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Russian-Native and New Method Schools of the Russian Empire as a Response to the Crisis of Traditional Education in the Kazakh Steppe (late 19th – early 20th centuries)

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Abstract

The article deals with the issues related to the crisis of traditional Muslim education in the Kazakh steppe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and attempts to modernize it by the Russian authorities and Muslim intellectuals, which resulted the opening of Russian-Kazakh and new method schools. On the basis of archival documents, studies and testimonies of direct participants in the processes under study, as well as authors of later periods, the features of reforming the education system in the Kazakh steppe have been studied. When considering processes and phenomena, the literature of various historical periods was used, which contributes, both to the utmost detail of the processes and phenomena under consideration, and to the abstraction and generalization required in certain cases, using the advantages of a certain chronological remoteness. The paper considers the school programs of both new educational institutions and old ones (mektebs and madrasas), attention is paid to the peculiarities of each type of school and the processes of modernization, adaptation to the situation on the ground. The issues under study are considered in the context of the processes of modernization within the Russian Empire itself, the development of the newly attached territories of the Kazakh steppe and their further integration into the all-Russian agenda, significant socio-economic transformations in the state.

Keywords: traditional Muslim education, Russian-Kazakh and new method schools, Kazakh steppe, modernization of the education system.

1. Introduction

The education system is a mirror of society, reflecting the demands and needs of the society for certain knowledge that is in demand in it. It is the education system that is often subject to reform and adjustment, based on the vision of the future society by the authorities. The process of reforming the education system by the Russian authorities in the Kazakh steppe had additional difficulties in the context of attempts to modernize the traditional society in the territories integrated into the legal and socio-cultural system, with a population representing an economic and cultural type and religious beliefs that were different from the metropolis.

The processes of modernization here are inevitably superimposed on the situation in the Russian Empire in the Muslim world community itself and the world as a whole. The purpose of this article is to consider such an element from the process of modernization of traditional society as attempts to reform education in the Kazakh steppe in the late XIX – early XX centuries.

Yu.A. Lysenko, researching the “frontier modernization” of the Russian part of the Central Asian region in 19 century, discovers the large-scale changes throughout the country as a whole, when bourgeois reforms were launched in the Russian Empire in the 1860s and 1870s. In this period we can see how the proletariat and the bourgeoisie classes began to appear, the social mobility of the population increased, a single market began to form, and regional specialization appeared (Lysenko, 2021: 395).

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Consideration of reforms in the education system in the Kazakh steppe territories in the context of the processes of modernization of traditional society, the attempts to at least partially bring the population in socio-cultural terms under the “common denominator”, in our opinion, can reveal the essence of the processes and highlight important aspects of the problem that deserve research attention. In general, this can also contribute to the development of research problems related to the integration of the territories of the Kazakh steppe into the legal and socio-cultural system of the Russian Empire. At the same time, the traditional system of Muslim education, with all its disadvantages, nevertheless provided the necessary set of knowledge over a long historical period. Therefore, it is not surprising that, as Russian researchers-witnesses (and sometimes direct participants) of attempts to modernize certain areas of the Kazakh traditional society note, in the first years after the accession of power, the local population was very wary of innovations in the education system. At the same time, as researchers and archival data show a demand among the local population for a new type of education, provided in Russian-native schools, and later in “new method” educational institutions. Of particular note is the relatively higher popularity of new schools among the Kazakh nomadic population.

In fact, these reforms were demanded by the very realities of life and dictated by the need to comply with them, overcome isolation from the processes of the modern world and at least partially correspond to the rapid changes of the modern times. Thus, we can say that the changes carried out by the Russian administration were necessary for the local population itself. Certain work on the modernization of the traditional society by the tsarist authorities, due to the need for further development of the newly annexed lands, new trends in the Islamic world (Jadidism), caused by a certain crisis in the traditional education system, pronounced in the region, all led to the need to modernize the education system. And it was done in one way or another. In this article, we will try to consider this process, reflected in the works of the authors (witnesses and direct participants of the events). The period under review was characterized by dynamic changes in the education system. New educational institutions were represented by Russian-native and new method schools. This historical period is of particular interest to researchers due to socio-economic changes and political changes associated with the establishment of a new legal system, the crisis of the traditional education system, all the more clearly manifested in terms of contact with the Russian administration as representatives of a more scientifically and technologically advanced society that exposed the problems of traditional Kazakh society.

2. Materials and methods

The study is based on the works of contemporary researchers of the described and analyzed processes, their witnesses and direct participants, scientists of later periods, as well as archival material (Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan). The use of such a set of sources, in our opinion, will allow some comparative analysis. Moreover, the consideration of the issues in a historical perspective, in the works of researchers, due to the existing opportunity to trace the reforms in education on the territory of the Kazakh steppe after a long time, will more fully assess the consequences and significance of certain processes, phenomena, analyze the causes and factors that predetermined that or some other course of events.

3. Discussion

The issues of education in the Kazakh traditional society in the new socio-economic, cultural conditions were considered, one way or another, by many researchers in the context of more “general” processes: the modernization of traditional society and the development of new territories by the Russian Empire, socio-cultural contacts (Krupko et al., 2023: 662-670).

From pre-revolutionary studies, one can single out the work of Russian missionaries, officials and administrative workers. Of the works of the authors-contemporaries of the process, it should be noted the research of S.M. Gramenitsky (Gramenitsky, 1896: 75), N.P. Ostroumov (Ostroumov, 1906: 113-166), N.A. Bobrovnikov (Bobrovnikov, 1913: 90) who provided an overview of the situation with education in the Kazakh steppe, data on mektebs, madrasas and Russian-native schools.

Of particular interest are the studies of the processes of pre-revolutionary modernization of traditional education by Soviet researchers. In particular, the work of V.V. Bartold provides detailed information about the educational institutions that existed in the Kazakh steppe, the Kirghiz (Kazakh) makhtabs and the Russian-native and new method schools that functioned in parallel with them (Bartol'd, 1927: 256). In our opinion, S.D. Asfendiyarov, in his research touched upon an important aspect of school education among the indigenous nomadic population, drawing attention to the influence of a particular education on the formation of the personality of graduates, the future intelligentsia of Kazakh society, and their subsequent adherence to certain views in the process of socio-political activities. In particular, the author notes the attraction of graduates of Russian gymnasiums to Russian culture (Asfendiyarov, 1993: 304). T.T. Tazhibayev focuses his attention on the influence of Russian culture in the education of the local population, its mediating role in familiarizing the Kazakhs with the contemporary world culture at that time (Tazhibayev, 1962: 507). Of modern researchers, the works of T.V. Kotyukova (Kotyukova, 2016: 800) on the policy of the Russian Empire in Turkestan, including the modernization of the traditional education system are of particular interest. N.D. Nurtazina (Nurtazina, 2016: 354), S.O. Smagulova (Smagulova, 2014) in their

studies of educational institutions among Kazakhs, they focus their attention on the activities of new method schools, noting their importance in raising the level of literacy of the local population. I.K. Zagidullin in his works highlights the processes of modernization among Russian Muslims in the late 19th – early 20th centuries (Zagidullin, 2014: 512). S. Gafarov in his works pays attention to issues of historical personalism related to Muslim education in Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in particular, the activities of I. Gasprinsky (Gafarov, 2001: 256). Research by A.Z. Kulbakhtina are dedicated to the traditional educational institutions of Russian Muslims in the period studied in this article (Kulbakhtina, 2012: 149). A.Yu. Khabutdinov studies the processes of formation of a modern-type nation among Russian Muslims, including issues of education (Khabutdinov, 2008: 214).

4. Results

Based on the situation, the new authorities were cautious about the issues of modernizing the traditional education for the region, represented mainly by the basics of religious knowledge, Arabic grammar and simple arithmetic calculations. It should be noted that the history of Muslim educational institutions in the Kazakh steppe at the time of joining the Russian Empire had already spanned several centuries. At the initial stage, the basics of religion were taught directly at mosques, and later schools began to open, in which teaching was conducted by mullahs. As is known, Muslim educational institutions were divided into 2 types: mektebs (elementary schools, Arabic “maktab” - “where they write”), where children were taught Arabic and reading the Koran, and madrasahs (higher educational institutions, “madrasah” in Arabic means “a place where they study”), which provided knowledge of Sharia spiritual and ethical norms and trained specialists in the field of Islamic law (Ostroumov, 1906: 113-166). N.P. Ostroumov recognized the role of madrasahs as moral and intellectual centers in Turkestan and throughout Central Asia, despite their poor material support (Ostroumov, 1907: 1-58).

V.P. Nalivkin, before proceeding to judgments about the current state of the “native school”, considers it necessary to recognize the achievements of the Muslim world in the field of science during the heyday, making the reservation that this heyday “did not bear fruit”, moreover, in his opinion, it bore “negative fruits” (Nalivkin, 1889: 3, 4). T.V. Kotyukova considers the educational policy of the Russian Empire in the context of the system of administration of new territories. Paying attention to the traditional educational system of the local population, represented only by religious institutions, the author notes the differences between the schools of the settled Turkestan population and the nomadic one, due to economic differences. In addition, as the researcher writes, traditional maktab, in fact, were not schools in the modern sense of the word due to the lack of a class-lesson system, and the curriculum itself. Education in maktab was mainly based on “rote learning” without reflection. Among the minuses, the lack of stable funding was also noted and, as a result, the impossibility of continuous operation, which could not but affect the education process. Regarding the subjects taught in maktab, the author cites such as reading, writing and primary knowledge on the basics of the Muslim religion and morality (due to the requirements of the Muslim community). T.V. Kotyukova draws attention to the characteristics of education in madrasahs, higher educational institutions, in particular, the duration of education (about 20 years), a certain inertia, the details of the curriculum, which consisted of 2 cycles of subjects: religious (basic) sciences and rational, which included mathematics, logic, calligraphy, medicine, etiquette, etc. At the same time, the researcher uses a completely balanced approach, refraining from a one-sided consideration of religious education in Turkestan in the pre-revolutionary period, when graduates often did not receive even elementary knowledge and learned religious texts by heart without comprehending them. The scholar also pays tribute to this type of education, its role in the “preservation and reproduction of the cultural code” over a long historical period, emphasizing its quite natural obsolescence over time (Kotyukova, 2016: 283). The famous Russian orientalist N.P. Ostroumov, considering the issue of Muslim education in Russia as a whole, recognizes its “prominent place in the history of cultural development not only in Asia, but also in Europe...” and, accordingly, expresses his surprise at the situation he observes, when neither Europeans nor Asian (Muslim) sources do not contain exhaustive works on the formation and development of Muslim education. Thus, European authors at that time mentioned “Muslim education” in a general cultural context, while the presence of a school among Muslims as such was simply stated as a fact. The author draws attention to the low awareness of Russians about the Russian Muslim school and the wrong idea about it. The scholar pays tribute to the “originality” of the Muslim school, notes its connection with the spiritual needs of Muslims and the trend towards reform (Ostroumov, 1906: 113-114). The researcher emphasizes the religious orientation of local Muslim schools, explaining this fact by the actual goals of these educational institutions (Ostroumov, 1906: 116-117). I.I. Gejer, a Russian researcher of Central Asia, in his work also notes the almost non-intervention of Russia in the system of local educational institutions in Turkestan at the initial stage after accession. The author calls the transition to the election of teachers in madrasah (mudaris), as well as the opening of “Russian-native” schools in parallel with maktab, as small changes to the existing system, carried out by the new authorities. At the same time, a new type of school gained great popularity among the natives due to the provision of “more productive knowledge”, which made it possible to obtain previously inaccessible professions (typist in Russian). Accordingly, the local population did not even consider the higher prices for education in Russian-native schools. The author especially highlights the Kirghiz (Kazakhs), who showed “special sympathy for this kind

of school” and maintained these schools and boarding schools at their own expense. The paper also draws attention to the specifics of the system of Muslim education that existed at that time in Turkestan. In particular, the maintenance of madrasas (higher educational institutions) at the expense of charity as a charitable cause, the absence of transitional exams between courses (students moved from studying one religious book to another), and the author notes cases of students being detained in madrassas for up to 40 years and staying in madrassas for life. In some cases, this was due to a desire to learn the Shari'ah down to its intricacies and a feeling of being unprepared to consider oneself to have completed the training. Other students remained in education for life due to a feeling of unpreparedness for independent living and a preference for living in a madrasah, with its minimal, but guaranteed and tolerable living conditions. The basics of Islamic doctrine in the madrasah were studied in Persian, among other subjects I.I. Gejer names Arabic grammar, general education subjects (theology, dialectics, logic, cosmography, astrology, interpretation of the Quran) and jurisprudence (religious law, civil and criminal law). Jurisprudence was especially popular among students, since it was this knowledge that opened prospects for graduates to rise to a high religious position. Also, students were taught the basics of mathematics (enough for “practical land surveying”) and geometry, along with medicine. Students of the madrasah, who did not complete the full course of study, mainly occupied the positions of scribes serving the qazis or were involved in the correspondence of books. In addition, I.I. Gejer dwells on the local institutions of primary education in Turkestan – maktabs, mostly also open at mosques, where most often the teachers are employees of the mosque – the imam himself or azanchi. In the maktabs, students learned the Arabic alphabet and reading part of the Quran. Among the shortcomings of teaching in maktabs, the author notes the “mechanical” reading of the Quran, when the students did not understand its content, and the teacher often could not explain the meaning of many words. Subsequent books (some religious prescriptions, collections of poems), as well as the study of writing, according to the researcher, are also studied “mechanically”. Accordingly, at the end of the maktab, the students, in fact, did not have practical knowledge, except for Muslim etiquette. This is how I.I. Gejer explains the situation when, with a large number of Muslim schools, a large percentage of illiterates was observed among the population at the same time. Knowledge that was not applicable in practice was quickly forgotten if the training was not continued in the madrasah. The quality of education in women's primary schools the author assesses as “even lower than men's” (Gejer, 1909: 27-28). N.P. Ostroumov also talks about the beginning of the education of children from 5-6 years old in maktabs, noting the “narrow religious and ritual nature” of education (Ostroumov, 1908: 55). V.P. Nalivkin draws attention to the number of students in the maktab (no more than 30-40) aged 6-15 years, calling training essentially “learning” and noting the widespread use of corporal punishment in the learning process (Nalivkin, 1889: 8). As a result of such (an average of four years) training, graduates, at best, acquired the skills of mechanical reading of books studied in maktab, tracing letters or copying (rewriting) texts from the original. Of the negative aspects of such education, the author notes the habit of reading texts purely mechanically, which was rooted in maktabs among “native boys”, because of which they were unable to retell what they read. In the worst case, the graduate acquires the title of “chala-mullah,” as the researcher explains, “not quite literate, who can only read,” or leaves the school with a baggage of “vague memories” of the graphic image of Arabic letters without understanding them. Regarding the details of education in the madrasah, the scholar tells of a fairly large number of students (200 or more) in the most financially secure madrasahs. Accordingly, the richest madrasahs had several teachers. Noteworthy is the personal testimony of V.P. Nalivkin about the recognition of some students of the madrasah in the use of various kinds of fraud avoided the study of certain disciplines for the speedy transition to the next class (high school students received a higher scholarship). The annual sums of scholarships given by the author in the average level of the madrasah are 15-35 rubles for high school students and 4-12 rubles for elementary grades. It is also worth noting the author's information about the frequent cases of low literacy of graduates in their native language due to the study of only Arabic from one book and neglect of local languages. Among other things, the official draws attention to the low level of knowledge provided by local educational institutions in secular sciences, with the possible exception of history due to the presence of solid works (Nalivkin, 1889: 13). If we talk about statistical data on public education institutions, I.I. Gejer in his work of 1909 gives the following figures for the Turkestan region (with a note regarding their relative accuracy): Syrdarya region – 49 madrasahs (1099 students), 1809 maktabs (19453 students); Trans-Caspian – there were no madrasahs, 125 maktabs (2235 students); Samarkand region – 69 madrasahs (1606 students), 1680 maktabs (34175 students); Ferghana – 159 madrasahs (5320 students), 1143 maktabs (11 145 students); Bukhara – 117 madrasahs (11 500 students), 5 000 maktabs (100 000 students); Khiva – 61 madrasahs (2200 students), 1440 maktabs (20200 students). For comparison, I.I. Gejer provides data on Russian-native schools in Turkestan: Syr-Darya – 27 schools (787 students), maintenance: at the expense of the government – 8061, at the expense of donations from the population – 16624; Semirechenskaya – 12 schools (278 students), maintenance: all at the expense of the population; Trans-Caspian – 4 schools (93 students), maintenance: at the expense of the government – 4072, at the expense of the population – 7359; Ferghana – 10 schools (877 students), maintenance: at the expense of the government – 7969, at the expense of the population – 7849; Samarkand – 15 schools (517 students), maintenance: at the expense of the government – 19379, at the expense of the population – 8176 (Gejer, 1909: 29). It is noteworthy that I.I. Gejer, writes about public

education in Turkestan, did not miss the phenomenon of ishans – Sufi spiritual leaders, representatives of "folk Islam", who were popular with the population. Due to the ascetic way of life, some ishans had great influence among Muslims and some of them had "thousands of followers" (Gejer, 1909: 30). E. Alektorov, in his work on the study of the Turgai region, also draws attention to the desire of the local Kazakh population to educate children in schools and their willing donation of funds for these purposes. The author notes that according to the Regulations on the administration of October 21, 1868 on administration in the Ural, Turgai, Akkola and Semipalatinsk regions, the Kirghiz (Kazakhs) were entitled to "establish special fees, according to public decisions, approved by the regional authorities." Accordingly, as the official explains, the local Kazakh population got the opportunity to raise funds for "the arrangement and maintenance of schools and, in general, for the development of public education among them, as well as to use for this purpose the remains of the zemstvo tax paid by the Kirghiz for the maintenance of the Kirghiz government officials." (Alektorov, 1891: 72). In addition, A.E. Alektorov also cites such basic norms of legislation regarding the local population's education as the mandatory existence of a common school "for all without distinction between nationalities", control of the educational program by governors-general (in agreement with the Ministry of Public Education), the need for permission from local authorities to train Kazakh children at home by school teachers, the release of special amounts to the districts in accordance with the needs for opening schools and their maintenance, allowing Kazakh children to attend schools in villages with the consent of village societies (for a moderate fee or free of charge), as well as the distribution of functions for control over education between local authorities and the ministry. At the same time, the author is inclined to associate the "Systematic establishment of Russian schools" in the region with the opening of four "central Russian-Kirghiz schools." These schools were opened in Turgai, Irgiz, Ak-Tube and Kustanai in the period from 1879 to 1883, where both Kazakh children (with accommodation, "in the form of boarders") and Russians "in the form of visitors" studied together. E.A. Alektorov also, speaking about the release of significant amounts to finance schools in the region from the state (for example, in 1888 – 8310 rubles), indicates a high level of financial support from the public (in the same 1888 – 7230 rubles). The author notes with satisfaction that at the time of writing of the work by the author, the annual expenses for training amounted to 33 291 rubles 51 kopecks and draws attention to the desire of the local Kazakh population to educate their children in Russian-Kirghiz schools, contrasting education in them with studying in madrasahs and makhtabs, where education is conducted "in the spirit of inertia..." (Alektorov, 1891: 73-74). N.P. Ostroumov, speaking about the details of the opening of a school at the expense of the government for the children of Kazakhs and Russian settlers in Fort Perovsky (the first on the Syr-Darya line) on October 6, 1863, emphasizes that representatives of the tsarist administration considered the opening of such schools, with joint education of children of Kazakhs and Russian settlers are an important and best means of "rapprochement between the Kirghiz and the Russians." At the same time, the researcher notes a small number of students in the school. So, from among the "Kirghiz" (Kazakhs) who wanted to send their sons to school, 18 were noted, of which 10 are "honorary Kirghiz", and 8 are "simple." At that, out of these 18 who expressed a desire, 16 eventually sent their children to study. As for the Russian population, the author speaks of 27 parents who expressed their desire to educate their children in the school, of which only 13 began to attend school). N.P. Ostroumov concludes that both the Kazakh population and the Russians are distrustful of the new school, while talking about some emphasis on the part of the authorities on the recruitment of students from among the Kazakhs (Ostroumov, 1899: 254, 255). The Kazaly school was opened, according to N.P. Ostroumov, "in the period from November 1865 to February 1866." In February 1866, following the results of the audit, a conclusion was made about its "almost nominal existence", in connection with which 6 students studying in it were transferred to the Perov school. Based on the results of the work of the local administration to open these schools with the joint education of children of Kazakhs and Russian settlers in Perovsk and Kazalinsk, the researcher concludes that "the Russian authorities found them useful for the Kirghiz" (Ostroumov, 1899: 260). In addition, some of the features of teaching in these schools given in the work of N.P. Ostroumov deserve some attention, as they make it possible to have an approximate image of educational institutions. Educational work in schools was regulated by the "Rules on schools established in the Orenburg and Ural fortifications and at forts No. 1 and Perovsky, for the education of Kirghiz children and Russian settlers" dated October 1862. In his comments on this document, the author notes, inter alia, such features of these schools as preference for admission to study for children whose parents are in the service of the Steppe Administration. If there were vacancies, everyone from among the Kazakhs (including adults) could be admitted to study. The scholar is inclined to explain this rule by the greater awareness of parents in the tsarist service about the benefits of getting an education in a Russian school. As for the absence of an age limit when accepting students, according to the author, this is due to the desire of the tsarist administration to recruit the required number of students, since young students "could be afraid of the Russian school and separation from their parents." With the same need, the researcher connects the rule according to which new students could be enrolled in vacant places throughout the school year (except for the vacation period). At the same time, N.P. Ostroumov makes very interesting conclusions about a certain difference between theory and practice when he discusses the norm on combining the duties of a school superintendent and the teacher himself. This rule, in his opinion, is very useful, but only if there are trained people. In the case of the first Kirghiz schools, economic reasons prevailed rather than

pedagogical considerations, since, according to the notes to the same rules, the school teacher could act as an interpreter for the head of the fortification. It should be noted the desire of N.P. Ostroumov to delve into the matter. In particular, regarding the norm of the rules that “mostly young Kirghiz who have completed a course of study in the Orenburg Neplyuevsky Cadet Corps or in schools for Kirghiz children under the Regional Government” with a good knowledge of Russian should be appointed to the steppe schools. The researcher asks about the validity of necessarily considering persons who meet the above standards as good teachers, noting that both of the above educational institutions did not set the task of training teachers for Kirghiz schools. The author, among other things, can find interesting information that the main attention in schools was given to teaching the Russian language, but the condition for teaching Russian grammar was the ability to read Kazakh (Ostroumov, 1899: 262, 266-268). Probably, the authorities included this rule in order to avoid fears on the part of the local population about the possible isolation of young people from their roots, forgetting their native language and culture. It is also noteworthy that, according to the rules, due to the impossibility of dividing students into classes, since there was only one teacher, the so-called Lancaster method of teaching was provided in schools, when the teacher teaches the best students, and those, in turn, teach others. On the one hand, this method was quite common, was considered justified under certain conditions, and had its supporters. At the same time, N.P. Ostroumov asks about its applicability in the conditions of Kirghiz schools, when the leadership did not face the real use of such teaching, and the teacher was periodically involved in work in the county administration, not being able to control the learning process (Ostroumov, 1899: 272). In general, considering the policy pursued by the Governor-General of Turkestan K.P. Kaufman in the field of public education, N.P. Ostroumov noted his vision of the issue, in particular, he cited the opinion of an official on the need for the joint upbringing of Kazakh and Russian children, taking as a basis the same rules, “with the help of which it would be possible to make the children of Turkestani Orthodox residents and Muslim children equally useful citizens of Russia...” (Ostroumov, 1899: 49). P.V. Znamenskij also writes about the special attention of K.P. Kaufman, to the “education of foreigners.” According to the author, the Governor-General considered this segment the most significant direction in his educational activities. It was foreign education that mainly determined, according to the official, the future of public education in Turkestan due to the predominant local population. According to P.V. Znamenskij, a peculiarity of the ongoing P.K. Kaufman's policy was that the activities of the Governor-General “... coincided with the development of the general issue of local education in our country, raised in the second half of the 1860s in the eastern provinces of European Russia and in the south in the Crimea.” The Russian historian believed that the school of the previous model for foreigners was alien to them, the program of this school was ill-conceived. So, even the teaching of the Russian language was set up in such a way that it took place “with great difficulty, to the obvious detriment of the study of the most subjects, the school course.” The new type of foreign school adopted “purely folk (for each people) forms of education and life”, which was a huge advantage over all the old schools in the eyes of the local population. In schools of a new type, as P.V. Znamenskij, “Russian education ... has clothed itself in its native national form ...”. External life most closely resembled the life of local population. In the recruitment of teachers, preference was given to the students’ “fellow tribesmen” (representatives of the same ethnic group as students). Teaching was conducted in local languages, the Russian language was taught as an academic subject on an equal basis with others, “with the help of one’s own native language,” and became the language of instruction as one mastered it. Russian transcription was used as a preparatory measure for the study of Russian textbooks in foreign languages (Znamenskij, 1900: 5-6). N.A. Kazbekova, speaking about public education on the territory of Kazakhstan in the period under study, notes the positive role of Russian-Kazakh schools in obtaining primary education for Kazakh children. At the same time, the establishment of school affairs, undoubtedly, facilitated the access of the younger generation from Kazakh families to obtaining initial knowledge. In post-reform Russia, the desire of the people for literacy, familiarization with scientific knowledge, literature and art was intensifying. In realizing this need, the advanced Russian intelligentsia played a major role, creating various educational organizations at zemstvos and scientific societies, as well as new extracurricular forms of education. More capable graduates of Russian-Kazakh schools had the opportunity to continue their education in secondary, and then in higher educational institutions in Russia, forming the core of the Kazakh intelligentsia. Thus, the development of Russian education among the Kazakh population of the Steppe region contributed to the cultural rapprochement of the two peoples (Kazbekova, 2007: 4).

Based on the given statistical data on the oblasts in the table, one can note the largest increase in the number of madrasahs and maktabs (and, accordingly, students) in the Semirechenskaya oblast. In addition, attention is drawn to the increase in the number of female students in the first decade of the twentieth century. At the same time, things did not always go well. So, according to documents from the archives, in 1890 in two districts of the Turgaiskaya oblast (Kostanaiskaya and Turgaiskaya) there were more than 129 schools and 4 madrasahs. At the same time, according to archival data, neither the schools nor the teachers themselves had official documents allowing them to conduct educational activities (CGA RK. F. 369. Op. 1. D. 780. L. 27). Archival data give us the opportunity to track the dynamics of the growth in the number of maktab madrasahs in the Semirechenskaya oblast. So, as of 1891, there were 64 maktabs-madrasahs in the Semirechenskaya oblast (the number of students was 1251). In 1895, the number of maktabs-madrasahs was 74 (9086 students), in 1897 – 88 maktabs-madrasahs (12835 shakirds). In 1907 – 243 maktabs

(6076 students). Archival documents contain information about the total number of Muslim schools (both Kadimist and new method) (CGA RK. F. 90. Op. 1. D. 487. L. 101). For comparison, in the Bukey Horde until 1868 there was one Russian-Kazakh school, the rest were Muslim madrasah schools. As of 1872, the authors speak of 38 Muslim schools and madrasahs. At the beginning of 1899 there were 60 maktab and madrasahs with 1679 students (1436 males, 243 females). Female students were taught by wives of mullahs (27 people) (Tazhibayev, 1962: 507). In the Ural region, in the Lbishchensky district, as of 1904, there were 71 maktab-madrasahs with 1211 students (1065 males, 146 females) (Obzor Ural'skoj..., 1904: 32). As can be seen from the works of researchers and archival data, there was a great demand for education from the traditional Kazakh society, and the authorities in this situation even had to deal with a somewhat spontaneous increase in the number of educational institutions. In this situation the so-called new method schools have gained quite a lot of popularity.

Table 1. Maktab and madrasahs (late 19th – early 20th centuries)

#	Oblast	Year	Number of maktab and madrasahs			Number of students		
			Total	Maktab	Madrasah	Total	Men's	Women's
1	Akmolinskaya	1890	27	-	-	1170	849	321
		1895	13	-	-	693	578	115
		1907	15	-	-	970	895	75
		1911	31	19	12	1298	-	-
		1914	29	19	10	1424	-	-
2	Semipalatinskaya	1895	17	-	-	892	846	52
		1903	14	-	-	700	655	45
		1908	21	-	-	932	752	180
3	Semirechenskaya	1894	9	-	-	249	-	-
		1897	-	-	-	7859	-	-
		1900	63	-	-	2099	1611	488
		1907	243	-	-	6076	5208	868
		1908	246	-	-	5939	5198	741
4	Syr-Daryinskaya	1892	1534	1479	35	27082	22704	4378
		1910	777	742	35	24424	21634	2790
		1911	771	739	32	23805	18855	4950
5	Turgaiskaya	1894	59	-	-	457	-	-
		1907	2	-	2	69	-	-
		1914	6	-	-	-	-	-
6	Uralskaya	1899	81	-	-	1754	1512	242
		1902	58	-	-	1145	651	494
		1905	39	-	-	729	652	77
		1911	27	-	-	1259	981	278

Among the main differences of the new method schools are the following: a fixed (two-year) period of study; established requirements for the age of children entering the study (seven years); use of the book "Khovaje-i subyan" by I. Gasprinsky as a teaching aid; teaching, in addition to religious sciences, also secular subjects; application of the so-called "sound method" in teaching (Gankevich, 1998: 164). This sound method has proven to be more effective. A certain sound was associated with each letter of Arabic, the reading and writing of letters was explained depending on its location in the word (Gafarov, 2001: 51). When teaching according to the so-called old method, a simple repetition of syllables from letters was used without understanding the meaning (Krasnov, 1887), accordingly, the advantages of new schools over old-style educational institutions were obvious. In connection with the growing popularity of new method schools, in parallel with the opening of such educational institutions, a very interesting process was observed – the transition of old type schools to the use of a new method in the education of students. It is noteworthy that while new-method schools were opened under the influence of Tatar intellectuals, in rural areas the process of transition of old schools to the new method was mainly observed. At the same time, this process

was partly noted in the city of Turkestan, where two old-method schools (there were 30 in total) changed their educational program to a new method (Bartol'd, 1927: 137).

Archival documents tell us about the functioning as of 1909 of 18 new-type schools in the Semirechensk region and 39 in the Syrdarya region. Schools opened in the period 1870–1883 in the cities of Semipalatinsk, Akmolinsk, Verny, Karkaralinsk, Kapalsk, they switched to a new method by 1904–1905 (CGA RK. F. 90. Op. 4. D. 189. L. 20). In general, by 1917, about 100 Jadid schools functioned on the territory of Kazakhstan. Speaking about the influence of education received at a young age on the future social and political activities of students, one can note the observed trend when graduates of Russian-Kazakh schools were supporters of the European path of development, while among those educated in new method schools, ideas of pan-Turkism prevailed (Kaziev, 2014: 130, 128).

5. Conclusion

The period of the late 19th-early 20th centuries undoubtedly occupies a special place in the history of Kazakhstan. This time period was marked both by the completion of the processes of joining the territory of the Kazakh steppe to the Russian Empire, and the need that arose for the new authorities to develop the territory, to include the traditional Kazakh society in the all-Russian socio-cultural discourse and, accordingly, to carry out all the necessary reforms for this, to take all measures to at least partial reduction of new subjects to a “common denominator” with the population of the central part of the empire. And in solving these problems, it is the sociocultural factor that plays a paramount role, especially when it comes to the education of the younger generation, when the value orientations of the future intellectual elite of the Kazakh society were laid. As we can see, the need for changes led to the launch of the processes of modernization of education that existed at that time in the traditional Kazakh society. Moreover, these processes were initiated both in a certain sense from the outside, by the tsarist administration, and from within the Kazakh society itself, which received new trends within the proper Muslim education system. The reforms in the field of education carried out by the new authorities were in demand in the Kazakh society, and despite some difficulties that arose at the implementation stage (lack of teachers, the curriculum that needed to be adjusted in the course of application, in some cases - a wary attitude on the part of the Kazakh population), the situation with the lack of modern education in the Kazakh traditional society at that time, which would have made it possible to become, in a sense, a part of the modernization processes that took place all over the world, nevertheless was changed. At the same time, part of this "educational vacuum" was naturally filled with Jadid schools. It should be noted that the initiatives of the tsarist administration, despite all the difficulties, had some positive results, including a kind of "delayed effect". The results of those reforms, both carried out by the new authorities and initiated by Muslim intellectuals themselves, the ideas instilled in the process of studying in one or another type of educational institution, can be seen in the activities of a number of prominent Kazakh public and political figures, who, in turn, influenced mindset of Kazakh society as a whole. In addition, one should not underestimate the role of these educational institutions in increasing the level of literacy of the population as a whole, a kind of cumulative effect, which, of course, could not but affect the socio-cultural sphere of the Kazakh traditional society. Thus, we can say that educational institutions of a new type, to one degree or another, fulfilled their task and left a noticeable mark in the history of the Kazakh people. In general, the issues of modernizing the education system of the traditional Kazakh society, of course, require further in-depth research and understanding already at the present stage.

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