



Review

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Tsarism by Badcock, Sarah

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UCL SSEES SIMON DIXON

Badcock, Sarah. *A Prison Without Walls? Eastern Siberian Exile in the Last Years of Tsarism*. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 2016. xv + 195 pp. Maps. Figures. Notes. Bibliography. Index. £60.00.

FEW places on earth are more closely identified with exile and punishment than Siberia. To date, however, scholarly interest in the Siberian exile system prior to 1917 (at least outside Russia) has not been equal to the region's notoriety, and much of what is widely known about the subject remains derived from the unrepresentative experiences of revolutionary memoirists and notions of top-down brutality long enshrined in Soviet historiography. The present study, in which Sarah Badcock attempts to redress this balance by reconstructing the lives and daily struggles of those who comprised Siberia's exile population in the final years of autocratic rule (1905–17), is therefore most welcome.

Badcock's book is well researched and cogently structured. She has worked extensively in a number of Siberian archives, and has consulted both official publications and a wealth of memoirs written by political exiles. Following a weighty introduction, four thematic chapters follow the narrative arc of life and death in Siberian exile. The first focuses on the journey to Siberia and on Irkutsk's Aleksandrovskaia transfer prison, one of the book's two geographical loci (the other being Iakutsk). The second chapter concerns everyday life in exile, with particular attention devoted to material conditions, community networks and relations with Siberia's native and settler populations. A third chapter examines exiles' efforts to find work in Siberia, and their attempts to escape when such efforts failed. The fourth and final chapter deals with experiences of illness and infirmity in exile, and includes an absorbing discussion of the effects of hard labour and enforced isolation on exiles' mental health (pp. 149-157).

Much of this book's analytical power results from its relatively short chronology. The social unrest that swept Russia after 1905 saw tens of thousands condemned to Siberian exile and hard labour (*katorga*), with political offenders accounting for an unprecedented 10 per cent of the region's exile population. Badcock shows these 'politicals' — predominantly soldiers, workers and peasants — to have borne little resemblance to their nineteenth-century predecessors, and thereby challenges the traditional juxtaposition of political and criminal exiles, showing such categories to have been more fluid than often

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supposed. The decade in question also saw mass peasant resettlement in Siberia — a policy at odds with the region's traditional role as a penal colony. On this point, the chapter on work and escape, which demonstrates that many exiles' escapes were in reality attempts to move around freely in search of gainful employment — thus revealing the extent to which the autocracy's failure both to develop Siberia economically and to control its exile population were closely connected — is particularly interesting. Nonetheless, as befits history written from below, such arguments are ultimately secondary to the author's fascination with her protagonists themselves. She emphasizes 'the experiences of lower class and disempowered people on the peripheries of empire' (p. 23), striving to recover their lost voices. In this she succeeds admirably. The book is a treasure trove of archival vignettes and, in all, the best account of pre-Revolutionary Siberian exile yet written.

Badcock's emphasis on the distinctive features of the exile system after 1905 sometimes sees her overlook illuminating continuities with the preceding period. For instance, she demonstrates the autocracy's failure to reconcile the punishment of political offenders with its own colonizing mission by highlighting such cases as that of V. A. Voznesenskii, a political exile who found his true calling as a railway engineer in Siberia (pp. 112-13). Such tensions, however, were evident from the early nineteenth century onwards: the case of the Decembrist exile and colonial administrator Dmitrii Zavalishin is especially noteworthy, as are the contributions to Siberian life made by many of the revolutionary populists befriended by George Kennan in the 1880s. Similarly, the discussion of female politicals' self-representation (pp. 54-57) might usefully have considered the ways in which earlier literary texts (most notably Nikolai Nekrasov's fictionalization of the Decembrist wives) effectively provided a cultural script for revolutionary women to follow in Siberian exile. Indeed, it would have been interesting to explore why the exalted representation of political exile as martyrdom remained essentially consistent after 1905, despite such drastic changes in both the social composition and material conditions of exile.

In her conclusion, Badcock notes that she has written a 'messy history' (p. 178). Unfortunately this is true in more ways than one, since the manuscript reveals manifold editorial shortcomings and inadequate proofreading. Library of Congress transliteration has been adopted inconsistently, with the result that several names are spelled differently within the space of a few lines (both Dobrokhotin-Baykov and Baikov appear on pages 31–32, Drozhzhin and Drozhnin on page 148). References to printed sources in the footnotes regularly neglect to provide page numbers. The author's translations from Russian are occasionally inelegant and, in some cases, inaccurate. By far the most egregious example is the title of the work itself, which sees the phrase *obshirnaia tiur'ma bez kryshi* erroneously translated as 'a general prison without walls' (p. 10).

Elsewhere, *davit'* ikh vsekh nado — a fair approximation of which might be 'we need to crush them all' — is rendered as 'everything is necessary to crush them' (p. 50), and the verb *prikhodit'sia* produces the line 'I don't want to hope that it will come to me to live a long time here' (p. 81). Such mistakes, typographical errors and stylistic infelicities abound throughout, testing the reader's patience. These shortcomings notwithstanding, however, Badcock deserves credit for having produced an assiduous, enlightening and admirably humane piece of scholarship, one that adds greatly to our understanding of a hitherto obscure and understudied aspect of Russia's imperial experience.

London Ben Phillips

Ely, Christopher. *Underground Petersburg: Radical Populism, Urban Space, and the Tactics of Subversion in Reform-Era Russia*. Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, IL, 2016. xi ₊ 325 pp. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$39.00: £27.50 (paperback).

REVOLUTIONARY populism of the mid nineteenth century has been well served by historical writing. Soviet historiography saw the seeds of Bolshevik Marxism in the tactics of insurgency used by radicals in the nineteenth century. Magisterial studies by Franco Venturi and Avrahm Yarmolinsky provided thorough accounts of the ideology, strategy and tactics of populist and socialist movements in mid-nineteenth-century Russia. The number of chroniclers is unsurprising, as the story of the populists was a dramatic one that illuminates diverse fields including radical politics, public spectacle and the use of terrorism. Significant acts included the 'going to the people' movement in 1874 and the successful use of regicide by the People's Will in 1881. Christopher Ely's new work seeks to combine this well-worn narrative of insurgent struggle against tsarist autocracy with an exploration of the dynamics of the developing urban environment. His contribution is to challenge analyses of populism that see the struggle as primarily ideological — instead, Ely focuses on environmental and strategic factors as key to understanding the populists; particularly, he focuses much attention on the development of the revolutionary underground as a space for populist mobilization. Drawing on Foucault, Ely conceptualizes St Petersburg as a battleground where power could be won or lost; he considers the urban environment to be a 'heterotopia' where the legitimacy of the state could be successfully challenged by insurgency due to the layout of the city. In Ely's words, 'by similarly isolating radical populism from any all-embracing justification, or lack thereof, we can more easily see it as rooted both in a specific time and place and in the development of a discrete set of practices that did not require coherent ideological scaffolding' (p. 17). The transition from a