



## THE RUSSIANS IN EAST ASIA

By N. N. NIKOLAYEV

*Among the Europeans in East Asia, the Russian refugees occupy a special position. Being by far the largest group, they have left their mark on a number of East Asiatic cities, particularly Harbin, Peking, Tsingtao, Shanghai, where their shops, churches, restaurants, and cabarets, are to be found in great numbers. The first of these refugees arrived in 1919, a quarter of a century ago, and we believe that the time has come for a survey of their history. It is a history of severe hardship, but also of great endurance and fortitude. This survey has been written by Colonel N. N. Nikolayev, who has shared the fortunes of the Russian refugees in East Asia from the very beginning.—K.M.*

**B**EFORE the Bolshevist Revolution of 1917, most of the Russians who had their domicile in East Asia outside of the frontiers of the Tsarist Empire lived in the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, the center of which was the city of Harbin. At that time they numbered about 80,000 civilians, mostly railway employees and their families. In addition there were stationed in the railway zone the troops of the Trans-Amur District Frontier Guards, consisting of fifteen regiments and several other units, and amounting altogether—including families—to another 60,000 persons. Including those scattered in many other places, the total number of Russians living in northern Manchuria at the outbreak of the Revolution was between 150,000 and 200,000.

In the other parts of East Asia, the number of Russians was at that time very small. Their communities in Mukden, Peking, Tientsin, Tsingtao, Shanghai, and Hankow numbered between a few dozen and a few hundred. Leading among these Russian communities were those in Peking, where the ancient

Orthodox Mission is located, and Hankow, with its wealthy Russian tea firms. In Shanghai and some of the other large Chinese cities the Russian communities consisted chiefly of the employees of a few Russian firms and shipping companies, the Russo-Asiatic Bank, and the officials of the Russian consulates.

### THE GREAT TREK

On that sad and fateful day, November 6, 1917, the Bolsheviks, making use of the exhaustion of the Russian people after three years of bitter war, took the power into their hands and hoisted the red flag of world revolution over Russia. This was the beginning of those insane experiments which were to be conducted on the backs of the unfortunate Russian people in accordance with the world program of the Communists. The civil war with its fighting, burning, and looting began. The Bolsheviks defeated the White Army, which was fighting without a clear program, and many Russians began to leave their native country, fleeing from the storm of advancing, ruthless Bolshevism.

Thus began the great trek of the Russian refugees. While large numbers of them moved westward into Europe, many inhabitants of Siberia, the Urals, and the Volga areas, as well as the troops of these regions with their families, fled eastward. Those that survived entered China. One group under Ataman A. I. Dutov, Major General Bakich, and Ataman V. V. Annenkov, coming from the southern Urals, crossed into Sinkiang in March 1920. A year later, when Soviet agents killed Ataman Dutov and carried Ataman Annenkov back into Soviet Russia, the Russian refugees in Sinkiang continued their march eastward. Many died on the way. Of the Bakich contingent, which had numbered some 12,000 at the start, only 350 men survived, eventually appearing in the coastal cities of China. Of the Annenkov Cossacks, a whole squadron reached Tientsin. The largest group, under the leadership first of General V. O. Kappel, later of Ataman G. M. Semyonov, fought its way clear across Siberia in the terrible "Icy Campaign" and reached the Manchurian frontier on August 15, 1920.

The main mass of the Russian refugees who crossed the border, mostly near the station of Manchuli on the Russian-Manchurian border, consisted of: (1) Cossacks from the Orenburg, Siberian, Yeniseisk, Irkutsk, and Transbaikalian armies; (2) the remnants of the Samara, Volga, Ufa, Ural, Omsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Tobolsk, and Manchurian infantry divisions; (3) the workers of the Ijevsk and Votkinsk factories, organized into an infantry division; (4) remnants of various cavalry, artillery, engineering, and other units; (5) the families of the officers and men of these units; (6) inhabitants from cities in Siberia, the Urals, and the Volga districts, and peasants, mainly from the provinces of Samara, Ufa, Vyatka, and Perm; (7) many other small groups or individuals who crossed the Russo-Chinese border on their own.

#### BY SEA AND LAND

Another large wave of refugees left Russia after the collapse of the provisional Amur Government of the Merku-

lov brothers in Vladivostok. The core of this wave from Vladivostok was the "Far Eastern Cossack Group" under the command of General F. L. Glebov, which sailed from Vladivostok on October 23, 1922, on the transports *Okhotsk*, *Zastchitnik*, and *Mongugai*. This group also included the remnants of some other army units with their women and children and carried 36 flags of the Russian Imperial Army, mainly from Cossack regiments. With about 3,300 people, the flotilla entered the Chosen port of Gensan. During its long stay there, General Glebov ordered all families and civilians to move to Manchuria, where they settled in Harbin, Hailar, and other places. Only the single men remained with Glebov, in all some 850. These sailed to Shanghai, where they arrived on September 14, 1923. Soon afterwards, 240 Cossacks, under General Anisimov of the Orenburg Cossack army, turned Bolshevik and returned to Vladivostok on the steamer *Mongugai*. The other two ships remained in Shanghai and were later sold to China.

At about the same time, a large number of other ships, under the command of Vice-Admiral Stark, left Vladivostok. They carried 1,000 soldiers, 700 sailors, 700 cadets, 1,500 civilians, and various other small groups including 100 Serbians. Many of these boats were very small, and quite a few were lost on the way; others reached Shanghai, as did also the steamer *Lorestan* with its 400 people aboard which was chartered by the German firm of Kunst & Albers.

Some 8,000 men under the command of Generals Borodin and Molchanov left the Maritime Province by land and entered Manchuria in October 1922 in the neighborhood of Hunchun, near the point where the frontiers of Russia, Manchuria, and Chosen meet. By order of Marshal Chang Tso-lin this group was quartered in the towns of Kirin and Hsinking, and the Chinese authorities as well as the Japanese Red Cross assisted them greatly with housing, food, and medicines. Another force of about 5,000 men was led into Manchuria by General Smolin via Pogranichnaya.

When the flood of Russian refugees began to reach Manchuria, the most prominent Russian there was Lieutenant General D. L. Khorvat, the Director of the Chinese Eastern Railway, who immediately offered his help. Since he had succeeded in building up an excellent reputation for the Russians in Manchuria, the Chinese population also came forward to aid the Russians. From high officials down to ordinary railway workers, the inhabitants of Manchuria held General Khorvat in high esteem and called him their "little grandfather"; and the railway zone under the General's control was often affectionately referred to as "Happy Khorvatia." When the Bolsheviks assumed power in the Russian Far East, General Khorvat opposed them and moved into the Maritime Province with troops which he had organized in Manchuria. A Cossack meeting appointed him provisional ruler of Russia. However, his march on Vladivostok was blocked by troops of the Czech legion (released prisoners of war), who were at that time in control of large parts of Eastern Siberia, and Khorvat's men returned to Harbin. General Khorvat died in 1937 in Peking.

When the Soviet power became entrenched in Siberia in the middle twenties, the number of Russian refugees crossing the border into China gradually decreased, and finally such flights became a rare occurrence. The favorite points for crossing the border were the district near Manchuli, the Amur between the towns of Blagovestchensk and Sakhalyan, and the region south of Pogradichnaya, where Russian and Chinese smugglers guided the fugitives across mountains, forests, and swamps. Once across the border, the refugees usually tried to get to Harbin or to the Muling coal mines in search of work.

#### THE "NOT-RETURNERS"

When the Soviet Government sold the Chinese Eastern Railway to the Government of Manchoukuo on March 23, 1935, the bulk of the Soviet citizens in the employ of the railway returned to the USSR, while a small number, several

hundred in all, preferred not to go to the land of the Bolsheviks and remained in Manchoukuo. Some of these "Not-Returners" (*Nevozvrastchentsy*) later moved to other parts of China. The time came when they blessed their decision, as those of their colleagues who did return to the USSR were deprived of most of their possessions by the Bolsheviks and then sent to build new railroads in Siberia and Central Asia under appalling conditions. This came to light from the letters they wrote later on and from the stories of those who managed to flee.

Thus we see that the composition of the Russians in East Asia is a varied one. Some were here before the Revolution; some arrived in regular military formations; some as refugees; and some stayed as "Not-Returners." It would be difficult to find a term to include them all; but since they have been officially designated by the authorities as "emigrants" we shall employ this term, although linguistically it does not apply to them in every respect.

#### WHERE DID THEY GO?

By 1925 most of the Russian emigrants in East Asia had settled down in one way or another. Their center was Harbin. This town quickly prospered owing to the energy of thousands of able newcomers who were eager to work and build up a new life after the nightmare of Bolshevism. Other towns in Manchuria which had considerable Russian populations were Hailar, Hsinking, Manchuli, Yablonia, and Lukashevo.

In the area between the Hingan Mountains and the town of Hailar, known as the Three River Land (*Tryokhrechye*), several dozen Transbaikal Cossack families settled down. Gradually, some Cossack villages developed. There was plenty of land, and the Cossacks worked hard and with enthusiasm. Eventually, more Cossacks joined them, and after half a dozen years of industrious labor the Three River Land blossomed and prospered. The people who had stayed in Siberia and who suffered poverty and had no rights

against their Bolshevik exploiters looked with envy on the free, happy life in the Three River Land. Finally, the Bolsheviks organized a guerrilla band which in October 1929 made a raid on the Three River Land from Soviet territory. After crossing the border secretly, this band invaded the Cossack settlements, plundered and burned several villages, destroyed all grain reserves, and murdered some 200 Cossacks. Although this bloody crime remained unavenged, the Three River Land continued to develop and has by now reached a state of even greater prosperity.

From Manchuria a steady stream of emigrants flowed into other parts of East Asia. Quite a few settled in Tientsin, where many entered the fur trade, establishing business connections with Mongolia by way of Kalgan, in which town a number of emigrants also settled. Others went to Tsingtao and Shanghai, and some to Japan. Everywhere the Russians proved themselves to be good workers and honest businessmen.

In all there are at present about 100,000 Russian emigrants in East Asia, of whom about 60,000 are in Manchoukuo, 20,000 in Shanghai, and 800 in Japan.

During the period from 1924 to 1928 quite a number of emigrants moved on to America, as far as the strict American immigration laws permitted this. Those who went there were of a comparatively high social standing, including professors, teachers, engineers, staff officers, etc.

#### RAILWAYMEN AND SOLDIERS

Having arrived in China either with no money at all or having spent it long since, the emigrants have to make their living by their daily work. In Manchuria, thousands obtained work on the Chinese Eastern Railway and, although they had until then been officers or soldiers, they soon learned their new trade and turned into efficient and reliable railwaymen. Conditions became somewhat difficult when the Soviet Government obtained control over the railroad in the autumn of 1924. After its sale to Manchoukuo in 1935, those Russians who remained

were given a special section on the western branch, between the stations Douitsienshan and Anda. Other emigrants found work in Russian firms. About a thousand White Russians are employed by I. Y. Churin & Co. in Harbin under excellent conditions. The firm, which has the atmosphere of one big united family, is managed by Mr. Fütterer, a German, who is highly respected by all the employees and workers of the firm.

In 1924, when war broke out again between Marshal Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pai-fu, the Mukden War Council decided early in September to organize a Russian volunteer brigade of about 400 to 500 infantrymen with two pieces of artillery. Major General Constantin P. Nechayev was called from Harbin to command it, and the brigade was included in the First Mukden Army under the command of Marshal Chan Tsung-chang, who had lived in Russia for a long time and had participated in the Russo-Japanese War on the Russian side.

In spite of many deficiencies and without further preparations, the brigade started off on its march toward the Great Wall of China. The news that a Russian formation was marching with the Mukden army quickly reached the enemy in a greatly exaggerated form and spread confusion in his ranks. In their first engagement, the Russians dispersed a portion of Wu Pai-fu's army. The town of Tientsin was occupied before Christmas, and all the members of the Russian brigade received monetary gifts. By the end of January 1925 the brigade with its armored trains entered the Chinese section of Shanghai, and on February 3 it occupied the town of Wusih, where it was given quarters to rest and complement its ranks. There was a steady stream of officers and men who came, sometimes as far as from Harbin, to join the brigade.

For the summer, the brigade was quartered in Taian. It was here that a special cadet company was formed of young men who had finished middle school. On October 21, 1925, the Russian brigade again saw action, this time

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The Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin in Shanghai, built in 1935 with donations from Russian emigrants. Adjoining it to the left is the official residence of Bishop Yoann



Archbishop Victor of Peking, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in China



Babanna, the charming, versatile prima ballerina of the Ballet Russe in Shanghai, known for her exquisite dancing throughout East Asia



A vendor of Russian newspapers and magazines displaying his goods to a prospective customer



The Principal and the smallest inmate of St. Tichou's Orphanage in Shanghai



A Russian Orthodox priest on the city wall of Peking, overlooking the Orthodox Mission compound



Pupils of St. Andrew's School in Shanghai, during a handywork class



Young Russian members of the cadet company of Chang Tso-hua's Russian Brigade in 1925



Russian emigrants crowding around one of Shanghai's White Russian newspapers displayed outside a shop belonging to a Russian ex-officer



"Moscow Boulevard" is the name by which one of the main thoroughfares of the former French Concession in Shanghai is sometimes referred to because its appearance is so dominated by Russian emigrant influence. Russian policeman in the foreground

against Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, who had unexpectedly attacked the Mukden army. After an unfortunate start which cost the Russians four armored trains near the station of Kuchen, the campaign was successfully ended in April 1926 with the defeat of Feng Yu-shan's armies and the occupation of Peking. In the autumn of 1927 the brigade was demobilized, and at present, with the exception of some railway guards, there are no Russian troops in Chinese service.

#### BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONS

The majority of the Russian emigrants in East Asia have chosen commerce as their means of making a living. New commercial enterprises were opened in many towns, and some of them have continued to exist to this day. The owners of these firms were largely former officers and soldiers of the Russian Far Eastern Army. In Shanghai, for example, many enterprises were founded by ex-officers, among them a textile firm, a sausage factory, a jewelry store, a men's clothing shop, a restaurant, a library, a pharmacy, a photo studio, a food store, a furniture shop, a vodka factory, a bakery. On the other hand, a large number of emigrants found a living in old firms which had existed in Russia before the war. Among them, the vodka distillery A. N. Lazaridy and the textile firm of P. S. Grigorieff moved from Vladivostok to Harbin and finally to Shanghai, the vodka distillery Mercury from Khabarovsk to Shanghai, the candy factory Tkachenko and the watch and jewelry store G. A. Stepanoff from Vladivostok to Shanghai.

The President of the Russian Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai is Peter S. Grigorieff, who began his business life in Moscow in 1912 and opened a dry-goods store in Shanghai in 1926. He is even better known among his countrymen for his welfare work, by which he has continued the fine traditions of the old Russian merchant class. It was at his initiative and owing chiefly to his efforts that the Russian Chamber of Commerce was organized in Shanghai.

The wave of Russian emigrants also brought numerous highly qualified Russian doctors to East Asia. The Russians particularly cherish the memory of Dr. V. A. Kazem-Bek, who settled in Harbin, did a great amount of good, and died in 1931 of a disease he contracted in the execution of his profession. A hospital in Harbin now bears his name. Many of the Russian specialists, who enjoy a fine reputation among non-Russians, too, were formerly members of the medical staff of the Imperial Russian Army and Navy.

All over East Asia, restaurants, bars, cabarets, and other amusement places were opened by Russian emigrants, mainly in Harbin and Shanghai. In recent years, quite a few have been forced to close down as a result of the war.

Apart from the settlement in the Three River Land, the Russians also took up agriculture in other parts of Manchoukuo as well as in the environment of Dairen and Tsingtao. Comparatively few turned toward this means of income in Shanghai, among them being General N. P. Sakharov, who has a bee farm.

Many Russian emigrants have worked at all kinds of odd jobs: as salesmen in stores, as waiters, as watchmen and bodyguards of private individuals and firms, as inspectors in streetcars and busses, as riding instructors, as clerks in firms and municipal offices. More than a hundred are employed by the Shanghai Canidrome. Quite a number found employment on the many ships plying the China coast—some as antipiracy guards—and in other branches of the maritime service. Captain P. I. Tirbak was for many years harbor master in Shanghai, and P. P. Volchanetsky is well known among mariners for his *Tables to Find Position Line* and *Ex Meridian Tables*.

The women have found work as salesgirls, stenographers, waitresses, bar girls, taxi dancers, nurses, governesses, music and language teachers, dressmakers, milliners, manicurists, masseuses. There is hardly a job in which Russians have not tried their luck.

## THE ARM OF THE LAW

A large number of emigrant officers and soldiers entered all kinds of police service. The majority of these found work in the police service of the Chinese Eastern Railway under Generals N. T. Volodchenko and A. K. Mitrofanov. Others served in the municipal police of Harbin and other Manchurian communities. When an increasing number of emigrants moved to Shanghai, many of them found work in the police forces of the former International Settlement and French Concession.

On January 17, 1927, a special Russian force was organized in Shanghai consisting at first of two companies and known as the "Russian Detachment of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps." It was chiefly the remnants of the Cossack group that had reached Shanghai from Vladivostok with the squadron of Vice-Admiral Stark which entered this detachment. The military organization of the detachment was carried out by General Glebov. Eventually a third company was added consisting of Russian volunteers who served without pay. As a result of its service and discipline, the Russian Detachment soon became the pride of the Russians in Shanghai. After a fourth company had been added, the detachment was changed in 1932 to a regiment and received its own regimental ensign with the old Russian colors. It was also honored by a telegraphic message from Grand Duke Kirill Vladimirovich, the late head of the Russian Imperial House. In 1942, upon the demobilization of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, the Russian regiment was reorganized into a police detachment of three companies of altogether about 400 young men, commanded by Major S. D. Ivanov.

The career of the commanding officer of the first company, Captain I. S. Lobanov, throws a light on the strange fortunes of the Russians in East Asia. He had entered military service in Russia in 1915 as a private and eventually, in the course of the Great War, attained the rank of captain. During the Russian civil war he started all over again as a private in

a White Russian battalion consisting exclusively of officers, progressing by degrees to the rank of captain and finally even of lieutenant colonel. In Shanghai, when he joined the Russian Detachment in 1927, he started once again as a private and eventually, for the third time in his life, reached the rank of a captain.

In the former French Concession of Shanghai, a Russian Auxiliary Police Detachment was formed by General Glebov in January 1932. It consisted of some 350 men and was commanded by Major General L. M. Adamovich and Captain G. G. Sadilnikov. It was recently disbanded, and its personnel is now attached to the various police stations of the city.

## PARTIES AND VIEWS

When the Russian emigrants arrived in East Asia, there were many different political views among them. The one thing that united them was their loathing for Bolshevism. On this score, all of them, monarchists or socialists, agreed. The majority of them soon abandoned their old party affiliations. Those who adhered comparatively the longest to their party principles were the so-called Social-Revolutionaries, who changed the name of their party to "Peasant Party," with headquarters in Prague. In Shanghai its adherents published a small anti-monarchistic newspaper, *Golos*, which appeared for a certain time.

The mass of the Russian emigrants in Shanghai adhered to the monarchistic principle, and during the thirties there was a strong monarchistic movement among them. At that time, a number of monarchistic newspapers and magazines were published in Harbin and Shanghai, among them *Gryadustchaya Rossiya*, *Russkoye Znamya*, *Shtandart*, *Novy Put*, *Na Granitse*, and others. But after the death of Grand Duke Kirill Vladimirovich in 1938, the monarchistic movement in East Asia lost much ground, and at the present time there is only one monarchistic organization in Shanghai, the society "Faith, Tsar, and Nation." However, once this war is over and connec-

tions restored between the Russian monarchists in East Asia with those in Europe—particularly with the head of the Imperial House, Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillovich—a renaissance of the monarchistic movement may be expected among the Russian emigrants here, as many of them are monarchists at heart.

During the period of exile, several new anti-Bolshevist political movements originated among the young generation. The rise of Fascism in Italy, for example, stimulated a Fascist movement: in 1930 the "All Russian Fascist Party" was formed, which adopted a white swastika with the Russian double eagle as its emblem. Its slogan is "God, Nation, and Labor." Eventually, the party split up, one section under A. Vonsyatsky having its center of gravity in America, and the other in East Asia under K. V. Rodzayevsky. Following upon the events in Italy in 1943, Rodzayevsky changed the name of his party to "Russian National Labor Party," while the emblem and slogan remained; a monarchistic section was also added. Since November 18, 1943, Rodzayevsky has been a member of the Bureau of Emigrant Affairs in Harbin.

The two leaders of the former Siberian autonomist movement are Professor M. P. Golovachyov—one-time Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Siberian White Government—in Shanghai and Colonel F. I. Porotikov in Japan.

One of the leading personalities among the emigrants, who is also well known among non-Russians, is Ataman G. M. Semyonov. Having fought in the Great War as a Cossack officer, he was the first to organize armed resistance against the Reds in Eastern Siberia after the Bolshevik Revolution. By dint of his extraordinary energy he was able to raise a large army which for a long time caused much trouble to the Bolsheviks, as it was in control of the strategically important area between Chita and the Manchurian border. Since 1920 he has been living near Port Arthur.

The so-called "Young Russians" played a considerable role during the thirties,

when they had many members and a strong party press. They advocated loyalty to the legitimate Tsar and at the same time closer contact with the Russian people and the Red Army over the heads of the Soviet Government. Now the party as such no longer exists.

#### ORGANIZATIONS AND AN ORGANIZER

The official organs of the Russian emigrants in China are the "Emigrant Bureaus," "Emigrant Committees," and "Anti-Communist Committees." All these organs are for the Russian emigrants something like unofficial consulates, whose main work is that of registration and of aiding their members in case of need. They also watch the political activities of their members and exclude all those who have taken out Soviet or any other citizenship papers.

The President of the Russian Emigrant Committee in Shanghai is General Feodor L. Glebov, a widely known, colorful figure. He comes from a simple Cossack family in Siberia. From the very beginning of his military service, when he was still a private in the Cossack force, Glebov attracted the attention of his superiors. In the Great War, Glebov stood always in the first ranks, always under fire. He was wounded several times and received every possible military decoration: four soldiers' crosses of St. George and four medals of St. George—the golden cross of St. George of the first order from the hands of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevitch. He was promoted to the rank of officer and quickly rose to the rank of squadron commander and even divisional commander. After the outbreak of the Revolution, Glebov remained loyal to Russia and became a confirmed enemy of Bolshevism. During the civil war he participated in many battles and led his Cossack brigade across Siberia with an iron hand. Eventually, he rose to the rank of lieutenant general. Out of some 15 million Russian soldiers who were mobilized during the Great War, Glebov is the only one who, starting as a common soldier, attained this rank.

Having fought against the Bolsheviks until the last possible moment, General

Glebov brought his Cossack force to Shanghai, as was described elsewhere. After his ships had cast anchor in the Whangpoo, he refused for years to comply with the demand of the authorities of Shanghai who, under the influence of Russia's former allies, wanted him to lower the old Russian flag.

For several years Glebov was President of the "Council of the United Russian Organization in Shanghai." On January 3, 1943, he became President of the Russian Emigrant Committee of this city.

#### CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS

In some towns as, for instance, Tientsin, there is a "Russian House," where the whole communal life of the emigrants is concentrated—passport office, schools, clubs, etc. In Shanghai, in addition to the leading "Russian Club" and the "Russian Ex-Officers' Club," there are also various other social organizations such as the "Russian Ex-Servicemen's Association," which has its own dormitory and kitchen and is headed by Colonels A. Speransky and P. A. Vedenyapin, and the "Cossack Union," which also has its own small clubhouse. Finally, there are several other veterans' organizations such as the Shanghai department of the Imperial Army and Navy Corps and the veterans of the First Siberian Infantry Regiment headed by Colonel N. N. Nikolayev.

Among political youth organizations in Shanghai, there are those formed in Harbin some twenty years ago: the "Crusaders," "Musketeers," "Black Ring," and others. Among church organizations are the "Circle of Saint Yoasaf" and the "Circle of St. Seraphim," in which young people study the history of the Russian Orthodox Church and the lives of outstanding Orthodox saints under the leadership of Bishop Yoann.

The largest among the athletic organizations is the "Russky Sokol," which has more than a thousand members all over East Asia. Its motto is: "In the heart—courage, in the muscles—strength, in thought—the fatherland." In various towns there are branches of the "Young

Scouts," an association whose task is the patriotic education of the younger Russian generation. In Shanghai the Young Scouts have two organizations: the "Scouts of St. George" and the "Scouts of St. Nikolai."

#### EMIGRANTS AND THE AUTHORITIES

In Manchoukuo the Russian emigrants have met with an extremely friendly attitude on the part of the local authorities. The latter try to give the utmost consideration to the needs of the emigrants in business life as well as in political and social questions. The authorities are also doing their best to reconcile the various existing internal tensions among the emigrants and have shown full understanding of their political views. Colonel Komazu expressed this appropriately when, on November 6, 1942, in the presence of Ataman Semyonov, he addressed an emigrant meeting in Dairen:

We do not support those emigrants who do not burn with the spirit of irreconcilable struggle with Communism. To burn with the spirit of the fight with Communism and to be disciplined, that is the only way for the refugees to exist, rather, the only way of their salvation.

In Tientsin the Russian emigrants were firmly organized through the efforts of the local authorities. At the Russian House there is an office in charge of supervising the behavior of the emigrants and safeguarding the honor and reputation of the Russians. It also provides military training. In a similar way, the Russian emigrants in Tsingtao have been organized into the "Russian Anti-Communist Committee." In Peking the center of Russian life is the Russian Orthodox Mission. Politically and socially speaking, they come under the Russian House in Tientsin. The emigrants living in Shanghai, of whom there are about 20,000, belong to many different organizations, while all of them are obliged to register with the Shanghai Russian Emigrant Committee.

In Japan, owing to their small number and wide dispersion, the Russian emigrants have little organized life. In Tokyo there is an Emigrant Committee.

In other parts of East Asia the number of Russian emigrants is very small. The uniting bond is provided by the parishes of the Orthodox Church, which enjoys the protection of the authorities.

All Russians in East Asia are obliged to have passports issued at a small charge (for unemployed, free) by the local authorities and valid for one year. A number of emigrants who decided to settle in Manchoukuo or China for good have taken out citizenship papers of these countries.

#### PUBLICATIONS

The leading newspapers at the present time are the *Zaria* and *Kharbinskoye Vremya* (Harbin Times) in Harbin, the *Vozrojenie Azii* (Rebirth of Asia) in Tientsin, and the *Shanghai Zaria* and *Novoye Vremya* in Shanghai. The remaining Russian dailies in Shanghai are Soviet publications.

The Editor-in-Chief of the much-read *Shanghai Zaria* is Leo V. Arnoldov, who began his journalistic career in 1916, when he worked on the Irkutsk paper *Jizn* (Life). After the Revolution, he was appointed Director of the Foreign Department of the Russian Press Bureau in Omsk. In 1919 he worked first in Khabarovsk and then on two Vladivostok papers. From 1921 to 1925 he worked on the Harbin *Zaria*, and since October 1925 he has been Editor-in-Chief of the *Shanghai Zaria*, which has steered a steady course of anti-Bolshevism throughout the past nine years. He is also a lecturer on Chinese history and culture at the Russian Commercial Institute in Shanghai and has published several books.

In view of the present high cost of paper, few of the many magazines founded at one time or another have survived. Among them are *Rubej* (Border) and *Luch Azii* (The Light of Asia) in Harbin, the latter of a monarchist tendency; and in Shanghai the *Shanghai Rubej*, *Kstati* (published by the Shanghai branch of the Union of Russian War Invalids), *Shtandart* (the organ of the monarchists), *Nash Put* (published by the Russian National Labor Party, the former Fas-

cists), and *Vestovoi* (published by the ex-officers of the First Siberian Infantry Regiment).

Among the publishing companies, which have turned out many Russian books, only one has survived: "Nashe Znanye" in Tientsin. That Russian emigrant author who is best known among non-Russians is N. N. Baikov in Harbin, famous for his descriptions of life and hunting in Manchoukuo.

#### SCHOOLS, STAGE, AND ART

The largest number of Russian schools is to be found in Shanghai, among them being several commercial schools, a middle school, a high school for girls, and some boarding schools, mostly subsidized by the "Russian Central Welfare Committee." In Harbin, the State High School is open to children of both sexes, and education and uniforms are of the cadet type. The Polytechnic Institute, which has a Department of Law, and the Dental School pay their own way, receiving only a small subsidy from the emigrant bureau. There are also emigrant schools in a number of other towns, and Dairen, Mukden, Manchuli, and Hailar can even boast of quite good high schools.

The Russians have always been known for their love of theater and music, and they enthusiastically carry on their traditions in East Asia. In Shanghai, the performances of the various theatrical groups, such as the Russian Dramatic Theater (Director: E. M. Hovans) and the ensemble of A. S. Orlov, usually take place on the stages of the local Russian clubs. Known throughout East Asia is The Ballet Russe in Shanghai, which usually puts on about six different performances every season, most of them directed by N. M. Sokolsky and with Y. V. Bobinina as prima ballerina. Light operas (under the direction of L. I. Rosen and Z. A. Bitner) and even grand operas are also shown from time to time. Their outstanding stars are at present Sophie Zorich and G. V. Kudinov.

In other fields of art, too, the Russian emigrants play a comparatively big role. Numerous Russian musicians are to be

found in the orchestras and concert halls of East Asia. In the field of graphic art George A. Sapojnikov, a collaborator of this magazine, is famous far beyond East Asia. Sapojnikov, known to the world at large as "Sapajou," was born in Russian Turkestan, the son of an officer of railway troops and took up a military career. But like his father, who left the Army to become an artist and devote himself to painting under the great painter Repin, he himself, after having been wounded and discharged from military service in 1915, entered the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. During the Revolution he joined the White armies in Siberia and arrived with them in East Asia, where he is now the best-known among Western caricaturists.

Another Russian emigrant artist living in East Asia who enjoys an international reputation is the painter V. S. Podgursky. Having studied under famous painters in Moscow and St. Petersburg, he left Russia after the Revolution and settled in Shanghai, where he joined the Shanghai Chinese Academy of Art. Many prominent buildings in Shanghai are decorated with murals by his hand, and in 1933 an exhibition of his works in Florence met with great success among European art critics.

#### THE CHURCH

There are a number of Orthodox dioceses in East Asia: (1) the diocese of Peking, which is in charge of all Orthodox parishes in China, with Archbishop Victor of Peking and China as its head and Bishop Yoann as its representative in Shanghai; (2) the diocese of Tokyo, in charge of all Orthodox parishes in Japan and Chosen and headed by Bishop Nikolai of Tokyo, a Japanese; (3) the diocese of Harbin, which has the largest number of members. In this latter diocese are also included Archbishop Nestor, who still bears his prerevolutionary title of "Archbishop of Kamchatka," Bishop Dmitry of Hailar, and Bishop Yuvenaly of Tsitsihar. It is headed by the venerable Metropolitan Melety of Harbin and Manchuria, who is also the East Asia representative of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, which has its seat in Karlovac, Croatia.

The oldest of all Orthodox missions in the world is that in Peking, which has existed for 262 years, i.e., since 1682 when the first Orthodox Russians, prisoners taken on the Amur River, arrived in Peking and built a small Russian church. However, the real founder of the Orthodox Church in China was Peter the Great: he sent Bishop Innocence to Peking, who was later declared a saint and became a miracle worker, greatly revered, particularly in Siberia. When a Bolshevik commission of scientists opened his grave in Irkutsk in 1922, his body was found uncorrupted. Although the Chinese authorities did not allow Innocence to enter Peking, and he stayed to the end of his life in Irkutsk, he must be considered the first head of the Orthodox Mission in China. In addition to its land in the northeastern corner of Peking, this mission at present owns lands and church buildings in other Chinese towns such as Mukden, Dairen, Harbin, Peitaiho, Tientsin, Tsingtao, and Shanghai. The number of Russian emigrants living and working in the missions is now quite small, as most of the economic enterprises connected with the missions have been closed.

The present head of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China, Archbishop Victor, is a former officer, whose name at that time was Leonid Svyatin. On his father's side a descendant of a priest's family, while his mother came from a Cossack home, he graduated from the Orenburg seminary in 1915 and soon afterwards entered the military school at Tiflis. As an officer he participated in the Great War, and in the civil war against the Bolsheviks. In 1920 he crossed into China with Ataman Annenkov's army; via Hankow he reached Peking, where he entered priesthood under the name of Victor. For ten years he was in charge of a church in Tientsin, where he did much for the welfare, education, and spirit of the Russian emigrants. In 1932 he was appointed bishop, and in the following year, upon the death of his predecessor, head of the Russian Orthodox Mission in China. For

his tireless and successful work in this capacity he was given the rank of archbishop in 1939.

The number of Orthodox churches in East Asia is considerable. Some of them were built before the Revolution, others in recent years through the contributions of the emigrants. Among the latter are the St. Sophia Church in Harbin, an exact duplicate of the Kronstadt Navy Cathedral, and the chapel in Harbin which was built in memory of the murdered monarchs, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia and King Alexander I of Yugoslavia. It looks like a huge replica of the ancient Russian Monomakh crown. Inside, all icon lamps represent Tsarist crowns and are covered by the medals and orders donated for this purpose by officers and soldiers of the Imperial Russian Army. The Svyato-Pokrovsky (Intercession of the Holy Virgin) Church in Tientsin was built with money donated by the Japanese military authorities to replace the Russian church destroyed during the Boxer Rebellion. In Shanghai the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin was built in 1936 with donations, chiefly from Mrs. Y. N. Litvinova, while the St. Nicholas Church was erected in memory of the murdered Tsar and his family. Its icons were either painted by the best Russian artists in East Asia or had been brought from Russia by the emigrants.

There are several Orthodox monasteries and convents in East Asia: the Kazan Holy Virgin Monastery and the St. Olga Convent, both in Harbin, the latter with a branch in Shanghai; a convent in Dairen, and one in Peking.

A small number of the Russian emigrants belong to other churches. Some are Adventists; others Baptists or Evangelists; and some, chiefly in Shanghai, belong to the Uniats, known as the Russian Catholic Church, which is headed by Archimandrite Nikolai, who has gone over to it from the Orthodox Church.

#### WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

The main welfare activities for the support of needy emigrants were concentrated from the beginning in the

hands of the military leaders and large refugee organizations. In Manchuria, the remnants of the White Army received about two million gold rubles from Ataman Semyonov to organize the change-over of officers and men to a civilian life. With these funds, co-operatives, shops, restaurants, and small factories were organized. Unfortunately, the inexperience of the ex-soldiers in business matters, coupled with the dishonesty of certain "advisers," impeded the success of these undertakings, and soon many of them had to be closed again. As long as the Chinese Eastern Railway remained in White Russian hands, its management supported the emigrants by giving them work, land, and even loans and other help.

The Church has greatly contributed toward the alleviation of the sufferings of the needy. Archbishop Nestor has been particularly active in aiding the old and the orphans. In addition, many private individuals and enterprises gave large donations.

In Shanghai, the former Russian Consul, V. F. Grosse, energetically organized the support of needy refugees. In February 1923 one of his chief assistants, the physician D. I. Kazakov, organized the "Russian Orthodox Brotherhood," which became a center of welfare work. At present these activities are carried on mainly by the "Central Welfare Committee," the honorary president and most active leader of which is Bishop Yoann. This committee takes care of a great number of institutions, such as the Public Russian Kitchen, which provides cheap dinners as well as free dinners every day; orphanages; the Russian hospital; and various schools. Independent of this committee, there exist such additional organizations as the "White Flower" for the fight against tuberculosis and the "Cradle," a home for small children.

#### THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Most of the younger Russians, many of whom graduated from Russian and other schools, have completely acclima-

tized themselves to life in East Asia and are prepared to make their living in many different fields and professions. After finishing school, the majority of the boys try to find work in Russian or foreign firms, while a few of them have gone into business on their own.

The situation is somewhat more difficult for the girls. Although they, too, try to find jobs, and many of them keep them even after they are married, their choice of proper occupation is very limited. Most of the foreign firms, where many of them were employed, have been closed. A large number of the girls work in places of amusement but, owing to the closing of many of them as a result of the war, employment in this field, too, has been greatly curtailed. In general, the difficulties facing Russian women in making a decent living have increased considerably during the last few years.

#### LOOKING AT BOLSHEVISM

Up to the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Russian emigrants as a whole had preserved the same attitude of hostility toward Bolshevism which they had felt ever since they left their native land. Only a small group, mainly among the young people, had been influenced by the Young Russian movement toward a different attitude; they regarded the Red Army as a "Russian National Force" and believed that it would eventually turn against Bolshevism. This wishful thinking with regard to the Red Army—which, although consisting of Russians, is fighting for the aims of the Bolshevik leaders—served later on as a basis for the growth of so-called "Soviet patriotism."

On June 22, 1941, the guns began to speak on the Soviet border, and the Red Army withdrew before the powerful German war machine. Many emigrants sincerely rejoiced, believing that this was the beginning of the end of Bolshevism and the liberation of Russia. They looked upon the Germans as their allies. But the Bolsheviks immediately started to appeal to all Russians by advancing the slogan of "Defense of the Fatherland"

and by carrying through reforms in the Red Army which, although completely insincere, were meant to create the impression that the Red Army was truly a Russian army. As the war dragged on, an increasing number of emigrants began to fall in line with the "Defense of the Fatherland" idea. The return of shoulder straps and national decorations in the Red Army, and many other measures (described in the February 1944 issue of this magazine), were naively taken by them as proofs of the approaching transformation of the Bolshevik into a national Russian state. The Bolshevik press turned out "patriotic" propaganda day in and day out. The advance of the Red Army since the winter of 1942/43 seems to have convinced these emigrants not only of the strength but, for some reason, also of the Russian nature of this army.

Deafened by the noise of Soviet propaganda, these emigrants wish neither to see nor to hear of the way the GPU treats the population of the "liberated" areas, nor the large-scale flight of Russian people westward, away from their "own" Red army. The clever Soviet propaganda has succeeded in winning many emigrants and making them forget the real, unchanged character of Bolshevism.

#### PASSPORTS WITH STRINGS

One of the consequences of Bolshevik propaganda among the emigrants has been the growing number of applications for Soviet citizenship. It is believed that since the outbreak of the German-Soviet war some 2,000 emigrants in Shanghai have made such applications with the local Soviet Consulate. Upon this they have received receipts entitling them to join various Soviet organizations and clubs. However, the possession of such a receipt does not necessarily mean that the owner will be given Soviet citizenship or obtain a Soviet passport. These latter are issued only in small numbers and after detailed enquiries about the applicant have been made. By no means do they entitle their owner to go to the USSR. In fact, as far as is known, only

one emigrant from Shanghai, the composer Alexander Vertinsky, has so far been allowed to travel to the Soviet Union.

The best way, of course, to open the eyes of the young people would be for them to go to the Soviet Union and see for themselves all the falseness of the Soviet propaganda and the dreadful conditions under which the Russian people must live. But the Bolsheviks are smart enough to withhold permission to the young emigrants who wish to go to Russia for the "Defense of the Fatherland."

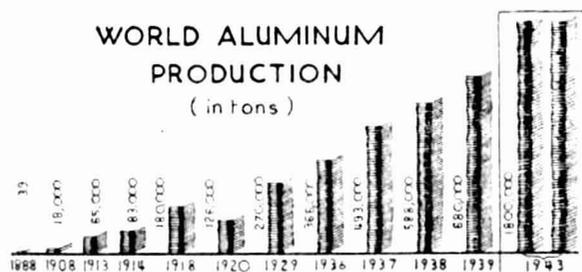


Although the Russian emigrants in East Asia are not united, their most outstanding members have retained the same, immutable spirit of irreconcilability toward Bolshevism. This group consists of the best Russian nationalists, tried in battle and loyal to the end. When the hour strikes, thousands of Russian people who have credulously been following pseudopatriotic slogans will rally around these men. Then the love for Russia and the hatred for Bolshevism will reappear in increased strength and will unite all Russian emigrants in one single body.

### *Number Two Metal*

War and iron are almost synonymous. Iron (or steel) has been the metal of war, from the sword of the ancient Greek and Roman to the modern cannon and tank. But just as iron and steel once replaced bronze, steel may one day be replaced by another metal. Perhaps future generations will think first of aluminum when they speak of war-important metals.

Aluminum was discovered by Wöhler in 1827. In 1852, Bunsen succeeded in producing a small quantity of aluminum by electrolysis. At the Paris World Exposition of 1885 a few bars of aluminum, weighing altogether about one kilogram, caused a sensation, and everybody went to see the "silver made from mud." In those days, a ton of the metal cost about US\$50,000. The Great War brought the first boom in aluminum production. After the war, production receded, and by 1930 the price was down to US\$400 per ton.



Then, in the thirties, came the preparations for the second world war, and more and more aluminum was produced. After 1940, production shot up to such an extent that by now aluminum has probably taken second place by volume, if not by weight, in the metal production of the world, being surpassed only by iron and steel.