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FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN DIASPORA IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th — 20th CENTURIES

*Становлення Української діаспори у Казахстані
у другій половині XIX–XX ст.*

The declaration of independence of Ukraine created a need for an objective revision of Ukrainian state history. Simultaneously, the sovereignization of post-Soviet countries and their democratization processes stimulated the awakening of national consciousness among Ukrainians living in these territories, leading to the creation of Ukrainian ethno-cultural associations and a renewed interest in their historical heritage. The relevance of this research is determined by the development of the Ukrainian population in modern Kazakhstan during the 19th and early 20th centuries. This population became a stable component of the Republic's demographic, socio-economic, political, and cultural life, demonstrating successful adaptation of an ethnic group within a foreign cultural environment. This study examines the resettlement stages and the

number of displaced persons, highlighting the processes of resettlement and deportation during both pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods. The research draws upon various works and documents that enabled us to trace the processes of Ukrainian resettlement and adaptation in Kazakhstan. The study provides detailed descriptions of climatic, socio-psychological, economic, domestic, and cultural adaptations. Particular attention is given to the socio-cultural relations between displaced persons and the autochthonous population. The research materials included information from works by Russian, Soviet, Kazakh, and Ukrainian researchers, as well as journals, service notes, and data from foreign sources. In addition to published sources and bibliography, the author incorporated materials from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which have been published in various collections of materials and documents. In the field of creating an atmosphere of interethnic harmony, the Republic of Kazakhstan provides a positive example for other nations.

Keywords: Kazakhstan; Ukrainian; adaptation; migration; deportation; virgin land.

Статтю присвячено становленню української діаспори на території Казахстану в другій половині XIX–XX ст. Актуальність дослідження визначається підвищенням інтересу з відновленням незалежності України до розвитку в XIX — на початку XX ст. українського населення сучасного Казахстану, яке перетворилося на стабільну складову демографічного, соціально-економічного, політичного та культурного життя республіки, що показує приклад успішної адаптації етносу в іншокультурному середовищі. Поряд з етапами міграцій та кількістю переселенців, висвітлюються переселення й депортація в дореволюційний та радянський періоди. В ході дослідження цієї проблеми ми спиралися на праці й документи, розглянувши які, змогли простежити розміщення та при звичаєння українців на території Казахстану. Охарактеризовано кліматичну, соціально-психологічну, господарську, побутову, культурну адаптацію. Особливо виділено соціально-культурні відносини переселенців із автохтонними мешканцями. Матеріалами дослідження стали відомості з творів російських, радянських, казахстанських, українських дослідників, журнали та службові записки, дані зарубіжних джерел та ін. Введено у науковий обіг матеріали Центрального державного архіву Республіки Казахстан та Архіву Президента Республіки Казахстан. У створенні атмосфери міжетнічної згоди Республіка Казахстан показує позитивний приклад.

Ключові слова: Казахстан; українець; адаптація; міграція; депортація; цілина.

In the course of studying this problem, we relied on legislative documents, after studying which we were able to trace the migration policy of Tsarism on the territory of Kazakhstan. Important sources for us were archival materials published in various collections of documents, as well as internet resources, which contain a large amount of information about the history of the formation of the Ukrainian diaspora in Kazakhstan in the 19th — 20th centuries.

Sources on the history of the formation of the Ukrainian diaspora in the Steppe region in pre-revolutionary times were presented by several groups. One group consists of normative legal documents-laws, temporary regulations, government decrees, circulars and orders concerning the management of the Kazakh region and the regulation of resettlement movement¹.

Another group consists of materials of the Resettlement Department — plans and reports, reviews and reference publications («books»), journals of meetings and commissions, audit materials. For the most part, they have been introduced to scholarly discourse by domestic and foreign scientists, becoming the subject of special or general research².

The third group is represented by numerous statistical materials. Among this group, we can distinguish the materials of the first general population census of the Russian Empire in 1897, which contain the first official information on the number of the main ethnic groups that lived in Kazakhstan at the end of the 19th century, including Ukrainians³.

The history of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan before 1917 is reflected in the works of pre-revolutionary authors M. Ya. Konshin, O. K. Geyens, A. I. Dobromyslov (Коншин, Н. 1905, с. 31; Гейнс, А. К. 1898, с. 152; Добромыслов, А. И. 1900, с. 279).

Soviet Kazakhstani researchers have also devoted their works to this problem. Unfortunately, Kazakhstani researchers of the Soviet period, following the standard of the administrative-command system, devoted their works to criticizing the works of «bourgeois» researchers who directly or indirectly affected the history of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan, especially the Tsarist period. Their works cover the issues of historiography and methodology of studying the economy of Ukrainians, the class struggle of the peasantry of the region under consideration, and the agrarian policy of Tsarism. In Kazakh historiography of the Soviet period, the problems of adaptation of Ukrainians and cultural mutual influence were practically not raised. The topic of revolutionary relations remained a priority. It was assumed that during this period, the revolutionary ties between Ukrainians

¹ Материалы по истории Казахской ССР (1785–1828 гг.). Т. 4. Москва — Ленинград, 1948. С. 288.

² Мырзахметова А. Ж. История образования и деятельности органов Переселенческого управления в Казахстане в конце 19 — начале 20 вв. Автореферат дис. ... к. и. н. Караганда, 2017. С. 288.

³ Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 г. / Под ред. Н. А. Тройницкого. Наличное население обоого пола по уездам, с указанием числа лиц преобладающих родных языков. Санкт-Петербург, 1905. Вып. 7. С. 115.

and Kazakhs left the sphere of ideological disputes and revolutionary propaganda and acquired primary practical significance, largely determining the social content, tactics and chances of success of the People's Liberation Movement. The slogan «for our and your freedom!» became a kind of symbol of that time. Soviet historiography gave rise to the image of a Ukrainian revolutionary who worked closely with Russian and Kazakh figures of the liberation movement. Emphasizing the common ideals and aspirations of peoples, the researchers avoided ethno-cultural conflicts.

After Kazakhstan gained independence, there was a surge of interest in the formation of the Ukrainian diaspora in the 19th and early 20th centuries, which was due not only to political motives, but also to the opening of archives and publications of new documentary sources. The accumulation of extensive factual material allowed researchers to describe the living conditions of exiles and Ukrainian displaced peasants, their socio-legal status. Modern research consists of historiographic studies of the most significant aspects of the socio-economic, political and cultural life of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan in the second half of the 19th — early 20th centuries.

Soviet Kazakhstani researchers have also devoted their works to this problem. A. Tursunbayev's research is devoted to the characteristics of the socio-economic type of Ukrainian migrants, determining the consequences of the migration movement [Турсунбаев, А. 1950, с. 125].

In the following years, a significant number of works were published on the formation of the Ukrainian diaspora in Kazakhstan in the 18th — early 20th centuries. In 1981, M. V. Alekseenko's monograph «the population of pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan» was published, based on the results of the first general population census of 1897 and sample censuses (Алексеевко, Н. В. 1981, с. 301).

At the same time, the first special studies on the formation of the ethnic composition of the population of Kazakhstan appeared. Among them, first of all, we should mention the articles and monographs of N. E. Bekmakhanova (Бекмаханова Н. Е. 1980, с. 320). Based on the materials of numerous sources, the author reveals the main trends in the development of Ukrainians in the Kazakh region and adjacent regions of Northern Kyrgyzstan in the pre-revolutionary period.

With the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1991, the modern stage in the development of the state as a whole and its social sciences in particular began.

In recent years, the analysis of ethno-demographic processes in Kazakhstan and its regions has become the subject of a large number of studies by historians, demographers, and sociologists. The works of B. Suleimenov, N. E. Masanov, Zh. O. Artykbayev, A. S. Bezhkovich are devoted to general special issues of population development in Kazakhstan (Артыкбаев, Ж. О. 1993, с. 40;

Бежкович, А. С. 1930, с. 103; Масанов, Н. Е. 2000, с. 235; Сулейменов, Б. 1963, с. 129).

In 1998, under the editorship of Zh. A. Kulekeev, a work was published on the history of population censuses in Kazakhstan and the analysis of ethno-demographic processes (Кулекеев, Ж. 1998, с. 201).

In 2022, A. E. Yeginbay in his article considered the features of the manifestation of cultural ties of housing construction in adaptation processes (Егинбай, А. Е. 2022, с. 209–212).

Ukrainian researchers V. P. Troshchinsky, A. A. Shevchenko, V. Yevtukh, A. Popok, A. F. Makarenko, V. Sergiychuk, and L. I. Mazuka also devoted their works to the topic of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan. In their works, they described the process of formation and adaptation of the Ukrainian diaspora in the Steppe region (Євтух В., Трощинський, В., Попок, А. 2005, с. 304; Мазука, Л. І. 2008, с. 68–75; Макаренко, А. Ф. 1998, с. 176; Сергійчук, В. 2000, с. 331; Трощинський, В. П. & Шевченко, А. А. 1999, с. 352).

Separate settlements of immigrants from Ukraine on the territory of modern Kazakhstan took place in the XV–XVI centuries, when individual land explorers began to develop the expanses of the Trans-Urals, Siberia, northern and eastern Kazakhstan, as well as the Far East.

At the same time, already in the XVII — early XVIII centuries, there was an expansion of the sphere of influence of the Russian Empire, its gradual progress deep into the Kazakh steppes — along the river valleys: Ural, Tobol, Ilek, Yesil (Ishym), Irtysh.

It was these territories that were used by decree of Catherine II to send here participants of the National Liberation uprising of 1768 (Бекмаханова, Н. Е. 1980, с. 5), known in history as «Koliivshchyna» (from the word «Koli», which were the main weapon of the rebels).

The first Ukrainians on Kazakh soil are considered to be members of the gaidamak movement, which was suppressed in 1768 and is known in history as «Koliivshchyna», who were exiled to Northern Kazakhstan. Some of the Zaporozhye Cossacks were also sent here after the liquidation of the Zaporozhye Sich by the Russian empress Catherine II in 1775. These first mass relocations, dating back to the second half of the XVIII century, had a forced — deportation — character (Мазука, Л. І. 2008, с. 68–75).

Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to determine the exact number of immigrants from Ukraine among these categories of forced migrants and trace their further fate without a detailed study of archival materials until the 19th century.

In the period from 1847 to 1857, the great Ukrainian poet and artist Taras Shevchenko served his exile on the territory of the younger zhuz. He ended up in Kazakhstan not of his own free will — he was exiled from Ukraine indefinitely on the instructions of the Russian Tsar Nicholas I. The main reason for the exile was

the freedom-loving poems of T. Shevchenko. In his works, he expressed thoughts and a fervent desire for freedom and independence for the Ukrainian people. In 1847, at the age of 33, he was sent as a soldier to the separate Orenburg Corps. The great Ukrainian poet and talented artist became a political exile and an ordinary soldier of the Russian Empire. He was forbidden to even draw. He served as a soldier in Orenburg, Orsk, and on the Mangistau peninsula in the Novopetrovsky fortification. T. Shevchenko and local Kazakhs established warm and friendly relations. The Tsarist government categorically forbade him to write about Kazakhs. Despite this ban, T. Shevchenko created the story «Varnak», where he managed to describe the difficult life of Kazakhs. Subsequently, T. Shevchenko wrote the novel «Gemini», in which this direction of his work was further developed. T. Shevchenko secretly wrote down all his works in small books made by himself, which he hid in the top of his boot. They include about 120 works. These are autobiographical, philosophical and historical poems, lyrics rich in images of Ukrainian and Kazakh nature. So, in his poem «My Thoughts», the poet described the life of ordinary Kazakhs. In his works, he condemned serfdom, the arbitrariness of landlords, Russian militarism and expressed sympathy for the underprivileged.

T. Shevchenko devoted many of his paintings and sketches to the hard life of the Kazakh poor. He left such paintings as «Shepherd», «Kyrgyz on Horseback», «Over the Cliff», «Blizzard», «Beggars», which represent the life of poor steppe people. Shevchenko's visual heritage includes about 450 works, of which about 350 are devoted to Kazakhstan, its nature, life and everyday life of its inhabitants. The poet had great respect among the local population. Kazakhs respectfully called him «Akyn Taras» (poet Taras). In close communication with the local Kazakh population, T. Shevchenko found a lot in common in the historical fate of the Kazakh and Ukrainian peoples.

Significant groups of Ukrainians appeared on the territory of the Kazakh steppes at the turn of the 19–20th centuries, during the mass migration of peasants from the European part of the Russian Empire. This process became systematic with the organized resettlement of Ukrainian peasants after the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and became widespread at the beginning of the 20th century, during the Stolypin agrarian reform. The migrants arrived mainly from the Poltava, Kharkiv, Tavria, Kherson, Katerynoslav and Kyiv provinces.

Here is how their life is described by researchers of that time: «Little Russians (Kharkiv, Poltava, Kyiv and other provinces) settled in recent years mainly in the southern steppe uyezds — Akmolinsky and Atbasarsky. Their villages can be found immediately — you can identify them by the white adobe (mud brick) houses with thatched roofs. They settle with velikoruses only as a last resort, preferring separate settlements»¹.

¹ Россия. Полное географическое описание нашего отечества. Настольная и дорожная книга для русских людей / Под ред. П. П. Семенова. Санкт-Петербург, 1903. Т. XVIII: Киргизский край. С. 499.

The main economic occupation of Ukrainians was agriculture. For example, one of the famous farmers of the region was a Ukrainian peasant from the village of Zaporizhia, Kiyminsky volost, Atbasar uyezd, Akmola region, Vasily Marchenko. In 1913, Russia celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of the ruling Romanov dynasty, and awards were established for exemplary farms. V. Marchenko received this award from the Akmola region. In order to preserve the fertility of the land, he introduced a ten-column crop rotation. He wrote out the agricultural magazines «Selsky Vestnik» and «Khleborob». He used the latest agricultural machinery at that time. He was engaged in improving livestock breeds. Despite the colonial nature of the Tsarist migration policy, there were friendly and sometimes kinship relations between Ukrainians and the local population.

So, for participating in the demonstration of 1905, Afanasy Alexandrovich Latuta was exiled from Kiev to Akmolinsky uyezd. He was born in 1891 in the village of Maslovka, Kanevsky uyezd, Kiev province, to a family of impoverished peasants. At the age of 8, he began his career as an assistant shoemaker. At the same time, he entered the gymnasium, constantly participating in secret underground organizations of the Social Democrats. For participating in a three-day demonstration in Kiev, he was sent to the Kazakh steppe. Upon arrival in Akmolinsk, he was sent to the area of Arshaty, where he was adopted by the Kazakh Zholaman, receiving a new name and surname — Zhakup Zholamanov. Here he learned Arabic graphics. On the territory of Sonala, he even became a teacher in the Kazakh mektebi (school). Here fate brought him together with Rakhimzhan Madinov, the future leader of one of the largest centers of the Kazakh uprising against the Tsarist government in the Korgalzhino district, in which about 30 thousand rebels took part. Here Zholaman became a co-leader of the Kazakh uprising, enjoying huge support of the local population (Калкаманов, Б. 1995, с. 156).

In the 19th century, the resettlement of immigrants from Ukraine to the Kazakh steppes was associated with the implementation by the Tsarist government of the policy of military Cossack colonization of the territory of Kazakhstan, which was carried out from the 1820s until the revolution of 1917.

There is no reason to consider the migration process from Ukraine to Kazakhstan in the first half of the 19th century large-scale, but in the second half, with the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire (1861) and especially with the opening of the Siberian Railway (1894), the migration flow from Ukrainian lands to Kazakh lands noticeably increased. It was based on immigrants from the Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Tavria, Kyiv, Kherson and Chernihiv provinces (Алексенко, А. Н., Алексеев, Н. В., Козыбаев, М. К. & Романов, Ю. И. 2001, с. 9).

The settlers settled mainly on the territory of the current Akmola, Kostanay, West Kazakhstan, North Kazakhstan and East Kazakhstan regions.

It is interesting to note that the largest increase in migrants in the entire history of resettlement of Ukrainians to Kazakhstan occurs at the turn of the 19th

and 20th centuries — the time of the first Russian Revolution and the subsequent Stolypin agrarian reform.

It was during this period that the foundation of the Ukrainian diaspora in Kazakhstan was laid.

So, if we talk about the «wave» of migrations of Ukrainians to Kazakhstan, then the first of them should be counted until the end of the 19th century. It was triggered by at least two phenomena that led to an active migration movement.

The first of them is the introduction by the Tsarist government after the abolition of serfdom of relevant regulatory documents, which became, in particular, the «temporary rules on the resettlement of peasants to Free State Lands» (1881), as well as the law «on the voluntary resettlement of rural residents and burghers to state lands and the procedure for the resettlement of persons of these classes who resettled in the previous time» (1889) (Бекмаханова Н. Е. 1980, с. 320).

The second, which was of great practical importance, was the opening of the Siberian Railway in 1894. The intensity of these «waves» is eloquently indicated by statistics. According to the first general census of the population of the Russian Empire (1897), 86.7 thousand Ukrainians lived in Kazakhstan until the end of the 19th century¹ (according to other sources — 93.2 or 93.4 thousand), and by 1917 the number of migrants increased by 8 times (!) and amounted to more than 700 thousand people.

At the same time, the share of Ukrainians in the total population of Kazakhstan increased from 1.9% in 1897 to 10.5% in 1917, that is, by 5 times.

Significant groups of Ukrainians settled in the Akmola region (51.1%). The main part of Ukrainians was made up of peasants (87%). The state of burghers made up 7%. About 5% of Ukrainians served as Russian Cossacks (Кабулдинов, З. Е. 2007, с. 174–175).

According to the results of these migrations, Ukrainians made up the majority of the population of the northern regions of Kazakhstan in the vast territory of the Steppe region, which is called in historiography the «gray wedge».

Based on the general population census of the Russian Empire in 1897, the three largest ethnic groups can be distinguished on the territory of Kazakhstan: Kazakhs made up 74–78% of the population, Ukrainians — 1–2%².

The next wave, which followed the first one, was the most powerful «wave» of resettlement associated with the Stolypin agrarian reform, which was carried out in Tsarist Russia (1906–1917).

¹ Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 г. / Под ред. Н. А. Тройниченко. Наличное население обоего пола по уездам, с указанием числа лиц преобладающих родных языков. Санкт-Петербург, 1905. Вып. 7. С. 115.

² Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897 г. / Под ред. Н. А. Тройниченко. Наличное население обоего пола по уездам, с указанием числа лиц преобладающих родных языков. Санкт-Петербург, 1905. Вып. 7. С. 115.

Migrants had to adapt to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan collectively, forming settlements. In 1866, peasant villages were formed in the Akmola region. Representatives of this colonization of the region were mainly philistines of various Siberian cities, and mainly peasants of the Tobolsk province. Before the first official permit (1879), 317 families lived in the region.

In 1879, settlements with up to 164 souls were established on two plots in Kokchetavsky uyezd; in 1880–1881, 9 more plots (435 male souls) were settled. At first, they cut 30 dessiatines per capita, but later they decided to reduce the allotment rate to 15 dessiatines.

Colonization of the Turgai region began in 1869 in connection with the foundation of the Aktobe fortress. In the 1870s, there were already dozens of courtyards here. Thus, according to the 1897 census, 28,400 people lived here. After the foundation of Kustanai in 1881, 1,200 farmers responded to the call of the administration at once (Артыкбаев, Ж. О. 1993, с. 38).

In the Chimkent, Tashkent, and Aulie-Ata counties of the Syr Darya region, 37 peasant settlements were created in 30 years.

Domestic adaptation provided for the construction of housing adapted to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan, as well as borrowing elements of national clothing and Kazakh cuisine.

The harsh climatic conditions of Kazakhstan became a test for displaced persons. The lack of infrastructure in the counties created additional difficulties. Migrant farmers could not deliver timber for 10–20 versts, because they did not have horses. «They could not buy horses because the allowance was given to them in a limited amount and in installments».

The Ukrainian population that settled in the studied region, in the construction of winter dwellings, first and foremost adapted to local natural conditions and based on the availability of local building material. Therefore, in the steppe treeless areas of the region, wild stone and turf were used as building materials, as among the Kazakhs. The houses were built with a flat earthen roof, which simultaneously served as both the roof and ceiling. Even in forest areas where pine was the main type of building material, many poor and middle-income owners built log houses with a flat earthen roof. Since the small amount of precipitation did not really bother the owners of such dwellings, they considered gable plank roofs a luxury and did without them. Logs were laid in the base of the roof, covered with long straw or reeds and then with soil. Residential buildings and outbuildings were more often built under one roof, which allowed the peasant's family to take care of livestock during severe frosts and multi-day blizzards. Riga and Tik among outbuildings in Kazakhstan were usually absent from private farms¹.

Most Ukrainian families could not build dugouts for themselves: many huddled together in two or three families in one. «There was no more than one head

¹ Central State Archive of the Kazakh SSR. F. 369. Op. 1. D. 4614. L. 3–8, 31, 52–86.

of cattle for two families, and mostly horses, so the children were without milk; they managed to sow very poorly — 553 families had only 7 dessiatines of sowing, and by the next year they managed to prepare 1 dessiatine per family».

The Medical Inspector of the Akmola region, Court Councilor, doctor of Medicine N. E. Frankovsky, who examined 16 settlements of the Petropavlovsk district in detail in 1896, wrote: «the settlers dug dugouts of this type: a dugout is a pit 1.5 yards deep, above which the walls rise 1 yard above the surface of the earth; a ceiling covered with earth, without a roof, was made on top. These dwellings, unlike dugouts that are not buried in the ground and are made of turf or raw bricks, I call earthen burrows. In the spring, when the snow began to melt, the dugouts turned into bath rooms, overflowing with the stench of crowding people, especially since in the absence of even such dugouts, families sometimes crowded together. In such a hole, I found 19 souls of inhabitants. Only very few have built wooden houses, but they were damp, cold. All the premises of the peasants are so full of parasites that children from flea and bedbug bites appeared to be covered with a rash» (Сулейменов, Б. 1963, с. 129).

Residential buildings of Ukrainian migrants of this period can be divided into six different types:

- 1) huts and sheds.
- 2) earthen burrows.
- 3) turf huts.
- 4) sod-plaits-mazanki.
- 5) pletenki-mazanki.
- 6) ordinary wooden timber huts¹.

According to the description of the same N. Frankovsky, earthen burrows were pits with a depth of 2 to 2.5 yards. They had one or two openings, but mostly one opening that replaced the window. The light area of these windows did not exceed a quarter and a half yards.

Sod-huts were laid out from sod plates cut like bricks. The thickness of the walls varied: from 1 to 3 yards. For strength, the walls were laid with thin wooden beams. The roofs were also made of turf or clay mixed with straw or reeds.

Turf-plaits-mazanki differed from turf-mazanki in that first wattles were built, which were coated with clay from the inside, and covered with a thick layer of turf from the outside. The walls of the wicker huts consisted of two wattles, the space between them was covered with dry earth. Such dwellings, according to the Regional Medical Inspector, were considered «hygienic, and both ventilation and disinfection could be used in them».

In addition, in the new natural conditions, migrant peasants of the late 19th — early 20th centuries borrowed from the local population some features of the lay-

¹ Переселенческая политика царского правительства и ее осуществление в Восточном Казахстане (XVIII — начало XX вв.) Сборник документов. Часть 1. Семей, 2010. С. 96.

out of the estate and residential premises. So, in the southern regions of Semipalatinsk uyezd in the villages of Volnoye, Chaikovskoye, Znamenka and others, the origin of which dates back to the beginning of the 20th century, peasant estates were not fenced and did not have a separate yard. Outbuildings were directly adjacent to the residential premises under a solid roof and with a single entrance, as in the wintering grounds of Kazakhs. Usually, such estates were separated from each other at a distance of 20 to 50 m. In the layout of residential premises, the method of dividing one room into two halves by a heating stove can be considered borrowed from the local population. This layout has been preserved to this day in semi-dugouts made of turf and stone, built by Russian settlers during the foundation of these villages (Сулейменов, Б. 1963, с. 130).

Observing the activities of the peasants of the village of Poltavskoe, N. E. Frankovsky noted: «all settlers have busy work on arranging housing for the winter. You have to be an eyewitness to deeply feel all their energy, fearlessness, resourcefulness, with which this people — Poltava residents — take care of arranging their warm nest. All the material, if we had given them forests, then in three weeks we would have built the whole city of Petropavlovsk» (Сулейменов, Б. 1963, с. 130).

Economic adaptation involved adjusting farming to local climatic conditions and the gradual dominance of cattle breeding, which for centuries was a guarantee of the survival of the local Kazakh population.

In the process of economic adaptation, the peasants returned to *trypillia* — the system of alternating grain crops of the XVIII century. It developed where there were large tracts of arable land, for example, on the Ichne River. In the 1807s, the fallow system of agriculture was used. The order of crop rotation provided for planting millet in the first year, wheat in the second year, then from 3 to 6 years the land remained fallow, after which the crop rotation was repeated. Ukrainian immigrants in the southern regions of the region adopted the experience of arable farming from the local population, introduced new agricultural tools, for example, *ketmen* (Румянцев, П. П. 1911, с. 218).

P. P. Rumyantsev, examining the Seven Rivers, said about the migrants that they are «neither in the sense of cultural diversity, nor in the sense of tillage techniques... they did not surpass the settled natives — Turks, Sarts and Chinese-Dungan; on the contrary, the latter grow rice, produce a beautiful variety of vegetables, grapes, peaches and other fruits, that is, they are engaged in crops that require much more intensive farming than ordinary peasant fallow farming. Moreover, we can say that in terms of adaptation to natural conditions, even the economy of Kyrgyz nomads according to its own system, and not technology, is certainly more rational than the economy of Ukrainian peasants» (Бекмаханова, Н. Е. 1986, с. 211).

The same fallow system of agriculture was used in the Syr Darya region. The well-to-do, according to P. A. Skryplev, «start their arable land because it, due

to monotonous wheat crops, ceases to produce good yields. Instead, these farms lease land from the Kyrgyz and, thus, the crop is transferred from one place to another» (Бекмаханова, Н. Е. 1986, с. 211).

There were significant differences in the occupation of agriculture by immigrants in Kazakhstan in the second half of the 19th — early 20th century. Cereals were sown in the region: rye, wheat, barley, millet, oats, rice, corn, and industrial crops: cotton, jugara, hemp, flax. In the Aulie-Ata uyezd, grain and melon crops prevailed on irrigated and rainfall lands. In Kapalsky uyezd, the share of wheat in crops decreased due to millet. In Vernensky uyezd, the main crops on the rain-fed lands were millet, then wheat and oats. All other cereals — rye, barley — were sown on irrigated lands.

The same fallow system of agriculture was used in the Syr Darya region. The wealthy, according to P. A. Skryplev, «leave their arable land because it ceases to produce good yields due to monotonous wheat crops. Instead, these farms lease land from the Kyrgyz and, thus, the crop is transferred from one place to another» (Бекмаханова Н. Е. 1986, с. 211).

Wheat crops in Kostanay uyezd were constantly growing (up to 60% of other grain crops sown).

In Aktobe and Ural counties, millet was the predominant crop, but the role of wheat gradually increased (Бекмаханова Н. Е. 1986, с. 215).

In the process of adaptation, there were changes in vegetable gardening and horticulture. Apple, pear, apricot, plum, karagach, poplar, willow were planted in the region, and grapes were planted in the South. Potatoes, pumpkins, cabbage, carrots, radishes, beets, garlic, peppers, onions were planted, and melons and watermelons were planted in the South¹.

In Petropavlovsk uyezd, the village of Makaryevskoye had only 4 dessiatines of convenient arable land per capita, as a result of which the peasants were forced to rent land in the nearest Cossack villages. In the villages of Varvarinsky and Fedorovsky, about 2/3 of the allotment land was completely unsuitable for agriculture, since it consisted of continuous salt marshes and stones, on which something grew only in a rainy year. The village of Semipolskoye suffered from a lack of water, because in two lakes near it the water was so salty that it was unsuitable even for watering livestock. The village of Vasilkovskoye, Kokchetavsky uyezd, did not have hayfields at all, and the allotment land consisted of half salt marsh and half stone. The village of Nikolaevskoye had arable land forty versts from Ust-Kamenogorsk. Especially inconvenient was the allotment of the village of Olginskoye, where the peasants, going to the arable land, had to take water for livestock with them. In the village of Roslavka, both wells provided

¹ Сибирские переселения / Под ред. М. В. Шилковского. Вып. 3. Освоение Верхнего Прииртышья во второй половине XVII — начале XX вв. Сборник документов. Новосибирск, 2010. С. 185.

only salt water, and farmers were forced to obtain water from the swamp, which led to the spread of fever¹.

In the villages of Karpino and Taubino, which were located in the Valley of the Char River, by September 1894, the total number of heads of livestock (large and small) in both villages reached 323. Despite the small number of livestock, the area sown in 1894 almost doubled, reaching 430 acres compared to 220 acres in 1893. Most of the allotment was suitable for cultivation, there was little unusable land, and with an incomplete number of community members, the field farming system was almost exclusively single-field, which indicated the extensive nature of the economy. Cultivation methods were different from those used in Russia. The fields were plowed and harrowed once. Fertilizers were not used at all, and the depth of plowing was from 2 to 2.5 tops.

On July 11, 1898, the newspaper «Semipalatinsk regional Vedomosti» published an article «statistical notes on displaced settlements in the Semipalatinsk region», which provides data on the adaptation of the agriculture of displaced persons to local climatic conditions: «as the local administration has repeatedly pointed out, without artificial irrigation, agriculture in a significant part of the region due to soil and climatic conditions will always be extremely unstable. And so last year, some villages were allocated additional land plots, and the village of Mikhailo-Arkhangelskoye (in Ust-Kamenogorsk uyezd) was decided to be transferred to another place, in accordance with repeated requests from the same migrants». One of the indicators of economic adaptation was the gradual predominance of cattle breeding among farmers. The settlers adopted varieties of coarse-haired fat-tailed sheep from the Kazakhs: Baganaly white-headed gray, Edilbayevsky, Zaisan white, Jetisuy brown, Sarysuy reddish-red, Karkaraly, Kustanai, etc. had low milk productivity. Immigrants from Ukraine brought new breeds of cattle: Simmental, Dutch, Red-German, Schwyz, Gray-Ukrainian².

The influence of Kazakhs on the economy of displaced persons is primarily indicated by the herding livestock on pasture feed, which was practiced by Ukrainians both in summer and winter. This was facilitated by the wide expanses of pastures in the region and the acquisition by Russian settlers, as a rule, of Kazakh cattle, accustomed to tobinovka, even in difficult winters. In addition, Ukrainians willingly hired experienced Kazakh pastoralists as shepherds for the summer and winter seasons.

In summer, flocks of sheep and herds of horses were driven away from villages to summer pastures, leaving only the necessary working cattle, and in winter the livestock was kept in convenient tracts, where it was easier to get pas-

¹ Переселенческая политика царского правительства и ее осуществление в Восточном Казахстане (XVIII — начало XX вв.) Сборник документов. Ч. 1. Семей, 2010. С. 94.

² Сибирские инородцы, их быт и современное положение / Ядринцев Н. М. Санкт-Петербург: Издание И. М. Сибирякова, 1891. С. 243–264.

ture feed with tobinovka. In such places, Ukrainians built a hut for a Kazakh shepherd and an open pen for livestock, mainly made of stone and manure, but in wooded areas they used poles. Usually, such winter camps had a supply of hay, which was fed to cattle only during strong winds and snowstorms. They tried to keep flocks of sheep and herds of horses, both in summer and winter, away from populated areas, preserving the nearby pastures adjacent to the settlement for dairy cattle, since the Ukrainians did not milk sheep and horses (Бежкович, А. С. 1930, с. 103).

Some Ukrainian migrants borrowed camels from the Kazakhs as working cattle, but in very limited quantities. Ukrainians were not engaged in goat breeding.

At the end of the 19th century they built «for cattle-Kyrgyz detachments, cows are milked in Kyrgyz: with the arrival of calves; a herd of horses, if it exists, is bred and multiplied by the will of God, in the steppe-by Kyrgyz: with the arrival of calves: a herd of horses, if it exists, is bred and multiplied by the will of God, in the steppe-by Kyrgyz. Only the Cossack himself does not wander, lives in a hut. That's the whole difference» (Масанов, Н. Э. 2000, с. 591–592).

The influence of the local Kazakh population affected the costume of Ukrainian immigrants. Armenian camel hair made from Kazakh work was common among all groups of the Ukrainian population, especially among the Cossacks. Mostly men's outerwear was sewn from it.

The Ukrainians of Kazakhstan in the second half of the 19th century, everyday elements of the costume included «besment or robe of Kyrgyz cut, only with shorter sleeves, which were usually belted with a wide ribbon of colored fabric or fabric girdle, the color of the robe is often brown or in the Kyrgyz taste».

In the second half of the 19th century, suede and leather harem pants, mainly made of goat skins, began to spread among Ukrainians. From Kazakh headdresses, a bald «Borik» was often worn, and in winter many wore a Kazakh «timak» made of merlushka and fox skins (Gerasimov 1911, 21).

Among Ukrainian population, Kazakh-made boots called «saptama-ethical» became quite widespread. These boots were worn with felt stockings (kiiz-baipak), as Kazakhs do. Those who wore «saptama-ethical» claimed that such Kazakh boots were the most comfortable type of footwear in the region, since felt stockings protected well from severe frosts, and leather boots worn over «baypak» kept out dampness even during slush. In addition, they simultaneously replaced both felt boots and leather boots.

The influence of the local Kazakh population on the food of Ukrainians was also noticeable during this period. Ukrainians willingly drank kumiss from neighboring Kazakhs, ate meat, even horse meat. But they did not prepare food from horse meat, except in special cases when rich Cossacks invited their tamirs among noble Kazakhs and treated them to Kazakh food. That is, a ram was slaughtered and the meat was served in strict compliance with all Kazakh customs. Many

people made «irimshik» and «Kurt» from milk in the Kazakh way and used them for food. Ukrainian national dishes, such as borscht, gradually became popular among Kazakhs (Бекмаханова Н. Е. 1980, с. 156).

Regular contacts contributed to the emergence of friendly relations between the Kazakh population and Ukrainians. Both peoples were under the heavy yoke of Russian colonialism and understood the commonality of destinies. During the history of coexistence, few interethnic conflicts have been recorded among them. In the process of communication, a rich experience of living together, adapting ethnic groups to each other, and a tolerant attitude to the traditions and customs of other peoples was accumulated. It was this experience that allowed the multinational population of the Republic to go through the turbulent events of the 19th century and in 1991 establish an independent state in the center of Eurasia, which became an example of interethnic harmony. The study of this topic will undoubtedly allow us to use this unique experience in the field of modern interethnic relations in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

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