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Томохико Уяма — PhD, профессор Центра славяно-евразийских исследований Хоккайдского университета (Япония)

Ян Кэмпбелл (Ian W. Campbell) — PhD, профессор Калифорнийского университета (США)

ОТВЕТСТВЕННЫЙ РЕДАКТОР

Каипбаева Айнагуль Толганбаевна — кандидат исторических наук, ведущий научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан)

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ТЕХНИЧЕСКИЙ СЕКРЕТАРЬ

Бурханов Бимурад Бадритдинович — магистр, научный сотрудник Института истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова. (Казахстан).

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THE ZHATAKS OF THE IRTYSH REGION AND THE TEN-VERST BELT IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Yerzhan M. Toraigyrov^{1*}, Askar M. Dzhumashev²

¹Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology
(28 Shevchenko Str., Almaty, 050010, Republic of Kazakhstan)
Candidate of Historical Sciences, Leading Researcher
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3586-5691>. E-mail: toranet2013@gmail.com
*Corresponding author

²Karakalpak research Institute of humanities, Karakalpak branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan
(179-A Amir Temur Street, Nukus, 230100, Karakalpakstan, Republic of Uzbekistan)
(28 Shevchenko Str., Almaty, 050010, Republic of Kazakhstan)
Candidate of Historical Sciences, Head of the Department of history
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3668-6510>. E-mail: djumashev@yahoo.de

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Abstract. Introduction. The article examines social changes in Kazakh society in the Irtysh region and the Irtysh ten-verst belt during the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, associated with the destruction of the traditional nomadic way of life and the emergence of the zhatak stratum. The relevance of the study is determined by the need to investigate the regional features of the social transformation of the Kazakh population under the conditions of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, the reduction of nomadic territories, and the development of market relations. **Goals and objectives.** The purpose of the article is to analyze the causes of the emergence and growth of zhatakism in the Irtysh region, as well as to examine the spread of wage labor among the Kazakh population. The objectives include identifying the factors behind the ruin of nomadic households, characterizing the social status of the zhataks, determining the main forms of hired labor and economic adaptation among the Kazakh poor, and analyzing the impact of the colonial development of the region on changes in the social structure of society. The source base of the study consists of pre-revolutionary statistical compilations, memorial books of the Semipalatinsk region, works of pre-revolutionary researchers, periodical press publications, as well as materials from the State Archive of Omsk Oblast. The study employs historical-comparative, historical-systemic, statistical, and problem-chronological methods, which made it possible to trace the dynamics of zhatakism growth, the peculiarities of the development of hired labor, and the transformation of economic relations in the region. **Results.** It was established that the restriction of nomadic routes, the land policy of the tsarist administration, dzhuts, and social stratification contributed to the increase in the number of zhataks and the spread of seasonal labor migration. A significant part of the Kazakh poor was drawn into the system of wage labor in Cossack, peasant, and bai households. The main forms of seasonal and annual employment, the characteristics of labor remuneration, and the

dependent position of workers were identified. It is shown that the surplus of cheap labor hindered the introduction of agricultural machinery in the farms of the Irtysh region and contributed to the formation of early forms of local wage labor. *Conclusion.* Zhatakism became one of the key manifestations of the social transformation of Kazakh society under the conditions of the colonial development of the Irtysh region. The growth in the number of zhataks and the development of wage labor reflected the processes of destruction of the traditional nomadic system, the strengthening of social differentiation, and the gradual incorporation of the Kazakh population into market relations.

Keywords: Irtysh region, Pavlodar Uyezd, social structure, zhatakism, wage labor, Kazakh population.

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XIX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ ЕКІНШІ ЖАРТЫСЫ – XX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫНДАҒЫ ЕРТІС ӨНІРІ МЕН ЕРТІС ОН ШАҚЫРЫМДЫҚ БЕЛДЕУІНДЕГІ ЖАТАҚТАР

Ержан Мұратұлы Торайғыров^{1*}, Джумашев Аскар Мамбетович²

¹Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты
(Шевченко көшесі 28, 050010 Алматы, Қазақстан Республикасы)
Тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, жетекші ғылыми қызметкері
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3586-5691>. E-mail: toranet2013@gmail.com

*Корреспондент автор

²Өзбекстан Республикасы Ғылым академиясы Қарақалпақ бөлімшесінің Қарақалпақ гуманитарлық ғылымдар ғылыми-зерттеу институты
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Тарих ғылымдарының кандидаты, тарих бөлімінің меңгерушісі
 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3668-6510>. E-mail: djumashev@yahoo.de

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Аңдатпа. *Kipicne.* Мақалада XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысы – XX ғасырдың басындағы Ертіс өңірі мен Ертіс он шақырымдық белдеуіндегі қазақ қоғамындағы дәстүрлі көшпелі өмір салтының ыдырауы және жатақтар тобының қалыптасуымен байланысты әлеуметтік өзгерістер қарастырылады. Зерттеудің өзектілігі Ресей империясының отарлық саясаты, көшіп-қону аумақтарының қысқаруы және нарықтық қатынастардың дамуы жағдайындағы қазақ халқының әлеуметтік трансформациясының өңірлік ерекшеліктерін зерттеу қажеттілігімен айқындалады. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Мақаланың мақсаты – Ертіс өңіріндегі жатақтықтың пайда болуы мен өсу себептерін талдау, сондай-ақ қазақ халқы арасында жалдамалы еңбектің таралуын зерттеу. Міндеттер қатарына көшпелі шаруашылықтардың күйзеліске ұшырау факторларын анықтау, жатақтардың әлеуметтік жағдайын сипаттау, қазақ кедейлерінің жалдану және шаруашылыққа бейімделуінің негізгі түрлерін айқындау, сондай-ақ өңірді отарлық игерудің қоғамның әлеуметтік құрылымындағы өзгерістерге ықпалын талдау жатады. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Зерттеудің дереккөздік негізін революцияға дейінгі статистикалық жинақтар, Семей облысының естелік кітапшалары, революцияға дейінгі зерттеушілердің еңбектері, мерзімді баспасөз жарияланымдары, сондай-ақ Омбы облысының мемлекеттік архиві материалдары құрады. Жұмыста

жатақтықтың өсу динамикасын, жалдамалы еңбектің даму ерекшеліктерін және өңірдегі шаруашылық қатынастардың трансформациясын қадағалауға мүмкіндік берген тарихи-салыстырмалы, тарихи-жүйелік, статистикалық және проблемалық-хронологиялық әдістер қолданылды. *Нәтижелер.* Көшіп-қону бағыттарының шектелуі, патша әкімшілігінің жер саясаты, жұттар мен әлеуметтік жіктелу жатақтар санының өсуіне және кәсіп іздеп кетушіліктің таралуына ықпал еткені анықталды. Қазақ кедейлерінің едәуір бөлігі казак, шаруа және бай шаруашылықтарындағы жалдамалы еңбек жүйесіне тартылды. Маусымдық және жылдық жалданудың негізгі түрлері, еңбекақы төлеу ерекшеліктері мен жұмысшылардың тәуелді жағдайы айқындалды. Арзан жұмыс күшінің артық болуы Ертіс өңіріндегі шаруашылықтарда ауыл шаруашылығы техникасын енгізуді тежеп, жергілікті жалдамалы еңбектің бастапқы түрлерінің қалыптасуына ықпал еткені көрсетілді. *Қорытынды.* Жатақтық Ертіс өңірін отарлық игеру жағдайындағы қазақ қоғамының әлеуметтік трансформациясының негізгі көріністерінің біріне айналды. Жатақтар санының өсуі мен жалдамалы еңбектің дамуы дәстүрлі көшпелі жүйенің ыдырау үдерістерін, әлеуметтік жіктелудің күшеюін және қазақ халқының нарықтық қатынастарға біртіндеп тартылуын көрсетті.

Түйін сөздер: Ертіс өңірі, Павлодар уезі, әлеуметтік құрылым, жатақтық, жалдамалы еңбек, қазақ халқы.

Алғыс. Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің гранттық қаржыландыру жобасы аясында дайындалған «Ертіс он шақырымдық белдеуінің құрылу тарихы және оны қайтару үшін қазақтардың күресі (1765-1921 жж.)» (ИРН AP26104261).

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ЖАТАКИ ПРИИРТЫШЬЯ И ДЕСЯТИВЕРСТНОЙ ПОЛОСЫ ВО 2-Й ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX–НАЧАЛЕ XX ВВ.

Торайғыров Ержан Муратович^{1*}, Джумашев Аскар Мамбетович²

¹Институт истории и этнологии имени Ч.Ч. Валиханова

(ул. Шевченко 28, 050010 Алматы, Республика Казахстан)

Кандидат исторических наук, ведущий научный сотрудник

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3586-5691>. E-mail: toranet2013@gmail.com

*Корреспондирующий автор

²Каракалпакский научно-исследовательский институт гуманитарных наук Каракалпакского отделения Академии наук Республики Узбекистан (ул. Амира Темура 179-а, 230100 Нукус, Каракалпакстан, Республики Узбекистан)

Кандидат исторических наук, заведующий отделом истории

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3668-6510>. E-mail: djumashev@yahoo.de

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В статье рассматриваются социальные изменения в казахском обществе Прииртышья и Иртышской десятиверстной полосы во второй половине XIX – начале XX вв., связанные с разрушением традиционного кочевого уклада и формированием слоя жатаков. Актуальность исследования обусловлена необходимостью изучения региональных особенностей социальной трансформации казахского населения в условиях колониальной политики Российской империи, сокращения кочевых территорий и развития рыночных отношений. *Цель и задачи исследования.* Целью статьи является анализ причин

возникновения и роста жатачества в Прииртышье, а также исследование распространения наемного труда среди казахского населения. В числе задач – выявление факторов разорения кочевых хозяйств, характеристика социального положения жатаков, определение основных форм найма и хозяйственной адаптации казахской бедноты, а также анализ влияния колониального освоения региона на изменения социальной структуры общества. Источниковую основу исследования составили дореволюционные статистические сборники, памятные книжки Семипалатинской области, труды дореволюционных исследователей, публикации периодической печати, а также материалы Государственного архива Омской области. В работе использованы историко-сравнительный, историко-системный, статистический и проблемно-хронологический методы, позволившие проследить динамику роста жатачества, особенности развития наемного труда и трансформацию хозяйственных отношений в регионе. *Результаты.* Установлено, что ограничение кочевых маршрутов, земельная политика царской администрации, джуты и социальное расслоение способствовали росту числа жатаков и распространению отходничества. Значительная часть казахской бедноты была вовлечена в систему наемного труда в казачьих, крестьянских и байских хозяйствах. Выявлены основные формы сезонного и годового найма, особенности оплаты труда и зависимое положение работников. Показано, что избыток дешевой рабочей силы тормозил внедрение сельскохозяйственной техники в хозяйствах Прииртышья и способствовал формированию ранних форм местного наемного труда. *Заключение.* Жатачество стало одним из ключевых проявлений социальной трансформации казахского общества в условиях колониального освоения Прииртышья. Рост числа жатаков и развитие наемного труда отражали процессы разрушения традиционной кочевой системы, усиления социальной дифференциации и постепенного вовлечения казахского населения в рыночные отношения.

Ключевые слова: Прииртышье, Павлодарский уезд, социальная структура, жатачество, наемный труд, казахское население.

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Introduction. In the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Kazakh society underwent profound socio-economic transformations associated with the incorporation of the steppe regions into the Russian Empire, the intensification of resettlement policies, and the transformation of the traditional nomadic economy. These processes were especially evident in the Irtysh region and within the Irtysh ten-verst border zone, where the interests of the Kazakh population, the Siberian Cossacks, and Russian settlers intersected. The restriction of nomadic migration routes, the reduction of pasturelands, and the development of commodity-money relations contributed to the disintegration of traditional forms of economic activity and of the social organization of Kazakh society.

One of the most significant manifestations of these processes was the growing number of zhataks – Kazakhs who had fallen out of the traditional nomadic system as a result of impoverishment, loss of livestock, and the erosion of their economic independence. A considerable proportion of the zhataks were compelled to seek employment in Cossack, peasant, and bai households, which facilitated the spread of various forms of wage labor and the gradual incorporation of the Kazakh population into market relations. New social groups emerged in the region, the character of economic activity changed, and processes of seasonal labor migration and social differentiation intensified.

The relevance of this study lies in the need to examine the specific features of the social transformation of Kazakh society under the conditions of the colonial development of the Irtysh region, as well as to identify the role of zhatakism and wage labor in altering the traditional structure

of the nomadic population. An analysis of these processes makes it possible to assess the distinctive socio-economic changes in the steppe region and the consequences of the colonial policy pursued by the Russian Empire.

The aim of this article is to analyze the causes behind the emergence and growth in the number of zhataks in the Irtysh region, as well as to investigate the scale of the spread of wage labor among the Kazakh population in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Materials and Methods. The source base of this study consists of pre-revolutionary statistical, administrative, and journalistic materials reflecting the socio-economic condition of the Kazakh population of the Irtysh region and the Irtysh ten-verst border zone in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The study draws upon the works of G.E. Katanaev, N.Ya. Konshin, M.M. Krasovsky, M. Chormanov, G.V. Kolmagorov, and other researchers, as well as regional surveys, commemorative reference books of the Semipalatinsk Region, publications of the Kirghiz Steppe Gazette, documents from the State Archive of the Omsk Region, and statistical data concerning the development of crafts and seasonal labor migration.

The methodological foundation of the research is based on the principles of historicism and objectivity, which require the examination of social processes within the specific historical conditions of their emergence and development. In analyzing changes in the social structure of Kazakh society, particular attention was paid to the economic colonization of the Irtysh region, the impact of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, the reduction of nomadic territories, and the formation of new socio-economic relations.

The study employs historical-comparative, historical-systemic, statistical, and problem-chronological methods. The historical-comparative method made it possible to identify the distinctive features of zhatakism in the Irtysh region in comparison with other regions of Kazakhstan. The historical-systemic method was used to analyze the interrelation between social stratification, seasonal labor migration, and wage labor. The statistical method was applied in processing quantitative data concerning the number of zhataks, the scale of wage employment, and the development of crafts and trades. The problem-chronological approach enabled the tracing of the dynamics of social change in Kazakh society during the period under consideration.

Discussion. The problem of social stratification within Kazakh society, the emergence of the zhataks, and the development of wage labor in pre-revolutionary historiography was examined primarily within the context of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, the agrarian colonization of the steppe, and the transformation of the traditional nomadic economy. Among the first researchers to address the issue of changes in the economic structure of the Kazakhs of the Irtysh region were G. V. Kolmagorov (Kolmagorov, 1855) and M.M. Krasovsky (Krasovskii, 1868a), who provided information on the development of crafts, trade relations, and the use of impoverished Kazakh labor in the households of Cossacks and Russian settlers.

A substantial contribution to the study of the socio-economic condition of the Kazakh population of the Semipalatinsk Region was made by N.Ya. Konshin (Konshin, 1901), who offered a detailed description of the economic life of the Kazakhs, the spread of seasonal labor migration, and the dependence of the poorest strata on wage employment. Important information concerning the condition of Kazakh laborers in Pavlodar Uezd is contained in the work of M. Chormanov (Chormanov, 1906), which reflects the forms of dependence experienced by the poor and the particular features of local economic relations.

Of particular importance for the study of zhatakism are the works of G.E. Katanaev (Katanaev, 1893a; Katanaev, 1904), who was the first to comprehensively examine the condition of the Kazakhs of the Irtysh region under the circumstances of Cossack and peasant colonization. The researcher provided a detailed characterization of the causes behind the growing number of zhataks, the forms of their economic adaptation, the scale of seasonal labor migration, and the significance of cheap Kazakh labor in the economy of the Siberian Cossack Host. It is precisely

through the works of G. E. Katanaev that one can trace the gradual transformation of part of the Kazakh population from nomads into permanent wage laborers and semi-proletarian groups.

The issues of the transition of the Kazakhs to a sedentary way of life and the development of agriculture were also addressed by V. Ya. Vladimirskii (Vladimirskii, 1902), who associated the spread of zhatakism primarily with zhuts and the mass impoverishment of nomadic households. Certain aspects of land use and the social condition of the poorest strata of the population were reflected in publications of the Kirghiz Steppe Gazette (K voprosu ..., 1994).

During the Soviet period, questions concerning the social transformation of Kazakh society received broader scholarly attention. Considerable attention to the study of nomadic society and its internal structure was paid by S. E. Tolybekov (Tolybekov, 1971), who regarded zhatakism as a consequence of the crisis of the traditional economy and the colonial policy of Tsarism. His works analyze the characteristics of the social dependence of the Kazakh poor, the processes of sedentarization, and the influence of resettlement policy on the destruction of the nomadic economy.

An important place in the study of the economic development of the Irtysh region belongs to the work of N. G. Apollova (Apollova, 1976), which examines, through the prism of Kazakh-Russian relations, the development of seasonal labor migration, the scale of Kazakh wage labor, and the role of the Irtysh military line in the economic life of the region. The author demonstrates that the formation of a mass stratum of zhataks was closely connected with the restriction of nomadic migration routes and the intensification of land pressure from the Cossacks and settlers.

Contemporary researchers continue to study this issue from the perspectives of social history and modernization processes. Thus, Zh.O. Artykbaev (Artykbaev, 2001) considers the zhataks as a distinct social group that had fallen out of the traditional nomadic system and was gradually being incorporated into market relations. Overall, the historiography demonstrates that zhatakism was a complex and multifaceted phenomenon reflecting profound changes in the social structure of Kazakh society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Results. The foundation of the social organization of the Kazakhs was the tribal and clan-based structure. What distinguished the Kazakhs from other societies was the existence of a clearly defined social estate-based stratification. Each estate possessed its own specific rights, obligations, and social status. The social factor played a leading role in Kazakh society, and an individual's position was determined not so much by material wealth as by belonging to a particular social stratum. However, Kazakhstan's incorporation into the Russian imperial sphere of interests led to the gradual destruction of this traditional structure. The penetration of market relations into the economy of Kazakhstan and the narrowing of nomadic space were accompanied by the development of seasonal labor migration (*otkhodnichestvo*), which became a characteristic sign of the emergence of new relations in the rural economy. Seasonal labor activities were primarily undertaken by the poorest segment of Kazakh *sharua*, most of whom lacked their own means of production (*zhataks* and *qonsy*) (Togzhanov, 1934: 100). According to S. Tolybekov, the term *qonsy* was synonymous with *kharashi*. However, the term *qonsy* appeared earlier than *kharashi*. Apparently, even before the Mongol conquest, dependent and semi-dependent (*sharua*) individuals among the Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes who were subordinate to *bais*, *biis*, and *batyrs* were referred to not as *kharashi*, as among the Chinggisid khans, but as *qonsy* (Tolybekov, 1971: 505).

It is also important not to confuse zhatakism, which had existed in Kazakh nomadic society since ancient times, with the conscious sedentarization of nomadic pastoralists (*otyryqshylyq*). Zhatakism, as a consequence of the sudden impoverishment of part of the population due to *zhut* or warfare, was expressed in unstable, fragile, and episodic settlement in small numbers near lakes and rivers long before the incorporation of the Kazakh *zhuzes* into Russia, during a period when the nomadic way of life predominated throughout the steppe.

The zhataks themselves regarded their mode of life as a temporary condition caused only by an unfortunate circumstance. Therefore, zhatakism of that period was the result of misfortune and poverty rather than a form of sedentarization connected with the breakdown of the traditional nomadic pastoral economy and way of life. Such zhataks lived in the hope of returning to nomadic life,

overcoming isolation, and once again becoming part of the nomadic community. At the first opportunity, they abandoned settled life and returned to nomadic migration, leaving behind everything associated with temporary agriculture.

Thus, in the history of the Kazakh people, zhataks were "Kazakhs who ceased to migrate due to the lack of livestock necessary for nomadic movements. The principal cause of zhatakism was the so-called zhut — icy conditions occurring periodically in the steppe and impoverishing large segments of the Kazakh population" (Vladimirskii, 1902: 39).

Another important characteristic of Kazakh zhatakism throughout its existence was that zhataks, who were economically dependent on large livestock owners, received from them not land, but draft and dairy livestock. As can be seen, the basis of this dependence was not land but livestock, just as under the conditions of a fully nomadic economy. Thus, agriculture cannot be regarded as the principal feature of zhatakism. Moreover, if one takes into account the enormous number of zhataks — more than 100, 000 of whom resided in the Semipalatinsk Region — and compares this figure with the amount of free land allocated for cultivation, which was practically nonexistent, engagement in agriculture became extremely difficult.

According to Zh. O. Artykbaev, the term zhatak could be applied to all Kazakhs regardless of whether they lived in the steppe, sought temporary employment in Russian peasant settlements, or worked at industrial enterprises; their main distinguishing feature was their exclusion from the nomadic system (Artykbaev, 2001: 94).

During the period under consideration, zhataks engaged in agricultural activities were divided into steppe zhataks — those who lived in summer and autumn encampments and combined wage labor with grain cultivation for personal consumption and sale, thereby acquiring the status of *eginshi* (cultivator) — and village or urban zhataks, who were completely dispossessed of land and cultivated plots rented from peasants or Cossacks. At the same time, as noted by G. E. Katanaev, during the 1890s Kazakh winter encampments located on Cossack lands underwent significant transformation: temporary camps with scattered yurts gradually gave way to more permanent forms of settlement consisting of dugouts and wooden buildings, often grouped into settlements resembling sedentary villages in appearance (Katanaev, 1893b: 23). In relation to poor pastoralist *sharua*, the terms *zharly* and *kedei* were also used (K voprosu..., 1994: 443).

S.E. Tolybekov argued that the reactionary nature of Tsarist policy manifested itself not in encouraging the sedentarization of the Kazakh population, but rather in preventing it after the completion of the incorporation of the Kazakh *zhuzes* into Russia, especially during the imperialist period. The authorities even permitted the direct destruction of centers of settled life in order to expand the land fund intended for peasants resettled from central Russia (Tolybekov, 1971: 457).

The colonial development of the Irtysh region, which subsequently affected the social structure of the Kazakh population, began as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. Between 1715 and 1720, five fortresses were constructed along the Irtysh River, thereby establishing the Irtysh Military Line, which divided the Middle Zhuz into two parts. In the 1740s, the Irtysh Line was considerably reinforced and turning the Irtysh River into a natural frontier and an obstacle preventing the movement of Kazakhs to the right bank of the river.

The fall of Dzungaria led to a massive influx of Kazakh communities into the Irtysh region, as they attempted to return to their former ancestral lands. However, this conflicted with the interests of the Russian Empire, which sought to populate the right bank of the Irtysh with Cossacks and peasant settlers and to create a kind of buffer zone between the Kazakhs and China, whose policy toward Siberia was not always clear or predictable.

On January 31, 1755, a decree of the Military Collegium, signed by Empress Elizabeth Petrovna and addressed to the Orenburg Governor I. I. Neplyuev, prohibited Kazakhs from crossing to the right bank of the Irtysh. In the mid-1760s, the Russian authorities took an unprecedented step in colonial practice by creating a zone on the left bank of the Irtysh that was prohibited to Kazakh settlement and use (HAOR. F. 67, Inv. 1, C. 3, P. 533–534). In 1854, the process of allocating land grants to Cossacks and officers (30 *desyatinas* each) began both along the Irtysh Line and in the steppe *stanitsas*. Kazakhs were permitted to use the lands of the Irtysh region only upon payment of a "repair duty" and later

through rental payments. As a result, the Kazakhs were forced to pay for lands that had originally belonged to them but were transferred by the government to the Cossack Host. The rental system in the Irtysh region contributed to the emergence of large landowners and tenants. Many Kazakh households were unable to withstand such conditions, as rental payments were constantly increased by the Cossacks, which in turn became one of the sources behind the emergence of the zhataks.

Indeed, one of the motives behind the transition of the zhataks to agriculture was the desire to retain their ancestral lands in the Irtysh region so that these territories would not be transferred to Cossacks or peasant settlers. In essence, changes in the agricultural practices of the Kazakhs represented a form of adaptation to altered historical conditions.

Particular attention should also be paid to the position of hired poor laborers within Kazakh households. The labor of farmhands was widely employed during agricultural work. In such arrangements, the bai provided the poor laborer with a plow, draft animals, and seed, while the latter was obliged in return to cultivate a designated area of land and harvest crops for his employer. As payment for this work, the laborer usually received only a small share of the harvest. Until the agreed term of service had been completed, he could not unilaterally terminate the agreement. Alongside hired workers, the bais also extensively exploited the unpaid labor of impoverished relatives and qonsys."In large households with numerous herds, the Kirghiz cannot manage without laborers. Some of these are orphans raised in wealthy auls and poor relatives who settled with a wealthy man and remained under his protection. The rest are hired from among poor individuals who possess no means of supporting themselves and their families" (Chormanov, 1906: 23–24). Thus, bai households had not yet severed their ties with clan collectives and were obliged to provide"kinship" assistance to their fellow clansmen.

The condition of the zhataks was extremely difficult, as most struggled to find stable employment due to a massive surplus of such impoverished labor. They were not always able to secure work from large livestock owners"because of the constant surplus of poor people prepared to serve wealthy Kirghiz not merely as workers but even as rightless laborers-slaves" (Katanaev, 1904: 20). For this reason, zhataks were forced by the dozens and hundreds to move toward Russian settlements and offer their labor for next to nothing. They lived mostly in their own yurts, and only rarely in specially constructed dark, dirty, and cramped quarters intended for them (Konshin, 1901: 102).

Based on the materials of G. E. Katanaev, it is possible to trace what subsequently happened to these zhataks in most cases:

1. They restored their households, that is, acquired livestock again, the loss of which had originally caused them to leave their aul; however, only a small number of them returned to their native communities.

2. They attached themselves to nearby Kazakh winter encampments located on the same Cossack yurt allotments (on the right bank of the Irtysh and within the ten-verst border zone), entering into kinship relations with their inhabitants.

3. They restored their households but remained permanently near the same Cossack stanitsas and peasant settlements as annual laborers and miscellaneous workers. As a rule, they earned their livelihood by working as coachmen, carriers, messengers, petty traders, and in other similar occupations.

4. Zhataks were incorporated into the Cossack and petty-bourgeois estates as so-called"godsons" and"foster dependents."

5. The emergence of so-called"hereditary" zhataks, namely those who"could point not only to fathers and grandfathers, but even great-grandfathers who had known no other way of life except zhatakism" (Katanaev, 1904: 21).

It may also be added that among the zhataks who settled near urban centers there were some prosperous individuals who,"establishing respectable houses, imitated in many respects the tastes and domestic arrangements of urban life" (Kirgizy-zhataki, 1897: 314–321).

It is noteworthy that impoverished Kazakhs migrated to the Irtysh region not only from volosts and uyezds situated near Russian settlements, but also from distant areas such as Bayanaul,

Karkaraly, Akmola, and the inner lands of His Majesty's Cabinet. This led to a situation in which the number of zhataks in the stanitsas of Semipalatinsk and Pavlodar Uyezds was nearly equal to the combined number in all the remaining uyezds of the Semipalatinsk and Akmola Regions taken together (Katanaev, 1904: 20).

Kazakhs constrained in their pasturelands by government land surveys, not yet accustomed to shortened migration routes and a semi-sedentary way of life, or completely ruined by zhuts, moved toward the frontier line in the hope of improving their economic condition through wage labor (Apollova, 1976: 156).

The most widespread form of employment was wage labor for the Cossacks of the Irtysh region, Russian commoners, and townspeople residing in Cossack settlements and urban centers.

The extent of the development of wage labor may be judged from the growth of crafts and occupations in Pavlodar Uezd at the end of the nineteenth century:

Types of Occupations	Number of Households	Income (rubles)
carting and transportation services	184	17950
timber industry / forestry work	194	5000
fishing	28	760
tar production	20	820
trapping and hunting	62	1080
coal trade / coal sale	35	750

Table 1 – Development of Crafts and Occupations in Pavlodar Uezd (Sbornik statei..., 1899: 121-127)

There existed various categories of laborers, types of work, and forms of remuneration. The most common were the following:

1. A winter laborer received payment of 20 rubles, in addition to the employer's food provisions and winter clothing (lopot'), consisting of a sheepskin coat, trousers, mittens, and boots.
2. A worker employed during the spring agricultural season received 10 rubles, along with the employer's food provisions, a camisole, a pair of boots, and one set of underwear.
3. A worker employed during the haymaking season received from 17 to 20 rubles, together with the employer's food provisions and one set of underwear.
4. For harvesting grain, workers received from 5 to 8 rubles, along with food and clothing provided by the employer.
5. Annual laborers received from 50 to 70 rubles, food provisions, and a double set of the employer's lopot'. Such workers were employed not by ordinary Cossacks but by more prosperous ones who, in addition to their own meadow and land shares, purchased supplementary plots.

Very often, in order to reduce the cost of hired labor, employers resorted to the system of advance payments (zadatki) for future work. This system proved to be highly viable and convenient for employers, since Kazakhs were in constant need of money to pay the kubitka tax and other obligations. It should also be noted that this practice was employed both by Cossacks and by wealthy Kazakhs (Katanaev, 1904: 53).

N. Konshin noted that impoverished Kazakhs, unable to find employment in the auls, left for Russian villages and declared: "For poor Kazakhs, life among the Russians is still better." At the same time, he pointed out that these poor laborers were indebted to the Russian Cossacks, with debts allegedly reaching 50–100 rubles (Pamyatnaya knizhka..., 1901: 59).

Another equally important source of income for the Kazakhs of the Irtysh region was cart transportation. Passenger and postal transportation were almost entirely controlled by the Cossacks, while Kazakhs worked mainly as coachmen.

The Irtysh Cossack Line was traversed by the only postal and commercial route connecting Omsk, the transshipment center of the Siberian Road, with Pavlodar, Semipalatinsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Zaisan, the Koyandy Fair, and Semirechye.

Naturally, the loading and unloading of goods, as well as cart transportation, with only minor exceptions, were carried out by Kazakhs and Tatars, who constituted the principal labor force in this sphere. For example, near Pavlodar there were auls whose inhabitants subsisted primarily through cart transportation work.

It is practically impossible to determine the exact number of people employed in such occupations. One can only identify the places where these workers were concentrated, the types of work they performed, and the approximate rates of payment (Katanaev, 1904: 55–56). The overall picture was as follows:

1. The winter transport of goods from Pavlodar to Semipalatinsk cost 30 kopecks per pood of cargo, while the return journey cost 18–20 kopecks per pood.

2. The winter transport of goods from Pavlodar to Omsk cost 30–40 kopecks per pood, while the return journey cost 20 kopecks.

3. Loading and unloading goods, as well as Koryakov salt, in Cherlak, Osmoryzhsk, Peschanoe, Chernoyarsk, Pavlodar, Semiyarsk, Dolon, and Semipalatinsk brought workers from 40–50 to 60 kopecks per day.

4. Kazakhs from the Urukovskaya and Altybaevskaya volosts transported salt from Lake Koryakov to the pier at the settlement of Chernoyarsk and received from 20 to 30 rubles for every thousand poods transported.

5. Near the stanitsas of Semiyarsk and Dolon, Kazakhs were employed as woodcutters in state and military forest allotments, supplying timber and firewood floated down the Irtysh to Pavlodar and Omsk; they also worked as raftmen.

6. They were employed as woodcutters on yurt allotments.

7. They were hired as raftmen and log floaters transporting timber downstream along the Irtysh to Omsk. These same workers also loaded alabaster, clay, lime, and flagstone extracted along the banks of the Irtysh near Dolon Stanitsa onto rafts and floated these materials downstream to meet the annual needs of the cities of Omsk, Pavlodar, and the lower stanitsas.

According to the information provided by G. V. Kolmagorov, some zhataks employed in the households of prosperous Cossacks of the Irtysh Line received from 20 to 50 silver rubles per year. A capable worker could earn from 20 to 30 rubles on the Line during the three-month period from July to September (Kolmagorov, 1855: 5–6). However, on average, a hired laborer received from 6 to 25 rubles for annual work. Daily wages for agricultural labor, particularly during haymaking, did not exceed 25–30 silver kopecks (Istoriya KazSSR, 1957: 309–310).

According to G. E. Katanaev, the conditions of employment appeared highly advantageous, and a Kazakh "could nowhere find such comparatively easy and profitable earnings as with the Cossack" (Katanaev, 1904: 22). In reality, however, these seemingly attractive terms of employment effectively turned into a form of bondage: not only the worker himself, but all members of his family were compelled to labor tirelessly for the employer (Apollova, 1976: 158). The hiring of zhataks was a widespread phenomenon. Archival records state that "for agricultural and livestock work, as well as for domestic service and household maintenance, all prosperous Cossacks hire several Kirghiz from among those nomadizing along the Line. Cossacks of moderate means, and even poor ones, hire at least one Kirghiz" (HAOR. F. 366, Inv. 1, C. 237, P. 21–29).

These observations are confirmed by G.E. Katanaev, who wrote that "all even somewhat enterprising Cossacks ... even those lacking spare money, always resort to cheap laborers from among the Kirghiz, at least during the busy agricultural season" (Katanaev, 1893b: 20–21). From time to time, the Military Chancellery attempted to curb the concentration of impoverished Kazakhs along the Line. However, the Cossacks persistently sought access to cheap labor. Consequently, on

August 12, 1820, a Tsarist decree was issued regulating the hiring of impoverished laborers. All supervision over labor contracts was transferred to the Military Chancellery, while employers were made responsible for their workers. Poor Kazakhs were permitted to be hired only through temporary personalized permits issued by the Military Chancellery. Employers paid for these permits according to the following scale: a permit for an annual worker cost 6 rubles, for a four-month worker 2 rubles, and for a monthly worker 50 kopecks. If the term of employment was extended, the employer was required to purchase a new permit. Kazakhs without permits were escorted back to the steppe under the supervision of interpreters (*Kazakhsko–russkie otnosheniya...*, 1964: 187–188).

The attempt to introduce a registration system for Kazakh seasonal laborers through the issuance of permits reflected a particular direction of government social policy. With the introduction of the kubitka tax in 1847, the authorities sought to organize the registration of the Kazakh population. Departure to the Line meant removal from the taxable population, which was disadvantageous for the Tsarist treasury. By the mid-nineteenth century, when the migration of impoverished Kazakhs to the Line had become a mass phenomenon and the supply of cheap labor exceeded demand, the established permit regulations were frequently violated. Cossacks were unwilling to pay a 6-ruble fee for a worker who could be hired for a year for only 4 rubles.

In an attempt to regulate the movement of poor Kazakhs to the Line, the administration entrusted the issuance of permits ("certificates of approval") to clan elders, who were required to provide them to departing laborers. The permit thus became both authorization to leave the aul and a form of passport. While organizing control over the migration of Kazakhs, the Line administration nevertheless permitted departures without permits during the haymaking and harvest seasons. Kazakhs worked in Cossack households on the basis of oral agreements, without formal written contracts, and therefore had no possibility of presenting claims against their employers. In this way, the hiring and everyday labor of impoverished Kazakhs increasingly turned into a form of bondage. Cossacks frequently concealed expired permits in order to avoid paying fines (Apollova, 1976: 159).

Such a situation, namely the necessity for the Cossacks on the one hand to pay permit fees and on the other hand the low productivity of Cossack fields cultivated by Kazakh laborers, according to N. Apollova, should logically have pushed the Cossacks toward equipping their farms with agricultural machinery (Apollova, 1976: 160). For example, a comparison between Pavlodar and Semipalatinsk Uyezds and the Akmola Region demonstrates that in the latter, manual labor gradually began to be replaced not by hired workers but by the purchase of agricultural machinery, especially mowing and harvesting machines, despite their high cost. According to G. E. Katanaev, the spread of machinery was destined to transform "the entire structure of agricultural life," and he envisioned the following possible impact of technology: a worker, in this case a Cossack, would undertake to mow all the grass on a Kazakh's land with his machine on the condition that one half of the harvested hay would go to the Cossack while the other half would remain with the Kazakh. Although Katanaev considered this unlikely in the immediate future, he believed that eventually "the Cossacks ... would come to the conclusion that, despite the competition of the Kirghiz with machines, it would be more profitable for them to mow their hayfields with machines and sell the resulting hay for money to those same Kirghiz, rather than lease the fields out on a sharecropping basis" (Katanaev, 1904: 46).

The introduction of agricultural technology was undoubtedly a progressive phenomenon. However, it should be emphasized that the purchase of machinery in the Akmola Region was caused by a shortage of labor. An entirely different situation prevailed in the Irtysh region.

The surplus labor force consisting of impoverished Kazakhs, who arrived along the Line in large groups and offered their labor cheaply, eliminated any need for Cossack officers or stanitsa leaders to concern themselves with improving agricultural technology or farming implements. On the fertile black-earth lands of the Siberian Line, the dominant system was fallow agriculture, with cultivation returning to previously used fields after five or six years. The fields were not fertilized, plowing was carried out with wooden plows, harvesting with sickles, and threshing with flails and horses (*Kazakhsko–russkie otnosheniya...*, 1964: 104–105). Under such conditions, the commodity-oriented farms of prosperous Cossacks regarded the cheap labor of the zhataks as more profitable,

since machinery and its transportation were expensive, while there was no one capable of repairing it in case of breakdown (Apollova, 1976: 157–158).

Moreover, according to officials who had the opportunity to observe the lives of Kazakh seasonal laborers, they were distinguished by their "diligence, sobriety, tirelessness, and cheapness" (Krasovskii, 1868a: 214).

The number of impoverished Kazakhs who left for seasonal work between 1857 and 1862 may be judged from data concerning the three districts of the Region of the Siberian Kazakhs:

District	1857	1860	1861	1862
Bayanaul District	787	813	925	1228
Kokchetav District	2189	2898	2729	3253
Atbasar District	—	219	297	379

Table 2 – Number of Zhataks in the Region of the Siberian Kazakhs from 1857 to 1862 (Krasovskii, 1868b: 145)

Subsequently, the number of zhataks continued to increase. Thus, during the 1880s and 1890s, their number in the Semipalatinsk Region reached 18, 000–25, 000 people (Obzor..., 1887: 26–27; Obzor..., 1895: 17–18; Obzor..., 1898: 30).

The exact number of zhataks is difficult to determine. G. E. Katanaev classified as zhataks one-tenth of the Kazakhs living in the area of the Cossack yurt allotments in the Semipalatinsk Region, three-quarters of the Kazakhs residing in settlements of the Akmola Region, and all Kazakhs living in the Cossack settlements of the Biysk Line. According to his general calculations for 1899–1900, this amounted to 285 persons of both sexes on the Biysk Line, 2, 936 in the Semipalatinsk Region, and 2, 403 in the Akmola Region, for a total of up to 5, 500 persons of both sexes (Katanaev, 1904: 22). Evidently, these figures were significantly lower than the official data provided by the Semipalatinsk authorities.

Let us attempt to determine the approximate number of hired workers using Pavlodar Uezd as an example. For this purpose, it is necessary to know the number of households employing workers and the sums spent on labor. According to G. E. Katanaev, one-quarter of Cossack households employed one annual laborer with wages amounting to 60 rubles, which represented approximately 557 households and, consequently, 557 workers. Half of the households were compelled to employ laborers for half a year, during the winter or the busy agricultural season, paying each worker about 25 rubles; again, we assume one worker per household, although in reality there were often more. The total earnings of such Kazakh laborers amounted to approximately 27, 580 rubles, which suggests around 1, 103 hired workers. Approximately the same number existed in Omsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, and Semipalatinsk Uyezds. It must also be taken into account that, independently of the Cossacks, the close proximity of Kazakhs living on Cossack allotments led Russian commoners, petty bourgeois townspeople, merchants, and others residing in settlements and towns to hire these Kazakhs as well (Katanaev, 1904: 53–54). Consequently, the actual figure was considerably higher.

Gradually breaking away from their aul economy, masses of seasonal laborers in search of employment offered their labor not only to prosperous settlers but also to the owners of various handicraft and industrial enterprises. With the further development of industry and the growing number of ruined households, the economic ties of these seasonal workers with their aul relatives became increasingly fragile. In essence, one can observe the initial process of the formation of a local labor force. This new phenomenon was also noted by contemporaries: "Having lost their livestock and vast meadowlands, they are abandoning pastoralism and leaving the steppe in enormous masses. Unable to turn to agriculture or engage in any independent branches of industrial labor, these former nomads appear on the labor market as workers "free" as birds and capable of performing any kind of heavy labor. There is now an excess supply of laborers willing to sell themselves for next to nothing; they have emerged at the cost of the ruin of two million Kirghiz people. In the steppe, rich in natural resources, a worker has been created, a proletariat formed from the nomadic population deprived of livestock" (Sud"by..., 1889: 2).

At the same time, seasonal laborers from Kazakh auls worked not only within their own uyezds and regions. In search of earnings, they traveled far beyond their native lands. Thousands of Kazakhs

flocked to mines and industrial enterprises in neighboring Russian provinces, particularly Tomsk and Tobolsk Provinces. Furthermore, the Review of the Semipalatinsk Region for 1894 noted that: "The Semipalatinsk Kirghiz, owing to the city of Semipalatinsk, where there was always a demand for labor and where workers were well paid, had already become accustomed to life outside the steppe. Being the first to learn about the recruitment of laborers for the construction of the Siberian Railway, attracted by good wages, they headed there for employment, exchanging the life of a steppe nomad or cultivator" (Obzor..., 1895: 17–18).

Later, in 1895, around two thousand Kazakhs from Pavlodar Uezd of the Semipalatinsk Region departed to work on the construction of the railway line toward the Yenisei River at the Taiga station. Near Achinsk in 1895, more than 2, 500 Kazakh laborers from the northeastern regions of Kazakhstan were employed in the construction of the Middle Siberian section of the railway (Sibirskaya khronika, 1895: 1–2).

Overall, characterizing the development of the Irtysh region and the ten-verst border zone, one can observe significant changes in the social environment of the Kazakhs, expressed in the emergence of a large number of zhataks — people excluded from the nomadic system. They were compelled to seek employment from Cossacks, bais, and peasants, with some becoming dependent laborers, while others adapted to the new conditions and became part of the emerging market relations.

Conclusion. The social transformations that took place in the Irtysh region and the Irtysh ten-verst border zone in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were closely connected with the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, the reduction of nomadic territories, and the growing influence of market relations. These processes contributed to the destruction of the traditional nomadic economy and to the formation of a significant stratum of zhataks among the Kazakh population.

The study demonstrates that impoverishment, zhuts, restrictions on migration routes, and social stratification became the principal factors behind the growth of zhatakism and the spread of wage labor. A considerable proportion of the Kazakh poor became integrated into the economic system of Cossack, peasant, and bai households, while others were drawn into seasonal labor migration and industrial employment beyond the region.

The development of hired labor in the Irtysh region reflected the gradual incorporation of the Kazakh population into new socio-economic relations and the emergence of early forms of a local labor market. At the same time, the abundance of cheap labor slowed technological modernization in agriculture and strengthened the dependent position of Kazakh workers. Overall, zhatakism became one of the key manifestations of the social transformation of Kazakh society during the colonial period.

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