

## THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE'S COLONIAL POLICY IN KAZAKH LANDS (LATE 19<sup>th</sup> -EARLY 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY)

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**Abstract.** In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Russian Empire's policy of resettlement on Kazakh lands had a significant impact on the socio-economic, ethno-demographic and political structure of the Kazakh steppe. The mass resettlement of peasants was aimed at developing Kazakh lands, strengthening colonial control and turning the settlers into a political and social support for integrating the Kazakh territory into the empire. The most fertile, rich and vast lands of the Kazakhs were given to use by the settlers. The increase in the flow of immigrants at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century damaged the the Kazakhs' traditional stock-raising. Relocation has been particularly intensive since the establishment of resettlement institutions - a process that has reached unprecedented proportions. The article discusses laws and regulations on resettlement of peasants, causes and course of resettlement movement, organization of resettlement sites, as well as «new direction» in the resettlement policy at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century and its consequences. The mass displacement of peasants has led to a reduction in the Kazakh's grazing land and to the expropriation of their lands, which in turn has caused land disputes and conflicts between ancestral and rural communities. In addition, the Kazakh's lack of land has forced to move from nomadic herding to sedentary farming. The resettlement policy has led to the detriment of national and socio-economic interests of the Kazakh people.

**Key words:** resettlement movement, removal of «excess land», intersurvey work, creation of resettlement sites, intensive resettlement, self-resettlers.

### Introduction.

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, social contradictions in the Russian empire intensified, which was accompanied by the strengthening of colonial policy in Kazakhstan. This policy was particularly active in the agricultural sphere, as the agrarian question was closely linked to resettlement policies. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Kazakh steppe was divided into several resettlement area. In addition, the tsarist government established resettlement administrations tasked with identifying "excess lands" in the Kazakh region. The Russian peasants who wanted to settle in Kazakhstan, to begin with sent several of their representatives so that they could establish contact with the Kazakh, found for themselves comfortable and fertile land, renting them from the Kazakh. Later they began to move their relatives and fellow villagers there. Eventually, the Kazakh was definitively displaced from these lands, and Russian settlements began to arise in their place. In 1889, according to the «regulation on voluntary resettlement of peasants and landed on public lands», the permission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Property was required for relocation. However, the peasants ignored this situation and did not stop the voluntary resettlement. Since 1891, the Russian state has officially suspended resettlement, but it was extremely difficult to stop a large influx of immigrants.

### Materials and methods of research.

The policy of resettlement and its influence on the socio-economic structure of Kazakh society and land relations remain relevant to this day. The study of this historical process requires the application of scientific methodology and specific methods of analysis for objective assessment. In the article, when analysing historical events, we had guided by the principles of historicism, objectivity and science. Comparative analysis, classification and consolidation techniques have used in the analysis of archival documents. A scientific analysis of the laws and regulations, as well as the instructions sent to the governors regarding resettlement has carried out. Because of the analysis of archive documents, issues

in the removal of «excess land» from Kazakh, organization of resettlement sites, division into resettlement areas and annual growth in the number of settlers have investigated. In addition, the mass displacement of peasants has had a negative impact on traditional nomadic Kazakh society. It has reflected in the reduction of grazing land, the reduction of nomadic living space, the crisis of livestock and the decline of livestock, which were analysed based on archival documents. Historical analysis, archival work and statistical analysis has used to investigate this process.

### **Results and its discussion**

The issue of the mass settlement of Russian peasants from the central provinces of Russia to Kazakh lands has been widely discussed in both domestic and foreign historiography. During the Soviet period, the settlement of Russian peasants in the Kazakh steppe and agrarian relations were examined in the works of scholars such as A. Tursynbaev [1], E. Bekmakhanov [2], L. Auezova [3], B. Suleimenov [4], and P. Galuso [5]. The Tsarist government's resettlement policy was seen by A. Tursynbaev as a means of colonizing the Kazakh people and displacing them from their lands. In his opinion, the loss of land by Kazakhs has had a negative impact on their socio-economic situation. He wrote that as a result of the resettlement policy, the grazing lands of the Kazakh was being reduced, which hindered the development of pastoralism, and this situation led to an increase in social inequality in Kazakh society and a decrease in the population's standard of living. B. Suleimenov deeply investigated the essence of colonial and resettlement policy of the tsarist government in the late 19<sup>th</sup> - early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In his work, he comprehensively revealed how this policy has affected the socio-economic, political and cultural life of the Kazakh people. P. Galuso's works focus on revealing the colonial nature of the resettlement policy of the tsarist government. He described how this policy limited the ability of local people to raise livestock, which led to a decline in living standards based on statistics. In addition, some issues of colonial policy of the tsarist government were considered in studies by O. Vaganov [6], I. Makarov [7], E.G. Fedorov [8]. During the years of independence M. Koygeldiev [9], along with the views of the Kazakh intelligentsia on the land issue, provides concrete data proving the negative impact of the resettlement policy on the traditional way of life of the Kazakh people and its consequences. The works of M. Asylbekov and H. Abzhanov [10], studying socio-demographic consequences of resettlement policy in Kazakhstan, were published. In the work of foreign researchers such as Martha Brill Olcott [11] and J. Demkon [12], also considers Russian colonization, including the question of resettlement.

The turning point in resettlement policy came in 1880, when the needs of peasants in the lands became a real threat to the stability of the empire, and the government realized the need to regulate the movement of resettlement. In 1881 the provisional regulation on the resettlement of peasants to state lands was adopted. The resettlement in the steppe regions intensified with peasants initially settling in the Akmola region, followed by other regions such as Semey, Turgay and Zhetysu. In 1885-1893 in Akmola region 251,779 dessiatine of the land were seized from Kazakhs, on which 24 resettlement settlements consisting of 10,940 smoke houses were organized. In the Semey region 33,064 dessiatine of land suitable for agriculture were seized. [13, 108-109]. After the establishment of the Siberian railway committee, a new stage began in resettlement policy. From 1893 to 1896, the number of Russians in Akmola region increased to 75 thousand people, and in Turgay region - to 16 thousand people [14, 168].

In the Akmola and Semey regions 43 villages with a population of 150,000 people were organized, which used about 1,400,000 dessiatine of land. In addition, the settlers leased 88,000 dessiatine of land from Kazakhs [13, 138].

From 1889 to 1904 a law on resettlement was in force, and in 1904 a new law was approved, which came into effect. The main purpose of the new law was to ensure that resettlement did not take place unchecked and independently, but it was subject to administrative control. The law included measures ranging from the selection of persons who are allowed to relocate, and ending with permission to place on pre-arranged plots of state land fund.

A peasant who did not receive permission from the necessary institutions was considered an

involuntary transferee and according to the regulation had to be returned. For the first time, the law provided legal residents with maintenance fees, credits and several benefits, including deferrals from military service. The permit was granted taking into account the peasant's property status and his place of residence. The mass migration of peasants from areas destined for resettlement was mainly supported. However, this new law has not been able to stop the massive influx of unwelcome migrants. According to some data, in the early 1890s the proportion of spontaneous migrants from the right bank of the Oral was between 60% and 85% [15, 31].

The reason that the settlers headed east in 1890, 1891 and 1892 was the lack of crops in central Russia and the beginning of a famine had engulfed the country. It was not possible to return all the people who had been resettled by themselves completely, and the government began to legalize the illegal settlements, in other words, to register the inhabitants in their place of settlement.

Once the Siberian railway committee began to move in 1892, the situation improved a little, and much attention has paid to resettling peasants and developing production in areas located near the railroad. For this purpose, work has carried out on the removal of large areas of land and plots allocated to involuntary migrants.

Since 1893 resettlement in the steppe areas has been fully legalized, meaning that people have been provided with means of transport, medical care and food support, and in some places even paid money for travel. In addition, the local authorities sought to resettle peasants in areas favorable for agriculture, as in new territories attached to the Russian empire, the power was necessary support. Instead of returning the refugees to their home areas as required by law, local authorities tried to resettle them, especially in Semey region. They received 7-10 dessiatine of land and material assistance such as funds for moving, housing, livestock and other various benefits.

On 19 May 1898 the Minister of Agriculture and State Property sent an instruction to the heads of the provisional commissions for the resettlement and preparation of surplus lands in the Akmola and Turgay regions, which stated the following categories should be excluded from accounting when organizing surplus land:

In article 1, it had stated that caravan and livestock tracks wouldn't be designed on land;

In article 2 - summer pastures in the Aktobe and Kostanay district of the Turgay region;

In article 3 - canals, artificial water bodies and seedling lands used by the Kazakhs will not be removed.

In article 4 - not necessarily to include the territory of resettlement plots Kazakh cemeteries, and these plots should not prevent the passage to summer pastures.

The annex to the article states: if there are cemeteries on the border of the resettlement area, this land is not included in the resettlement area.

The annex to article 5- states that the former owner will retain possession of the arable and sowing land [16, 122-127].

However, things turned out differently. About this, the III deputy of the State Duma Volkov, describing the resettlement policy of the tsarist government in Kazakhstan at the meeting of the budget commission, said the following: «Based on the data of verification of Palenna, I could affirm that under the pretext of taking «excess lands» from these unfortunate Kazakhs were taken canals, arable and irrigated land, gardens, alfalfa, despite of the fact in winter on these lands wintering, or hundreds of houses were destroyed [17, 71 ].

On July 10, 1898 a compensation order was adopted for the destruction of Kazakh houses in the organization of resettlement and surplus land. According to this provision, registration work had to be carried out in order to transfer the Kazakh houses. Compensation to the owner of the houses was carried out by decision of the military governor [67, 134-135]. In many cases, the amount determined was significantly lower than the actual cost of wintering. For example, when creating resettlement sites in

Aktobe district in the village Alimbet No.11 homeowners were paid only 866 rubles 31 kopecks, which according to the calculations of the lodges' owners were 3 times cheaper than their real value [16, 26].

Several benefits were provided to the settlers who settled on the site:

-If the person who moved in two years will build a house and start to cultivate the land, he has given the right to choose a plot of land.

An irreversible aid in the form of 20 rubles and 100 trees was initially provided for housing, agricultural tools and livestock. However, despite these benefits and government food assistance, the settlers were not able to make a good living because the land received was barren and the local climate was difficult to adapt. In 1903, in the Aktobe district 12 resettlement plots were established, 91,110 dessiatine of land and three noble plots were organized, which occupied 5,907 dessiatine of land [19, 11-21].

From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, intensive settlement began in the Torgay province. During this time, the first settlers' villages based on rental agreements appeared. The Mozharsky farmstead consisted of 99 households and 1,246 people. In 1895 settlers from Orsk, renting about 200 dessiatines of land from the Kazakh residents of Araltobe volost established this farmstead. The Ashybutak farmstead was organized on land rented from the Kazakhs of village No. 5 of Araltobe volost. In 1896, Ukrainian peasants organized a rural society called Kosetek by renting about 500 dessiatines of land from the peasants of village No. 7 of Aktobe volost for 12 years, paying 150 rubles annually.

Kazakh Toremurat Kazikenov from the village Aktobe No 9 in 1893 leased land on the banks of the river Karabutak river to Kuzmin Basharin, who had settled in the town of Yryz, for 10 years at an annual rent of 125 rubles. After that, in 1895, the Kazakhs of village No 5 of Aktobe volost leased 200 dessiatines of land in a place called Tastysay to Stepan Khorolsky and Sergey Nekogdin a petty bourgeois from Aktobe and another 20 households for 10 years [20, 6-23].

The Russian peasants who leased Kazakh lands for a fixed term gradually became the permanent owners of these lands. The lands given to the Russian peasants were primarily the fertile and pasture lands of the Kazakhs.

In 1895, the new Russian Emperor Nicholas II expressed the opinion that it was necessary to begin the colonization of Siberia. The management structure to guide the relocation to the east was soon established. In 1896 an expedition under the leadership of F.A. Shcherbin was sent to the Kazakh steppes, the purpose of which was to remove «excess lands» in the use of the Kazakhs and organize resettlement plots on these lands.

The expedition continued its work from 1896 to 1902. The main objects of natural-historical and economic-statistical studies were the counties of Akmola and Semey regions, as well as two northern districts of Turgay region - Aktobe and Kostanay.

On 25 July 1903 the Regulation on Provision of government assistance for the Siberian and Steppe governorates-general was adopted. According to this regulation, the settlers were provided with «travel loans»: 50 rubles for transport costs for 5 years, 100 rubles for household purposes, and one annual credit for walkers (travelers) [21, 23-24].

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the migration of peasants to the east became an integral part of the new agrarian policy on the Russian Minister of Internal Affairs, P.A. Stolypin. Peasants were freed from communal dependence, and the rights of settlers were expanded.

From 1904 to 1906 the government divided into the territory of Kazakhstan into four resettlement areas: Torgay-Oral, Akmola, Semey, and Syrdarya.

In 1904 a new law on resettlement was published, which allowed peasants to move freely into Asian Russia. Before this, the walkers (messengers or scouts) were sent to select land plots for settlement.

Since 1904, the old policy, which was full of contradictions and did not allow to settle freely, has been replaced by a policy oriented towards stimulating and accelerating resettlement. The government has started to actively advertise resettlement. Among the measures to attract in the Asian part of Russia



was the distribution of 6.5 million booklets and leaflets. From 1906, discounts on train travel began to be granted, which became an incentive for mass resettlement.

A new credit policy has been introduced, focusing on the creation of large-scale wealth. To accommodate the continuously arriving settlers, it was necessary to search for new plots of land in the steppe and Turkestan regions. In 1907 an additional expedition was sent to search for «excess lands» in the steppe region, and during this expedition the norms set for nomads were reduced.

On 9 May 1909, the Cabinet of Ministers ruled: «Lands intended for the economic needs of the Kazakhs or temporary residence cannot serve as an obstacle to their development».

In 1910 the government adopted a «new course» in resettlement policy. The main task was to place «strong elements» in border areas with a view to spreading individual farms. It was also important for the landowners to be influenced by communities consisting of strong kulak farms, as a pillar of the Russian state.

Between 1907 and 1912, 188 settler colonies were established in the Torgay region, with 116,700 new settlers arriving [22, 161]. In the Torgay-Oral region, by 1913, 6,258 families had moved and settled, but 1,175 of these families returned to their homeland [23, 22-23].

Between 1903 and 1912, 155 settlements were established in the Aktobe district, of which 146 were colonies, 7 were «otrubs» (small settlements), one was a farmstead, and one was a nobleman. They were allocated 731,537.8 desiatinas of land, with 13,219 land shares. For example, in the Mozharsky district, settlements like Mozharsky, Ashybutak, in the Yekaterinoslavsky volost, settlements such as Kolbay, Yakovlevsk, Kreshchensky, Bogolyubov, Dambar volost, Kamensky, Aralchinsky, Anastasievsky, Grigoryev others were formed [24, 25].

The main wave of migration was directed to Siberia and the Far East, but every third settler in 1906-1910 went to the Kazakh steppes. Many poor peasants, who did not have time to settle in a new place in a short time, faced stagnation and poverty. In Akmola region alone, by 1910 there were 100,000 independent settlers, and in Zhetysu region - 40,000 waiting for resettlement. Some of the settlers who did not receive land were later forced to return to their home regions. Every year in 1905-1911, the number of migrants returning from Asian Russia was between 10 -36% of the total number of resettlers, and in 1911 this figure was 60%. In the Turkestan region this figure was even higher: in 1910, the number of people who left exceeded the number of visitors, and in 1911 and 1913, 81% and 99% respectively were those who returned [25, 31].

The planning of the resettlement plots was carried out in consultation with influential representatives among the Kazakhs, that is, the Russian government sought to attract them on its side in order to transfer the land under conditions it had developed. The extent of land works related to settlement can be demonstrated by the following facts: by 1917 in the territory of modern Kazakhstan, «excess land» amounted to 28% of the Kazakh lands used [16, 55].

Since the beginning of the peasant movement, that is from the 70s until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Slavic population in the Steppe region has doubled and according to the census of 1897 was 430,000 people. They accounted for 11 per cent of the nomadic population. Between 1897 and 1917 the number of Slavic in the territory of nomadic peoples increased three-fold, and in the teppe region their number reached 1 million people [22, 134-138, 171-175].

In the Steppe region, the number of immigrants was in the first place in the Akmola region. In the Turkestan region in 1897 the Slavic people was 200,000, among them 70,000 people lived in 116 peasant villages. By 1917, the number of Slavic in Turkestan reached 750,000 people, which was 10% of the population of the province. Among the mentioned 350,000 lived in rural areas. In terms of the number of immigrants, the first place was occupied by the Semey region, where two thirds of all immigrants from the region lived [26, 46-47, 71].

Most of the migrants came from densely populated black soil provinces, where peasant land holdings were insignificant. In the first place, it was Poltava, Kursk, Chernigov, Tambov and Voronezh

governorates, as well as left-bank Ukraine. The mass resettlement was especially intensified after 1912. The settlers also arrived from Kiev, Kharkov, Volyn, Saratov and other provinces, as well as from Oral and Western Siberia.

The living conditions of 19<sup>th</sup> century settlers differed from those who arrived later. Before 1906, most of the settlers sought to improve their position in the new place and were mostly wealthy or middle-class peasants. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, poor peasants predominated among the settlers.

The migration movement in the Steppe and Turkestan regions took place in different ways. With the start of construction of the western section of the Siberian railway, relocation to the Steppe region became much easier.

The construction of the Orenburg-Tashkent railway and its connection with two branches of the Trans-Caspian railway in 1898 and 1900 facilitated travel to southern parts of Central Asia. The settlers were transported in special wagons with goods and livestock. At the stopping points, the settlers waited in special tents, and medical assistance and food often did not reach the arriving groups. The settlers were always settled in an organized manner. Lists of homeowners were made and groups were formed.

### **Conclusion.**

The resettlement of peasants and the further colonization of the Steppe region led to the seizure of the most fertile lands of the Kazakh people, their displacement into arid and semi-arid areas, and the disruption of the traditional nomadic system and the long-established seasonal use of winter and summer pastures.

The living space of nomads has been reduced, as a result of which nomadic herding is in crisis. The worsening of this crisis has played a role in changing the livestock structure: large farms, adapting to changing economic conditions, have started to breed those types of cattle that were in demand on the market. For example, in the Kostanay district from 1898 to 1909 the number of horses per family was reduced from 11.5 to 10.7. At the same time, the number of cattle kept for dairy production increased from 3.5 to 4.6 head per family, and the number of animals used as labor increased from 2.17 to 4.13 head per family [27, 256].

As we can see, in animal husbandry, on one hand, large wealthy households began to strengthen by adapting to market demands. On the other hand, the confiscation of land for resettled Russian peasants led to a reduction in virgin pastures, which inevitably influenced changes in the types of livestock being raised.

Thus, the resettlement of Russian peasants brought significant changes to the economy of the Kazakh village. The shortage of land forced the local population to transition from nomadic and semi-nomadic livestock breeding to sedentary farming, which reflected a deepening crisis within Kazakh society. At the same time, those nomads who wished to engage in agriculture often found themselves unable to do so due to the natural and climatic conditions of the regions they inhabited.

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## РЕСЕЙ МЕМЛЕКЕТІНІҢ ҚАЗАҚ ЖЕРІН ОТАРЛАУ САЯСАТЫ (XIX Ғ. АЯҒЫ- XX Ғ. БАСЫ)

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**Анатпа.** XIX ғас.аяғы- XX ғас.басында Ресей мемлекетінің қазақ жеріне жүргізген қоныстандыру саясаты қазақ даласының әлеуметтік-экономикалық, этно-демографиялық және саяси құрылымына айтарлықтай ықпал етті. Шаруаларды жаппай қоныстандыру арқылы қазақ жерлерін игеру мен отарлық бақылауды күшейту, қоныс аударған шаруаларды өзінің саяси-әлеуметтік тірегі ету арқылы қазақ жерін империяның құрамды бір бөлігіне айналдыру еді. Қоныстанушылардың пайдалануына қазақ жерлерінің ең құнарлы, шұрайлы және көлемді бөлігі өтті. XX ғас. басындағы қоныс аударушылардың қарқынды легінің өсуі қазақтардың дәстүрлі мал шаруашылығына зиянын тигізді. Қоныстандыру әсіресе қоныстандыру мекемелері құрылғаннан бастап, бұрын болмаған деңгейге жетті. Мақалада шаруаларды қоныстандыру туралы заңдар, ережелер, қонысаудару себептері, барысы, қоныстандыру учаскелерінің ұйымдастырылуы, XX ғ.бас. қоныстандыру саясатындағы «жаңа бағыт», қоныстандырудың салдары баяндалады. Шаруаларды жаппай қоныстандыру қазақтың мал жайылымды жерлерінің тарылуына, сондай-ақ жерлердің тартып алынуы рулық қауым-ауылдық топтар яғни қазақтар арасындағы жер тартысының, жер дауының туындауына себеп болды. Сонымен бірге, жер тапшылығы қазақтарды көшпелі мал шаруашылығынан отырықшы егіншілікке көшуге мәжбүр етті. Шаруаларды қоныстандыру қазақтардың ұлттық, әлеуметтік-экономикалық мүдделерінің аяқасты болуына әкелді.

**Түйін сөздер:** қоныс аудару қозғалысы, «артық жерлерді» алу, межеулеу жұмыстары, қоныстандыру учаскелерін құру, интенсивті қоныс аудару, өз бетімен қоныс аударушы.

## ПОЛИТИКА РОССИЙСКОГО ГОСУДАРСТВА ПО КОЛОНИЗАЦИИ КАЗАХСКИХ ЗЕМЕЛЬ (В КОНЦЕ XIX- НАЧ. XX ВЕКА)

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**Аннотация.** Политика переселения Российского государства на казахские земли в конце XIX — начале XX вв. оказала существенное влияние на социально-экономическую, этно-демографическую и политическую структуру казахской степи. Целью было освоение казахских земель путем массового переселения крестьян и усиления колониального контроля, а переселенных крестьян сделать своей политической и социальной опорой, превратив казахские земли в неотъемлемую часть империи. Переселенцами использовалась наиболее плодородная и обширная часть казахских земель. Стремительный рост притока переселенцев в начале XX в. нанес ущерб традиционному животноводству казахов. Оседлость, особенно с момента создания поселенческих учреждений, достигла небывалого уровня. В статье описываются законы и положения о поселении крестьян, причины и ход переселения, организация поселенческих территорий, «новое направление» в поселенческой политике начала XX в., последствия оседлости. Массовое переселение крестьян привело к сужению казахских пастбищ, а также к захвату земель, что привело к земельным спорам между родоплеменными и сельскими группами, то есть казахами. В то же время малоземелье заставило казахов перейти от кочевого скотоводства к оседлому земледелию. Переселение крестьян привело к нарушению национальных, социально-экономических интересов казахов.

**Ключевые слова:** переселенческое движение, изъятие «излишков земель», межевые работы, создание переселенческих районов, интенсивное переселение, самоселы.