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Networks of Conspirators in Dostoevsky's Siberia:
Competing Polish and Russian Cultural Memories

Abstract

This project on the experience of mass incarceration, penal servitude, involuntary conscription, and forced migration of a multi-ethnic group of revolutionaries sent to Siberia in the mid-nineteenth century draws on archival and witness narratives in Russian, Polish, and French to trace networks of intelligentsia, who collaborated in prison fortresses, during forced marches, in armed assaults on Kazakh tribes, in remote Siberian settlements, and during their post-exilic activism in defense of human rights against tyranny. This history of a multi-national group of a few hundred Siberian political prisoners and exiles contributes most directly to an understanding of the deeply-rooted foundations for international collaborations and conflicts in the region of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, since this study of migration in the Russian Empire and across Western Europe addresses Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, and Ukrainian exile communities residing in England, France, Switzerland, Poland, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Russia. The gathering and recycling of individual narratives to construct collective remembrances of imprisonment and penal servitude emerge as meaningful ways of building personal and communal resilience amidst adversity, a resilience that transcends age, ability, political divisions, and, to some extent, ethnicity. Poetry about dislocation and longing, ethnographic studies of local communities, and sketches of regional landscapes provide creative outlets for these intellectuals, who later flourish in the post-exilic period as writers and publishers, with the most prominent being Fyodor Dostoevsky, whose writing displays, like other survivors of Siberian captivity, evidence of fragmented recollections, traumatic dislocation, and abhorrence of petty tyranny. Thus, this is an examination not only of the influence that a prisoner's social status, financial standing, willingness to cooperate with investigators, and interpersonal relations with authority figures can have on movement through carceral spaces but also how text is shaped by the physical and mental impact of the individual's experience, which is subsequently transmitted to concentric communities.

Research Goals

A key concern is to track, to the extent possible, the migration of the different prisoners through geographic spaces after their arrests under Nicholas I as well as their return home after Alexander II's amnesty, since this generation of Siberian exiles was allowed to return home in the late 1850s, where they met with former exiles who were part of a network of survivors. A further foundational research goal of my work in the archives in Russia is to gain a more detailed understanding of the carceral experience, from the moment of arrest to the prisoner's return from exile. This is necessary in order to establish the adverse conditions, which the political prisoners endured as they were arrested, interrogated, transported, incarcerated, and forced to serve in the military. These conditions are also elements that distinguish one exile's experience from another, since my study involves separate conspiracies in different regions of the empire with interrogations and terms of imprisonment varying in length and severity with illness, familial connections, and financial situation being further distinctive characteristics.

A challenging goal of the research is to establish how co-conspirators and those deported to a common place of exile established networks of communication that extended across the expanses of Siberia and continued to be sustained after they returned home. They had several opportunities to develop a network of fellow conspirators while in exile, since they encountered their compatriots in prison fortresses (such as those in Modlin or Warsaw), in Tobolsk before the dispatch to their location of imprisonment or exile, during their journeys on foot through Siberia, during their imprisonment in remote fortresses, and in the settlements, which contain safe houses for Polish comrades. To trace their means of communication, an examination of their exchange of texts is important, especially since many of those on whom I am focusing are men of letters, who encounter diverse forms of writing: personal papers confiscated upon arrest, detailed accusations that the incarcerated were forced to sign, official petitions, letters posted to loved ones at home, correspondence with fellow exiles, diaries, and personal notes. Gathering examples of these different types of writing and tracing the ways in which they were circulated, collected, preserved, and even published help to explain the interconnectedness of the exiles as they progress through the carceral continuum and beyond. This data collection also serves to account for the survival of certain manuscripts, letters, and remembrances as co-conspirators, fellow exiles, family members, and historians sought to safeguard testimonies from this chapter of Siberian intellectual history.

An important focus of my research is also the impact of the Siberian experience on the personality of the survivor, and therefore on the author's witness to wounding moments, so defining the distinctive characteristics of this experience for certain prominent exiles requires me to trace the movements of famous personages like Mikhail Bakunin, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Sergei Durov, Agaton Giller, Aleksei Pleshcheev, Szymon Tokarzewski, and Bronisław Zaleski. Since the project focuses on a collective cultural memory, gathering information about the more famous writers of the generation, listed above, accounts for their greater impact on their nations' processing of the cultural significance of Siberian captivity. In addition, this research intends to show that exile motivated other patriots like Zygmunt Sierakowski, Karol Ruprecht, and Józef Toczyski to defend their fellow Poles against Russian aggression during the January Uprising, whose suppression sent another generation into Siberian servitude, thereby intensifying the region's association with the Polish Golgotha. At the same time, the collection of various writings of the Petrashevtsy arrested in 1849 like Durov, Dostoevsky, and Pleshcheev allows for the reader to understand that the Siberian chapter of the empire's history is a shared experience with similar geographic markers (e.g., Tobolsk, Omsk, Orenburg, Irkutsk, and Nerchinsk), accounts of abuse of authority, and trauma for loved ones. This analysis will demonstrate that Russian political prisoners also died in captivity, suffered from mental and physical illnesses, and feared denunciation as they sought to survive until Alexander II granted them clemency.

Finally, this research project explores the post-exilic phase of these Siberians in a comparative analysis of the Petrashevtsy and the Polish political prisoners, all of whom benefit from the amnesty of the Tsar-Liberator Alexander II. He allowed exiles to return from such regions as Omsk, Tomsk, Orenburg, Irkutsk, or Nerchinsk to such cities as St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Vilnius, or Paris where they gathered to work with other former exiles. An investigation into their active collaborations will show that their shared exile encouraged them to preserve, circulate, and publish the substance of their experience in various forms of texts that enjoyed a diverse readership.

Research Activities

The collection of data took place in libraries and archives in three cities in Russia and two cities in Poland with the most substantial amount of time spent in Moscow's archives. Beginning at the State Archive of the Russian Federation (Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii), where I focused on the fond of the Third Section (f. 109: Tret'e otdelenie sobstvennoi ego imperatorskogo velichestva kantseliarii), I read through and photographed information relating to a number of Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian conspirators arrested in the 1840s and 1850s, several of whom were recidivist offenders with multiple connections to each other. After having worked in this archive for a few weeks and realizing that I was working with hundreds of deportees, I decided to narrow my focus to only those residing in Western Siberia (to include Orenburg, Ak Mechet, and Ufa) but primarily to those with a connection to Dostoevsky, either through the Petrashevsky Circle or through his fellow inmates. It is clear from the organization of the files that the regime of Nicholas I followed the activities of certain ethnic and religious groups (Polish, Jewish, and Catholic) more than others.

The files themselves yielded not only a great deal of personal information about the conspirators but also allowed me to appreciate the importance of the exiles' interaction with various officials who had the power to recommend leniency in the treatment of the exiles in their reports, which compare fellow and like conspirators from different regions, thereby suggesting that such reports could have provided a conduit of information about these deportees. Influenced by my reading of Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, I searched the files for information explaining the degree to which a given prisoner suffers, which does not always correspond to the severity of the crimes but is influenced not just by the prisoner's social status, financial standing, and willingness to cooperate with authorities, but even by relations with the interrogators, members of their investigative commissions, and governors. Weekly consultation hours with my cultural consultant at the International University in Moscow allowed me to appreciate the variety of Siberian remembrances from the period, to understand nineteenth-century medical terminology, and to discuss various means of corporal punishment available to Imperial and Soviet penal systems.

At the Russian State Military Historical Archive (Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv) I gathered research on the Omsk region, the Petrashevtsy, and several Polish conspirators spread out over a number of fonds. This research was important especially for understanding the experience of the Petrashevtsy from their days of imprisonment in the Peter Paul fortress to their sojourns in Western Siberia. My work on the various Polish conspirators from Dostoevsky's Siberia demonstrated not only the links between different conspiracies but also their varying treatments while in Russian captivity. These files also differ significantly from the files on the same conspirators in the State Archive of the Russian Federation, since there are single case files looking at the interaction of all the conspirators together in a single file, thereby facilitating my research on the way in which these political prisoners were linked across age groups, ethnicities, social status, and regions. Geographical descriptions and maps gave me a sense of the central importance of the city for the entire region of Western Siberia and helped to characterize the interaction between the various fortresses in addition to providing a sense of how life at the different fortresses varied. This established a good foundation for further research in Omsk. Additional research conducted at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva) and the Russian State Library (Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka) allowed me to look more closely at the writings of the Petrashevtsy both before and after their arrests and exile to show how their Siberian experience

impacted their creative endeavors. Not long before my departure for Omsk, I met with the President of the International Dostoevsky Society, Vladimir Zakharov, at the Academy of Sciences. We discussed my research, and he invited me to write about my archival finds for an on-line journal he is editing.

After Moscow, I headed for Omsk, where I first took a look at the Dostoevsky Museum exhibits and met briefly with Viktor Vainerman who directs the museum and has written several important works on Dostoevsky in Siberia. I worked in the Historical Archive of the Omsk Region (Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Omskoi oblasti) with a focus on the records of the governance of Western Siberia. I gathered a great deal of information on political prisoners who lived in Western Siberia while Dostoevsky resided there—a number of whom were Decembrists. This background material adds context to the experience of the Omsk inmates following their release from prison as they continue the process of gaining privileges, with the goal of returning home and of having their former rights returned to them. The files also provide context for perceived injustices, since the case files reveal both norms of behavior as well as violations of official regulations in the treatment of prisoners. They also help explain the structure of society in the region with the military running factories to produce goods for the army, improvements in education sought by the Governor of Western Siberia, concerns of the church over the Old Believer population, the regulation of the maintenance of mosques, and the prominence of the military school in Omsk. This was also an opportunity to confirm what many remembrances about Omsk recognize, that is, that the Governor General of Western Siberia had tremendous power to shape the lot of the political prisoners, as is evident from many case files. I also took a number of photos of Omsk and visited the regional museum to gain a sense of the layout of the city, of the fortress/stockade/hospital in Dostoevsky's time, and the natural environment. In addition, I visited the Regional Omsk State Historical Museum (Omskii gosudarstvennyi istoriko-kraevedcheskii muzei) to get a sense of the town's history, including the establishment of multiple military forts in the region, its history as part of the carceral continuum, its connection to famous personages, its development in the nineteenth century, and a sense of the natural regional environs.

I then came to St. Petersburg to follow up on research that I had begun while in the city on a Fulbright-Hays grant in 2016 at the manuscript division of the Russian National Library and the Russian State Historical Archive (Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv). This provided me with background information on how many of the Polish and Lithuanian conspirators were connected from their youth and the degree to which government officials were concerned about certain prominent conspirators while dismissive of others. Some of the files also contain more personal information on the families of the conspirators than those located in the archives in Moscow and Omsk. After consulting with Boris Tikhomirov, Deputy Director of the Dostoevsky Museum in St. Petersburg, I went to the manuscript division of Pushkinskii Dom (Institute of Russian Literature) where I found significant information about Dostoevsky's fellow inmate in Omsk, Sergei Durov. Tikhomirov was interested in my study of Durov and has encouraged me to write an article on it, but to date I have used the research only to apply for the International Dostoevsky Society symposium in Boston in 2019. Also, at the Russian National Library, I gathered research on the activities of various Petrashevtsy following their return from exile and worked on a bibliography of their relevant works during this post-exilic period.

In Warsaw I conducted research at the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) and the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych with two main goals in mind. The first was to establish the whereabouts of various deportees following their terms in Siberia, for which a number of files in

AGAD were helpful, but I found that collection was more sporadic than I had anticipated. However, I was able to confirm some of the information that I had collected in the files in Moscow regarding the return of political exiles from Siberia following Alexander II's amnesty, but these returnees were mixed with larger numbers of exiles returning from abroad in the West, so they were organized with a view toward tracking all activists returning to the Congress Kingdom rather than simply selecting prisoners and exiles for release from Siberia. This suggests that the amnesty was not necessarily designed to grant a pardon to all Polish nationalists but to better identify which ones had been radicalized so as to focus resources on the most determined criminal element. These files, in addition to some gathered in GARF, form the basis of the list of the 200+ who were allowed to return and so allow me to connect the leadership of the 1863 Uprising more closely to those returning. The information gathered in AGAD also helps to establish how poverty impacted the exiles returning and the steps undertaken by the government to partially provide temporarily for those impoverished, who were resettled in the Congress Kingdom. The manuscripts of Biblioteka Narodowa allow me to trace some of the connections, both before and after deportation, among the Lithuanian conspirators. Since this is the location of the extensive Romer archive, there is information on those with links to Szymon Konarski. Also at Biblioteka Narodowa were some manuscripts containing information about the circle of émigrés like Agaton Giller, Władysław Plater, and Leonard Chodźko affiliated with the Rapperswil Polish Museum established in Switzerland following the failed 1863 Uprising. Although my studies do not focus on deportees from Eastern Siberia like Giller, he was prominent enough to correspond and interact with several of those on whom I do focus in the 1860s, so the background information is helpful.

Research at Biblioteka Czartoryskich and in the manuscript divisions of Biblioteka Jagiellońska and Biblioteka Narodowa PAU I PAN w Krakowie allowed me to gather a great deal of information on the political exiles following their return home. The collection of the center of Parisian exile, the Hotel Lambert, at Biblioteka Czartoryskich is very valuable for demonstrating the extent to which former Siberians of the inter-revolutionary generation continued to maintain contact with each other following their return to the Congress Kingdom. This collection, as well as additional resources from Biblioteka Jagiellońska, also contain some writings written in Siberia by this generation, thereby providing a basis for a comparative analysis of texts and letters written during and after exile. Batches of correspondence found in these collections help to reveal the lasting impact of arrest, confinement, and deportation of these Siberians as they suffer further dislocation with political unrest in the Congress Kingdom (as a result of which many emigrated), the premature death of fellow exiles, physical ailments from their forced labor, and even a shortage of resources. They also provide further insight into the extent to which the immediate family members of several of the exiles also played an important role in supporting the former Siberians and in helping them to maintain contact with each other. The research from the aforementioned collections in Krakow demonstrates well, if in only limited circles, the extent to which the former political prisoners sought to maintain correspondence with each other, wrote and circulated their remembrances, and continued to promote their national cause through political agitation and their writings. Additional research on historians who gathered, preserved, and wrote about some of these texts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially Eustachy Heleniusz Iwanowski and Marian Dubiecki, provided further information about the circulation of manuscripts and the interconnectedness of this generation of political agitators, and the recycling of remembrances with an eye toward realizing Polish independence.

Important Research Findings

The basic stated goal of my research was to establish the degree to which a multi-ethnic group of revolutionaries deported to Siberia was interconnected by reviewing their memoirs and the files of the Third Section during the reigns of Nicholas I and Alexander II. Having already gathered remembrances from many of the writers on whom I wanted to focus from the inter-revolutionary generation, I expected to find primarily records of the investigative commissions and the sentencing of various political prisoners and exiles. The way in which the prisoners behaved while being interrogated differed significantly with some going so far as to reveal their co-conspirators' secret codes while others remain largely silent or even defiant to avoid implicating others, which commonly occurred. The extent to which they cooperated impacted their sentencing as Dostoevsky recognized in a letter to his brother. However, from an early period of my research in Moscow, I realized that the files with which I was working contained a variety of documents, including petitions of pardon from various family members or from the prisoners and exiles themselves. Examining a number of files and letters, I realized that the letters were valuable not only for establishing familial participation in the process of petitioning for clemency but also for tracking the whereabouts and wellbeing of the exiles, since record-keeping during this period is sporadic throughout the archival collections in the three Russian cities where I worked (St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Omsk). The supplications were a significant occupation for the exiles, as they sought privileges a number of times for various reasons such as relief from chains at night, a change in location for health, release from military service, and a return home. Yet, this habit also encouraged amplification of their stories of suffering, since poor health was a primary reason for seeking and receiving a change in one's living conditions. Various letters detailing the poor health of a number of political prisoners as well as accounts of the early death of those who returned from Siberia provide a good basis of comparison for the range of survivors as well as the common health complaints that plagued them. Poor health also served as a way in which those still in exile were granted privileges, since political prisoners from the same conspiracy, from a single location, or serving similar sentences were consistently compared to one another in the letters of supplication. This also encouraged former conspirators to maintain contact with one another, since the good fortune of one could impact the group, as one can read especially in the files of those Petrashevtsy sentenced to Western Siberia and Orenburg. In some respects, it helps to explain why those who participated in the Petrashevsky Circle—whether they were exiled or not—continued to find various ways to support one another after they were released from their sentences. Their letters also attest to their talent for writing—sometimes to officials in an elaborate and insincere manner—which was employed with the goal of obtaining a defined benefit, but reading one petition after another displays the perfunctory nature of the exercise, even if some political prisoners seemed to enjoy penning elaborately penitent letters. Yet, the exchange of correspondence, both personal and official, is a means by which I establish links between various individuals and groups connected to the Siberian experience, in the absence of governmental records in Russia and Poland.

In examining the experience of the four major authors to survive Omsk—Szymon Tokarzewski, Józef Bogusławski, Fedor Dostoevsky, and Sergei Durov—ethnicity impacted the way in which they were treated and health concerns in addition to political loyalties were the main factors shaping their lives and even the publication of their texts. Although the background of Tokarzewski and Dostoevsky has attracted significant scholarship, Durov's Kievan roots and the conspiratorial history of Bogusławski remain largely unexplored. Durov, the son of a police chief, was celebrated for his research on the dramatist Nikolai Khmelnitski (a descendant of the

more famous Bogdan), and I found his post-Siberian correspondence with fellow Petrashevets, Aleksandr Palm to be an interesting source about the effects of *katorga* as well as about their relationship, which was close before their arrest. Durov is a good contrast for Dostoevsky on the basis of such issues as marginalization owing to ethnicity, chronic health issues, the influence of noble privilege, and authorship, especially since their names appear side-by-side several times in the correspondence of Western Siberian administrators. The way in which Durov's deteriorating health impacts his personal relationships can be contrasted with fellow political exiles who had contact with other Petrashevtsy, including Taras Shevchenko, the artist and poet who died soon after his return to St. Petersburg, and the poet and playwright Edward Żeligowski, who actively published in the late 1850s before dying in exile following the devastating failure of the 1863 Uprising. In part, it is thanks to the energy and foresight of their Orenburg comrade Bronisław Zaleski that information about this group of writers and artists is still preserved in several archives, since Zaleski was an active collector, editor, and writer who lived in Parisian exile but continued to maintain contact with those living in the Congress Kingdom through correspondence or communication with family members. Unfortunately, information about his co-conspirator, Bogusławski, is more scant, so his memoirs—edited by Tokarzewski—remain the primary source of information about him; however, his death in Częstochowa is recorded already in 1861 by historian Eustachy Heleniusz Iwanowski who not only had an interest in the Konarski conspirators but is the historian who donated the manuscript of Bogusławski's memoirs to Jagiellonian University library. Bogusławski's extensive connections with two prominent conspiracies—that of Karol Hildebrandt and the emissary Jan Rohr—demonstrate that he was well connected in Lithuanian circles and provide a history to what Dostoevsky understands in *House of the Dead* as a natural resentment of a political prisoner who had suffered much for his ideals. It is telling that the case of Hildebrandt, in particular, was infamous for abuse of authority owing to the fact that in the early 1840s Prince Trubetskoi was summoned to St. Petersburg and placed under judgment because Hildebrandt and others were witness to his having acted, according to the Sovereign, "completely against the spirit of our laws [...] and the feelings of Christianity and humanity." The young men who bore physical and psychological scars from their imprisonments and exile evoke sympathy in those who remained behind, and when the deportees return, the state of their health inspires compassion and even anger in their compatriots, thereby helping to account for Warsaw's violent reaction to the attempt to conscript involuntarily urban youth from the Congress Kingdom into the imperial army. Two former exiles from Eastern Siberia, Agaton Giller and Karol Ruprecht (whose conspiracy was linked to Dostoevsky's prisonmate Aleksandr Mirecki), helped lead the rebellion but managed to escape abroad and to contribute to activist circles in exile, whereas the political deportees Zygmunt Sierakowski and Józef Toczyński were executed while the latter's fellow inmate in Ust-Kamenogorsk, Szymon Tokarzewski, was sent for a second time to Siberia.

It is evident from extant correspondence that many continued to maintain ties with their comrades-in-exile while serving their terms and following their liberation through Alexander II's amnesty. Indeed, many of the Polish conspirators seemed to interact more closely with these fellow travellers than they did with their co-conspirators with whom they presumably had once shared a common cause. Perhaps this is partially owing to a sense of betrayal to which Dostoevsky alludes in his correspondence, but one senses that it is the shared experience of extreme hardship in hostile environments that encouraged this common bond so that upon their return, often through Warsaw, they bonded with fellow political prisoners whom they met at some point along the carceral continuum—in the citadels or fortresses, on the road, in the

holding prison at Tobolsk, or in one of several towns in which they were imprisoned or settled—that is, Orenburg, Omsk, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, or Nerchinsk. As many remembrances and case files clarify, even after being sentenced to a particular locale, the prisoners and exiles could still petition to be moved, so they could continue to move from one location to another, thereby expanding their acquaintance among the deportees, some of whom had lodgings that served as charitable way stations for compatriots. Unfortunately, papers and letters describing these centers are few, but clearly both Russian and Polish political exiles with resources, sometimes gained through official charitable channels, helped the others obtain funds or better living conditions through the process of petition. The success of these endeavors depended upon the support of local authorities or even immediate supervisors, since the surveillance of these exiles, of their correspondence, and of their reading material was a frequent matter of concern. Benevolent societies were also organized to help support the returning exiles, who often suffered from a lack of funds as attested to by the various applications for funds, either in order to return from exile or simply to adjust to life following a return to home. Such societies were another way in which relations among former exiles could be supported, and Tokarzewski was involved with them. The desire of those who stayed behind in Poland—and of those friends and family who outlived the Siberians—to connect to the experience of Siberian drudgery encouraged them to locate, copy, and publish the bits of information that they could discover about their comrades, so partial information, misinformation, and recycled stories about their Siberian sojourns are not uncommon.

For this reason, trying to date the composition of the substantial literary output of this generation's former exiles is often problematic, and so many drafts, notebooks, letters, poems, and remembrances have been lost. Fortunately, since several of the authors writing in Russian or Polish, like Żeligowski, sought to publish soon after their return and since journals were receptive to including their poems, letters, and remembrances, there are diverse texts in multiple languages from the Siberian experience. Also, to some extent, the well-preserved files of Bronisław Zaleski provide scholars with a sense of the central role that writing and drawing played in imparting to an exile a sense of freedom in captivity through creative endeavor, since his detailed notes and sketches about Siberia in addition to correspondence from Siberia are extant in various collections, as Wiesław Caban's research has demonstrated. Zaleski's relationship with other fellow prominent exiles like Sierakowski, Shevchenko, and even Apolin Hofmeister (who was imprisoned and sentenced in Vilnius alongside Bogusławski) as well as his role as a writer and journalist provide an interesting comparison for Dostoevsky, who like the famous Russian novelist remained politically engaged while identifying with the older and more conservative generation in contrast to the revolutionaries who sought liberation through armed conflict. Indeed, Zaleski publically argues this point with another famous Russian revolutionary exiled to Siberia, Mikhail Bakunin, whose successful flight from Siberia (where he cultivated ties with both Russian and Polish communities) put him in a position to help agitate for the January Uprising through Aleksandr Herzen's *The Bell*. Like other Siberians, Bakunin's petitions and correspondence from prison and Siberia prepared him well to pen many tracts supporting the Polish cause for liberation before, during, and after the armed conflict and therefore remains one of the most energetic advocates for liberty in his post-exilic phase. Hence, for those Poles and Lithuanians in exile, one views a pattern of participation in active rebellion yielding to revolutionary agitation in the press, as the former revolutionaries age and become more settled. With Krakow enjoying greater freedom in the 1870s, those living in exile connect to their compatriots by visiting the city and participating in its intellectual life.

Policy Implications and Recommendations

In my initial policy statement for the grant, I thought that the greatest policy point would be the contested geographic space owned by competing collective memories owing to shifting borders as well as a series of nineteenth- and twentieth-century –isms (nationalism, imperialism, communism, and fascism). Four cities of international repute were Warsaw (the location of the citadel from whence many were dispatched to Siberia), Tobolsk (where was situated a holding prison in which one could be kept waiting for months for a final destination), Orenburg (an area favored for those sentenced to serve in the line battalions), and Irkutsk (the capital of Eastern Siberia—near the mines, where the most dangerous political prisoners were assigned). Former political prisoner and Polish-Lithuanian journalist Bronisław Zaleski, with close ties to the Hotel Lambert of the Great Emigration in Parisian exile, speaks for his inter-revolutionary generation in maintaining that Siberia, the Caucasus, and Orenburg were the three main areas of political exiles for Poles who were necessary for Russia's conquests: "Anywhere the foot of the Russian soldier was set in the East—whether on the peaks of the Caucasus, or the borders of the Chinese kingdom, or the Pacific Ocean—immediately behind them had to walk a Polish exile with his pining and his tear." References in various works, to graves left behind or coffins returning home, in addition to Agaton Giller's *Polish Graves in Irkutsk* (1864), remind the reader that the geographic space of the Russian Empire is shared by Lithuanians, Poles, and Ukrainians. Although the significance of the space for the political exile shifted according to the individual's experience but for the relative or friend relating the loved one's journey, the place looms large in the narrative. For example, in Shevchenko's "In the Days When We Were Cossacks" (dedicated to Zaleski), the connection is established through common bonds and shared values rather than a particular city or fortress. In Zaleski's "Polish Exiles in Orenburg" and *A Siberian Memoir of Józef Bogusławski*, the authors discuss the "stagings" of the journey through different prisons, fortresses, and gathering points, where they can meet fellow exiles and co-conspirators, and these authors reveal that the exiles could be re-assigned (by request or denunication) to new locations. Therefore, the mobility of the exiles suggests that a single organizing center is not adequate for understanding the way in which they interacted, since one can speak not only of stagings of the initial trek or ride but also of the carceral continuum extending through the amnesty and return, e. g., the commencement of the initial sentence, the completion of a reduced sentence, the release into the settlement, the return journey, and the arrival at a central location in one's homeland or a major city in the empire. All of this movement encouraged the political prisoners to interact with one another, to share stories with one another, and to view these forced mass migrations of peoples as a shared (national) torment; in other words, the movement furthered the national cause, fortified by group resentment and mass harassment.

Yet, it was the physical toll on these men's bodies, the official policies of humiliation, and the mental anguish endured by these political prisoners that seem to have produced the most lasting memories for family, friends, and communities. Multiple accounts recall Prince Trubetskoi's abuse of the Lithuanian conspirators that managed to offend the sensitivities of Tsar Nicholas. Also memorable is the humiliation of having to go along with the pretense that the accused had a right to a defense in a fair legal process and of being required to agree to the Investigative Commission's verdict (sometimes in writing). The physical and mental abuse suffered during interrogations, while chained to convicts on the road, at way stations, in prison fortresses, and in the military are recollected by this generation as well. Furthermore, the impact of the deportation of these men (often very young) on their parents was emotionally devastating, while the deprivation of their noble status, their property, and their right to inherit deprived them

of a chance at a stable future, and the ruined physical condition in which some of them returned earned them the sympathy of fellow exiles and patriots, who gathered to weep at their funerals and write with feeling and in shock at their destruction. Throughout their long years of exile, the deportees developed means of survival by soft resistance, e. g., by writing poetry, remembrances, and stories, by exchanging ideas with distant exiled compatriots through clandestine correspondence, or by sharing camaraderie and provisions with like-minded individuals. They learned from one another how to best navigate the imperial bureaucracy to obtain changes of fate, and even amnesty, through repeated petitions, so they came to understand the language and habits of the tsarist regime. For this reason, several former Siberians in Warsaw (a major gathering point after Alexander II's amnesty) must have recognized that the planned forced conscription of Warsaw youth into the Russian army (1863) was a new variant on an old theme, and the recent memory of their Siberian sojourns was a likely motivation for their rebellion, for they had not yet learned to forget. It is not surprising, then, that mottos such as "Never Forget" and "Eternal Memory," echoing Winston Churchill's "Those who failed to learn from history are condemned to repeat it," are still powerful public reminders of the personal cost that families paid to free Europe from the hate propagated by –isms, as I was reminded by families marching with pictures of their relatives belonging to the "Immortal Regiment" on May 9th in Saint Petersburg. From Omsk to Warsaw, I saw the cultivation of national and regional memory in the building and preservation of cultural sites—especially museums like the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, the Warsaw Uprising Museum, or the restoration of the second Omsk fortress, with funds from the European Union or the Russian government. Even the Warsaw Citadel is undergoing a renovation project to help enhance the fortress's nineteenth-century historic dimension as a prison for political offenders, some of whom are remembered within its walls. Such monuments suggest that collective memory of the past few centuries is gaining a stronger foothold in public space, so the critical perception of memory prevalent in Western academic and legal circles has not diminished the personal connection to the nations' traumatic past, everywhere on display. A concrete recommendation arising from my research would be to monitor the growth and impact of these public monuments and museums (and related publications), especially as they shape both regional and national loyalties in the present day.

On a minor note, it is important to note that the records of the Third Section, organized by individual, do not necessarily agree with those from the Congress Kingdom in the military archives, which are collected according to conspiracy and time of deportation, so in conducting historical research it is important to differentiate between the files. In the Omsk historical archive, it was evident that record-keeping significantly improved in the 1850s. These records demonstrate that the Orthodox Church was trying to expand its presence in the city to challenge the many Old Believers residing in the region, that working conditions for men and women in the military factories were terrible, that children at the military academy had to be protected from severe treatment, that the regional Muslim community negotiated the building and operating of mosques with Russian authorities, that the governor of Western Siberia advocated in his reports for improvements in education and working conditions, that charitable organizations were able to transfer officially some donations to political prisoners, and that a great effort was made to monitor unofficial correspondence of exiles and the circulation of foreign reading materials. Today, it is a region evidently proud of its historical connection to Fedor Dostoevsky, Chokan Valikanov, and Mikhail Vrubel (who are remembered by museums and monuments), its artistic sculptures in outdoor spaces throughout the downtown areas, and its educational institutions. The Omsk historical archive also enjoys an academic exchange with Jagiellonian University

colleagues interested in Siberian studies, a focus shared by University of Warsaw's Instytut Rusycystyki. My policy recommendation would be to support such exchanges with conferences leading to publications between former Warsaw Pact countries and remote regions of Russia so as to improve Western knowledge of Russian regions while simultaneously promoting contact with Western colleagues.

Co-Curricular

Throughout the research trip, I used my University's College of Arts and Sciences start-up funds for new faculty to purchase books on Siberia, Dostoevsky, prison literature, Polish memoirs, and trauma studies. Not long after my arrival in Moscow, I met up with a colleague, Ivan Esaulov, who introduced me to the president of the International Dostoevsky Society, Vladimir Zakharov, at a society meeting in the Dostoevsky Museum. Zakharov and I later discussed my research and common interests via e-mail, on the phone, and at the Academy of Sciences. He gifted me some books and files and invited me to write about my archival finds for an on-line journal he is editing. Throughout my stay in Moscow, I met with a cultural consultant at the International University in Moscow, which was helpful for understanding the study of Siberia, the reception of Dostoevsky in Russia, and medical terminology found in the files that I was examining. In Omsk, I met briefly with Viktor Vainerman who directs the Dostoevsky Museum there and has written several important works on Dostoevsky in Siberia. I also took a number of photos of Omsk and visited the regional museum to gain a sense of the layout of the city, of the fortress/stockade/hospital in Dostoevsky's time, and the natural environment. In St. Petersburg, I consulted with Boris Tikhomirov, Deputy Director of the Dostoevsky Museum in St. Petersburg, and he has invited me to write an article for a forthcoming collection, if he receives a potential grant. When I moved on to Warsaw, Henryk Głębocki of Jagiellonian University put me in contact with a colleague (Piotr Głuszkowski) at the University of Warsaw's Instytut Rusycystyki who supported my research at the local archives. The director of the Center for Intercultural Studies at Saint Louis University put me in touch with Professor Elizabeth Emma Harris at Warsaw University to help establish contacts and refine my research goals. In Warsaw, I went to a few museums to get a sense of the city's structure and history and also visited the Warsaw Citadel where many of the conspirators were held and some were executed. In Krakow, I met a few times with a colleague, whom I have known since my graduate school days, Krzysztof Frysztacki of Jagiellonian University, to discuss my research and area resources.

Conclusions

The most important concern impacting survivor narratives is the extent to which the authors suffer from debilitating health issues, especially owing to multiple confinements, following a return from Siberia, when many of these former political exiles go abroad for treatment. It is clear from multiple narratives that financial situation, in particular, significantly impacted the ability of a political prisoner to obtain food and privileges that would protect him from the dire circumstances that resulted in physical ailments. Being of noble status, of course, offered its protections, but it was of greater importance to be connected to established nobility than it was to be famous as both Dostoevsky and Shevchenko were to discover, since both of them were considered more suspect than the privileged Sergei Durov, Aleksei Pleshcheev, and Bronisław Zaleski, although this may be impacted by their ethnic background as well. Many of the political exiles whom I traced from arrest to amnesty were more often on the move than I anticipated, since published accounts will often list a place of exile but neglect to show that the

deportee was moved around to different cities in Siberia or along on the Orenburg line. Since I was trying to establish how these conspirators were interconnected, these journeys within the exile experience were important for investigating the degree to which they interacted during confinement in Vilnius, Warsaw, Modlin, St. Petersburg, and Tobolsk, during the march or ride to the place of punishment in Siberia, in the prison and military fortresses, during military service, and after their release into the settlement.

Furthermore, as many of the files show, after Alexander II's decision to allow many of them to return home, the exiles rejoined co-conspirators or comrades from their prison days or the initial dispatch to Siberia, thereby allowing them to renew contacts and deepen relationships based on a common carceral experience. Warsaw and St. Petersburg were important centers for the former Siberians on whom I gathered information, but Moscow, Paris, Krakow, and Rapperswil also played a significant role in the post-Siberian phase of several former conspirators. Through correspondence, benevolent societies, personal interaction, and family connections this generation maintained varying degrees of contact with former political exiles and co-conspirators. This was of greater significance for the Polish deportees (who were more likely to be linked to multiple conspiracies) than for the Petrashevtsy, who were released from their sentences, and the former were more likely to write about the experience whereas both Dostoevsky and Durov display a greater tendency to distance themselves from Omsk.

Plans for Future Research Agenda/ Presentations and Publications:
The manuscript for my second book, *Travels from Dostoevsky's Siberia,* which includes some of the archival research from Russia and Poland, was submitted in April 2018 to Academic Studies Press and copy-edited in August 2018, so I am expecting the proofs in ten weeks. I also submitted a proposal for the International Dostoevsky Symposium 2019, am writing another paper, "A Comparison of Dostoevsky's Medical Trauma Resulting from his Imprisonment with those of Fellow Survivors of the Dead House," for a national conference (ASEEES), and discussed opportunities for publishing my research with leading Dostoevsky scholars at the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow and the Russian Museum. The most significant outcome will be my third book, *In Defense of the Final Word: Recalling Captivity in Dostoevsky's Siberia*. I plan to submit the proposal by summer of 2019 with the finished manuscript getting to a publisher by December 2020. I have funds left over from my Provost's Faculty Leave, which I plan to spend on a research trip to the Polish library in Paris in order to finish my research on the Polish exile community there. Following this, I intend to work on a way to present, in an on-line forum, research on the Polish Siberian experience. This may be a significant Digital Humanities project, but it will depend on the funding and support provided by Saint Louis University. I am planning various ways to share some of my findings with the university community next semester, after my speaking engagements for the fall have concluded. The Catholic Studies program has already given me a general invitation to present on priests in Siberia in the spring. I am working on how to integrate my research into the Dostoevsky course, which is the next literature course I will teach, likely in the spring of 2020. Some of the research will be included in the course on The Russian Orthodox in the spring of 2019. I further expect to write several articles on this Siberian research related to trauma and the writing process, but these will follow the monograph and so remain in the conceptual stage.

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