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**HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ADAPTATION  
OF GERMANS IN KAZAKHSTAN IN THE 2ND HALF OF THE XIX – EARLY  
XX CENTURIES**

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**Abstract. Introduction.** The article examines the stages of resettlement and adaptation of Germans in Kazakhstan during the second half of the XIXth and early XXth centuries, which turned into a stable component of the demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, showing an example of the successful readaptation of an ethnic group in a foreign cultural environment. *Goals and objectives.* To consider in detail the stages of resettlement and the number of migrants, describe the types of adaptation: economic, social, cultural. When writing the article, general scientific methods (analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction), and the comparative historical method were used. *Results.* The process of creating settlements is discussed as a necessary condition for collective adaptation to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan. We consider household adaptation, which involves the construction of dwellings adapted to the natural and climatic conditions of Kazakhstan. The process of adaptation of farming to local climatic conditions using three-field and fallow systems and the gradual dominance of cattle breeding, which for centuries was the guarantor of the survival of the local Kazakh population, is shown. The socio-cultural relationships of immigrants with representatives of other ethnic groups are especially highlighted. *Conclusions.* The German diaspora of Kazakhstan in the process of its formation in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries has become a stable component of the demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, setting an example of the successful



adaptation of an ethnic group in a foreign cultural environment. The materials are of practical value, since the use of this experience by the government will undoubtedly become the basis for practical application in the sphere of creating an atmosphere of interethnic harmony.

**Keywords:** Adaptation, Kazakhstan, Steppe region, tsarism, migration, ethnic group, Mennonites, Lutherans, Baptists

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## XIX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ 2 ЖАРТЫСЫ МЕН XX ҒАСЫР БАСЫНДАҒЫ НЕМІСТЕРДІҢ ҚАЗАҚСТАНДА ЭКОНОМИКАЛЫҚ ЖӘНЕ МӘДЕНИ БЕЙІМДІЛУІНІҢ ТАРИХИ АСПЕКТІЛЕРІ

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**Аңдатпа.** *Kіріспе.* Мақалада XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысы мен XX ғасырдың басындағы немістердің Қазақстанға қоныс аудару кезеңдері мен бейімделу үдерісі қарастырылады. Неміс диаспорасы этникалық топтың шетелдік мәдени ортаға сәтті қайта бейімделуінің үлгісін көрсетіп, республиканың демографиялық, әлеуметтік-экономикалық, саяси және мәдени өмірінің тұрақты құрамдас бөлігіне айналды. *Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Қоныс аудару кезеңдерін және қоныс аударушылардың санын зерттеп, экономикалық, әлеуметтік, мәдени бейімделу түрлерін сипаттау. Мақаланы жазу кезінде жалпы ғылыми әдістер (анализ және синтез, индукция және дедукция), салыстырмалы тарихи әдіс қолданылды. *Нәтижелер.* Елді мекендерді тұрғызу үрдісі Қазақстанның табиғи-климаттық жағдайларына ұжымдық бейімделудің қажетті шарты ретінде талқыланды. Қазақстанның табиғи-климаттық жағдайларына бейімделген тұрғын үйлерді салуды көздейтін тұрмыстық бейімделу қарастырылды. Үш танапты және тыңайған жүйелерді пайдалана отырып егіншіліктің жергілікті климаттық жағдайға бейімделу үрдісі және ғасырлар бойы жергілікті қазақ халқының өмір сүруінің кепілі болған мал шаруашылығының біртіндеп үстемдігі көрсетілген. Қоныс аударушылардың басқа этнос өкілдерімен әлеуметтік-мәдени қарым-қатынасы ерекше атап өтілді. *Қорытынды.* Қазақстанның неміс диаспорасы XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысы мен XX ғасырдың басындағы қалыптасу үрдісі барысында этностың өзге мәдени ортаға сәтті бейімделуінің үлгісін көрсете отырып, республиканың демографиялық, әлеуметтік-экономикалық, саяси және мәдени өмірінің тұрақты құрамдас бөлігіне айналды.


Материалдардың практикалық маңызы бар, себебі үкіметтің бұл тәжірибені пайдалануы ұлтаралық келісім қалыптастыру саласында іс жүзінде қолдануға негіз болатыны сөзсіз.


**Түйін сөздер:** Бейімделу, Қазақстан, Дала өлкесі, патшалық, көші-қон, этникалық топ, меннониттер, лютерандар, баптистер


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## ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЕ АСПЕКТЫ ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОЙ И КУЛЬТУРНОЙ АДАПТАЦИИ НЕМЦЕВ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ ВО 2 ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX – НАЧАЛЕ XX ВВ.

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**Аннотация.** *Введение.* Статья освящает этапы переселения и адаптации немцев в Казахстане в период второй половины XIX – начале XX вв., которые стали стабильным компонентом демографической, социально-экономической, политической и культурной жизни республики, примером успешной реадаптации этноса в инокультурной среде. *Цель и задачи исследования.* Подробно рассмотреть этапы переселения и численность переселенцев, описать типы адаптации: хозяйственной, социальной, культурной. При написании статьи были использованы общенаучные методы (анализ и синтез, индукция и дедукция), сравнительно-исторический метод. *Результаты.* Освещен процесс создания населенных пунктов как необходимого условия коллективного приспособления к природно-климатическим условиям Казахстана. Рассмотрен бытовая адаптация, которая предусматривает строительство жилищ, приспособленных к природно-климатическим условиям Казахстана. Показан процесс приспособления занятия земледелием к местным климатическим условиям с применением трехпольной и переложной систем и постепенное доминирование скотоводства, которая на протяжении столетий была гарантом выживания местного казахского населения. Особо выделены социально-культурные взаимоотношения переселенцев с представителями других этнических групп. *Заключение.* Немецкая диаспора Казахстана в процессе своего становления во второй половине XIX – начале XX вв. стала стабильным компонентом демографической, социально-экономической, политической и культурной жизни республики, примером успешной адаптации этноса в инокультурной среде. Материалы представляют практическую ценность, так как применение этого опыта правительством несомненно станет основой для практического применения в сфере создания атмосферы межэтнического согласия.

**Ключевые слова.** Адаптация, Казахстан, Степной край, царизм, миграция, этнос, менониты, лютеране, баптисты

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### **Introduction**

Since gaining independence in 1991, Kazakhstan has been faced with the task of building a stable, multi-ethnic society. The young republic faced many problems, including the preservation of inter-ethnic harmony in the republic. Although over 30 years of independence it has been possible to maintain stability in relations between ethnic groups, this area will always be one of the important strategic directions in the country's internal policy. In our opinion, the use of the unique experience of adaptation of the Germans of Kazakhstan, which occurred since the annexation of the region to the Russian Empire, as a result of the active resettlement policy of tsarism, will play an important role in its solution.

Despite numerous works on the resettlement policy of tsarism in Kazakhstan in the 19th and early 20th centuries, researchers have not sufficiently illuminated the problem of adaptation of the Germans, although this aspect is an important part of this problem. The German population demonstrated the most successful experience of economic, social and cultural adaptation in a foreign ethnic environment. Undoubtedly, this process played a big role in the process of sustainable development of Kazakhstan, in the field of inter-ethnic relations in subsequent periods of development. The study of this experience will undoubtedly influence government policy in the field of inter-ethnic relations.

### **Materials and methods**

When conducting the research and writing the article, the authors relied on the comparative historical method, which allows them to reconstruct the stages of the ethnic history of the Germans in Kazakhstan. A historical and typological comparison, in turn, makes it possible to identify the general and special, the main patterns in the process of formation and change in the ethnic and religious composition of Kazakh Germans at this stage of historical development. The work used another approach to study the structure of the ethnic and religious composition of the German population of Kazakhstan – classification by places of origin, ethnicity and religious affiliation. The use of quantitative methods in work, in particular the statistical method, is focused on the generalization and analysis of quantitative data, statistical material, and information processing. In the course of studying the presented problem, works and documents were used, having studied which they were able to trace the processes of resettlement and accommodation of Germans on the territory of Kazakhstan. Important sources for us were archival materials published in various collections of documents, as well as Internet resources, where there is a large layer of information about this problem. We also used the method of analogy, which requires establishing similarities in certain aspects, properties and relationships between non-identical objects of study, on the basis of which we made the corresponding conclusion – an inference by analogy. In addition, the method of induction and deduction allowed us to evaluate the findings. Bibliometric quantitative methods were also used, with the help of which the structure, dynamics and relationships of various phenomena in the field of library, information and documentation activities are studied. Bibliometric methods include the method of counting the number of publications, the method of analyzing literature citations (“citation index”), thesaurus, and content analysis.

### **Discussion**

Sources on the history of adaptation and accommodation of Germans in Kazakhstan in the pre-revolutionary period are presented by several groups.

These include materials of the Resettlement Administration – plans and reports, reviews and



reference publications (books), journals of meetings and commissions, audit materials. For the most part, they are involved in scientific circulation by domestic and foreign scientists, becoming the subject of special or general research.

This includes numerous statistical materials. Among this group, we can highlight the materials of the First General Census of the Russian Empire in 1897, which contains the first official information on the number of main ethnic groups living on the territory of Kazakhstan, including Germans (Tavadov, 2002: 215).

Numerous works by researchers contain reviews of the life activities of the Germans of Kazakhstan, provide numerical data, and analyze their socio-economic situation.

I.V. Erofeeva examines migration processes among Kazakh Germans, including types of migration of Germans in the pre-revolutionary period (Erofeeva, 1998: 173).

V.E. Krieger and L.A. Burgart explores the socio-economic development of the German settler village of Kazakhstan in the XIX – early XX centuries (Krieger, 1991:51), (Burgart, 2005: 201).

P.P. Wiebe examines the process of adaptation of German colonists in the Akmola and Semipalatinsk regions during the specified period (Wiebe, 1998: 134)

Kh. Ermukhanova, A. Bekseitova in their research provides information about the history of the population, quantitative data, characteristics, language and culture of ethnic groups. The researcher pays special attention to the historical stages of settlement of ethnic groups on Kazakh land and the level of ethnocultural development. In his article, the author conducts a comparative analysis of research and data on demographic changes, ethnic history and culture of ethnic groups, and their location in the country (Bekseitova, 2022: 31–40).

N.A. Abuov, Z.K. Kartova, based on the historical processes of migration and deportation, examined the features of the adaptation of Germans to Kazakhstan, the features of their ethnic identity (Abuov, Kartova, 2024: 31–40).

Yu.I. Podoprigora, N.D. Nikiforov studied the socio-economic situation of the Germans in northeastern Kazakhstan (Podoprigora, 2010: 16); (Nikiforov, 1998: 43).

A modern study of German migrants from the European part of Russia to Kazakhstan is included in the general work “History of Kazakhstan from ancient times to the present day” (History of Kazakhstan from ancient times to the present day. Almaty, 2000).

The types of migration of Germans to the region during this period were identified by M.K. Lyubakovskiy (Lyubavskiy M, 1996: 250).

A.I. Klibanov wrote a seminal work on religious sectarianism among Germans in Russia and Kazakhstan, including Baptism (Klibanov, 1965:344).

In Germany, the works of R. Karsten, G-A Riek, D. Brandes, M. Busch, K. Pavlovic are devoted to the issues of ethnic identity of Germans from post-Soviet countries (Karsten, 2003: 443), (Riek, 1999: 185), (Brandes, Busch, Pavlovic, 1994: 370).

When researching this topic, materials from the archives of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as unpublished materials from the archives of Pavlodar, Karaganda, and Kostanay regions were used.

## Results

If until the end of the XIX century the resettlement of Germans to the territory of the Steppe Territory and Turkestan was episodic, then the resettlement of German agricultural migrants in the region of Turkestan and the Steppe Territory at the end of the XIX – early XX century marked the beginning of the formation of the modern area of settlement of Germans in Kazakhstan. This stage of the formation of the German population of the region took place in the process of general peasant agrarian migration to the Asian part of the Russian Empire. By 1917, more than 18% of agricultural migrants of various ethnic groups moved to the territory of the Turkestan Territory and the Steppe regions (Wiebe, 1998: 19–31).

The government created new settlements from among the peasant migrants, as it sought to create “new economic centers producing grain products” by resettling peasants from internal provinces and Cossacks from Siberia and the Orenburg region (Umarov et al., 2022: 1093–1101).

Before the First World War, 38.500 – 39.000 Germans lived in the regions of the Steppe Territory and Turkestan, which accounted for 0.7% of the total population of the region in question. Most of the settlers lived in rural settlements; no more than 1.7 thousand Germans lived in cities (Alekseenko, 1998: 205–209).

A feature of this process was the formation of compact resettlement settlements, isolated from the foreign ethnic and religious environment. The settlers formed compact resettlement settlements along strictly confessional lines (Lutherans, Baptists, Mennonites, Catholics). In this way, the Germans tried to preserve their culture, language, traditions and religious identity.

The main problem for the Germans was socio-cultural adaptation in a foreign ethnic society.

The Germans were characterized by high commitment to their ethnic group. They had a clearly defined identity. The distinctive features of German villages were stable economic development and cultural and religious isolation. The main reason for this phenomenon was the attempt to preserve their ethnic identity, culture and language.

The German population of Kazakhstan was forced to learn Russian as a guarantee of study and advancement on the social ladder. According to the First General Population Census of 1897 of the Russian Empire, 36.5% of Germans were literate “in Russian” (Alekseenko, 1998: 205–209).

The Germans tried to open national schools in their localities to preserve language and culture. Baptists and Mennonites created a number of Sunday schools in Kazakhstan, as well as schools where they taught the law of God, the Russian language, German, brief history and geography (CSA RK. F. 369. I. 1. C. 3097. P. 4. Vol. 54).

The settlers used their own funds to build classrooms, buy educational supplies, and invite teachers, representatives of their ethnic group, from other regions of the Russian Empire.

In the state archive of the Pavlodar region, documents of the teacher of the elementary German school Abram Abramovich Klassen, a native of the Tauride district of the Ekaterinoslav province of modern Ukraine, have been preserved (SAPR. F. 1533. I. 1. C. 31. P. 1 and rev.).

According to the book of record No. 4 of comments on the audit of office work and accounting by the commanders of the Dolinsky volost government of the Akmola district on June 27, 1912, the following data are provided:

"In the village There are Germans living in Dolinsk, people from the Samara and Volyn provinces, who stubbornly refuse to speak Russian. The foreman also cannot speak, and some of the judges cannot speak either. There was a German school in the village...

Akmola Governor Nevirov

Litter: True with authenticity. Peasant and Foreign Head of the 5th section of Akmola district (CSA RK. F. 369. I. 1. C. 9515. P. 18. Vol. 18 copy)

The Germans of Kazakhstan tried to preserve religious communities as guarantors of the preservation of national identity in a foreign cultural environment. Researchers quite rightly consider the religious community as the organizing center of economic, judicial, everyday life, moral and ethical relations and the religious life of the population”, as “the center of the religious and socio-cultural life of German resettlement settlements” (Nikiforov, 1998: 36 – 43).

Yu.I. Podoprighora notes: “The traditional isolation of German settlements, ethnic and linguistic isolation from the surrounding local population, and the endogamous barrier contributed to the preservation of many components of the spiritual culture of the Germans. First of all, religion and religious practice (rituals, customs)” (Podoprighora, 2010:47).

Individual cases speak of the deep reasons for the change of religion. For example, Taisiya Sustavova writes that she has become convinced of the truth of the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and therefore is leaving Orthodoxy, alone from her entire family (CSA RK. F. 369. I. 1. C. 2956. Pp. 53, 57).

There were cases of Germans converting from Christianity to Islam. The transition to Islam occurred for pragmatic reasons, mainly by Christian women who married Kazakhs and Tatars.

Thus, Maria Burutskaya, a Catholic, lived among Muslims who provided her with “a lot of services in difficult times and spiritual support.” She writes: “I have now quite consciously come to an unshakable desire to accept Mohammedanism. At present, I consider it impossible to remain in an

uncertain, extremely difficult position any longer, because, although officially considered a Roman Catholic, in reality I am a true Muslim.” (CSA RK. F. 369. I. 1. C. 2957. Pp. 730, 734, 942, 948).

One of the peasants (last name illegible) from Novorybinsky, Alekseevsky volost, Akmola district, stated that he wanted “out of his personal conviction to convert to Mohammedanism, that is, to convert to Islam and move to permanent residence in one of the villages of the Karabulak volost, Akmola district,” adding that his ancestors never belonged to Muslims (CSA RK. F. 369. I. 1. C. 2956. Pp. 109, 118).

Thus, 19-year-old Efimiya Galster, a German, from the village of Poludenskoye, Petropavlovsk district, Akmola region, in 1915 submitted a petition to the Akmola governor to leave the Lutheran religion. She wrote: “At my own request and without coercion from others, I wish to marry a Kirghiz (Kazakh) Jaldas Akshabayev. I humbly ask you to allow me to convert to Mohammedanism and to protect me from the violence and threats of my father Karl Galster, who is preventing my transition to Mohammedanism and marriage with Akshabayev.” (CSA RK. F. 369. I. 1. C. 2956. Pp. 594, 25).

The attitude of the steppe inhabitants towards the Germans was generally good. They earned the respect of the local population for their hard work, lack of conflict and respect for the traditions and customs of the Kazakhs. The Germans adopted livestock husbandry skills from the Kazakhs, especially horse breeding. In turn, the Kazakhs and Russians borrowed a lot from the Germans in the methods of rational housekeeping and home improvement. The Kazakhs of the northern regions have a saying that is respectful towards the Germans: “If you want to live in abundance, marry a German woman.” German women, marrying Kazakh men, strictly observed the folk traditions of the Kazakhs. The Germans have become reliable social partners for the Kazakhs (Burgart, 2010: 40–43).

The most successful adaptation was demonstrated by Mennonites and Baptists.

Already at the beginning of the 19th century. A developed network of social institutions developed in the settlements, which remained virtually unchanged in the first years of Soviet power. In almost every settlement, Mennonites created such public funds as volost mutual aid funds, mutual fire insurance societies, mutual insurance funds for livestock against theft and death, orphan funds, and mutual accident insurance funds. Also, public sums were established that were spent on the needs of the community – the construction and repair of social institutions, salaries for teachers, clerks, for spiritual needs, etc. Pre-revolutionary authors mention other forms of assistance to the poor and simply examples of mutual assistance – for example, the owner of a cheese factory helped prepare cheese for those who did not have their own equipment. People were sent to work off state duties not by line or by lot, as was customary among Russian peasants, but by the one who was freest from work at the moment. The principle “the interests of society are above personal interests” was in effect (Geyer, 1892: 313–314).

Those who lost their ability to work were provided with various charitable assistance. The source of funds for this was a tax, which was established with the consent of all residents of the settlement. Money was also raised through voluntary donations and auctions. In a number of Mennonite volosts, nursing homes were opened for the terminally ill and elderly, which were maintained with public funds from the Mennonites.

Widespread horse theft in the steppe regions prompted the Mennonites to create a fund that distributes losses from thefts among Mennonite farms – mutual insurance funds for livestock against theft and death. Moreover, if a person received a reward for lost livestock from the district or provincial authorities, then this money still first went to the general treasury, and then the society paid the bonus in accordance with its internal rules. The funds of the cash desk consisted of insurance premiums, and if necessary, additional payments were made to the cash desk in proportion (Nazarova, 2019: 22–30).

The Germans who moved to Kazakhstan at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries brought with them not only the traditions of the German lands from which their ancestors came, but also the skills and economic skills that were formed in the European German colonies of the Russian Empire. Arable farming and livestock husbandry formed the basis of the traditional German economy. They had to adapt them to new natural and climatic conditions.

In the first decades of the 20th century in peasant farms, the main working animals were still



horses and bulls. One of the reasons for the predominance of horses as labor force in Russian and German peasant farms was due to the fact that the increase in arable land occurred at the expense of pastures and pastures. The lack of pastures deprived the oxen of pasture in the summer. This reason forced the peasants to have horses. Of course, maintaining a horse was more expensive, but one horse replaced a pair of oxen and was more suitable for various agricultural work (harrowing, threshing, etc.). In winter, straw served as the main feed for livestock. Hay was fed exclusively to horses, because... hay was a scarce feed, so the peasant began to feed his cattle with it only in the spring, because... Over the winter, the animal became weakened and unsuitable for plowing. Closer to spring, the food for working livestock was improved; bran and oats were added to the animals. The German population fed their livestock with “chatter” made from sunflower cake (Krieger, 1991: 54).

Crafts and handicrafts also occupied a prominent place in the daily life of German peasants. They became most widespread in the colonies from the middle of the 19th century. The seasonal nature of farming contributed to the development of handicrafts. Initially, home crafts met the needs of the artisans themselves; from the mid-19th century, crafts began to expand and took on the character of work for the market.

As the study showed, by the beginning of the twentieth century, German peasants developed a sustainable management practice, the basis of which was agriculture. It was agricultural labor that primarily determined their way of life. Cattle breeding also developed; but practically it was not of a commercial nature – people kept livestock for work in the fields and for family needs. Former colonists achieved relatively higher yields in comparison with their neighbors mainly through the use of modern tools (a plow instead of a plow, a harrow with a large number of teeth, a scythe instead of a sickle, a threshing stone instead of threshing chains, etc.) and more advanced and labor-intensive technologies (fertilizer application, seed cleaning, use of doll-selection machines, etc.). During the period under study, Russians and peasants of other ethnic groups actively borrowed German tools (for example, a plow); in some cases, reverse processes also took place (German peasants used Russian plows for plowing in inconvenient areas). The main commercial product of production among German peasants was wheat (as a rule, it occupied half or more of the sown area), the second most important cereal was rye (up to a third or more). The production of other cereals and industrial crops was dictated by the needs of the family, both internal and commercial. Vegetables and fruits, with the exception of potatoes and cabbage, were grown, as a rule, on personal plots (Krieger, 1991: 65).

The main agricultural crop of the Germans in the Steppe Territory and Turkestan was wheat, as well as oats, millet, barley, potatoes, legumes, and less often corn, flax and melons. In Turkestan, the Germans tried to grow mustard, anise and sweet sorghum (Bekmakhanova, 1986: 165).

If in the southern regions (for example, in the Aulie-Ata or Chimkent districts of the Syr-Darya region of the Turkestan Territory) climatic conditions allowed the Germans to effectively engage in farming on rain-fed lands, then in the Steppe Territory they had a more difficult time. The rather harsh natural and climatic conditions of the steppe zone (cold winters, frequent droughts in the summer), the acute issue of water supply (irrigation), lack of land for pastures, hayfields, watering places for livestock – these and other problems significantly complicated the adaptation of the economy and economic activities of the Germans to new living conditions. However, already 10–15 years after the resettlement, German farms became stronger, became exemplary and profitable in the regions (Burgart, 2003: 473–499).

The documents of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan provide information about the contribution of the Germans to the development of agriculture in the republic: “... with their inherent love of work, in a short time the Germans managed to organize an excellent cultural grain and cattle breeding economy and at the same time revive the dull landscape of the steppe with their wonderful garden colonies. Residential and outbuildings here are literally surrounded by greenery; many of them have planted fruit and berry gardens. For example, a beautiful garden belongs to citizen Pyotr Yakovlevich Kriker in Ravnopolye. His gooseberries have developed well - up to 500 bushes, there are “Antonovka” apple trees that can easily withstand the local harsh winter...” (AP RK. F. 140. I. 1. C. 55 P. 98).

In the German villages of both Turkestan and the Steppe Territory, the Germans were engaged not only in cattle breeding, pig breeding and sheep breeding, they also carried out extensive breeding work, bred new breeds of cattle and horses. At the beginning of the 20th century, in the Mennonite colonies of the Talas Valley, the Aulieata breed of cattle was developed and the horse breed was improved. According to the agricultural census of 1916, in the Pavlodar district in the Lutheran village of Rozovka, there were 777 heads of livestock, of which 228 were horses, 218 cattle, 29 sheeps, 302 pigs; and in the Mennonite village of Ravnopolskoye there were 493 heads of livestock, of which 178 were horses, 144 cattle, 4 goats and 167 pigs. While initially livestock farming in German farms played a supporting role, as did various crafts, by the mid-1920s in some German farms in the Semipalatinsk region, in particular in the village of Marienburg, Bel-Agach district, the percentage ratio between grain farming and livestock farming was 65 and 35% respectively. German, half-German and local breeds of cattle were represented in the village. In the southern regions of Kazakhstan, breeding horses and cattle began to have independent economic significance for many Germans: "some wealthy peasants, like Cornelius Jantzen Sr., Aaron Dick and Cornelius Wall, had significant herds of thoroughbred riding horses...improved cattle were sold throughout the Syrdarya region and beyond..." (Bekmakhanova, 1986:165).

German peasants were engaged in small craft production and trades. Many villages had forges, carpentry workshops, and mills. Within a short time, most German farms became highly productive, which was facilitated by the assistance of the mother colonies, as well as the practice of communal mutual assistance, the creation of cooperatives and partnerships. At the beginning of the twentieth century, both in the northeastern and southern regions of Kazakhstan, in addition to the production of dairy products in the homestead, the Germans had consumer cooperatives engaged in the processing of milk and the production of butter, various types of cheese, etc. For example, in 1909 in the village of Romanovka, the only creamery in the Turkestan region was opened, where there was also a cheese-making department. In 1912, in the German colonies of the Aulie-Ata district of the Syrdarya region, there were 4 cheese factories and 6 artisanal creameries; in the first half of the 1920s, various forms of cooperation were created in the Mennonite villages of Pavlodar district, which included the processing of meat and dairy products and the production of butter, cheese, and sausages (Erofeeva, 1998: 159–173).

The houses and outbuildings of the Germans in Kazakhstan, as in other regions of residence, have always differed from the settlements and dwellings of the surrounding population. There were such concepts as "German house", "German village, town". In this type of German housing, the traditions of all previous places of residence of Germans were preserved before their relocation to the territory of Kazakhstan. However, starting from the second half of the twentieth century, the differences between the type of German housing and the housing of the surrounding population gradually disappeared. There were significant differences only in the layout of the estate, house, exterior decoration, exterior decorations, as well as in interior details. Typically, a German village consisted of 2–3 streets, which were located from south to north, houses were built in a row. In the center of the village, in Mennonite villages, in particular, there was a prayer house and a school (often it was one building), and later (during the Soviet period) a club and a store (Wiebe, 1997: 19–30).

To adapt to the local climate, the Germans had to use local building materials to build houses. The first (temporary) dwellings of German settlers were dugouts. They dug a hole in the ground, laid out a wall 2–3 feet (60–90 cm) high from turf layers, left an opening for a window in front, a door in the back, and covered it with mown grass (Erofeeva, 1998: 159–173).

The Germans built their first permanent houses from adobe, raw brick and virgin soil. Adobe houses were less warm, but more durable than plastic houses. Thus, in the Pavlodar Mennonite village of Konstantinovka by 1922 there were 36 plaster and adobe houses (History and culture of the Germans of Kazakhstan, 2017: 56).

Very rarely, log houses were also built. For example, settlers in the village of Zabarovka, Pavlodar district, had a problem with building materials, since the city of Pavlodar was 100 km from the site, and there was no forest nearby: "...Abram Abramovich Unru bought a ready-made log house 6 x 6 m with delivery to the place... then he bought additional material and, in the end, built a house

6 x 10 m”<sup>166</sup>. In subsequent years, when brick became an accessible material, brick houses began to be built. In the German villages of the Kustanai district, the main building material was stone (History and culture of the Germans of Kazakhstan, 2017: 42).

The dimensions of the dwelling were 3 x 8 m, 4 x 10 m. The outside of the houses was coated with clay and whitewashed. The foundation was made of stone, and so was the cellar. At the center of the house was the kitchen, and at the center of the kitchen was the Dutch oven. The short side of the house with one window faced the street (to the west), the long side of the house with two windows and the entrance to the house was facing south. The barn was attached to the short side of the house facing east. On the contrary, a summer kitchen was built at home, with outbuildings adjacent to it. Inside the house, wall decorations included “shprukhi” (colorfully decorated religious sayings), clocks and family photographs. German women paid special attention to the appearance of the bed: making a bed beautifully using feather beds, pillows, bed linen with embroidery and lace was a special art. All German women knew how to embroider and cook.

The national cuisine of the Germans of Kazakhstan was greatly influenced by the food traditions of the surrounding peoples: “... from the Russians they learned to cook cabbage soup, prepare dumplings, pancakes and pies. During the years of exile in the republics of Central Asia, we learned to cook beshbarmak, pilaf, khe, bake boursaks and chak-chak. From the Ukrainians they adopted such dishes as borscht and over ten varieties of dumplings...” (Stanovich, 1973: 36).

Thus, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the most advanced and successful farms in the Kazakh region were the settlements in which the Germans lived. The history of their colonies is one of sustained prosperity. Growing prosperity thanks to efficient farming allowed the Germans to acquire their own industry. Water mills appeared in the settlements, which became a tool for flour production. The oil-processing industry, production of agricultural implements and wool also developed. The Germans founded tanneries. Their success story is impressive. The arrival of colonists gave impetus to the development of industrial weaving. Enterprises for the production of scarves and fabrics used high-quality European yarn from Saxony and Silesia, as well as silk from Italy.

### Conclusion

The German diaspora of Kazakhstan in the process of its development and formation in the 19th–20th centuries. has become a stable component of the demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural life of the republic, setting an example of the successful adaptation of an ethnic group in a foreign cultural environment.

Kazakh Germans showed an example of the active adaptation of ethnic groups (community) to the changed natural and socio-cultural environment, which is expressed in the adoption of norms and values of the new socio-ethnic environment (cultural-linguistic, economic-cultural, political, moral, everyday, etc.) , the forms of interethnic interaction that have developed here (formal and informal connections, style of behavior, family and neighborhood relations, etc.).

Thus, the Germans who moved to the territory of Kazakhstan were able to self-organize economically and in everyday life in a foreign cultural environment, and adapt to the dominant patterns of behavior that already existed in society. They did not lose their faith, way of life, preserving their national traits and language.

The practical application of this experience of adaptation and accommodation of Kazakh Germans by the government will undoubtedly become the basis for practical application in the sphere of creating an atmosphere of inter-ethnic harmony.

### Sources

- APRK — Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan
- SAPR — State Archive of Pavlodar Region
- SARF — State Archive of the Russian Federation
- RSHA — Russian State Historical Archive
- CSA RK — Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan



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АП РК — Архив Президента Республики Казахстан  
 ГАПО — Государственный архив Павлодарской области  
 ГАРФ — Государственный архив Российской Федерации  
 РГИА — Российский Государственный Исторический Архив  
 ЦГА РК — Центральный государственный архив Республики Казахстан

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