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DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE PRIIRTYSH REGION FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE 1920S

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Abstract. Introduction. The relevance of the article is based on the study of the development of education and enlightenment in the Priirtysh region, which makes it possible to understand the social and cultural processes that occurred during the transitional period from the Russian Empire to the Soviet state. Examining these processes helps identify the causes and factors that determined the level of literacy and the accessibility of education for the population of Kazakhstan. *Purpose and objectives.* The main objective is to analyze the development of the educational system in the Priirtysh region in the second half of the 19th century to the 1920s, including the policies of the tsarist and Soviet authorities, as well as the role of the Kazakh intelligentsia in these processes. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to study traditional forms of education and determine their significance in the region, analyze the educational policy of the tsarist administration regarding the Kazakh population, assess the contribution of the national intelligentsia to the development of enlightenment, examine the changes that took place during the early years of soviet power, and conduct a comparative analysis of the educational systems of the tsarist and soviet periods in the Priirtysh region. *Materials and methods.* The primary sources are archival documents from the Central State archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK) and the State archive of Pavlodar region (SAPR), as well as published works by scholars. The methodological basis includes historical analysis, comparative analysis, and the historical-typological method, which made it possible to correlate different stages of educational development. *Results and conclusions.* The study demonstrates that the educational process in the region was complex and contradictory. During the tsarist period, it was marked by duality, with the coexistence of traditional Muslim schools and Russian-Kazakh institutions, while being constrained by colonial policies and discrimination. After the Soviet power was established, large-scale efforts were undertaken to eradicate illiteracy; however, these initiatives were accompanied by ideological pressure and shortage of resources. Despite their declared progressive aims, both systems were contradictory, yet each contributed in its own way to the formation of the foundations of education in the Priirtysh region.

Keywords: Priirtysh region, education, enlightenment, mekteb, madrasa, literacy campaign, Kazakh intelligentsia, tsarist policy, soviet power

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* Бұл мақалада Ертіс өңіріндегі ағарту мен білім берудің дамуын зерттеудің өзектілігі қарастырылады. Бұл зерттеу Ресей империясынан Кеңестік мемлекетке өту кезеңінде орын алған әлеуметтік және мәдени үдерістерді түсінуге мүмкіндік береді. Аталған үдерістерді талдау Қазақстан халқының сауаттылық деңгейі мен білімге қолжетімділігін анықтаған себептер мен факторларды айқындауға көмектеседі. *Мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Мақаланың негізгі мақсаты – XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысы мен XX ғасырдың 1920 жылдары аралығындағы Ертіс өңіріндегі білім беру жүйесінің дамуын талдау. Бұл ретте патшалық және кеңестік билік жүргізген саясаттар, сондай-ақ қазақ зиялыларының осы үдерістердегі рөлі қарастырылады. Осы мақсатқа жету үшін мынадай міндеттер қойылады: өңірдегі дәстүрлі білім беру формаларын зерттеп, олардың маңызын анықтау; патшалық әкімшіліктің қазақ халқына қатысты білім беру саясатын талдау; ұлттық зиялылардың ағартушылыққа қосқан үлесін бағалау; кеңестік биліктің алғашқы жылдарындағы өзгерістерді қарастыру; және патшалық пен кеңестік кезеңдегі білім беру жүйелеріне салыстырмалы талдау жүргізу. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Зерттеудің негізгі дереккөздері – Қазақстан Республикасы Орталық мемлекеттік мұрағаты (ҚРОМА) мен Павлодар облысының мемлекеттік мұрағатының (ПОМА) құжаттары, сондай-ақ ғалымдардың жарияланған еңбектері. Зерттеудің әдіснамалық негізін тарихи талдау, салыстырмалы талдау және тарихи-типологиялық әдіс құрайды. Бұл әдістер әр кезеңдегі білім беру үдерістерін өзара байланыстыруға мүмкіндік берді. *Нәтижелер мен қорытындылар.* Зерттеу нәтижесінде өңірдегі білім беру үдерісі күрделі әрі қайшылықты сипатта болғаны анықталды. Патшалық кезеңде дәстүрлі мұсылман мектептері мен орыс-қазақ оқу орындарының қатар өмір сүруімен ерекшеленетін қосарлы жүйе қалыптасты, алайда бұл жүйе отарлық саясат пен кемсітушілікпен шектелді. Кеңестік билік орнаған соң жаппай сауатсыздықты жою бағытында ауқымды шаралар қолға алынды, бірақ бұл бастамалар идеологиялық қысыммен және ресурстардың жетіспеушілігімен қатар жүрді. Өздерін прогрессивті деп жариялаған бұл екі жүйе де қайшылықты болғанымен, әрқайсысы Ертіс өңіріндегі білім беру іргетасының қалануына өз үлесін қосты.

Түйін сөздер: Ертіс өңірі, білім беру, ағарту, мектеп, медресе, сауаттылықты жою науқаны, қазақ зиялылары, патшалық саясат, кеңестік билік

Алғыс. Бұл мақала ҚР Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитетінің қаржылай қолдауымен, ЖТН BR28512385 «Қазақстан тарихының өңірлік қырларын пәнаралық зерттеу (жаңа мұрағаттық материалдар мен фольклорлық деректер негізінде)» жобасы аясында дайындалды.

Дәйексөз үшін: Торайғыров Е.М., Бакирова Ж.Б. XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысы – XX ғасырдың 20-жылдарындағы Ертіс өңіріндегі білім беру мен ағартушылықтың дамуы. *Отан тарихы*. 2025. Т. 28. № 3. 638-649-бб. [ағылшын тілінде]. DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718_2025_28_3_638-649

РАЗВИТИЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ И ПРОСВЕЩЕНИЯ В ПРИИРТЫШЬЕ ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX – 20-Х ГОДАХ XX ВЕКА

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Актуальность статьи заключается в исследовании развития образования и просвещения в Прииртышье, что позволяет понять социальные и культурные процессы в регионе в переходный период от Российской империи к становлению Советской власти. Изучение этих процессов помогает выявить причины и факторы, определявшие уровень грамотности и доступность образования для населения Казахстана. *Цель и задачи.* Основной целью является анализ развития системы образования в Прииртышье во второй половине XIX – 20-х гг. XX века, включая политику царской и советской власти, а также роль казахской интеллигенции в этих процессах. Для достижения этой цели предполагается изучить традиционные формы обучения и определить их значение в регионе, проанализировать образовательную политику царской администрации в отношении казахского населения, оценить вклад национальной интеллигенции в развитие просвещения, рассмотреть изменения, произошедшие в первые годы советской власти, и провести сравнительный анализ образовательных систем дореволюционного и советского периодов в Прииртышье. *Материалы и методы.* Основными материалами являются архивные документы из Центрального государственного архива Республики Казахстан (ЦГА РК) и Государственного архива Павлодарской области (ГАПО), а также публикации и труды исследователей. Методы исследования: исторический анализ, сравнительный анализ и историко-типологический метод, позволивший сопоставить разные этапы развития образования. *Результаты и выводы.* Статья демонстрирует, что образовательный процесс в регионе был сложным и противоречивым. В царский период он характеризовался двойственностью: сосуществованием традиционных мусульманских школ и русско-казахских училищ, а также был ограничен колониальной политикой и дискриминацией. С приходом советской власти были предприняты масштабные усилия по ликвидации неграмотности, однако эти процессы сопровождались идеологическим давлением и нехваткой ресурсов. Несмотря на заявленные прогрессивные цели, обе системы были противоречивыми, но каждая внесла определенный вклад в формирование основ образования в Прииртышье.

Ключевые слова: Прииртышье, образование, просвещение, мектеб, медресе, ликбез, казахская интеллигенция, царская политика, советская власть.

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Introduction. The development of the education system in the territory of present-day Kazakhstan during the second half of the 19th century and the 1920s was a complex and multifaceted process reflecting profound political, social, and cultural transformations. This period marked a transition from traditional forms of instruction rooted in centuries-old religious practices to attempts at introducing secular and ideologically driven models of education. The relevance of this study lies in the need to examine and comprehend the historical experience that shaped the modern educational paradigm. Exploring this period makes it possible not only to trace the evolution of pedagogical ideas but also to identify the challenges faced by both the tsarist and Soviet authorities in their efforts to educate the indigenous population.

The transformation of the educational system in the Pavlodar Priirtysh region during the second half of the 19th century and the 1920s was not a linear process. It was shaped by the contradictions between state policies (colonial under the tsarist regime and ideologically driven under the Soviet regime), the activities of the national intelligentsia, and the region's objective socio-economic difficulties.

Materials and methods. This study is based on the problem-chronological method, which makes it possible to trace the development of the educational system in the Priirtysh region step by step and to identify the key issues characteristic of each historical stage. The comparative-historical method was used to compare the educational policies of the tsarist and Soviet periods, as well as to analyze the influence of the national intelligentsia on these processes.

The primary sources for this article are archival documents collected from two key repositories: the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSARK) and the State Archive of Pavlodar Region (SAPR). The CSARK holds collections related to the activities of regional administrative and educational institutions, including official correspondence, school and vocational school reports, and materials on repressions. Of particular interest are collections containing information about the resistance of Muslim clergy and the Kazakh population to the introduction of Russian-language education. The SAPR holds documents relating to the work of local educational institutions, departments of public education, agitational trains, and "Red Yurts." These materials provide a detailed understanding of the practical implementation of educational policy at the regional level.

Additional sources include published scholarly works and collections of documents on the history of education [Istoriya obrazovaniya..., 2022] and the history of Islam in Kazakhstan [Boltina, Sheveleva, 2001].

Discussion. The topic of the development of education and enlightenment in the Pavlodar Priirtysh region during the second half of the 19th century and the 1920s represents an important part of Kazakh historiography. Early Soviet-era studies on this issue were generally propagandistic in nature. They emphasized the successes of the Soviet government in combating illiteracy and building a new "progressive" education system, contrasting it with the "backward" tsarist and religious schools. The works of such authors as E. B. Bekmakhanov [Bekmakhanov, 1957] and T. Tazhibayev [Tazhibayev, 1962], while containing valuable factual data, interpret them in accordance with the official ideology, highlighting the colonial character of tsarist policy and the limitations of traditional Muslim education.

By contrast, contemporary researchers strive for a more objective and multifaceted analysis. Authors such as Zh. Artykbayev [Artykbayev, 1993], V. D. Boltina and L. V. Sheveleva [Boltina, Sheveleva, 2001], as well as A. L. Zakharenko and V. K. Merts [Zakharenko et al., 2003], expand the traditional scope of study. They not only describe state policy but also focus on the educational initiatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia. Their works explore in detail the role of the Jadid movement, the Alash party, and various educational circles that, despite government opposition, sought to develop education in the native language and to raise national consciousness.

Particular attention should also be paid to works dealing with specific aspects of the educational process. For example, E. I. Burdina [Burdina, 2004] and Sh. Taukibaeva [Taukibaeva, 1997] examine the establishment and development of education in the region, analyzing both political and socio-economic factors. Zh. Zharikbayev and B. Kaliyev [Zharikbayev, Kaliyev, 1990] and S. Nurbaev [Nurbaev, 2009] highlight the contribution of Kazakh thinkers, publicists, and teachers to public enlightenment. Their studies show that education was not only a tool of state power but also a field for the development of national ideas.

Results. Traditional forms of education based on the religious system persisted in Kazakhstan until the early 20th century. The primary centers of knowledge were mektebs and madrasahs. From the 18th century, mektebs associated with small mosques became widespread in the territory of Kazakhstan. They were usually established at the homes of wealthy Kazakhs who hired a mullah to teach their children. The period of study lasted from three to five years. The main objective was the correct reading of Quranic verses and the

mechanical memorization of letters and lines. However, the knowledge acquired in this way was quickly forgotten without practical application [Zakharenko et al., 2003: 84].

Madrasahs located at mosques offered a higher level of education. The very term madrasah (from Arabic – “place of learning”) denoted a secondary-level educational institution attended after elementary school. Madrasahs trained religious servants, mekteb teachers, and lower-level officials. In the 19th century, there was a madrasah in Semipalatinsk where religious law, philosophy, logic, metaphysics, history, and geography were taught in the spirit of Islamic thought. Special attention was given to the study of sacred texts.

The district chief S. A. Avramovich described the specifics of teaching in mektebs and madrasahs in a letter to the office of the Steppe Governor-General in 1891 as follows:

“The Kyrgyz have no permanent schools in the volosts, but some of the literate Kyrgyz in the volosts teach reading and writing to boys who wish to study, mostly in summer, in a yurt ... The arrangement of schools is very simple: benches are placed along two sides of an ordinary yurt ... the middle of the yurt remains free for the pupils to read ... Kyrgyz children begin their studies between the ages of 6 and 10, depending on their development... After teaching the alphabet through repetition, the teacher has the pupils learn prayers from a book, and at the same time teaches them to write... The teacher is almost always paid in livestock, usually calculated at about 30 kopecks per month, which equals the price of one sheep. Such a teacher receives one sheep a year from wealthy families for reading prayers all summer, thus earning a living, collecting about 20 sheep over the summer... Only the daughters of the very wealthiest parents, about three to five per volost, are taught separately from boys to read and write; the daughters of poor families are not taught literacy at all” [CSARK. F. I-64. In. 1. C. 5089. P. 165.].

By the early 20th century, the dominant form of schooling remained the Muslim rural school. In Semipalatinsk district alone, there were about 90 such schools [Boltina, Sheveleva, 2001: 15]. The literacy rate in the region reached about 30 percent.

In the second half of the 19th century, jadidism – a socio-political and intellectual movement initiated by the Crimean Tatar Ismail Bey Gasprinsky – spread to Kazakhstan [Yuzeev, 2003: 127]. Under its influence, new-method schools began to appear within mektebs and madrasahs. Unlike the traditional system, they were based on the phonetic method, emphasized comprehension, and included the study of secular subjects. In Semipalatinsk, there was such a school known as the mekteb of Sary Gismat [Zakharenko et al., 2003: 85]. Alongside Islamic subjects, history, geography, and literature were also taught there. Teachers introduced students to the achievements of European civilization. Although jadid schools were progressive in nature, they did not become the dominant form of education [Zakharenko, Likhman, 2003: 109].

Thus, before the emergence of Russian-Kazakh schools, Kazakh children received education primarily in religious institutions–mektebs and madrasahs.

Since 1861, the “Regulation on the Siberian Cossack Host” had mandated the opening of district schools with six-year programs in each of the ten regimental districts. However, the quality of teaching in these schools was low, and the authorities even considered closing them [Usov, 1879: 133]. Kazakh children were also admitted to Cossack stanitsa schools, but their lack of Russian language skills made this education largely ineffective.

The reforms of 1867–1868 created new conditions for the development of education. The state and public figures began to focus on spreading literacy among the Kazakh population. Russian-Kazakh schools were seen by the tsarist administration not only as educational institutions but also as tools of Russification and Christianization. Their main goal was to eliminate the influence of the Muslim clergy and to train personnel for the administrative apparatus. Instruction was conducted exclusively in Russian [Shoinbaev, 1982: 216].

A similar principle of instruction was planned to be introduced into traditional mektebs. However, effective Russian-language teaching required trained specialists, whose preparation would take time. At the same time, clear resistance arose among the local population. For example, in 1877, Tatar mullahs declared their intention to send a delegation to the Tsar to “defend their right not to study Russian literacy, as it undermines their religious beliefs” [CSARK. F. 369. In. 1. C. 2040-a. P. 51–52.]. Attempts to teach Russian in mektebs and madrasahs were largely ignored, so at the beginning of the 20th century classes were still conducted in Tatar and Arabic [CSARK. F. 369. In. 1. C. 780. P. 12.].

The “iron cap” policy described by T. Tazhibayev restricted access of the Kazakh population to full-fledged education, allowing only the knowledge useful to the colonial system. Only minimal funds

were allocated to education, and the literacy rate in Kazakhstan remained at about 1–2 percent [Tazhibaev, 1962: 56].

Within the tsarist administration, there was an overtly colonial attitude toward the education of Kazakhs. One official remarked: “I wholeheartedly wish that the Kirghiz [Kazakhs] would forever remain nomadic shepherds, never sow bread and know neither science nor even crafts; but at the same time, I would most eagerly wish to teach them to eat our bread and to use our simple Russian cloth and other coarse Russian goods” [Bekmakhanov, 1957: 124].

A serious problem remained the training of teaching staff. At the beginning of the 20th century, working conditions for teachers were extremely harsh: low salaries and ethnic discrimination were common. The law of 1905 granted Russian teachers bonuses and pensions for long service, while Kazakhs had no such rights. The director of the Turgai School, M. Ronginsky, noted: “A Russian teacher... enjoys, thanks to his Russian nationality, the rights of public service, while a Kazakh teacher, even if undeniably superior in all respects, does not enjoy such rights simply because he is a Kazakh, not a Russian” [Burdina, 2004: 9].

Kazakh officials were obliged to send their children to Russian schools. In a letter from Sadvakas Shormanov to G. Potanin dated February 25, 1887, it was reported: “A total of 30 Kazakh children are studying in educational institutions in the city of Omsk, and one is studying at St. Petersburg University” [Valikhanov, 1961: 230].

At the same time, measures were taken to restrict Muslim schools. Opening a mektep required official permission, mullahs were subjected to taxes and were required to know Russian. In Pavlodar district, according to Shcherbina's expedition, by the late 19th century there were about 261 mullah-teachers. Gradually, however, repressive measures followed: closure of schools, bans on Arabic textbooks, reduction of funding for mullahs and mosques, and support exclusively for Christian missions [Artykbayev, 1993: 181, 186].

Religious organizations such as the Kazan Theological Academy and the Brotherhood of St. Gurias played a significant role in educational policy. They were engaged in translating books, opening schools, and selecting teachers. The methodology of N. I. Ilminsky suggested using the native language at the initial stages of instruction, but its ultimate goal was still the spread of Christianity [Spassky, 1900: 79].

By the late 19th century, new educational branches had appeared – vocational and technical schools. Students were trained in manual labor, crafts, and agriculture. However, their development was constrained by government policies and the traditional way of life of Kazakh society.

By the end of the 19th century, the Semipalatinsk Region was divided into several uyezds: Semipalatinsk, Karkaraly, Pavlodar, Ust-Kamenogorsk, and Zaysan [Tazhibaev, 1962: 270]. In the regional center and district towns, new schools began to open. In 1881, the Pavlodar School was reorganized into a three-grade school, where the first library was also opened, which was later used by the young K. I. Satpayev [Zakharenko et al., 2003: 91].

In 1882, girls' educational institutions were opened in Pavlodar: the city school, the primary girls' school, and the girls' boarding school [Insebayev, 2017: 189]. In 1901, a girls' progymnasium was established, and by 1903 it had 43 female students, 13 of whom came from privileged families [SAPO. F. 699, In. 1, C. 361, P. 78].

According to data from 1897, literacy levels were as follows: Pavlodar – 31.3%, Ust-Kamenogorsk – almost 31 %, Semipalatinsk – 27 % [History of Kazakhstan, 2000: 513].

Particularly noteworthy are descriptions of the learning conditions in the early 20th century. The memoirs of teacher Nikolai Ermilovich Alekseev convey the atmosphere of an aul school in the Tuschegul tract. He taught in the “Kontora” – a small clay building: “The hut stood in the middle of the steppe, where all the students came from, and consisted of three rooms: one was the teacher's room, another was for classes, and the third served as a small dormitory where the students slept on the floor. The classroom had no desks; there was only a table and chair for the teacher, while the students sat on the floor on a koshma next to him. In the first year, thirty students aged from 15 to 30 came; they did not know Russian but studied very diligently and with great enthusiasm” [Shevchenko, 2000: 35].

Public education in the early 20th century was promoted through various means, including the opening of schools and colleges, the establishment of educational circles, and the development of journalism and printing.

Printed publications – newspapers and journals – became the main source of knowledge and a platform for expressing the views of the Kazakh intelligentsia. The newspaper “Qazaq” and the journal “Aiqap” played a particularly significant role as the main printed organs of the Alash party, which made a major contribution to the development of education. The party's program stated: “Public education must

become accessible to everyone. Education in all schools must be free of charge. Primary school instruction must be conducted in the native language. The Kazakhs must have their own higher and secondary educational institutions, including universities. The government must not interfere in school affairs. All teachers and professors are to be elected. Local education should be organized in village reading rooms" [Martynenko, 1993: 90].

Many prominent enlighteners published their works in these periodicals, including natives of Pavlodar such as Kabys Berdalın, Sultanmakhmұt Toraıgyrov, Zhusıpbek Aımaıytov, Abıkey Satpayev, Kanysh Satpayev, and Koshmukhamet Kemengerov [Nurbayev, 2009: 140]. In their articles, young teachers and intellectuals discussed pressing social issues such as human rights, land ownership, national self-awareness, religion, gender discrimination, the development of sciences, as well as methods of teaching and education [Zharıkbayev, Kaliyev, 1990: 30].

Semipalatinsk was the cultural center of Kazakh society and also the seat of the Eastern Department of the Alash-Orda headed by Alikhan Bukeikhanov. Several important periodicals were published there: the newspaper "Saryarqa" (1917–1919, editors Imam Alimbekov, Kh. Gabbasov, R. Marsekov), the newspaper "Zhas Azamat" (1918–1919, editor K. Kemengerov), the journal "Abai" (1918, editors Zh. Aimaıytov and M. Auezov), and the newspaper "Khalyq sözi". Their contributors, including S. Toraıgyrov, Zh. Aimaıytov, and K. Kemengerov, promoted ideas of national revival, education, and cultural development [Nurbayev, 2009: 140].

Teachers and youth in Pavlodar and the Semipalatinsk region were highly active in educational work, forming societies and circles that organized training courses for teachers and the general public. In 1917, three organizations operated in Pavlodar – Qyzmet, Gylym Uyymy, and Gylym. Initially aimed at cultural and educational activities, they later began addressing broader socio-political issues. For example, Gylym Uyymy led by Nyghmetolla Kuzembayev organized two-month teacher training courses, while Gylym held literary evenings that deeply moved audiences [Shayakhmetov, 2001: 50].

In addition, Pavlodar teachers developed curricula and teacher certification programs, with K. Satpayev, G. Lekerov, and A. Kuzembayev among the commission members. Similar circles emerged in other settlements as well – in 1917, a youth organization called "Uyym" appeared in Ekibastuz, and in Bayanaul a group named "Erik" was formed.

In the regional center of Semipalatinsk, a similar youth association called "Zhanar" was active, and one of its members was the writer Zhusıpbek Aımaıytov. In 1917, a Regional Teachers' Society was established in the city, headed by M. Turganbayev with Mukhtar Auezov and Kanysh Satpayev as secretaries. The society initiated the opening of two-month and two-year teacher training courses. The first teachers at the two-year courses included K. Satpayev and S. Mustafin, with Satpayev teaching anatomy, zoology, world history, and geography. In 1918, A. Kuzembayev, S. Mustafin, and Zh. Aımaıytov also joined the teaching staff. Many of these teachers were authors of textbooks and educational books – for example, K. Satpayev wrote a mathematics textbook, Zhusıpbek Aımaıytov authored one on psychology, and K. Kemengerov on the history of Kazakhstan [Burdina, 2004: 76].

Thus, the national intelligentsia – including teachers and active youth – played a key role in organizing public education and the ideological enlightenment of the Kazakh people.

However, after the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks' rise to power, purges targeted both personnel and periodicals. Newspapers and journals deemed "dangerous" by the Soviets were closed. In Pavlodar district, the newspaper "Svobodnaya step" was shut down as allegedly affiliated with the Right SRs, and replaced with the Soviet newspaper "Ob"edinenie" [Taukybayeva, 1997: 69]. Similar measures were taken against "Saryarqa" (Semipalatinsk) and "Drug Naroda" (Ust-Kamenogorsk). Printing presses were also confiscated in Akmolinsk, Kostanay, Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk, and Pavlodar [History of Kazakhstan, 2009: 411].

In the 1920s–1930s, many representatives of the Kazakh intelligentsia, such as A. Baitursynov, M. Dulatov, Zh. Aımaıytov, and K. Kemengerov, were subjected to repression, which caused enormous damage to the development of public education in the region. From then on, educational and enlightenment activities came under the control of new special bodies established by the Soviets. On November 30, 1919, an Education Department was organized in the city of Pavlodar under the Revolutionary Committee, which engaged in educational, cultural, and instructional activities. Over time, however, a class-based approach to cultural development and anti-religious propaganda became evident. Books and manuals containing ideas of national culture, customs, religion, and Kazakh traditions were removed from the educational process [Nurbaev, 2009: 142]. The head of the Education Department was A. Molostov, who oversaw the district's primary schools and extracurricular education sections.

In 1920, an agitation and propaganda department was established in Pavlodar under the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [RCP(b)], which was responsible for the political education, agitation, and enlightenment of the people. Agitation campaigns played an active role in spreading Soviet ideology and the policies of the “New Economic Policy”, using media such as film, newspapers, journals, and the establishment of educational centers. One such agitation campaign was launched on June 19, 1921, by the Siberian Political Enlightenment Department under the name “Pavlodar”. It went from Omsk to the village of Ermak (now Aksu). Over 20 days, the campaign opened two libraries, two literacy centers (liquidation of illiteracy), and one educational circle. In addition to enlightenment and mass agitation work, the campaign also carried out oversight by investigating the local political situation to “suppress anti-Soviet sentiment” [SAPR. F. 12, In. 3, C. 6, P. 32].

In addition to agitation campaigns, educational activities were carried out by the “Red Yurt” (“Kyzyl Otau”) organization, which functioned as a library, lecture hall, medical station, and community club offering various consultations. The first Red Yurts were established in 1921 and included teachers, medical workers, cleaners, and legal workers, each headed by a manager. For example, the first Red Yurt in Pavlodar district appeared on May 28, 1926, in Bayanaul, headed by Tokaeva. It included 11 people—5 women and 6 men—who were members of organizations such as “Zharly,” “Rabzemles,” and others. The students were mainly poor women and housewives, as wives of wealthy Kazakhs, biys, and bais were not allowed to study. In 1927, 25 women were studying at the Red Yurt, and by the end of the year, their number had increased by 9. The Red Yurt became a local center of education, enlightenment, medical assistance, and child and maternal welfare for the poor, while also promoting Communist Party ideas about the “cultural revolution” of society [Nurbaev, 2009: 144].

One of the priority tasks of the Soviets was the elimination of illiteracy among the population. Efforts to overcome illiteracy gradually became more large-scale and organized through literacy campaigns (likbez). The tasks and stages of this work were outlined in the Regulations of the People’s Commissariat for Education (Narkompros) of the Turkestan Republic on organizing literacy courses for the adult population of towns and villages (July 26, 1918) and in the Decree of the Central Executive Committee (CEC) of the Soviets of the Turkestan Republic on the introduction of compulsory education for adults (December 3, 1919). The goals of the literacy campaigns were: (1) to provide general development and basic education; (2) to teach a trade important for the development of the productive forces of the homeland; and (3) to develop aesthetic and social consciousness.

Literacy courses were to be created “in every settlement and village” to teach people reading and writing, provide general development and education, teach useful trades for the development of the country’s productive forces, and develop aesthetic and social consciousness through the organization of clubs, choirs, theater groups, and so on [SAPR. F. 12, In. 3, C. 6, P. 37]. The curriculum included general subjects – writing and reading, arithmetic, bookkeeping, natural science, art studies – and practical subjects teaching crafts such as carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring, and blacksmithing, as well as creative activities such as reading literary works, singing, and drawing. Students were also required to study the history of political parties, sociology, and political economy, which reflected the dominance of ideology in the educational process. Those who obstructed the education of illiterate people were subject to criminal prosecution [Zakalodkin, 1930: 339–340].

The literacy courses lasted for three months. In Pavlodar district, a district department of the Emergency Commission for the Elimination of Illiteracy was established. Starting in 1920 and over the next two years, four literacy centers (one Kazakh and three Russian) began operating, and by 1925 their number had increased to six Russian and four Kazakh centers. However, despite these efforts, there was an acute shortage of teaching staff, textbooks, and paper. Akhmet Baitursynov wrote that the allocated funds were enough to pay only 2,616 teachers and librarians, whereas about 20,000 teachers were needed to fully educate all children. He urged higher authorities and the public to open and maintain schools themselves and to organize free education for children from poor families [Baitursynov, 1991: 322].

Although the Soviets created teacher training courses in Pavlodar district – initially lasting six months and later two months – by 1925 only four qualified teachers were working in the ten literacy centers in Pavlodar. Basic reading and writing skills were often taught by students themselves, as well as by ordinary workers and clerks. Teachers received meager salaries and had no access to teaching materials for children, which caused many to leave their jobs. Despite intensified efforts, the illiteracy rate remained high. For example, in 1927, only 30% of the planned target was achieved [Nurbaev, 2009: 151].

The sharp decline in the number of students was also influenced by the famine of the 1920s, during which “not a single literacy worker received any pay or food rations,” as well as by the consequences of the

food requisitioning system [History of Kazakhstan, 2009: 400]. Food shortages and the rapid spread of disease due to refugees from Russia's border regions hindered the development of education in the region. Outbreaks of typhus, smallpox, and famine caused schools to close in Pavlodar and other cities. In 1922, there was a cholera outbreak in Pavlodar: within a month, 135 people became ill and 78 died. There was an acute shortage of medical staff, medicines, and hospital beds. The newspaper *Stepnoy Pakhar* wrote about the hardships of the population: winter was approaching, while people were dying of typhus, and children in orphanages had no winter clothing [Nurbaev, 2009: 148].

Under the New Economic Policy, education funding was allocated from local budgets, which often lacked sufficient resources to maintain schools and hospitals or to pay teachers. As a result, in 1920–1921, the education system was in a difficult state.

The literacy campaign resumed only around 1924–1925, which was linked to improved living conditions brought by the New Economic Policy. The revival of education was also supported by the creation in 1924 of the Kazakh branch of the All-Union “Down with Illiteracy” Society, which carried out public awareness campaigns and organized one-day and one-month educational courses. By 1925, the organization had more than 40,000 members and had opened about 110 literacy centers. Special attention was given to educating women. Previously, women were viewed only as domestic labor, but since the early 1920s, women's departments had begun to appear, addressing the education of Kazakh women, sparking their interest in knowledge, and moving them away from the traditional role of “keepers of the hearth” [Burdina, 2004: 53].

In Pavlodar district alone, the “Down with Illiteracy” Society had about 1,500 members. Its members opened new educational institutions, gave lectures, conducted lessons, and recruited new activists. As a result, 200 people were educated in 1925. However, progress in eradicating illiteracy was still slow. In 1928, Pavlodar had six Kazakh and six Russian literacy centers. There were over 6,000 illiterate people, and only 2,100 were enrolled in courses, which amounted to just 30 percent.

An important role in the development of education was played by the “Regulations of the People's Commissariat for Education of the Kirghiz ASSR,” adopted in 1923 [History of Education..., 2022: 40]. Later, several departments were created under Narkompros, such as the Main Directorate for Literature and Publishing Affairs, the Main Directorate of the State Publishing House, and others [Sembaev, 1962: 68].

If in 1923–1924 there were 8 schools in Pavlodar, only one of which was Kazakh, then by 1926–1927 the number of schools had increased to 11, including one Kazakh first-level school and one Kazakh Soviet-Party school. In Semipalatinsk, starting in 1926, three-year preparatory teacher training courses were established for 100 teachers, as well as three-month courses for 150 people, three-month mugalim (teacher) training courses for 60 people, and one-month literacy courses. In the same year, a district bureau for managing methodological work was created, consisting of two consultants.

Overall, throughout the district between 1924 and 1925, there were 56 Kazakh schools, 2 German schools, 2 Tatar schools, and 63 Russian schools, each employing one teacher, which contributed to a faster rise in literacy compared to the literacy centers. In 1925, 43 more schools were opened, further expanding access to education. A distinctive feature of education during this period was the emphasis placed on instruction in the native languages of different ethnic groups.

In the 1927–1928 report of the Pavlodar District Department of Public Education, the following was stated: “One of the shortcomings of our school network in terms of national composition is that 16.2 % of the population in the rural areas of the district are of Ukrainian nationality, yet they are served by Great Russian schools... In order to establish Ukrainian-language schools in Pavlodar district, it is planned to open model schools for one or two nationalities in the coming year. It is much more difficult to organize schools for Mordvin and Bulgarian nationalities in rural areas due to the lack of textbooks and teachers of these nationalities” [Shevchenko, 2000: 99].

In parallel with schools, literacy centers (likpunkty) also continued their work. There were 92 of them in rural areas and 6 in urban areas, teaching 1,474 Kazakhs and 1,160 Russians. Reading huts (izby-chitalni) were also considered educational units, where people could read works by various authors. There were 11 such volost reading huts in total. For example, the Irtysh reading hut provided a large selection of literature, was funded by the volost budget, and hosted several clubs—such as a chess and checkers club, a women peasants' club, and a Lenin Corner for political studies. There was great public interest in reading books and newspapers [Shevchenko, 2000: 100].

A serious problem remained the shortage of teachers, teaching aids, textbooks, supplies, and furniture for schools. Most lessons were conducted in abandoned or makeshift buildings.

By the late 1920s, the problems of universal literacy and school education had become obvious. This hindered the development of qualified personnel during the industrialization period. In 1929, less than half of school-age children attended first-level schools, and among them only 21 percent were Kazakh and Uzbek children. As a result, large-scale measures were adopted in the 1930s, namely the decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars on the introduction of universal compulsory primary education [History of Kazakhstan, 2009: 402].

Conclusion. The development of education and enlightenment in the Priirtysh region during the second half of the 19th century and the 1920s took place amid profound political and social transformations, which led to the emergence of two fundamentally different models.

In the imperial period (second half of the 19th – early 20th century), the educational system in the region was heterogeneous and bore a distinctly colonial character. On the one hand, traditional Muslim schools (mektebs and madrasas) continued to operate, providing basic religious knowledge but offering limited instruction in secular subjects. On the other hand, the tsarist administration established Russian-Kazakh schools, whose primary aim was not widespread literacy but rather Russification and the training of loyal personnel. These schools were largely ineffective due to language barriers, discrimination against Kazakh teachers, and insufficient funding. However, despite all obstacles, the Kazakh intelligentsia (the Alash movement, educational circles) was active during this period. They promoted the ideas of national education through newspapers, journals, and teacher training courses, created textbooks, and strove to develop education in the native language.

Soviet rule (1920s) declared a policy of universal literacy, which became the main distinction from the tsarist period. A large-scale campaign to eradicate illiteracy (likbez) was launched, and new educational institutions and centers (“Red Yurts”) were established. Education began to be funded from the state budget, and teaching was conducted in native languages, which marked an important step forward compared to the earlier policy of Russification.

However, in practice, Soviet educational policy faced a number of serious challenges. First, despite the declared goals, actual funding was insufficient. There was an acute shortage of qualified teachers, textbooks, paper, and school facilities. Second, the famine, disease, and devastation of the 1920s undermined the functioning of educational institutions, leading to declining attendance and low effectiveness of the literacy campaigns. Finally, education became an instrument of communist propaganda, which was manifested in the persecution of the national intelligentsia, the removal of textbooks containing “bourgeois” ideas, and the mandatory study of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Ultimately, despite its more progressive goals and organizational efforts, the Soviet educational system of the 1920s failed to fully realize its potential. Its development was hindered both by objective economic difficulties and by political repression against the national intelligentsia, who had played a key role in the enlightenment of the region during the previous period. Thus, while the imperial period was characterized by a limited and discriminatory approach, the Soviet period, despite its declared ambitious and egalitarian goals, was overshadowed by ideological purges and material hardships, which slowed progress.

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CSA RK – Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan
SAPR – State Archive of Pavlodar Region

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