

# Collecting Memories: The Far East in Materials and Activities of the Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague

(1923–1945)

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Introduction: The Origin, Activities and the Fate of the Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague

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## **Introduction: The Origin, Activities and the Fate of the Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague**

Since the dramatic geopolitical transformation of the 1990s both in Russia and abroad, historians have been paying significant attention to issues relating to the fate of the Russian emigration. Without doubt, this process appeared to be complimentary to the ‘reconstitution’ of the Russian state and the Russian nation, divided for a long time into ‘the Reds’ and ‘the Whites,’ in the new historical environment. As a matter of fact, ‘the White émigrés,’ who left Russia in the tragic years of the Russian Revolution and the Civil War (1917–1922), managed to maintain and amplify the significant cultural and documental heritage that has a large importance for self-identification of Russians nowadays.<sup>1</sup> Ironically, although a significant part of this documented heritage for many decades had been preserved in the Soviet archives, these materials had been closed to public use by ideological constraints, and only the collapse of the Soviet Union has ‘returned’ them to the people.

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1 See, for example: *Politika, ideologiya, byt i uchenye trudy russkoi emigratsii, 1918–1945*, Vol. 1 (New York, Norman Ross Publishing Inc., 1993), pp. xi-xii.

The document collections of the Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague (in Russian, *Russkii Zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage*, henceforth RZIA), taken after the end of the Second World War to Moscow as a war trophy, might be given as a symbol of such 'temporarily forgotten' national treasures.<sup>2</sup> Importantly, the records collected by the Russian emigrants at RZIA's repositories not only shed special and distinctive light on pre-revolutionary Russian society and the history of the Russian revolutionary movement, but describe in detail the course of the Revolution, the succeeding Civil War and the Allied Intervention, and demonstrate the tragic 'wandering' of the Russian people, thrown out of the country after the Revolution. Since these materials relate not only to the internal political situation, but – also to a very great degree – to world affairs in general, they might be of interest for researchers working in various fields of social science.

In this paper the author, through the examination of RZIA's activities, first of all, strives to analyse what aspects of historical reality has found its particular reflection in its materials. Second, the task of this paper is to reconstruct the framework of RZIA's correspondent network in East Asia and to clarify the formation process of the RZIA's Far Eastern collections. Finally, this paper attempts to demonstrate true informational value of former RZIA's materials through careful reevaluation of their content and context. The author believes that it is logically justifiable to examine this topic through the prism of East Asian affairs, because this aspect of the RZIA's activities has not yet been adequately investigated.

At the end of 1922 'the White forces' lost their last stronghold in the Far Eastern 'homeland' (*Primorie*), and, as a result, a significant number of expatriates fled across the Russian border. Many of Russians found their asylum in the newly born Czechoslovakia, whose national leaders including the first President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937) generously supported them through what is known as 'the Russian Action' (*Russkaya Aktsiya*). Among various institutions created since 1921 by Russian émigrés with the help of the Czechoslovak government there was an archive, designed initially as a repository of materials related to the history of the 'liberation movement' in Russia preceding the revolution of 1917.<sup>3</sup> The incentive to create the archive had come from the circles of Russian social activists and scientists in Prague, who proposed this

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2 For the most comprehensive description of RZIA's collections possessed by Russian archival institutions, see: *Fondy Russkogo zagranichnogo istoricheskogo arkhiva v Prage: Mezharhivnyi putevoditel'* [henceforth *Fondy RZIA*] (Moscow, 1999).

3 About the role played by the Czechoslovak political leaders, who launched 'the Russian Action,' in the fates of Russian émigrés, see: T. I. Khorkhordina, *Novoe o Russkom zagranichnom istoricheskom arkhive: Sobytiya i lyudi*, *Vestnik arkhivista*, No. 2-3 (2006), pp. 339-357 (Part I); *Vestnik arkhivista*, No. 4-5 (2006), pp. 212-235 (Part II). See also such fundamental works as: *Russkie v Prage, 1918-1928*, compiled by S. P. Postnikov (Prague, 1928), 343 p.; V. V. Rudnev, *Russkoe delo v Chekhoslovatskoi Respublike* (Paris, 1924), 54 p.

plan to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, responsible for the implementation of 'the Russian Action.' The Ministry headed by Edvard Beneš (1884–1948) and his deputy Václav Girsá (1875–1954) responded to the plan with sympathy, promising its financial and administrative support. As a result, in February 1923, 'the Archive of the Russian Emigration' (*Arkhiv Russkoi Emigratsii*) was established within the library section of the Culture and Education Department of the Prague Zemgor (the Union of Russian Zemstvos and Towns' Leaders in the Czechoslovak Republic). In April, the Archive directed by the chairman of the Prague Zemgor Vissarion Yakovlevich Gurevich (1876–1940), had widely announced about its establishment and asked émigré organizations for cooperation in the Archive's collecting activities. An advertisement that asked the émigré community to transfer "printed and hand-written materials" to the Archive has been published in numerous Russian periodicals across the world. Importantly, in its first announcement RZIA's members have already explicitly stressed that the Archive would promote its activities in full accordance with "the spirit of complete scientific objectivity, not pursuing any political tendencies in the investigation of historical materials."<sup>4</sup>

Certainly, 'the Russian Action' should be understood within a broad political context of the epoch. It had apparently several dimensions, being an important element of the nation-building and national image-making process in Czechoslovakia. For the authorities, the creation of the Archive meant an attempt to work out ideological policy of the country on the international scene. Undoubtedly, hopes for the upcoming political changes in Russia and even calculations to use new democratic Russian intelligentsia after the fall of the Bolsheviks in order to safeguard Czechoslovak national interests existed. Russian émigrés in Prague and Czechoslovak leaders who actively participated in the Russian Civil War in 1918–1920 could not tolerate the Bolshevik dogmatic ideological course and, therefore, needed tools to advocate and legitimate their democratic principles and policies. In this situation, the Archive had to counteract ideological extremity of the Bolshevik government that strove to force the history of the Russian Revolution into a straitjacket of Marxist-Leninist theory. Notably, the Czechoslovak authorities backed up Russian moderate leftists, represented mostly by the members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (SRP). Obviously, the creation of the Archive, like as other initiatives taken within the framework of 'the

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4 *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 5, 168, 287; *Bibliografiya Russkoi revolyutsii i Grazhdanskoi voiny (1917–1921)*, edited by Ian Slavic, compiled by S. P. Postnikov (Prague, 1938), pp. x-xi; Lukáš Babka, New Documents on the History of the Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague, *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, Vol. 13, No. 2-3, 2012, pp. 153-154; Jiří Vacek, Lukáš Babka, *Voices of the Banished: Periodical Press of the Emigration from Soviet Russia (1918–1945)*, Prague (National Library of the Czech Republic – Slavonic Library), 2009, pp. 16-22; Lukáš Babka, The Slavonic Library in Prague: Its History and Russian Émigré Collections, *Slavic & East European Information Resources*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (July-September 2016), pp. 175-176, 179-182.

Russian Action,’ should be considered also as an element of the broad ‘cultural diplomacy’ toward Russia as the largest Slavic nation and as a neighbour. Presumably, the accentuated ‘non-partyness’ and ‘scientificness’ of the Archive correlated directly with the democratic political course of the Czechoslovak government.<sup>5</sup>

From the very beginning tensions arose on the question of what social organisation should control the newly born Archive, but, by the autumn of 1924, a compromise had been reached between Zemgor and the members of the Russian Academic Group (émigré scientific society) in Prague. As a result, some academic figures, such as a historian, a prominent member of the Constitutional Democratic Party and an archivist (during the Revolution he served as a Department Head in the State Archival Agency) Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kizevetter (1866–1933), agreed to work in the Archive.<sup>6</sup> In October the Archive's statutes were admitted at the general meeting of Zemgor, and it had been renamed as ‘The Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague.’ According to the statutes, the mission of RZIA was formulated as “collecting, systematization and scientific treatment of materials relating to the history of Russia and peoples living in Russia.” Notably, a special Council composed of famous Russian historians and public leaders was elected as the supreme Archive's executive body, appointing a Manager (*upravlyayushchii*) of the Archive and members of the permanent Scientific Council. Professor Kizevetter had been a chairman of the Council and the Scientific Council, which mostly made resolutions on appraisal of materials, until his death in 1933.<sup>7</sup>

Interestingly, three divisions such as the 1) Documents Section, 2) Printed publications (books and magazines) Section, and 3) Newspapers Section had been created within RZIA by the end of 1925. Nevertheless, despite this fact, the Archive's founders perceived them as organic parts of the whole writing heritage of the Russian emigration and the Russian people in general. In other words, all records have been divided only for operational convenience, being considered united by the RZIA's national mission, because, metaphorically speaking, RZIA was established as the only

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5 Vacek, Babka, *Voices of the Banished*, pp. 17-19; Khorkhordina, *Novoe o Russkom zagranichnom istoricheskom archive*, Part I, pp. 346-349, 353-354; Part II, pp. 215-218, 222-226, 231-232; T. F. Pavlova, A. F. Izyumov i RZIA, *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 1996, No. 4, p. 32. About the perceptions of the Russian émigrés towards the newly created Archive, see: N. A. Rodionova, *Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage: Istoriya stanovleniya i deyatelnosti*, *Vestnik RUDN (seriya "Istoriya Rossii")*, 2015, No. 4, pp. 109-112.

6 A. F. Izyumov, *Zapiska o Russkom Istoricheskom Arkhive v Prage*, *Politika, ideologiya, byt i uchenye trudy russkoi emigratsii, 1918–1945*, Vol. 2, p. 400; Pavlova, A. F. Izyumov i RZIA, p. 30; Rodionova, *Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage*, pp. 109-111.

7 T. F. Pavlova, *Predislovie*, *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 5-6; Babka, *New Documents on the History of the Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague*, pp. 153-154; Vacek, Babka, *Voices of the Banished*, pp. 20-22; *Russkii Zagranichnyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv pri Ministerstve Inostrannykh Del Chekhoslovatskoi Respubliki v 1936 godu* [henceforth *RZIA v 1936 g.*] (Prague, 1936), pp. 4-5.

archive 'of the Russians, by the Russians and for the Russians.' Without a doubt, 'a hereditary archivist' Kizevetter (his father served as a head of the Chief Staff's archival division at the War Ministry) and his former student in Moscow University Aleksandr Filaretovich Izyumov (1885–1951), the head of the Documents Section from 1924 to 1945, who worked during the Revolution in the Moscow District Archival Agency, understood RZIA's collections as a natural assemblage of records (*fonds d'archives*) relating to the Russian people's history, created or accumulated by the Russians who temporarily were living abroad.<sup>8</sup> As mentioned above, RZIA's staff worked hand in hand regardless of this sectional division, and the efforts of Izyumov and his colleagues by the Documents Section were largely supplemented by the work of Sergei Porfirievich Postnikov (1883–1965) and Lev Florianovich Magerovskii (1896–1986), heads of the Printed Publications Section and the Newspapers Section correspondingly.

Since from the very beginning RZIA was dependent from the Czechoslovak government, its organisation along with the entire lives of the Russian émigrés was a rather unstable one, transforming speedily during the years of its existence. Meanwhile, support of Czechoslovakia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was decisive in the activities of the Archive, and this became much stronger when in the spring of 1928 Zemgor had officially transferred their rights on RZIA to the Ministry. As a result, Zemgor's Council, obtained two seats in the RZIA's Council as a founder organisation, had lost its governing functions acting afterwards merely as a consultative organ. Simultaneously, the Ministry had appointed a historian and a specialist on Russia, a member of the Scientific Council Jan Slavík (1885–1978) as its special representative to RZIA. By the way, signing the act on transfer of the Archive in 1928, Russian representatives expressed their strong wish that the collections should be transferred to Russia only after the fall of the Bolshevik regime. When in 1934 new statutes of the Archive had been adopted, RZIA's Russian administration had eventually lost its autonomous voice on finance, staffing matters and access policy. Moreover, the post of the Archive's manager had also been liquidated, and a number of staff had been dismissed. In fact, although the majority of staff were Russians as before, in fact, RZIA had been almost incorporated in the structure of the Czechoslovak state. As a result, the Ministry attempted to concentrate all existing collections of former Russian émigrés under its control as 'the Slavonic Archives,' and the Don Cossacks Archive, another rich repository of historical documents on Russian history which existed since 1925 in Prague, had been integrated into RZIA as an autonomous section.<sup>9</sup>

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8 See: Izyumov, *Zapiska o Russkom Istoricheskom Arkhive v Prage*, pp. 407-408.

9 *Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage – dokumentatsiya: Katalog sobranii dokumentov, khranyashchikhsya v Prazhskoi Slavyanskoi biblioteke i v Gosudarstvennom arkhive Rossiiskoi Federatsii*

At the end of 1938, due to the financial problems of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was decided to put RZIA under the administration of the Ministry of Interior. Since new owners showed little interest in the Russian Historical Archive, RZIA's purchasing, collecting and active systematizing activities actually had ceased. However, ironically, this interministerial act saved RZIA from liquidation in March 1939, when Czechoslovakia was occupied by Nazi Germany. As a result, it was put under the control of German military and secret police authorities that had their own perspectives with regards to RZIA's materials. Some RZIA's collections had been transferred to the German military archives.<sup>10</sup>

Despite such a dramatic fate, with meaningful support from the Czechoslovak government, during the years of its existence, RZIA's Documents Section managed to collect more than 350,000 items of archival documents in its repositories which included: a) 900 items of memoirs and dairies with a total length of more than 86,000 pages; b) 24,000 photos and pictures; c) 2.9 million leaves of RZIA's own documents and 650,000 leaves of the Don Cossacks Archive Section.<sup>11</sup> The Printed Publications Section, usually treated as a RZIA's library, by the end of the Second World War accumulated about 38,000 titles (of books), including 30,000 books in Russian,<sup>12</sup> and around 4,700 titles of magazines. The Newspapers Section by 1945 boasted a plentiful collection composed of 4,300 titles of newspapers, published in various places all over the world.<sup>13</sup>

After the end of the Second World War Czechoslovakia entered into the Soviet sphere of influence and RZIA's document collections, as well as other émigré archives, had been handed over to the Soviet Union. By the beginning of 1946, the archives were transported to the USSR and deposited in the Central Archive of the October Revolution and Socialistic Constructing (*Tsentral'nyi arkhiv Oktyabr'skoi revolyutsii i sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva*), the predecessor of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (*Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii*,

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[henceforth *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*], Edited By L. Babka, A. Koprshivova, L. Petrusheva, Prague, 2011, pp. 53-54 (in Russian and Czech); *RZIA v 1936 g.*, pp. 3-5, 42-44; Izyumov, *Zapiska o Russkom Istoricheskom Arkhive v Prage*, p. 400; Vacek, Babka, *Voices of the Banished*, p. 20; *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 9, 12; T. I. Khorkhordina, *Istoriya i arkhivy* (Moscow, RGGU, 1994), pp. 287-291; T. I. Khorkhordina, A. V. Popov, *Arkhivnaya evristika: uchebnik* (Moscow, RGGU, 2015), pp. 220-221; GARF. F. R-5973, op. 1, d. 33, l. 1.

10 Vacek, Babka, *Voices of the Banished*, p. 20; Pavlova, Predislovie, *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 12-14; Izyumov, *Zapiska o Russkom Istoricheskom Arkhive v Prage*, pp. 400-401.

11 Pavlova, Predislovie, *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 12, 17; *RZIA v 1936 g.*, p. 19.

12 According to the author's calculation, based on the RZIA's card catalogue (38,629 cards) that has been available online in the Slavonic Library in Prague (<https://retris.nkp.cz/Catalog?sigla=ABA001&catalogId=080rzia&caseId=null&drawerId=null&recordId=null&bookmarkId=null&filterId=null&page=null&batchId=null&phase=null&batchUser=null>).

13 Babka, *The Slavonic Library in Prague*, p. 180.

henceforth GARF). In 1946, a special secret division was created there for the curation of RZIA's collections. As for the Library and the Newspaper Section of RZIA, their materials remained in Prague and eventually entered the repositories of the Slavonic Library (*Slovanská knihovna*, founded initially as the Russian Library of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) that further became an autonomous division of the National Library of the Czech Republic. Thus, 'the last will' of the RZIA's founders was completely ignored and this invaluable national heritage, accumulated by RZIA's staff in the dramatic years of the interwar period and understood by them as an organic whole, had been divided into two parts. Moreover, due to the fundamental rearrangement of the document collections in Moscow, the unity and the original order of the *fonds* were partly destroyed, and a number of records were even transferred to other Soviet archival repositories.<sup>14</sup>

For convenience of examination, RZIA's materials can be divided thematically into the following groups: 1) Russia and the Far East in history (until 1917), 2) Anti-governmental activities of the Russian émigrés in Japan (1905–1920), 3) Imperial Russia's institutions and organisations in Manchuria (1896–1924), 4) The Civil War and the Japanese Siberian expedition (1917–1925), and 5) Post-revolutionary émigré collection (1925–1945).

## Chapter 1. Russia and the Far East in history (until 1917)

The RZIA's collections provide a rather abundant amount of information on the history of bilateral Russo-Japanese relations and, especially, on the history of the Russo-Japanese War. As for books, it is known that the library section of RZIA acquired almost all the books in Russian concerning the war of 1904–1905. Incidentally, as the Russo-Japanese War was considered to be an overture to the First Russian Revolution of 1905, a significant number of books and brochures, published as an anti-Tsarist propaganda campaign in Europe, entered RZIA's holdings. These publications frequently did not have a direct relation to the military campaigns of the war, but they might be understood as an essential component of the war, being largely inspired by these events.<sup>15</sup> So-called 'trending' (*napravlencheskie*) magazines such as '*Russkaya starina*' or '*Russkii arkhiv*', collected in RZIA systematically, may also be of huge interest for researchers in this aspect, because a majority of them were historical journals that published archival documents, memoirs

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14 Pavlova, Predislovie, *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 9, 14-28; A. V. Dobrovskaya, Predislovie, *Fondy Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii po istorii belogo dvizheniya i emigratsii: Putevoditel'*. T. 4. (Moscow, 2004), pp. xi-xiii; Izyumov, Zapiska o Russkom Istoricheskom Arkhive v Prage, p. 400; RZIA v Moskve: Vspominayut ochevidtsy, *Otechestvennye arkhivy*, 1996, No. 4, pp. 37-43; Khorkhordina, *Istoriya i arkhivy*, pp. 287-291; Khorkhordina, Popov, *Arkhivnaya evristika*, pp. 219-226.

15 GARF. F. R-5956, op. 1, d. 111, l. 23 ob.; RZIA's card catalogue at the website of the Slavonic Library in Prague.

of participants or eyewitnesses of some historical events, books and article reviews, or academic papers on history.<sup>16</sup>

Since official documents in their majority remained in the Russian 'homeland,' RZIA had to focus on collecting, on the one hand, semi-official and non-official archival records and, on the other hand, typographically printed materials. However, even in such circumstances some valuable official documents have been successfully discovered and entered into RZIA's repositories. Some rather unique acquisitions by RZIA are represented with a) secret reports on reconnaissance and espionage service accumulated at the Staff of the Supreme Commander of All Land and Marine Military Forces Acting against Japan (October 1904 – February 1906; since then 'the Staff of the Far Eastern Military Troops'), and b) other materials on the Russo-Japanese War, preserved since 1972 in the Russian State Military History Archive (RGVIA. F. 14926, op. 1, d. 22-29; F. 487, op. 1, 10 items).<sup>17</sup> A private collection of General Vasilii Egorovich Flug (1860–1955), deposited to RZIA in 1929–1932, is also useful for those who investigate issues relating to the Russo-Japanese War and Russia's Far Eastern policies (GARF. F. R-6683, op. 1, 27 items). These documents are of private origin, mainly the memoirs of the General, who served as the Staff Commander of the Second Manchuria Army during the war and the Military Governor of the Priamur region in 1905–1910.<sup>18</sup> In addition, RZIA's collections included the unique report on the reasons for the war, written supposedly by State-Secretary Aleksandr Mikhailovich Bezobrazov (1853–1931), who was considered to be one of the main perpetrators of the conflict.<sup>19</sup> Memoirs of General Georgii (Yurii) Nikiforovich Danilov (1866–1937), Major-General Pavel Fyodorovich Ryabikov (1875–1932) (see about him in Chapter 5) and of some other common participants of the war can be also found in RZIA's repositories.<sup>20</sup>

In January 1935, RZIA bought an important personal archive of the outstanding Russian diplomat Ivan Yakovlevich Korostovets (1862–1933), one of the most recognised experts in Far Eastern affairs in the pre-revolutionary Russia.<sup>21</sup> As a secretary of the Russian delegation he participated in Russo-Japanese peace negotiations in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Then he served as a Russian minister plenipotentiary in Peking, and in 1912, soon after the Xinhai Revolution, actively

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16 *RZIA v 1936 g.*, pp. 21, 29; *Bibliografiya Yaponii: Literatura, izdannaya v Rossii s 1734 po 1917 g.* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 176-181, 184, 186-189, 191-192, 195-196, 199-200, 202, 205-211, 213-217, 219-222.

17 *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 437-438, 421.

18 *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 383-384; GARF. F. R-5956, op. 1, d. 111, l. 23 ob.

19 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 137, l. 74 ob.;

20 *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 358, 413; GARF. F. R-5881, op. 1, d. 717; F. R-5793, op. 1, dd. 17-20, 32; op. 2, d. 79.

21 See briefly about him in: I. I. Serebrennikov, *Grazhdanskaya voina v Rossii: Velikii otkhod* (Moscow, 2003), p. 587; *Rossiiskoe zarubezh'e vo Frantsii, 1919–2000* (Moscow, 2008), Vol. 1, p. 737.

participated in negotiations with the Mongols in Örgöö (present day Ulaanbaatar), contributing greatly to the birth of an independent Mongolia. He was famous for numerous literary works on the Far East, based on his own experience as a diplomat.<sup>22</sup> This archive, acquired from his son Vadim through RZIA's representative in Paris Pavel Pavlovich Mendeleev (1863–1951), included the diplomat's private and official correspondence, his authentic original memoirs “*Recollections on Mongolia*” and other materials. Nowadays the collection, documents of which cover the period from 1917 to 1932, is preserved in the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire in Moscow (AVPRI. F. 340, op. 839, 46 items).<sup>23</sup> In regards to Mongolia, RZIA had also acquired the unique manuscript of the officer of the General Staff Major-General Vladimir Nikolaevich Poltavtsev (1875–1937), another active agent of the Archive in Belgrade, who served in the Headquarters of the Irkutsk Military District in 1909–1913 and engaged in the investigation of Mongolia during the China Revolution. Interestingly, his manuscript devoted to Russian-Mongolian relations between 1911 and 1913, attracted the attention of the Wehrmacht during the occupation and was handed over to the German Military Archives.<sup>24</sup>

Among other notable collections relating to Japan, there exists an archive of the archpriest of the Russian Embassy Pyotr Ivanovich Bulgakov (1862–1931), who served in Tokyo from 1906 to 1924. Incidentally, being an uncle of the famous writer Mikhail Bulgakov, he was married to Sofiya Matveevna Pozdneeva (1862–1943), a sister of an outstanding Russian orientalist Dmitrii (Sinologist and Japanologist, 1865–1937) and Aleksei (Mongolist, 1851–1920) Pozdnev.<sup>25</sup> His archive was transferred to the Prague Archive in 1935–1936 by the efforts of its representative in Australia Innokentii Nikolaevich Seryshev (1883–1976), who arrived in Japan at the beginning

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22 His publications include: *Kitaitsy i ikh tsivilizatsiya* (Saint Petersburg, 1896), *Mirnye peregovory v Portsmute v 1905 godu: Dnevnik I. Ya. Korostovtza, sekretarya grafa S. Yu. Vitte vo vremya Portsmutskoi konferentsii. Iyul'-sentyabr' 1905 g.*, *Byloe*, 1918, Nos. 1-3, 12; *Rossiia na Dal'nem Vostoke* (Pekin, 1923), *Stranitsa iz istorii russkoi diplomatii. Russko-yaponskie peregovory v Portsmute v 1905 g.: Dnevnik I. Ya. Korostovtza, sekretarya grafa Vitte* (Pekin, 1923), *Von Chinggis Khan zur Sowietrepublik, Eine kurtze Geschichte der Mongolei unter besonderer Ber ecksichtigung der neuestern Zeit* (Berlin&Leipzig, 1926). Last years his contribution to the birth of an independent Mongolian state was reevaluated, and his works and diaries were published in Mongolia (*Ot Chingiskhana do Sovetskoi respubliki*, Ulan-Bator, 2004; *Devyat' mesyatsev v Mongolii. Dnevnik russkogo upolnomochennogo v Mongolii. Avgust 1912 – mai 1913 g.*, Ulan-Bator, 2009).

23 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 53, l. 1 ob.; *Fondy RZIA*, p. 418; *Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii: putevoditel'*, Otvetsv. redactor I. V. Budnik (Minneapolis, Minnesota, East View Publications, 1995), p. 305.

24 GARF. F. 7030, op. 1, d. 133. No. 7613 (August 20, 1929).; GARF. F. R-6120, op. 1, d. 1-21.

25 E. A Zemskaia, *Mikhail Bulgakov i ego rodnye: Semeinyi portret* (Moscow, 2004), pp. 80, 219, 249; Sawada Kazuhiko, *Hakkei roshiajin to nihon bunka* (Tokyo, Seibunsha, 2007), pp. 271-273.

of 1920 as an assistant of the archpriest.<sup>26</sup> The archive consisted of 156 files which were donated at the end of 1935 under the condition of its transfer to Russia after restoration of a legitimate power in the country.<sup>27</sup>

Bulgakov's archive is a very unique one, devoted mostly to Japan. He felt himself as a missionary of the Russian Orthodox Church in the remotest part of the world, and this 'missionism' compelled him to conduct intensive research of the Eastern (Buddhist) culture. Undoubtedly, ties of kinship with the leading Russian orientalists of that epoch influenced him greatly, contributing to his research of East Asian culture. Because he had a habit of regularly taking notes on Japanese periodicals, 45 files (approximately 30%) of the collection contain detailed reviews of Japanese newspapers and journals, made by him from 1909 to 1923. He even prepared for a publication a voluminous monograph "*Ideological Echo of the Great European War*" (in four parts) that, unfortunately, was never published. Except for this, there are a number of files with newspapers clippings and correspondence in the collection.<sup>28</sup> According to the RZIA's card catalogue, the manuscript '*Christianity and Japan*' (Ch. 1-2. Berkeley, California, 1929, 424+23 p.), hand-printed and duplicated by mimeograph machine, at first was handed over to the library, but then was returned to the Documents Section. Bulgakov's collection is a brilliant archival material that might be examined from the perspective of the history of oriental studies in pre-revolutionary Russia.

Among other archival collections closely relating to Japan, there is one of the Russian military agent in Japan, composed of 59 voluminous files created from 1913 to 1922 and relating primarily to the Russian war orders in Japan during the First World War (F. R-5980, 1 op., 61 items). According to the old inventory compiled by GARF's specialists in 1951, this archive could be divided into two following parts: 1) Official reports (10 files with copies of the military agent's reports and 2 inventory books of correspondence) and notebooks (7 items), and 2) Contracts and related official reports on the war orders (40 files). This archive, remained in the hands of the last military representative of the 'White forces' Major-General Mikhail Pavlovich Podtyagin (1876-?), was believed to be transferred to GARF with other RZIA's documents in 1946.<sup>29</sup> Symbolically, this collection is represented mostly by evidential documents such as originals of the contracts, packing and shipping specifications or invoices, official correspondence in English, Russian

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26 About him see: A. A. Khisamutdinov, *Rossiiskaya emigratsiya v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione i Yuzhnoi Amerike: Biobibliograficheski slovar'* (Vladivostok, 2000), pp. 280; Sawada Kazuhiko, *Hakkei roshiajin to nihon bunka*, pp. 72-73, 76, 79, 313, 327.

27 GARF. F. R-5973, op. 1, d. 33, l. 1 ob.; F. 7030, op. 1, d. 136, ll. 21, 28 ob.; RZIA – dokumentatsiya, p. 304.

28 GARF. F. R-5973. Bulgakov Pyotr Ivanovich, protoierei, nastoyatel tserkvi pri Rossiiskom posol'stve v Tokio, 1 op., 156 items (<http://statearchive.ru/383>).

29 GARF. F. R-5980, op. 1, d. 61, ll. 1-16.

and Japanese relating to the Russian governmental orders in Japan, made mainly for the Chief Ordnance Administration (GAU) of the War Ministry. Consequently, these documents include significant information on both Russian and Japanese politics and economy, showing the character of industrial and commercial developments of this epoch. Moreover, they shed light on the very unique 'cooperative' period of bilateral relations, contributing to a better understanding of the international politics just before the Russian Revolution.<sup>30</sup> Notably, another part of the Podtyagin archive had been handed over to the Hoover Institution Archives of Stanford University through Lieutenant-General Nikolai Nikolaevich Golovin (1875–1944) in 1928.<sup>31</sup>

Some valuable records that remained in the hands of other Russian officials in Japan also entered RZIA's repositories. Due to an arbitrary rearrangement of the Podtyagin Archive in GARF, for example, printed materials relating to foreign trade via Kobe port, preserved until the death of the former Consul in that city Artur Yuliusovich von Landezen (1874–1937) and handed over to the Archive in 1937, were added to the collection in 1960 (F. R-5980, 1 op., d. 60). Landezen, who graduated from the Archaeological Institute in Petersburg (the first institution for the education of archivists in Russia, because 'archaeology' was understood as a broad discipline that dealt with material evidences of the past including both archaeological artifacts and archival documents) in 1903, since then served in Russian diplomatic missions in China and Japan until his emigration to the United States in 1921. Being a highly educated person and an expert in Far Eastern affairs, he is known as an author of a number articles on China and Japan which were published in Russian journals for oriental studies and serials issued by the Russian Foreign Office. A few other documents that belonged to Landezen and were transferred to RZIA, were dispersed between various sections and collections.<sup>32</sup> RZIA's holdings also included a group of Japanese posters,

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30 See in detail in: Eduard Baryshev, On the Two Archival Collections of "the Russian Military Agent in Japan:" From the Viewpoint of Archival Science and Source Study, *Roshia-shi kenkyu* (The Study of Russian History), No.100 (December 2017), pp. 29-53. (in Japanese).

31 *Guide to the Collections in the Hoover Institution Archives relating to Imperial Russia, the Russian Revolutions and Civil War, and the First Emigration*, Compiled by Carol A. Leadham (Hoover University Press, Stanford University, Stanford, California, 1986), p. 50; *Special Collections in the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace*, by Nina Almond and H. H. Fischer, Stanford University, 1940, p. 66.

32 Baryshev, On the Two Archival Collections of "the Russian Military Agent in Japan"; GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 136, ll. 88 ob. – 89 ob.; G. A. Lensen, *Russian Diplomatic and Consular Officials in East Asia: A Handbook of the Representatives of Tsarist Russia and the Provisional Government in China, Japan and Korea from 1858 to 1924 and of Soviet Representatives in Japan from 1925 to 1968 compiled on the basis of Russian, Japanese and Chinese Sources with a Historical Introduction* (Tokyo – Tallahassee, Florida, 1968), p. 34; *Bibliografiya Yaponii*, p. 93; Olga Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints: Bibliography as History, 1898–1961. Materials for a Definitive Bibliography* (Norman Ross, 2002), pp. 204, 215.

donated together with the above-mentioned Landezen's documents and acquired from the former Russian commercial agent (the representative of the Ministry of Trade and Industry) in Japan, Karl Karlovich Miller (1874–1943) in 1935.<sup>33</sup> Presumably, these kinds of materials were arranged within RZIA's Documents Section into the Class A, composed of various collections of photos, pictures, caricatures, maps, plans, (revolutionary) leaflets, proclamations, stamps, banknotes, etc. Unfortunately, it is not easy to find them today in GARF's repositories.

## Chapter 2. Anti-governmental activities of the Russian émigrés in Japan (1905–1920)

During the first years of its existence RZIA had already established close relations with various Russian émigré organizations around the world and provided itself with special representatives in the main centres of Russian emigration.<sup>34</sup> In June 1924 the Archive has appointed Dmitrii Ivanovich Pozdnyakov, who was known in the late 1920s as a representative of the Prague's publishing house 'Plamya' in Harbin, its official agent in the Far East by paying him a fixed salary. However, Pozdnyakov, who engaged in this work very enthusiastically and made a considerable contribution to the RZIA's collections, was the only agent in the Far East until 1928.<sup>35</sup> In other words, it was rather difficult for RZIA to create a firm and stable correspondent network in the Far East which seemed to be a region remote from "the cultural centres of Russian political life." Notably, one of the most reliable routes for delivery of materials from the Far East and settling accounts with correspondents for many years was via Czechoslovak diplomatic missions in China.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, it took years before RZIA had managed to establish a good reputation among Russian émigrés and to win some credit not only in the circles of the former revolutionists and reformists, but also among the rightists and monarchists. In fact, at the beginning the primary interest of the Archive's former revolutionist and progressivist founders was to record the history of 'the Russian

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33 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 136, ll. 3 ob., 88 ob. – 89 ob.; G. A. Lensen, *Russian Diplomatic and Consular Officials in East Asia*, p. 38; *Rossiiskoe zarubezh'e vo Frantsii, 1919–2000* (Moscow, 2010), Vol. 2, pp. 187-188.

34 Pavlova, Predislovie, *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 5-6; T. F. Pavlova, *Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage i general N. N. Golovin, Rossika v SShA: Sbornik statei (Materialy k istorii russkoi politicheskoi emigratsii. Vyp. 7)* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 290-297; Babka, *New Documents on the History of the Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague*, pp. 153-154; Vacek, Babka, *Voices of the Banished*, pp. 20-22.

35 About Pozdnyakov's activities see in: *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 85, 109, 136, 155, 158, 162-164, 167, 168, 172, 174, 175, 177, 189, 190, 194, 196, 199, 209, 286, 519; GARF. F. R-5881, op. 2, d. 994; F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 134, No. 7831; d. 137, l. 23; P. Polansky, *Russian Publications in China, Japan and Korea*, edited by Amir Khisamutdinov (Moscow, 2002) (in Russian), illustration to the book No. 24. It is believed that he returned to the USSR in 1935 and had been executed the following years (V. V. Levitskii, *Voskresenie imeni: Istoriko-filologicheskoe obozrenie* (Har'kov, 2002), p. 201).

36 GARF. F. R-5825, op. 1, d. 110, ll. 1-2.

liberation movement,' and, as a consequence, former monarchists and conservatives could not willingly respond to the Archive's call to send archival materials to Prague. On the contrary, representatives of the 'revolutionary camp' who enthusiastically reacted to this appeal had perceived it as a chance to declare their political and philosophical credos openly and to advocate them before the Bolsheviks' victory in Russia.<sup>37</sup>

Certainly, the relative success in collecting revolutionary movement records was due to the personality and social bonds of the first manager of RZIA, Gurevich, who engaged actively in the process of the Archive's creation from the very beginning.<sup>38</sup> Similar to some other representatives of the Prague Zemgor, Gurevich had been a member of the SRP, and during the Civil War he actively participated in political movements in Siberia and the Russian Far East. After emigration to Czechoslovakia, he became one of the central figures in the Russian diaspora activities, being a member of the SRP delegation abroad.<sup>39</sup> It should be noted that Pozdnyakov, RZIA's first agent in China, was also known as a veteran of the SRP, who joined the Party Committee in Harbin in 1919.<sup>40</sup> These political features of the RZIA's activities in 1920s apparently contradicted with the declared 'non-partyness' of the Archive, influencing negatively the perceptions of RZIA among the Russian émigrés.

The document collection relating to the Russian liberation and revolutionary movement in the Far East had its origins in 1926, when former member of the SRP Aleksandr Nikolaevich Alekseevskii (1878–1957) donated materials related to the activities of the publishing group of 'Volya' ('Freedom') in Nagasaki. The newspaper had started as a non-party organ in April 1906, soon after the Russo-Japanese War, then it transformed into an organ of the SRP and almost ceased its publishing in February 1907. However, the SRP's publishing group itself existed a little longer, releasing some revolutionary books, brochures and pamphlets.<sup>41</sup> Alekseevskii engaged in revolutionary disorders in Blagoveshchensk in 1905, had been arrested, but escaped and illegally departed from Russia in 1907. Then he temporarily lived in Nagasaki, participating in publishing this revolutionary newspaper.<sup>42</sup> This archive collection preserved by Alekseevskii in

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37 See: A. F. Izyumov, *Zapiska o Russkom Istoricheskom Arkhive v Prage*, p. 402; GARF. F. R-5825, op. 1, d. 110, ll. 1-2.

38 GARF. F. R-5825, op. 1, d. 110, ll. 1.

39 *Fondy RZIA*, p. 287.

40 M. A. Krol', *Stranitsy moei zhizni* (Moscow-Jerusalem, 2008), Ch. 50.

41 For the brief introduction, see: Sawada Kazuhiko, *Hakkei roshiajin to nihon bunka*, Seibunsha, 2007, pp. 274-275, 325-327.

42 *Rossiiskoe zarubezh'e vo Frantsii, 1919–2000* (Moscow, 2008), Vol. 1, pp. 39-40; *S Kolchakom – protiv Kolchaka: Kratkii biograficheskii slovar. Kratkii ukazatel' uchrezhdenii i organizatsii. Kratkii ukazatel' literatury po istorii Grazhdanskoi voiny v Sibiri'*, sost. i. nauchnyi red. A. V. Kvakin (Moscow, 2007), p. 5.

emigration and donated by him to RZIA comprised both a complete set of 'Volya's publications and various documents relating to the activities of this party publication organ. Importantly, 'Volya's publications included around 100 issues of the newspaper and other imprints (in the RZIA's card catalogue 20 titles of this publication house are listed; in addition, 7 titles have a direct relation to the activities of Russian political émigrés in Nagasaki), all of which became accessible in RZIA in the 1930s. Nowadays, the major archival part of Alekseevskii's donation (74 items) has been preserved in the GARF's repositories (F. R-6317), but publications of 'Volya' remained in Prague. As a result, it is difficult to conduct adequate research on the topic without visiting both institutions. Some manuscripts written by Alekseevskii on the Far Eastern problems, for example, his article 'Korea as Japan's colony,' might also be found in GARF's repositories (R-5881, 1 op., file 642. See also files 643-644). Moreover, in 1929 RZIA had purchased a small collection of 'Volya's propaganda leaflets.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, Gurevich's activities eventually resulted in the acquisition of various private and organizational records of former revolutionary leaders of the SRP. It was also he, who in August 1926 proposed to the veteran of the revolutionary movement Nikolai Konstantinovich Russel-Sudzilovskii (1850–1930),<sup>44</sup> living in Tianjin, to transfer his archive to Prague.<sup>45</sup> Russel, who was known as “the central figure of Russian political emigration in the Far East,” arrived in Japan by the initiative of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in New York in May 1905 to promote an anti-Tsarist propaganda campaign<sup>46</sup> among Russian prisoners of war. In the following months, gaining tacit support of the Japanese War Ministry, he organised a number of enthusiastic political meetings at the camps and distributed about a ton and a half of propaganda literature. As a result,

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43 *Fondy RZIA*, p. 243; GARF. F. R-5825, op. 1, d. 110, l. 1 ob.; F. 7030, op. 1, d. 133, No. 7707 (December 6, 1929).

44 For his detailed biography see: Wada Haruki, *Nikolai Russeru: kokkyo o koeru narodoniki*, Tokyo, 1973, two vols.; M. I. Ios'ko, *Nikolai Sudzilovskii-Russel: Zhizn, revolyutsionnaya deyatel'nost' i mirovozzrenie*, Minsk, 1976. – 335 p.

45 GARF. F. R-5825, op. 1, d. 110, l. 1-2.

46 See about this campaign, financed by the influential American-Jewish banker Jacob Henry (Hirsch) Schiff (1847–1920), in: George Kennan, II. How Russian Soldiers were Enlightened in Japan, *The Outlook*, March 17, 1915; Pacifists Pester Till Mayor Calls Them Traitors: Socialists at Carnegie Hall Fail to Make Russian Celebration a Peace Meeting, *The New York Times*, March 24, 1917, pp. 1-2; Sudzilovskii (Russel') N. K. Posleslovie k stat'e Dzhordzha Kennana "Kak velos' prosveshchenie russkikh soldat v Yaponii", *Katorga i ssylka: Istoriko-revolutsionnyi vestnik*, 1927, No. 31. C. 167; Silin A. S. Revolyutsionnaya propaganda sredi russkikh voennoplennykh v Yaponii (1905–1906 gg.), *Voprosy istorii*, 1976, No. 5. C. 123; Frederick F. Travis, The Kennan-Russel Anti-Tsarist Propaganda Campaign among Russian Prisoners of war in Japan, 1904-1905, *The Russian Review* (Vol. 40, No. 3, July 1981), pp. 263-277.

a Russian-language magazine '*Japan and Russia*' ('*Yaponiya i Rossiya*')<sup>47</sup> that he edited from August 1905 became an influential instrument of Russian revolutionary agitation. Russel himself planned to send the army of the revolutionised prisoners of war to Russia and dreamt of becoming president of Siberia with the assistance of Japan's authorities.<sup>48</sup>

He felt a keen interest in the political situation in the Far East and even entered in contact with Chinese counterparts such as 'the founding father' of the Republic of China Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925).<sup>49</sup> It was also Russel who launched publishing the newspaper '*Volya*' in Nagasaki, a natural successor of '*Japan and Russia*.' In October 1910, Russel left Japan and moved to the Philippines where a colony of Russian political emigrants had already existed, but in January 1915, in the midst of the First World War, he returned to Japan to continue his literary and publishing work. Naturally, he greeted the Russian Revolution with sympathy, but could not entirely recognise the Bolsheviks' radicalism. Interestingly, his 'revolutionary beliefs' did not prevent him from receiving the allied American-Japanese military intervention warmly and working as a treasurer of the US section of the Red Cross Society in Nagasaki in 1918–1919.<sup>50</sup> However, after his American citizenship had been revoked,<sup>51</sup> in September 1920 Russel moved to Tianjin with his Japanese wife and children, where he spent the last years of his life. Notably, in the following years he worked hard as an enthusiastic supporter of Soviet Russia, contributing much to the establishment of the Russian Famine Relief Committees in China.<sup>52</sup>

At first, Russel refused to send his archive to RZIA reasoning that he might use records in writing his memoirs, but after his death his Japanese descendants sold his personal archive to Prague through his close revolutionary friend Egor Egorovich Lazarev (1855–1937). Russel-Sudzilovskii's Archive, composed of 6,788 leaves, 56 photos, 159 negatives, and 1 medal, had been purchased by RZIA at the end of 1932 for 1,500 Czechoslovak crowns.<sup>53</sup> A detailed description of the archive, including a historical review, was given in RZIA's inventory book No. 151. All the records have been divided into thematic groups as follows: 1. Publicist activities (writings in

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47 For a brief introduction see: Sawada Kazuhiko, *Hakkei roshiajin to nihon bunka*, pp. 332-333.

48 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 151, ll. 2 ob.-3.

49 His correspondance with Sun Yat-sen partly was published partly in: A. N. Kheifets, *Revolutsionnye svyazi narodov Rossii i Kitaya v nachale XX veka*, *Voprosy istorii*, 1956, No. 12, pp. 97-98.

50 Wada, *Nikorai Russeru*, Vol. 2, pp. 271-346; Ios'ko, *Nikolai Sudzilovskii-Russel*, pp. 261-296; GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 151, ll. 3 ob.-4.

51 In 1907, during Russel's stay in Japan, the US Congress adopted the Expatriation Act, in accordance to which naturalized citizens residing for five years in any other foreign state lose their civil rights.

52 Wada, *Nikorai Russeru*, Vol. 2, pp. 340, 347-369; Ios'ko, *Nikolai Sudzilovskii-Russel*, pp. 291-315.

53 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 135, l. 9 ob.

Russian and English, app. 94 items), 2. Social and political activities (divisions C, D, E, F relate to his revolutionary work and life in Japan), 3. Medical activities, 4. Economic activities, 5. Personal correspondence (app. 101 items, mostly divided by addressee), 6. Miscellaneous papers.<sup>54</sup> This personal archive is the biggest one among RZIA's holdings, which relates largely to Japanese affairs and is being preserved nowadays in GARF. That is, despite an active archival rearrangement that took place in GARF after the requisition of RZIA's documental holdings after the Second World War, this archive has been almost maintained as a whole. An inventory of the Archive prepared in GARF consists of 261 entries, including his block notes and address books, political manuscripts and publications, correspondence, etc. Books, letters and documents in Japanese are also included in this rich personal archive.<sup>55</sup>

Apart from Alekseevskii's '*Volya*' collection and Russel-Sudzilovskii's personal archive, GARF possesses a collection named 'The Club of Russian Political Emigrants in Nagasaki' (R-5980, 1 inventory, 14 items), closely related to the above mentioned collections. The inventory of the collection shows that the Club, existed at least from the end of 1906 until the end of 1908, had its own library and organised various cultural events like theatre plays and masked balls.<sup>56</sup> All the above mentioned collections that primarily concern Russian émigré revolutionary organisations in Japan show their international network and interrelations, and give a thorough account of their political standings within the framework of international and Japanese society, contributing to a better understanding of both the nature of the Russian revolution and roots of revolutionary thought in Japan.

### **Chapter 3. Russian pre-revolutionary institutions and organizations in Manchuria (1896–1924)**

Widely known that on the eve of the Revolution, Imperial Russia was an active player in Far Eastern politics and North Manchuria was considered to be its sphere of influence. During the Sino-Japanese conflict of 1894–1895, Russia had decided to back up Qing China against Japan, which was tacitly supported by Britain and the United States in gaining a foothold on the continent. As

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54 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 151, ll. 2 ob.-3; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, p. 510.

55 GARF. F. R-5825. Russel-Sudzilovskii Nikolai Konstantinovich, narodnik, publitsist, uchenyi-estestvoispytatel', emigrant, senator i president Gavaiskikh ostrovov (SeSheA), pochetnyi chlen Vsesoyuznogo obshchestva politkatorzhan, op. 1 (1877-1930)// Elektronnye opisi: Informatsionno-poiskovaya sistema po fondam GARF (<http://statearchive.ru/383>). Russel's archive has been described in detail in the RZIA's inventory: GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 151, 300 listov.

56 GARF. F. R-5980. Klub rossiiskikh politicheskikh emigrantov v Yaponii, op. 1 (1877-1930)// Elektronnye opisi: Informatsionno-poiskovaya sistema po fondam GARF (<http://statearchive.ru/383>).

a result, the Russo-Chinese Bank was established for this purpose, and after the conclusion of the secret Russo-Chinese alliance treaty in 1896 the Bank managed to obtain the right to build 'the Trans-Manchurian railway' that had to cross over this region from Zabaikal'e to Vladivostok. In accordance with the agreement, the Russian side could exploit the China Eastern Railroad (*Kitaisko-Vostochnaya zheleznaya doroga*, henceforth the CER) and the right-of-way ('*polosa otchuzhdeniya*' in Russian) in Manchuria for 80 years. Construction began immediately and a number of Russian settlements with Harbin as a hub appeared along the railway. In 1898 Russia leased the Liaotung peninsula from China for 25 years and the CER acquired the right to build the southern line of the railway from Harbin to Dal'nii (Dalian). Interestingly, the special 'Defence Guard' ('*okhrannaya strazha*'), designed as the border guard troops, was organised under the control of the Ministry of Finance in 1897. After the cardinal reorganisation of 1901 'the Defence Guard' was renamed as the Zamuurskii District Special Border Guard Corps (ZOOKPS).<sup>57</sup> The Russo-Japanese War marked a very important bifurcation point in Russian history and compelled the Russian government to correct its Far Eastern policies, but the Russian zone of special interests in Manchuria, the CER and the Border Guard Corps remained, as earlier, the symbols of the Russian presence in this part of the world.

The whole Russian population of Manchuria reached about 60,000 by the First World War. Among them some 40,000 lived in the unofficial capital of Russian Manchuria, Harbin. The local CER administration headed by its Manager Lieutenant-General Dmitrii Leonidovich Khorvat (1858–1937) had a decisive influence on the whole situation in the region. A significant number of various institutions, organizations and societies were affiliated with the CER. Importantly, it created even the very cultural climate of the region, actively engaging in publishing and other activities. Thus, '*Kharbinskiil Vestnik*' ('*Herald of Harbin*'), an official organ of the CER, had been published there from 1903 to 1917. A progressive and liberal '*Novaya Zhizn*' (launched in 1907 and changed its title to '*Novosti Zhizni*' in 1914), another popular newspaper in Harbin, successfully outlived the Revolution and existed until 1929. Notably, issues of both were accumulated partly in RZIA's repositories.<sup>58</sup>

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57 See for the history of the CER in detail: *Istoricheskii obzor Kitaiskoi Vostochnoi zheleznoi dorogi. 1896–1923*, composed by E. Kh. Nilus (Kharbin, 1923), 948 p.; A. N. Ventsel', *Znachenie Kitaiskoi vostochnoi zh. d. v Dal'nevostochnom voprose*, *Ekonomist: Vestnik XI Otdela Russkogo tekhnicheskogo obshchestva*, No. 4 (1922), pp. 177-199; I. I. Serebrennikov, *Grazhdanskaya voina v Rossii*, pp. 522-524. ZOOKPS's history has been examined recently in: *O. V. Vishnyakov, Istoriya sozdaniya i deyatelnosti Okhrannoi strazhi KVZhD i Zamuurskogo okruga OKPS, 1897–1918* (Khabarovsk, 2011), 204 p. The history of the CER has been recently investigated in the monograph of Masafumi Asada "*Chuto tetsudo keieishi: Roshia to 'Manshu,' 1896–1935*" (Nagoya University, 2012, 497 + 47 pp.).

58 Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints*, pp. 4, 8-11, 412-413, 423.

As Professor Olga Mikhailovna Bakich (born in 1938 in Harbin) states, “a large number of CER's publications dealt with the study of the area for political, commercial, and economic purposes.”<sup>59</sup> For example, there existed such ZOOKPS's serials of the very practical and strategic nature as ‘*Materials on Manchuria, Mongolia, China, and Japan*’ (36 issues were published in 1905–1910) or ‘*Reconnaissance of the ZOOKPS Headquarters*’ (70 issues were published in 1906–1914), composed by the Russian officers for internal use. In addition, in 1908 the Society of the Russian Orientalists (*Obshchestvo Russkikh Orientalistov*) had been established in Harbin with the cooperation of the CER's staff. In 1909 the Society started publication of the journal ‘*Vestnik Azii*’ (‘*Herald of Asia*’), printed as some other serials at the CER's printing office. Publication of the journal was terminated in 1918, renewed in 1922 and continued until 1925. As a result, 55 issues of this journal, which also entered the RZIA's library, were published.<sup>60</sup>

Notably, the Russian Revolution could not eliminate this oasis of Russian culture in the Far East, and Harbin, Shanghai, Tianjin, Mukden, Dairen and other cities became ‘the second home’ for many thousands of Russians. Partly due to this fact, the Revolution and the Civil War in the Far East lasted until 1922, and the great powers including the Japanese Empire found themselves being directly involved in these dramatic events. The CER became one of the most important strongholds of the Russian ‘White Forces’ in East Asia, and this situation remained almost unchanged even after 1924 when it was put under Soviet administrative control. Importantly, the CER's authorities continued its publishing activities and made essential efforts to maintain the history of Russian cultural activities in Manchuria. Thus, in 1921 the Board of Directors of the CER's Company, fearing the possible loss of the Company's archives and records, decided to compile its official history. As a result, in two years the special editorial commission completed and published the first volume (of two that were planned) of the fundamental work “*Historical Survey of the Chinese Eastern Railway, 1896–1923*.”<sup>61</sup> The CER's periodical ‘*Vestnik Man'chzhurii*’ (‘*Herald of Manchuria*’) also continued in general until 1935, when the railway had been sold to Manchukuo.<sup>62</sup>

It seems that RZIA began actively working with their Far Eastern compatriots in 1929. Supposedly, the RZIA's reorganisation of 1928 and, as a consequence, the correction of its political course influenced these activities largely. The rivalry with the Hoover War Library, where a great

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59 Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints*, pp. 4-5.

60 Ibid, pp. 5, 11-12, 431, 509-510.

61 *Istoricheskii obzor Kitaiskoi Vostochnoi zheleznoi dorogi*, p. ix. The manuscript of the second unpublished volume has been preserved in the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University (Collection No. XX728).

62 Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints*, pp. 5, 203, 205-207, 211-226, 283, 287, 470.

amount of invaluable Russian collections were handed over, was another important factor which contributed to a change in RZIA's policies. As a result, RZIA made energetic efforts to establish its credit among the broader groups of the Russian émigrés.<sup>63</sup>

Supposedly, the prestige of RZIA among Russian military officials had been generally established also by the end of the 1920s. Undoubtedly, in this aspect the role that Major-General Viktor Vasil'evich Chernavin (1877–1956) carried out as RZIA's military expert and head of Subsection of the War and Emigration in the Documents Section was rather important. It was a rare occasion that in 1930 the leader of the Russian All-Military Union (ROVS, the biggest émigré military organisation), General Evgenii Karlovich Miller (1867–1939; a brother of the above-mentioned Russian commercial agent in Japan), appealed to its members to cooperate with RZIA in collecting and preserving their memories. By his order from June 10, 1930, RZIA was named as “the only institution outside of Russia that pursued an aim to maintain for the future Russia historical material as much as possible.”<sup>64</sup> Importantly, ROVS offered to RZIA a very solid network that enabled the latter to promote collecting activities in a more effective way. That became possible, because ROVS, which organisation was supported by strict hierarchical connections and discipline, officially took an apolitical position prohibiting all its members to enter any political parties and societies. As far as a majority of ‘White’ Russians migrated from Russia in the course of the Civil War are concerned, so called ‘military émigrés’ occupied a significant portion of all Russians abroad.<sup>65</sup>

In Manchuria RZIA received active cooperation and support from General-Lieutenant Nikolai Gerasimovich Volodchenko (1862–1945), the former head of ZOOKPS's Staff. Much of the General's life and activities (from 1904 until 1914, and from 1919 until 1945) had a direct relation with the Far East, especially with the CER and ZOOKPS. He was one of people who organised the investigation of the Far Eastern region from a strategic and military viewpoint by Russian officers in the pre-revolutionary epoch. During the Civil War he stood in support of Admiral Kolchak, fought against the Bolsheviks at the Eastern front, and then moved to Harbin as the CER's police guard head. When Chernavin contacted him in 1929, Volodchenko served as a chairman of the Society of the General Staff's Officers (‘*Obschestvo ofitserov General'nogo Shtaba*’) in Harbin.<sup>66</sup> He reacted to this proposal positively, and in January 1931 became the official agent of

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63 See: Pavlova, *Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage i general N. N. Golovin*, pp. 290-297.

64 *Fondy RZIA*, p. 7.

65 See the overview of ROVS's organization in: *Armiya i Flot: voennyi spravochnik*, edited by V. V. Orekhov and E. Tarusskii (Paris, Chasovoi's Publishing office, 1930), pp. 31-49.

66 See about him: *Russkie voennye vostokovedy do 1917 goda: Biobibliograficheskii slovar'*, composed by M. K. Baskhanov (Moscow, 2005), pp. 53-54.

the Archive in Manchuria. As a result of his enthusiastic collecting work, in the following years he donated a significant number of various materials to RZIA. An attentive and scrupulous analysis of RZIA's inventory books demonstrates that Volodchenko was the most active person among the representatives in the Far East.<sup>67</sup> As he reported in his letter to Chernavin in 1932, “recently I had completely become ‘an archival rat’ : I became familiar with this work and I find it enjoyable.”<sup>68</sup>

Thanks to Volodchenko, the RZIA acquired an abundance of material concerning ZOOKPS, the CER's Headquarters and other Russian activities in Manchuria at the beginning of the 20th century. It should be noted that the documents collected by him were mostly loose records of various provenance that related to the very broad topic of Russian cultural activities in this region. Volodchenko and his colleagues paid serious attention to every kind of historical material, collecting notes, photos, leaflets, brochures and other documents. On one hand, the materials, united afterwards in the ZOOKPS's collection, are represented mostly with copies of orders and various printed documents that show equally its history and activities in 1897–1918. Initially the collection, being largely enriched after its transfer to Moscow, included 36 items of documents (F. R-7071, the Headquarters of ZOOKPS's troops, 1884–1917, 1 inventory, 59 items). On the other hand, since materials concerning the CER's Company, which had its head office in Saint Petersburg, were accumulated primarily in the ministerial archives in the capital, the collection made by Volodchenko is of a very special character, because it shed light mostly on the period of the Civil War and Intervention. When it was in RZIA this collection consisted of 106 items, but after its transfer to GARF's repositories 75 items were added to it (F. R-6081, the CER's Headquarters, 1 inventory, 183 items). As a matter of fact, Volodchenko's private collection (F. R-6534, 1 inventory, 30 items) is also keenly related to these affairs. Naturally, the content and context of all records including this broad Volodchenko's ‘Manchurian’ collection (although being divided in various groups and files in RZIA and GARF) are intermingled organically with each other (for example, see: GARF. F.R-5881, op. 2, d. 34, 76-79). Supposedly, materials donated by him comprise the central and the most important part of the Far Eastern collections of former RZIA in GARF.<sup>69</sup>

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67 See, for example: GARF. F.R-7030, op. 1, d. 136, ll. 4 ob., 14-14 ob., 23, 25 ob., 26 ob., 31, 34, 68 ob., 70, 73; F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 137, l. 69.; F. R-6534, op. 1, d. 18, ll. 1-4; Catalogue at the website of the Slavonic Library in Prague. *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 57, 93, 130, 138, 148, 227, 236, 286, 505.

68 GARF. F. R-5956, op. 1, d. 126, l. 7.

69 *Fondy Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii*, pp. 522-524; *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 90-92, 276, 452; GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 131, ll. 1-10 ob.; F. R-6534, op. 1, d. 18.

#### Chapter 4. The Civil War and the Japanese Siberian expedition (1917–1925)

One of the first men who stood up against Bolshevism in the Far East was Ataman Grigorii Mikhailovich Semenov (1890–1946). However, his figure, almost unknown in the pre-revolutionary Russian society, could not unite broad social forces. In these circumstances, Russian diplomatic circles in Peking, representatives of the CER and the Russo-Asian Bank decided to invite Admiral Aleksandr Vasil'evich Kolchak (1874–1920) to Manchuria in order to organise battle-worthy military forces there. Incidentally, the Admiral, who arrived in Japan in the middle of November 1917, entered the British military service and decided to move to the Mesopotamian front via Shanghai and Singapore. However, Kolchak's plans changed, and eventually, at the end of April 1918, he had been elected as a member of the CER's new board of directors and had become a Commander of Russian military forces in North Manchuria.<sup>70</sup> The valuable collection of the Admiral's private correspondence relating to his Far Eastern period of life was handed over to RZIA in 1927 by his aide-de-camp lieutenant-colonel Aleksei Nikolaevich Apushkin. Before being arrested in Nizhneudinsk, the Admiral gave him block notes with drafts of his letters to Anna Vasil'evna Temireva (1893–1975), written from February 1917 to March 1918. Despite the intimate nature, these documents are of big interest for researchers, because they uniquely show the thoughts and state of mind of Kolchak in this dramatic time of history. Incidentally, eight letters relate to the period, spent by Kolchak in Tokyo, Shanghai, and Singapore. They demonstrate his deep interest and affinity to Japanese traditional culture embodied in Buddhism and Bushido. Also, they give important hints to understand the nature and the character of the anti-Bolshevism struggle in the Far East.<sup>71</sup> Notably, in 1929 Chernavin gave 'Kolchak's Diaries' as an example of the most precious records that RZIA had ever acquired.<sup>72</sup> Nowadays these block notes, united with some other documents, can be found in GARF's repositories (GARF. F. R-5844, op. 1, 9 items). Among the documents added to the collection supposedly there is another diary of the Admiral, purchased

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70 See: Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University (henceforth – HIA), Russia. Voennyi Agent (Japan) Records, Box 16, folder 3, file No. 71, pp. 1-3; A. A. Khisamutdinov, "Zlostnye dlya russkogo dela sobytiya": Zapiska admirala A. V. Kolchaka, *Voprosy istorii*, 1998, No. 3, pp. 70-83; *Dopros Kolchaka*, Pod red. K. A. Popova (Leningrad, 1925), pp. 98-125; Ataman Semenov. *O sebe. Vospominaniya, mysli i vyvody, 1904-1921* (Moscow, 2007), pp. 79-105; GARF. F.R-6081, op. 1, d. 21-22; "U menya na rukakh bylo bol'shoe russkoe delo...": Vospominaniya iz arkhiva general-leitenanta D. L. Khorvata. Publ. A. V. Lugovoi. Part 2, *Noveishaya istoriya Rossii*, No. 3(5), 2012, pp. 243-255.

71 "Milaya, obozhaemaya moya Anna Vasil'evna", composed by T. F. Pavlova, F. F. Perchenok, I. K. Safonov (Moscow, 1996), pp. 42, 139-143, 230-286; *Fondy RZIA*, p. 314.

72 GARF. F. R-5956, op. 1, d. 111, l. 23 ob.

by RZIA in 1938 from N. Minasov and described in the Archive as 'forged.'<sup>73</sup>

RZIA's materials relating to the history of the Civil War and the Allied Intervention in the Russian Far East chronologically and thematically fall into several groups. Documents about Russian Manchuria during 1918–1924, briefly introduced in the previous chapter, may be presented as the first group of sources. They primarily relate to the activities of the CER in the new international environment. Then, RZIA acquired valuable historical sources concerning liquidation of various governmental institutions such as the representative of the Omsk All-Russian government's Supply Ministry in Harbin. Due to Volodchenko's efforts, the voluminous records of this institution (more than 1,400 leaves) were handed over to RZIA from a relative of the last Russian Consul General Georgii Konstantinovich Popov (1879–1929) in 1933 (F. R-7528, 1 inventory, 3 items). Besides, GARF inherited from the RZIA's holdings a correspondence of the doyen (dean) of diplomatic corps in Harbin, Japanese Consul General Sato Naotake (1882–1971), with various related institutions from November 1917 to May 1918 (F. R-7438, 1 inventory, 1 item).<sup>74</sup>

Materials concerning 'the Siberian phase' of the Civil War (1918–1920) were the most voluminous in RZIA's holdings, and they might be described as the second group of records. Since the Omsk government's records, just like the scandalous 'Russian gold reserve,' were mostly captured by Bolsheviks, RZIA's repositories include the lesser part of them. The most important archives of this kind have been arranged in RZIA as 'the Collection of materials of Kolchak's Headquarters' (F. R-6219, 1 op., 48 items). The bulk of these records belonged initially to the former Second General-Quartermaster (the head of military intelligence and counter-intelligence service) of 'the Supreme Ruler' Ryabikov, who immigrated to Prague and cooperated actively with RZIA since 1925. Some documents of this collection were donated by other Russian émigrés from Harbin such as the former Minister of Finance in the Omsk government Ivan Adrianovich Mikhailov (1891–1946), a former editor of Irkutsk's newspaper '*Svobodnyi Krai*' Vladimir Vladimirovich Peremilovskii (born in 1880; lived in Harbin at least until 1941 acting as a pedagogue and a writer<sup>75</sup>), and Lieutenant-General Nikolai Aleksandrovich Lokhvitskii (1867–1933), who handed over his records via Volodchenko in 1936.<sup>76</sup>

The figure of Major-General of the Russian Imperial General Staff Ryabikov, who stood for years in the vanguard of the Russian military intelligence service and was known as one of

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73 *Fondy RZIA*, p. 314; GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 137, l. 47; GARF. F. R-5844, op. 1, d. 3-a, 3-b.

74 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 135, l. 10; GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 191, ll. 7-9; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, p. 138.

75 Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints*, pp. 154, 328; P. Polansky, *Russian Publications in China, Japan and Korea*, p.125.

76 *Fondy RZIA*, p. 430; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 241, 243, 367.

the leading specialists in this sphere, deserves special attention. Notably, except for the above-mentioned Kolchak's collection he handed over many other records to the Archive, arranged there as his personal archival collection (GARF. F. R-5793, op. 1–2, 266 items) that shed a definite light on the military history of the Far East.<sup>77</sup> In regards to the Civil War, this voluminous collection includes an abundant amount of material concerning the international and military situation in the Far East in 1918–1924.

Together with other Russian 'White' soldiers, Ryabikov experienced 'The Great Siberian Ice March' having crossed almost 2,000 km from Western Siberia to reach the Russian border. As a result, by spring 1920 about 30,000 Russian soldiers reached Zabaikal'e, controlled by Ataman Semenov, who was appointed by Admiral Kolchak as a Chief Commander of the Military Forces in the Russian Eastern Periphery. Here 'the Far Eastern phase' of the Russian Civil War had actually begun (the third group of records relates to this last phase of the Civil War between 1920 and 1924). In these circumstances, in March 1920 Ryabikov was dispatched to Japan (Tokyo) and then to China (Shanghai) as Ataman's representative. This period of Ryabikov's activities is represented in his personal collection in the most vivid way, because his archive as a military representative of Ataman Semenov had been preserved well. By the author's calculations, at least 41 items (15.41% of the collection) that was composed mostly of his correspondence relate to these activities, which were eventually described by Ryabikov in his memoirs in 1930 (GARF. F. R-5793, op. 1, d. 1d. "*V missii Glavnokomanduyushchego vsemi vooruzhennymi silami Dal'nevostochnoi okrainy v g. Tokyo v 1920–1921 godu i v g. Shankhae v 1921–1924 godakh*," 368 p.).<sup>78</sup> In sum, at least 107 files (40%) of the Ryabikov's collection is supposed to have a direct or indirect relation to the issues of the Far East. Perhaps, by its scope, volume and quality of materials this collection may be named as the most precious, interesting and unexplored resources relating to the Far East in GARF's repositories.

According to the classification scheme worked out by Professor Izyumov, all documentary materials were arranged in RZIA in eight classes, marked with Latin letters. Class 'G', the largest one in the Archive, provided its space for materials of the Civil War period. Notably, materials of this class were grouped by territorial principle in accordance with activities of various regional governments. Thus, RZIA's inventory books Nos. 167–168 list documents related to the activities of

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77 RZIA – dokumentatsiya, pp. 113, 117, 120, 130, 165, 172-173, 175-176, 188-189, 195, 206, 243, 367; *Fondy RZIA*, p. 358; *Antologiya istorii spetssluzhb: 1905-1924* (Moscow, 2007), pp. 10-13, 111-411.

78 See: GARF. F. R-5793, op. 1, d. 1d, 16,72, 76-79, 90-103, 105-107; op. 2, d. 1, 15, 24, 43-47, 49-51, 53-57, 72, 127; GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 134. No. 7923; *Kishi Seiichi sosho kiroku-shu. Minji-hen, daigohen* (*Semyonofu kinkai jiken*) (Tokyo, 1936), pp. 196-202.

Provisional governments in Siberia and the Far East. However, the class 'B' that comprised various memoirs, diaries, and autobiographical recollections also existed. After their transfer to GARF in 1946, these materials have been rearranged arbitrarily as collection No. R-5881 ("The collection of separate émigré documents and memoirs"). Initially, this collection was created to unite "autobiographies and memoirs of famous political, social, military figures, artists and scientists," and nowadays these materials are mostly listed in the Inventory 1, consisting of 818 items. In 1978 it was added by 388 "personal archives of small volume," which were, consequently, rearranged and destroyed (Inventory 2, 1032 items).<sup>79</sup> Ironically, the most comprehensive of GARF's guide to materials on the history of the anti-Bolshevik White movement and emigration, published in 2004, does not mention this collection.

Researchers can find among the documents of this No. R-5881 collection a number of actual 'pearls.' These are rather voluminous memoirs about the Civil War by a unknown author "*Siberia and the Far East*" (op. 1, d. 179–181, in 3 books), recollections written by the RZIA's official agent (since 1932) in Peking Sergey Aleksandrovich Elachich (op. 1, d. 306), a manuscript of a talented artist, a playwright and a poet, Lieutenant-Colonel Aleksandr Efimovich Kotomkin (1888–1964) "*With the Czechoslovak Legions from Volga to the Pacific Ocean*" (op. 1, d. 797), a life story of a legendary horseman Orenburg Cossack Colonel Gavriil Vasil'evich Enborisov (1859–1946) "*From the Urals to Harbin*" (op. 2, d. 334), works of many other unknown 'White' émigrés about the war (op.1, d. 771, 775), etc.<sup>80</sup> Besides, memoirs and records of Aleksandr Vasil'evich Tseklinskii (presumably, who lived in Harbin at least until 1926, and then moved to Belgrade (Serbia), where he committed suicide in 1938), acquired by RZIA in 1937–1938, should be especially noted. Tseklinsky was known as an experienced regional official in Tsarist Russia, served as a vice-governor of Penza province and the head of the migration office in the Akmolinsk region (present-day Kazakhstan). During the Civil War (since the beginning of 1919) he worked as a special representative of the Ministry of Supply and Foodstuffs in the Far East that controlled the activities of Russian inspectors in Japan.<sup>81</sup> Nowadays, his memoirs relating to the dramatic events of 1917–1918, Ataman Semenov, and the CER, are arranged in GARF within the same collection (op. 1, d. 750–7554).<sup>82</sup>

RZIA's holdings included also records of some special military regiments and divisions, among which a huge archive of former Major-General Kappel's Detachment should be noted. This archive,

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79 Fondy RZIA, p. 413.

80 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 136, l. 14 ob.; F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 134, No. 7860.

81 See: HIA, Russia. Voennyi Agent (Japan) Records, Box 10, Folder 1, File 44; Box 8, folder 5, file 37.

82 K. V. Chashchin, *Russkie v Kitae: Genealogicheskii indeks, 1926–1946* (New York, 2014), p. 849.

handed over to RZIA in 1930 by its former agent in Harbin, Pozdnyakov, is represented by various records on the detachment's economic and financial organisation, and consisted of 10,359 leaves of paper. Definitely, a part of it can be found nowadays in GARF's collection No. R-7442 that unites documents of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers Societies.<sup>83</sup>

Notably, the RZIA's Library boasted the fact of possessing almost all literature, published by 'White forces' in the territories of the Civil War. Thus, in "*The Bibliography of the Russian Revolution and the Civil War*" compiled and published by professor Postnikov in 1938, approximately 300 publications on Siberia and the Russian Far East are listed.<sup>84</sup> RZIA's magazines collection also included over 120 titles (over 500 issues) of anti-Bolshevik circulars, and the Newspaper Section accumulated over 1,000 periodicals, among which Siberian and the Far Eastern publications presumably occupied about 25% of titles.<sup>85</sup>

## Chapter 5. Post-revolutionary émigré collection (1925–1945)

This last group of materials is represented with records of the post-revolutionary emigration. Archival materials of this kind, arranged in RZIA as the class 'H,' included a number of records concerning the Far East listed, for example, in inventory book No. 188 (the Russian émigrés in China).<sup>86</sup> Except for these archival materials, RZIA holdings boasted almost all imprints published by the Russian émigrés after the Revolution. According to another bibliographic research of Postnikov "*Policy, Ideology, Everyday Life and Scientific Works of the Russian Emigration, 1918–1945*", the Library, for example, included at least 650 books, 350 titles of magazines, and more than 230 titles of newspapers, published in East Asian countries in this period. As a result, the Far Eastern émigré imprints amounted to about 20–25% of all imprints of the Russian post-revolutionary emigration.<sup>87</sup> The historical and cultural value of the Far Eastern periodical publications (including both magazines and newspapers) can be seen in the fact that in 1934 the Archive organised an exhibition, 'Russia in the Far East (1904–1934),' focused on the Russian periodicals and attracted the attention of the European public. The imposing share of the Far Eastern imprints among émigré circulars of that epoch was evident for everyone. By the assertion of the above-mentioned Professor Bakich, 135 titles of newspapers, 299 magazines and 200 single-issues were published only in Harbin in 1917–1945.<sup>88</sup> Incidentally, in 2007, UNESCO had recognised this

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83 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 134, No. 7831; *Fondy RZIA*, p. 493.

84 *Bibliografiya Russkoi revolyutsii i Grazhdanskoi voiny (1917–1921)*, pp. 361–381.

85 *RZIA v 1936 g.*, pp. 27–28, 34–36; Vacek, Babka, *Voices of the Banished*, p. 20.

86 Pavlova, Predislovie, *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 8–9; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 510–513.

87 See: *Politika, ideologiya, byt i uchenye trudy russkoi emigratsii, 1918–1945*, Vol. II, pp. 468–526.

88 Vacek, Babka, *Voices of the Banished*, pp. 108–112; Bakich, *Harbin Russian Imprints*, p. 14.

collection of periodicals, possessed nowadays in the Prague Slavonic Library, as a world cultural heritage, adding them to the Memory of the World Register.<sup>89</sup>

Notably, in comparison with the ‘White Russians’ in Europe or North America, the Russian Far Eastern émigrés lived rather compactly maintaining its own civilizational identity. As a result, various kinds of cultural activities developed among Russians in this region. Publishing, literature, art and education were very important spheres of Russian social life in the Far East until 1945. The outstanding role in collecting Far Eastern materials was played by a former public activist, a politician, a historian and a publisher Ivan Innokent'evich Serebrennikov (1882–1953), whose private *fonds d'archives* can be also found in GARF (F. R-5873, 1 op., 113 items).<sup>90</sup> Serebrennikov, who acted during the Revolution as an ‘autonomist’ in Siberia and then became a minister of the Temporary Siberian government and the All-Russian government of Admiral Kolchak in Omsk, was famous as an author of many writings on Siberian history and the history of the Civil War in Russia.<sup>91</sup> He had relations with RZIA at least since 1926 and worked as its official agent from 1929 to 1938, handing over his personal archive to Prague in 1931. Before the Revolution Serebrennikov served for years as a deputy chairman of the Irkutsk Section of the Society for Siberian Studies, as a member of The Eastern Siberian Division of the Russian Geographic Society and the Scholarly Archival Commission of Irkutsk Province, and was, undoubtedly, an appropriate person for such an activity.<sup>92</sup>

Serebrennikov's firm contacts with the CER's circles in Harbin, where he lived in 1920, greatly helped him to establish his new émigré life in China. Thanks to the same Harbin connections, Serebrennikov managed to move in the end of 1920 to Peking, where he worked at the printing office of the Russian Orthodox mission. Importantly, this experience of printing and publishing work was considered to become the new bridge that led him to the publishing industry and compelled him to transfer to Tianjin in 1922, where he was dispatched by the Mission's printing

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89 Vacek, Babka, *Voices of the Banished*, 2009, p. 7. See also: Babka, *The Slavonic Library in Prague: Its History and Russian Émigré Collections*, pp. 181-182.

90 *Fondy RZIA*, p. 367.

91 His publications include monographs “*Velikii otkhod. Razseyanie po Azii belykh Russkikh armii. 1919–1923*” (Harbin, 1936) and “*Moi vospominaniya*” (Tianjin, 1937), printed together as “*Grazhdanskaya voina v Rossii: Velikii otkhod*” in 2003. For his bibliography see pp. 691-696 of the latter.

92 See: *S Kolchakom – protiv Kolchaka*, pp. 133-134; A. A. Khisamutdinov, *Rossiiskaya emigratsiya v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione i Yuzhnoi Amerike*, pp. 277-278; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 80, 90, 116, 130, 132, 135, 147-148, 244, 286; GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 136, l. 27; d. 133, No. 7631. Interestingly, in 1928 he wrote a brief article about RZIA, published in another Harbin newspaper ‘*Gun-Bao*’ (I. I. Serebrennikov, *Russkii istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage, Gun-Bao* (Harbin), 1928, No. 694).

office.<sup>93</sup> Thus, through his political, social and economic activities Serebrennikov had cultivated very broad connections among Russians in China, and his cooperation with RZIA should be understood in the context of his professional interests. Although he was a prominent member of the former Omsk government, archival materials donated by him to Prague are mostly of a private character. Despite a number of his works and recollections on the period of the Civil War in Siberia, his figure symbolises the transition of the 'White émigrés' from the War to the Peace, and his archives open a door for researchers to the network of the Russian émigrés in the Far East. This personal collection mostly consists of his correspondence with Russian émigrés in China, especially, his Siberian compatriots. The inventory of this collection in GARF demonstrates that Serebrennikov was enthusiastically engaged in collecting memories of Russian military émigrés, when he worked on his monograph "*The Great Retreat: Dispersion of the White Russian Armies in Asia. 1919–1923*" (Harbin, 1936).<sup>94</sup>

Many institutions, associations, unions, and companies of Russian émigrés emerged in China by the middle of the 1920s. A great number of military men who arrived in China formed their own organisations. 'The Cossack Union in Shanghai', existed in 1925–1931 and which materials have been transferred to RZIA in 1939 by its official agent Second Lieutenant Mikhail Ivanovich Shastin,<sup>95</sup> was a good example of such a military organisation. This collection, preserved nowadays in GARF, comprises 53 files including statutes of the Union, protocols of meetings, programmes and resolutions on various questions, lists of members, reference materials about the Union and other émigré associations in China, plans of anti-Soviet military upheavals in the Russian Far East, documents concerning Cossacks' employment and their emigration to other countries, and financial documents (GARF, F. R-5963, 1 inventory, 53 items). In 1937, Shastin seemed to be succeeded to by Captain Vladimir Daniilovich Zhiganov (1896–1978), known as an author, an editor and a publisher of a luxurious photo album "*Russians in Shanghai*" (1936).<sup>96</sup>

A significant number of materials was acquired by RZIA from Colonel Iosif Sergeevich Il'in (1885–1981), who was in contact with the Archive in 1930–1939. A participant of the First World War, during the Revolution he became a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party. In 1920,

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93 I. I. Serebrennikov, *Grazhdanskaya voina v Rossii*, pp. 511, 520, 529-536, 538-540574, 623-658.

94 F. 5873, op. 1, d. 2-10.

95 He had been invited to become an agent in Shanghai in March 1932 and worked as a representative until 1936. Supposedly, he was a son of a RZIA's agent in Boulgaria (Shipka) Colonel Ivan Mikhailovich Shastin (1867–1935?) (*RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 95, 180, 183, 190, 198, 212, 214, 250, 281, 286, 507; V. D. Jiganoff, *Russians in Shanghai* (Shanghai, 1936), pp. 58, 67)

96 *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, p. 286. This photo album has been reprinted in Saint Petersburg in 2008 (V. D. Zhiganov, *Russkie v Shankhae: Al'bom* (Saint Petersburg: BAN, Al'faret, 2008), 300 pp.)

after the defeat of the White forces in Siberia he settled in Harbin, where he worked at the CER and temporarily taught Russian at the School of Japanese-Russian Society (1925–1927).<sup>97</sup> His private papers, represented mostly with his diaries and memoirs covering his life from childhood to 1938, are arranged in the GARF as a collection No. R-6599 (1 inventory, 17 items).<sup>98</sup> His documental heritage sheds a special light on the Russian émigrés life in China and the political situation in the Far East in the 1920–1930s.<sup>99</sup> Apart from these private papers, he enriched RZIA's holdings with other materials concerning ZOOKPS and the activities of Russian soldiers during the Civil War in China.<sup>100</sup>

In the 1920s the Russian Civil War together with the Communist propaganda flew across the border and spread across the East Asia region, particularly in China. Since Japan and pro-Japanese 'warlords' in China systematically strived to construct 'a barrier' to the penetration of the Comintern influence, the White émigrés became active participants of the Civil War in China. Notably, RZIA accumulated an abundance of material concerning the military service of Russian officers and soldiers in the Chinese army. Thanks to Il'in's cooperation, for example, papers of General Staff Colonel Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Tikhobrazov (in the 1930s he was considered to have cooperated actively with the Manchukuo administration; in 1945 he had been arrested by the Soviet authorities in Harbin, deported to the Soviet Union, and, presumably, executed as a spy and a predator)<sup>101</sup>, related to such activities had also been transferred in 1937–1938 to the Archive. Tikhobrazov himself served as a deputy commander of the Russian military troops of the Shandong Army and a commander of the 65th Division of the 3rd Army of the Mukden troops. These records contribute greatly to a better understanding of the course of the Civil War in China, perceived by the White émigré as a struggle against 'the Communist peril' in the Chinese territory.<sup>102</sup>

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97 Na sluzhbe u yapontsev, *Novyi zhurnal*, 1965, No. 80, pp. 179-203; 1966, No. 82, pp. 193-211; No. 84, pp. 176-199; No. 85, pp. 179-206.

98 *Fondy RZIA*, p. 305; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 133, 136, 138, 141, 151, 231, 327.

99 A part of his unique diaries relating the First World War, the Revolution and the Civil War (it corresponds to file No. 16 of his collection) has been published recently in Russia: I. S. Il'in, *Skitaniya russkogo ofitsera: Dnevnik Iosifa Il'ina. 1914-1920* (Moscow, 2016), 480 p. For the brief introduction to Il'in diaries see: S. V. Smirnov, *Obraz "drugogo" v soznanii russkogo emigranta v Man'chzhurii (1920-1930-e gg.)// Ural'skoe vostokovedenie*, Vol. 1, July 2005, pp. 67-74.

100 GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 136, l. 34, 63 ob., 72 ob.; F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 137, l. 18, 46; GARF. F.R-5881, op. 1, d. 578-579.

101 Briefly about him see in: Khisamutdinov, *Rossiiskaya emigratsiya v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione i Yuzhnoi Amerike*, pp. 304-305.

102 *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 92-95; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 149, 247, 377.

The military cooperation between Russians and Chinese ‘warlords’ began at the end of 1922, when the last White troops were going to cross the Chinese border. An important role in the strengthening of these relations was played by personal contacts between Nikolai Dionis'evich Merkulov (1869–1945), a notable merchant and a politician in Primor'e, and the Chinese ‘warlord’ Zhan Zongchang (1881–1932), a former *honghuzi* leader who served for Russia during the Russo-Japanese war and worked for 13 years as a merchant in the Russian Far East being a subcontractor of Merkulov. At the end of 1922, Zhan, who served at that time as a head of the Chinese border troops at Pogranichnaya station, helped Russians to cross the border and purchased arms that Russian ‘White’ regiments maintained at the moment of their retreat. When in 1923 ‘Tuchun of Manchuria’ Zhang Zuolin (1875–1928) appointed Zhan as a General-Governor of the Shandong province, the latter invited Merkulov as an adviser. In the atmosphere of the escalating Civil War, around 4,600 Russians joined the military service of General Zhan, and, as a result, the so called ‘General Nechaev Brigade’ had been organised.<sup>103</sup>

Presumably, materials acquired from Tikhobrazov were arranged and described in RZIA as one collection, but after their transition to GARF they were divided in accordance to the narrowly understood principle of provenance by their creator organisation. An archival collection No. R-7043 (1 inventory, 50 items), for example, is named as “The Headquarters of the Russian military group of the Shandong Army.” As well, the Headquarters, organised at the beginning of 1925 in Jinan, was put under the authority of Major-General Mikhail Afanas'evich Mikhailov (born in 1885), a son-in-law of the above-mentioned Merkulov. Among the records there are correspondence, military orders and instructions, reference materials, reports, personal diaries of Tikhobrazov about the service, photo albums, etc. These documents relate the policies of General Zhan towards Guomindang and Communists and shed a special light on the administrative and political history of the Chinese Republic, showing in detail the international dimension of these historical events.<sup>104</sup> Collections Nos. R-7044 ~7047 (55 files) are almost of the same character.<sup>105</sup>

All this shows that Russian military emigration contributed greatly to RZIA's collecting activities. That was also a real success for the Archive to obtain a credit from such an influential military organisation as ROVS. As a result, a part of the personal archive of Major-General Mikhail

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103 S. Balmasov, *Beloemigranty na voennoi sluzhbe v Kitae* (Moscow, 2007), pp. 23-30, 498; I. L. Ryzhov, *Poslednii pokhod: Zaklyuchitel'nyi etap Grazhdanskoi voiny v Rossii (sentyabr' – oktyabr' 1922 goda v Primor'e)* (Vladivostok, 2013), pp. 65, 231-232; A. A. Khisamutdinov, *Rossiiskaya emigratsiya v Aziatsko-Tikhookeanskom regione i Yuzhnoi Amerike*, p. 203; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, p. 349. See also: I. I. Serebrennikov, *Grazhdanskaya voina v Rossii*, pp. 648-650, 657-658.

104 GARF. F. R-7043, 1 op., 50 items (<http://statearchive.ru/383>); *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 92-93.

105 *Fondy RZIA*, pp. 93-95.

Konstantinovich Diterikhs (1874–1937), the notable leader of the White forces and the head of the Far Eastern section of ROVS in 1930–1937, was also handed over to the Archive after his death.<sup>106</sup>

## Conclusion

In this paper the author examined the RZIA's materials related mostly to five different topics. Interestingly, all of the sources except for the first group ('Russia and the Far East in history'), which obviously cannot compete by its informational value with archival and historical collections accumulated in the 'Inner Russia,' are of special interest for researchers, because they represent something completely unique and original of its kind. In other words, the examination of many issues, whereby these materials of the 'Russia Abroad' shed their light, is definitely impossible without this 'Evidence of the Past.' Importantly, all these historical sources have been intertwined closely into world history and the history of the East Asian nations.

As mentioned before, the idea of collecting historical sources relating to the Russian revolution appeared in the circles of Russian intelligentsia in Prague by the beginning of 1923. Importantly, the primary intention was considered to maintain for descendants documents relating to the activities of the Russian émigrés of the pre-revolutionary wave and to engrave their contribution to 'the Great Russian Revolution' of 1917. Interestingly, the members of the SRP, who had a decisive influence in the Prague Zemgor and had links with the Czechoslovak national leaders, stood at the head of this movement. As a result, in the first years of existence the leftists, who hardly could obtain the support of the wide émigré society, almost controlled RZIA, and this situation contradicted with the declared 'apoliticism' of the Archive. This disbalance has been reflected clearly in the character of RZIA's correspondent network and materials collected during the 1920s.

Meanwhile, the hopes for political changes in Soviet Russia gradually weakened, and it became clear that this politically grounded approach had no real perspective. Moreover, by the end of the 1920s, archives of the Old Russian emigration had been almost entirely collected by the Archive, and the huge blocks of invaluable historical information preserved by other social groups of the Russian émigrés had been discovered. That is, the political, economic and social life itself demanded different approaches to collecting memories focused on Russia's Present and Future, but not the Past. As a result, in the following years, the leftists gave place to military officials, historians and archivists both in RZIA's inner organisation and its correspondent network. The Archive has been reconstructed on a firmer fundament, and its policies became more suitable to the principle of 'scientificness.' Importantly, after its reorganisation in 1928, RZIA managed to use the ties existing

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106 HIA: P. P. Petrov Papers, file 7, pp. 4-7; *RZIA – dokumentatsiya*, pp. 106, 189, 229, 319; GARF. F. R-7030, op. 1, d. 137, l. 19; *S Kolchakom – protiv Kolchaka*, pp. 55-56.

between the former Imperial Russian Army officers. Apparently, this transformation coincided with deep changes in Russian émigré life, because institutions and organisations of the pre-revolutionary Tsarist epoch gradually ceased their activities and new social movements emerged.

RZIA made firm contact with Russians in China (Manchuria) since the second half of the 1920s, providing itself with such enthusiastic supporters as D. I. Pozdnyakov, N. G. Volodchenko, I. I. Serebrennikov, M. I. Shastin, I. S. Il'in, A. A. Tikhobrazov, etc. Thanks to their efforts, the Archive accumulated the huge Far Eastern collection of archival records, books, magazines and newspapers. Thus, the Archive succeeded in picking up the baton from their hands and managed to preserve this cultural heritage for the next generations of Russian people. The Far Eastern Russian emigration rendered a great service to RZIA's project, and, as a consequence, the fates of the Russian people in the Far East have been largely engraved in RZIA's materials. All the above-mentioned facts demonstrate the crucial role that China and, especially, Manchuria played in the cultural activities of 'the Russia Abroad.'

In general, RZIA had to collect separate semi-official and non-official historical records accumulated in hands of Russian émigrés and dispersed all over the world. As a result, its document collections included a significant portion of private records such as memoirs and autobiographies, many of which were collected or written intentionally for the donation to the Prague Archive. In this sense, a number of these records might be personally or ideologically biased in greater degree than archival documents of reliable official collections. However, a synergetic informational effect of RZIA's holdings was supposed to be rather huge, because rare and unique archival documents were skilfully supplemented with an impressive quantity of imprints. Therefore, the forceful and short-sighted division of the Russian national heritage after the Second World War was a tragedy that significantly complicated the efficient scientific use of these materials. However, RZIA's materials were not reduced to ashes and, fortunately, were maintained for the next generations.

Development of new digital technologies and the relative globalisation of the world since the end of the Cold War created favourable conditions to fill in the existing lacunae in this field. In recent years a significant number of former RZIA's documents have been published and introduced or investigated scrupulously by Russian and non-Russian researchers in various monographs. All these changes also created conditions to launch and promote interdisciplinary international studies of a new kind. The investigation of the materials briefly introduced in this paper might contribute significantly to the clarification of a number debatable issues relating to the history of East Asia, especially that of China and Japan in the 19th century up to the end of the 1930s.

**Keywords:** the Russian Historical Archive Abroad in Prague (RZIA), Russian 'White' émigrés in East Asia, collecting historical materials, Manchuria, the Russo-Japanese War,

revolutionists, the civil wars in Russia and China, the Siberian Military Expedition,  
archives, periodicals

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