To my mom, Eleanor, and my grandpa, Bill, for their
love surpassing understanding

We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

—Frederick Douglass

We must publicly condemn the very idea of certain peoples' slaughter of others! Being silent about vice—driving it into your core only so that it does not protrude outward—we are implanting it, and it will rise up still a thousand fold in the future.

—Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

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A Note on the Text

For the Russian text, although the notes and bibliographical references follow the Library of Congress system, a simplified version has been adopted elsewhere, e.g., with the elimination of ′ and ″ to replace the soft and hard signs in Russian as well as with common spellings favored over adherence to the LC system (i.e. with endings in –skii converted to –sky).

Throughout the introductions and notes, the references to Dostoevsky's oeuvre cite the following academic edition of his collected works:

Pss Dostoevskii, F. M. *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii v tridtsati tomakh*. 30 vols. Leningrad: Nauka, 1972–90.

Unless otherwise cited, much of the information in the notes is gleaned from the research collected in three reference sources on Polish exiles:

Urw Djakow, Włodzimierz, et al. *Uczestnicy ruchów wolnościowych w latach 1832–1855 (Królestwo Polskie)*. Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1990.

ZpIR Śliwowska, Wiktoria. *Zesłancy polscy w Imperium Rosyjskim w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*. Warsaw: Wydawictwo DiG, 1998.

UzS Śliwowska, Wiktoria. *Ucieczki z Sybiru*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Iskry, 2005.

The Russian State Military Historical Archive (RGVIA) gave permission for the reproduction of the two sketches included in this collection: Figure 1 (Fond 349, opis′ 27, delo 1381) and Figure 2 (Fond 349, opis′ 27, delo 1463).

Introduction

This present volume addressing political exile in Western Siberia in the middle of the nineteenth century seeks to introduce new avenues for understanding Fedor Dostoevsky's experience of incarceration and exile, which is not only represented in his autobiographical novel, *Notes from the House of the Dead* (1860–62), but also impacts his post-Siberian murder novels by providing insights into the criminal mind in *Crime and Punishment* (1866), capital punishment in *The Idiot* (1868), criminal conspiracy in *The Demons* (1871–72), and political theology in *The Brothers Karamazov* (1879–80). The three authors—Józef Bogusławski, Bronisław Zaleski, and Rufin Piotrowski—whose well-known published nineteenth-century works are represented in this collection, are Dostoevsky's contemporary peers in the Russian Empire who were arrested and deported to Siberia and Orenburg for their political activism.[1] Their personal witness to the experience of confinement in fortresses, deportation (in chains), a life of hard labor in a foreign criminal environment, and conscription into the military ranks supplement Dostoevsky's impressions of the Dead House with diverse depictions of the penal system in the empire of Nicholas I and its myriad means of torment, whose complexity explains "not only the possibility and the long survival of physical punishments" but also "the rather sporadic nature of the opposition to them."[2] Many insurgents from the Congress Kingdom of Poland, linked through the camaraderie of university days in Berlin or Dorpat or their participation in conspiratorial circles, sat awaiting

1 The Siberian and Orenburg exiles are not necessarily discussed as separate categories in official correspondence on Western Siberia or early historical research, such as Michał Janik's *Dzieje Polaków na Syberji* (Krakow: Nakładem Krakowskiej Spółki Wydawniczej, 1928).

2 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 55.

interrogations, beatings, and judgment in overcrowded prisons in Vilnius, Warsaw, and Modlin, from whence they were subsequently dispatched to Siberia, Orenburg, or the Caucasus—listed by Zaleski as the three main places of Polish exile. After having read the many ways in which these political exiles were detained, stripped of their birthrights, physically abused, psychologically intimidated, and persecuted as a group by criminals and officers alike for years, the mock executions endured by Poles and Russians before their deportation may seem less impactful than the years spent in Siberia practicing a patient forbearance in the midst of adversity—a coping strategy that Zaleski identifies as "the only path" forward.

Because these exiled authors are more deeply committed to regime change than Dostoevsky, the remembrances of Bogusławski, Zaleski, and Piotrowski follow in the tradition recognized by Paul Ricoeur as "attestation–protestation" whereby citizens observing historical events, such as the nation in captivity here, feel obligated to articulate a shared trauma.[3] These recollections also highlight the artistic talent of a neglected generation of exiles who came of age between two Polish armed insurrections of 1830 and 1863 (after which Polish and Lithuanian insurgents were sent *en masse* to Siberia) but before Alexander II's legal reforms impacted the imperial penal system.[4] The writers of this inter-revolutionary generation, implicated in uprisings across Europe—both inspired by French revolutionary movements, and emboldened by Aleksandr Herzen's subversive publications—provided stable employment for many agents of the Third Section under Nicholas I.[5] Thus, the arrests and deportation of both the Omsk and Orenburg exiles—especially Dostoevsky, the Ukrainian artist and poet

3 Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting,* trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 259.

4 For example, the recent popular study *The House of the Dead: Siberian Exile under the Tsars* (New York: Vintage Books, 2016) by Daniel Beer focuses not on Dostoevsky's generation but on Polish exiles linked to the two uprisings, and Abby M. Schrader critically notes the tendency for historians of Russian penal systems to focus on the late imperial period in *Languages of the Lash: Corporal Punishment and Identity in Imperial Russia* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), 7. Bruce E. Adams concentrates on this period in his study *The Politics of Punishment: Prison Reform in Russia 1863–1917* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), while Andrew Gentes addresses the post-1863 exiles in *The Mass Deportation of Poles to Siberia, 1863–1880* (Cham, Sz.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

5 Indeed, Herzen's co-editor Mikhail Bakunin, who was implicated in Polish subversive activities in the 1840s, was himself exiled to Tomsk (1857–59) where he met with the Petrashevets Feliks Toll′ (E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* [London: Macmillan, 1937], 226–27).

Taras Shevchenko, and the Polish-Lithuanian poet and playwright Edward Żeligowski—attest to the concerns of Nicholas I's regime regarding the ability of writers to disseminate politically subversive material, as Zaleski recognizes: "the Moscow government sent to various provinces situated in the depths of Russia, an entire circle of people busying themselves with our literary production."[6]

All the same, the authors of the texts represented here write candidly, in relative freedom, since Bogusławski indicates that he leaves his manuscript for posterity, Piotrowski works on his remembrances in Vienna, and Zaleski publishes in Paris. These authors are linked either through their connection to Dostoevsky's imprisonment in Omsk or through networks of conspirators that extend from Omsk to Orenburg through the political activities of the Omsk inmates—Bogusławski and the Petrashevtsy Dostoevsky and Sergei Durov—that are interwined with famous Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian authors connected to the Orenburg Circle, including Bogusławski's co-conspirators Zaleski and Żeligowski, the Petrashevets Aleksei Pleshcheev, and Shevchenko. Indeed, Zaleski and Bogusławski were recidivist offenders, who were not only arrested together in 1839 in connection with a student group from Vilnius but then also shared the same cell after their subsequent arrest in 1846 for their links to the famous Jan Röhr conspiracy, while Pleshcheev, Durov, and Dostoevsky were victims of the infamous mock execution on Semenovsky Square.[7] Dostoevsky's first letter after his liberation from the Omsk fortress reinforces the connection between Omsk and Orenburg, since in reporting on nine of the deported Petrashevtsy, he includes a discussion of two who served in Orenburg—Pleshcheev and Vasily Golovinsky; furthermore, Dostoevsky corresponds with Pleshcheev from Semipalatinsk as early as 1857, even as he was working on *House of the Dead*.[8] Orenburg was such a common place of exile that Dostoevsky assumed that after his return from the mock execution, he would be assigned to a fortress in Orenburg, like his co-conspirator Pleshcheev. Yet, only after four years as a prisoner in Omsk was Dostoevsky released into the ranks to serve in the army, like Zaleski, but in the more isolated Semipalatinsk.

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6 Bronislaw Zaleski, "Zmarli na wychodźstwie od 1861 roku: Żeligowski, Edward," in *Rocznik Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu* (Paris: Księgarnia Luksemburgska, 1866), 370.

7 Polevoi Auditoriat deistvuiushchei pervoi armii s 1842 po 1856. Fond 16233, opis′ 3, delo 2604. Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv.

8 A. E. Vrangel′, *Vospominaniia o F. M. Dostoevskom v Sibiri 1854–56 gg.* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia A. S. Suvorina, 1912), 52.

At times, the parallels between Dostoevsky's recollections and these accounts translated from Polish and French suggest a common experience, such as in the public display of deprivation of rights found in Dostoevsky and Bogusławski. In other words, Dostoevsky's brief description in a letter to his brother detailing how he was conveyed in a carriage through an abyss of people to the scaffold where he took leave of fellow Petrashevtsy after the reading of their death sentence shares similarities with Bogusławski's depiction of wearing a board with the inscription "malefactor" around his neck as he was paraded around Vilnius in a cart with his co-conspirators before being placed in the pillory (*Pss*, 28.1:162). In addition, Zaleski effectively summarizes the process by which some Petrashevtsy and Polish exiles were able to negotiate a return home under Alexander II by currying favor with local officials and superior officers and depending upon the camaraderie of fellow exiles, who helped the former conspirators navigate the processes of promotion and petitions that could eventually secure a release from the sentence of an exile. All the same, Zaleski, Piotrowski, and Bogusławski consciously divide themselves from the Russian officers in their critiques of their physically and verbally abusive captors, whose otherness is underscored with the pejorative term *Moskali* and whose cruelty was enhanced by a "pernicious upbringing in the corps" (which Zaleski concludes "sucked out their souls"). Their detailed descriptions of corrupt guards, depraved military culture, and strict hierarchical communities challenge penal and Siberian histories invoking *House of the Dead* to recognize that Dostoevsky's focus on his fictional narrator's ability to adapt to living among *Russian* peasant convicts necessarily impacts the historical record of the author's interaction with Polish political prisoners and military personnel in the prison fortress as well as in the town of Omsk.[9] Piotrowski's account of Omsk from his famous *Memoirs from a Stay in Siberia* offers further testimony clarifying the degree to which sympathetic officials in Western Siberia interacted with political exiles, on whose conduct they were expected to report.

This collection excludes a discussion of Eastern Siberia, not only because the realities specific to this region are significant enough to earn it a distinct position in the history of Siberian penal servitude but also because the political prisoners in Orenburg and Western Siberia were treated with

9 In *Wages of Evil: Dostoevsky and Punishment* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2012), Anna Schur notes the immediate impact of Dostoevsky's work on historical studies, such as N. M. Iadrintsev's *Russkaia obshchina v tiur'me i ssylke* (1872), which in its structure and focus on the humanity of the *Russian* common convicts follows the model of Dostoevsky's autobiographical novel (82).

a greater intent to rehabilitate, which is evident from Alexander II's decisions granting clemency to former Petrashevtsy and Polish political exiles in these regions. These translations of Bogusławski's manuscript and Zaleski's article provide information on Western Siberia between the revolutions that has not been as accessible as research on its Eastern counterpart, which is largely based on the writings of the prolific memoirist Agaton Giller, who arrived in 1855 in Irkutsk to serve his sentence in a Siberian battalion and proceeded to write several volumes about Siberia in addition to establishing a historical record of Polish and Lithuanian Siberian exiles, his *List of Polish Exiles before 1860*.[10] *A Siberian Memoir* and "Polish Exiles in Orenburg" provide a sense of the interaction between Russians and Poles that characterized for this western region both the journey on foot to fortresses through various local way stations as well as the ways in which they navigated accommodating and resisting cultural assimilation. Since Dostoevsky and his co-conspirator Durov were traveling by conveyance, they had more limited encounters with the filthy, vermin-infested, and overcrowded transit houses where civilian convicts broke their journeys on foot from Tobolsk to their assigned prison fortresses (*Pss*, 28.1:168–69). The Poles' empathy for local populations in their writings—for example, Old Believers, Circassians, and Kirgiz—distinguishes their remembrances from the well-known recollections of Baron Vrangel, *Memoirs about F. M. Dostoevsky in Siberia, 1854–1856* (1912), in which many members of the diverse Siberian population appear more as those whom the army sought to monitor or subdue.[11]

Intercultural Tensions and Camaraderie

Bogusławski, Zaleski, and Piotrowski do not reach as far as Eastern Siberia so they focus on Western Siberia and the border areas of the Orenburg line

10 For example, in his discussion of this period in *The House of the Dead*, Beer invokes Sergei Maksimov's *Sibir' i katorga* in 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia A. Transhelia, 1871), which draws heavily on Giller's writings, as is discussed in Elizabeth Blake's "Traumatic Mobility: Motivating Collective Authorship in Siberian Narratives of Polish Exiles from the Inter-Revolutionary Epoch (1832–1862)," in *Migration and Mobility in the Modern Age: Refugees, Travelers, and Traffickers in Europe and Eurasia*, ed. Anike Walke, Jan Musekamp, and Nicole Svobodny (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 246.

11 Vrangel', *Vospominaniia o F. M. Dostoevskom*, 40–41. Dostoevsky and Vrangel were situated closer to the porous border with China where foreign prospectors crossed in search of gold, and a Tashkent khan prepared a large army to fight Russians along the Southern border.

with Bogusławski and Zaleski reserving their most elaborate critique for their soldier captors and military superiors even while their expressions of moral disgust at the surrounding drunkeness, debauchery, and savagery are aimed at the Russian military and convicts alike. Descriptions of Polish moral exceptionalism, while overtly maintained by Zaleski, pervade Bogusławski's recollections of the maltreatment dispersed throughout Russian military structures, including the corps of cadets which educated Dostoevsky. This structures fostered retributions instigated by petty jealousies, rewarded opportunistic informants, and maintained an indifferent leadership fearing reprisal more than injustice. Dostoevsky similarly recognizes such abuses linked to the military after his incarceration in Omsk when writing to his older brother that he fears only "people and tyranny," since "If you fall under a superior, who takes a disliking to you (there are such), he will pick on you, destroy you, or make service a misery" (*Pss*, 28.1:172). However, like Zaleski, Dostoevsky knew that he had to serve and advance in the military to the level of an officer in order to earn clemency from the tsar, so he does not express himself in his correspondence as elaborately as Zaleski, who explores the struggle between "the Polish idea—represented by prisoners fitted with fetters—with the idea of the Tsar dressed in purple and propped on a bayonet" representing a "universal lawlessness at the top." He maintains that "the absence of every fixed right, through always exceptional courts," allowed for an infinite variety of sentences to be confirmed by the tsar or his Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland.

Zaleski's article, therefore, attests to the failure of the 1845 revisions of the penal code to address arbitrariness of punishment, because he concludes that the historically young Muscovite society operated on instinct and sensual urges without pretense to equality in law or justice, a foundational element of penal systems emerging at the turn of the nineteenth century.[12] Likewise, Piotrowski, who passed through Omsk about five years before Dostoevsky's arrival, impresses upon the reader of *Memoirs from a Stay in Siberia* that Governor General Petr Gorchakov individually had the power to dispatch the prisoner "to Tomsk, to the gubernia of Irkutsk, to Nerchinsk itself," and "The Martyrdom of Prior Sierocinski" indicates that this "true despot of Siberia" and "thug, executioner, and tyrant of the unfortunate slaves of 1831" exercised his privilege freely, thereby earning him the enmity of multiple generations of Polish prisoners. Bogusławski further holds Governor Gorchakov responsible for allowing Major Krivtsov

12 Schur, *Wages of Evil*, 83; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 231–32.

a free hand in tormenting the prisoners in the Omsk stockade in a lawless criminal environment that tolerated the sexual assault of unsuspecting soldiers, guards passing counterfeit money, and prison officials' appropriation of inmates' property. His portrait of Major Krivtsov supplements the illustrations of his cruelties in *House of the Dead*, with references to a complicated man without conscience, clad in Mirecki's deerskin, sleeping on the Poles' leather pillow, but with some regrets over the flogging of Józef Żochowski.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault identifies a "carceral net" that may effectively be applied to this imperial penal system which places "over the slightest illegality, the smallest irregularity, deviation or anomaly, the threat of delinquency."[13] Consequently, the authors in the Dead House particularly fear denunciation, since, as Zaleski observes, "there were as always denunciations and prosecutions," such as those resulting in Shevchenko's sudden arrest and deportation to the distant fortress of Novopetrovsk for painting or in Żeligowski's removal from Orenburg for traveling with Decembrist Prince Sergei Trubetskoi.[14] Indeed, Szymon Tokarzewski, Bogusławski, and Żochowski had been moved from the fortress at Ust-Kamenogorsk to the more austere conditions at Omsk because of letters and writings found in their possession. Although Bogusławski correctly identifies the corrupt Major Gusev (subsequently released from service) as the source of the trouble, Zaleski does not appreciate the degree to which Governor Vladimir Obruchev monitored political prisoners, as is evident from Obruchev's reports to St. Petersburg on the issue of reading materials in the possession of the Petrashevtsy.[15] In Dostoevsky's novel, the concerns over denunciation are attributed to Tokarzewski during a protest against the prison food: "They will begin to search for instigators, and if we are there, of course, they will shift the blame for the revolt to us first. Remember why we came here. They will simply be flogged, but we will be put on trial" (*Pss*, 4:203). Clearly, this was a valid concern in regard to Dostoevsky's "moral Quasimodo" Aristov, who acted as a perpetual informant. Yet, Bogusławski extends this potential

13 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 297.

14 George S. N. Luckyj, *Young Ukraine: The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Kiev, 1845–1847* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press), 66–68; Pavlo Zaitsev, *Taras Shevchenko: A Life*, ed. and trans. George S. N. Luckyj (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 197–99; Zaleski, "Zmarli na wychodźstwie od 1861 roku: Żeligowski, Edward," 370.

15 O zloumyshlennikakh Petrashevskom, Speshneve, Mombelle, Dostoevskom, Iastrzhebskom, Tolle, Filipove, Akhsharumove, Deby 1, Deby 2, Timakovskom, Shaposhnikove, Khanykove, Pleshcheeve, Golovinskom, Kashkine, Evropeuse, Pal′me i Chernosvitove. Fond 395, opis′ 285, delo 81. RGVIA.

threat to Dostoevsky with whom the Poles had severed all relations, since he "threatened us with the reporting and publication of our former conversations." Ironically, both Dostoevsky and Bogusławski had already displayed an admirable resistance to their interrogators' attempts to force them to incriminate fellow conspirators, as attested by Dostoevsky's evasive answers during his interrogation and by the official complaint that Bogusławski "concealed his actions and did not want to reveal Röhr's ill-intentioned ventures."[16]

Still, the deterioration of their intellectual dialogue reflects a more subtle but sustained ethnic conflict in the prison than Aristov's coordinated attack on the Catholic Christmas feast. It was likely Dostoevsky's admiration of the tsar that offended Bogusławski who notes the novelist's ambition to gain Constantinople for the Russian Empire as well as his desire to see historically Polish, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian lands under the authority of the tsar.[17] Both Zaleski and Bogusławski clarify that their failure to attribute the ideal of humanity embodied in Christ to the Russian tsar meant that they were regarded by Russians as soulless, since they were not properly educated in the veneration of the tsar, "the deity of the nation," through the instruction of the Orthodox priest attired in the vestments of Christ with chalice in hand. Bogusławski implies that Dostoevsky, having received this education in a cadet corps that rewards the blind fulfillment of duty, naturally honored the hand that fed him and so gave into Satan's tempting of Christ with the kingdoms of the world in exchange for worship (Luke 4:5–8). Furthermore, Bogusławski remains certain that Christ does not reside with Russian imperial authority, and by extension with the Orthodox Church reinforcing the tsar's secular power. As he clarifies with the case of Pantaleon Potocki, he sides with the Catholic priests who refuse absolution to informants for the state at a time when the law required Orthodox priests to disclose crimes against the state revealed in the confessional. In other words, such a political theology prevents Catholics in the empire from identifying Nicholas as sovereign in the Orthodox understanding, especially since in Zaleski's assessment Nicholas is the tsar who increasingly militarized the empire, kept track of all those he condemned to serve in his military, encouraged the lawlessness of abusive provincial authority figures, and disregarded requests of local officials in harshly regulating the fate of exiles from the imperial capital. All the same, the two Polish-Lithuanian authors share with Dostoevsky a

16 V. F. Ratch, 1830–1840. Fond 629, opis′ 188, folio 45. Rossiiskaia natsional′naia biblioteka: Rukopisnyi otdel. See the 18th vol. of Dostoevsky's collected works for documents relating to his arrest and interrogations.

17 Blake, *Dostoevsky and the Catholic Underground* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014), 31-32.

sense that their Siberian sentences represent the will of the tsar, not the fair application of an impartial legal code, so they all accept that their return home is predicated on persuading a single sovereign to change their fate which can be realized only through applications for clemency by persons of influence. The tsar's personal intervention in the case of Shevchenko—one that deprived the poet and painter of the right to draw, write, and sing—drives home for Zaleski the power of the tsar to impact the fate of the Orenburg exiles.

For the three Poles arriving from Ust-Kamenogorsk as well as for Mirecki and the additional four political prisoners implicated in the Krakow uprising of 1846 (Józef Anczykowski, Karol Bem, Ludwik Korczyński, and Jan Musiałowicz) who arrived in Omsk in 1850, a search for camaraderie led them to convince Major Krivtsov to allow them to live in a single prison hall alongside a Jewish inmate Isai, Circassians, and Karbadians, thereby isolating themselves from the Russian-speaking prison world.[18] This tendency to separate themselves from the general prison population, which Bogusławski notes increased the resentment and harassment against them in the fortress, shows how the Russian oppression shared by Poles, Circassians, and Karbadians created a common bond that transcended the linguistic divide. In his depiction of Nuru Shakhmurlu Oglu, detailing that "on his face and on his body you would certainly not find a piece of skin that was not broken" since "in his youth the bayonet was not a stranger to him," there is empathy for a fellow victim of the empire. All the same, this was not an equal partnership, as is disclosed by Bogusławski's admiration of the Circassians' "hail of fists" meeting the shaved heads of the Russian convicts, since the Circassians were appreciated for their muscle that protected the Poles from abuse. Zaleski's article is less forthcoming about Polish soldiers' interaction with the Kirgiz population, even though he published an illustrated collection *The Life of the Kirgiz Steppes* (1865), because he does not clarify the extent to which service in the tsar's army, particularly advancement and a return to Poland, often required the exiles to subdue the Kirgiz population for the tsar.

Instead, Zaleski, Piotrowski, and Bogusławski focus on Russo-Polish tensions with Zaleski asserting that following the foot of the Russian soldier expanding the empire ever eastward was "a Polish exile with his pining and

18 The sketch found in Bogusławski's manuscript helps establish the authenticity of the manuscript, since the arrangement of the bunks corresponds to a sketch from the Russian State Military Historical Archive (Fond 349, opis′ 27, delo 1381) included as Figure 1. The sketch resembles the uppermost division of the lower right-hand barrack with a door on its left-hand side that leads to the door exiting the barrack into the courtyard.

his tear." Zaleski adds that Pugachev and his gang killed many of the Bar Confederates exiled to Orenburg and that during the reigns of Nicholas I and Alexander II "at almost every new stage it passed to us to pay with a victim or blood." Bogusławski's devotion to the national cause encourages him to alienate Poles who assimilated into Siberian society but to polonize the daughter of a Cossack colonel, whom he pays the compliment of naming "a Polish woman in the full sense of the word." Zaleski also appreciates Shevchenko's transformation from a "Little Russian" with "great hatred for the Polish nobility" to an artist capable of sharing with Zaleski's brethren "the entirely beautiful, wistful, and poetic side of the Ruthenian people"; Shevchenko's poem dedicated to Zaleski, "In the Days when We were Cossacks," reveals that the fraternal admiration was mutual. Since both Bogusławski and Zaleski consciously preserve the memory of fallen comrades, the footnotes to their translations provide important information about the location of more prominent political exiles within the history of the Polish-Lithuanian deportations in addition to directing the reader to additional readings on nineteenth-century Siberia.

Staging Punishment in the Carceral Continuum: Beyond the Knout and the Lash

In his exposé of the Stalinist penal system, *Gulag Archipelago*, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn traces its complex structure, expanding the length of the empire, from the locale of the accused's arrest and interrogation to the network of camps through which the inmate sentenced to the gulag could expect to rotate. Bogusławski's recollections attest that the foundations for this vast "carceral continuum" existed in the imperial period, before the expansion of the railroad, and were a means by which the tsar's government, through more gentle means, employed detention, interrogation, surveillance, corporal punishment, isolation, and deportation to suppress dissent within its borders.[19] Depictions of imprisonment in multiple prison fortresses with political and common offenders (including infamous lifers) as well as long treks while chained to others in the cold of a Siberian winter in the midst of a struggle to survive illness and hunger allow the reader to envision the state's intentional torment of convicts, beyond the mental

19 In his chapter on the "art of punishing," Foucault discusses gentle means of correction before he concludes with "the carceral" that identifies the replacement of defined frontiers between "confinement, judicial punishment and institutions of discipline" with a continuum (*Discipline and Punish*, 104–31; 297).

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