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## Approval and Formation of a New Kazakh Bureaucracy in the Post-Reform Period (Based on Materials from Western Kazakhstan)

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### Abstract

The focus of the article is the examination of the historical process of consolidation and emergence of new Kazakh officials following the implementation of reforms in the 1860s–1890s based on materials from Western Kazakhstan. The roles of village foreman, volost manager, people's court, junior assistant of county chief were created held by Kazakhs accordingly to “Temporary Regulation” of 1868. Among them, the position of junior assistant of county head fell under category of public service, while remaining positions were associated with public administration. Junior assistant of county chief was introduced during the transitional period before the formal foundation of a new management structure, as the authors mention. The regional government relied on the volost managers and village elders, who were introduced as bodies of “self-government” of Kazakhs in achieving their political goals at the local level. The authors examine the statutory authority granted to various public leadership roles. They conclude that security responsibilities are allocated to village elders and volost administrators more than administrative and financial ones. Since the end of the XIX century, requirements for Kazakhs applying for the volost manager have increased. From now on, applicants had to speak Russian. The appointment of peasant chiefs in 1902 increased authority over the operations of village elders, volost administrators and people's courts. Peasant chiefs toured the volosts, monitored activities of Kazakh officials. Nevertheless, Kazakh officials served the interests of people of their county and village. Over time, these positions were accepted by Kazakh society and the famous Kazakhs who held them became the local elite as officials.

**Keywords:** reform, official, county chief, junior assistant, volost head, people's court, village foreman, peasant leader, voters, volost congress.

### 1. Introduction

Since the 20s of the 19th century, the Russian government began to change the system of governing the Kazakhs. The goal was to introduce a system of effective management of the Kazakhs and bring it into line with imperial standards. In this regard, from this period, several reforms related to the management of the Kazakhs were implemented, and several management systems were implemented in each part of Kazakhstan. By the 60s of the 19th century, the question of unifying the administrative management system throughout Kazakhstan and creating a unified system of leadership positions for Kazakhs was on the agenda. For these purposes, a new reform was carried out in 1867–1868 and six regions were created on the territory of Kazakhstan. The territory of the Kazakhs of the Orenburg region was united with the Ural and Torgai regions. Thus, the Russian government completed the process of integrating Kazakhstan into the empire, introducing a new administrative and political management system on Kazakh land.

The new management system introduced to the Kazakhs was improved and refined throughout the years 1860–1890. Meanwhile, under the new system, a new group of Kazakh officials was formed who served the Russian Empire. These include Kazakhs who held the positions of junior assistant to the district chief,

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volost steward, village headman, and people's court. From this point of view, it is important to determine the activities of the mentioned officials, their rights and obligations, their relationships with the central authorities, the pedigree of the Kazakhs who served the Russian Empire, and their lives. Studying these issues helps to better understand the history of our common imperial past and reveal the white pages of Kazakh history.

## 2. Materials and methods

The factual basis of the study consists of documents obtained from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan) and the Unified State Archive of the Orenburg Region (Orenburg, Russian Federation). Documents from fund №25, called the «Torgai Regional Administration», were used from the Central State Archive, and documents from fund №6, called «Office of the Governor General of Orenburg», were used from the Unified State Archive of the Orenburg Region. Personal files, official lists of persons stored in these funds, files on the election of officials of public administration in the volosts allow us to determine the names of Kazakh officials who served the Russian Empire in the second half of the XIX and early XX centuries from the Torgai region, to compile a list of positions that they held, understanding the process of elections of volost managers and people's courts, determining the names of volost and village elders makes it possible to study the peculiarities of relationships with county leaders and peasant leaders.

When writing the article, we were guided by historical, objective, chronological principles. Historical-genetic, comparative analysis, biographical, historical-descriptive methods were used as the main research methods. The historical-genetic method made it possible to identify the stages of improvement of the new administrative-political management system introduced to the Kazakhs by the Russian government, the reasons for clarifying and supplementing the powers of the civil service and public administration positions held by the Kazakhs. The method of comparative analysis helped to understand the general patterns and features of the government policy of the Orenburg region. However, the policy of the heads of regions corresponded to imperial interests. Also, this method made it possible to determine the stages of total control of the Russian authorities over the Kazakh steppe at this stage. Using the biographical method, we were able to study the biography, environment, dynasty, stages of personal growth of new Kazakh officials and restore their life positions. Restoring and describing historical processes and phenomena of that time allows us to consistently and systematically present the events that took place.

## 3. Discussion

The problem we are considering is mainly reflected in the works of modern Kazakhstani researchers. Most of the research is devoted to the history of the institute of the county manager. Thus, in the works of S.S.Sayfulmalikova ([Sayfulmalikova, 2012](#)), G.K. Kalieva ([Kalieva, 2010](#)) and S.K. Uderbaeva ([Uderbaeva, 2017](#)), the features of the volost management system are studied on the basis of the materials of the Turkestan Governor-General. B.U. Malikov ([Malikov, 2016](#); [Malikov, 2017](#)) considers the volost system in his works relatively based on the materials of the West Siberian and Steppe General Governorships. The works of historian T.T. Dalaeva are devoted to the study of the volost system based on the materials of the regions of the West Siberian General Governorship. The author analyzes the problem of securing the position of a volost manager, its susceptibility to changes ([Dalayeva, 2015: 30-37](#)), the experience of holding volost congresses. The scientist first of all in this work, paying attention to the activities of the volost «voters», their official duties, and concludes that «...volost voters can be attributed to the composition of the volost administration apparatus, based on their position» ([Dalayeva, 2016: 32-40](#)). The next historian who studied the volost system was G.S. Sultangalieva. The author in her works ([Sultangalieva, 2015](#); [Sultangalieva, 2016](#); [Sultangalieva, Malikov: 2016](#)) examines the history of the creation of the volost system, the activities of township managers based on materials from the West Kazakhstan region. The introduction of a new management system for the Kazakhs of the Orenburg Region and its consequences are also analyzed in the work of B.S. Abenova ([Abenova, 2010](#)).

A comprehensive study of the institute of the volost manager, its transformation at the level of the whole of Kazakhstan was undertaken in a collection of documents published by the above-mentioned authors ([Institut..., 2018](#)). The collection examines the history of the institute of the volost manager in the 20s of the XIX – early XX century, the influence of volosts on the social life of nomadic Kazakh society, the order of their election, the activities of volost voters, the nature of the relationship of volosts with county and peasant chiefs.

Thus, the above works provided only for the activities of the volost managers. The activities of the positions of the junior assistant to the head of the county, the village foreman, the people's court, to which we pay attention, their relationship, the relationship with the regional administration have not been studied specifically.

## 4. Results

Since 1869, the Kazakhs of the Orenburg region were introduced to a new administrative structure and a new management system in accordance with the «Temporary Regulations on the Management of the Field Regions of the Orenburg and West Siberian General Government», approved on October 21, 1868. According

to the new reform, regions were divided into counties, counties into volosts, volosts into villages. In the «Temporary Regulation», special attention was paid to the issue of local government of the Kazakhs. Therefore, leadership positions occupied only by Kazakhs were introduced. As mentioned above, this is a junior assistant to the head of the district, a volost steward and a village headman. The Russian government, making such changes to the system of governing the Kazakhs, abolished all the privileges of the sultans who were previously involved in governing the country, and equated them with ordinary Kazakhs. Thus, the colonial administration relied on the aforementioned local Kazakh officials for its political purposes.

At the local level, the highest position held by Kazakhs was junior assistant of the head of the county. This position belonged to the number of public services. According to the «Temporary Regulation», post of two assistants, a senior and a junior, were considered to the head of the county. The senior assistant was appointed exclusively from among the Russian military. The junior assistant was appointed from among the prestigious and influential Kazakhs. According to the plan of the Russian government, the junior assistant to the head of county was supposed to serve as a link between the county governor and the Kazakh bolis. Therefore, the holder of this position was entrusted with important social and political responsibilities.

In the «Temporary Regulations» of 1868, the duties of the junior assistant of the county governor were not defined at all. However, they acted on the personal instructions to the head of the county and directly carried out their tasks.

As mentioned above, respectable Kazakhs with a reputation among the people and experience in governing the country were appointed to the position of junior assistant to the head of the county. For example, in 1868, the cornet Aibasov was appointed junior assistant to the head of the Ural district of the Ural region, Omar Kazyev was appointed to the Kalmykov district, Kosymbai Tausarov was appointed to the Guryev district, and Alpysbai Mambetaliev was appointed to the Embi district ([USAOR. F. 6. Op. 6. D. 14242. L. 11](#)). And in accordance with the order of the military governor of the Torgai region, in 1868 Lieutenant Colonel Sultan Zhahangerov was appointed as a junior assistant in Torgai, in the Nikolaev region – Esaul Kulanbaev, in the Yrgyz region - the mediocre cornet Berkimbaev, and in the Elek region – Esaul Aryngaziev. The last three temporarily held this position. Aimukhamed Aryngaziev, who was a junior assistant to the head of the Elek (from 1891 Aktobe) district, is a descendant of the famous Aryngazy Sultan and held this position until 1873 ([CSARK. F. 25. Op. 3. D. 20. L. 57](#)). Aimukhamed Aryngaziev worked as a member of the commission created to introduce «Temporary Regulation» to the Kazakhs of the Elek district, and participated in the creation of a number of bolises in the district.

After A. Aryngaziev, on May 1, 1873, the mediocre cornet Derbisali Berkimbaev was appointed as a junior assistant to the head of the Elek district. As the above archival data shows, in 1868 D. Berkimbaev was temporarily appointed junior assistant to the head of the Yrgyz district. He held this position until April 1869 ([CSARK. F. 25. Op. 3. D. 20. L. 157](#)). In general, he stayed in the Yrgyz region until the summer of 1872. In our opinion, D. Berkimbaev, as an experienced and authoritative person, was specially sent by the leadership of the Torgai region to facilitate the introduction of new rules in the Yrgyz region. Since the Yrgyz region was one of the regions where the implementation of a new administrative and management system encountered difficulties.

D. Berkimbaev for more than fifteen years, before the position of junior assistant to the head of the Elek county, held the positions of Bi, leading court cases and chief of the distance. When the «Temporary Regulation» of 1868 was introduced to the Kazakhs, he served as an official carrying out special assignments under the military governor of the Torgai region, and in 1869 he was appointed a member of the organizational commission created in connection with the new Rule in Yrgyz. By decision of the military governor of the Torgai region on June 8, 1872, D. Berkimbaev was sent to the command of the head of the Elek county ([CSARK. F. 25. Op. 2. D. 106. L. 1-4](#)). As we can see, D. Berkimbaev spent a sufficient amount of time engaged in organizational activities in the Irgiz region as a representative of the leadership of the Torgai region. We believe that one of the reasons why he did not stay in this region as a junior assistant to the district head is that he is not a native of this region.

D. Berkimbaev worked as a junior assistant to the head of the Elek county and served the Russian government diligently and devotedly. Thanks to the extensive experience and trust of the leadership of the Torgai region, D. Berkimbaev was reappointed on September 25, 1893 to the position of a freelance senior official of special assignments under the military governor. On May 14, 1899, he was appointed honorary conciliation judge of the Orenburg District Court for a new three-year term ([CSARK. F. 25. Op. 2. D. 106. L. 8-13](#)).

Eset Kotibaruly, who led the national liberation movement of the Kazakh people in 1847-1858, was the first junior assistant to the head of the Yrgyz county of Torgai region. Yeset Kotibaruly is a batyr and bi, a man who fought against the colonial policy of Russia for more than 30 years. In 1858, the uprising led by E. Kotibaruly was suppressed, and he stopped fighting. After reaching an agreement with the Russian government, he was pardoned. In subsequent years, he heads the Kabak genus. We mentioned above that from January 1, 1869, D. Berkimbaev temporarily held the position of junior assistant to the head of the Yrgyz county. In official letter (report), written to the military governor of the Torgai region on April 8, 1869, Captain Vogak, head of the Yrgyz county, «...I ask the Kazakhs to appoint Eset Kotibarov as my assistant instead of Derbisali Berkimbaev, taking into account the latter's enormous influence in the Kazakh steppe, and he ready to serve the government. ...Instead of Eset Kotyrbarov, I entrusted the leadership of the Kabak

Department of Shekti genus to Niyaz Otalarin» (CSARK. F. 25. Op. 3. D. 20. L. 157) and asked to appoint E. Kotibaruly instead of D. Berkimbaev. The military governor approved this request from the head of the Yrgyz region Vogak.

Eset Kotibaruly has been working as a junior assistant to the head of Yrgyz county for about ten years. By appointing such a person, the Russian government intended to use his authority and influence in the nomadic society to introduce a new system of governing the Kazakhs. In this way, specific goals of a specific period were achieved. However, the situation seems to have changed with the arrival of colonel Redkin to the place of captain Vogak, head of the Yrgyz county. At the suggestion of the county governor, Redkin, the military governor of the Torgai region, Major General A.P. Konstantinovich, on the basis of his order No. 285 of January 18, 1879, relieved E. Kotibaruly from the post of junior assistant to the head of the Yrgyz county. In his official letter, the county governor, Redkin, indicates that the reasons for the dismissal of E. Kotibaruly are «...professional shortcomings, advanced age, ignorance of the Russian language and complete ignorance of procedures». In general, from the contents of the official letter (dated January 7, 1879) of the head of the Redkin district to the military governor with a request for the dismissal of E. Kotibaruly, preserved in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and two reports of the batyr to the Orenburg Governor-General (dated March 4, 1879), in which he objected to this decision, it is clear that the relationship between them was not right. E. Kotibaruly in his report «...He notes that for 25 years he headed the Kabak Department of the Shekti genus, and since 1869 he has been a junior assistant to the head of the county, he has fulfilled all the obligations and tasks assigned to him in a timely and correct manner», on the contrary, the head of the county Redkin «constantly pressed him and tried to humiliate him in front of the leadership» (CSARK. F. 25. Op. 2. D. 487. L. 2-16). In any case, such personnel decisions were in the interests of the colonial administration, and in this case, the regional authorities constantly supported the decision of local leaders. Instead of E. Kotibaruly since January 1, 1879, an official under the military governor of the Torgai region, Abil Tulkibayev, was appointed as a junior assistant to the head of the Yrgyz county, who performs special assignments (CSARK. F. 25. Op. 2. D. 487. L. 9). Kazakh of village №8 of Tuztobe volost of Aktobe district, the mediocre cornet A. Tulkibayev was one of the officials of the Russian administration, who spoke Russian very well and was very educated. The head of the peasant plot №2 of the Aktobe district Andreev A.A. told about Tulkibayev: «...a very intelligent Kazakh, living peacefully in his village, is engaged exclusively in farming and does not participate in any parties». After graduating from the school for Kazakh children under the regional administration, A. Tulkibayev began his career as an interpreter in the office of the ruler-sultan of the middle part of the region on January 1, 1865. In 1872, he was confirmed as the manager of the Tuztobe county. In 1873, he participated in the Khiva expedition and was awarded by the Government. As an official carrying out special assignments was appointed in 1878. After being dismissed from the post of junior assistant to the head of the Yrgyz county, he has been working as a manager of the Tuztobe county for another 9 years. Then, in 1904, on October 5, he moved to the Torgai regional administration, where he worked as an employee of the office. This was his last job. In the official letter of the military governor of the Torgai region I.M. Strahovsky about the award of A. Tulkibayev as honorary citizen by inheritance to the Minister of Internal Affairs on June 12, 1910, he declared A. Tulkibayev's service to the Russian authorities: «...the activity of the mediocre cornet for more than 35 years has not been nominal, but has always been useful...» (CSARK. F. 25. Op. 2. D. 846. L. 33-42). As can be seen, for the Russian authorities at the initial stage, the position of junior assistant to the chief of the county was one of the most important positions and vulnerable persons were not appointed. The regional authorities, through junior assistants appointed from the Kazakhs, got acquainted with the social structure of the nomadic Kazakh society unfamiliar to them, with the patterns in it, established direct contacts with the volost administrators. Later, a new administrative and management system was fully introduced, and at a time when all its links worked in balance, this position was not required. Thus, according to the Regulation of March 25, 1891, the position of junior assistant to the head of the county was abolished.

As noted above, the junior assistants to the head of the county worked directly with the volost administrators who led the volosts and the village elders who led the villages. In accordance with the «Temporary Regulation», the volost manager and the village foreman were considered the lowest level of the colonial administration. On the other hand, they were introduced as bodies of «self-government» of the Kazakhs.

According to the «Temporary Regulation», volost managers and village elders were appointed by election. «Persons over the age of 25 who have won the respect and trust of the people, had no criminal record, were not in criminal prosecution» could apply for the position of volost manager and village foreman (Materialy..., 1960: 327). As we can see, according to this law, any Kazakh, regardless of social origin, could be elected as a volost or village headman.

In general, the new management system introduced by the Russian government to the Kazakhs was improved both structurally and legislatively until the 90s of the 19th century. As a result, the powers of public administration officials specified in the regulations of 1891, the procedure for their election, requirements for candidates, and rules for approving new elected officials were clarified and supplemented. In the new situation, the volost manager and his candidate were still elected at the volost congress of voters. The time and place of the volost congress was determined by the head of the district. The winners of the elections were presented to the military governor for approval by the head of the lyceum county. However, according to the

new rule, the military governor also had the right not to record the outcome of volost elections. In case of non-approval, he called new elections or chose the volost manager and his candidate at his discretion. Village elders and their candidates were elected by village congresses by a simple majority of votes. The newly elected village elder and his candidate were approved by the head of the county ([Materialy..., 1960: 391-392](#)). Both the volost manager and the village elder were elected for a period of 3 years.

The regulations of 1891 clarified the official powers of volost managers and village elders. The volosts were obliged to comply with government regulations and court decisions, participate in village congresses at which village elders and their candidates were elected, and maintain order in them. But they had no right to interfere in the elections. The volosts also compiled lists of families in the village, tracked population growth and decline, and monitored the timely receipt of all fees and payments. The task of the village elders was to convene village congresses to elect volost voters, take part in these congresses and monitor order in them, collect all payments from the population, issue receipts and transfer the collected funds to the volost manager. The regulations provided for the release of the volost manager and the village foreman from office for improper performance of their duties and abuse of office or for various punishments depending on the severity of the illegal actions ([Materialy..., 1960: 392-393](#)). Thus, although the new rule gave volost managers and village elders broad powers at the local level, their activities were under the control of district leaders and peasant leaders and were directly subordinate to them.

However, volost managers and village elders became representatives of the local elite with official power in their hands during the period under consideration. In particular, the institution of volost administration underwent a significant transformation in the second half of the XIX and early XX centuries. In this period, volost activities were accepted by Kazakh society, and they began to carry out important socio-economic and political activities within their volost. It is possible to cite data on the desire of the volosts to solve problematic political and economic problems of their clan using power. One of these volost managers was Akhmetkerei Kosuakov. Akhmetkerey Toktamysuly Kosuakov was born in 1857 in the Elek-Batpak region of the Aktobe district of the Torgai region. He was a literate and authoritative person with a very good knowledge of the Russian language. Peasant head of station №1 of Aktobe district Sukhin N.M. in his official letter, presenting the results of the elections in the Bestamak volost to the military governor of the Torgai region on October 13, 1904, he described A. Kosuakov, who was elected by the volost for three years 1905–1907, «...studied at the gymnasium until the 5th grade, worked as a volost for 12 years manager, very useful in the service...» and asks to approve him. In general, A. Kosuakov headed the Bestamak volost for about 15 years from 1893 to 1907 ([CSARK. F. 25. Op. 5. D. 397. L. 6-7, 58-61](#)). Later, in 1911–1913, he also ruled the neighboring Batpakty volost ([Spravochnaya knizhka..., 1913: 73](#)).

Looking at history in popular memory, Akhmetkerey was a generous man who shared volost funds and property with his people. He spared no expense on public education, the construction of mosques and other good deeds, and thanks to his great reputation, it was possible to mobilize the population for such causes. For example, he participated in the creation of the «Aryngazy school», which was opened in 1894 in village №2 of the Aktobe volost, and then moved to the Bestamak volost. At the request of the manager of the Bestamak volost A. Kosuakov, Akhmet Baitursynovich, who just graduated from the Orenburg Teachers' Seminary, was sent here as a teacher ([Vasiliev, 1896: 160](#)). There is no reliable data on how many years A. Baitursynuly taught at the Aryngazy rural school in the Akhmetkerey volost. However, we can conclude that Akhmetkerey was personally acquainted with the teacher of the volost nation, Akhmet Baitursynuly. After the establishment of Soviet power, he worked as a translator for the administration Zemskoye in 1918–1920. From 1920 until the end of his life, he honorably served as a conciliation judge in the justice department of the Aktobe district executive committee of Aktobe.

The study of cases on the election of public administration officials for individual volosts, stored in the archives, as well as individual lives of the volosts, indicates that volost managers were elected, as a rule, for several terms in a row. On the one hand, this is probably through the trust and support of the population. On the other hand, according to the historian G.S. Sultangalieva, volost managers tried to leave their positions to their children after service until old age. As a result, dynasties emerged that held the post of volost manager for several generations in a row. Among them, a scientist from the Aktobe district of the Turgai region names Keikin (volost Borte), Nysanovs (volost Borili), Berkimbaevs (volost Araltobe), Nurmukhamedovs (volost 1st Borte) ([Institut..., 2018: 29-30](#)). In addition, from the Yrgyz district we can name the Almatovs (Kenzhegara volost) and the Shymanovs (Shengeldi volost).

The founder of the Berkimbayev dynasty, Berkimbay Buchibaev, began serving the Russian authorities in the mid 20s of the XIXth century. He was elected manager of the Araltobe volost in 1869 and held this position for more than 20 years. Previously he held the position of head of the distance. B. Buchibaev's son Mirali, under his father, was constantly elected as a candidate for volost governor. In 1895 he was elected volost manager and held this position for three years. In 1899, the grandson of Berkimbay, the son of Derbisali Berkimbayev, Laiyk, was elected manager of the Araltobe volost ([Sultangalieva, Tuleshova, 2017: 180-182](#)). Bayadil Keikin from the Keikin dynasty was distinguished by his «zealous and devoted» service to the Russian Empire. He was elected volost manager of the Borte volost of the Aktobe volost for a three-year period 1875–1877. Before that, since 1846, he held the positions of head of the distance, assessor of the Orenburg Border Commission, and assistant to the ruler-sultan. After being released from the post of volost

manager on October 15, 1880, he was appointed junior official of special assignments under the military governor of the Torgai region (CSARK. F. 25. Op. 5. D. 87. L. 1-4). The Borte volost was also headed by father and son Seyitbatal and Pangerey Nurmukhamedov. Seitbatal Nurmukhamedov held this position for 9 years, that is, from 1890 to 1899. He was an experienced man who had previously held various positions in regional government for over 25 years, including the position of junior assistant to the head of the Emba district of the Ural region. He was appointed to this position on January 19, 1872. The last position held by S. Nurmukhamedov was the position of a freelance junior official for special assignments under the military governor of the Torgai region. He was appointed to this position on November 28, 1902 (CSARK. F. 25. Op. 5. D. 134. L. 1-7). The son of S. Nurmukhamedov, Pangerey Nurmukhamedov, led the volost of the 1st Borte in 1889–1903. Graduated from the Orenburg Men's Gymnasium (Sultangalieva, 2005: 28). As we see, S. Nurmukhamedov was one of the Kazakh officials who held the positions of junior assistant to the head of the county and volost manager, which we considered. Among the Kazakhs who held these two positions were Abil Tulkibaev and Shakhmurat Almatov, who represented the Almatov dynasty.

Almatovs, who served the Russian Empire for several generations and became volosts, were one of the famous dynasties of the Yrgyz district of the Torgai region. The eldest of the dynasty is Almat Tobabergenov, a Kazakh from the Shomekey genus. He served the Russian government since 1834. In 1845, he was appointed a kibitochny tax collector from the Kazakhs and held this position until 1851. In 1851–1860 he headed the 54th distance, in 1860–1868– the 31st distance. In 1869–1874 he worked as a manager of the Kozhakol (Kenzhegar) volost (CSARK. F. 25. Op. 5. D. 192. L. 1-4). During the first 3 years of these 6 years, his eldest son Shakhmurat Almatov was a candidate for the management of the volost. A. Tobabergenov thus introduced all his sons to the ministry and directed them to continue their work. Prior to that, Shakhmurat Almatov led the 54th distance after his father since December 1861. On January 1, 1875, he was elected manager of Kenzhegar volost and held this position until the autumn of 1889. On September 25, 1889, by order of the military governor of the Torgai region, he was appointed junior assistant to the chief of the Yrgyz county. He remained in this position until 1892. In the subsequent period, he was an honorary conciliatory judge of Yrgyz county, held various positions in the staff of the Torgai regional administration. Thus, Shakhmurat Almatov was one of the experienced officials who worked in public elections for 26 years from 1864 to 1889 and in public service 1889–1892, 1899–1910 – 15 years, 41 years in total (CSARK. F. 25. Op. 2. D. 32. L. 16-22). The sons of Almat Tobabergenov – Toremurat and Makhan, grandson Abdusalam from Toremurat were also the governors of Kenzhegar county. Toremurat Almatov was a candidate for the post of county manager under his father Almat Tobabergenov, who headed the Kozhakolsky county in 1872–1874 (USAOR. F. 6. Op. 6. D. 14369/26. L. 42). Toremurat Almatov, like his brother Shakhmurat Almatov, was a well-known personality in the Torgai region. He received awards and the title of «hereditary honorary citizen» for his diligent and devoted service to the Russian government (Rakiuly, 2022: 259-260).

Since the end of the XIX century, the Russian government has taken a number of measures aimed at improving the efficiency of public administration officials and, on the other hand, strengthening control over them. One of them was the requirement to oblige the volost managers to speak Russian. Thus, the regional administration sought to ensure that the volosts in their activities were independent of clerks and translators, had a free relationship with the head of the county. In 1902, a law was introduced in the Ural and Torgai regions, which transferred volost and village elders under the control of peasant chiefs. From this period, complicated relations between the Kazakh authorities and peasant leaders began. This is clearly illustrated by the archive data. After the abolition of the post of junior assistant to the chief of the county, the same peasant chiefs worked directly with the volosts, village elders and people's courts.

The second prestigious position after the volost administrator in the new system of government introduced in accordance with the «Temporary Regulation» were the people's courts. People's courts were elected in each village. For the Kazakhs, the position of the people's court was a source of influence, authority, opened the way to the position of a volost manager. In the articles of the «Temporary Regulation» of 1868, this position was called «bi». This should be understood as an attempt by the creators of this law to continue the tradition of the Bi court, using the Kazakh word «bi». However, in the new rule of 1891, this position was renamed the People's Court. In accordance with the «Temporary Regulation», people over 25 could be elected as people's courts, and in the new rule this restriction was increased to 35 years. But those who graduated from Russian schools were allowed to participate in elections from the age of 25. Elections of people's courts and their candidates were elected at the volost congress simultaneously with the elections of volosts, by voters for a period of 3 years. The military governor had the right to approve or not approve the election results. Wages were not considered in the people's courts, although bi had the right to levy a special fine from the defendant, established by folk custom, for resolving the problem; its amount should not exceed a tenth of the value of the claim for property claims, and for considering the case in relation to personal insults, the power was determined in accordance with already established customs (Materialy..., 1960: 332, 395).

The People's courts were issued a bronze badge for wearing, an official seal of the established pattern during the performance of official duties. The court session was held in public and in accordance with folk customs. The People's courts considered cases worth no more than 300 rubles (15 horses, 150 sheep). Although only those decisions that they made on cases worth up to 30 rubles were considered final decisions. The duty to execute court decisions was assigned to the volost administrator, with prolonged execution of the

decision and inaction of the local authorities, he was punished in accordance with the law, and losses from his inaction were also recovered.

People's courts were also required to participate in the volost congress of people's courts, which was convened to consider cases worth more than 300 rubles. At the volost congress, all cases were considered, regardless of the cost, but their decision was final only for cases up to 500 rubles (25 horses, 250 sheep). The People's Courts also participated in emergency congresses convened as necessary to consider the cases of residents of several counties or volosts. The emergency congresses were attended by the courts of the volosts in which the accused parties lived, and at least one people's court from each volost was sent to them. The provision provided for the punishment of courts who did not appear at the congress without a valid reason. The consideration of cases at volost and emergency congresses was conducted on the basis of customs (*Materialy...*, 1960: 332-333, 395). As we can see, the people's courts operated mainly at the rural level. However, there were people's courts, which were famous in the volost for their just power over the volost, and even in the county. They continued the tradition of the Bi court and played an important role in the socio-political life of the volost.

As noted above, since the beginning of the twentieth century, peasant leaders have actively participated in the socio-political life of the nomadic Kazakh society. Their official powers included visiting volosts and supervising the record keeping of subordinate volost managers, people's courts and village elders. Peasant leaders were particularly active in the work of the volost congress of voters, at which volost administrators and people's courts were elected. They were interested in the victory of experienced and influential people who felt comfortable during the elections, facilitating their work. For example, on this issue, the peasant head of the section №1 of the Aktobe district, N.M. Sukhin, wrote in an official letter №775 to the military governor of the Torgai region dated October 26, 1904: «... I ask you not to attach Kazakhs Mukash Tukin and Seitaman Nyrkin, who do not have a positive influence on the Kazakhs in the volost and are completely inexperienced in service, Instead, I ask you to attach Darzhan Torebekov, the Kazakh of village №2, who was the manager for many years, or Kenzhegul Kushkinbayev, now the ruling village №4. These are people who have a positive influence among the volost Kazakhs and have sufficient experience in leadership positions. In particular, if we take Kushkinbayev, he, as a young man, would be a suitable person in the matter of placing migrants in the Karatogai volost» (*CSARK. F. 25. Op. 5. D. 398. L. 17*), he wrote and asked to secure the people he needed. In the official letter №776 with this date, the peasant chief participated in the approval of the elected people's courts of the Karatogai volost «...I ask you to approve the following elected Kazakhs who have no family ties with the manager and candidate, as well as with village elders and have special moral qualities» (*CSARK. F. 25. Op. 5. D. 398. L. 19*). At the same time, the peasant chiefs were also interested in ensuring that silence was not violated in the territory for which he was responsible. Therefore, they usually completely controlled the course of the elections in absentia and ensured the election of one of the representatives of the opposing party as a volost manager, the other as a candidate for it. Such initiatives and proposals of local officials in most cases were fully supported by the regional leadership.

Archival documents show that most of the conflicts between peasant chiefs and ordinary Kazakhs or public administration officials take place depending on the results of these elections. In this case, the Kazakhs listed election violations, illegal actions of peasant chiefs, wrote statements addressed to the Orenburg Governor-General and even the Minister of Internal Affairs. This circumstance testifies to the distrust of the members of the nomadic society at the beginning of the XX century to the immediate leaders – the chief of the county and the military governor who led the region. In the end, most of the Kazakhs' statements remained without completion or were not carefully considered, and violations continued.

Thus, at the beginning of the XX century, the system of local self-government, based on the power of public administration officials, underwent major changes. The Russian government has taken strict control over the activities of volost administrators, people's courts and village elders, introducing a supervisory authority, such as the activities of peasant chiefs and the county congress of peasant chiefs.

## 5. Conclusion

The Russian Empire, through administrative and political reforms implemented in Kazakhstan in the 60-90s of the XIX century, changed the social structure of the nomadic Kazakh society and from that moment state-bureaucratic relations became important. It was assumed that in the new management system based on these principles, the leading role would be played by new Kazakh officials who held the positions of junior assistant to the chief of the county, volost manager, People's Court and village foreman. In this regard, the duties of public administration officials are fully spelled out in the rules. Nevertheless, the duties of the guards prevailed over the administrative and economic duties of the volost and village elders. Although, according to the rules, the volost administrator, the people's court and village elders were given broad powers, they were directly subordinate to local representatives of the regional authorities. Nevertheless, the volost and village elders served in the interests of the people of their volost and village, solving their problematic issues together with the people's court and the volost mullahs. As a result, the traditional mechanisms of socio-economic relations in the nomadic Kazakh society have been preserved.

For the Russian authorities, the activities of the county head and the peasant chief were very important in the elections of public administration officials. After all, these officials were preparing people among Kazakhs who would serve the empire «honestly and with great enthusiasm», ensuring their victory in the elections. The military governors who headed the region, in turn, recruited famous, influential and experienced Kazakhs of the region to the staff of the regional administration. The regional administration gave various titles and awards to such Kazakh officials who served at the regional and local levels. The awards were aimed at giving officials new responsibilities, on the one hand, and role models for other Kazakhs, on the other. Thus, the positions of volost administrator, People's Court and village foreman occupied by Kazakhs with a number of changes remained until the establishment of Soviet power.

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