

FEATURES OF THE FORMATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE TURKESTAN REGION IN THE LATE XIX - EARLY XX CENTURIES

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Abstract: In this article, the activity of educational institutions at the cusp of the XIX-XX centuries in the Turkestan krai is investigated. The Russian Empire, with the aim of Russification of the krai, fell back on the creation of schools for teaching Russian language of children of the local population and familiarizing with the values of Russian culture. However, the influence that Islam enjoyed on the territory of the Russian Empire required the central and local authorities to develop an appropriate political course. Although Russian policy has formally changed certain normative acts in the krai regarding the Islam, these changes have not been realized. The Muslim educational institutions were strictly controlled by the colonial authorities, but this control was nominal. The authors of this article try to show that the goals of the government were not justified, the Muslim schools remained the centers of enlightenment, culture (even the old-method schools, despite the backward teaching methods), awakening the national, religious consciousness of the population and the Russian-native school still could not justify the hopes that was laid on it by the Turkestan authorities.

Keywords: Turkestan, the Russian Empire, public education, maktab, madrassas, new-method schools, Russian-native schools, colonization, Russification.

INTRODUCTION

Scientific coverage of the history of the public education of pre-revolutionary Turkestan has a great theoretical and cognitive significance. The relevance of this topic is manifested in the fact that recently there was an urgent need to revise obsolete views, hypotheses, concepts about schools in pre-October Turkestan, to solve the issue of what contribution the Russian colonial authority made to the education of the local people, what goals and tasks they set, and what they could achieve in the enlightenment of the Turkestan krai. Formed in 1867, since 1886 the Turkestan Governor-Generalship officially became known as the Turkestan krai (unofficially - "Russian Turkestan"). Since 1898, the Turkestan krai included the Zakaspiyskaya, Samarkandskaya, Semirechenskaya, Syrdaryinskaya and Ferganskaya regions (this is the territory of modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and southern regions of Kazakhstan).

The tsarist colonial administration, with the occupation of new territories in Central Asia, faced with the extremely complex issues in all spheres of the social life of the local population and the need to solve a full program for settling the inhabitants of Russian settlements. In the XIX century one of the important aspects

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of this policy was to be a formal education. A typical example of the creation of schools for Muslims was the system of education for the “natives” in the Turkestan krai. In the process of formation and attempts to reform these schools, as the various ideological and methodological approaches of their creators and the political preferences of the krai administration, and the social and economic difficulties of the whole Russia also intertwined.

By 1917, in Turkestan, there were three types of schools for the local (indigenous) Muslim population: (1) confessional - old-method maktab and madrassahs (madrassas); (2) new-method (Jadid) schools, occupying an intermediate position between confessional and secular educational institutions; (3) secular Russian-native schools. Among these types, the most important in terms of quantity and significance for the local population was the first type, the traditional confessional educational institutions, rooted deeper into the centuries.

CONFESSIONAL (ISLAMIC) SCHOOLS

By the second half of the XIX century, a rather harmonious, albeit very peculiar, educational system was established on the territory of the Turkestan Governor-Generalship, created by the Muslim clergy. The emergence of a network of Muslim schools is associated with the penetration and spread of Islam in the region. In the krai as a whole Muslim schools copied the traditional education system of Islam - maktab and madrasahs. The first belonged to the primary level of education, they taught the letter on the basis of Arabic graphics and book reading from the holy Muslim book, the Koran. The main goal of the madrasah, which gave higher education, was as follows: to prepare muezzins, imams, khatsypes, muallims, mudras, kadees and muftis, who were quite familiar with both the demand of the time and with the sciences of faith and life, to be able to point out the way to them for others. In other words, the madrassas were engaged in the preparation of spiritual mentors, the priests of the mosque, professionally versed in Sharia law, the norms of Islamic law and the holy book of the Koran, as well as teachers and instructors of the spiritual schools of Islam.

Therefore, the curriculum of madrassas as a higher, increased level in relation to maktab, intended for teaching children from the masses, was distinguished by a combination of the foundations of Muslim theology and the Arabic language with general subjects, as well as information on the pedagogical disciplines necessary for working with pupils in theological schools. As N.A. Bobrovnikov, the director of the Kazan Teacher's Seminary, wrote: “Maktab and madrassas until recently were throughout the Muslim world, from Morocco to China, one frozen in immovable forms organization. Even 25 years ago, entering the maktab or madrassah in Algiers, Constantinople or Bruce, I felt as if transferred to the Volga area: to this extent, the overall picture was identical. This homogeneity of the organization of schools in

such mutually remote countries was due to the undivided dominance of religious principles over the minds and hearts of Muslims and their complete subordination to the authority of firmly established traditions” (Bartol’d 1963). The exact number of Muslim schools in Turkestan before joining the krai to Russia and by 1917 had been almost impossible to determine. The figures given in the official statistics of the regions of the governor-generalship are extremely contradictory, while officials were aware of the inaccuracy of the published information, as pointed out by V.V. Bartold, the well-known researcher of the history of Central Asia (Vasil’ev 2008).

According to the data given by K.E. Bendrikov, the total number of Muslim educational institutions (maktabs and madrassas) increased from 6445 to 7571 in 1894 to 1910 (Gramenickij 1989). According to the information by Gramenickij S.M., by January 1, 1911, in the indigenous regions of Turkestan, there were simultaneously 6003 maktabs and 328 madrassas (Gramenickij 1989). The leader in the total number of Muslim educational institutions (maktabs and madrassas together) was and remained the Samarkandskaya region during the entire period, but the most dynamic growth occurred in the Ferganaskaya region. It was in this area that there was the largest number of madrassas. Even in the settled-nomadic regions of the krai (in the Syr-Darynskaya and Semirechenskaya), in the late XIX century, confessional schools reached the highest distribution. Thus, in the Syr-Darynskaya region in the early 90-es of the XIX century, in numerous maktabs and madrasahs, 28,868 students were engaged (Review of the Syr-Darya region for 1893: Appendix to the all-accounted report of the Military Governor, 1984), and in Semirechie there were 74 maktabs and madrasahs, in which over 9,000 pupils were trained (Review of the Semirechye region for 1897: Appendix to the all-accounted report, 1898).

Since the end of the XIX - the beginning of the XX centuries, a new period began in the life and work of these educational institutions, connected with the implementation of individual reforms in them. In the first years of the establishment in the krai of the power of the colonial administration, in general there was no serious interference in the affairs of Muslim schools by the tsarist officials, but there was also no serious support for the Islam institutions.

NEW-METHOD (JADID) SCHOOLS

The tsarist administration in Turkestan did not take serious steps to change the activities of Muslim educational institutions in the krai until the early 90s of the XIX century. Reforms of the Turkic-Muslim educational systems were connected with the historical processes of the late XIX century, when, in accordance with the requirements of the development of society, new initiatives in the transformation in the field of education and modernization of Muslim schools arose. These ideas and undertakings subsequently developed into a movement for the universal spiritual

uplift of the Turkic ethnoses of Russia, which was called Jadidism. One of the authors of religious reformation in the system of spiritual schools, then turned into a full-fledged social movement of his time, was I. Gasprinsky, who emerged from the Crimean Tatars. He used the fruits of the European Enlightenment to comprehend and solve his national and confessional tasks, he was the initiator of the introduction of new methods and changes partly in the content of teaching of spiritual educational institutions. Gasprinsky began to publish in two languages - Tatar and Russian - in the "Terjiman" ("Translator") newspaper, under the head of which was a famous slogan addressed to the Turkic world: "Unity in words, thoughts and affairs" ("Unity in language, faith, work"). Ideas and practical affairs of I. Gasprinsky on the reform of religious schools found a response in the part of workers in the sphere of Muslim education. The reform program of Gasprinsky became known not only to the Turkestan administration, but also to the scientific and pedagogical community of the region. Among other things, the Governor-General received from Gasprinsky a letter-proposal on the implementation of new initiatives in Muslim schools [Dinasheva and Zhahangir 2015]. On the instructions of N. Rosenbach, the then head of the krai, N. Ostroumov and V. Nalivkin, having studied Gasprinsky's letter, prepared a report for the Governor. The essence of their report was negative: "In the matter of the education of foreigners in Russia, we need the instructions of a Russian member of the Ministry of Public Education, and not of a foreigner-Tatar, who fervently defends the inviolability of foreign life with all its features" (Bendrikov 1960).

Not having achieved understanding and support of the Turkestan officials, Gasprinsky arrived in the krai in 1893. He visited Samarkand and Bukhara, received an admission from the emir, who promised not to interfere in the opening of new schools in the Bukhara Khanate. The local intelligentsia and some wealthy residents among the liberal figures reacted positively to Gasprinsky's proposals, promised to help organizationally and financially in the implementation of the new system of instruction in local schools. Following Tashkent and Samarkand, new-method schools opened in Verniy, Chimkent and Pishpek. In total there were about 30. In Kyrgyzstan, in Przhevalsk, the Ismail Gasprinsky school operated. In general, their number is very difficult to calculate. In any case, by 1910, in large towns, where they mainly opened, they were more than Russian-native schools. According to K.E. Bendrikov, the total number of new-method schools reached 100 by 1917 (Bendrikov 1960).

In accordance with the requirements of the new method, the entire organization of the educational process in the maktab and madrassas has changed, new academic disciplines have been introduced: first and Russian languages, history, mathematics (arithmetic), and other secular subjects. A transition to a class-lesson system was implemented, a schedule of classes was introduced, and transition and final examinations were conducted. Training classes began to be replenished

with a blackboard and maps, chemical and physical cabinets, corners of wildlife were formed. Turkestan new-method spiritual educational institutions established business contacts with large madrassas in the early XX century: Rasulia (opened in Troitsk in 1884), Usmania (opened in Ufa in 1888), Khusainia (in Orenburg), the well-known center of Muslim education and culture in Russia, the “Galiya” madrassah (opened in Ufa in 1906). Of course, new-method schools significantly influenced the development of education, spirituality and culture in the krai, contributed to the growth of consciousness and activity in the public life of many of its graduates. Many eminent workers interested in reviving the national culture, ensuring the social protection of their people on an equal footing with other peoples of the Russian Empire, emerged from this environment. The nomadic Kirghiz (that is, the Kazakhs) also open volatile yurts-schools of the “new-method” type, where the teachers were the students of the Ufa, Kazan and Orenburg madrassas.

As the popularity of the new-method Muslim schools grows, as the political and social demands of the Jadids expand, which have been presented in the State Duma, old-method schools, kadimist schools, appear to be a natural ally of the imperial power. Fear of the Jadids began to increase after the victory of the Young Turk revolution in Turkey in 1908. The fear of the spread of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism is fully characteristic of the administration of Turkestan. In his article of 1890, Vladimir P. Nalivkin talks ironically about the level of education in the maktab and madrassas of Turkestan, openly ridiculing Muslim scholasticism and methods of teaching language and reading. In the end he comes to the conclusion that the foreign mental life is “a picture of that almost hopeless gloom, to dispel which the political destinies of our fatherland are calling us” (Nalivkin 1890). In those years, generally, he expressed the opinion of the administration of the region, which even seemed a little strange to interfere in the affairs of Muslim educational institutions, because they must disappear by themselves against the backdrop of the triumph of Russian enlightenment. As we have already noted, Nalivkin would change his mind when he became an inspector of Muslim schools, and in 1891-1895 he would insist on intervening in their affairs. Twenty years later, having risen to the political positions of the Social Democracy, he would already very harshly, accusingly write about Russian education policy in Turkestan, about Russian-native schools and, on the contrary, would not be at all inclined to irony over education by Muslim (Nalivkin 2012).

RUSSIAN-NATIVE SCHOOLS

In the second half of the XIX century the process of the development of Central Asia by tsarist Russia begins. One of the ways to reserve these lands for Russia was to recognize the establishment of Russian settlements in the krai. Therefore, in the 60-ies immigrants moved to Turkestan. For more than 60 years of the history of the resettlement movement, about 70,000 people have arrived in Turkestan,

including 40000 in the Semirechinskaya region, 27000 in the Syr-Daryinskaya, and Ferganskaya - about 4,000 (Litvinov 1998). The resettlement movement forced the authorities of the Turkestan governor-generalship (created on July 11, 1867) to resolve issues of resettlement, provision of land, as well as meeting the cultural needs of immigrants. Therefore, the tsarist administration began to organize secular school education in Turkestan. In 1870, in Tashkent, a commission was formed under the Governor-General of the Turkestan krai to discuss the organization of the school business and the basic principles governing the management of the educational institutions of the krai. The Commission developed the "Basic provisions for the establishment of the educational unit and public education in the Turkestan krai". Based on the needs of the migrants and the local population, in the 80s the system of public education of the Turkestan krai was formed. It included several types of schools: $\frac{3}{4}$ of elementary schools (parochial schools, parochial specialized schools, agricultural schools, Russian-native schools, etc.); $\frac{3}{4}$ of secondary schools (gymnasiums and incomplete secondary schools - progymnasiums).

The strategy of education of the Turkestan krai was developed by his first general-governor K.P. von Kaufmann. Being an official of the colonial administration, he set the task through education to bring the local population closer to Russia, securing its interests in Central Asia. As early as 1873, Kaufman presented to the tsarist government a "Plan for the organization of the educational unit and public education in the Turkestan krai". It stated: "The development of public education in the krai should take place in the direction of Russian interests, which consist in the development of the economic side of the population, its citizenship and solidarity, its merger with the fundamentals of Russian state life. But at the same time the religious beliefs of foreigners should remain beyond any direct encroachment on the part of the school - it should not have a confessional direction at all" (Lykoshin 1899).

Based on his ideas about the goals of education and the means to achieve them, the governor-general constantly monitored the fact that the schools provided a joint training of Russian children and children of indigenous nationalities. Caring for the spread of schools for the children of the local population, the tsarist administration sought to ensure the training of Russian-speaking personnel for the service in the Turkestan krai, for which it was necessary "to put the public education in such a condition that it could develop widely in the mass of the foreign population, and not limited to single individuals".

This task was to be solved, first of all, by the Russian-native schools. In 1885, a "Russian-Muslim school" was opened in Tashkent. Later such schools began to be called "Russian-native". They had two classes: the main, "Russian" class, where the Russian language was learned and the beginnings of general secular education were given; in the additional - "Muslim class" - learned only the Muslim doctrine, as well as the Arabian charter, because it was closely connected with the doctrine.

According to the contents of the program, Russian-native schools were classified as the lowest type of Russian primary schools. The one-class Russian-native school had three or four branches, and in some schools there were also preparatory departments. Governor-General Rosenbach wrote about the program in such schools: "In relation to the curriculum, to limit teaching by communicating the basic principles of Russian literacy, i.e. accustomed to correct reading, writing and counting, arithmetic within the limits strictly necessary for the elementary needs of foreign life, and mainly to direct efforts to the most possible assimilation by the natives of Russian speech and the greatest skill in the use of ordinary Russian spoken language" (Review of the Semirechye region for 1897: Appendix to the most recent report, 1898). Thus, the emphasis in schools was made not so much on the development of the child as on the applied nature of teaching, which, of course, could not but affect negatively the level of education in Russian-native schools.

In 1887, the "Instruction" was developed for the heads of the Russian-native schools of Turkestan. According to the instruction, the composition of subjects studied in Russian-native schools was somewhat extended. S.M. Gramenitsky (1859-1918) describes the program of the schools in this way: "Conversational Russian, reading and writing in Russian, arithmetic operations with whole numbers, acquaintance with the most important events from Russian history and with the most important geographical information. In addition, - he continues, - Russian-native schools have native teachers who teach children native literacy. The Russian and native teachers alternately deal with each group of pupils in the school, so that each pupil during the day is engaged in 2 hours in the Russian classroom, and 2 hours in the Muslim" (Gramenitsky 1896).

The appearance of Russian-native schools was initially met with disbelief. The facts of "buying pupils" are widely known, when rich families hired an apprentice, sending him to school instead of their own son. But gradually the number of pupils in Russian-native schools is increasing.

Russian elementary schools. Reform in the field of education was one of the most important among the complex of transformations of the 60s in Russia. In 1864, the "Statute on primary national specialized schools" was published, according to which the network of primary schools was expanding in the Russian Empire, which were divided into three types: (1) Zemstvo schools created by local zemstvo institutions. (2) Church schools. (3) Primary schools of the Ministry of Public Education.

The primary schools of the Ministry of Public Education were one-class and two-class parish schools with a term of training from 1 to 6 years old, giving elementary education. They were established on the basis of the "Statute" of 1828 and divided into two types: urban and rural. Parish schools were available for all children, regardless of social status and religion. The boys were accepted of at least

8 years old, and the girls - no older than 11-12 years old. Management of one class primary schools was carried out by the trustees of the educational district, directors and inspectors of public schools.

In the one-class school, according to the curriculum, the following disciplines were studied: Russian with calligraphy, Slavic reading, arithmetic, God's law, singing. Subsequently, a handicraft lesson was added to these subjects. Some of the one-class schools were subsequently converted into two-class primary schools (on the basis of the Statute of 1869) and urban (according to the "Statute on Urban Schools" from May 31, 1872). Two-class primary schools were advanced schools with a 5- and 6-year studying period.

After the publication of the "Statute" from June 25, 1912, a new type of school appeared - higher primary schools. All the other mentioned types were considered to be junior specialized schools. Pupils who successfully completed the course of the first four years of the urban school could enter the first grade of a gymnasium or real specialized schools without testing. Pupils, who had completed a full course of training at the urban school, received the right to enter the civil service.

However, the children of local nationalities "attended them very reluctantly and extremely inaccurately, and many who had not yet received knowledge ceased to learn when they wanted to" (Ostroumov 1910). The main reason for this attitude towards Russian-native schools was that they did not teach local languages, did not teach Sharia - there was a problem with teachers, and for the children of the steppe, first of all, there was no language environment. A big problem for nomadic children was school attendance because of distances, especially in winter (Palen 1910; Dolgova, Rokitskaya, Kondrateva, Arkaeva and Kryzhanovskaya 2017).

The expansion of the network of the Russian-native schools continued to happen extremely slowly, the population did not trust the schools and was burdened by their existence. In schools there was a large employee "turnover", poor academic performance and attendance. In the formal presence of pupils in schools, classes were actually empty.

Indeed, the number of the Russian-native schools in Turkestan increased to 167 in the period from 1910 to 1917, in the Syrdarynskaya region, in 1917, there were 65, and in 1910 - about 50 out of 100 (Bendrikov 1960). Governor-General Samsonov directly linked this fact, in our opinion, quite rightly, with the special conditions of the region: a large number of the Russian-speaking population, a considerable number of the natives who had succeeded in forming a trade and entrepreneurial estate there. But a completely different picture was in Samarkandskaya and Ferganskaya regions, where the Russian population was small and where the Russian-native schools continued to be empty, the opening of new ones was slow. Samsonov proposed to create in rural areas and, in general, where there is little Russian language influence, public schools with teaching in local

ethnic dialects in order to attract pupils there and at the same time to promote their cultural rapprochement with the Russian population. But even the “petitions” of the governor-general could not shake the general opinion on the Muslim issue that was formed at that moment “at the very top”.

Despite all the efforts of the administration of the krai, it is impossible to affirm to all the measures undertaken that the Russian-native school has justified itself as a new compromise type of educational institution (CGA RUz. F. I-47. Op. 1. D. 955. L. 143-143 ob). As many contemporaries noted, the results of this activity were barely noticeable. Russian-native schools were intended only for the preparation of competent translators and therefore those pupils who graduated from these schools could not continue their studies in the future, since there were no next levels of the institution.

CONCLUSION

The Turkestan colonial administration adhered to the so-called “policy of ignoring” with regard to Islam and the Muslim education. The authorities believed that over time Muslim religious schools would disappear by themselves, unable to withstand the “competition” with Russian educational institutions. At the same time, it supported the idea of Russian-native schools, but without a religious component in their education, and also advocated mixed education of Russian children and foreigners.

Almost until the end of the XIX century, the tsarist administration in Turkestan lived peacefully, while the local population, studying at the old-method Muslim schools, practically getting knowledge very far from real life, did not pose any threat to the authorities. The integration of Central Asian peoples to European civilization, including European philosophy (read - free-thinking), naturally became the subject for discussion for the Turkestan administration.

The Russian Empire, with the aim of Russification of the krai, fell back on the creation of Russian-native schools to teach local children Russian language and involvement in the values of Russian culture. However, the influence that Islam enjoyed on the territory of the Russian Empire required the central and local authorities to develop a corresponding political course. Although the Russian policy has formally changed certain normative acts in the krai regarding the Islam and education of the population, these changes have not been realized. The Muslim educational institutions were strictly controlled by the colonial authorities, but this control was nominal. The goals of the government were not justified, the Muslim schools remained the centers of enlightenment, culture (even the old-method schools, despite the backward teaching methods), awakening the national, religious consciousness of the population and the Russian-native school still could not justify the hopes that the Turkestan authorities assigned to it.

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