

*R.S. Tazhitayeva<sup>1</sup>, B.S. Tokmurzayev<sup>2</sup>*

*<sup>1</sup>Candidate of Political Sciences, associate professor, Syrdariya University,  
Kazakhstan, Zhetysay, e-mail: seilovna@mail.ru*

*<sup>2</sup>Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), acting associate Professor of the Department of national and foreign  
history, Syrdariya University, Kazakhstan, Zhetysay, e-mail: b.tokmurza@gmail.com*

## **HISTORIOGRAPHIC «LANDSCAPE» ON AGRARIAN COLONIZATION OF THE STEPPE REGION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURY**

### *Abstract*

In this article, the authors try to reveal the formation and development of historiography in the context of the Imperial experience of agrarian colonization of the steppe region in the second-half of the XIX-early XX centuries. During this period, new challenges arose for the colonization of the Steppe region, and the Russian Empire began to conduct agricultural colonization and scientific examination of territories in order to carry out administrative, territorial, and socio-economic reforms. Attracting officials, employees of the West Siberian Department of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (WSDIRGS), as representatives of resettlement agencies, they contributed to the colonization of the Steppe territory and argued for the imperial aspect of the region's development.

**Key words:** resettlement policy, «Foreign» problems agricultural colonization, the resettlement movement.

*Тажитаева Р.С.<sup>1</sup>, Токмурзаев Б.С.<sup>2</sup>*

*<sup>1</sup>к.п.н., доцент, университет «Сырдария», Казахстан, г. Жетысай, e-mail: seilovna@mail.ru*

*<sup>2</sup>доктор философии (PhD), и.о. ассоциированного профессора*

*кафедры отечественной и зарубежной истории, университета «Сырдария», Казахстан,*

*г. Жетысай, e-mail: b.tokmurza@gmail.com*

## **ИСТОРИОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ «ЛАНДШАФТ» ПО АГРАРНОЙ КОЛОНИЗАЦИИ СТЕПНОГО КРАЯ ВО II-ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX – НАЧАЛЕ XX ВВ.**

### *Аннотация*

В представленной статье авторы пытаются раскрыть становления и развития историографии в контексте имперского опыта аграрной колонизации степного края во II-половине XIX - начале XX вв. В этот период возникли новые вызовы колонизации Степного края, Российская империя начала проводить аграрную колонизацию и научную экспертизу территорий, в целях проведения административно-территориальных и социально-экономических реформ. Привлекая чиновников, сотрудников Западно-Сибирского отдела Императорского Русского географического общества, в качестве представителей агентств по расселению внесли свой вклад в колонизацию Степного края и аргументировали имперский аспект развития региона.

**Ключевые слова:** переселенческая политика, «инородческая» проблематика, аграрная колонизация, переселенческое движение.

*Р.С. Тажимаева<sup>1</sup>, Б.С. Токмурзаев<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> с.э.к., доцент, «Сырдария» университеті, Қазақстан, Жетісай қ., e-mail: seilovna@mail.ru

<sup>2</sup> философия докторы (PhD), «Сырдария» университетінің отан және шетел тарихы кафедрасының қауымдастырылған профессор м.а., Қазақстан, Жетісай қ., b.tokmurza@gmail.com

## **XIX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ ІІ-ЖАРТЫСЫ мен XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫНДАҒЫ ДАЛА ӨЛКЕСІН АГРАРЛЫҚ ОТАРЛАУ БОЙЫНША ТАРИХНАМАЛЫҚ «ЛАНДШАФТ»**

### *Аңдатпа*

Ұсынылған мақалада авторлар XIX ғасырдың ІІ-жартысы мен XX ғасырдың басындағы Дала өлкесінің аграрлық отарлаудың имперлік тәжірибесі аясында тарихнаманың қалыптасуы мен даму жағдайларын ашып көрсетуді қарастырады. Дәл осы кезеңде Дала өлкесін отарлаудың жаңа мәселелері туындады, әкімшілік-аумақтық және әлеуметтік-экономикалық реформалар жүргізу мақсатында Ресей империясы аграрлық отарлау және аумақтарды ғылыми сараптауды жүргізе бастады. Императорлық Орыс Географиялық қоғамының Батыс-Сібір бөлімінің қызметкерлерін, шенеуніктерін тарта отырып, қоныс аудару агенттіктердің өкілдері ретінде Дала өлкесін отарлау бағытында өз үлестерін қосып, өңірдің дамуының империялық аспектісін дәлелді дәйектер арқылы тұжырымдама жасады.

**Түйін сөздер:** қоныс аудару саясаты, «бұратана» мәселесі, аграрлық отарлау, қоныс аудару қозғалысы.

The problem of agrarian colonization of the Steppe region, taking into account the introduction of the Imperial resource in the design of this process and the development of appropriate practical measures, has become a widely disseminated historiographical plot since the second half of the 1870s, thus coinciding with the beginning of the resettlement movement to the region and the institutionalization of regular agricultural experience implemented by the peasantry.

The specificity of the agrarian colonization of the Steppe region in contrast to other developed in the Eastern territories (Tomsk, Tobolsk province) consisted a relief outlined heterogeneity of the colonization context, mixing of military and peaceful tasks, as well as participation in the colonization of social groups with distinct signs of ethnic, social, cultural identity, which predetermined a high degree of Imperial «involvement» in the development of colonization projects and solving practical problems of incorporation.

The foundation of the Russian historiographic tradition of scientific reflection and assessment of the causes, progress and results of the agrarian colonization of Siberia and its individual regions was laid in the conditions of a steady increase in the authority of science and, as the modern scholars justly remarked, «a belief in the immutability of accurate facts and statistically supported models» [1]. All this created favorable preconditions for turning the research of Russian scientists, officials, and political figures into a basis for introducing administrative integration practices, disavowing and strengthening the role of the imperial factor in colonization.

The positivist historiography format was constituted under conditions of active territorial increments, including areas with a predominance of a foreign segment, as well as local communities that developed in the initial phase of colonization, which initiated research of a historical, economic and ethnographic nature, giving them the scope and importance of scientific expertise. It is significant that the change in the colonization vector of the steppe regions of Western Siberia, expressed in a gradual refusal to recognize the primacy of military-political tasks in favor of discussing the agrarian prospects of the region, was closely associated with practical expeditionary (1877-1890), research (1890-1905) by the work of the WSDIRGS, established in 1877 (Omsk) The «population policy» [2], which was established as a priority method in the imperial practices of Russia, presupposed the active interference of the authorities in the colonization process and its components, which meant that the imperial bureaucracy recognized the need for «scientific conquest» of promising agrarian-agricultural territories. The expeditions organized by the WSDIRGS were carried out by prominent scientists under the supervision or with the financial support of the central (regional, local) administrations and were called upon to identify the economic potential of the region, determine the main trajectories of its economic development, outline the prospects for agricultural colonization, clarify management strategies for indigenous people and local groups host society [3].

The imperial foreshortening of studies of the steppe region emerged already in the late 1870s - early 1880s, when not only socio-political figures and scientists, but also representatives of the military class, as well as officials were included in the expeditionary and scientific activities of the WSDIRGS. It is known that one of the founders of the department, the leader of Siberian regionalism N.M. Yadrintsev, who initially criticized the WSDIRGS for the predominance of the military-official contingent in it, subsequently himself repeatedly carried out the instructions of the provincial administration, acting as a government official. Namely N.M. At the general meeting of the department on October 25, 1877, Yadrintsev formulated the task of the WSDIRGS on the need to develop a broad program of ethnographic research in Western Siberia and the Steppe Territory [4]. In the future, the practice of such a «combining» became widespread in the expeditionary activities of I. Ya. Slovtsova, N.N. Balakshina, N.K. Khondazhevsky, N.P. Grigorovsky and others, when research in the field of ethnography, botany, soil science, climate, resettlement, the economic life of the kazakh and «foreigners» of the region, the state of trade routes were recognized as equally significant and entrusted to people who, according to the authorities, carried out important imperial errand.

Since the early 1880s in connection with the escalation of illegitimate resettlement in the steppe region, primarily in the Akmola region, the WSDIRGS actually assumed the functions of resettlement management in the absence of special institutions designed to coordinate migration processes in the region. In this regard, the key topics developed by researchers following the results of expeditions are the problems of the colonization capacity of the territories of the steppe region, the status and prospects of nomadic farming in places included in the orbit of the resettlement movement.

In line with the identification and characteristics of the conditions for the organization of arable farming and the resettlement movement in the 1870s - 1890s. research activities of the WSDIRGS and its subdivisions are being built, implemented in numerous articles, notes, reports of members of society, which assess the natural-geographical, economic potential of the steppe regions, give detailed descriptions of the ethnographic composition of the population. Thorough studies of various

kinds were carried out by I.A. Slovtsov and Yu.A. Schmidt (natural-historical conditions of the region), P.G. Ignatov and G.E. Katanaev (hydrology and agriculture), P.V. Stepanov, N. Lebedev, V.F. Korolev (agriculture), A.Ya. Gordyagin, G.G. Anzimirov, K.L. Golde (vegetation, geology, soil and botanical conditions), M.A. Shestakov (ethnography) [3, p. 9].

It was precisely in the coordinate system of the activities of the WSDIRGS that the first attempts were made during this period to identify the economic and economic status and colonization potential of the estates of the Steppe Territory: representatives of the indigenous population, kazakh and peasant immigrants from European Russia.

So, the official of special assignments N.N. Balakshin, in 1878 he was sent to the Steppe Territory and carried out the «political order» of the governor-general of Western Siberia N.G. Kaznakova, when assessing the future nomadic communities of the region, the idea was expressed about the doubtfulness of the loyal feelings of the nomads, as well as the idea was voiced of the need to establish the Russian agricultural population in the Kyrgyz steppes, which would contribute to the development of the principles of citizenship among the nomads [5].

N.M. Yadrintsev developed and published in 1880 a rigorous program for the study of foreigners of Western Siberia [6], the provisions and methods of which formed the basis of the fundamental monograph «Siberia as a colony in historical, geographical and ethnographic respect» [7]. Summarizing her own expeditionary and research experience, N.M. Yadrintsev presented a detailed classification of Siberian «foreigners», determined the chronological boundaries and main aspects of solving the «foreign» issue in the Russian Empire, revealed signs of the economic and cultural type of representatives of the nomadic civilization in Siberia and its individual areas, outlining the circle of needs of Siberian «foreigners» and the results of the Russian cultural influence [7, pp. 134-162]. As a result, the researcher came to a conceptual conclusion, according to which, recognizing the fact of the «extinction» of the «foreign», he stipulated that this process does not cover all peoples, «apparently, while the southern nomads are Buryats, Kyrghyz, Kalmyks» [7, p. 21.]. Thus N.M. Yadrintsev identified the main parameters and directions in the study of various aspects of the colonization of Siberia, including in connection with the question of the relationship of imperial practices in the development of the steppe regions with the level of communicative susceptibility and adaptive potential of indigenous peoples to inclusion in the Russian sociocultural space.

As a result, already in the mid-1890s, the focus of some of the leaders of WSDIRGS are the problems of the «foreign» segment of the population of Siberia, which in their complexity went beyond purely ethnographic, natural-geographical and historical-economic descriptions. The external factor that guided researchers to write works «on the topic of the day» using new methodological techniques and analytical generalizations was the growth of peasant migrations to the Steppe region, which made visible adjustments to the organization of economic life, everyday life and experience of the indigenous inhabitants of the region [3, p.10].

In particular, the member of WSDIRGS V. A. Ostafyev summed up the results of his expeditionary and Desk work in the fundamental article «Colonization of steppe regions in connection with the question of nomadic economy» [8], where the role of power actors in changing the vector of colonization was revealed and the arguments of the Central and regional bureaucracy in connection with the choice of a course for agrarian colonization of steppe regions were presented. VA. Ostafyev, being a supporter of the liberal concept of «growing up of the Kyrgyz population» as

a result of the cultural «intrusion» of the Russian peasant element, linked the prospects for the development of the region with its zoning, as well as a clear definition of those areas where it is possible to introduce agricultural practices. All this, from the point of view of V.V. Astafyev, could be achieved in the process of studying the region, but not from the «tarantass», but by attracting the general public and specialists [8, p. 60].

The subsequent reaction of the scientific community of the department was expressed in the representation on the pages of the print media of the institution of a wide range of topics that reflected the relevance of the «foreign» issue. In the articles of V.Vladimirsky, N.Zeland, G.E. Katanaev, N.Maximov, T.I. Sedelnikov discussed the problems of transition of the indigenous peoples of the Steppe Territory to a settled state, the suitability of the steppe plots for the organization of cultural agriculture, the legal system, family relations and the life of the nomadic population [9].

The «foreign» problems posed and developed in the writings of researchers at the WSDIRGS corresponded with the author's reflection on the resettlement issue, which indicated that migrants from European Russia acquired the status of the main subject of colonization, as well as the formation of imperial resettlement practices in the Steppe region, we are actively involved in the process of agricultural colonization. In the works of A.A. Morozova, P. Podshivalova, I. Savenkova, V.M. Lyschinsky and others raised questions not only about the organization of resettlement sites and the consideration of the natural and geographical conditions of migrants' places of residence, but also the problems of Imperial incorporation of the Steppe region, which was expressed, for example, in the formulation and discussion of railway construction projects within the agricultural areas of the Steppe Territory [10]. A significant contribution to the study of resettlement in Western Siberia and its steppe regions was also made by political exiles I.A. Gurvich and K.R. Kachorovsky, who published fragments of his fundamental works on resettlement in the context of public policy, on the pages of WSDIRGS publications, which greatly contributed to the popularization of migration issues and its inclusion in the socio-political discourse of the era [11].

One of the most pressing issues discussed by the employees of WSDIRGS was the question of the fate of the kazakh in the context of the course on the agrarian colonization of the steppe region.

Studying the history of the Siberian Cossacks in the XIX - early XX centuries. Researchers involved in different years participated in the work of the WSDIRGS such as G.N. Potanin, G.E., Katanaev, N.G. Putintsev, F.N. Usov et al. Being a native of the Cossack milieu, the aforementioned authors, most likely, painfully took critical escapades, which were widely used in rhetorical rhetoric due to the inability of the estate to engage in cultural and tribal activity and to be included in the agricultural process. It is symptomatic that in the articles and notes published on the pages of the Notes of the WSDIRGS, one of the prominent representatives of «kazakh historiography», G.E. Katanaev, focused on the heroic history of the siberian kazakh, as well as pioneering and land research of the estate [12].

Emphasizing the special military-colonial role of the Siberian kazakh linear army in the annexation of the steppe regions, consistently defending the interests of the kazakh as an important subject of colonization of the region, supporters of the decisive role of kazakh in the Trans-Urals wrote: «History has recognized for the kazakh the honor of conquering Siberia and its further gradual occupation from the Urals to Kamchatka and from Tobol to the South, deep into Dzungaria and the Kirghiz-kaisak steppes, ... exactly the Siberian kazakh line army that played «such a prominent role

in our offensive movement and south along the Irtysh and deep into the Kyrgyz steppes and Central Asian independent khanates» [13]. Or: «The Kirghiz-kaisaks, for which the Kyrgyz name was adopted, did not resemble passive Ostyaks, Tungus, and other siberian foreigners, they did not look indifferent at the attempts of the Russian land-seekers to acquire lands from them, but, on the contrary, they took cruel revenge by predatory raids and terrible devastation of Russian border villages [14].

However, the general tone and mood of the materials about the Cossacks as the subject of colonization of the Steppe region, published in different publications, contributed to a significant adjustment in the value judgments regarding the organization of economic life, life, understanding of the scenarios of the relationship between the kazakh and the «foreign» contingent and Russian immigrants. So, by definition of G.N. Potanin, the Irtysh steppe was dominated by the type of kazakh, who is «a adroit merchant, a fist and a poor worker» [15]. In the work of the kazakh officer and historian F. Usov, we read: «The former permanent military service at constant maintenance from the government accustomed the Siberian kazakh to carelessness about meeting their vital needs with their own forces» [16].

The change in intonation in assessing the kazakh factor in the colonization of the Steppe Territory in the writings of representatives of «kazakh historiography» was recorded not only in the emotional and sometimes unpleasant characteristics of kazakh as farmers, but also in the discovery of patterns of relations between the estate and the indigenous population of the region. In particular, G.E. Katanaev, performing official duties related to trips to the Steppe Territory, noted that he had «repeatedly, since 1885, surveyed the territory of the Siberian kazakh army and, for one reason or another, got acquainted with the life and attitude of the Kyrgyz people to kazakh and vice versa ... closer to delve into the relationship between the Kyrgyz and the kazakh» [17].

A significant contribution to the study of the relationship between the indigenous population of the Steppe region and the kazakh was made by G. Potanin - a native of the kazakh environment. He collected extensive material illustrating the structure of the Cossack economy and management in connection with the colonization. The collected information most clearly reflected the specifics of the interaction of the kazakh and «foreigners» in the aspect of the contact of cultures with an emphasis on the predominant role of everyday habits and traditions of the indigenous population in the formation of the sociocultural and mental appearance of the Cossacks [1, p. 19]. The researcher also published materials related to the so-called «Frontier affairs» that gave G.N. Potanin's opportunity to focus on the special role of the imperial factor in the colonization process [18].

Finally, a significant role in the disclosure of models of relations between social and ethnic groups of the colonized region in the aspect of Empire-building in the East was played by the work of officers of the General staff, actively involved in the work of the Russian Geographical Society (RGS), as well as its West Siberian department and regional sub-departments.

M.Krasovsky, an officer of the General staff of the Russian Empire in the 1860s which gathered rich information on the history and economy of the Siberian natives, in particular the Kazakhs were able to describe in detail the value of the steppe pastoral nomadic economic model and to identify the preconditions that accompanied the transition of nomads to semi-sedentary way of life that clearly indicates a decisive role in this process of Imperial structures [19].

The material collected and processed by M. Krasovsky formed the basis of research work of scientists, geographers, officials, who presented in their works more detailed characteristics of various groups of Siberian society. Among them - I.F. Babkov, the first Chairman of the West Siberian Department of Imperial Russian Geographical Society, who gave fragmentary characteristics of economic and cultural contacts of «foreigners» with the Cossacks in a long historical retrospective, stressing that the conflicts between local communities can't be blamed on any one side. At the same time I.F. Babkov was inclined to believe that «the Kirghiz plundered and burned the border with the steppe Cossack settlements and dragged into captivity Cossack women and children» [20]. I.F. Babkov came to the conclusion, according to which «nomadic peoples, succumbing to the settled state, giving him nothing, they themselves received from him a tribute in the form of wages, gifts and treats...» [20, p. 38].

The diametrically opposite point of view is presented in the research in the field of history of Siberian Cossack Army with M.I. Venyukov and announced in the generalizing work «the experience of military review of Russian borders in Asia», where the author emphasized the idea according to which the Siberian Cossacks were in the Steppe region as a support of the Russian government in the implementation of foreign policy actions: «On representation of the general-governor Speransky was a fictitious allegiance to the local Kyrgyz to pay in real value, and to this end in the centers of districts engineered them to make fortifications» were expelled «from the line garrisons of the kazakh» [1, p. 21]. But as «their maintenance on remoteness from the line was expensive, then little by little the Siberian authorities came to idea to settle Cossacks in the steppe» [21]. Postulating the role of Cossacks in agrarian colonization as negative, M.I. Venyukov noted that kazakh behaved as conquerors and direct culprits of ruin of local ethnic [22].

The formation of the resettlement issue in public opinion at the state level naturally formed the problem points of its understanding, placing in the focus of the study not only the process of eviction from the European part of Russia, but also the arrangement of the migration element in the areas of settlement. With the construction of the Siberian railway, the Steppe region was intensively drawn into the space of agricultural development, which in turn stimulated work to identify the scale of the colonization Fund in the region, oriented specialists to establish territorial areas suitable for the organization of arable land, which put them before the need to search for lands «superfluous» for the functioning of nomadic farms. It is quite logical that the responses regarding the economy and life of the «foreign» population were initially reflected in the texts, the authors of which were the expedition scientists. It is also natural that the first reaction to prospects for agricultural colonization of the Steppe region was voiced by Russian economists and statisticians who carried out various government assignments. So, the well-known Zemstvo statistician F.A. Shcherbina, consisting since 1896. the head of the expedition to study the steppe regions (Akmola, Semipalatinsk and Turgay), presented detailed statistical data on the state of the colonization Fund of the region, accompanied by valuable information on the ethnographic composition of the population of the steppe regions, history, economy and relationships of local communities in the conditions of the Imperial presence [3, P. 17]. As a result of a continuous census of foreign farms expedition F.A. Shcherbina received valuable statistical material that allows us to draw conclusions about the socio-economic relations in the social environment of the region, the level of nomadic and sedentary farms, and so on. F.A. Shcherbina on the basis of the accommodated material managed to show influence of country migrations on formation of arable economy of «foreign» segment of society of Steppe edge, having outlined parameters of Russian «cultural influence» of the settler on «the Kirghiz nomad». The

researcher believed that «our emigrant ... drew the Kirghiz into the circle of interests and concepts of the farmer and modified the very views of the nomad on the importance of land for the economy» [23]. Describing the causes of confrontations between «foreigners» and immigrants in the region, F.A. Shcherbina came to a very original conclusion, arguing that the conflicts were not the result of interethnic tension, but the result of the callous attitude of bureaucrats who did not want to take into account the interests of the opposing groups [23, pp. 44-45.].

Such researchers as A.A. Kaufman, P.M. Golovachev, I.L. Yamzin, V.P. Voschinin (liberal direction), etc.; A.A. Isaev, P.P. Sushchinsky, G.F. Chirkin (liberal direction), etc. made a significant contribution to the study of various aspects of agrarian colonization, including in the steppe regions of Western Siberia. The focus of their attention was mainly the resettlement movement to Siberia in connection with the aggravation of the agrarian question in the center of the country. Nevertheless, the reference to numerous works on the resettlement issue is important and necessary, since these works allow us to establish an Imperial approach to the colonization of the outskirts, to detect discrepancies in the estimates in the literature regarding the degree of productivity of resettlement activities.

The demarcation line of the scientific-research confrontation on the resettlement problem was most noticeable in the works of A.A. Kaufman and A.A. Isaev [24].

The largest Russian economist A.A. Kaufman since 1893 was actively involved by Imperial authorities in work on the land device of the Siberian peasants and the organization of resettlement sites. In the period from 1894 to 1903, he was sent to different regions of Western Siberia, including the Steppe region and Turkestan, made detailed characteristics of the colonization capacity of the Kyrgyz steppes and the organization of the peasant economy in Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries [24, pp. 229-234; pp. 331-334]. In General, Kaufman's views on resettlement can be described as skeptical. The researcher actively debated with Professor A.A. Isaev and his supporters, who saw in migrations «the natural order of historical life» [24, p. 124], and in immigrants ideal carriers of cultural progress. According to Kaufman, «the reason for the migration lies in the crisis of the production system» [24, p. 132], and the inability of the peasantry to change the forms of land use inevitably led to an increase in the migration activity of farmers, which A.A. Kaufman defined as «the peasant's flight from culture» [24, p.132]. In this regard, A.A Kaufman, polemizing with his opponents, sharply criticized the Imperial resettlement policy and resettlement Agency, noting that the latter in its desire to increase the necessary for the device of immigrants land Fund too little considered the rights of the Russian and native population of the suburbs developed by immigrants.

One of the characteristic features of the historiographical situation, which was directly related to the development of the steppe regions of Western Siberia, should be called the final view of the Eastern suburbs as a zone of Imperial interests and the area of internal colonization.

In this way, within the framework of the Russian historiographical tradition of agrarian colonization of the Steppe region in the second half of the XIX – early XX centuries, a wide range of problems associated with the characteristics of the circumstances and factors of incorporation of the region into the General Imperial construct was mastered. In a short chronological period 1870-1905 of scientific reflection have been identified socio-economic conditions, ensure the productivity of the agricultural development of the steppe area, in the critical parameters described efforts of the central



government for distribution in the region agricultural practices, the scale of scientific controversy established the consequences of an escalation of agrarian resettlement for the indigenous population of the region is characterized by the degree of involvement and social functions of caste groups in the colonization process. Beyond the boundaries of scientific problems remained the problem of formation of socio-political and power discourses of agrarian colonization, the influence of discursive practices on project activities of the Imperial powers, and develop practical solutions and design patterns for their implementation in the process of agricultural development of the region.

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