні: до проблеми становлення ідеології*. Київ: «Міжнародний інститут лінгвістики і права».

¹⁰ Іванова, Л. (2000). *Суспільно-політичний рух 60-х рр. XIX ст. в Україні: до проблеми становлення ідеології*. Київ, 90.

¹¹ Грицак, Я. (1992). До генези ідеї політичної самостійності України. *Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність, т.1*, 122.

M. Hryhor'ieva wrote about the political interests of the *studentstvo*¹. Having observed the growing of the primary national-cultural student communities (*zemlyatstvos*) that was connected with the formation of the student councils in higher schools in Russian-ruled Ukraine in the late 19th till the early 20th century, the historian proved that *zemlyatstvos* “were the impulse for the formation of another student organizations (for instance, nationalist) and were the basis for purely political societies of students”². Besides *zemlyatstvos*, N. Honcharova wrote about the key role of the Ukrainian student *hromadas*, calling them “the legal work centers on issue of the national revival”³. The phenomenon of sociopolitical student activity in Russian-ruled Ukraine lies in consolidation, coexistence, interdependence of national and common democratic movements, with the emphasis on the development of the national-democratic demands by the youth itself⁴. The Ukrainian historiography of the modern period tends to share the same attitude to the starting point of the political stage of the Ukrainian national revival, which defines the foundation of the student *hromada* of Kharkiv and particularly the Brotherhood of Tarasovs (*Bratstvo Tarasivtsiv*) in 1891. Very important in this connection is the work of V. Pal'chenkova, who characterizes these events as the beginning of “the modernist period” and the evidence of “the fundamental changes in the orientation of the Ukrainian youth”⁵. From the systematic approach very interesting is the survey of a modern Kharkiv historian O. Kin, who characterizes the Dnieper Ukrainian student movement in the early 20th century as “*hromada* movement”, highlighting its main features (anti-governmental character, well-organized, mass movement, consolidation of forces, variety in protest forms and democracy) as well as its main parts (“academicism”, national revival and political orientation)⁶.

One of the thematic directions of the specialized studies in recent years is the analyses (conducted by historians) of the influence on the student consciousness their presence in high intellectual environment, that can be estimated by the relationships between the high school graduates and the national-oriented professoriate⁷.

Due to the multi-dimensional and manifold nature of this notion the terminological repertoire of the student movement is not fully completed. Depending on the research subject some historians characterize it as “a part of sociopolitical life as well as the national-defensive struggle”⁸, “a factor of government’s policy

¹ Григор'єва, М.В. (2010). *Історія студентських організацій університетів Наддніпрянської України другої половини ХІХ – початку ХХ ст.*: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук за спеціальністю 07.00.01 «Історія України». Харків.

² Григор'єва, М.В. (2010). *Історія студентських організацій університетів Наддніпрянської України другої половини ХІХ – початку ХХ ст.*: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук за спеціальністю 07.00.01 «Історія України». Харків, 11.

³ Гончарова, Н. Прояви студентського та учнівського руху в Україні у період революційного піднесення (1910–1914 рр.). <<http://storage.library.opu.ua/online/periodic/iv-16/027-043.pdf>> (2015, december, 23).

⁴ Бельдюгін, В.А. (2006). *Молодь у контексті боротьби за реалізацію української національної ідеї (друга половина ХХ – початок ХХ ст.)*: дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 «історія України». Луганськ, 5.; Чортенко, А. (2010). Політизація студентства Наддніпрянської України наприкінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ ст. (причини, суть, наслідки). *Вісник Луганського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка. Історичні науки*, № 19(206), 230-238.

⁵ Пальченкова, В.М. (2000). *Український суспільно-політичний рух в Харкові в кінці ХІХ – на початку ХХ століття*: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук за спеціальністю 07.00.01 «Історія України». Запоріжжя, 12-13.

⁶ Кін, О. (2013). Громадська діяльність студентської молоді вищих навчальних закладів України в період 1900–1917 рр. *Засоби навчальної та науково-дослідної роботи, вип. 40*. Харків: Харківський національний педагогічний університет імені Г. С. Сковороди, 83-87.

⁷ Музичко, О. (2012). «Перша ластівка» Новоросійського університету. *День*, (10-11 серпня), 22; Матяш, І. (2000). «Він ніколи не був ні шовіністом, ні націоналістом, а лише українцем...» *Життєва драма О. Грушевського. З архівів ВУЧК–ГПУ–НКВД–КГБ*, № 2/4 (13/15), 252-264; Брояковський, О. (2013).

Академічний семінар В. Б. Антоновича й підготовка кадрів української національної інтелігенції останньої чверті ХІХ ст. <http://www.kspu.kr.ua/download/conf2013/section4_6/article_brojakovsky.pdf> (2015, December, 23) та ін.

⁸ Гончарова, Н.О. (2006). *Національно-політичний рух студентської та учнівської молоді в Україні (90-ті рр. ХІХ ст. – лютий 1917 р.)*: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 «Історія України». Одеса, 1.

toward the university question”¹ etc. In the present there is only one definition for the Ukrainian student movement given by R. Kovaliuk², who represents it as a part of the national-political movement that includes “the organization forms (groups, societies, organizations, unions etc.) as well as the individual participation of students in the political life, especially in developing and participating in different political parties and societies, mass actions, struggle for the Ukrainian homeland as the part of military units etc.”³.

Considering the scholarly historical heritage of this issue, in the early 21st century the works on the historiography of the Ukrainian national movement began to appear and they allow the development of the specialized surveys of the student element in this movement. Problem-oriented consideration of the given issue with the emphasis on the methodological basis was conducted by S. Naumov⁴ and O. Kuprianchuk⁵. For the first attempt of complex research of the student movement on the territory of the Russian Empire as well as for defining the evolution of historiographic retrospective of its essential properties during the second half of the 19th till the early 21st century the Ukrainian historical thought thanked the Kharkiv scholar S. Posohov⁶.

The latest achievements of Ukrainian and western scholarship in the study of the student movement on the territory of Dnieper Ukraine in the second half of the 19th till the early 20th century form the scientific and multidimensional historiography in its methodological repertoire as well as in its thematic direction. As the expression of the social consciousness and historical knowledge this issue remains topical. Undoubtedly, the representatives of the Ukrainian historical scholarship made the greatest contribution to the development of the “national revival” issue, which is characterized by the detailed factual basis, the involvement of an impressive array of sources as well as the rational application of the latest achievements of western scholarship. At the same time, the popularity of the leading concepts in relation to the national issues requires critical consideration. Numerous changes of methodological repertoire in the Ukrainian historical scholarship reflect the examination of the given notion due to the certain “schemes”. In the present the Ukrainian historiography prefers to estimate the student movement as one of the key factors in the development of the national-patriotic movement in the 19th till the early 20th century. The foreign historical thought evaluates this notion as manifestation by the national intelligentsia of its own democratic tendencies in the multiethnic environment and the peculiarity of the nation formation process of these nations within their political status. The analysis of the scholarly research of the issue allows claiming that the Ukrainian “national revival” is an essential part of the national-defensive movements’ period of the European history in the 19th century. The historians claim that the peculiarity of this process in the Dnieper Ukrainian lands was the transformation of the intelligentsia into the major driving force in practical realization of the national interests. The majority of historians have proved that the students themselves were its basis as well-educated, conscious part of the Russian imperial society of the second half of the 19th century, they were fully aware of the current democratic tendencies and were trying to adapt these to the conditions at the time. The specific area of the research calls for the need for further development. The sociopolitical context of this notion requires objectivity, reconsideration of heroes-glorification and “mythic” tendencies as well as specification of the given issues, the conduct of much complex specialized research. Dealing with these tasks will help to overcome the one-sided representation of issues in historical and historiographic scientific thought.

¹ Писарева, Е.А. (2001). *Організаційно-правові основи діяльності університетів Російської імперії другої половини XIX ст. (на матеріалах України)*: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. юрид. наук: спец. 12.00.01 «Теорія та історія держави і права, історія політичних та правових вчень». Харків, 10.

² Ковалюк, Р.Т. (2003). *Український студентський рух на західних землях XIX–XX ст.*: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня докт. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 «Історія України». Львів.

³ Ковалюк, Р.Т. (2003). *Український студентський рух на західних землях XIX–XX ст.*: автореф. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня докт. іст. наук: спец. 07.00.01 «Історія України». Львів, 25.

⁴ Наумов, С. (2008). Сучасна історіографія українського політичного руху в Російській імперії. *Сіверянський літопис*, 4, 62-71.

⁵ Купріяничук, О. (2011). Політизація українського національного руху кінця XIX – початку XX ст.: до новітньої історіографії проблеми. *Гілея: науковий вісник. Збірник наукових праць, Історичні науки, вип. 23*. Київ: Видавництво «Гілея», 148-155.

⁶ Посохов, С. (2006). *Образи університетів Російської імперії другої половини XIX – початку XX ст. в публіцистиці та історіографії*. Харків: «ХНУ імені В. Н. Каразіна».

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