

TOBOLSK GOVERNORATE EXILE (TSARIST RUSSIA): ORIGINATION AND STATUS IN THE EARLY XX CENTURY

*EXILIO EN LA GOBERNACIÓN SIBERIANA DE TOBOLSK
(ZARATO RUSO): RAÍCES Y SITUACIÓN A PRINCIPIOS DEL
SIGLO XX*

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Abstract

In the early XX century, the Russian Empire witnessed crucial transformations of sociopolitical and economic spheres of the society's life. There were new developments in the Siberian region as well. The words "Siberia" and "exile" had merged into one single notion and were associated in the common people's minds with governmental reprisals made on the population. Tobolsk Governorate, as the first Trans-Ural region, absorbed a crowd of the exiled which was very motley and extremely unwanted by the locals. This article is dedicated to consideration of changes that were taking place in the Siberian exile. The processes of transformation of the social composition of the exiled have been researched; ideological and political sentiments that reigned among the exiled are characterized in detail. The primary sources of the work were the materials from "Sibirskie voprosy" (Issues of Siberia) opposition magazine and the clerical documents of the administrative and law enforcement authorities of Tobolsk Governorate. The conclusions drawn provide a vivid description of the key groups of which the exiled consisted in the early XX century and make it possible to assess a real revolutionary potential in the social groups sent in exile to the Trans-Urals region.

Keywords. Siberia, exile, Tobolsk Governorate, revolution, settlements.

Resumen

A principios del siglo XX en el Imperio ruso ocurrían transformaciones cardinales de las esferas socio-políticas y económicas de la sociedad. También se produjeron nuevas tendencias en la región de Siberia. Las palabras “Siberia” y “exilio” se convirtieron en un solo concepto, asociado para el hombre castigado con represión del estado en relación con la población. La Gobernación siberiana de Tobolsk, siendo en aquel entonces, la primera región de los Trans-Urales, que absorbe el muy diverso y extremadamente indeseable contingente de exiliados para la población local. Dicho artículo está dedicado al análisis de los cambios que ocurrieron durante el exilio siberiano. Fueron estudiados los procesos de transformación de la composición social de los exiliados, donde se describen en detalles el espíritu, la sensación ideológicos y políticos que reinaba entre los exiliados. La fuente de la obra son los materiales de la revista de oposición “Cuestiones de Siberia”, registros comerciales de los órganos administrativos-policiales de la Gobernación siberiana de Tobolsk. Las conclusiones describen ilustremente los grupos clave que constituyeron el exilio del comienzo del siglo XX, lo que nos permite evaluar el verdadero potencial revolucionario, que representaban las masas sociales exiliadas a la región Transural.

Palabras clave. Siberia, exilio, Gobernación siberiana de Tobolsk, revolución, poblados.

INTRODUCTION

In the pre-revolutionary period Siberia was known to be not only the region of cold climate, valuable furs and vast expanses, - one of the permanent associations with the region was that of exile. An unfinished process of evolvement of the administrative institutions in the XVII century would be combined with the first practices of populating the eastern borderlands of the Empire with exiles. So, several decades after the Yermak's¹ campaign in the Trans-Urals area, the Siberian expanses had started to actively host exiles. Deficiencies in the administrative and law-enforcement system of the region, severe environment and climate as well as other factors made the region an extreme area to live in. Given those factors, a conclusion can be drawn that the state was forced to massively involve the exiled in social and economic development of Siberia, as the remaining groups of population had long been reluctant to relocate beyond the Urals. In the early XX century, the Siberian exile had developed new cha-

¹ Olferiev, S., *Siberia: Essay on conquest and occupation*. oscar, Vilde Printing House, 1910, p. 28.

racteristics, socially and ideologically, but, along with that, in the minds of the commoners it continued to be the key source of the region's criminalization.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The source base for this article was the documents derived from the Tyumen Region State Archive and the materials derived from a strongly-oppositional periodical, that of "Sibirskie Voprosy" magazine. "Sibirskie Voprosy" magazine was published in Saint- Petersburg; its correspondents gave objective accounts of events in the territory spanning from the Urals to the Far East. The materials in the magazine were topical and targeted readers from all social layers. The time frames of the work make it possible to employ the basic concepts of the modernization theory². Partial modernization is how the social, political and economic situation in Russia and, specifically, in Siberia, in the second half of XIX – the beginning of XX century could be characterized. The classical methods of historicism and descriptive statistics are also none the less important to this article.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Exile and other matters related to it, directly or indirectly, were (and are up to now) a quite interesting field of research. The Trans-Urals exile never ceased to be the object of research, even before the Revolution of 1917. This trend may be illustrated by the works of such scientists and contemporaries of the epoch, as L. G. Deitch³, N. M. Yadrintsev⁴, N. Ya. Novombergsky⁵ and many others. In the Soviet era the issues of the Siberian exile were also studied, and even in detail: "History of political exile in Western Siberia in the second half of the XIX century" was the exact title of the research by L. P. Roschevskaya⁶; a work by E. I. Melamed⁷ provides a description of D. Kennan's, an American journalist, voyage to and getting familiar with the Siberian exile. Regarded as a part of

² Korableva, Olga and Kalimullina, Olga, "The Formation of a single legal space as a prerequisite for overcoming systemic risk". *Asian Social Science*. Vol. 10. N° 21. 2014. pp. 256-260.

³ Deich, L. G., *16 years in Siberia*. Geneva, Storage media: P. Axelrod, 1905, p. 332.

⁴ Yadrintsev, N. M., *Siberia as a colony in the geographical, ethnographical and historical terms*. S-Petersburg, Edition of I.M. Sibiryakov, 1882.

⁵ Novombergsky, N.Y., *In Siberia*. S-Petersburg, Printing House of Charities Juvenile Poor, 1903, p. 350.

⁶ Roschevskaya, L.P., *The history of political exile in the second half of XIX century in the Western Siberia*. Tyumen, 1976.

⁷ Melamed, E.I., *George Kennan against tsarism: Siberia and Exile of G. Kennan*. Moscow, Book, 1981.

the Russian state policy, exile was referred to, in a fragmented manner, in the works of such foreign authors as Saunders⁸ and Zuckerman⁹.

The XXI century researches also describe the social and economic reality of the Siberian region in the second half of the XIX – the beginning of the XX centuries. The works by O. N. Naumenko¹⁰ and M. Sh. Almukhametova¹¹, A. B. Khrantsov^{12,13} and many other authors may be named amongst those dedicated to this topic. Nevertheless, there remains a vast array of yet non-researched aspects of such a phenomenon as Siberian exile which existed in the Russian Empire.

RESULTS

Siberian exile is known to have deep historical roots. In 1622 the first population census was held, according to which 7,400 people out of 77,000 citizens turned out to be exiles. As early as XVIII Siberia was seething with different sorts of fugitives, vagabonds, contract workers, people wandering the woods, dissenters and other individuals. Many of those would later become highwaymen. The imperial power endeavored to withstand the process of transforming Siberia into a socially dangerous “settling tank”¹⁴.

Dragoon squads would regularly ride from settlement to settlement and catch fugitives. In 1743 there even appeared a special kind of penalty for illegal entry into the territory of Siberia: “the trespassers older than 40 shall be whipped and those under that age, cudgeled”. As the exploration of the Siberian land advanced and the Chinese borders grew nearer, the authorities would “discover” for themselves entire settlements of free and fugitive people. It is known that under the reign of Catherine II, there were discovered the *slobodas*¹⁵ of the

⁸ Saunders, D., *Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform 1801–1881*. London, Routledge, 1995.

⁹ Zuckerman, F.S., *The Tsarist Secret Police in Russian Society. 1880–1917*. Hampshire and London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1996.

¹⁰ Naumenko, O.N., “The Historical Destiny of the Romanovs in the Evolution of the Tobolsk Prison Castle”. *Past years. Russian Historical Journal*. Vol. 4. № 42. 2016. pp. 1087-1093.

¹¹ Almukhametova, M. S., “Psychological Influence of Exiles on Local Society: Historiography of the Problem”. *Innovations, Technologies, Science*. Collected articles of the International Scientific and Practical Conference. 2015. p. 20-21.

¹² Hramtsov, A.B., “The dynamics of crime in the cities of Western Siberia in 1901-1914 years”. *History of State and Law*. № 2. 2016. p. 27-32.

¹³ Hramtsov, A.B., “Police supervision of the exiles in the northern districts of Tobolsk Province at the turn of XIX-XX centuries”. *Law and order in modern society*. № 21. 2014. p. 29-34.

¹⁴ Yadrintsev, N.M., *Siberia as a colony in the geographical, ethnographical and historical terms*. S-Petersburg, Edition of I.M. Sibiryakov, 1882, p. 128.

¹⁵ Village

people known as “stonemasons” on the Bukhtarma River, who were subsequently accepted as Russian subjects in the category of non-Russians¹⁶.

Starting from the XIX century, when the administrative institutions had been completely formed in Siberia and when there was hardly any “nook” unsupervised by an *ispravnik*¹⁷, it became very problematic for anyone to wander around and seek a hide-out in Siberia. The exiled “Decembrists” heavily influenced the Siberian exile. That cohort included a large number of cultural and scientific intelligentsia, who played an important role in the development of the local education¹⁸, science and culture¹⁹. For example, a Decembrist Torson constructed a grain thresher, and D. Zavalishin started up an exemplary farm and demonstrated on his own experience what “efficient agriculture” was like: how to fertilize the soil, what multi-field and alternate husbandry system meant and what was the right time to make hay. More than that, the Decembrists became founders of female education in Siberia²⁰. In the middle of XIX century the authorities “opened a door ajar” for the lawful relocation to the Trans-Urals area. “In 1854 alone 19,163 relocated people were registered in Tobolsk and Tomsk Governorates”. Despite the fact that the majority of those relocated people were the “state-owned peasants”, the local morals hardly benefited from those thousands of newcomers²².

Each year the crime situation in Siberia only grew worse and worse. And the key reason behind that was undoubtedly the ever-increasing numbers of exiles in the region, a considerable portion of whom were criminals rather than peasants being relocated. The Siberian exile being criminally inclined is vividly described in the statistical review compiled by N. M. Yadrintsev. According to the data, over a decade from 1823 through 1832, 98,725 people were deported to Siberia; from 1833 through 1842 – 86,550; from 1843 through 1852 – 69,764; from 1853 through 1862 – 101,238; from 1863 through 1872 – 146,380, accordingly. Over a five-year period from 1873 through 1877 – 91,257 people; from

¹⁶ Yadrintsev, *Siberia as a colony in the geographical, ethnographical and historical terms*, p. 129.

¹⁷ District police officer.

¹⁸ Gapsalamov, A. R., Ibatullin Rinat, R., & Kaviev Airat, F. “Features of estimating the effectiveness of implementation of labor actions in the system of secondary vocational education”. *Astra Salvensis*, 5(10), 329-338. 2017.

¹⁹ Magsumov, T.A., “Main approaches to the study of historical and educational process”, *Bylye Gody*. Vol. 4. N° 34. 2014. pp. 720-726.

²⁰ “Life of the Decembrists in exile”. In: <http://www.rosimperija.info/post/679>. Date of access: 24 February 2017.

²¹ Korilova, I.V. and Magsumov, T.A. “Emancipation in educational system: Formation of women’s higher education in Russia”. *European Journal of Contemporary Education*, Vol. 2. N° 6. 2017. pp. 352-366.

²² Yadrintsev, *Siberia as a colony in the geographical, ethnographical and historical terms*, p. 128.

1878 through 1882 - 84661; from 1883 through 1888 – 106,326, accordingly. It is not difficult to infer that towards the end of XIX century the number of criminal exiles sent to Siberia was doubled²³.

In Siberia combating crime was further complicated by the fact that oftentimes the police were composed of the exiles – clerks and policemen, sneaks and sleuths, and, thus, the peace officers were in permanent contact with those against whom they undertook to protect the society *ex officio*. As a result, murders and robberies ranked at the top of other crimes²⁴.

As G. Kennan noted: “In Siberia the police are even less controlled than it is in the European Russia, but its personnel are controlled still less. An *ispravnik*²⁵ Krasin, who had kindly welcomed us in Tyumen, was later arrested on a charge of extortion, convicted and sent in exile to Eastern Siberia as a settler”. Further, the foreign author speculated that the peasants complained of the police officers: “Anyone, whoever is able to, takes away from us, be it a *pisar*²⁶, a *zasedatel*²⁷, an *ispravnik*²⁸; we have grown used to that and never complain”²⁹.

In terms of personal and property security Siberia ranked at the same level as the “faraway outskirts of China and Korea” did. Along the Siberian roads, especially before the entrances to big cities, one may see numerous crosses on the tombs of the people killed and robbed on their way. The chronicles of the local authorities are teemed with the cases on exiles, complaints to their frauds, extortions and swindling. Defilements and violence of vagabonds against women were a common thing...” Each and every major crime was, if not directly, then indirectly, masterminded by an exile, and, even more frequently, such individual was the committer of the wrongdoing³⁰.

Many of the criminal “specialties” would never have appeared in the Siberian land, were it not for the exiled, who had flooded Siberia in the second half of the XIX century. While trespassing on the traditional life of the Siberian residents, the exiled had changed it beyond recognition. The situation sometimes

²³ Ibid, p. 247.

²⁴ Sungurov, Pavel A., *The police of Tobolsk Province in 1867-1917 years*. PhD thesis. Tyumen, 2014, p.180.

²⁵ District police officer.

²⁶ Office clerk.

²⁷ Lay judge.

²⁸ District police officer.

²⁹ Kennan, G., *Siberia!*. S-Petersburg, Edition by M.V. Pirozhkov. 1906, p. 10.

³⁰ *Siberia: its current status and needs*. Saint-Petersburg, 1908, p. 225.

even had gone so far as to transform the very social structure of the community in a certain locality.

According to D. A. Dril, a criminologist, the exiled "were a veritable scourge to the Siberian society; with their idleness, excessive drinking and various crimes they tainted the families of the old settlers as well, by corrupting the younger generation with word and deed and by infatuating them to all kinds of vice"³¹.

It is worthwhile noting that the exiled would regularly be involved in various kinds of crimes, and, oftentimes, quite brazen ones. Thus, in 1908 Vladimir Pavlovich Krekov, a Turinsky District *ispravnik*, was assassinated. The assassin lied in wait for the police officer near his home lurking around the corner. The attacker then stood in the way of the passing-by *ispravnik* and fired five shots with the revolver. Fortunately for the victim, the committer of the crime was a bad shot and just wounded Krekov in the leg. The Turinsk police found the attacker very quickly. The unsuccessful murderer of the Chief District Police Officer turned out to be a twenty-year old administrative exile Vladimir Stepanovich Reybekel, who was to the Turinsk prison castle put after the capture³².

Another peculiar feature of the exile by the beginning of the XX century was its relatively low political and cultural level. In that aspect, the exile started to greatly differ from the exile of the former decades. Which was, however, hardly surprising. For so long as the revolutionary movement was a restricted "sectarian" trend, for so long as even the lightest involvement in the trend was strictly punishable more often than not; an ordinary, commonplace person was wholly unequal to the participation in the revolutionary struggle. Only certain outstanding persons found themselves sufficiently capable of "burning their boats" and entirely surrendering to the cause of revolution. At the same time, the rest of the common people who followed with interest the revolutionaries' actions, never came out of their passive state³³.

Due to this a certain kind of natural selection was taking place in the revolutionary circles with all the weak, hesitating and undecided removed from those circles and with solely the exceptional people, such that were outstandingly brave and vigorous left. At the time, the revolutionary squad was not extensive

³¹ Dril, D. A., *Exile in France and Russia. From personal observation during a trip to New Caledonia, on the island of Sakhalin, in Amur Region and Siberia*. S-Petersburg, Edition of Panteleyev L.F., 1899, p. 165.

³² Tobolsk State Archive (State Agency in Tyumen Oblast Tobolsk State Archive (GUTO GAT). Fund I-152. List 22. Case 363. Page 6-6 overleaf.

³³ *Sibirskie voprosy* (Issues of Siberia). 1 July 1907.

(of all the names it might be called, an army would be the least likely), but that squad was a selected one; it had a high political and cultural level.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF THE EXILED. PEASANTRY AS ONE OF THE LARGEST GROUPS OF THE EXILED SETTLERS

Another circumstance aggravated the general situation of exiles – any attempts of the exiles to start their own farms led them to work at the gold mines, as hired farm laborers at the kulaks' (independent farmers) farms and merchants' industrial enterprises. The economic condition of the exiles, who lived at the places of their assignment, was extremely poor. According to the 1894 Census results, in the Yalutorovsky District, Tobolsk Governorate, 21.1% of the exiles were homeless, 36.9% - had no livestock, 50.2% – no plow horses, 43% - no crops to sow, whereas 26% were beggars. Beggars accounted for 10.7 % of the total number of exiles. In Tyumen District, Tobolsk Governorate, about 17 % managed to get their housing, and about 50% of exiles in the south-eastern part of Baraba. In Tobolsk Governorate, 776 people (22.1%) out of 3518 exiles placed there in the period from 1892 to 1896 and residing at the places of their assignment, were engaged in professional begging³⁴. Like revolutionary army, like the exile, and vice versa. Such is a singular law of the Russian political life.

In the beginning of the XX century the revolutionary movement was said to have widely spread throughout Russia; it was transforming from the “restricted and sectarian” into a massive one, it captured the minds of the most backward layers of population, and, thus, became available even to a most commonplace person. As a result, the former revolutionary squad was being transformed into a gigantic army, but, at the same time, the political and cultural level of that army grew inevitably lower as opposed to the former. While winning in terms of strength and expanse, the movement was losing in terms of clarity and awareness. Therefore, along with the changes in the nature of the revolutionary army, similar changes in the composition of the political exile took place as well.

It is understood that the inevitable and natural process of the “democratization” of exile did not start from 1907. A “decline in the morals of the exiled” had begun considerably earlier; thus, from 1902-1903, when the labor movement in Russia entered the stage of massive walk-outs, the less aware and less

³⁴ Soloviova, E.I., *Accommodation and condition of exiles in Siberia in the second half of XIX c. Political exiles in Siberia (XVIII – early XX c.)*. Novosibirsk, 1983, p. 220.

cultured individuals started to be sent on exile as well. It was only in 1906-1907 that such "democratization" was completed, and the "decline in the morals of the exiled" became a fait accompli.

By 1907 the "new" political exile began to be subdivided, based on its social, and, partly, cultural composition, into three big groups: peasants, workers and intelligentsia. After taking a closer look at each of those groups and pinpointing its most characteristic and typical features, a vast difference of the "new" exile from the "old" one became imminently obvious. That difference was as big as was the difference between the epochs that engendered them, the epoch of the revolution, on the one hand, and the pre-revolution epoch, on the other hand³⁵.

And it was really the case. Let's, for instance, have a look at, say, exiled peasants, the sole fact of whose appearance meant many things, because there was not a peasant in the composition of the pre-revolution exile. A vast majority of them were exiled either because of disturbances in the agricultural sector, or for the participation in the peasants' union. Like in any other group, there were certain outstanding persons, certain interesting and bright figures among them too (mainly, among the members of the union), but, on the whole, that group's members looked as insufficiently aware and not always cultured. This was especially true, when it came to the so-called "agrarians"!

Here are examples that characterize their actions: in summer 1906, the entire Tobolsk exile were very concerned about the mutual relationships between the peasantry and intelligentsia. The matter was that the peasants were extremely discontent with their comrades from intelligentsia. The peasants accused the latter in uncomradely treatment towards them; they said that the members of the intelligentsia had disappointed their expectations, that they abandoned the peasants to the whims of fate; they were indignant that the intelligentsia had taken possession of all the management tools of the exile, that they had abused their privileged position and had spent the money sent from Russia only for their own needs, and so on and so forth. In general, an entire array of severe charges was brought against the intelligentsia. As it always happens in such cases, the irritation of one party triggered the irritation of the other party, and general motives got mixed with the personal attitudes, the situation got more and more confusing and complicated, and the time had come when it might seem that the peasantry would split from the rest of the exiled. That, however,

³⁵ *Sibirskie voprosy* (Issues of Siberia). 1 July 1907.

did not happen. Were there any real bases for such increased tension? Were the peasants right bringing their accusation against the intelligentsia?³⁶

Certainly not. As it turned out subsequently, the accusation in monetary abuse that had been brought against the intelligentsia, was absolutely unsubstantiated, and their attitude to the peasants, save for some specific events, was characterized as an entirely genial and friendly, and their care of themselves and of arranging their subsistence never went beyond the lines of what is normal and permitted. Thus, there had been no real reasons to be discontent with the intelligentsia, but, in the meanwhile, that discontent did exist up until downfall of the czarist autocracy³⁷.

What explanation could be offered for those offences of the peasants? People said that all that sad story was a product of an accidental concurrence of circumstances: on the one hand, it was an ill-considered place of settlement of the peasants due to which they had been almost totally separated from the intelligentsia in exile, and on the other hand, it was the agitation by some individuals from amongst their own circles, who aimed to bring the peasants with the intelligentsia in order to enjoy "all the power" over their fellows. However, that explanation seemed to be entirely unsatisfactory. Those circumstances could be used as pretexts for the confrontation, but they were not the reason of the difficulties observed. The main reason was hidden much deeper. It was rooted in the lack of culture and underdevelopment of the minds of the peasantry, in their instinctive mistrust towards "anyone who wore a hat and an urban-style suit jacket".

Another example is, perhaps, even more vivid. In the summer of the same year of 1906, in one of the peasant colonies on the Irtysh River happened the following: an exiled peasant was sentenced to death by his fellows by drowning him in the river just for refusing to work for the locals for a fee as established at the colony meeting. The colony members for some reason called such monstrous sentence as the "decision of the mediation court" and tried to execute it. Only by lucky chance had that peasant escaped from the punishment prepared for him, but, of course, he had to be relocated to another colony. All of that might seem absolutely incredible, but, nevertheless, it was a fact which vividly depicted the cultural level of the exiled peasants³⁸.

³⁶ *Sibirskie voprosy* (Issues of Siberia). 1 July 1907.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Against the general background of political forces in Tobolsk Governorate the Socialist Revolutionary Party was becoming vocal, too. The last recorded attempt to resuscitate the SR's militant activities within confines of Tobolsk Governorate was related with the case of the Turinsk SR organization's liquidation in December 1913. It appears from the case file, that the local SR's organization, in the persons of Nikolai Kostyrev and Evgeniy Vyshnevsky, possessed a weapons storage facility and was planning an armed assault. F. A. Vedenov and E. P. Silina were also involved in the case, as the members of the militant organization³⁹.

It is crucial to point out that before the October Revolution of 1917 a prominent revolutionary ideologist and official L. D. Trotsky, had also been exiled twice, and both of the times to Siberia: in 1900-1902 to Irkutsk Governorate and in 1907 to Tobolsk. The Tobolsk exile hardly left any trace in his biography, especially since Lev Davidovich never reached his assigned destination of Obdorsk by escaping while in transit⁴⁰.

THE EXILED INTELLIGENTSIA

Two other groups of exiles – the intelligentsia and the workers – were distinguished for their incomparably higher political and cultural level than that of the peasants; however, they themselves were significantly different from the members of intelligentsia and workers of the “old” exile. The first striking difference in them was an enormous number of nonparty men and of those undecided. Almost all the “old” exile members were party men who had a more or less developed theoretical world outlook. Without reading “Capital” nobody could call themselves a social-democrat; without profound knowledge of the Mikhaylovsky's and Lavrov's works nobody would risk claiming to belong to the Narodniks⁴¹. In such circumstances, the non-party men and those undecideds were a rare exception, a certain kind of revolutionary odd birds.

By 1907 the situation had changed. For example, one of the resettlers remembers: “When we left Samara, in our carriage there were 25 people, of which 5, that is 20%, were the party-men who had a more or less lengthy revolutionary past. The rest of those people had sided with the revolution after October 17,

³⁹ Desiatov, S.V., “Political extremism in Tobolsk Governorate on the example of militant activities of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (1906-1913)”. *Omsky nauchny vestnik*. № 3. 2013. p. 35.

⁴⁰ Ivanov, A. A., “Leon Trotsky's First Exile”. *Klio*. № 9. 2013. p. 124.

⁴¹ Narodnichestvo was the ideology of the intelligentsia in the Russian Empire in 1860-1910, focused on “convergence” with the common people in search of their roots, and of their place in the world. Mikhaylovsky and Lavrov were the ideologists of the revolutionary narodnichestvo.

and one of them just in the days of December because in October he had still participated in the bashing by the Black-Hundreders⁴². Out of 219 people with whom I left Tyumen, hardly more than 50 had participated in the movement before the revolution. And as it became evident later, those figures were far from being random, as they turned out to represent an approximate correlation between the revolutionaries and commoners in the present-day exile⁴³.

As it turned out, the "commoners" were particularly numerous among the intelligentsia. The members of the new (as of 1907) generation of intelligentsia were unlike the idealistically minded members of the former intelligentsia. The "new" intelligentsia (mostly, office clerks, teachers, railway workers, and, seldom, students and lawyers) were, in the majority of cases, typical commoners with all their positive and negative features.

Having been swept by the revolutionary storm out from the habitual circle of business, employment and family relations, such an individual had for a moment been lifted to the height yet unknown to him, but after that huge wave subsided throwing him out into the "inhospitable deserts" of the Tobolsk northland, he only found himself in a most pitiful condition. Having lost his track of life, deprived of his earnings or any kind of occupation, not being used to regular mental practices, overcome with the dullness and monotony of the rural life, he was transforming into a real "demagnetized member of intelligentsia" who had no idea of where to go and what to do⁴⁴. In the last pre-revolution decade, the Siberian intelligentsia became increasingly involved in the anti-governmental activities. Revolutionary coteries and groups were regenerated in Tobolsk, headed by revolutionary battle- and underground struggle-proven, local and exiled Bolsheviks as: Z. Lobkov, Zwiling, N. Nemtsov and G. Ya. Nazarov. The Party was preparing the masses to assault the old regime anew⁴⁵.

THE WORKERS AS THE MOST REACTIONARY STRATUM IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE EXILED

The workers who constituted the most numerous group among the exiled presented a far more pleasing picture. The truth is, though, that they were a little less politically and culturally developed, but they undoubtedly ranked first in

⁴² Black Hundreders are the representatives of the extreme right-wing organizations in Russia in the period from 1905 to 1917.

⁴³ *Sibirskie voprosy* (Issues of Siberia). 1 July 1907.

⁴⁴ . Ibid.

⁴⁵ "Tobolsk in the years of the first Russian Revolution". In: <http://historic.ru/books/item/f00/s00/z0000237/st004.shtml>. Date of access: 2 April 2017.

terms of resoluteness, vigor and revolutionary ardor. There were fewer commoners among the workers than in other groups of the exiled and owing to that they had not found themselves in a stalemate as the intelligentsia had. Some of the workers had found jobs in Siberia, managed to start blacksmith's shops, workshops, etc., and thus, had found themselves in a habitual labor environment. Another group (which was the majority) fled to Central Russia and opted for an illegal status. And, finally, the third group, though not numerous one, remained in exile and arduously set about the theoretical work. As a result, all of them, with a few exceptions, had resolved the "What Is to Be Done?" question and, therefore, were able to escape the intelligentsia-like hesitations and deliberation on their future fate.

That having been said, the difference between the "old" and the "new" exiles becomes evident. But to make that difference even more manifest, it is worthwhile noting certain individual representatives of the "new" exile, because sometimes isolated facts may also contribute to outlining the characteristic features of the general concept.

Political exile that had become a massive phenomenon by 1907 was accompanied by certain negative events. The massive scale had the effect that along with the "beneficial" individuals the exile began to absorb those who were untrustworthy in all respects. Every large-scale movement is known to generate certain "froth", therefore, the processes which took place in Russia in the early XX century were destined to generate some "froth" too. As a result, it was no wonder that among a huge number of political exiles (their number was more than 1500 in Tobolsk Governorate alone) people were occasionally found who had nothing to do not only with the "politics", but even with the basic human decency. Thus, one of the Tobolsk District colonies had to host a whole group of participants in the bashing from Central Russia. One time ago, that group had been arrested during a street row, put into prison and afterwards, under the martial law, transported to exile in Tobolsk Governorate⁴⁶. In another colony one soldier of the exiled settlers turned out to be a plain railway thief who had been unfortunate to have stolen a suitcase in a railway car one day... which was full of political leaflets. Obviously, nobody was willing to get to the bottom of it and the thief was apprehended with that suitcase, convicted by the district martial-law court as a political offender and sentenced to be sent in exile for settlement⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Tobolsk State Archive (State Agency in Tyumen Oblast, Tobolsk State Archive (GUTO GAT). Fund I-152. List 35. Case 883. Page 3-5 overleaf.

⁴⁷ Hramtsov, "Police supervision of the exiles in the northern districts of of Tobolsk Province at

Certainly, the aforementioned facts are just occasional; nevertheless, they are such which would be unthinkable in the political exile of the late XIX century. By 1907 the number of those "occasional" convicts had grown increasingly and in some colonies (for instance, in the town of Tara) even special panels were established which were in charge with the obligations to establish identities of all the new coming exiles with the help of interrogations or other methods.

CONCLUSION

Originating from the times of initial discovery of Siberia by the Russian state, exile had not lost its relevance by the early XX century either. By actively absorbing the exiled, the Siberian region acquired the traits of the criminal territory which the local law-enforcement agencies were unable to sufficiently control. By undermining the bases of the Siberians' traditional lifestyle, the exiled irreparably damaged the general impression of the social and political status of the Trans-Urals as well. The word "Siberia" incited fear in common people not only in Russia, but abroad too. The Siberian exile retained a negative "rating" of a totally dangerous phenomenon until the end of its existence. Being composed of low-cultured and almost politically ignorant individuals, the exile constituted a diverse and motley crowd, which was very dynamic and revolutionary-minded, but, at the same time, almost incapable of taking unanimous, coordinated and organized actions.

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