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**THE POLITICAL EXILE TO ALTAI IN THE XIX CENTURY
(FROM 1820s TILL 1890s)**

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The history of the political exile⁷ in Altai in the XIX century is an integral part not only of the history of political exile to Siberia, but of the history of revolutionary movement in Russia on the whole. The Siberian exile is still a very interesting and rather multifaceted subject, which has not lost its importance so far, since the class of problems under study and that of specific directions of researches has undergone material changes.

Issues of the political exile are of great importance for study of the history of settling of the region, its scientific research and culture. The materials on Altai make it possible to considerably expand and deepen the notion of the history of the Russian and Polish liberation movement and mechanisms of practical realization of punitive system of the Russian Empire. In this connection, the topicality of the given research seems obvious.

Among issues, demanding urgent solution, there are: definition of size, social, national, professional complement, confessional belonging of the deportees, compiling their biographies, study of their many-sided activity in Altai, elicitation of their interrelations with local inhabitants and between each other, determination of influence of the political exile upon social life of the region.

The territorial study embraces the whole former Altai mountain district, which included the Barnaul, Biisk, Zmeinogorsk, Kuznetsk uyezds (districts) and the southern part of the Tomsk uyezd (district) of the Tomsk province. The Altai region, partly the Novosibirsk, Kemerovo, Omsk, Tomsk regions, the eastern part of the Kazakhstan Republic are currently situated on this territory.

Chronological framework of the research is the period from 1825 to 1895. During that period, the political exile to Altai was presented consequently by Decembrists, members of War Friends Society, revolutionary democrats of the 60s, participants of the uprising in 1863 in the Congress Kingdom of Poland, members of first working-class organizations, the Polish party "Proletariat", Marxist circles.

⁷ The political exile means a forced absence of people, who are accused of a political crime by trial or by administrative means to a distant region for a stated period of time or permanently.

The source base for the study of the issues is considerably extensive and diverse. A considerable amount of documentary materials is concentrated in central and local archives (SARF (State Archives of Russian Federation), RSMHA (Russian State Military and Historical Archives), RSHA (Russian State Historical Archives), SAOR (State Archives of the Omsk region), SATR (State Archives of the Tomsk Region), KCAFAR (Keeping Centre of the Archival Fund of the Altai Region) etc), which was thoroughly viewed by the author [2]. Thus, this subject is well provided with sources that help carry out its study. In our work we will dwell upon fundamental points in the study of the mentioned subject, which may be of certain interest to the Polish scientists.

The Altai mountain district was the Tsar's property as well as land, forest and bowels of the Altai region. This explained peculiarity of the status taken by the district, which was in its way a state within the state with its own administration, economic and legal structure. The Cabinet, which was located in St. Petersburg and carried out general leadership, was entrusted with governing. That special status, held by Altai as a part of the Cabinet's lands, caused its closure for exile. On the territory of the Altai mountain district, exile was prohibited by the laws of 1762, 1776 etc [2], i. e. the exile to Altai was legislatively vetoed.

However, all the obstacles set by the Cabinet authorities, could not thoroughly protect the district from exile. In exceptional cases, considering certain circumstances and a special status of Altai, the political deportees were still accepted. The vivid example of that was the Decembrists exile and that of War Friends Society members.

Today we know five Decembrists: M. I. Muraviev-Apostol, S. M. Semenov, A. A. Fock, N. R. Tsebrikov, P. Iyevlev and three members of War Friends Society in Byelostok: I. Vysotsky, K. and F. Ordynsky [3], who were deported to Altai to Biisk, Ust-Kamenogorsk and the Bukhtarminskaya fortress.

The purpose of this exile was to deprive Decembrists of their influence on the Russian society and to curb any expression of freedom of thinking. At the same time, the exiles made it possible to influence local population and raise their cultural and educational level. In this respect, M. I. Muraviev-Apostol's stay, who carried out medical, pedagogical and scientific activity, was most significant.

There are some peculiarities about the Altai exiles and that of War Friends Society worth mentioning. First of all, it was their estrangement. Strict surveillance of the police and inability to move freely prevented them from communicating with each other. In fact, there are no evidence of their contacts with the rest of the Decembrists, almost nothing is known about their correspondence, which was either lost or lacking at all, because of the police restrictions. Absence of their communication can be explained by another peculiarity of the Altai exile – they all stayed there in different and short periods of time (except for Muraviev-Apostol, who was completing his term in the Bukhtarminskaya fortress from 1829 till 1836 in Altai), which definitely complicated establishment of contacts with each other. The exile term of the Decembrists and members of War Friends Society was different – from 1,5 months to 7 years, which was rather brief, compared to the 30-year long

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exile of Decembrists to West and East Siberia. However, the very fact of their exile to Altai, living conditions, the local authorities' and population's attitude toward them, their activity there undoubtedly present considerable interest to the history of that period.

In the second half of the XIX century, the political exile to Altai got its further development, owing to the permission of March 15, 1826 of employment, which was a 3-year long experience, when the deportees were allowed to work at distant goldfields in the Altai mountain district [4]. The permission was later prolonged by the Cabinet's regulations of February 4, 1866 [5]. Those regulations did not directly concern political criminals, but in a way let the deportees get into the district's territory.

It is known that since 1861 there was a rapid rise in liberation movement, the reflection of which was the political exile as a part of the autocratic punitive policy. In this connection, in the 60s of the XIX century there emerged the exiled revolutionary democrats V. V. Bervi-Flerkovsky, L. P. Blummer (Kuznetsk), who marked the beginning of the mass people's political exile of the 70 – 90s of the XIX century, and Polish participant of the uprising of 1863 in the Congress Kingdom of Poland. We consider that in the 60s of the XIX century there were about 347 exiles in Altai, though there is still room for further exploration of the numbers and names.

Details of V. V. Bervi-Flerkovsky's stay in Kuznetsk became clear from his own memoirs and those of his wife's [6, 7], in which they both mentioned contacts with Polish deportees in Kuznetsk and gave characteristics to some of them. It is also important that the Poles were to a great degree interested in everything related to Russia. That was why Bervi delivered lectures about Russian social ideas. This is where his scientific interests exposed themselves. He was known to work at his article "Macht und Kraft" ("Power and Force") and compile materials for his work "Status of the Working Class in Russia". While working on the goldfields in taiga, L. P. Blummer scrutinized life and manners of local industrial manufacturers, officials and miners. On his return from the exile in 1871, he made the first in Russia publication about the life of gold diggers – novel "Next to the Gold" – in "The Zarya" magazine [8].

In the 60s, the participants of the Polish national liberation movement constituted a considerable part of the political exile. In that period, there were 345 Polish deportees in Altai, including 54 of them were positioned in Barnaul, 156 – in Biisk, 62 – in Kuznetsk, 51 – in Kolyvan, 22 – in Ust-Kamenogorsk, though later 32 Polish deportees from Siberian marker battalion (Barnaul) were transferred to Ust-Kamenogorsk and Semipalatinsk⁸. Scantiness of the Polish political exile in Altai, as compared to the total number of the Poles deported to Siberia (about 22 thousand people) [9], is obvious, which was stipulated by the fact that the Altai mountain

⁸ Results derived from SARF, Fund 109, Dispatch Office 4, 1864, File 171, pp 80 – 82; SAOR, Fund 3, Inventory 6, File 7784, pp 14 – 24.

It is noteworthy that due to frequent transfers of the deportees from one place to another it was rather difficult to derive exact calculations.

district was closed for exile for a long period of time. The Cabinet's administration was trying hard to banish exile settlements there, the proof of which was a series of documents [10]. It is significant, that there were representatives of different estates: nobles, Roman-Catholic priests, petty bourgeois, officials and peasants. They all were under police surveillance. On the whole, details of their living conditions in Altai are little known. It's worth mentioning that after the fires of 1864 in Barnaul the Cabinet's authorities succeeded in transferring the majority of the Polish deportees from the Altai mountain district, or from Barnaul, Biisk, Kuznetsk to Ust-Kamenogorsk and Semipalatinsk, "because the number of political deportees in these towns will be insignificant and if the local police there are well organized, they will ensure a strict surveillance over them" [11]. Thus, local authorities used every single possibility to get rid of the deportees' presence in the district [12].

The Polish doctor T. I. Terayevich, whose medical practice was a demonstration of his energetic lifestyle, was one of the Polish deportees in Altai.

Russian military men took part in revolutionary events in Poland. Among them there was V. A. Monastirsky, who in 1862 was sent to serve in the 10th Siberian marker battalion in Barnaul.

On the whole, the political deportees of the 60s could not but exercise influence on Altai inhabitants – the very their presence drew a lot of attention. A high cultural and educational level was characteristic for the political exile of the 60s. A liberation movement participant L. F. Panteleyev recalled that the Polish exile "was mostly a very cultivated element" [13]. V. V. Bervi-Flerkovsky determined significance of the Polish exile by just one phrase – "they brought civilization with them" [6]. The political exile of the 60s in Altai was a characteristic evidence of the government's punitive policy directed against Russian and Polish peoples. Struggling together and then exile, which began back in the 1st half of the XIX century, lay the foundation of further friendship between Russian and Polish peoples.

In the 70s, a series of repressive actions were taken against a lot of people, who were thought to be politically unreliable and carry out propaganda work. The most widespread type of exile was an extrajudicial or administrative one - without bringing to trial. It's noteworthy that there was a prevalence of administrative exile (more than 50%) in Altai. Our calculations are that on the whole there were 106 people in Altai. Among them, 37 deportees stayed in Barnaul, 12 in Biisk, 48 in Ust-Kamenogorsk, 2 in Kuznetsk, 1 in Zmeinogorsk, 1 in the Barnaul district, 2 in the Kuznetsk district, 2 in Altaiskaya station of the Ust-Kamenogorsk uyezd (district), 1 in Ulbinsky settlement⁹. Since the majority of deportees were brought to Altai by transfer from other places, their allocation was stipulated by a series of causes: better living conditions, better opportunities to find means of subsistence, to be socially active and perform educational, scientific, journalistic and medical activities.

⁹ Due to permanent transfers of the deportees, we determine the place of exile according to the duration of their stay in one place and also to the significance of their activity in that place of residence.

Grand Altai Council of HEI Chancellors network edition

In the 70s-90s of the XIX century the Altai exile was mostly represented by narodniks (Russian populists). However, there also were members of the first working-class organizations (G. V. Bouryak, I. G. Gavrilov and others), Marxist circles (P. P. Shatko, D. Stranden and others), the Polish party “Proletariat” (S. S. Gross, L. L. Kovalsky and others). It’s indisputable that the presence of the Polish deportees in the 80s – 90s of the XIX century in Altai was an indication of close ties between Polish and Russian freedom fighters [14].

The class complement of the political exile in Altai in the 70s – the 90s of the 1st half of the XIX century was rather diverse. Considerable part of deportees was constituted by nobles (about 49%), petty bourgeois (about 22%), clergy representatives (about 13%), peasants (about 12%), merchants (about 4%)¹⁰. It is no mere chance that a prominent American journalist and traveler J. Kennan, who visited the deportees in Ust-Kamenogorsk, mentioned a vast diversity “of statuses that they previously occupied in society. There were representatives of the both extreme stages of the social ladder: there lived a rustic shoemaker and a Caucasian princess, and between those two – representatives of all kinds of classes and interests: doctors, lawyers, petty bourgeois, writers, pharmacists, journalists, students, officers etc. Nobles or those, who belonged to the privileged classes, prevailed and some of them had a really brilliant education” [15].

The professional complement of the political exile was rather mixed. Students, doctors, teachers, engineers, workers, officers, government officials, clergymen could be met there.

The political exile of the 70s – the 1st half of the 90s of the XIX century in Altai was multinational in its contents. There completed their terms Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Germans, Poles, Jews etc. This again proves that the struggle against one enemy – autocracy - brought representatives of different peoples closer.

Among the deportees there were representatives of various religions: members of the Orthodox Church, Catholics, Lutherans. At the same time, most of the deportees were atheists – their correspondence and reminiscences do not, as a rule, reflect any attitude towards religion and church.

In our opinion, it would be fallacious to think that political activity of the deportees was limited by mere vigorous revolutionary speeches, as it was when they had been at large. Under conditions of exile, strict police surveillance they would seek and find new ways to a live social activity. So, they developed cultural and educational, scientific research, journalistic, medical activity, which, naturally, entailed retreat from active practical revolutionary activity. Under such conditions there emerged an acute necessity of awakening of the inhabitants’ social activity, their education, rise of overall cultural level – that was what the deportees’ manyfaceted social activity was aimed at.

¹⁰ Results derived from SARF, Fund 102, Clerical work - 3, 1886, File 799, pp 4 – 5;

Leaders of Revolutionary Movement in Russia, Volume 3, Issue 2, Moscow, 1934, Column 1547 – 1549.

It is noteworthy that the deportees and liberal officials were getting closer. In Altai it was clearly seen in the example of the service of deportees and local government officials in the administration of the Altai mountain district, their mutual activity in “Primary Education Care Society” and “The Altai Exploration Lovers’ Society”.

In accordance with Police Surveillance Regulations of 1882, the deportees were not allowed to perform pedagogical activity and deliver lectures in public. They could have been given access to written work in governmental and public institutions, to medical and obstetrical practice only by the Minister of Domestic Affairs’ permission.

Although, those regulations were not always observed. The local intelligentsia was not numerous, state of educational was appalling, local inhabitants were lacking and a high educational level of the deportees was widely demanded and so they were engaged as teachers, doctors, grammarians etc.

Many of the deportees, who were under the police surveillance experienced financial difficulties and thus performed medical and pedagogical practice, crafts and served in merchant’s officers (A. Y. Soulin, P. V. Rovensky).

Some of the deportees worked in the same fields as they did when they were at large. Technical engineers F. Olesinov and P. P. Shatko worked at the Barnaul silver-melting factory.

Many deportees were engaged in crafts. Among them there was a carpenter (A. A. Alexandrov), a blacksmith (O. F. Kostyurin), a shoemaker (L. L. Kovalsky) etc. Thus, the deportees had to work, since they lacked means of subsistence and at the same time they perceived it as a way to establish contacts with local inhabitants.

An active social standpoint undoubtedly showed itself in many-sided activity of the political deportees.

One of directions of the deportees’ activity in Altai was cultural and educational work, which undoubtedly expressed the opinion about decisive role of education and knowledge dissemination among the population in society’s reconstruction. It was during their exile, when the deportees developed a democratic orientation in education, since it was directed to defend the people’s interests and to fight lack of culture and illiteracy. Active social standpoint of the deportees expressed itself in the people’s education and rise of their overall cultural level, and the deportees’ activity was of political nature.

The political deportees launched energetic cultural and educational work with the inhabitants. It was mostly expressed in their participation in the activity of “Primary Education Care Society”, founded on October 7, 1884 in Barnaul by the deportee V. K. Shtilke. The Society’s aim was “to eliminate illiteracy by the efforts of citizens and with the least interference of administrative authorities” [16]. Thus, the very way the problem was put had a democratic orientation.

Deportees P. P. Shatko, F. V. Olesinov, A. A. Silin and others were active members of the Society. They donated money and goods on a regular basis, gave their books and magazines for libraries to be founded. On the initiative of the Society

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on September 15, 1885 Nagornaya School was opened, in 1896 – Zaichanskaya school, where some of the deportees worked (M. N. Krepysh and others). M. D. Kursky was at the head of the municipal library and People's house of the Society.

Despite the government's aspirations to isolate political deportees through prohibitions and restrictions, they still carried out teaching practice. Teaching grammar, the deportees brought fresh knowledge, expanded views and raised cultural level of the citizens. V. K. Shtilke was engaged in teaching, P. V. Rovensky, E. G. Voronin, A. N. Fedorov, I. E. Ovsyankin, M. O. Kursky and others gave private lessons.

Scientific study of Altai, made by the political deportees, was of great significance. The researches focused on issues of resettlement movement, peasants' land community, economy of the district, life and manners of the residents etc. It is extremely important that the deportees were one of the first to put these problems and try to solve them.

In 1890 a historical and statistical collection titled "Altai" was published on the initiative of P. A. Golubev. It contained works of exiled narodniks (Russian populists) P. A. Golubev, I. E. Ovsyankin, N. M. Zobnin and embraced every aspect of life in the district in the XIX century [17]. The collection was a momentous event in social and cultural life of Altai.

Scientific study of the district acquired a more systematic character when in October 27, 1891 by the efforts of the deportees "The Altai Exploration Lovers' Society" was founded. The society was exceptionally founded on private means (fees and donations). Its aim was to promote a wider study of Altai, gathering information, its processing and dissemination. Results of the study were reflected in non-periodical publication of the Society – "The Altai collection", which was being published since 1894. It is noteworthy that today the tradition of the collection's publishing in Barnaul has been resumed.

The political deportee S. P. Shvetsov played the main part in that project; he had for a long time been the Society's secretary and studied peasant community in Altai. F. V. Olesinov, P. P. Shatko, N. Sher, I. E. Ovsyankin and others were active members of the Society. The Society had a library and museum.

Being a member of the statistic office of the Senior management of the Altai mountain district, Shvetsov initiated statistical research in order to make more profound studies of Altai. Many Society members took part in that undertaking.

From 1891 till 1893 he made a statistical inspection of the district's lease property, in 1894 he made an overall statistical inspection of every homestead of peasants' and natives' production units in the district, in 1895 he took a one-day census of Barnaul's population etc.

The deportee's participation in the activity of the Semipalatinsk statistical committee corroborated their scientific and research work. The committee was founded in 1878 and studied geography, history, economy of the district, processed information obtained in the course of researches. E. P. Mikhaelis was the first

secretary of the committee. The deportees S. S. Gross, A. A. Leontyev, N. I. Dolgopolov, A. V. Byalovesky and others were active members of the committee.

On the whole, the significance of scientific heritage left by political deportees of the 70s – the 1st half of the 90s of the XIX century for Altai is obvious. In their works they gathered and made into a whole an abundant factual material on the issues of peasant's community, resettlement movement, position of workingmen, the indigenous population of Altai, which hasn't lost its value so far. The very fact that those problems were put determined their further profound research. The deportees' activity promoted accumulation of information on various issues, formation of scientific interests, attraction of progressive strata of society to exploration of Altai, awakening thirst for knowledge and, thus, enlivening of the social life of the region.

The political deportees took an active part in periodical press. Publishing reports in newspapers was the one available form of participation. It's noteworthy that those reports were often anonymous or signed by assumed names. Nevertheless, they were of great interest to the people, who were not used to that kind of statements. Besides, local censorship practically eliminated reports of the deportees from the Altai press. That was why they worked on different Siberian newspapers: E. P. Mikhaelis, A. L. Blek, A. A. Alexandrov, A. N. Byalovesky, P. A. Golubev and others published their reports in "The Sibirskaya Gazeta", V. V. Shtilke, S. P. Shvetsov and others – in "The Vostochnoye Obozreniye" and "The Sibirsky Listok". The fact that the deportees addressed to the region's needs, put forward burning questions, brought together scientific information on specific issues in periodical press, was new and attracted the residents, awoke their civil activity, enlivened social life of Altai. It's indisputable that participation of the political deportees in Siberian periodical press showed that the region was not isolated from contacts and ties with other cities: Omsk, Tomsk, Tobolsk, Irkutsk and, apparently, with the deportees who resided in those cities.

Trying to be useful for people, many deportees were engaged in medical practice. That also showed their active social position. However, the government was afraid of influence they might have on the local population and thus, it tried to hinder that, which has been mentioned above (Police Surveillance Regulations, 1882). And still, the lack of medical workers, high sick rate of population forced the local authorities to make some exceptions. S. V. Martynov, I. I. Berezin, A. V. Bystritsky rendered medical aid in Barnaul, V. L. Inkov worked as a pharmacist in Ust-Kamenogorsk [18]. On the whole, the deportees viewed the medical aid they gave to people as a duty and desire to do whatever was within their powers to render help to everyone who needed it.

The political exile influenced the appearance of propaganda circles in Siberia. However, the facts, which would testify to existence of anti-governmental circles of the deportees in Altai, are practically lacking. Some researches possess information that there was an illegal Red Cross Society in Barnaul, which was established to render moral and material help to the deportees in Siberia. V. K. Shtilke, F. V. Olesinov, P. P. Shatko, I. A. Yuferov and others belonged to the Society [19]. The

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latter two also headed their own circles. However, it is difficult to think of any revolutionary propaganda carried out by these circles on the basis of available contemporary records.

To sum up the above, we would like to accentuate that the political exile to Altai was a direct reflection of the Russian liberation movement in the XIX century, a part of the all-Russian political exile, which was one of the means of reprisals used by the government against its political opponents. The political deportees' stay in Altai in the XIX century was of immense positive significance in the sphere of development of education, culture, medical service and scientific exploration of the region.

On the whole, the history of the political exile to Altai includes a vast range of various problems that grows wider due to the inculcation of new source materials of central and Siberian activities in scientific field. Thus, it is obvious that the historians should cooperate in order to supplement the issues that have not been explored so far and to create the summarized researches on the subject in reference to the Altai region.

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