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The influence of exiled poles on social and cultural life of Eastern Kazakhstan in the XIX - early XX centuries

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**Abstract.** Among the representatives of different ethnic groups living in the multi-ethnic, multi-religious society of Kazakhstan, there is also a place for representatives of the Polish one. Poles first appeared on the territory of Kazakhstan in the XVIII century. They were Polish rebels who were exiled by the tsarist government to the Kazakh land. The local authorities forcibly attached them to the population of Ural and Siberian Kazakhs against their will. The exiled Poles participated in the national liberation revolts in Poland against the Russian Empire in 1830-1831, 1863-1864. A significant part of them was nobles. Among the Poles were many poets and writers, artists and doctors, engineers and lawyers.

The article analyzes the contribution of exiled Polish figures to the public atmosphere and cultural transformation of Kazakhstan, tells about individual representatives of the Polish ethnic group, which has contributed to the socio-economic development of East Kazakhstan. The authors conclude that the objective studying of the problem of the history of the Poles on the territory of Kazakhstan is of great scientific importance both for ethno geographical history and for the consolidation of Kazakhstani society and the consolidation of national integrity in modern conditions.

Keywords: Poles, culture, figures, scientists, exiles, Eastern Kazakhstan.

## Introduction

The modern polyethnic composition of the Republic of Kazakhstan's population has evolved over a long historical period. However, the socio-political events of the XIX - XX centuries had the most tangible impact on this process, primarily the forced migration of various social and ethnic groups, among which were the Polish people.

Because of the sparsely populated vast territories and remoteness from the center of Russia, Kazakhstan was a favorite place of exile of «undesirable» peoples. One of the punitive measures applied by the Russian Empire against those dissatisfied with its policy was political exile. By means of exile, the tsarist government intended to increase the number of the non-Kazakh population in the eastern region of Kazakhstan, considering it, among other things, as a tool for colonization of the region. In the XIX century in the Russian Empire, there were various types of exiles - settlement, hard labor, administrative exile, and expulsion of residence. From European Russia to Western Siberia, and later to the Steppes people were expelled administratively for crimes of a political nature. Almost all of them lived in sparsely populated county

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towns. The imprint on the stay of Poles in exile imposed the harsh climate which complicated adaptation and was the reason for many diseases. The economic backwardness of the county towns, the almost complete lack of industry (the population was mainly engaged in nomadic pastoralism), the remoteness from the center, and the underdevelopment of agriculture made it very difficult to find work for the exiles. With few exceptions, most of the exiles survived mainly at the expense of benefits.

The relevance of the topic is due to the widespread interest in «microhistory» in historical science when the study of private events helps identify trends in society as a whole. The study of the Poles' exile to the area of eastern Kazakhstan makes it possible to determine its regional specifics, the social composition of the exiles, the compilation of their short biographies, the study of their activities in places of exile, the contribution of Polish exiles to the development of the region.

### Materials and methods

The methodological basis of the study is general scientific methods of historical research and scientific analysis. At the same time, the system and structural analysis is important, which makes it possible to consider any developing phenomenon as a certain system having the appropriate structure and functional significance. The interdisciplinary nature of the problem leads to the use of a complex of different research methods based on a systematic approach to international relations, comparative analysis, and other methods that provide results objectively reflecting the current state of the problem under study. So, important information about the ethnography, demography, and interrelationships of the multinational population of the Semipalatinsk region was available in the works of W. von Tsin, V. Nikitin, P. Makovetsky, A. Pervushin, N.Ya. Konshin, G. Sopetov and F. Zobnin, which were published in the Semipalatinsk gazettes kept in the funds of the Semey Regional History and Local Lore Museum [Semipalatinsk Region Gazette 1880 №32,35, 37; 1882 №23/24; 1888 №19; 1898 № 28/29, №33, 49/50; 1896 №45; 1898 №3 26/27; 1902 №1-9].

Along with these essential provisions, the criteria of historical analysis are included in the methodological basis, and the objectivity of the historical truth and the degree of its correspondence to actual historical knowledge is of great importance. Particular attention was paid to source analysis, critical analysis of sources, and their comparative study to obtain the most objective data. For this purpose, unpublished (archival) documents and published sources were used, in particular Notes of the West Siberian Branch of the Russian Geographical Society. A source analysis of personal documents from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (F. 469) was carried out.

## **Discussion**

Valuable information is presented in the articles of B. Gerassimov, a local historian, one of the founders of the Semipalatinsk subdivision of the West Siberian

Branch of the Russian Geographical Society, a priest who in his works cited a list of political criminals of Polish exiles, noted that exiled Poles were a... cultural element (Gerassimov, 2012: 623).

The fact that Poles were also exiled to the territory of East Kazakhstan is indirectly evidenced by the statistical data given by the well-known local historian N. Abramov in articles about Semipalatinsk (Abramov, 1861: 140) and Ust-Kamenogorsk (Abramov, 1863: 124).

Among foreign researchers, George Kennan should be noted. An American traveler, having lived several years in Siberia, comprehensively studied the subject of political repression. His work «Siberia and Repression», especially the chapters on the eastern region of Kazakhstan, are a valuable source in studying the history of Kazakhstan (Kennan, 1906).

In Soviet science, the problem of Polish exile was considered from the point of view of the formational approach to the study of the historical process, the struggle of the people with the tsarist government for independence was determined by the role of the class struggle in history. The socio-political and cultural life of ethnic diasporas, including Poles, is considered in the works of V.Z. Galiyev (Galiyev, 1965; 1978).

In modern historiography, the history of Polish exile to Western Siberia, to which East Kazakhstan was administratively related, the main areas of Poles' activities in exile, and the problems of their adaptation to new living conditions are covered in generalizing works. The collection «Poles in Siberia at the end of the XIX – first quarter of the XX century: historiographic traditions, new directions and perspectives of research» contains articles by Polish and Russian historians, reflecting various aspects of the Polish presence in Siberia at the end of the XIX – first quarter of the XX centuries (Poles in Siberia, 2021).

Particularly noteworthy are the scientific works of the B.S. Shostakovich, who published a number of works devoted to the history of exiled Poles in Siberia, covering in detail the main forms of activity of Poles in Siberia, including daily life and all kinds of creative activities, based on a broad documentary basis (Shostakovich, 2015). In the studies of Shostakovich, a special place is taken by fragments of memories of participants in the national liberation movement with detailed comments from the author (Memories from Siberia, 2009).

A researcher N.V. Stepanenko addresses the historical conditions for the formation of the Polish diaspora in Kazakhstan (XIX – early XX century), cultural, educational, and scientific activities of political exiles in Kazakhstan, and also distinguishes periods of political exile of Polish revolutionaries in Kazakhstan, noting a separate stage of the participants of the revolts of 1831-1833 (Stepanenko, 2020; 2012).

Polish scientists contributed to the study of Siberian exiles (Tenze, 1990; Sliwowska, 1991). The scientific works of the famous Polish scientist, professor of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences W. Sliwowska are well known to the scientific community. A significant part of her research is devoted to the history of Polish exile in Russia, which expands the concept of Polish exile in the XIX century in Siberia since they are based on documents first introduced into scientific use. V. Sliwowska's works present new data on the history of Polish exiles to Siberia and study

the role of exiled Poles in the history and culture of the region (Sliwowska, 1998; 1991; 1996).

A separate group of studies at the present stage should include works that have highlighted the economic structure, cultural, religious life, and identity of diasporas living in East Kazakhstan. Researchers M.M. Rezontova and N. Petelskaya traced the history of the settlement of Poles in eastern Kazakhstan (Resontova, 2011; Petelskaya, Resontova, 2009). The history of the Polish diaspora in Kazakhstan is considered in the work of B. Zh. Atantaeva, T.A. Kamaldzhanova. In addition, the monograph notes individual representatives of Polish exiles, their participation in expeditions on the Steppe, in the work of local scientific societies, and assistance to the work of museums (Atantayeva, Kamaldzhanova, 2014).

### Results

The beginning of the formation of the Polish population in the East Kazakhstan areas was set with the Polish political exiles in the XVIII-XIX centuries who with their education made a great contribution to the development of ethnography, geology, geography, and other sciences and had a great influence on the economic, social and cultural life of Kazakhstan. Political exiles served as teachers, and doctors, actively engaged in cultural and educational activities, contributed to the creation of local history museums, opened libraries, and studied the nature of the region.

The deprivation of Polish sovereignty led to armed protests from 1796 to 1863. In the 1930s, political opponents of the autocracy, freedom fighters, among whom were many Poles, members of the Polish national liberation movement of 1830-1860, were exiled to the territory of Kazakhstan from tsarist Russia. The uprisings were motivated by the desire to create a separate independent state from the Polish Kingdom, which was part of the Russian Empire until 1917.

Distribution of exiles in areas was made by the Steppe General-Governor, and in the cities by governors of the areas. It is difficult to say how they were guided by this distribution, but it was of great importance to the exiles. The fact is that only Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, and, perhaps, Pavlodar, could be called cities, while others – Karkaralinsk, Zaysan, Kokchetav, Akmolinsk, and Atbasar - were small villages with 1-2 thousand inhabitants (Konshin, 1923:1).

Describing the demographic situation in cities, among other categories of the population, N. Abramov notes that in 1861 in Semipalatinsk there were 27 men and 1 woman of the Roman Catholic faith, and in Ust-Kamenogorsk, there were 31 men and no women. Such an unnatural gender ratio indicates the involuntary presence of those people in the region. Other information on the social and age status of Catholics living in the region is not available.

The First General Population Census of the Russian Empire of 1897 contains such information on the number of Polish diasporas in the Semipalatinsk region. 128 men and 67 women of Polish nationality lived throughout the region, 113 of them were men and 66 of them were women (The first general census, 1897). This ratio of the urban and non-urban population indicates, most likely, that the majority of Poles living in the territory of the region belonged to the category of the supervised population, that is,

exiles. The predominance of male «exiles» disturbed the authorities, as such gender inequality did not contribute to the exiles' desire to remain in the place of exile forever.

One of the first researchers of the life of exiled Poles in the Semipalatinsk region B. Gerassimov notes that the archives of the Semipalatinsk regional administration and the Ust-Kamenogorsk city administration did not contain evidence that the territory of the region was inhabited by participants of the uprising of 1831. But there are certain references to political criminals exiled in 1840-1850 for belonging to secret political organizations (Gerassimov, 2012: 605).

Some of the exiles served a sentence of hard labor, after which they were assigned to military service in various military units, and others were expelled to East Kazakhstan for settlement. In the future, the Polish diaspora was replenished by the participants of the Polish uprising of 1863 exiled to East Kazakhstan.

B. Gerassimov notes that «exiled Poles living in the Semipalatinsk region can be divided into two categories: the first includes persons exiled in different periods of the XIX century, until 1863, and the second – those who got to Siberia for the Polish uprising of 1863 (in official documents we did not come across any references to settlement in the area of participants in the Polish uprising of 1831). Meanwhile, according to private information – they lived in the Semipalatinsk region: there are certain indications of the settlement of political criminals exiled there in 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, and 1857. Those persons were exiled to Siberia because they belonged to various secret political societies which the Government had discovered at various times. Some of the exiles of the first category were serving a sentence of hard labor, after which they transferred to military service and were distributed among various linear Siberian battalions, while others were expelled to the Semipalatinsk region for settlement. From the exiles of the second category, some served their sentences in the region, as the original place of their exile, while others came to the Semipalatinsk region from neighboring Siberian provinces, where they were expelled for settlement, to find the necessary occupations. In Semipalatinsk, however, those of the exiled Poles who, having served their military service in Semirechye, were sometimes detained for a long time and returned to European Russia. Sometimes Poles were sent to the Semipalatinsk region from the Siberian provinces adjacent to the region, where they served their sentences in whole batches. Thus, in 1864, a batch of 26 political criminals of Polish origin was sent to Ust-Kamenogorsk under police supervision from Barnaul (Gerassimov, 2012: 606). B. Gerassimov cites not only the full list of exiles, but also indicates their social status, most of them, namely 20 of 26 were noble, although on arrival at the place of exile they were attributed to the bourgeois class, with all its duties, but with significant restrictions in rights, especially in the right of movement.

A total of 18623 to 23056 rebels were sent to Siberia for their participation in the uprising of 1863, according to various historians (Galiyev, 1965). As the historian V.Z. Galiyev notes, the political exiles of the second half of the XIX century in Kazakhstan were the first to attempt revolutionary propaganda on the Kazakh steppes. Thus, in Semipalatinsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, and other cities, political exiles created circles in which political issues were discussed.

Only a few of the political exiles were wealthy people, most, as official documents state, did not have their own «means of living». The source of existence was the state

allowance, assistance from Russia, local mutual aid, earnings, etc. Sometimes the exiles settled in the same apartment, arranged a common dining room, etc., and the expenses for the poor were covered by the wealthier exiles. Besides, exiled Poles weren't allowed to leave their place of settlement in search of work, they were forbidden to trade in drinks, serve on free hire, cover different positions on steamships, work as photographers, etc. Doctors who, in addition to their practice, sometimes received permanent positions, lived better than others, then, despite the prohibition, many of the exiles gave lessons, and some were engaged in advocacy.

In economic terms, the «Polish exiles», according to the Tobolsk governor, could not be compared to voluntary migrants, because the latter, going to Siberia, to new places, took with them their capital, farming tools, workstock, household utensils, and sometimes even seeds, while Poles, going to Siberia with the hope of an early return to their homeland, did not have time even to sell unnecessary things. Under such conditions, they, of course, could not and did not want to think about the need for a settled stay in Siberia and did not even stock up on the necessary clothes, taking with them to Siberia only what seemed most valuable to their memories and, at the same time, taking care that the luggage did not exceed the 30 pounds of weight required by law (Gerassimov, 2012: 609).

The exiled Poles were divided into two categories: the peasant class and the privileged. The Government had tried to settle the first category of people on State land in order for them to engage in farming. However, not all exiles expressed a desire to settle on the land and to receive a grant for land cultivation. Some of them, having received a subsidy from the Government, used the money for other purposes because of the difficult economic conditions in which they were living. Another category of Polish exiles, obliged to pay taxes and duties, consisted of a privileged urban class. They were the ones who constantly complained about the police, who ruthlessly took those taxes out. The difficult legal and material situation of the exiled Poles was inherent, especially for the settlers of the Semipalatinsk province.

No less difficult were the conditions of spiritual life, especially in small towns. There were no newspapers, libraries, or any other cultural institutions in the region, except for Semipalatinsk. The population itself did not treat the exiles hostilely, but, in general, did not show sympathy. Only in a few cities have exiles been able to establish close contacts with the local population and have a lasting influence on their lives. Such cities include Ust-Kamenogorsk, where many of the exiles stayed forever and then played a big role in public affairs.

Polish exiles undoubtedly had an impact on the development of East Kazakhstan. Due to the higher level of education than the local population, as well as the acute shortage of literate and qualified officials, supervised Poles were often in demand by local authorities as officials and clerks. Despite the prohibitions, they were engaged in educational, social, and cultural activities. For example, Soleiman Smolsky opened a school where he taught 30 boys and 2 girls to read, write, do arithmetic, and the Law of God for 5 years. In Ust-Kamenogorsk, he had private lessons in the homes of Colonel Katin, assistant police guard Treskin, and merchant Kassatkin (Gerassimov, 2012: 672).

One example is Vikentiy Artsishevsky. Serving the exile in Ust-Kamenogorsk, he taught children literacy and prepared students for admission to the gymnasium, the cadet corps. After the end of police supervision in 1870, he continued his work in the city administration as a clerk. From 1875 to 1905 he worked as an accountant in the administration. In his spare time, he was engaged in beekeeping (Gerassimov, 2012: 651).

Soleiman Smolsky «in Ust-Kamenogorsk was known under the name Semyon Yakovlevich. As a Catholic, at the same time, he knew Mohammedan (Muslim – author's note) prayers in Arabic and did not hide his sympathies for Muslims. But, with a tendency to Muslimism, Smolsky, however, did not perform ordinary ablutions (*in Islam, a prerequisite for prayer, which includes a number of ceremonial actions* – **author's note**), did not refuse to drink wine and served in the wine trade. All that confused the Tatars (*Kazakhs* – **author's note**), who once, during Smolsky's visit to the mosque, put him in the face of the discrepancy between his lifestyle and occupation with the requirements of Mohammedan law. After that, Smolsky stopped visiting the mosque» (Gerassimov, 2012: 695).

In 1878, the Semipalatinsk administration allowed Leon Osipov Berberush, who was exiled at the age of 20, to live in the cities of the Russian Empire, except for the capital and the capital provinces. However, he decided to stay in East Kazakhstan, settled in Ust-Kamenogorsk, and until the beginning of the twentieth century worked as a clerk in the city police department. Most of the exiles were educated people, but they were forbidden to hold any positions. For example, exiled from Warsaw officer Karl Dlutowski for the rest of his life was engaged in painting works in Semipalatinsk. Felix Kulovich was engaged in petty trading, but after the October Revolution, he had to stop his trading activities. Some Polish exiles were engaged in advocacy. However, advocacy was particularly persecuted by the authorities, as the exiles in the complaints and petitions for citizens and Kyrgyz were not afraid to disclose local administrative abuses.

At the wine distillery of the famous Semipalatinsk merchant Poklewski-Kozelle Polish noblemen Mikhail Przygotsky, Joseph Shkultetsky, Mikhail von Galler, Joseph Koselo, and Kazimir Medunetsky worked. Beekeeping in Ust-Kamenogorsk was carried out by Nikolay Piotrovsky, Adolf Zemlevsky, and Ludwig Rostkovsky worked in Semipalatinsk as a doctor, and Felix Kulvich was engaged in carpentry.

Many of the Poles in exile married local women. Families of exiled Poles, as a rule, had quite a lot of children. Stanislav Petkevich had five children: daughter Zoya, sons Vasily, Ignatiy, Boris, and Vsevolod. Also, Anton Sokolovsky had five children: sons Nikolay, Evgeny, Basil, and daughters Maria and Evdokia. Stanislav Yavorsky had six children: sons Alexander, Mikhail, and Georgiy, and daughters Zoya, Valentina, and Olga. Leon Berberusch had four children: the son Nikolay, daughters Elizaveta, Nadezhda, and Vera.

The exiles made a significant contribution to the ethnography and culture of Kazakhstan. Most of them, after the exile, and after returning to their homeland, left many written testimonies about Kazakhstan.

Jan Witort, being a member of the socialist circle, was exiled to Tomsk, and from there to Semipalatinsk. Serving the exile in Semipalatinsk, Witort studies the customs

and traditions of the Kazakh people. According to modern Polish ethnographers, he was the first Polish to make an ethnographic description of Kazakhstan. Witort was engaged in the study of the marriage ceremony of the Kazakhs and for the first time described the features of the Kazakh wedding, which he himself attended in the summer of 1884. Jan Witort's ethnographic notes were first published in the scientific publication "From the Steppes of Central Asia" in Bratislava in 1899. In his ethnographic notes, Witort writes: «... the age of marriage among nomadic Kyrgyz for men is 15 years, for women - 16 years». And then he gives an explanation that the requirement for greater physical maturity for a woman is explained by the living conditions of nomads, where the entire burden of home and household work fell solely on the woman. Early marriages among nomads were quite common, which was explained by the desire to receive the dower (bride price). At the time described by Witort, the largest dower reached 32 horses and 100 camels for the rich and 9 camels and 2 horses for the poor. The poor had to work off the missing part of the dower from their father-in-law or join the horses that he had left to his herd (Stepanenko, 2020: 72-73).

Jan Witort describes the matchmaking ceremony of the Kazakh people: «The father of the boy should give the girl's father a gift – karbagan. Matchmaking is performed by matchmakers - kudelar. The number of matchmakers depends on the wealth of the groom, sometimes up to 20 people. The treat (during the matchmaking – author's note) consists of boiled lamb, horse meat, kumys, tea, etc. The games are made up of horse competitions – baiga, wrestling of strongmen, singing of men and women. During this celebration, which is called toi kuda tenser, the matchmakers were the subject of general jokes and mockery. The decisive moment is the last feast, which serves a symbolic dish of baur kairyuk. It is prepared from the liver and fat of a white sheep slaughtered at the beginning of the celebration and kurt (a type of cheese). With this dish, the matchmakers treat the owners and their relatives, serving it on the palms of their hands, trying to smear the face of the one who is treated. At the end of the feast, the father of the bride distributes gifts to the matchmakers, which are called kyit, their value among the rich is very significant» (Stepanenko, 2020: 74).

Adam Byalowsky, a political exile, was released from administrative exile in the Astrakhan province in 1881, «but continued his revolutionary activities, for which he was expelled to the Semipalatinsk region for three years. In 1882, in Ust-Kamenogorsk, together with E.P. Mikhaelis began to work on compiling a geographical map of the surroundings of the city. In addition, Mikhaelis and Byalowsky traveled through the Rudny Altai and, after a thorough study, came to the conclusion about the former state of the vast ice sheet in Altai. On the basis of those studies, Byalowsky wrote an article «The Ice Age in the Altai Mountains» in the English journal «Nature» in 1887 (Stepanenko, 2020: 39). At the end of the XIX century, after the end of the exile, he returned to his homeland. At the beginning of the XX century, as part of the expedition, he comes to East Kazakhstan, where he conducts geological surveys. After the independence of the Polish State, he held the post of Deputy Minister of the Armed Forces. In 1939 he became a victim of fascism.

Another equally famous Polish exiled to Semipalatinsk was Pavel Dmitrievich Lobanowsky, the meeting with whom is described in great detail by the American journalist and traveler George Kennan, who visited Semipalatinsk in 1885 [Kennan 1906: 84-85]. Lobanowsky, as well as Gross, took an active part in the cultural life of the region, they both stood at the origin of the creation of a museum and library in Semipalatinsk.

On 4 August 1874, the Ministry of Internal Affairs notified the Semipalatinsk Governor that the former political exiles exempted from police supervision were allowed to serve in the public service. The situation of Poles exiled to Kazakhstan in the early and mid-19th centuries was alleviated to a certain extent by the adoption of the Manifesto of 28 March 1875, which granted some relief to those convicted of participating in the Polish uprising of 1863. Many Poles left Kazakhstan as a result of pardons given at different times. Among those who remained in the Kazakh steppe, a graduate of the medical faculty of the Moscow University Cezary Osipovich Terajewicz can be distinguished. After participating in the Polish uprising of 1863, he was exiled to Siberia, and in 1873 he arrived in Semipalatinsk as a county doctor. In 1879, Cezary left for Inner Russia but returned to Ust-Kamenogorsk in 1889. Upon his return, he continues to practice medicine and provides assistance to the local population. Terajewicz was a very educated and witty man. As B. Gerassimov notes, «the conversation of two friends – Mikhaelis and Terajewicz – seen daily, usually was a brilliant cascade of words and bright, deep, original thoughts sprinkled with signature humor. The verbal tournament of friends was of considerable interest, revealing the great spiritual wealth of opponents» (Gerassimov, 2012: 601).

Severin Gross graduated in 1877 from the University of St. Petersburg with a Candidate of Law degree and was an active participant in the Vilnius Socialist Circle, which had been active since 1874. In 1882, he and other members of the circle were exiled to Siberia for 5 years. The place of exile was determined by the settlement of Ulbinsky, not far from Ust-Kamenogorsk. Together with other political exiles (A.A. Leontiev, P.D. Lobanowsky), Severin Gross participated in the work of the Semipalatinsk Statistical Committee that was working on geographical and historical research of the region. In Semipalatinsk, Gross works in the office of the Semipalatinsk district judge, Pole P. Makowsky. Published the work «Materials for the study of Kyrgyz customary law» (1888), which studies Kazakh family, property, and criminal law. S. Gross went to the Kazakh auls, collected information, and visited Abai Kunanbayev (a famous Kazakh poet, the founder of Kazakh written literature – author's note), who explained to him a lot of details related to steppe traditions (Stepanenko, 2020: 78-79). Gross also participated in the creation of a public library, a museum of local lore in Semipalatinsk. Both of these institutions played a big role in the cultural and political development of the local population.

G. Kennan, describing the acquaintance with political exiles A. Blok and S. Gross in Ulbinsk, writes that both already had academic degrees and spoke French and German; both were especially interested in political economy, and in their appearance could pass as professors (Kennan, 1906: 88). Kennan describes them as serious, educated, thinking people.

Wladyslaw Burdenewsky was exiled to Akmola for 5 years in 1888, after the expiration of the period of exile he is employed at the station in Chita, where he worked together with Siberian Polish Revolutionaries W. K. Kurtanowsky and A. Kastyushko-

Valyuzhanich. In 1906, after the uprising in Siberia, he was forced to leave for Semipalatinsk. At that time in Karkaralinsk, in Zarechnaya Slobodka Semipalatinsk there are speech performances by the workers. Upon his arrival in Semipalatinsk, Burdenewsky led a social-democratic movement in the region, urging the local population to oppose the tsarist government. He described the hard life of Semipalatinsk workers in articles in local newspapers. Under his leadership, the «Union of Workers» and the «Community of Mutual Assistance of Workers» were formed in Semipalatinsk. He was expelled from Semipalatinsk.

The financial situation of the exiled representatives of the Eastern European Diasporas was quite difficult, as described in the Notes of the Semipalatinsk Subdivision of the West Siberian Department of the Russian Geographical Society. In 1910, in particular, they as state criminals were forbidden to be engaged in trade, gold mining, and medical activity. However, persons belonging to the taxed estate were not exempted from taxes and other duties. By a manifesto on 26 August 1856, the natives of the Kingdom of Poland, under police supervision, were allowed to return to their homeland under the following conditions:

Firstly, the stay in exile for at least two years, secondly, «correction and unquestionable remorse», but far from all exiled Poles used the received permission to return to their homeland, mainly due to the difficult financial situation and lack of funds for moving from East Kazakhstan back to Poland (Gerassimov, 2012: 617).

In the Semipalatinsk region, exiled Poles also served in various institutions. In Sergiopol alone, 22 exiled Poles served in the lower military ranks.

Despite the enormous potential of the territories of Kazakhstan in general, and East Kazakhstan in particular, in the field of livestock and agriculture, this region was significantly inferior to the European territories of Russia in the field of education and basic veterinary science, which invariably caused the death of livestock and the risk of the emergence of infectious diseases in people. Most likely, therefore, the tsarist administration, providing steady growth of livestock farming since the end of the XIX century, except for political exiles, began to send regularly to East Kazakhstan experts having experience of work against epidemics and epizootics.

We want to consider this issue using the example of the 3 individuals below, who, in our opinion, played a major role in the development of livestock in East Kazakhstan.

Pavel Adolf Vladislavovich Aleksandrovich, a Collegiate Assessor, - was a district veterinarian of the first section of the Karkaralinsky district of the Semipalatinsk region. Completed his courses of sciences at the Warsaw Veterinary Institute with a degree as a veterinarian. In 1914, by the Order of the Semipalatinsk Governor, he was appointed, according to the request, to the position of the district veterinarian of the Karkaralinsk district of the Semipalatinsk region (Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK). F.469. D.768. P.175. Personal file of the veterinarian Vladislavovich Aleksandrovich).

The head of the Semipalatinsk Resettlement Board was veterinarian Pavel Vasilievich Klepatsky, a native of the Volyn province. He completed a full course of sciences at the Warsaw Veterinary Institute with a degree as a veterinarian. In 1902, he was appointed to the post of a veterinary doctor of the Semipalatinsk district, and then he was sent to the Zaysan district to temporarily manage the Maikopchagay, Alkabek,

Chiliktinsk veterinary border guard posts. In 1903 he was sent to the Koyandinsko-Botovskaya fair to strengthen veterinary supervision. He was drafted into the army in 1904, and awarded the Orders of St. Stanislaus the 3rd degree and St. Anne the 3rd degree for diligent service in the war with Japan. After demobilization, he continued his duties as a veterinarian in the Semipalatinsk region.

P. Klepacki played an important role in the organization of the fight against the plague of cattle in the Zaysan, Pavlodar, and Karkaralinsk districts. Awarded the rank of Collegiate Secretary, Titular Counselor, Collegiate Assessor, and Court Counselor (AP RK. F.469. D. 804. P.83. Personal file of the veterinarian Pavel Vasilyevich Klepacky).

A Collegiate Counselor Ivan Pavel Antonovich Wyrzykowsky was the veterinarian of the Semipalatinsk district of the Semipalatinsk region. He had the Order of St. Stanislaus, 3rd degree, dark bronze medal in memory of the war with Japan. Graduated from the Warsaw Veterinary Institute with honors with a degree as a veterinarian. He worked in Semipalatinsk as a veterinarian. There is evidence of diagnostics practice of contagious animal diseases and vaccinations, as well as methods of artificial insemination of animals (AP RK. F.469. D.782. P.72. Personal file of the veterinarian Ivan-Pavel Antonovich Wyrzykowsky).

East Kazakhstan has been a center of cattle breeding since the olden days, at the same time, the system of veterinary service was not sufficiently developed, and there was a shortage of professionals able to work effectively in this direction. Most likely, this is due to the fact that the tsarist administration regularly sent Kazakhstan graduates of the Warsaw Veterinary Institute, who ensured the safety of livestock and played a large role in the development of animal husbandry and applied veterinary science in Kazakhstan. Considering that they were highly educated people with a European education, they most likely took an active part in the formation of the cultural and scientific life of the region. Unfortunately, the exact archival data on their social and cultural activities has not been preserved, so we draw this conclusion independently, drawing an analogy with representatives of the Polish intelligentsia, who were exiled in the East Kazakhstan region after the Polish uprisings of the XIX century.

### Conclusion

Thus, the history of settling Poles on the territory of East Kazakhstan has a long and largely tragic history inextricably connected with the past of the Russian Empire. Having found themselves in the region due to different circumstances, Poles organically joined the socio-political, economic, cultural, and demographic context of the region.

Analysis of historiography and available sources on the subject allowed us to reveal the historical picture of the formation and development of the Polish diaspora in the territory of East Kazakhstan in the XIX – early XX century, highlighting several migration flows in it and determining that the main contingent of the Polish diaspora in the territory of East Kazakhstan was formed as a result of the repressive policy of the Russian Empire.

In general, the Polish exiles had a significant impact on the socio-economic development of East Kazakhstan. The Polish exile of 1860 is characterized by a

relatively high level of culture and education. B. Gerassimov noted in this regard that «the exiled Poles were ... a cultural element. Among them, there were many persons with education. The local intelligentsia treated them ... with respect» (Gerassimov, 2012: 623). The educational activities of exiles, their occupation in crafts, trade, beekeeping, etc. had a significant impact on the life of the region. In addition to culture, ethnography, and geography, Poles left a significant trace in the exploration and study of the natural wealth of Kazakhstan.

Today, the Polish diaspora living in Kazakhstan, the descendants of Polish immigrants and exiled revolutionaries, have the opportunity to develop and preserve their language and national culture on an equal basis with other ethnic groups living in Kazakhstan.

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# Жер аударылған поляктардың XIX – XX ғасырдың басында Шығыс Қазақстанның қоғамдық және мәдени дамуына ықпалы

Аннотация. Қазақстан Республикасының көпұлтты келбеті – әртүрлі халықтардың қазақ жеріне түрлі жағдайлар мен себептерге байланысты қоныс аударуы нәтижесінде қалыптасқан күрделі тарихи процес. Бұл халықтардың әрқайсысы өз кезегінде, еліміздің дамуына өзіндік үлесін қосқансы сөзсіз. Қазақстанның көпұлтты, көпконфессиялы қоғамында өмір сүріп жатқан түрлі этнос өкілдерінің арасында поляк этносының да өзіндік орны бар. Поляктар алғаш рет Қазақстан аумағында XVIII ғасырда пайда болды. Олар - қазақ өлкесіне жер аударылған поляк ұлт-азаттық қозғалысының өкілдері. Жергілікті билік оларды күштеп Орал және Сібір қазақтарының қатарына қосты. Саяси жер аударылған поляктардың көпшілігі 1830–1831 және 1863–1864 жылдардағы Ресей империясына қарсы Польшаның ұлт-азаттық көтерілістерінің қатысушылары болатын. Олардың едәуір бөлігі ақсүйек дворяндар. Поляктардың арасында ақындар мен жазушылар, суретшілер мен дәрігерлер, инженерлер мен заңгерлер көп болды.

Мақалада жер аударылған поляк қайраткерлерінің қоғамдық ахуал мен Қазақстандағы мәдени өзгерістерге қосқан үлесі талданады. Сондай-ақ, Шығыс Қазақстанның әлеуметтік-экономикалық дамуына өз үлесін қосқан поляк этносының жекелеген өкілдері туралы баяндалады. Қолданылған дереккөздерге сыни және салыстырмалы талдау жасалды. Авторлар Қазақстан аумағындағы поляктар тарихын объективті зерттеудің этногеографиялық тарих үшін де, сондай-ақ қазіргі қоғамда ұлттық бірлікті нығайту мен тұтастықты сақтау үшін де ғылыми маңызы зор деген қорытындыға келеді.

**Кілт сөздер:** поляктар, мәдениет, қайраткерлер, ғалымдар, жер аударылғандар, Шығыс Қазақстан.

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## Влияние ссыльных поляков на социокультурную жизнь Восточного Казахстана в XIX – начале XX веков

**Аннотация.** Формирование многонационального облика Республики Казахстан стало результатом сложных исторических процессов, в ходе которых различные народы оказались на казахской земле по разным обстоятельствам и причинам, при этом каждый из них внес определённый вклад в развитие общества.

Среди представителей разных народов, проживающих в многонациональном, многоконфессиональном обществе Казахстана, есть свое место и у представителей польского этноса. Поляки впервые появились на территории Казахстана в XVIII веке. Это были польские повстанцы, которых царское правительство сослало в казахский край. Местные власти насильственно ввели их в число уральских и сибирских казахов вне их воли. Ссыльные поляки были участниками национально-освободительных восстаний в Польше против Российской империи в 1830-1831, 1863-1864 годах. Значительную их часть составляли дворяне. Среди поляков было много поэтов и писателей, художников и врачей, инженеров и юристов.

В статье анализируется вклад ссыльных польских деятелей в общественную атмосферу и культурное преобразование Казахстана, рассказывается об отдельных представителях польского этноса, внесших свою лепту в социально-экономическое развитие Восточного Казахстана. Использованные источники подвергнуты критическому и сравнительному

анализу. Авторы приходят к выводу о том, что объективное изучение проблемы истории поляков на территории Казахстана имеет большое научное значение как для этногеографической истории, так и для консолидации казахстанского общества и закрепления общенациональной целостности в современных условиях.

Ключевые слова: поляки, культура, деятели, ученые, ссыльные, Восточный Казахстан.

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