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FORMATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY OF ALMATY IN THE 19TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract. Introduction. The article examines the socio-demographic processes that have been taking place in the city of Almaty since the late XIX-th and early XX-th centuries. The historical stages of the city's formation from the Vernyi fortress to the end of the 30s of the XX century are analyzed. The purpose and objectives of the study. The main purpose of the article is to study the dynamics of the demographic state of the urban population according to the population censuses of 1897, 1926 and 1939. Materials and methods. The authors were guided by the principle of historicism, as well as the fundamentals of the theory of knowledge. The methodological and theoretical basis of the research was the identification of dialectical patterns of historical and demographic development. The research uses methods of statistical analysis, comparison, generalization, systematic approaches, etc. Results. According to chronological and thematic principles, three periods are considered. The first one originates from the foundation of the Verny Fortress (1854) to the First All-Russian Population Census in 1897. The second one covers the difficult time in social terms before the All-Union Population Census of 1926. The third concerns the inter-census period from 1926 to 1939. At this moment, the city of Alma Ata takes on the first outlines of the future capital of Kazakhstan. Conclusions. As a result of the study, the dynamics of population growth in Almaty was traced. The number of residents of the city was affected by the transfer of the capital, which occurred primarily due to political factors and took place despite its remoteness from other vital centers of the republic, frequent earthquakes and mudflows, the uncertainty of the industrial profile of the city, the inaccessibility of railway tracks at that time, etc. Like other cities of the republic, Almaty has experienced a demographic catastrophe several times. The city was involved in all the state-political transformations in the 20-30s of the XX century. Such as industrialization, collectivization, NEP, and the elimination of illiteracy. The factors that affected the city at the beginning of the century were the growth of professional skills and the socio-cultural level of the population due to the opening of new jobs through the construction of factories in the light and food industries, educational and cultural institutions, etc.

Key words: Vernyi, Alma-Ata, Almaty, city, demography, census, migration, national composition.

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XIX ғ. соңы – XX ғ. басындағы Алматы қаласының қалыптасуы мен трансформациялануы

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Аңдатпа. Кіріспе. Мақалада Қазақстанның экономикалық, ғылыми, мәдени, қаржы орталығы болған және болып қала беретін ең ірі мегаполисі Алматы қаласы халқының XIX ғ. аяғы мен XX ғ. басындағы демографиялық дамуы қарастырылған. Алматы қаласының қалыптасу тарихының негізгі кезеңдері талданып, оның Верный бекінісі ретінде іргетасы қаланған уақыттан бастап, XX ғасырдың 30-жылдары Қазақ КСР-інің астанасына айналғанға дейінгі дамуы қарастырылды. XIX ғасырдың ортасынан бастап, Қазақстан аумағында, әсіресе қалаларда, саяси, әлеуметтік-экономикалық және мәдени өзгерістер бірінен соң бірі жүріп, өңірдің әлеуметтік-демографиялық жағдайына айтарлықтай ықпал етті. Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері. Мақаланың негізгі мақсаты 1897, 1926 және 1939 жылдардағы халық санағы бойынша қала халқының өсіп-өнуін демографиялық тұрғыда зерттеу. Материалдар мен әдістер. Нәтижелер. Хронологиялық және тақырыптық қағидаларға сүйене отырып, мақала үш кезеңді қарастырады (1854-1897 жж., 1897-1926 жж. және 1926-1939 жж.). Бірінші кезең Верный бекінісінің қалануынан бастап, 1897 жылы жүргізілген I Бүкілресейлік жалпы санаққа дейінгі аралықтағы Верный халқының құрамында болған өзгерістерді қамтиды. Екінші кезең 1897 жылғы санақ пен 1926 жылғы Бүкілодақтық санақ аралығындағы қала халқының өсіп-өнуін зерделейді. Үшінші кезең 1926 жылдан 1939 жылға дейінгі кезеңді қамтиды. Осы кезеңдегі Алматы қаласы Қазақстанның болашақ астанасының алдағы 70 жылға арналған алғашқы келбетін көрсетеді. Тұжырымдар. Зерттеу нәтижесінде Алматы қаласы халқының өсу динамикасы мен әлеуметтік құрылымындағы өзгерістер көрсетіледі. Қала тұрғындарының санына қолайлы климаттық жағдайлар әсер етті. XIX ғасырдың екінші жартысы мен XX ғасырдың басында болған жойқын жер сілкіністеріне қарамастан Қызылордадан астана ауыстырылды. Республикадағы басқа қалалар сияқты, Алматы да бірнеше демографиялық дағдарысты бастан өткерді. Қала 1920–1930 жылдардағы мемлекеттік-саяси өзгерістердің орталығында болып, ЖЭС саясаты, сауатсыздықты жою, индустрияландыру, ұжымдастыру секілді реформалардың әсерін сезінді және олардың дағдарыстық салдарларын бастан кешірді. Дегенмен, XX ғасырдың басында халықтың әлеуметтік-мәдени мен кәсіби деңгейінің өсуі байқалды. Бұл білім беру және мәдени мекемелердің ашылуы, зауыттар мен фабрикалардың, темір жолдың салынуы арқасында мүмкін болды.

Түйін сөздер: Верный, Алма-Ата, Алматы, қала, демография, санақ, көші-қон, ұлттық құрам.

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ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ ГОРОДА АЛМАТЫ В КОНЦЕ XIX – НАЧАЛЕ XX ВВ.

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Аннотация. Введение. В статье рассмотрены социально-демографические процессы, происходившие в городе Алматы с конца XIX - начала XX веков. Проанализированы исторические этапы становления города от крепости Верный до конца 30-х годов XX века. Цель и задачи исследования. Основной целью статьи является исследование динамики демографического состояния городского населения по данным переписей населения 1897, 1926 и 1939 годов. Материалы и методы. Авторы руководствовались принципом историзма, а также основами теории познания. Методолого-теоретической основой исследования стало выявление диалектических закономерностей историко-демографического развития. В исследовании применены методы статистического анализа, сравнения, обобщения, системный подходы и др. Результаты. По хронологическому и тематическому принципам рассмотрено три периода. Первый берет свое начало от основания крепости Верный (1854 г.) до Первой Всероссийской переписи населения 1897 года. Второй охватывает тяжелое в социальном плане время до Всесоюзной переписи населения 1926 года. Третий затрагивает межпереписной промежуток с 1926 года по 1939 год. В этот момент город Алма-Ата приобретает первые очертания будущей столицы Казахстана. Выводы. В результате исследования была прослежена динамика роста населения города Алматы. На численность жителей города повлиял перенос столицы, который произошел вследствие в первую очередь политических факторов и состоялся несмотря на отдаленность от других жизненно важных центров республики, частые землетрясения и селевые потоки, неопределенность промышленного профиля города, на тот момент труднодоступность железнодорожных путей, и др. Как и другие города республики Алматы несколько раз пережил демографическую катастрофу. Город был вовлечен во все государственно-политические преобразования в 20-30х годах XX века. Такие как индустриализация, коллективизация, НЭП, ликвидация безграмотности. Факторами, сказавшимися на городе в начале века, стали рост профессиональных навыков и социокультурного уровня населения за счет открытия новых рабочих мест путем строительства фабрик легкой и пищевой промышленности, общеобразовательных и культурных учреждений и др.

Ключевые слова: Верный, Алма-Ата, Алматы, город, демография, перепись, миграция, национальный состав.

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Introduction. Almaty, which held the status of the capital of Kazakhstan throughout its formation and development, holds a special place in historical demography. It is not only a major metropolis but also the largest city in the republic, evolving in many directions, primarily as the financial and cultural center of the country. Studying the multifaceted nature of the former capital has become one of the pressing issues in the exploration of urbanization processes, not only in historical science but also in applied research. For a deeper understanding of the city's history, it is certainly necessary to examine its socio-economic and cultural development. An integral component of such research involves studying the demographic situation and ethnic composition, as well as the historical consequences of migration. Currently, investigating the features of the historical-demographic development of Almaty in retrospect is of great significance.

The scientific novelty of the article lies in examining the features of the dynamics of formation and development of the nearly thousand-year-old city of Almaty from a demographic perspective. It investigates population changes in the ethnic, gender-age, educational, professional,

and social composition of the population, natural growth, as well as migration processes during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. New statistical data from previously unstudied archival documents and other sources are introduced into scholarly discourse.

The article analyzes the main indicators of population growth in the city of Almaty from 1854 to 1939, as recorded in nationwide population censuses. This growth occurred as a result of socio-economic transformations and efforts aimed at the spiritual and cultural development of society during the second half of the 19th century to the 1930s. It should be noted that, until now, the military-administrative policy of the Russian Empire in Semirechye (Zhetysu) regarding demographic issues has not been the subject of specialized research and has largely remained outside the focus of scholars.

Materials and Methods. The research was based on the latest achievements and fundamental developments recently used in domestic historical science. For instance, digitized documentary materials were utilized, from which new statistical information and data on the city's development were obtained. The study primarily employed numerous statistical data on the national, social, and gender-age composition of the city of Verny, as well as information on birth rates, mortality, and migration.

We obtained the primary information from materials stored in the collections of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSARK), as well as from the repositories of the City Archive of Almaty. The acquired documents have revealed important information on the history of the city's formation-initially as a settlement, later as a fortress, and then as the city of Verny in the Semirechye Oblast. Specifically, documents discovered in collections No. 3 and No. 44 of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan provide detailed insight into key demographic aspects of the topic, which are introduced into scholarly circulation as important sources. It should be noted that the materials from collection No. 3 contain information on political events in the region that influenced the level of trade development, data on the social structure of the city's population, and details regarding the history of the construction of the Verny fortress.

Of great value are the holdings of the Central Statistical Administration under the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR within the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSARK), which contain documents of the Central Statistical Administration of the USSR. These materials pertain to the population size of Kazakhstan, data on its national and gender-age composition, natural and mechanical population growth, directions and rates of migration, among others. The article also utilizes valuable documentary collections and encyclopedias from the late 19th to early 20th centuries.

The materials of the Kazakh Central Executive Committee (KazCEC) were found in the National Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Documents regarding administrative-territorial changes in Central Asia, particularly in the context of the national-state delimitation of 1924 when the borders between the Kazakh and Uzbek Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics were defined, are stored in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The holdings of the State Planning Committee of the USSR (Gosplan USSR) were studied at the Russian State Archive of Economics.

In addition, the study draws on materials collected during research expeditions conducted by foreign scholars, as well as information from periodical publications. Data on the city of Verny are found in the travel accounts of the pre-revolutionary period concerning the Semirechensk Region of the Turkestan Territory, as well as in other sources. For example, publications such as Questions of Colonization, Turkestan Gazette, Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and numerous other journals and newspapers contain summary reports, statistical data, and various reference materials (Questions of Colonization, 1907, etc.). Materials from the Reviews of the Semirechensk Region for the periods 1881–1886, 1888–1896, and 1899–1915 were used to characterize the population of Verny and to assess its political and socio-economic conditions (e.g., Review of the Semirechensk Region for 1881, etc.).

In analyzing the sources used in this study, new data and documents were incorporated and compared in order to achieve a deeper and more detailed examination of the historical and

demographic past of the city of Almaty. The comprehensive body of materials analyzed contributed to addressing the research problems formulated in the article.

The chronological framework of the study spans the period from the 1850s to 1939, during which the historical and socio-demographic development of the city of Almaty is examined.

The territorial scope of the research focuses on the city of Verny (Alma-Ata, Almaty), which at that time served as the administrative center of the Semirechensk Region and later became the capital of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

Discussion. The history of the metropolis of Almaty has attracted the attention of scholars, travelers, government officials, and military personnel since the second half of the nineteenth century. Researchers examined the region from various perspectives, including economic, geographical, ethnographic, and others. Its strategically advantageous location provided officials of the Russian Empire with a convenient foothold for pursuing policies in southern Kazakhstan aimed at strengthening the imperial interests of Tsarist Russia in the Trans-Ili Alatau region.

The historiography devoted to the study of the city can be divided into several periods. Pre-revolutionary studies of the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century addressed the reasons for the construction of the Verny fortress, as reflected in the works of N.A. Ledenev (Ledenev, 1909:75), A. Ivanov (Ivanov, 1890: 98), N. Fredericks (Fredericks: 696), N.V. Sorokin (Sorokin, 1886: 361), and M.L. Yudin (Yudin, 1914: 956). During his travels in Central Asia, I. Zarubin published a number of travel notes in issues of *Russkii Vestnik* (Russian Herald) (Zarubin, 1879: 53). P. Kalitin and N.V. Sorokin, in their descriptions of Verny prior to the Revolution, addressed aspects of the everyday life of the mixed Russian–Kazakh city (Kalitin, 1890:80; Sorokin, 1886: 369-370). The traveler G.K. Gins drew attention to the customs and way of life of the local population (Gins, 1911: 700). The economy and trade of Verny were examined in the work of A.G. Rotchev (Rotchev, 1870: 410-414).

Results. The existence of the settlement of Almatu along the Great Silk Road was discussed in the works of such scholars as V.N. Nastich (Nastich, 1993), T.V. Savelyeva (Savelyeva, 1995), K.M. Baipakov (Baipakov, 2004), and others. Throughout the twentieth century, archaeologists discovered artifacts within the city that confirm the existence of an ancient settlement on its territory. In the nineteenth century, Russian travelers, during the construction of the Verny fortress, noted in their accounts the history of the “Apple City”, which served as a station for Genoese merchants traveling to China. In 1879, I. Zarubin characterized the city of Verny as “the capital of the Semirechensk Region, built on the site of the indigenous settlement of Almaty” (Zarubin, 1879: 653). In his article on trade with Bukhara merchants, G. Potanin referred to eighteenth-century wintering settlements that he discovered “in Almaty and along the Talas River” (Potanin, 1868:22).

Intending to strengthen the authority of the Russian Empire in the Semirechensk Region in the mid-nineteenth century, the Governor-General of Western Siberia, G.Kh. Gasford, did not confine himself to the construction of fortresses in the region. By his order, the administrative headquarters of the Kazakhs of the Senior Zhuz was transferred to this area, with a proposal to station military units nearby.

The survey of the newly acquired territories was entrusted to Captain M.D. Peremyshlsky, who examined the northern slopes of the Alatau, including the areas of Talgar, the Bolshaya and Malaya Almatinka rivers, Kaskelen, and Shamalgan. In the course of searching for a suitable location, the Kazakh settlement of Almaty, situated on the left bank of the Malaya Almatinka River, was considered. This site was deemed advantageous from both strategic and economic perspectives. In his report to G.F. Gasford dated 8 August 1853, M.D. Peremyshlsky wrote: “When, together with Engineer Lieutenant Alexandrov, we visited the valley between the First and Second Almatinka rivers, we became convinced that this place, being extremely rich in forests and meadows and provided with irrigation channels for cultivation, surpasses Talgar and Issyk. Therefore, we decided that our future settlement would be Almaty. Moreover, if we settle in this location, the richest pastures and harvests of the Dulat clan will come under our control” (Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F.3. In.1. C.71. P.23].

The establishment of a network of military-administrative centers by the Russian Empire created broad opportunities for the colonization of the Ili region. In his memorandum no. 64, submitted to the Minister of War on 28 January 1854, an engineer of the department stated: "...not far from the fort, on a mountain at a distance of ten kilometers, there is a forest with straight-trunked trees, abundant and suitable for transportation and processing. In addition, there are slab stones of granite origin that may be used for the construction of foundations" (Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, F. 715. In.1. C.15. P.82-84).

On 22 April 1854, in letter no. 2230, the acting Governor-General of Western Siberia, Yakovlev, proposed to the Minister of War, V.A. Dolgorukov, that the fortress be named "Verny" in the settlement of the Kazakhs of the Great Horde, a proposal that received official approval. Thus, in 1854, Russian military forces began the construction of the Verny fortress on the site of the ancient Kazakh settlement of Almaty.

The construction of the Verny Fortress and its transformation into a strong military base altered the economic situation of the region and played an important role in the development of trade. The territory of Verny gradually became a promising and secure hub for the transportation of goods from the interior provinces of Russia to the countries of Central Asia, while caravans from Central Asia delivered their merchandise to fortresses located farther along the Siberian Line. The site was advantageous not only from a military standpoint but also in terms of trade. This was noted in a report submitted by the Governor-General of Western Siberia, G.Kh. Gasford, to the imperial government. He emphasized that the new fortress would be of great strategic, political, and commercial importance: "Located in a fertile area beyond the Ili River, the Verny Fortress ... makes it possible to control caravan routes to Kashgar... to Tashkent and Kokand, and throughout the Semirechensk Region" (Goryacheva, 1956:103).

In 1855, the number of military Cossack settlers in the Verny fortress totaled 199 individuals, while in 1856 it amounted to 189. Among them, the number of commissioned officers was 3 in 1855 and 15 in 1856; non-commissioned officers numbered 7 and 15, respectively; Cossacks numbered 129 and 121; clerks, 9 and 11; musicians, 4 and 0; and teachers, 1 and 1. The reserve non-commissioned officers numbered 7 in both years, and reserve Cossacks, 39 and 41, respectively. The total population numbered 6,164 persons, including 4,322 men and 1,842 women. In terms of religious affiliation, there were 46 Catholics, 1 Lutheran, 44 Jews, and 33 Muslims (Galiev, 2004:54).

In 1856, the administrative center of the Alatau District was moved from Kapal to Verny. Local residents referred to the settlement as Almatinsk, but on 11 April 1867, by decree of Tsar Nicholas II, the Verny Fortress was granted the status of a "city" and officially became Verny. In the summer of 1867, the Turkestan General-Governorate was established, comprising the Syr-Darya and Semirechensk regions. The city of Verny was designated as the administrative center of the Semirechensk Region, and the first military governor of the region was appointed as General G.A. Kolpakovsky (The History of Almaty in Documents, 2008).

The annexation of the Semirechensk Region by Russia opened the way for the strengthening of Tsarist policies in the area, the construction of numerous military fortresses, the influx of Russian Cossacks into Kazakh lands, the seizure of Kazakh pastures, and other consequences. The Kazakhs of the Senior Zhuz were placed definitively under the colonial rule of the Russian Empire; in other words, the Russian Empire entered the Zhetysu region, preparing for further expansion. For this purpose, Zhetysu was transformed into a military base, and Verny became the largest fortress in the Kazakh steppe, housing a strong garrison equipped with the most modern military technology of the time. The garrison's task was not only to strengthen Russian imperial authority but also to maintain readiness for potential incursions into Central Asia. Regular Cossack troops were also deployed to suppress uprisings among the indigenous population.

From the second half of the nineteenth century, Verny became the administrative center of the Semirechensk Region. Since 1867, the City Development Committee operated here, serving as a temporary executive body of municipal governance. This committee was responsible for implementing the general city plan, regulating construction standards, and overseeing urban

improvements, including lighting and water supply. In addition to this committee, the city's administrative structure included key economic departments responsible for transport, healthcare, socio-economic affairs, and education, which were under the authority of the Verny City Head, the Verny City Administration, and the City Duma, among others.

In December 1867, with the permission of the Turkestan Governor-General, G.A. Kolpakovsky established a special committee for city construction. The committee was tasked with developing a plan for the new city as well as resolving issues related to land allocation. By the summer of 1868, the finalized project was sent to St. Petersburg for approval. According to the plan, the future city's territory was to include lands near the Bolshaya Almaty stanitsa, as well as land owned by the Cossacks near the stanitsa, for which the governor submitted a request to the Ministry of State Property to allocate land for construction. However, without waiting for project approval and the official allocation of plots, the city administration began construction of buildings in accordance with the plan.

The development of the city and the growth of its population were a constant concern for the municipal administration, particularly regarding the issue of water supply. In February 1868, Governor G.A. Kolpakovsky issued an order to the Verny City Development Committee: "As a measure of urban improvement and hygienic precaution in anticipation of spring, take steps to repair and keep the canals clean..." At the same time, he instructed the chairman of the District Cossack Administration to prohibit the disposal of "dirt and other waste" near the rivers and canals (The History of Almaty in Documents, 2008: 27).

According to L.O. Kostenko, in 1863 the Verny Fortress had a population of 6,164 individuals, including 4,322 men and 1,842 women. Regarding the religious composition of the population, the majority were Orthodox Christians; additionally, there were 137 Roman Catholics, 24 Protestants, 14 Jews, 702 Muslims, 203 Buddhists, and 28 Old Believers.

By 1871, a one-day population census was conducted, which recorded a doubling of the population to 12,637 people (8,186 men, 4,451 women), primarily due to an increase in the military. Regarding the social composition of the city's population, its main part consisted of merchants, petty bourgeois, military personnel, Cossacks, nobles, peasants, and others. Although the city was home to representatives of over 10 ethnicities and different religions, 60% of the city's population were Russian Cossacks. They were followed by Ukrainians, as well as Chuvash, Mordvins, and Cheremis (Mari) who had arrived from the Volga region. As for Tatars, in a separate Tatar settlement, along with them lived "Sarts" (Uzbeks) from Aulie-Ata, Chimkent, Tashkent, Kokand, and Kazakhs.

There were 17 enterprises operating in the city. The distillery employed 145 people, producing 45,000 buckets of wine per year, with an annual income of 171,000 rubles. The 5 workers at the brewery produced 1,755 buckets of beer, generating an annual income of 2,540 rubles. In total, there were 3 tanneries, 11 brick factories, and 1 distillery. These factories employed 265 people. The revenue from their annual production amounted to 270,638 rubles. Trade was also well-developed in the city, with two large and small bazaars comprising 390 shops.

Verny consisted of the Alma-Atinskaya stanitsa (the old part of the city), the Tatar settlement, where buildings were constructed from spruce logs, and the new, developing city made of stone and brick houses. Both the old and new parts of the city were properly planned. The streets were straight, level, and wide, and trees were planted in many places (though very rarely) (Kostenko, 1880: 420).

At the request of the military governor, two rows of trees were planted along all boulevards. As early as 1856, on the initiative of G.A. Kolpakovsky, the horticulturist Mark Krestopenko created a plan and laid the foundations for the Verny State Garden (now the Central Recreation Park).

On May 28, 1887, an earthquake occurred in the Verny region. Most buildings were destroyed, and 329 people died, including 161 in the city itself. In an urgent letter to the Governor-General of the Steppe Krai, G.A. Kolpakovsky, the military governor of the Semirechye region, A.Ya. Frieden, reported the following: "A severe earthquake, occurring around five o'clock in the

morning, destroyed many buildings in Verny, among them: churches, gymnasiums, the governor's house; the hospital was completely destroyed, resulting in enormous damage. Many wounded and frightened residents are wandering the streets. Necessary measures are being taken, and troops have been called in to maintain order. As of 11 o'clock, 112 people are known to have died, most of them children. The information is still incomplete. Minor tremors continue..."

Following the 1887 earthquake, two other major earthquakes occurred in the Semirechye region and the vicinity of Verny in 1889 and 1910. These events significantly influenced the proposal to relocate the city from the mountains to the Ili River. However, Governor Kolpakovsky was categorically opposed. In his report to the Russian Emperor, Senator V.K. Plehve stated that Governor G.Kh. Kolpakovsky "treated the letter of support from the Duma with respect and very resolutely insisted that the regional city remain in its former location." After lengthy debates, it was decided to leave the city where it had originally been situated (Satenova, 2014: 219-226).

The Semirechye region and its administrative center, Verny, like other cities in Kazakhstan, had their own unique developmental characteristics. Since the period of Tsarist colonization, the city underwent various political, social, and economic transformations. As a result, the population size and its ethnic, gender, and age composition were constantly changing, while the educational level of the city's inhabitants gradually improved. Due to Verny's favorable natural conditions, migration processes increased. Consequently, indicators of both mechanical and natural population growth steadily rose.

From the 1870s–1880s, the history of the Semirechensk Oblast represented the history of a region continuously populated by various ethnic groups. Seeking to consolidate its presence in Zhetysay, the tsarist government pursued a deliberate policy of settling the area with representatives of diverse peoples. During this period, alongside Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian peasants from the central province of the Russian Empire, refugees from China and Eastern Turkestan—namely Uyghurs and Dungans—also migrated to the territory of the Semirechensk Oblast. The resettlement of these ethnic groups, in turn, affected the demographic situation and significantly influenced the living conditions of the indigenous titular population.

On February 9, 1897, the First All-Russian Population Census was conducted, encompassing the Kazakh Steppe as well. The program of this first and only census of the Russian Empire was developed by the renowned scholar and traveler P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky and was carried out in the interests of the tsarist administration.

A comparison of the ethnic composition of the urban population with that of the oblast as a whole shows that the Semirechensk Oblast had a population of 987,863 people, of whom 93.6% (924,889 persons) resided in rural areas and only 6.3% (62,974 persons) lived in towns. In the overall ethnic structure of the oblast's population, Kazakhs predominated, numbering 794,815 persons (80.4%). Among other ethnic groups, Russians ranked second with 95,465 people (9.66%), followed by Taranchis with 55,999 (5.6%), Sarts with 14,895 (1.5%), and Tatars with 8,353 persons (0.84%) (Kudaibergenova, 2015: 14).

More detailed information on the population of the city of Verny at the end of the nineteenth century is also available from the results of the aforementioned census. At that time, Verny had a population of 22,744 people, of whom 54.3% (12,344 persons) were men and 45.7% (10,400 persons) were women. These data indicate a significant predominance of men in the city's population. According to the 1897 census, Verny was inhabited by representatives of several ethnic groups, including Russians, Kazakhs, Taranchis, Dungans, Sarts, Poles, Germans, and Tatars. Their ethnic affiliation was determined on the basis of native language, customs, traditions, styles of dress, and modes of economic activity. In contrast to the overall population structure of the oblast, Russians predominated in Verny, numbering 14,511 persons (63.8% of the city's population), followed by Taranchis (Uyghurs) with 1,970 persons (8.6%), Kazakhs with 1,869 persons (8.2%), Sarts with 1,582 persons (6.9%), and Dungans with 1,220 persons (5.3%).

The central street of Verny was Kolpakovsky Street. In its lower section stood the Gostiny Dvor (guest courtyard), which offered a wide range of foreign and locally produced goods, while the upper section housed well-known drinking establishments, breweries, and mills owned by the

heirs of A. S. Gavriliev, as well as the industrial facilities of the merchants V. P. Kuznetsov and N. I. Ivanov. In the city center were located the buildings of Verny's state institutions, along with a beautifully constructed Orthodox cathedral surrounded by one- and two-story residential houses. Thus, all major and socially significant structures were concentrated along a single main street. Gradually, the city was built up and expanded westward.

By 1913, the population of Verny had reached 41.4 thousand inhabitants. No substantial changes occurred in its social composition, occupational structure, gender distribution, or age and ethnic composition. Nevertheless, as a result of major social upheavals-such as the First World War (1914–1918), the national liberation uprising of 1916, and the subsequent Civil War and "Red Terror," which caused enormous human losses-the population, especially the male population, declined significantly. Under the impact of these severe hardships, people fell into a state of depression, and living conditions deteriorated sharply.

These developments affected the sex and age structure of the population: declining birth rates and rising mortality led to a substantial reduction in the natural increase of the urban population. The prerevolutionary events unfolding in the political and social spheres brought about changes in the social structure of the city's population.

Population growth in Verny between 1897 and 1916 was not uniform. During certain periods, both increases and declines in population numbers can be observed.

Table 1. Population Dynamics of the City of Verny from 1887 to 1916 (Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 41:1). F. 103. In.1. C.1. P.1–262).

	Years	Male	Female	Total
City of Verny	1887	12 344	10 400	22 744
	1901	14 629	11 526	26 155
	1909	11 746	9 617	21 363
	1910	12 667	11 840	24 507
	1913	22 761	18 605	41 366
	1914	23 436	20 339	43 775
	1916	16 499	17 576	34 075

As can be seen from the table above, during the period from 1897 to 1916 -the first two decades following the First All-Russian Population Census of the Russian Empire-the population of the city increased from 22,744 to 34,075 people, that is, by 11,331 inhabitants. Despite the overall growth of the urban population, between 1901 and 1909 the number of residents declined by 4,782 persons. Compared with 1914, the population in 1916 decreased by 9,700 people and amounted to 34,075 urban residents.

In the 1920s–1930s, the Kazakh people experienced the catastrophic consequences of Soviet transformations, which undoubtedly led to severe demographic decline. Large numbers of migrants replenished the ranks of urban residents during the famine periods of 1921–1922 and 1931–1933. Those arriving from villages and auls sought any means of earning a livelihood in the city, primarily at construction sites of administrative buildings and private houses. However, the concentration of workers under poor sanitary conditions at large construction sites led to the widespread spread of infectious diseases, which subsequently affected the urban population as a whole. According to statistical data, approximately 3,500 people were infected with malaria annually. Due to the high incidence of disease among the residents of the small town, the sanitary-bacteriological institute dispatched medical instructors to deliver public lectures, and anti-malaria measures were implemented: the entire population underwent medical examinations, and patients were treated until full recovery.

The population census conducted in 1926 was the second Soviet census and the first All-Union census. The questions included in the census schedules were similar to those of the 1920 census and characterized the population by sex, age, nationality, native language, and place of birth. In addition, questions addressed unemployment, its duration, secondary employment, the

respondent's social status, occupation, and place of work. In the 1926 census, the methodology of census-taking was specially developed and carefully refined (Table 3).

Table 2. Ethnic Composition of the Population of Almaty According to the 1926 Census (All-Union Population Census, 1928: 2).

Ethnicity	Population	Share of Total Population %
Russians	24996	55,1
Kazakhs	3006	6,6
Ukrainians	4870	10,7
Tatars	2321	5,1
Uyghurs	5459	12,0
Jews	-	-
Mordvins	131	0,3
Belarusians	217	0,5
Uzbeks	1611	3,6
Other Ethnicities	2784	6,1
Total	45395	100,0

The methodology for collecting census responses, including those related to migration, was more elaborate and carefully designed. From the standpoint of methodology and organization, the census employed the most advanced international scientific and practical achievements in population enumeration. The preparation of the census program and the organization of its implementation were headed by O.A. Kvitkin, a graduate of the Sorbonne University (Paris), a mathematician who also studied at the medical faculty of Moscow State University and practiced as a physician. The materials of this census comprised 56 volumes and were fully published between 1927 and 1933. Kazakhstan was covered in Volume (Kudaibergenova, 2015: 96).

According to the results of the 1926 census, the numerical strength of the major ethnic groups in the city of Alma-Ata was as follows: Russians-24,996 persons (55.1%) of the city's total population; Kazakhs-3,006 persons (6.6%); followed by Ukrainians-10.7%, Uyghurs-12.0%, Tatars-5.1%, Uzbeks-3.6%, Belarusians-0.5%, Mordvins-0.3%, and representatives of other ethnic groups-6.1%.

An analysis of the first intercensal period shows that in 1897 the city of Verny had a population of 22,744, whereas by 1926 the city of Alma-Ata recorded a population of 45,385, thus increasing by 22,641 persons between the two censuses. In 1897, Kazakhs numbered 1,869 persons, accounting for only 8.2% of the city's population. In urban areas, Russians constituted the majority, followed by Uyghurs, Dungans, Tatars, and other ethnic groups. According to the 1897 data, Russians accounted for 58.3% of the population of Verny, while in 1926 their share stood at 55.1%. Although the proportion of Russians began to decline, they continued to constitute the majority of the city's population. The share of the Uyghur population also increased: from 8.4% in 1897 to 8.7% in 1926. In both absolute numbers and relative proportion, Uyghurs ranked second after Russians and outnumbered the Kazakh population.

According to the protocol of the People's Commissariat of Communal Economy of the RSFSR dated February 26, 1932, a governmental commission was established to examine the advisability of maintaining the capital of the Kazakh ASSR in the city of Alma-Ata, in view of a number of unfavorable factors. At the same time, a letter was sent by the authorized representative of the People's Commissariat of Railways and Communications under the Council of People's

Commissars of the RSFSR to the People's Commissar of Communal Economy, N. P. Komarov. The letter noted that although Alma-Ata held the status of the capital, it was located on the periphery and remained disconnected from the republic's main regions. All major railway junctions of the Kazakh Republic bypassed Alma-Ata; the nearest railway line was located 10 kilometers from the city. Furthermore, the city lacked a base for the development of heavy industry, the construction of pipelines was difficult, and other infrastructural limitations were present. Alma-Ata was situated in unfavorable seismic conditions and had experienced mudflows and extensive marshland. Building construction was limited to no more than two stories. Given that the location of the capital of the Kazakh SSR was of not only technical but also political significance, the commission was tasked with assessing the advisability of further development and construction in the city of Alma-Ata (National Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, F.314. In.1. C.7426. P.2-7).

According to the 1936 decree of the Council of People's Commissars (SNK) of the RSFSR, the planned population capacity of the city was set at 300–320 thousand inhabitants. The main industrial zone was located in the northwestern part of the city, south of the Tashkent Highway. Knitting and garment factories, as well as the printing house, were situated within residential districts, while the biocombine was relocated beyond the city limits. The settlement near the Alma-Ata railway station was preserved as an independent satellite with a population of 25 thousand people. An area designated for individual workers' housing construction was planned to the southwest of the Bauman Grove, with a projected population of 10 thousand residents.

In addition to the Central Park of Culture and Leisure, the establishment of ten parks was planned, both on the city periphery and within residential areas. Given the city's susceptibility to mudflows, a comprehensive set of measures for protection against debris flows was envisaged. The water supply system was based on water intake from the Bolshaya Almatinka River. The city's sewerage system was also planned, with treated wastewater intended for irrigation of agricultural lands located north of the city.

Seismic conditions were taken into account, with 15–20% of the territory allocated for development under these constraints. Construction was limited to three-story brick buildings and two-story wooden buildings. Population density was projected at 250–275 persons per hectare in areas with three-story brick construction, and 175–200 persons per hectare in districts dominated by two-story buildings. The construction of the Almaty II railway station was planned, with its location as close as possible to the Tashkent Highway (National Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, F.482. In.10. C.7426. P.29).

In order to develop anti-seismic measures incorporated into the construction of Alma-Ata and methods of protection against mudflows, specialists from the Academy of Sciences of the USSR were involved. It was considered expedient to assign the city an economic profile focused on the development of light and food industries and to locate industrial facilities in accordance with a territorial distribution scheme oriented toward the northern direction (National Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, F.482. In.10. C.7426. P.15).

According to statistical data, demographic growth was expected not only in Alma-Ata, which had acquired the status of the capital, but also in its suburban areas, where housing construction was underway due to the concentration of population. It was anticipated that the city's population would double within three years; however, the rapid demographic growth did not correspond to the prevailing socio-economic conditions, resulting in a decline in living standards.

Between 1929 and 1938, the number of arrivals amounted to 396,601 persons, while the number of departures totaled 180,521 persons. As a result, the mechanical population increase reached 216,080 persons, demonstrating a positive migration balance (Table 3).

Table 3. Migration Processes in the City of Alma-Ata, 1927–1938 (Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, F.698. In.14. C.204. P.2-4).

Years	Arrivals	Departures	Net Migration
1928	-	-	1238

1929	9600	2820	6780
1930	31677	13268	18409
1931	37706	14695	23011
1932	55192	15521	39671
1933	24696	9674	15022
1934	9605	5584	4021
1935	55168	20379	34789
1936	58067	24212	33855
1937	59820	28100	31720
1938	55070	46268	8802
Total	396601	180521	216080

Let us present the general figures for population growth in the city of Alma-Ata during the 1930s. At the beginning of 1929, the city had approximately 50 thousand inhabitants; in 1930 the population reached 108,200, in 1931-115 thousand, in 1932-132,594, in January 1933-167,662, and in December 1933-170,683. Thus, an increase of more than twofold primarily resulted in an acute housing shortage.

Representatives of the Russian ethnic group accounted for 72.21% of the total population of the city, Kazakhs for 11.1%, Ukrainians for 7.23%, Tatars for 2.6%, Uyghurs for 1.38%, Belarusians for 0.63%, and Dungans for 0.27% (Russian State Archive of the Economy, Fund 1562, Inventory 336, File 391, Sheets 1–5). By 1939, the population of the capital of the Kazakh SSR had increased from 45.3 thousand in 1926 to 264.9 thousand people, that is, by a factor of 5.8, and by 11.6 times compared to 1897.

The crude birth rate in Alma-Ata in 1939 amounted to 34.38 per 1,000 population. According to available data, 7,926 infants were born in 1939; among them, 5,746 were born to mothers under the age of 30, accounting for 72.5% of the total number of births. The number of abortions recorded in Alma-Ata in 1939 totaled 2,693, which represented 33.9% of the number of live births; of these, 455 cases were classified as criminal abortions. Of all recorded abortions, only nine cases were referred to the prosecutor's office. By comparison, in 1937 there were 2,166 abortions, and in 1938 there were 2,152, including 133 criminal cases; only three cases were transferred to the prosecutor's office.

The marriage rate in Kazakhstan in 1939 stood at 6.8 per 1,000 population, while in Alma-Ata it reached 7.28 per 1,000 population; the divorce rate amounted to 1.2 per 1,000 population (Russian State Archive of the Economy, F.1562. In.20. C.148. P. 1-33).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, literacy levels among Kazakhs were low. Prior to the 1917 Revolution, there were only 20 schools in the city of Verny, including two gymnasiums, with a total enrollment of approximately 3,000 pupils. These schools and gymnasiums primarily provided religious education. There were no kindergartens at all. In 1917, the first children's playground was opened in Verny, which later evolved into a kindergarten (Vershinin, 1936:4).

After 1917, systematic efforts to eradicate illiteracy began, including adult literacy programs and the establishment of so-called "Red Yurts." From early 1918, literacy courses were opened in Verny. The city councils of workers' and soldiers' deputies adopted special resolutions allocating the necessary funds for these purposes. In the 1920s, a commission for the eradication of illiteracy was established under the city department of public education. This commission first conducted a census of illiterate residents, trained teachers for their instruction, and provided them with teaching materials.

In 1931, the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh ASSR adopted the decree "On Compulsory Seven-Year Education," which led to a significant increase in the number of schools—from 24 in 1927 to 58 by 1940. In addition, secondary specialized educational institutions (technical schools and vocational schools) were opened in Alma-Ata; by the 1930s, their number had reached six. Institutions of higher education were also established: in 1928, the present-day Abai Almaty State Pedagogical Institute; in 1929, the Kazakh Veterinary Institute; in 1930, the Agricultural

Institute; in 1931, the Medical Institute; and in 1932, the Mining and Metallurgical Institute. In 1934, the S. M. Kirov Kazakh State University began its operations.

The network of secondary educational institutions continued to expand: by 1939 their number had reached 51, and student enrollment increased to 10.9 thousand. Approximately 19 secondary educational institutions were located in Alma-Ata, with a total of 4.5 thousand students. The number of general education schools in the capital increased 2.7 times between 1926 and 1939 (from 27 to 60). The number of teaching staff rose from 190 to 1,327 persons, that is, sevenfold, while the number of students increased from 4.9 thousand to 38.7 thousand, representing a 7.8-fold growth (Encyclopedia of Almaty, 1996: 316).

Conclusion. This article examines and analyzes changes in the population size and composition of the city of Alma-Ata, considers indicators of external and internal migration, and assesses their historical consequences.

Between 1854 and 1939, the country underwent a series of significant transformations. On the site of the medieval settlement of Almaty, the fortress of Verny was built to consolidate the interests of the Russian Empire in the Semirechye region. Gradually, the city began to grow, attracting settlers from Russia. In the streets of Verny, Kazakhs could be seen in traditional costumes, while Russian clerks drove carts. Over time, the city's infrastructure steadily improved.

In 1929, the capital was moved from Kzyl-Orda to Alma-Ata, which brought about profound changes. The city's population increased significantly, educational levels gradually improved, and key economic indicators rose. People from all over the Kazakh SSR began to concentrate in the capital.

The population growth of the city was driven primarily by external migration rather than natural increase. It was natural that major urban centers of the republic grew due to arrivals from other republics, including Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Tatars, as well as Dungans and Uyghurs arriving from China. Russian became the common language of communication and the language of administrative documentation. In higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, particularly in technical, medical, and economic fields, instruction was conducted using Russian textbooks, and therefore Russian was the language of teaching. It can be said that Soviet-era Alma-Ata became a center of Russification of the Kazakhs. A policy of peace and interethnic harmony was actively pursued, continuing into the early twentieth century.

For nearly 70 years, the city of Alma-Ata (renamed from Verny in 1921), and later Almaty (since 1993), held the status of the capital (until 1997). As the population of the Soviet republic grew, so did the number of enterprises, factories, schools, higher education institutions, medical facilities, hospitals, maternity wards, and children's clinics, and the city's infrastructure developed. Alongside socio-economic growth, the population increased, and its intellectual and cultural level rose.

Subsequently, by the 1989 census, the city's population would grow from 45,000 to 1 million, increasing twenty-fourfold. The city became a hub of architecture, well-developed urban planning, politics, science, education, culture, industry, and transportation. In the USSR, there were 15 cities with populations exceeding one million: Moscow, Leningrad, Kyiv, Minsk, Omsk, Sverdlovsk, Tashkent, Baku, Gorky, Yerevan, Kazan, Kuybyshev, Tbilisi, Kharkiv, Chelyabinsk, and Alma-Ata (Russian State Archive of the Economy, F.1562. In.336. C.391. P.5).

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NARK – National Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan
 RGAE RF – Russian State Archive of the Economy
 CGARK – Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan
 CGARUz – Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan

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