

**A.B. ALZHANOVA**

**FOREIGN  
PUBLICISTS  
ABOUT KAZAKHS**



**Educational manual**

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*Recommended by the Academic Council of the Faculty of Journalism  
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The educational manual is divided into three sections. The first section is devoted to the study of the Kazakh themes in the works of Western writers in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The second section presents modern Kazakhstan. The third section presents an analysis of the social orientation of the publication. The book analyzes the research practices of individual scientists, groups of writers and historians.

The book is recommended for journalism faculty and courses taught in English, as well as students interested in the history of Kazakhstan.

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## INTRODUCTION

Actuality of studying publications about Kazakhstan abroad raises no doubts. Large number of scientific and popular science publications, dedicated to a Kazakh topic, have been published and continue appearing as of present moment, and students-journalists need to learn how to find their bearings in this information flow.

This educational manual is not designed to fill in the gaps of general cultural knowledge, but it rather reflects a practical necessity being connected with solving acute present-day problems. Establishing and strengthening mutual understanding between nations is impossible without deep and thorough studying and knowing each other.

Observations, reflection and understanding of Kazakhstani reality, history of Kazakh nation, in foreign sources, are ambiguous; however, such range of opinions, attitudes to Kazakhs, being different from Americans with their lifestyle, customs and traditions, represents significant interest since it provides an opportunity to see the immense Kazakh steppe and its residents with modern eyes and from different perspectives. Publications of American authors are very valuable in this regards. In number of cases foreigners tell about such events which would have remained a mystery for the latest generations without their findings.

The objective of the suggested course “Foreign Publicists about Kazakhs” is to form students’ notion of the main tendencies of Western publicists’ development in the aspect of studying the Kazakh topic.

The following tasks are planned to be solved during this course:

- Research the main stages and directions for studying Kazakhstan in the USA;
- Analyze works of several famous Western scientists;
- Get acquainted with the complex of famous historic studies, articles and monographs;
- Track effect of Western scientists’ works on the national science.

The educational manual reviews both theoretical-methodological notions and research practice of certain scientists. The author tried al-

lotting some, especially important, tendencies in development of Kazakh topic abroad, addressing the most significant phenomena based on Western and local analytical literature predominantly of the end of 19<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century and own research experience.

The following scientists have made significant contribution into elaborating Kazakhstan's historic and historiographic problems: S.D. Asfendiyarov, K. L. Esmagambetov, Ch. Laumulin, M. Laumulin, T. Beysembiev, Sh. K. Satpaeva and others.

19-21<sup>st</sup> centuries have demonstrated growing US interest towards Kazakhstan. Works of such authors as M. Olcott, W. Flierman, G. K. Morris, E. Skillier, B. Dave, S. Sabol confirm this fact, Alfred E. Hudson, C. Robbins, Weller, R. Charles, Nichol James P. Among, I. Svanberg recent works on empire in imperial Russia, see the articles in "Imperial Dreams," *Russian Review* 53, 3 (July 1994): 331–81; Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy*; Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, 2000); Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1917* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996); Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini, eds., *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Adeeb Khalid *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Jane Burbank and David Ransel, eds., *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identity in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Geraci and Khodarkovsky, eds., *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001); Paul W. Werth, *At The Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance, and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827–1905* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002); and Daniel Brower. Important studies of Russia as an empire had emerged, of course, beforehand: on the steppe and Cen-

tral Asia, see Thomas G. Winner, *The Oral Art and Literature of the Kazakhs of Russian Central Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1958); Elizabeth E. Bacon, *Central Asians under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966); Richard A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia 1867–1917: A Study in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960); Edward Allworth, ed., *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967). In general, however, most Western historians of Russia and the Soviet Union remained unaware of the importance of empire to past and present ideologies and policies, despite the prophetic works of Carrère d'Encausse that demonstrated the continuing legacy of imperial policies and predicted a collapse of the Soviet Union along national lines. See her *L'Empire éclaté* (Paris: Flammarion et Cie, 1978); appearing in English as *Decline of an Empire: The Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*, trans. Martin Sokolinsky and Henry A. La Farge (New York: Newsweek Books, 1979). Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978). Said's legacy for the study of Russia as an empire, although undeniable, remains at once in dispute and rarely fully explored. Some authors have simply noted his seminal influence: see Katya Hokanson, "Literary Imperialism, Narodnost', and Pushkin's Invention of the Caucasus," *Russian Review* 53, 2 (July 1994): 338; and David Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). Nathaniel Knight has questioned the application of Said's theories on Orientalism to Russia, but Adeeb Khalid has convincingly demonstrated his scope and meaning for the case of the tsarist empire. See Nathaniel Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851–1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?" *Slavic Review* 59, 1 (Spring 2000): 74–100; and the exchange between Knight and Khalid: "Orientalism in Russia," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 1, 4 (Fall 2000): 691–727. For the evolution of Russia as a "European" empire, see Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, vol. 1 and Mark Bassin, "Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space," *Slavic Review*, 50, 1 (Spring 1991): 1–17; see also Jeff Sahadeo, "Creating a Russian Colonial Community: City, Nation, and Empire in Tashkent, 1865–1923" (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois at

Urbana-Champaign, 2000). Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe: The Kazakhs of the Middle Horde and Russian Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001).

The following authors should be mentioned among the authors of modern educational manuals for students dedicated to such courses as "History of Kazakh Journalism," "Foreign Journalism," "History of Local Publicists": S. K. Kozybaev, G. Zh. Ibraeva, B. O. Zhakyp, A. V. Rozhkov and L. P. Noda. Each of them has its own peculiarities and corresponds to the goals set in every specific case.

This educational manual, in contrast to the listed editions, is fully dedicated to the process of studying Kazakhstan in the USA, complex research of ideas, stereotypes and mode of thinking which have formed about Kazakh people abroad.

The educational manual consists of three chapters. Each chapter contains test questions for students, list of sources (publications of Western authors) and recommended (analytical) literature for deeper acquaintance with the research topic.

In the Appendix the reader will find course tasks, as well as examples of topics for reports, presentations and course works. List of recommended literature dedicated to the whole course, is placed at the end of the educational manual.

## Chapter 1

# MAIN STAGES AND DIRECTIONS FOR STUDYING KAZAKHSTAN IN THE USA

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### 1.1 LITERATURE AND SOURCES ABOUT KAZAKHSTAN IN THE SECOND HALF OF 19<sup>TH</sup> – BEGINNING OF 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

Plenty of historic and literature materials about Kazakhstan have accumulated for many centuries, and especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Collecting, systematizing and researching the accumulated material contributes to revealing one of the facets of spiritual mutual inter-exchange, mutual communication of nations with peculiar history and literature connections.

Notes of the travelers, who visited Asian countries for various purposes, including traders, missionaries and diplomats, confirm that Americans were aware of the existence of Kazakh nation since ancient times; and in the late centuries the USA knew about it from descriptions in scientific books and literature works. However, even though those messages about our country had certain historic and cognitive importance (in their scale, content, character and authenticity), they still cannot be compared to the texts written about Kazakhstan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it had voluntarily joined Russia causing a dramatic change in multi-century development of these nomadic nation and created basis for the commonwealth with Russian and other nations.

Being separated from each other both territorially and by typological peculiarities of their cultures, Western countries and Kazakhstan got to know each other through a variety of mediation forms involving Russia.

The process of studying Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century was marked by formation and establishment of ethnography, history and other branches of human knowledge

into as separate scientific disciplines. As V. Bartold concluded: "In the sphere of language studies, history and ethnography only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century scientists have elaborated those methods, which allowed these branches obtaining character of scientific disciplines for the first time"<sup>1</sup>. Previously ethnography was viewed as predominantly a natural science and was closely tied to typology, general science about humans, and in English speaking countries it was called ethnology. In the 60<sup>th</sup>-70<sup>th</sup> it has "stood on its feet," developed general concepts conceptualizing facts of material and spiritual culture, as well as everyday life of nations. Scientific ethnographical and anthropological societies appear during this period. One of such organizations in "American Ethnological Society" which has formed in New York (the USA) in 1842.

Western literature has accumulated various factual materials about social and economic development of pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan. These accumulated historic, ethnographic, geographic materials about Central Asia and Kazakhstan required systematization, comprehension and generalization, as well as bringing them into scientific circulation. Scientists began matching geographic features of separate parts of this material against lifestyle of population revealing the meaning of geographic factor, as a "main reason" defining fate of separate countries and nations. Many historians and ethnographers, being inspired by successes of natural sciences, have spread the idea of evolution to human society development, applying methods and principles of natural sciences to studying national history and culture. Historians and ethnographers, as representatives of natural sciences, adhered to the following: the idea of human kind unity and originating from it principle of uniform cultural development; the standing about single line of its development – from simple to complex; derived laws of public organizational structure and culture from individual psychic features.

Separate representatives of evolutionary direction looked at these ideas at different angles.

Number of historic works have appeared in the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century attracting researchers' attention. They include two editions by

<sup>1</sup> V. Bartold. *Studying Eastern History in Europe and Russia*. –2-nd ed., 1925. – P. 126.

a notable American linguist Dj. Carten "Journey to the Western Siberia"; essays of American poet, novelist and traveler Bayard Taylor. The latter has accepted a diplomatic post in Russia intending not only earning a "bunch of money," but also studying Central Asia. However, only American diplomat Eugene Skiller and New York Herald newspaper correspondent Y. MacGahan succeeded in this, having become eyewitnesses of final actions of the Russian troops aimed at "joining" Central Asian khanates. They have departed to Saint-Petersburg in a company of Chingiz – older son of the last khan of Bukey Orda. According to E. Skiller, he was a "cultural gentleman, with deep knowledge of French literature."

On the way, the American diplomat has turned to Tashkent intending to "describe political and social situation in the regions which had been recently conquered by Russia; make a comparison of living conditions of local residents with those who were still living under the khans' despotism." Skiller had spent eight month in Central Asian and Kazakhstan having written two-volume labor "Turkestan"; and MacGahan has described "Campaigning on the Oxus, and the Fall of Khiva"<sup>2</sup>. They cover a broad circle of problems connected with history and ethnography of regional population, colonial policy of Tsarism in Kazakh steps, its economics and nature.

In 1876 Eugene Skiller gave a true description of the situation in Kazakhstan: "These people have stood for their clans or families protecting their honor and safety of members. At the same time they were respecting bravery, attacks, courage and loving their independence; Kazakhs have always been ready to follow any "Batyr's" or hero's flags, which might have appeared in steppes, like they followed Sarim Arungazi or Kenesari..."

"I found him sitting in an open tent, wrapped up in a Bokharan khalat, or gown, taking tea, and smoking a cigarette. A man between forty-five and fifty, bald, and rather small of stature for a Russian, blue eyes, moustache, no beard, and a pleasant, kindly expression of countenance..." – this is how American Journalist Januarius MacGahan describes a Russian General, who headed military actions of the Impe-

<sup>2</sup> Januarius Aloysius MacGahan. *Campaigning on the Oxus and the Fall of Khiva*. New York, 1874.

rial Army in Central Asia<sup>3</sup>. Konstantin P. Kaufman was a progressive and educated person who felt sympathy for advanced ideas of his time.

MacGahan was one of the first foreign journalists to see vast lands of Central Asia. Population consisted of local tribes which were not aware of the Russian laws and didn't know Russian language. But in spite of this, all official papers and documents were written only in Russian. American journalist continued his impressions as follows: "He shook hands with me, asked me to sit down, and then remarked that I appeared to be something of a mohdyetz (a brave fellow), and asked me, with a smile, if I knew what that meant<sup>4</sup>. Really, General Kaufmann knew that American, sitting in front of him, reached the place of military actions without an official permission from the Imperial authorities in Petersburg. MacGahan appeared in Petersburg in the first half of February 1873. As a journalist of an American newspaper he asked permission of the Russian Government to accompany one of the troops going against Khiva. Having found out that many foreign correspondents were refused in their request to participate in Central Asian march of the Russian army, MacGahan consulted the American Consul Eugene Skiller, who had an official permission and accompanied military and state official Gabaydulla Djangirov, decided to join them. 35-year-old MacGahan, as military men who met him in the steppes, described him as a very strong, who knew English, French and German language, but did not know neither Russian, nor the languages of the people whose lands he planned to cross heading towards the set goal. He had only passport allowing him to live in Russia. With this passport and a condition to meet Skiller and Djangirov in Kazalinsk on March 10<sup>th</sup>, he takes a train to Petersburg and soon appears in Saratov. In order to get to Kazalinsk, the American now needed to change transportation means from an "arba" (fire carriage) – how Kazakhs called steam engine and carriages at that time – to a "steppes' vessel" – camel. Way to Kazalinsk took MacGahan many days since weather was changing abruptly and, beginning from Orsk the traveler continued his trip in foul weather. The American arrived to Kazalinsk only on April 8<sup>th</sup> where he met with Skiller and Djangirov. They were

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. P. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. P. 48.

staying all together in this area until April 30<sup>th</sup>. In Perovsk MacGahan parted with his compatriot, who headed off to Tashkent with Djangirov. To Kazalinsk and Perovsk MacGahan was accompanied by a state servant Akhmatov having been recommended by Orenburg's official Bekchurin. The American didn't find fifty-five-year-old Tatarian Akhmatov from Orenburg to a very nice person even though he knew Russian and talked all "Central Asian dialects." MacGahan didn't like that his companion was lazy and got extremely drunk at the first opportunity. From Kazalinsk to Perovsk MacGahan was accompanied by a Kara-Kalpak Musatirov and a Kazakh teenage boy who helped to carry his belongings. The journalist had a whole arsenal of weapons: heavy English double-barreled rifle, double-barreled hunting rifle, Winchester rifle, three revolvers, one regular rifle, several hunting knives and sabers. The route of the American is worse paying attention to: Erkebay – current Kazalinsk, then Perovsk, currently – Kyzylorda town, where MacGahan had lunch with a glass of red wine, said farewell to his companions heading off to Tashkent. In Hal-Ata MacGahan met military posts and began getting acquainted with representatives of the imperial army. In these torrid steppes he met General fon Kaurman; Colonel Veysmar was attached to him. In Adam Kirilgan Kudik locality the American was speaking with Colonel Novomlinskiy and Baron Croff – officer of the 3<sup>rd</sup> rifle battalion. On August 28<sup>th</sup> MacGahan joins General Golovachev's detachment whose people accompany him to "Samarkand" steamboat sailing along the Amu-Daria River. In his notes the journalist mentioned sympathetic attitude to him from the side of captain Sitnikov. According to the notes of the American journalist, military officials tried sending the unwilling guests away from the center of military actions. His observations concerning life of Kazakh auls in ethnological regards are of special interest for us. In one episode of his travel essays MacGahan describes the following case: "Our supper over, I asked my young friend for some music, pointing at the same time to the guitar (the traveler called dombra guitar and, according to the deep-rooted habit Kazakhs – Kyrgyzs). He complied very readily, and sung three or four songs, accompanying himself on the instrument. One or two of the songs were hailed with shouts of laughter and merriment. He also sung one or two war songs, in which he celebrated the feats of some Kirghiz hero against

the Turcomans, and these also were greeted with applause. The guitar was a small instrument, with a body in shape something like a pear cut in two lengthwise, and about a foot long, while the neck was three feet. It was made of some dark wood resembling walnut, and had one brass and two catgut strings. The airs of the songs would, I think, have been pretty, though very peculiar, but for the shrill high key and disagreeable long nasal whine in which they were sung. This manner of singing is universal in Central Asia; I remarked the same thing at Khiva, and among the Bokhariots who accompanied the Russian expedition. This, however, did not prevent the singing from being very amusing, and, taken together with the surroundings, very interesting. The place, the wide desert without, the cheerful fire within, throwing a ruddy light over the wild faces and strange costumes, the arms, saddles, bridles, and accoutrements, and the two young girls with their wild beauty, made up a very pretty picture<sup>5</sup>.

Reading these lines of the American journalist, we find out that our forefathers had three-stringed music instruments, where one string of such *dombra* was made of copper. MacGahan's travel essays contain very interesting observations which precisely underline some peculiarities of the nomads' psychology and mentality. "I would here remark that my sojourn with the Kirghiz left a most favourable impression upon me. I have always found them kind, hospitable, and honest. I spent a whole month amongst them; travelling with them, eating with them, and sleeping in their tents. And I had along with me all this time horses, arms, and equipments, which would be to them a prize of considerable value. Yet never did I meet anything but kindness; I never lost a pin's worth; and often a Kirghiz has galloped four or five miles after me to restore some little thing I had left behind. Why talk of the necessity of civilising such people? What is the good of discussing, as Mr. Yamberry does, the comparative merits of Russian and English civilisation for them? The Kirghiz possess to a remarkable degree the qualities of honesty, virtue, and hospitality – virtues which our civilisation seems to have a remarkable power of extinguishing among primitive people. I should be sorry indeed ever to see these simple, happy people inoculated with our civilisation and its attendant vices."

<sup>5</sup> S. Satayeva. *Journalist without a Visa (about MacGahan's Trip to Kazakh Steppes)* // Thought. – 2000. – No 8-9. – P.70-72 (in Russian).

MacGahan in his notes mentions one of Kazakh customs: "In case the husband dies, it is the custom, as in the old Jewish dispensation, for his brother, if he have one, to marry the widow - a custom which probably arose from a desire to keep the property in the family." Of course, there is no sense to ruminate over Jewish laws here; however, MacGahan obviously, due to his difficulties in communication with Kazakhs, and moreover with Kazakh women, couldn't fully understand the wisdom of this harsh law when, in the majority of cases, its observation followed just one goal – not to leave children without a father. Their native person became their father and they didn't have to get used to alien people and unfamiliar environment – this was a true reason and wisdom of this custom. In connection with this, MacGahan mentions a lyrical narrative about relationships of *dzhigit Bolat* and his girlfriend *Minayim* from the family of *Togalaks*. They were brought together from the cradle and girl's father *Eszhan* received a ransom for the bride to be paid for his daughter. After their wedding the *dzhigit* has suddenly died and his younger brother *Suluk* wanted to inherit his brother's wife intending to marry *Minayim*. But *Minayim* didn't want to marry *Suluk* since she liked a *dzhigit* from another *Aul* called *Azim*. Older women in the *aul*, who, being young girls, have experienced all misfortunes of these customs which have not always matched the dictate of hearts, had beaten *Minayim* up. *Suluk* even tried tying her to a horse tail and let it run into the steppes; then he, even more severely than old women, had beaten her up. However, *Minayim* didn't give up. This tragic case reached "Zharim-Patsha" (Kazakhs called a General Governor "half of the Tsar"), General *fou Kaufmann*. Upon his order *Suluk* was sued and sent to "Itzhekken" i.e. to Siberia. *Minayim*, who had found protection from the side of Tsar's General, recovered and married *Azim*. MacGahan retold this steppes' elegy in his travel notes.

In 1830 the USA occupied a second place in the world in cotton production (after England). They were seeking for markets in the Eastern countries, in particular, on Kazakhstan's territory. Charles Massa, native of the Kentucky state, was developing the issues of US economic expansion to Kazakhstan and Central Asia<sup>6</sup>. Almost simul-

<sup>6</sup> N. Halfin. *American Penetration into India and Afghanistan in the First Half of the XIX c.* // *Zvezda Vostoka*. - 1952. - No 11. - P. 84 (in Russian).

taneously with him, American Djosia Harlan, whose literature works were published in London in 1939 under the title "Middle Asia," revealed interest to this region.

The book by English artist and traveler Thomas Whitlam Atkinson stands out among similar works having appeared in England and partially in the USA in 30<sup>th</sup>-40<sup>th</sup> of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1848 Atkinson together with his wife travelled from Petersburg across Kazakhstan and Siberia to the Altay mountains which took him seven years. According to T. Atkinson, he began thinking about this trip after A. Gumbold's remark regarding numerous geographic, ethnographic and other issues to be resolved inside of Asia. During 1849 Atkinson visited Karatau, Zailiyskiy Alatau, Aktau and Mustau regions having reached Kopal lying underneath Zailiyskiy Alatau – at that time it was the extreme Russian outpost on the South. Thorough (for this times) description of Eastern oblasts of Kazakhstan, their dwellers, relationships between separate heads of families, sultans and imperial authorities, lifestyle of Kazakh auls and Cossack villages was given in this book. Sketches of domestic scenes make the book quite interesting in ethnographic regards. Upon returning to London, Atkinson's wife issued her own book of memories.

US historiographical works pay significant attention to studying various aspects of colonial policy of Tsarism in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In 1867 David Mackenzie in his article "Kaufman of Turkestan: An Assessment of His Administration in 1867-1881" having been published in "Slavyanskoe Obozrenie" criticized some conclusions of E. Skiller regarding colonial administration in Central Asia. In this connection, another American historian Franc Siskou published his article entitled "Eugene Skiller, General Kaufmann and Central Asia" in which he accused D. Mackenzie of "undermining Skiller's authority, one of the most talented American diplomats of that period." He extolled scientific level of Skiller's labor. Denying D. Mackenzie's arguments about short-term presence of E. Skiller in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, F. Siskou (based on archival data stored in the USA) wrote that E. Skiller was interested in newly acquired lands in Russia in 1868. To confirm his thoughts, F. Siskou brought words of some American officials, opinions of Western European press and abstracts from E. Skiller's correspondence having been stored in the US Library

of Congress. According to F. Siskou, bias of Mackenzie's article was justified by the fact that he used only certain sources, for example material published in "Golos" and other Russian newspapers, which used to criticize Skiller's data. In his response article published in the same edition of "Slavyanskot Obozrenie," D. Mackenzie hasn't denied that E. Skiller was "obviously, talented and diligent American and his book "Turkestan" contains rich and precious material about the region, its population and Russian impact on Central Asia." However, As Mackenzie noted, E. Skiller was disoriented by Kaufmann's enemies who had envied his "prestige and independent authority"; the majority of E. Skiller's materials are taken from doubtful and inauthentic sources, as well as from the chronicles of "Kaufmann's bitterest enemy" – General M.G. Cherniyev. Referring to these and other information, D. Mackenzie came to conclusion that E. Skiller's descriptions are "far from being completely true."

Western historiography acknowledges that Trarizm resettlement policy had grave consequences for the main Kazakh economic industry – nomadic cattle breeding; methods and reasons of colonization, its role in consolidation and establishment of the "Russian power" in Kazakhstan were subject to analysis. According to R. Pears, S. Zenkovskiy and other Western historians, construction of towns and fortresses, fortified barriers, even Cossacks, who have settled down on the territory of Kazakhstan, have not guaranteed stability of "Russian rule" in this region. Therefore state, military interests, goals of final establishment of the "Russian power" required colonization of Kazakhstan by a representative part of Russian society. However, R. Pears mentions as the reasons for resentment tightness of lands in Russia and Tsarism's striving to weaken agrarian tension in the center having created a bearing in the steppes. Works of D. Williams, V. Lezar and R. Luice contain information about the quantity of Ural and Semirechie Cossacks, cover the course of resettlement movement, creation of resettlement administration, expropriation of the most fruitful Kazakh lands and other issues. Reporting data about the flow of migrants into other Kazakhstani regions, S. Zenkovskiy asserted that they were provided with the most fruitful lands in climatically most favorable regions without taking into consideration nomadic routes of Kazakh auls. "Inevitable results of steppes' colonization was tension which had ap-