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**VIEWS OF THE TURKESTAN GENERAL-GOVERNOR
K.P. KAUFMAN ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATIVE DEVICE
AND KAZAKH OFFICIALS**

This article discusses the views of the Turkestan General Governor Konstantin Petrovich Kaufman about the administrative building in the region and the question of the Kazakh officials. Analyzing the views of General Kaufman's various reports, essays and memoirs, the analysis of Kaufmann's views on the importance of Russian schools in Kazakhs' involvement in the work of the Kazakh Empire, the system of self-ruling amongst Kazakhs, the policy to give expensive gifts to non-Russian officials and their sum. The Governor-Governor's attempts to change the lawsuit between Kazakhs were considered. In addition, Kauffman's views on Kazakh officer Shokan Valikhanov, who was buried in the Zhetysu province in the Turkestan general-governorate territory, were determined.

The article also covered various views on the effectiveness of the administration of Kaufmann's administration. The historical conclusions about the Governor-General of the Turkestan General's Office and Khaufman's activities were identified using the pre-revolutionary origins, Soviet historiography, researches of native and foreign scholars.

Key words: Kaufman, Governor-General, administrative structure, Turkestan, Kazakh officials

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**Түркістан генерал-губернаторы К.П. Кауфманның
әкімшіліктік құрылыс және қазақ шенеуніктері туралы көзқарастары**

Бұл мақалада Түркістан генерал-губернаторы Константин Петрович Кауфманның өлкедегі әкімшіліктік құрылыс пен қазақ шенеунік мәселесі туралы ойлары талқыланады. Генерал Кауфманның өзінің түрлі есептері, нұсқауаттары мен ол туралы естелік хаттардың мазмұнын талдай отырып, қазақтар арасындағы өзін-өзі басқару, орыс емес шенеуніктерге сыйлықтар беру жүйесі мен оның сомасы, қазақтарды империяның қызметіне тартудағы орыс мектептерінің маңызы туралы Кауфманның көзқарастарына талдау жасалынды. Генерал-губернатордың қазақтар арасында сот ісін өзгертуге қатысты талпыныстары қарастырылды. Сонымен қатар, мақалада К.П. Кауфманның Түркістан генерал-губернаторлығы аумағына қарасты Жетісу облысында жерленген қазақ офицері Шоқан Уәлихановқа қатысты көзқарасы анықталды.

Сондай-ақ, мақалада Кауфман басқарған әкімшіліктік құрылысты тиімділігіне қатысты түрлі ойлар келтірілді. Генерал-губернатор мен оның әкімшілігі туралы революцияға дейінгі авторлардың, кеңестік тарихнаманың, отандық және шетелдік ғалымдардың әдебиеттерін пайдалана отырып, Түркістан генерал-губернаторлығындағы Кауфманның қызметі туралы тарихи тұжырымдар анықталды.

Түйін сөздер: Кауфман, генерал-губернатор, әкімшілік құрылым, Түркістан, қазақ шенеуніктері

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Взгляды Туркестанского генерал-губернатора К.П. Кауфмана об административном устройстве и казахском чиновничестве

Данная статья рассматривает взглядов первого генерал-губернатора Туркестанского генерал-губернаторства Константина Петровича Кауфмана об административном устройстве и казахском чиновничестве в крае. Анализируя его мнения, отраженные в разных отчетах, циркулярах и письмах, а также воспоминаний о нем, предпринимаются попытки определить позицию генерала Кауфмана о местном самоуправлении среди казахов, системе поощрения выдаваемых нерусским должностным лицам и роли русско-казахских школ в подготовке казахских чиновников. Кроме того, в данной статье приведены разные мнения и позиции относительно эффективности администрации Кауфмана. Используя источники дореволюционных авторов, советской историографии, современной отечественной и зарубежной литературы о генерал-губернаторе и его управленческих дел, выявлены исторические оценки деятельности К.П. Кауфмана в устройстве администрации Туркестанского генерал-губернаторства.

Ключевые слова: Кауфман, генерал-губернатор, административное устройство, Туркестан, казахские чиновники

Introduction

It is known that the Turkestan general-governorship was created as a result of the administrative reforms of Alexander II. It was after the publication of the Provisional Regulations on the Management of the Semirechye and Syrdarya Regions of July 11, 1867, that such a multicultural region was formed and, at the same time (Materialy: 1960: 282), the total area of the Turkestan Governor-General was almost 1.7 million km² which was even more than France, Italy, Austria-Hungary and Germany combined at that time, while the population was just over 5 million people (Sever, 2016: 116). Therefore, for imperial power, it was very important to identify as a leader in a strategically important region a person who could successfully implement the policy of the Russian Empire. As a result, an experienced military leader, adjutant-general Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman (1818-1882) was appointed as a governor. K.P. von Kaufman came from the Russian military family of the Austrian Kaufman family. He had vast experience in military affairs and participated in many committees on the transformation of the military organization of the Russian Empire. Already by the time of his appointment, the head of the province in Turkestan had the experience of the Governor-General in the North-West Territory, whose population was also polyethnic. For the post of chief of the Turkestan region he was recommended to Alexander II by the Minister of War D.A. Milutin (1816-1912), who knew him in the office of the Military Ministry. K.P. Kaufman, being a governor-general, was endowed with broad powers and at the

same time was the commander of the troops of the Turkestan Military District. Moreover, due to the transboundary position of the Turkestan Governor General, the Governor-General had the right to conduct diplomatic relations with neighboring states.

K.P. von Kaufman led the region for 15 years, with the formation of this general-governorship in 1867 till 1882, more than all those eleven chiefs of the province who succeeded him. He laid the foundation for the formation of the administrative structure of the region, socio-economic development and the cultural and prospective life of Turkestan. His reputation as an “organizer of the Turkestan Territory” was perceived in an unequal way, but the local population called it “yarym-pasha” because of his strong influence and administrative power (Abaza, 1902: 115).

Certainly, as the chief of the province in the service of his duty, the adjutant general was at the source of the history of the Governor-general and his reports, circulars and other documents are of great value and significance in determining and evaluating the historical events of that period. In modern historical science it is very important to consider and study its opinions and positions, reflected in various materials, from different sides and give a historical assessment. That is why in this article the views of K.P. von Kaufman about the administrative structure of the Turkestan general-governorship and the Kazakh officials were analyzed on the basis of the materials of the reports and circulars of the Governor-General K.P. von Kaufman, in particular the “Project of the All-Belief Report of Adjutant-General K.P. Kaufmann on civil administration

and organization in the provinces of the Turkestan Governor General, November 7, 1867 – March 25, 1881 (Kaufman, 1885) and personal reminiscences of N. Ostroumov about K.P. Kaufman (Ostroumov, 1895) and Academician F. Middendorf (Middendorf, 1882).

Historiography of the problem

The works of prerevolutionary authors describe in detail the life and work of K.P. Kaufman, who tried to “idealize” him. Almost all of them refer the general to the ranks of officials of the Russian Empire who successfully implemented the tsar’s policy and justified his hopes (Polyansky, 1913). The famous Russian teacher Evgeni Markov (1835-1903) during his trip to Turkestan did not hide his astonishment about the “unanimous response” about the first governor-general of the Turkestan governor-general. He described Kaufmann as “a man of emerging state abilities, a high spirit and great merit.” In his opinion, it is the general that “all useful institutions, almost all reasonable orders and undertakings” of the province are obliged (Markov, 1901: 479). And the researcher of the history of Turkestan N.G. Pavlov described Kaufmann as “The largest personality of the History of Russian Turkestan” and considered it fair to designate him as “the organizer of the region” (Pavlov, 1910: 129).

In Soviet historiography, Kaufman, like other governor-generals, had a generally negative reputation. Historian Zinaida Dmitrievna Kastelskaya (1909-1983) did not agree with the fact that the general was called “the organizer of the region.” In her opinion, Kaufman “like any colonizer” was an oppressor and his policy of “establishing military-people’s government” was accompanied only by promises (Castelskaya, 1980: 29). The same position is determined by the Soviet historian, researcher of Central Asia Petr Grigorevich Galuzo (1897-1980). He in his book “Turkestan – Colony” described in detail the misappropriation of funds in the administration of Kaufmann and considered his encirclement to be a corrupt organ (Galuzo, 1929: 36).

In modern historiography, the activity of K.P. Kaufman still requires an in-depth study. Although in recent years, domestic and foreign researchers have made attempts to assess the life and works of the general. So the historian D.V. Vasiliev in detail analyzing the legislative acts created under the guidance of Kaufman’s background, draws conclusions about the boundless power of the governor-general (Vasiliev, 1999: 25). There are also descriptions of Kaufman’s activity on the part of such scien-

tists as S. Abashin (Abashin, 2001), L.M. Lysenko (Lysenko, 2001), L. Kovaleva (Kovaleva, 2002), L. Belenchuk (Belenchuk, 2002) and others. Also, foreign researchers studying the history of Turkestan and Central Asia gave their assessments to the Governor-General. American historian David Mackenzie considered him a “successful colonizer” (MacKenzi, 1967). The Japanese professor Kimitaka Matsuzato, on the basis of an analysis of the activities of Governor Kaufman, determines his role in the institution of the Governor-General of the Russian Empire (Matsuzato, 2004). A professor at Oxford University, Alexander Morrison, compares Kaufman’s attempts to create a local administration with a similar policy of the British Empire in India (Morrison, 2008).

Despite the existence of certain works on the activities of Governor Kaufman in historical studies, they did not attempt to consider his views on the process of attracting local people to serve in local government, his attitude towards the representatives of Kazakh officials.

The views of K.P. von Kaufman about the administrative structure of the Turkestan general-governorship and the Kazakh Officials

The first governor-general of the Turkestan general-governorship, Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman, directly participated in organizing the administration of the region and attracting Kazakhs to the administrative service of the empire. Therefore, his views and arguments are well reflected in his reports on “civil administration and organization in the areas of the Turkestan General Governorship.” This draft report was published in 1885 by the titular adviser P. Khomutov and it covers the reports of K.P. Kaufman in almost the entire period of his administration (from November 7, 1867 to March 23, 1881). In these reports, we can catch von Kaufman’s views on the administrative structure of the province and the involvement of Kazakhs in management services. Also in the project there are detailed descriptions of the Turkestan region with data on the course of colonization, financial and economic situation, population, transportation routes, public education and other information.

Describing the principles of administrative management and Kazakh officials, K.P. Kaufman noted that the beginning of the organization of “indigenous” people’s control was carried out simultaneously with the opening of the Syr Darya and Semirechensk regional administrations by 4th December, 1867 and 19th February, 1868 respectively, and stated that

“... the lower management, strictly native, bound to act on local customs and laws, and only under the general supervision of Russian authorities, based on the beginning of the election “(Kaufmann 1885: 35). Obviously, what guided the general here. After all, the “Draft Provisional Regulations on the management of Semirechensk and Syrdarya regions” local people could elect people for a period of three years only on the positions township rulers and aul elders, which were the lowest link five-degree management system introduced as a result of administrative reform of royal power (Materialy, 1960: 281-282).

Interesting was the position of K.P. Kaufman to the system of encouraging non-Russian officials, because according to the “Provisional Regulations” of 1867, especially distinguished representatives of the local population could be awarded the title of honorary citizen, medals, honorable robes and cash prizes. The award system was a tool for managing the local population, which made it more effective and attractive for new Russian citizens. (Materials, 1960: 289-293) However, in relation to this policy of the Russian Empire, K.P. Kaufman had his own point of view. He considered such a method of involving local residents in managerial affairs as “Asian”, although this method was used from the 30s of the XVIII century in relation to the Kazakhs of the Younger and Middle Zhuzes. The Governor-General doubted the success of the incentive system, since he believed that the rejection of this policy “will not entail any inconvenience and disadvantage for the very administration of the region.” In his opinion, these measures will not affect the “zealous service of the natives” of the Empire. At the same time, there is a paradoxical moment in Kaufmann’s convictions, since although the general was a non-partisan of the system of encouragement, by virtue of his service he still adhered to this policy of the Russian Empire. In his reports, he believed that the amount given to the district chiefs for the award of “native” officials as 500-750 rubles per annum was quite insufficient (Kaufman, 1885: 94).

K.P. Kaufman believed that only by creating an attractive Russian school for the natives can they be more involved. In his opinion, the natives must feel the need to study in Russian schools “for all kinds of public service and activities.” The Governor-General ordered the military governors to take “urgent measures to ensure that the natives who know the Russian language are elected and appointed to various administrative posts and services.” Especially he wanted them to get the posts just in front of those local residents who do not

know Russian language. It is obvious here that their positions were oriented in terms of enlightening the “indigenous” population. It is also worth noting that this position towards the Kazakhs was formed by von Kaufman under the influence of the authoritative professor of the history of the East, V.V. Grigoriev and head of the missionary school of Kazan N.I. Ilminsky (Ostroumov, 1895: 141).

Turkestan Governor-General K.P. Kaufman in 1873 presented to the government a draft of the new “Turkestan laws”, in which he proposed to abandon the election of biys, giving local residents the right to seek knowledgeable person who could solve their problems. However, the government commission chaired by General Arthur Adamovich Nepokoychitsky (1813-1881), who was considering the draft of 1873, left the status of people’s courts and judges in the interpretation of the “Steppe Commission”, stating that “the choice of biys by the people and their approval by the government are necessary in order to to impart to the court of biys the importance of not private, not random opinions and arguments about the dispute that has arisen between the parties ... but of the government court, with the obligatory execution of its decisions with the help of governmental power and authority “(Saliev, 2014: 74).

Thus, the Governor-General had a peculiar position to attract local residents to the administrative affairs of the empire. And his actions in this regard were evaluated by different researchers and scientists. For example, Academician Middendorf, who in 1878 made a special trip to Turkestan at the invitation of Kaufman to form a scientific point of view on the transformations in the province, also noted that the Russian authorities are trying to create a cohort of “officials on official maintenance and for their intended purpose.” In his opinion, the greatest “happy state” is achieved where the state does not interfere in the internal regulations of local communities and provides them with “self-government on broad republican principles” (Middendorf, 1882: 455).

The learned orientalist V. Barthold believed that “neither Kaufman nor his successors succeeded in creating such a people’s government that the natives themselves valued, it was not possible to create such a Russian administration that would be satisfied with official content, without resorting to either deportations or loans “(Barthold, 1963: 350). Of course, the subjective position of the author is displayed here, but the subjective view of the well-known Kazakh public figure and deputy of

the Second State Duma of Russia Mukhametzhan Tynyshpayev is also interesting, recalling the time in the Kaufman and Kolpakovsky governorship that they “In the native administration there were still people quite worthy, fair” (Tynyshpaev, 1916).

P. Galuzo believes that Kaufman created a bureaucratic apparatus that served him well. Local officials and employees, like the general's own environment, were also involved in embezzling money from the treasury. In his opinion, in such cases, “the native apparatus below and the official Russian apparatus at the top were perfectly harmonized” in bribes and other financial frauds (Galuzo, 1929: 36). As the solution to this problem, the author proposed to destroy this situation “by revolution”, which coincided with the spirit of that time.

A similar position is also found in Z.D. Kastelskaya. She calls the administration of the first governor-general of Turkestan is corrupted, and their “elective principles” are driven by deception. The historian also believes that only “representatives of local ruling classes who had money and were well known to tsarist officials” could be elected to the posts of volost governors and other employees (Kastelskaya, 1980: 29-31).

Obviously, von Kaufman conducted the organization of “native” management in a peculiar way. The reaction to the “administrative structure” of the Turkestan Kaufmanom region was uneven and therefore this problem still requires a deep study.

At the same time, Governor-General von Kaufman respected the Kazakh scientist, traveler and at the same time the officer of the General Staff of the Russian Army, Chokan Valikhanov (1835-1865), who, as is well known, was buried near the foot of the Altyn-Emel Range, on the territory Semirechensk region of the Turkestan general-governorship (now Almaty region – M.E.). Therefore, the adjutant-general gave the order to the military governor of the Semirechye region G.A. Kolpakovsky (1819-1896) “about the establishment of a tombstone with the text of the Rothmistre of the Russian Service, Muhamed-Khanafiy (Chokan) Chingisov Valikhanov”. In his letter, he asked the military governor to take care “of finding a master who could, accurately and without errors cut out the inscription in Russian and Kyrgyz languages - on a marble slab” (On the establishment of a tombstone). On this inscription the governor-general noted that Chokan Valikhanov was a respected man and “loved God, was betrayed to the King and engaged in science.” Even more interesting is the fact that

he writes further: “May Allah rest his soul, together with the righteous!”, Thereby showing his respect towards the worship of the Kazakh officer and the local population. These facts demonstrate us the contradictory elements of the figure of Kaufmann as administrator as well as human. By the way, the inscription in this order was both in Russian and in Kyrgyz (Kazakh – M.E.) languages, the translation of which was made by the translator Shahmardan Ibragimov, who knew the Kazakh enlightener Chokan Valikhanov, the author of works on the history and culture of the Kazakh people, in particular “On the mullahs in the Kazakh steppe,” the editor of the newspaper Turkestan Vilayeti Gazeti. The same translator appears in Ostroumov's memoirs. According to him, during the conversation between Kaufman's background and the local resident of Mecca who returned from the pilgrimage to the holy city of Muslims, it was the translator Ibrahimov who translated their conversation (Ostroumov, 1895: 42).

Conclusion

Konstantin Petrovich Kaufman was the first general governor of the newly incorporated region in the Russian Empire and the “organizer of the region.” He laid the foundation of the Turkestan general-governorship. His service in Turkestan was marked by different researchers unequivocally. If in pre-revolutionary sources Kaufman was described as a successful administrator, in Soviet times historians condemned his administration.

K.P. Kaufman, by virtue of his service, was actively engaged in organizing the administrative structure in the region. Was directly related to the creation of elements of local government. He supported the policy of “elective start” in the post of volost governors and aul leaders. However, he was not a supporter of the system of encouraging representatives of the “indigenous” administration, which he considered an “Asian” method and doubted its success. In his opinion, there was a more effective method of attracting Kazakhs to the administrative services of the Empire. This – the creation of Russian schools for children of the local population as the main tool for carrying out their activities to attract “natives” in administrative matters. And the general made efforts to improve their attractiveness in front of the Kazakhs who did not know the Russian language. He believed that in this way, Kazakhs would see in them the possibility of obtaining posts and various services. In addition, it is known that the governor-general made attempts

to change the electoral system of the Kazakhs' biys, but his initiatives were not approved by government commissions.

Also, Governor-General K.P. Kaufman treated with respect the Kazakh officer of the General Staff of the Russian Army, C. Valikhanov. By his order, a tombstone was constructed to a Kazakh official of the Russian Empire. In the accompanying text, Kaufman notes Valikhanov's devotion to the Tsar and at the same time shows his respect for Rothmistra and his beliefs.

In general, the activity of Konstantin Petrovich Kaufman in the organization of "native" governance

in the Turkestan region was perceived by various scientists, government officials of the Russian Empire, the local population is just as unequal as his reputation as the first governor-general of the region.

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