

**KAZAKH SHEEP BREEDING
IN SCIENTIFIC WORKS OF ALIKHAN BUKEIKHAN**

**Nurzhan U. KONRBAYEV¹, Sultan Khan ZHUSSIP²,
Zylikha O. IBADULLAYEVA¹, Kairat S. ANARBAYEV³,
Mambet SHAGIRBAEV⁴**

¹Department of Archeology and Ethnology, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Nur-Sultan, Republic of Kazakhstan

²“Alash” Cultural and Spiritual Development Institute, L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Nur-Sultan, Republic of Kazakhstan

³Department of History of Kazakhstan and Public Disciplines, South Kazakhstan State Pedagogical University, Shymkent, Republic of Kazakhstan

⁴Department of the Antiquity and Medieval Epoch, A.Kh. Margulan Institute of Archaeology, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

Abstract: *The article on the basis of archival materials examines the biography of the national leader of the Kazakh people, the chairman of the “Alash” party Alikhan Bukeikhan, describes four scientific expeditions in 1897-1926, which worked on the territory of modern Kazakhstan. In this expedition, A. Bukeikhan, being the head of the research group, studied the history of the settlement of each county, the forms of indigenous economy, crafts (hunting, fishing, artisanal production, etc.), the quality of local soil, nature, climate, as well as the domestic census of livestock, outbuildings, determining the size and norms of land plots needed for nomadic cattle-breeding farms, fixing the patrimonial land of the Kazakhs (wintering – Kystau, summering – Zhailau, crops, fresh water sources, etc.). The proposed article will analyse a number of his papers on the traditional national economy of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the 20th century. The article discusses field studies of the national leader of the Kazakh people, Alash party chairman Alikhan Bukeikhan on the crafts of the Kazakhs of the Omsk district collected by him during the steppe expedition. It describes the names of localities, livestock, agriculture, fisheries, forestry, salt industry, types of trade.*

Keywords: nomadic cattle breeding, economic effect, national economy, economic value, library and archival sources.

The scientific works of Alikhan Bukeikhan devoted to the study of the features of the nomadic cattle breeding of the Kazakh people in the early 20th century, as well as his monograph on certain types of Kazakh cattle breeding, such as sheep breeding, cattle breeding, horse breeding and camel breeding, have already been introduced into modern scientific circulation, but still not become the object of scientific research. Based on this, the authors determine the relevance and urgency of the topic for modern Kazakhstan, relying on library and archival sources of the early 20th century.

The scientific sources on the history of the study of nomadic cattle breeding in the territory of modern Kazakhstan, as well as archival documents

before and after the revolution of 1917, are used as primary sources in the article.

The solution of research problems is based on the principle of historicism. The issues of modernisation and development of the nomadic about traditional farming and cattle-breeding farms of the Kazakh people with the transition from evolution to sedentary and turning agriculture and cattle breeding into an engine of accelerated development of the national economy are considered as consequences of the policy of resettlement colonisation of the Kazakh territory by the Russian Empire and Soviet power, as well as the peculiarity and originality of culture indigenous people of the Great Kazakh steppe.

Contribution of A. Bukeikhan to the ethnography of Kazakhstan

Alikhan Nurkhumammeduly Bukeikhan (in official and archival documents more often *Bukeikhanov*, less often *Bukei-Khanov* and *Bukkeikhanov*) is an outstanding Kazakh public and statesman of pre-revolutionary Russia and the USSR. From 1905 to 1917, a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party of Russia, a member of the Central Committee of the party (1912-1917), a deputy of the First State Duma (1906), the All-Russian Constituent Assembly (1917), the commissioner of the All-Russian Provisional Government (March-December 1917) in the Turgai region, member of the Committee of the Provisional Government for Turkestan Territory Management (April-December 1917), the ideological founder and leader of the Kazakh national liberation movement and the Alash national party of the early twentieth century, the head (prime minister) of the All-Kazakh Council Alash Or and – the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Alash (1917-1920). He was a leading scientist and encyclopedist – forestry scientist (in the diploma), statistician, lawyer (also in the diploma), historian, economist, ethnographer, literary critic, one of the best specialists in Russia and the USSR in the field of agriculture, land use, cattle breeding, as well as a journalist and translator. He was a full member, a member of the Steering Committee of the West Siberian Department of the IRGO (1896-1908), a member of the editorial board of the *New Encyclopedic Dictionary* by F.A. Brockhaus and I.A. Efron (1908-1917, St. Petersburg), an expert of the Special Committee of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1926-1927, Moscow). In 1897-1926, he participated in four scientific expeditions that worked on the territory of modern Kazakhstan¹. The author of a number of invaluable fundamental scientific works, more than 1000 articles, notes, scientific and literary translations. It must also be emphasised that A.N. Bukeikhan wrote and published with equal success in both Kazakh and Russian languages. Before

¹ A. Bukeikhan, *Encyclopedia*, Kazak encyclopediasy, Almaty, 2018.

the revolution of 1917, his works were published mainly in Russian scientific collections and publications, with the advent of the Kazakh newspaper *Kazakh* in 1913 – he posted his scientific materials exclusively on the pages of the national press. After the establishment of Soviet power in Kazakhstan, only two of his scientific works, written in Russian, were published in Soviet academic publications². He spent the last 15 years of his life (1922-1937) in exile in Moscow, where in September 1937 he was repressed, executed, and buried (Donskoye Cemetery, Moscow)³.

After completing an external course at the Faculty of Law of the Imperial University (St. Petersburg) in 1893 and receiving a diploma of a forest scientist of the II category of the St. Petersburg Forest Institute in September 1894⁴, A. Bukeikhan began his activity with participation in the work of the *Tobolsk Expedition*, from September 1894 to January 1895, that studied the situation of immigrants of the Yalutarovsk district of the Tobolsk province⁵. Since August 1895, he was in the public service of the Forestry Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property of the Russian Empire as a teacher of the lower forest school at the Omsk Stairs in Omsk⁶. In May 1897, A.N. Bukeikhan was seconded to the head of the expedition for the natural-historical and economic-statistical study of the Kazakh steppe regions of the statistician F.A. Shcherbina⁷. This expedition, also known as the Shcherbina Expedition, equipped with the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property, later the Main Directorate for Agriculture and Land Management of the colonial empire in 1897-1901, carried out detailed statistical studies of 12 counties of 3 steppe regions (Turgai, Akmola, Semipalatinsk) of pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan. In this expedition, A. Bukeikhan, at the head of the research group, studied the history of the settlement of each county, the forms of indigenous economy, crafts (hunting, fishing, artisanal production, etc.), the quality of local soil, nature, climate, as well as the domestic census of livestock, outbuildings, determining the size and norms of land plots needed for nomadic cattle-breeding farms, fixing the patrimonial land of the Kazakhs (wintering – Kystau, summering – Zhailau, crops, fresh water sources, etc.). After the early completion of the expedition in 1901, A.N. Bukeikhan participated in the

² A.N. Bukeikhan, S.F. Baranov, S.I. Rudenko, *Kazakhs. Anthropological essays*, Nauka, Leningrad, 1927.

³ A. Bukeikhanov, *Agriculture of the Kara-Kalpak autonomous region*, National Economy of Kazakhstan, Kzyl-Orda, 1928.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ A. Bukeikhan, *Encyclopedia*, Kazak encyclopediasy, Almaty, 2018.

⁶ RGIA (St. Petersburg, RF), fund 387, inventory 24, 1900, case 1307 – A. Bukeikhanov's formulary list.

⁷ CA FSS of the Russian Federation (Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation), Investigation no. 12066 on charges of A.N. Bukeikhanov R-34862.

development of the Kazakh land use norm and in the release of 4th, 6th, 10th and 11th volumes of expedition materials from 13 volumes⁸.

In 1902-1903, A. Bukeikhan participated in an expedition to conduct economic surveys of the Siberian Railways under the direction of statistician S.P. Shvetsov. According to the materials of this expedition, as well as based on the statistical information of the Shcherbina expedition, A.N. Bukeikhan wrote two monographs and two essays, respectively, on the breeds of the Kazakh sheep and sheep breeding, cattle, essays on the Kazakh horse breeding and the Kazakh national economy as a whole. Monographs *Sheep breeding in the Steppe Territory* and *Cattle Breeding* were published in Tomsk in 1904 and 1905⁹. According to S.P. Shvetsov, who led the economic survey expedition, due to the fact that A.N. Bukeikhan's essay about Kazakh horse breeding was released in a very small edition, it became inaccessible. Nevertheless, in his monograph *Sheep breeding in the Steppe Territory* A.N. Bukeikhan gave an assessment of the economic importance of each type of livestock in the Kazakh subsistence economy. For example, if a horse, in his opinion, “is the basis of the welfare of the Kazakh cattle-breeding farm ... On average, 20.14 and 3.5 units of cattle (horses) fall on one farm and 1 soul of both sexes”¹⁰, then “The camel is bred by the Kazakhs as livestock necessary for the transportation of yurts and household utensils common to all households; therefore, it is clear why a camel is equally valuable for the farms of the poor and rich”¹¹. And, finally, a sheep, according to A.N. Bukeikhan occupies a special place in the Kazakh economy and has important economic significance, “The vital interests of the entire nomadic population are associated with sheep breeding. Sheep breeding, according to the number of farms involved in it – more than 6 than horse breeding and cattle breeding – can be considered a branch of the Kazakh economy”¹². The second essay entitled *Kyrgyz* (from the period of the colonisation of the Kazakh Khanate until the first years of the establishment of Soviet power in Kazakhstan, until 1925, in all official documents, the Kazakhs were referred to as *Kyrgyz-Kaisaks* or the abbreviation *Kyrgyz*, modern Kyrgyz –

⁸ F.A. Shcherbina, *Materials on Kyrgyz land use, collected and processed by an expedition to study the steppe regions. Omsk county. Akmola region*, Printing House of the Headquarters of the Siberian Military District, Omsk, 1902; F.A. Shcherbina, *Materials on Kyrgyz land use, collected and processed by the expedition under the leadership of F.A. Shcherbina in the Semipalatinsk region*, Voronezh, Smysl, 1903; F.A. Shcherbina, *Materials on Kyrgyz land use, collected and processed by the expedition under the leadership of F.A. Shcherbina in the Semipalatinsk region*, Smysl, St. Petersburg, 1905; F.A. Shcherbina, *Materials on Kyrgyz land use, collected by the expedition to study the steppe regions. Semipalatinsk region. Semipalatinsk district*, Fellowship of Art Printing, St. Petersburg, 1909.

⁹ A.N. Bukeikhanov, “Sheep breeding in the Steppe region”, in *Materials on the Economic Survey of the Regions of the Siberian Railway*, 1904, no. 1, p. 3-12; A.N. Bukeikhanov, “Livestock”, in *Materials on the Economic Survey of the Areas of the Siberian Railway*, 1905, no.1-2, p. 5-11.

¹⁰ A. Bukeikhan, *Shyrgarmalary*, Saryarka, Astana, 2017.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*.

as *Kara-Kyrgyz* or *wild-stone Kyrgyz*. – note of the author) was printed in 1910 in St. Petersburg¹³.

The last scientific expedition aimed at the study of the Kazakh steppe and in the work of which A.N. Bukeikhan directly participated, held in 1926, i.e. after the establishment of the Soviet Communist dictatorship in Kazakhstan. The anthropological expedition, formed by the Special Committee of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the study of Union and Autonomous Republics, conducted its research in the Adai district (now Mangistau, Atyrau, West Kazakhstan and Aktobe regions. – note of the author) of the Kazakh Soviet Republic, A.N. Bukeikhan headed expedition group on economic research. Based on the results of the expedition, A. N. Bukeikhan wrote the essay *Cossacks of the Adai Uyezd*, published together with materials from the Anthropological Expedition in 1927 in Leningrad¹⁴.

Analysis of the works of A. Bukeikhan on the traditional national economy of the Kazakhs at the beginning of the 20th century

First of all, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that A.N. Bukeikhan became interested in the issues of modernisation of the traditional cattle-breeding economy of his people in the early period. For example, in one of his first scientific works, written as a fourth-year student at the Omsk Technical School and published in the October issue of 1889, of the Omsk newspaper *Special Additions to the Akmola Regional Vedomosti* under the heading “On Agriculture in Tokraunskaya, Kotan-Bulakskaya and West-Balkhash volosts of Karkaraly district”, the author notes:... one Kazakh still has not thought about artificial improvement of his cattle; from time immemorial what the Kazakh inherited from his father, he passed on to his son ”¹⁵.

It is important to note that this is the work of A.N. Bukeikhan contributed to his admission to the St. Petersburg Forest Institute in 1890. Later, in his monograph on sheep breeding, he covered the issue of improving breeds more carefully, from a scientific point of view: “The high merit of the Kazakh sheep was achieved, as we saw earlier, by random selection, i.e. by exterminating the sick, perverse, etc. individuals. This circumstance indicates that with the conscious selection of a Kazakh sheep, it is possible to develop a new type, even more productive. Improving the Kazakh sheep with the blood of a cultured sheep, as Mr. Dobromyslov rightly observes, can lead, under the current extensive forms of Kazakh cattle breeding, to spoiling the Kazakh

¹³ A.N. Bukeikhanov, *Kyrgyz (Kazakhs). Forms of the national movement in modern states*, Smysl, St. Petersburg, 1910.

¹⁴ A.N. Bukeikhan, S.F. Baranov, S.I. Rudenko, *Kazakhs. Anthropological essays*, Nauka, St. Petersburg, 1927.

¹⁵ A.N. Bukeikhan, “About farming in the Tokraun, Kotan-Bulak and West-Balkhash volosts of the Karkaraly district”, in *OP to “Akmola Regional Gazette”*, 1889, no. 41-42, p. 3-4.

sheep expensive in its endurance, unpretentiousness, and with different productivity”¹⁶.

In this work, the author for the first time gives the most objective assessment of the value of a sheep in the Kazakh national economy. “In the desire of the Kazakhs for sheep breeding, a fair assessment of the Kazakh sheep was noted, distinguished by the variety of its products which it gives to the nomad, A.N. Bukeikhan noted in his monograph, it gives him wool for his yurt – a symbol and the basis of nomadic life, tasty meat – which is the favourite food of the Kazakh, tasty milk – which plays a very important role in his food satisfaction, the skin – that is used for clothes and in the market, like best-selling goods and, finally, fuel for the outbreak expensive in the steppe. Due to the variety of products delivered by it for the Kazakh economy, the sheep forms the foundation of the nomadic life and serves as a marketable unit of exchange”¹⁷.

It is necessary to emphasise that all the scientific works of A.N. Bukeikhan, including on cattle breeding, agriculture and land use, are aimed to protect the national interests of the Kazakh people, preservation of their ancestral lands from resettlement colonisation. This is clearly evidenced by the series of his articles and essays published in 1908-1910, in the St. Petersburg journal *Siberian Issues*¹⁸. In them, the author scientifically substantiates the need to immediately stop the resettlement colonisation of the Kazakh steppe, to return to the Kazakhs the *surplus* of their land taken for the benefit of the immigrants from Russia, all land patrimonial lands (pastures, wintering, summering, mowing, sources of fresh water – rivers, lakes, etc.), occupied by the indigenous Kazakh people at the current moment, transfer to their ownership, the search for the most successful ways of accelerated modernisation and development of the Kazakh national economy to the level of Western Europe, the USA, Australia. At the same time, he is a rare scientist, as well as a public figure and statesman who at the dawn of the 20th century thought in market categories, a vivid illustration of this will be the lines from his article *Ashyk Hat (Reply Letter)* for 1915: “Once the Kazakh has succeeded in cattle breeding, then it is better for him to continue this craft... Kazakhs, occupying vast expanses, cannot improve their economy. Now the times have changed. It is only profitable that is in demand in the market. Wealth is now

¹⁶ A. Bukeikhan, *Shygarmalary*, Saryarka, Astana, 2017.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ A.N. Bukeikhanov, “Alienation of Kyrgyz irrigated arable lands”, in *Siberian Questions*, 1908, no. 16, p. 14-20; A.N. Bukeikhanov, “Resettlement plots in the Akmola region”, in *Siberian Questions*, 1908, no. 27-28, p. 4-21; A.N. Bukeikhanov, “Russian settlements in the depths of the Steppe region”, in *Siberian Questions*, 1908, no. 33-34, p. 29-45; A.N. Bukeikhanov, “Unnecessary governor general”, in *Siberian Questions*, 1908, no. 45-46, p. 6-10; A.N. Bukeikhanov, “Old stepnyak. Future desert”, in *Siberian Questions*, 1908, no. 45-46, p.19-27.

measured not by quantity, but by how much demand it enjoys on the market. If you don't want to lose in this competition, improve the breeds of your livestock"¹⁹.

"The current 20th century is the era of the competition of civilisation," he noted in another article in the journal *Abay* in 1918, and at the height of the civil war with the Bolsheviks. "Now there are hardly any people who do not fight for a place in the sun, do not aspire to culture. In this era, wealth, recognition, happiness, prosperity belong to the powers that be. The strength in science, in a real-world war, science took over. In everyday life, everyday life, science has become decisive. Needless to say, the ignorant people will remain in the margins of civilisation. Kazakhs also joined the struggle to preserve their culture, for mastering all the best... We need: general education, general military duty, improving the economy, medicine, veterinary medicine. We need various institutions like mail and telegraph. We need educated, experienced politicians, highly qualified specialists. We need factories, factories, railways, charities, business organizations, cooperatives and much more. All this will require educated Kazakhs. All this will not appear in one day or one year. For the accelerated implementation of all this, meticulous planning, hard work of specialists, means of wealthy citizens and immediately actions are needed"²⁰.

Closer to the February Revolution of 1917, A.N. Bukeikhan convinced in his writings that the development of the national economy follows from what the Kazakhs are best able to do — modernisation and development of animal husbandry with moving to settledness. At the same time, he did not impose on his people a forced transition to sedentary behaviour. Because he believed that the form of human activity and life changes in an evolutionary way. From time immemorial, people engaged in cattle breeding will not become a farmer in an instant just because the colonial administration of the Kazakh steppe has endowed it with 15 acres of their own land. "Cattle breeding is not a hat," he explained to his relatives, "which can be torn off the head in front of the ruler. 15 acres of land for a hereditary herder is like putting on tight boots. Cattle cannot be kept on 15 acres. To obtain land in 15 acres means a transition to settled agriculture"²¹.

Cattle breeding or farming does not depend on a settled or nomadic way of life, the form of farming changes depending on the fertility of the land, the quality of its soil, climate and many other conditions. *In Europe, the people of Switzerland*, he wrote in 1913, "whose land is similar to the land of Turkestan, Gorny Altai and Alatau with their eternal snows, which is unsuitable for farming, but convenient for livestock, develops cattle breeding, leading a settled life. Due to lack of land, they have reduced the number of livestock,

¹⁹ Qyr balasy, *Ashyq hat. Kazak*, Smysl, Orenburg, 1915.

²⁰ A. Bokeihan, *Qazirgi eki kerek narise*, Alash, Abai, 1918.

²¹ Qyr balasy, *Jayap hat. Kazak*, Smysl, Orenburg, 1913.

having improved its breed, and are engaged in cattle breeding. Those butter and dairy products sold in Russian cities are made in Switzerland. The land of Australia is solonchak-desert with steppe grass cover, like Kazakh, because of which the British decided to develop animal husbandry. Australian lamb, having sailed four months across the ocean in the hold of a ship, is sold in St. Petersburg and London. Their cattle roam, and the population lives in cities”²².

As noted by Qyr balasy (aka A. Bukeikhan) in the article *State Duma*, in 1916, the number of sheep among Kazakhs amounted to about 30-36 million heads. In addition, there were 1750 cattle per 1000 Kazakhs, which was 5.5 times more than the Russian peasants had in Asian Russia and 28 times more than the same peasants had in European Russia. In 1916, the entire Kazakh land amounted to 240 million tithes, including those seised in favour of immigrants, or 240 tithes per each Kazakh family. “We surpass the Russian peasant by 16 times in land area, and by 28 times in livestock numbers (!). So why don’t we live better?” A.N. Bukeikhan asked²³. This, in his opinion, is “an indicator of the level of culture and evidence that the Kazakhs, occupying the vast steppes, are not able to realise all their advantages in animal husbandry and agriculture in general.” He convinced his relatives that the Kazakh land is a paradise for cattle breeding. The lion's share of the Kazakh land is suitable only for grazing livestock, where livestock raising is necessary to improve its breeds, in the rest it is necessary to develop cereals, melons and gourds. *The peoples of Europe*, he wrote in the newspaper *Tendik (Equality)*, “are ahead of us both in grain production and in animal husbandry. Our cow gives 50 buckets of milk a year, the Dutch – 300 buckets. Our cow in slaughter weight is 18 pounds, Swedish – 100 pounds. Our people collect 33 pounds of grain from sowing tithes, Germans – 70 pounds, Belgians – 120 pounds. Our tithes mow 50 pounds of hay, others 300-500 pounds. Our people mow hay only in the summer, but they mow 8-9 times a year”²⁴.

Kazakh mutton has no equal in taste in the world, A.N. Bukeikhan stated referring to the Russian professor Kuleshov. “Hey, Kazakh, if you do not want to lag behind the caravan of civilisation, you must improve the breed of your cattle!” he called. In the article *Zemstvo* he added: “In our Kazakh land, populated by peasants (Russian peasants), there is a red-and-blue-colored cow, known as “Kalmyk”. She is from the same breed as our Kazakh ... If a Kazakh seriously engages in breeding work, improving their breed, then she will get cattle of a breed that has no analogues in the world. There is no horse on earth that is equal to the Kazakh in its unpretentiousness”²⁵.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ Qyr balasy, “Osimdik omiri. Jana kitap. Retsenzua”, in *Tendik*, 1925, no. 7-4, p. 1-3.

²⁵ Qyr balasy, *Zemstvo Kazakstan*, Smysl, Orenburg, 1917.

According to the calculations and the plan of A.N. Bukeikhan, by implementing its agro-industrial potential, Kazakhstan can conquer the markets of Russia and all of Europe. At the same time, the leader Alash offered exclusively those projects of socio-economic development that justified themselves on the experience of the leading countries of the world. For the accelerated development of the agricultural industry, Alikhan proposed to unite in voluntary cooperatives, the economic efficiency of which was clearly demonstrated by Denmark. Here is how he described the successful experience of Denmark in the article “Ülgi alñdar! Daniyada käperatöp pen el şarwası” (lit. “Take over the experience! Cooperative and national economy in Denmark”).

In 1924, Denmark, according to him, is a small country in Europe with a total area of 49.83 thousand square meters and a population of 2.5 million people. A. Bukeikhan, as in many other articles, paid particular attention to the fact that Denmark has become one of the most educated countries in the world, where there are practically no illiterates²⁶.

By 1924, the main economy of Denmark was agriculture and livestock. Almost 50 years (from 1879 to 1924) ago in Denmark everyone was engaged in agriculture, as in Russia. When the demand for grain fell, the Danes switched to livestock breeders, reducing the area under crops for exactly 21 years by half. Instead of grain, fodder culture for livestock was grown. Over the years, the total area of fodder amounted to slightly less than 1/3 of the entire territory of Denmark. For 21 years – from 1879 to 1900 – the number of cattle increased to 1.7 million, or per every 9 yards there were 18 animals. There is no such rich country in cattle either in Asia or in Europe, said Qyr balasy.

Thanks, firstly, to the general literacy of the population, and secondly, to the mass cooperative movement, the Danes became rich. According to A. Bukeikhan, by the beginning of 1899 there were 1,273 cooperatives in the country, each of them had at least 500 cows with a calf. Each cooperative had equipment from 4 to 20 thousand roubles for the production of butter and dairy products. Are ordinary Danes with 2-3 cows able to buy such equipment if they had not united in a cooperative, the author of the article emphasised²⁷.

Further, A. Bukeikhan presented his calculations on the income of Danish cooperatives in general and of each member in particular. So according to his information, in 1898, 148 thousand families were in cooperatives, in the ownership of which there were 742 thousand heads of cattle. A Danish cow a year produced an average of 139 pounds of milk; out of 26 pounds of milk, 1 pound of butter was produced. In 1899, cooperatives in Denmark produced 4.6 million pounds of oil, of which 4.5 million were exported to England for 79 million roubles. The net profit of each cooperative was 190 roubles.

²⁶ A. Bukeikhan, *Shygarmalary*, Saryarka, Astana, 2017.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

40 years ago (the mid-1870s) the Danes sold their livestock alive in the market, like the Kazakhs. By 1900, there were already 29 slaughterhouse cooperatives operating in Denmark, with 96,000 households as members. In 1899, they sold meat for 17 million roubles, the income of each member of the cooperative's family amounted to 304 roubles.

A. Bukeikhan also noted that 269 cooperatives for raising poultry were organised in Denmark, members of which were 20 thousand families, which annually delivered more than 1 million eggs to England. The net income of each cooperative was 46 roubles. The initiators of these cooperatives, as Qyr balasy reported with surprise, were two priests named Borgensen and Miller who taught children in a rural school.

In European countries, argued Qyr balasy, they store their excess income in insurance partnerships. He calculated how many out of every 100 residents of European countries invest their money in insurance partnerships: in Denmark – 46 people, in Germany– 26, in France – 29, in Russia – 3. According to his information, in these countries each investor has in his account such an amount by which it is possible to determine the state of each country as a whole: in Denmark – 139 roubles, Germany – 69, France – 41, Russia – 7²⁸.

“The Danish peasant is 19.5 (!) Times richer than the Russian,” exclaimed Qyr balasy in conclusion, “the Russian peasant is a poor farmer, the Danish is the best breeder. The secret is not whether you are a farmer or a breeder. This bread, graze cattle or dig ore, the main thing is to be a master (professional) in your field! Today, our Kazakhs need schools for teaching children, water for irrigation of crops, for selfless service, people need horsemen, like Borgensen and Miller, for the production of butter, butter and dairy products, for the processing of wool, hides, livestock, grain growing need cooperatives”²⁹.

It is important to note that shortly before the Bolsheviks seized power in the former empire and the outbreak of civil war, the first cooperatives began to emerge in large numbers in one separate region of Kazakhstan, then still divided into Stepnoy, Turkestan Territory and several separate regions. In particular, when he was commissioner of the Provisional Government in the Turgai Region, Alikhan Bukeikhan half-wrote several dozen orders on the registration of production, consumer and other cooperatives, more than half of which belonged to the Kazakhs³⁰. Kazakhs united in cooperatives with whole villages. It can be stated that for the incomplete year of service of A. Bukeikhan as a commissioner (March-December 1917), as many cooperatives were registered in one Turgai region, as there were not in any

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ CSA RK, fund 17, inventory 1, case no. 6.

other of the 9 regions and 1 province, which in December 1917, were declared territory of the Autonomous Republic of Alash.

Heading the Autonomy Alash in 1917-1920, as its Temporary All-Kazakh Council (Government) Alash Orda, A. Bukeikhan continued his policy of developing the national economy, as evidenced by the material from the Siberian Life newspaper under the heading *Kyrgyzstan in Concerns about National Development*: “In Alashord (the city of Alash, the capital of the Autonomy of Alash), the Semipalatinsk region, the Alash union for the development of national economy and factory industry was organised and opened its operations. The purpose of the union: a) to promote the most profitable sale of livestock items by their producers, on the one hand, and their receipt of consumer goods and agriculture, on the other hand, if possible from the first sources; b) the development of livestock farming by improving livestock and grass cultivation; c) the development of factory industry and d) the production of proper commodity exchange and the elimination of the mediation of speculators in this matter”³¹.

In our Russia, production culture is low, A.N. Bukeikhan wrote in another article for 1915, “There are no plants and factories producing high-quality goods. What is produced is not better than a nail or fabric produced by sarts. People who use high-quality clothing and manufactured goods buy them in England, Belgium, France, Germany. There is no fraud, deception in their production, their quality is impeccable, like a *Singer* sewing machine ... Where did Popov, who was rattling at one time, who melted silver, lying almost on the surface of the earth, in a bakery in Karkaraly district go? But why did his factory close? Because the extraction of silver from the bowels requires science and professionalism. They, carried away by easily obtainable silver, did not think about how to extract it from the ore in the future, began to fill these mines with its own soil. His silver in the bakery was melted by a Kazakh for 25 roubles. And what will he do besides supporting the fire in the furnace?! The gold found in the ore along with silver remained in the ore. The lead remaining after the extraction of silver has been lying open-air boulders for 30 years... If a railway is reached to Popov’s factory, a scientist will lead the factory, and professionals will work, then the silver mine will come to life again”³².

Conclusions

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that in his many works devoted to the state and characteristics of the traditional nomadic and semi-nomadic

³¹ O.O. Lagutina, “Kyrgyz people in their cares about national development”, in *Siberian Life*, 1919, no. 1, p. 4-6.

³² A. Bokeikhan, *Shygarmalary*, Astana, Saryarka, 2017; A.H. Bokeihan, *Complete works in 7 volumes*, vol. 3, Saryarka, Astana, 2009.

farming and cattle breeding of the people of the Great Kazakh steppe, A. Bukeikhan on a scientific basis substantiates an urgent need and, most importantly, indicates a concrete path for its modernisation and development on the basis of successful experience of countries of Western Europe (Germany, Holland, Denmark), the USA, Australia and the East (primarily Japan). He unveiled a similar goal back in 1910 in his essay *Kyrgyzes (Kazakhs): In the near future*, he noted in this essay, “in the steppe, probably, two political parties will be organised, corresponding to the two political directions that take shape in the Kyrgyz environment. One of them can be called national-religious. The other, a Westernised direction, sees the future of the Kyrgyz steppe in the conscious implementation of Western culture – in the broadest sense of the word”. As follows from the above quotes, A.N. Bukeikhan was convinced that the agriculture of Kazakhstan, having huge potential for modernisation and development, can and should become the engine, the locomotive of the rise and development of the entire national economy. He believed that in 20-25 years Kazakhstan could become one of the developed agrarian and industrial states of the world.