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CIVIL WAR MIGRANTS IN RUSSIA'S FAR EAST

This article examines migration by the intelligentsia during the Civil War to Russia's Far East. It analyses how they quickly adjusted to the new surroundings. The intelligentsia worked diligently in science, education, and culture and made significant institutional and scientific advances in the Far East, despite harsh local conditions.

This article examines the eastern vector of Civil War migration in Russia (1918–22). Fear of Bolshevik rule after the October Revolution, violence towards those who belonged to the opposition, and the volatile wartime situation made thousands of people flee their homes and look for a safer place. Though this outward flow included representatives of various social strata, the intelligentsia expressed itself most vividly in this situation. Unlike people with less education, intellectuals were not satisfied with general employment in their new place of stay and sought to make the most of their knowledge and experience.

Migration has recently been at the centre of public debate. Globalisation and the development of the world labour market, international education and research have increased the movement of people around the globe. Wars and civil unrest in places like Syria, Lebanon, Libya and the Central African Republic, political boundary changes in Crimea and Dnepropetrovsk, and the threat to political rights, as well as persecution and poverty, have pushed people to migrate. As Dirk Hoerder describes migration, 'Once defined as a crossing of borders between states, it is now understood as a social process and appears as a basic condition of human societies.'¹

Altogether, these factors explain the present concern with migration, but studying past migration patterns also helps contextualise current ones; the experience of a person's adaptation far away from home, search for his/her own place in a new environment, and the interaction of different social groups whether in the past or present are urgent and challenging topics. Furthermore, migrants who leave their homes because of extraordinary events such as wars or political upheavals are particularly distinct. Unlike economic migrants, refugees and asylum seekers facing persecution cannot return home and often have to change their status and life goals at their new location.

The Russian Far East is an important territory in the history of migration.² Since the seventeenth century, the development of the region has been closely connected with migration, both voluntary and forced. In the nineteenth century, the efforts of the Russian government to populate the territory resulted in the mass resettlement of peasants and Cossacks from European Russia. The region also served as a place of penal servitude and exile that was also considered a form of colonisation. Being far away from the central authorities, the Russian Far East attracted people seeking asylum or

better economic opportunities. It is among the regions described by Lewis Siegelbaum and Leslie Page Moch:

Collectively and for the most part anonymously, migrants changed Russia's landscape. They animated rural areas, and left them flat, they built cities and provided the labor power to keep them going; they swelled universities and training schools as teachers and students.³

These words can also be applied to Civil War migrants, for they contributed much to changing the cultural and scientific landscape of the Far East. Many of them had been successful researchers, engineers, lawyers, and educators before they fled to the East and had to begin their life from scratch in the new region. Though their new surroundings greatly differed from their home and the extreme political and economic instability of the Civil War period left little hope of success, they managed to do the best they could and significantly influenced their host region.

Research on the trans-continental and trans-border movement of people during a fairly short time period allows us to follow general trends and the peculiarities of a specific social group, the Russian intelligentsia in this case. It provides an opportunity to describe the history of the Russian Revolution through the people who stayed out of organised politics and revolutionary activity. It also answers a number of essential questions about the regional manifestations of the Revolution and the Civil War, the intelligentsia's behaviour in extreme conditions, and their interaction with the host territory. An analysis of how these people managed to adjust themselves to the new, and rather harsh, living environment finds that they were able to carve out their own niche in unusual surroundings and continue their public, scientific, and educational activity, and these conclusions are relevant in appreciating the benefits and challenges surrounding migration today.

Civil war migrants in the Russian Far East

Although the last two decades have seen growing interest in migration issues, there has not been systematic research on Civil War migrants in the Russian Far East in 1918–22. Scholars have addressed the topic to varying degrees, analysing migration as a social phenomenon, describing the Civil War's aftermath, and studying the intelligentsia's role in the history of culture, science, and education in Russia. A number of works have been published recently on population displacement. Most noteworthy are Peter Gatrell's works about population displacement during and after the First World War and Hoerder's thorough description of Russian expansion to Siberia and the Far East in the nineteenth century. Both scholars conceptualise the subject and give their own global histories of migration.⁴ The very term 'refugees' was originally applied to migrants of the First World War, which makes this field of study even more meaningful. The war not only made people flee their homes on a mass scale, but forced many of them to rethink their affiliation and identity in the new place of stay. This was true of the Russian Civil War as well, and these issues are essential for research on Civil War refugees and other migrants.

The very rich and complicated Russian-language and Anglophone historiography of the Civil War in Russia has revealed the factors that pushed people to leave their homes

and migrate to safer territories, and has described the circumstances the migrants experienced.⁵ However, scholars' interests have rarely reached the territory of the Far East, being concentrated mostly on European Russia.⁶

Until now, historians, both in Russia and abroad, have focused mainly on the military and political confrontation between Whites and Reds, and the migration phenomenon either remained outside their attention or was connected with the negative ramifications of the larger military and political conflicts, such as the economic and financial crisis, the local labour market imbalance, and social problems.⁷ Many of them understand positive developments in culture, education, and science as achievements of Soviet rule.⁸ Only a few authors have written about progressive undertakings by the Whites and their supporters, acknowledging their contribution to the development of the host region.⁹

Separately, there are works concerning the Russian intelligentsia and their work in cultural and scientific progress. Tribute should be paid to the Research Institute of the Study of the Intelligentsia at Ivanovo State University (Russia) where several works on the intelligentsia during the Civil War have been published.¹⁰ Scholars from other countries have also contributed to these issues. Focusing on the social and cultural history of Russia, Sheila Fitzpatrick has written about the intelligentsia as an elite group in pre-revolutionary society and highlighted its role as a carrier of culture.¹¹ Sarah Badcock has revealed contradictions between the political elites and ordinary people, including the intelligentsia, in revolutionary Russia and explained how they perceived the Revolution. Alas, no Far Eastern material has been used in these works.¹²

This article draws mainly on local archival sources and periodicals. I have used several collections at the Russian State Historical Archives of the Far East (*Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Dal'nego Vostoka*, RGIA DV, Vladivostok). These include official documents of provisional governments, including the Far Eastern Republic, local revolutionary committees, public organisations, and cultural and educational institutions. Facts regarding the intelligentsia migrants' activity were found in a number of collections, namely, the files of the Committee on the Establishment of the History and Philology Faculty (*Komitet po uchrezhdeniiu istoriko-filologicheskogo fakulteta*), the Far Eastern Society for the Promotion of Higher Education (*Dal'nevostochnoe obshchestvo sodeistviia razvitiuu vysshego obrazovaniia*), and the Far Eastern University (*Dal'nevostochnyi Universitet*). The latter incorporates documents of Vladivostok schools of higher education, which were combined in 1920 to make the Far Eastern University. Though not very numerous, these documents provide critical information on the migrants' activity in the Russian Far East.

Academic literature published during the Civil War in Vladivostok is also a valuable source of historical information. Nearly all authors, while describing their research, included facts about the political situation in the region, working conditions, relations with the officials, and so forth.¹³ Especially important is the reference book by Boris Ivashkevich, who collected material, including biographical data, on researchers, teachers, writers, and lecturers, both local residents and migrants of 1918–22.¹⁴

This article also draws on regional periodicals. The official newsletter *Vestnik vremennogo pravitel'stva Dal'nego Vostoka-Primorskoï zemskoi upravı* (The Herald of the Provisional Government of the Far East-Primor'e Regional Administration, Vladivostok, 1919–20) published news about educational and cultural institutions founded in the Russian Far

East. Articles in *Primorskaia zhizn'* (Primor'e Life), *Dalekaia okraina* (Distant Land), and *Velikii okean* (Great Ocean) (all published between 1918 and 1922) reveal the views of scientific and cultural figures regarding issues of the day. Academic journals *Uchenye zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo fakulteta vo Vladivostoke* (Proceedings of the History and Philology Faculty in Vladivostok) (1919) and *Izvestiia Ural'skogo gornogo instituta v Ekaterinburge, 1918/19* (Bulletin of the Ural Mining Institute in Ekaterinburg) show the newcomers' research interests. In all, these sources help to understand and describe the intelligentsia migrants' movement to the Russian Far East and their activities in the region. They also show their contribution to science, education, and culture in the host territory.

Gone with the war

The October Revolution of 1917 and Civil War greatly increased migration as an extreme form of escape. Choosing from two principal movement vectors – either to the southern Russian seaports of Odessa or Sevastopol' and then abroad, or eastwards – many people preferred the second one. The reason for moving to the East was connected mostly with the specific political situation beyond the Urals; until late 1919, this territory remained under the control of Aleksandr Kolchak's White government. This was a decisive factor for people trying to avoid contact with the Bolsheviks.

People of all social strata migrated, but the intelligentsia perceived the change of power in Russia more acutely than other social groups. Whilst the February Revolution was welcomed by many educated people who believed that it would foster freedom and democracy in Russia, the intelligentsia met the October Bolshevik Revolution with trepidation. The new Soviet state's violent methods of dealing with social issues and specific targeting of the intelligentsia made them watch the new politics with fear. Some intellectuals saw no opportunities to continue their work under Bolshevik rule, while those who were part of non-Bolshevik political movements feared persecution. Thus, there were a lot of scientists, professors, lawyers, writers, journalists, and artists in the huge wave of those looking for a safer place.

Many of them did not intend to move far from their home cities. Having reached a relatively calm area they stayed there, intending to return home as soon as Bolshevik rule collapsed, and they expected it would happen soon. Meanwhile they sought employment, and found jobs in local journalism and the legal sector, and in teaching at secondary and higher schools in the Ural region. A number of professors, for example, had joined the faculty of the Tomsk Technological Institute and the Ural Mining Institute (Ekaterinburg) by September 1918.¹⁵ New educational and cultural institutes were founded in the cities of Perm', Tomsk, and Omsk between 1918 and 1920, resulting in the cultural and scientific development of the West Siberia region.¹⁶

In 1919, the White forces' failure to stop the Red Army's advance made the migrants move on further. This stage of migration differed somewhat from the previous one. Now, along with individual movement, we find examples of mass evacuation that took place under Kolchak's orders. Some gun factories were moved from the Ural region to Kharbin (Manchuria) in early 1919. That summer, the Ural Mining Institute was transferred to Vladivostok. The first group of its professors, their families, and students, 40 altogether, left Ekaterinburg during the night of 12 July 1919, two days before

the Red Army's arrival in the city. The next, and last, migrant group followed them shortly afterwards.¹⁷ In 1920–21, migrants moved with the retreating White Army. This set of migrants was made up of both permanent Siberian residents and those who had migrated there during the Civil War. In 1922, the migration to the Far East ended, with the last wave consisting mostly of White officers and military specialists.

There was one more group of intelligentsia migrants to the Russian Far East. Some researchers, having been caught by the Civil War in the region after their expeditions and research trips, were unable to return to European Russia and had to stay in Vladivostok waiting for the political situation to change.

Economic and political conditions in the Far East

Being far from the theatre of operations, the Far East remained comparatively calm and prosperous. Whilst the economy of Central Russia had been devastated by the Civil War, with plants and factories destroyed and mines flooded, the remote region enjoyed relative prosperity in its industry and agriculture. Trade was preserved with the Chinese Eastern railway area,¹⁸ filling the local commodity markets with food and other goods.¹⁹

The transport system was among the strongest sectors in the region. By the end of the First World War, Vladivostok had become one of the five largest Russian seaports.²⁰ Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the regular sea line connected Vladivostok with Odessa via the ports of Southeast Asia. It provided the opportunity for migrants to move further on – to Japan, America, Australia, Europe, and so forth – by sea. The railway also functioned smoothly in spite of economic and political disorder in Russia. This was the result of the joint efforts of the former Russian Provisional Government and United States officials who entered into a cooperative agreement in 1917 and organised the American Russian Railway Service Corps to put the Russian railways, and especially the Trans-Siberian Railroad, in proper condition for efficient operation.²¹ The TransSib with its branch line, the Chinese Eastern Railway, became the main route for people heading to the East.

The political situation in the region was also favourable for the migrants. After the Czechs' anti-Bolshevik rebellion on 29 June 1918, Vladivostok and the surrounding area fell out of Bolshevik control. Though a number of political regimes came to power in 1918–22 in the Russian Far East, Bolsheviks did not have strong representation in any of them.

The international military presence was one more significant factor in making this territory attractive for migrants. Since early 1918, Vladivostok had become the main base of the foreign military forces in the Russian Far East. In January 1918, the first British and Japanese battleships entered the bay of Zolotoi Rog (Golden Horn Bay), followed by 829 British Marines from the Middlesex regiment in April and US forces in August. From April 1918, Japan controlled the island of Sakhalin and the eastern part of the Trans-Siberian Railway. There were also Canadian, French, and Italian military detachments in the region.²² J. Stephan writes that there were:

... eleven foreign expeditionary forces of varying sizes, sympathies, and agendas. Leading the list were 73,000 Japanese, followed by 55,000 Czechs, 12,000 Poles, 9,000 Americans, 5,000 Chinese, 4,000 Serbs, 4,000 Rumanians, 4,000 Canadians,

2,000 Italians, 1,600 British, and 700 French. These expeditions were ... mostly clustered around Vladivostok.²³

Eyewitnesses reported some incidents of violence by foreign servicemen towards locals,²⁴ but the international presence gave people hope for protection from the Bolsheviks and made it possible to leave Russia for somewhere abroad at a pinch. All of these factors made the Far East, especially the southern part with its warmer climate, richer transport facilities, and higher population density, very attractive to the migrants.

The last stop and educational initiatives

In 1918–22, Vladivostok became the destination for thousands of people moving from European Russia and Siberia. Migrants started arriving there in early 1918. In 1920, migration peaked in response to Kolchak's retreat and the number of newcomers increased dramatically with the population of the city growing by 200,000 people by the end of 1920. Describing the diversity of this flow, *Dalekaia okraina*, a Vladivostok periodical, reported:

All segments of society are running away – farmers, workers, employees from zemstva and cities, officials, doctors, lawyers, professors. They are running with families, trying to save themselves and their relatives from certain death ... running under the most terrible conditions, improperly dressed, without even footwear, and without a penny.²⁵

The city was overcrowded, resulting in great difficulties with accommodation and employment. Professors and students from the Ural Mining Institute, for example, lived in a railway carriage for nearly a fortnight before the city authorities found a suitable place to accommodate them. Piotr P. von Veimarn, the rector of the Ural Mining Institute, having arrived in Vladivostok after a two-month journey, wrote in his telegram to Omsk, 'Unable to leave wagons having no other living premises. The staff is in poor health. Money is badly needed to repair allocated barracks'.²⁶

Employment opportunities for the intellectuals were provided initially by local educational institutions, which had suffered since their founding from a shortage of highly qualified faculty. Unlike the military, which received considerable privileges from the tsarist government for serving in the remote region, the civilian population did not enjoy any state benefits. Thus, only a few volunteered to work in the Russian Far East. The academic staff of the *Vostochnyi Institut* (Oriental Institute) in Vladivostok, the only higher school in a vast area of the Far East and East Siberia, was formed in 1899 thanks to St. Petersburg University Oriental Department graduates who wished to live close to the countries they studied. The city's *Kommercheskoe uchilishche* (School of Commerce) and *Uchitel'skii institut* (Teachers' School) had to invite experts from various fields for lecturing. The strong desire of city authorities since 1910 to expand regional higher education by founding a university with medical and technical departments could not get off the ground because of the same difficulties.²⁷

The mass Civil War migration radically changed this situation, providing a wealth of teaching staff. From early 1918, migrants' names appeared in the lists of Vladivostok educational institutions; for example, doctor of mathematics Robert Bernshtain from Khar'kov, candidate of natural science Ivan Preobrazhenskii from Petrograd, candidate of economics Sergei Andreev from Moscow, and architect Pavel Fedorovskii from Tomsk.²⁸ There were many professors from Kazan' in Vladivostok, such as: master of theology Mikhail Ershov, mathematician Aleksandr Bekeev, philologist Aleksandr Georgievskii, and pedagogue and theologian Iakov Koblov. According to the latest research, 102 Kazan' University employees left the city along with 30,000 other residents during the Civil War.²⁹ Many of these people found themselves in the Russian Far East.

With the daily influx of migrants, however, the number of available academics soon exceeded the demand and professors were considered lucky to be employed at a secondary school in Vladivostok or neighbouring towns. The isolation of the region from Central Russia and the absence of a strong state power created conditions for independent activities, and the migrants initiated some projects that they considered necessary to obtain a livelihood for themselves and the opportunity to continue education for young migrants. Supported by local professors, engineers, and amateur researchers, they formed two groups in early 1918, the Committee on the Establishment of the History and Philology Faculty (*Komitet po uchrezhdeniiu Istoriko-Filologicheskogo fakulteta*) and the Far Eastern Society for the Promotion of Higher Education (*Dal'nevostochnoe obshchestvo sodeistviia razvitiuu vysshego obrazovaniia*). The first organisation consisted of university professors, whilst the second was made up mostly of technical intelligentsia. These groups soon combined their efforts to formulate a joint programme of higher education development in the Russian Far East.³⁰

These actions give us a clear example of the intellectuals' strong sense of unity in the face of the country's difficulties. Differences in scientific interests, political attitudes, and inclinations did not impede reaching consensus and identifying the primary goal – to start training engineering personnel for the country's reconstruction after the Civil War. In this respect, I agree with Sheila Fitzpatrick's conclusion about the intelligentsia: during the Civil War, 'unlike the other layers of the pre-revolutionary elite it managed to preserve the integrity of the group and an acute awareness of belonging to it.'³¹

Documents show that consensus was not easy and there were heated debates on the higher school training areas, funding, placement, and future perspectives. Theologist Ershov and his supporters advocated developing a wide educational system, which could provide both scientific knowledge and critical thinking. They spoke of a humanitarian education as the necessary component of engineering training and suggested establishing corresponding departments.³²

These efforts resulted in the founding of two educational institutions in Vladivostok in November 1918, namely, Vladivostok Polytechnic High School (Polytechnic Institute from 1919) and the History and Philology Department. As the initiators stated, they were established 'with a definite goal to make them legitimate parts of the future University.'³³ By this time, the schools of higher education did not suffer from a lack of professors. A large number of migrants allowed the schools to make vacant positions competitive. None of the 13 applicants (most of them with scientific degrees from European universities and comprehensive lecturing experience) was accepted for a job at the

Polytechnic Institute in 1919,³⁴ and only three of them managed to get a position in the Law Department (opened in 1919) and Pedagogical Institute (opened in 1921).³⁵

The Law Department was considered an important part of the regional educational network. Rival regional rulers were vying for legitimacy in the Far East during the Civil War and they were in need of legal support. The Law Department curriculum comprised a lecture series on various legal systems, including the former Russian Empire, European and Asian states.³⁶ The academic staff included legal practitioners who had participated in Kolchak's government or occupied high administrative posts during the war. In 1919, Nikandr Miroljubov headed the Investigative Committee on the murder of the Tsar's family and was elected the Chairman of Priamurskii Zemskii Sobor in Vladivostok in 1922. Mstislav Golovachiov was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Siberian government from 1920 to 1922. General lieutenant Aleksandr Kamkov, a military lawyer, chaired the Priamurskii okrug military court during the Civil War. Victor Isakovich headed the local branch of the Russo-Asian Bank in Vladivostok.³⁷ The professors' diverse experiences gave their students the advantage of getting acquainted with a variety of viewpoints.

All the schools of higher education in Vladivostok were private and could only function on tuition fees and donations. Nevertheless, their organisers managed to implement their ideas of a multi-faceted approach to teaching, building a regional education based on both scientific and humanitarian grounds, with as much resemblance to the university system as possible.³⁸ Having graduated from the best and largest European universities, they tried to transfer their basic principles to the new institutes in Vladivostok. They sought full autonomy and opposed all attempts by the regional authorities to put pressure on the new schools of higher education. They replicated the curriculum and teaching methods of their alma maters. A training mine was constructed at the Polytechnic Institute resembling the one at the Mining Institute in St. Petersburg. Geologists Maksim Eliashevich, Pavel Gudkov and Aleksander Kozlov donated their own collections to a museum room they had organised, having in mind the Mining Institute Geology Museum where they spent time as students.

The previous research activity of the migrants identified the new schools of higher education's area of work, both educational and scientific. In 1919–20, the first issues of two academic journals, *Proceedings of the History and Philology Faculty in Vladivostok* (with anthropologist Sergei Shirokogorov as editor) and *Bulletin of the Ural Mining Institute in Ekaterinburg* (with chemist P. Veimarn as editor), were published. The first concentrated on the latest humanities research in the Far East, with Shirokogorov, his wife E. Shirokogorova, Ershov and Georgievskii among the authors. The second journal consisted partly of articles on chemistry, physics, and mathematics, and also included a key publication by Veimarn – a philosophical 'Essays on the Energy of Culture' (*Ocherki po energetike kul'tury*) that expressed his views on education, research, publishing, and the significance of natural science knowledge as the basis for world cultural growth.³⁹

Higher education in Vladivostok featured a large percentage of migrant professors. They occupied 20 of the 28 positions at the Polytechnic Institute in April 1920.⁴⁰ Fifteen positions were taken by Ural Mining Institute professors who hoped to return to Ekaterinburg. They attempted to preserve their academic autonomy while teaching together at the Polytechnic Institute. The collapse of Kolchak's government in late 1919 made both their return and autonomy impossible. As soon as the Provisional Government of the Far East (*Primorskaia zemskaia uprava*) had granted the Polytechnic Institute the

status of a state-financed organisation in April 1920,⁴¹ the merging of these two institutes strengthened higher engineering education in the Far East.

Simultaneously, the long expected Far Eastern State University was opened in Vladivostok according to a decree from the Provisional Government of the Far East. It combined the Oriental Institute, the History and Philology Department, the Law Department, and the Economics Department of the Polytechnic Institute.⁴² The professors' specialisation and research interests influenced the university's curriculum. At the initiative of A. Mervart, an ethnographer from St. Petersburg, students learned Sanskrit. Professor Shirokogorov, also from St. Petersburg, organised classes on Siberian anthropology and ethnography. Church historian Fedor Uspenskii, a graduate from the Kazan' Theological Academy, opened a church history department. Master of divinity I. Koblov, an author of several pedagogical works, founded a pedagogy department.⁴³ Palaeobotanist Afrikan Kryshstofovich from the Russian Geological Committee in St. Petersburg⁴⁴ was the founder of the paleontological research school in Vladivostok.⁴⁵ After the Far Eastern Republic (FER) was established in May 1920,⁴⁶ the regional higher schools were put under the control of the FER Ministry of Public Education. In 1921, the Ministry Academic Board adopted a controversial stance on education. On the one hand, academic autonomy, typical of pre-revolutionary higher education in Russia, was preserved. On the other hand, the Ministry's aspiration to follow Bolshevik ideas was quite noticeable. The regulatory documents provided the regional government with permission to control all issues of the activity of higher education, which had been part of large-scale Bolshevik reforms in education in European Russia since 1918.⁴⁷

The migrants were highly qualified academics and managers, which helped them to occupy the top positions in Far Eastern education. Professor P. Veimarn was elected the rector of the Polytechnic Institute in 1919. After his retirement in 1920, this position was given first to Semion Petrov, a mining engineer from the Urals, and then in 1921 to Victor Vologdin, an engineer from St. Petersburg who had been appointed by Kolchak in 1919 as the technical director at Dal'zavod, the largest ship repairing plant in the Far East. Philologist Piotr Devin from St. Petersburg was the rector of the Pedagogical Institute from 1921 to 1922; historian Vladimir Ogorodnikov from Kazan' was appointed the rector at the newly established Institute of Public Education in the city of Chita in 1921.⁴⁸ They successfully made the Far Eastern higher schools function smoothly in the extremely harsh conditions of the last year of the Civil War.

Migrants' activities in science and the humanities

Having hired a number of highly qualified scientists with extensive experience, the Polytechnic Institute and the University became the principal research centres in the Far East. The region had been poorly explored. Until 1919 there were not enough local academics to conduct any serious research and the territory was studied only by infrequent expeditions from St. Petersburg guided by the Imperial Academy of Science, the Russian Geological Committee or the Imperial Geographical Society.

The migrant scientists focused on examining the mineral resources of the Far East. Geologists and mining engineers found a wealth of material. As soon as they arrived in Vladivostok they started exploring coal and ore deposits of gold, silver, copper, etc.

around the city. Primarily, their expeditions were orientated towards practicality and based on requests from various companies, but the researchers used this opportunity to clarify and update the results of previous geological explorations. Vladivostok's surroundings, as M. Eliashevich found after his first trips through the area, represented a 'remarkably rich field of research for the interests of geology.' On the relatively small Murav'ev-Amurskii peninsula and the nearby coasts he found 'overcrowded deposits of very diverse ages' and concluded, 'It allows a clear description of each sediment tier, of the lithology, fossil flora or fauna, to estimate the potential power of these tiers; and to determine their stratigraphic relationship.'⁴⁹

In 1920, mining engineers and geologists organised the Geological Committee of the Russian Far East (*Dal'geolcom*) with Eduard Ahnert, a geologist from St. Petersburg as the chairman. This organisation became the worthy successor of the Russian Geological Committee. Supported by *Dal'geolcom*, extensive geological exploration in the Far East began. The geologists' publications, as well as *Dal'geolcom*'s annual reports, reveal the wide scale of their research. Ahnert was studying the mineral resources in Manchuria. M. Eliashevich, M. Pavlov, and P. Gudkov's expedition resulted in the discovery of new commercial coal deposits around Vladivostok. Ivan Preobrazhenskii was engaged in studying gold deposits in the Amur area and copper and plumbum (lead) deposits on the Pacific coast. A. Kryshfovich was busy exploring the coalfields of Sakhalin Island.⁵⁰

Though *Dal'geolcom* could not conduct all planned expeditions, its members still contributed much to the geological study of the vast area of the Far East and to the local mining industry. A number of commercial deposits of coal and ores discovered by them were used by future industry. Geologists acknowledge that a huge, almost unbelievable, amount of research was conducted by *Dal'geolcom* members in 1920–22, without any means of communication and proper roads and facing an unstable wartime situation.⁵¹

With the migrants' arrival, chemical studies started in Vladivostok. Professors P. Veimarn, Nikolai Morozov, Boris Pentegov, Evgenii Lubarskii, Konstantin Lugovkin, and Iulii Branke were the first Far Eastern chemists. No prior significant chemical research had been carried out in the region. Professors of the Polytechnic Institute and the Far Eastern University, they concentrated their work in the chemical laboratories of the schools of higher education that they had organised to continue their previous work and to initiate new experiments. They gave chemical characteristics to the local mineral deposits, and experimented with extracting salt from seawater and fat from fish and sea animals.⁵² They concentrated on practical tasks due to the urgent needs of the region, mainly developing food and export sectors of the economy. Their work, nevertheless, created the framework for future chemical research in the Far East.

The technical specialists' contribution into regional development was also significant. Engineer V. Vologdin and his supporters pioneered innovative research on welding and provided technical leadership in this field. Vologdin was the first in the Far East to carry out welding methods in shipbuilding and ship repair at *Dal'zavod*. He organised a welding workshop and started training welding engineers at the Vladivostok Polytechnic Institute in 1920. He and his colleagues were the first in Russia to experiment with electric arc and gas welding.

Radio engineer Mikhail Golovshchikov, a graduate from Toulouse University, was active in research on radio transmitting and receiving. His experiments put Vladivostok

at the national forefront of radio communication. Regular radio broadcasting started there in January 1926, soon after Moscow and much earlier than in other parts of the Soviet Union. Metallurgical engineers Vladimir Shumkin from the Urals gun factories and Ivan Zhukov, who worked both in the Urals and abroad, mechanical engineers Sergei Petrov and Victor Badankin from Petrograd, as well as many others, successfully combined lecturing and supporting local enterprises with scientific and technical assistance.⁵³

The Civil War migrants expressed themselves in various fields. Linguist and archivist A. Georgievskii, a graduate of the University and the Archives Institute in St. Petersburg, is considered the founder of the Far Eastern Archives. Anxious about the loss of documentation during the Civil War, he started collecting papers from offices in Vladivostok and nearby towns. In 1919, without any support from local officials, the scholar and his colleagues organised the private Archival Bureau at the History and Philology Faculty. In 1921, it was transformed by the FER authorities into the Regional Archives Committee with Georgievskii as the chair. The Committee had the status of a research institution, according to a FER Ministry of Public Education resolution, with the goal of 'searching, collecting, evaluating, and publishing archival documents as well as looking for antiquities and protecting them.'⁵⁴

Thanks to Committee employees, various official documents were discovered and preserved. The archivists' trips around the region resulted in discovering some valuable historical records that had been brought to the Far East by migrants in the nineteenth century. They added much to the knowledge of medieval Russia.⁵⁵ Georgievskii and his supporters considered it important to encourage locals to gather all kinds of records and promoted these ideas through their journal *Proceedings of the Regional Archives Committee*, published from 1921 to 1923.

The intellectuals remained faithful to ideas of cultural enlightenment, very popular among Russian intelligentsia in the pre-revolutionary period. A lack of finances constrained book publishing, forcing them to turn to less expensive activities, such as producing cheap magazines and pamphlets, reprinting articles, contributing to the regional mass media, and presenting public lectures. The historical and archaeological monthly *Sibirskii arkhiv* (Siberian archives) is another example of scholars' attempts to acquaint locals with regional historical and archaeological research in the Far East. It was edited and published by Aleksandr Linkov, a graduate of the Moscow Theological Academy. He taught history and geography at a secondary school in Nikol'sk-Ussuriisk, a town not far from Vladivostok, and was known as an amateur archaeologist.⁵⁶

Journalists and publishers, in turn, were often invited to lecture at the university. Philology students, for example, enjoyed lectures by Russian futurists, members of the art and literary society *Balaganchik* (The Puppet Booth) founded in Vladivostok by David Burliuk, a talented futurist artist and writer, who came to Vladivostok in 1919. Besides lecturing, the society organised poetry readings, poetic contests, art exhibitions, and literary classes.⁵⁷

Almost all researchers in the Russian Far East belonged to the *Obshchestvo izucheniia Amurskogo kraia* (the Amur Studies Society), the oldest scientific and educational public organisation in the Russian Far East, established in 1884. They frequently gave lectures and reports there. They donated their books and reprints to the Society, making its library a unique repository of Civil War era publications. The level of publishing and

lecturing activities in Vladivostok was the highest in Russia for 1918–22, as scholars reported.⁵⁸

After the Civil War

The Red Army advance on Vladivostok in 1922 and its taking of the city on 25 October polarised the intelligentsia migrants. Those who felt unable to work under Bolshevik rule preferred to leave for destinations abroad. Dozens of intellectuals went to the city of Kharbin in China, multiplying the number of Russian emigrants in that city. The administrative centre of the Chinese Eastern railway constructed and governed by the Russians, Kharbin was considered a small island of pre-revolutionary Russia until 1924. The railroad administration could preserve the former system of management, and the migrants felt themselves quite comfortable in this city.

Professors from Vladivostok such as Ershov, Andreev, Morozov, Fedorovskii, Mir-oliubov, and M. Golovachev obtained positions at a number of Russian schools of higher education, namely the Law Faculty and the Russo-Chinese Polytechnic Institute (Kharbin Polytechnic Institute after 1928), both founded in 1920. In 1925, Russian higher education in Kharbin was expanded with the founding of the Pedagogical Institute and the Oriental and Commerce Institute. Chinese could enter these alongside Russians, and the Chinese government welcomed the desire of Chinese young people to learn from the Russians. Russian scientists and engineers coming to Kharbin via Vladivostok were also employed at the Chinese Eastern railway and engaged in technical, agricultural, and economic research. Nearly all of them combined their work with lecturing at higher schools. Altogether, Russian emigrants also contributed to economic, educational, and social processes in the undeveloped Chinese North.⁵⁹

Not many migrants emigrated to other countries and, when they did, it was prompted mainly by individual intellectuals' connections with their colleagues abroad or officials from international detachments and offices in Vladivostok. Professor Veimarn went to Japan thanks to his close cooperation with Japanese chemists, 'partly because of ill health, and partly because of his complete lack of sympathy for the Bolsheviks,' his colleague V. Ipatieff wrote:

The Japanese offered him a professorship in chemistry and constructed a special research laboratory for him where he could teach young Japanese chemists the methods of colloidal chemistry ... As a foreigner, he received the unusually high salary of 1,500 yen a month, most of which he was saving in order to retire to Europe, perhaps to Prague.⁶⁰

Illness and death in 1935 prevented the chemist from fulfilling these plans. M. Eliashevich and P. Gudkov left for the USA in the early 1920s. They both saw good prospects for their work in that country. They gained US citizenship and were well known for their research in the US oil fields and lecturing as professors at US universities.⁶¹

In November 1922, when Soviet rule was proclaimed and the Far Eastern Republic abolished, the academic staff lists showed a twofold decrease, but the foundation laid by the migrants was strong enough to let Vladivostok higher education function without

any interruption.⁶² Those professors who stayed in Vladivostok, having adapted to frequent power changes in the Russian Far East, accepted the new authorities more easily than in 1917. Their qualifications and management abilities allowed many of them to be promoted to senior positions. The many high posts occupied by former migrants included the rector of the Far Eastern University, Professor V. Ogorodnikov, 1923–30, the director of the Chemistry Research Institute, Professor B. Pentegov, 1932–33, and the director of the Far Eastern Coal Research Institute, Professor Ivan Zhukov, 1930–32. Their loyalty to Soviet power, devotion to their work, and other accomplishments were never properly appreciated by the authorities. Dozens of professors, engineers, and officials, including those mentioned above, suffered from repression in the 1930s.

Conclusion

In the historiography, the Civil War in Russia is mostly connected with disasters, destruction, and havoc. While true for European Russia, these descriptions cannot be applied to the Far East. During the Civil War, the region's science, education and culture were productive and diverse. As seen here, Civil War intelligentsia migrants had a significant role in this process. Despite the harsh wartime conditions, well-educated and scientifically minded people retained their creative level, systematic research, and social and cultural values brought to the Far East from their home cities.

My research reveals the waves of migration from the shifting political and wartime situation. Along with individual migration, massive dislocation of the civilian population was connected with the White retreat from the Urals. The predominance of intellectuals in the migration flow subsequently helped the host region. At the same time, the underdevelopment of the remote territory created conditions for migrants' independent actions in promoting education, science and culture.

Higher education developed rapidly during the Civil War. Answering the growing demand for employment and young migrants' desire to gain an education, the newcomers founded new schools of higher education and gave birth to the Far Eastern University, which is still the largest educational institution in the Russian Far East.

It was in higher education that regional scientific work started. Close links between these schools and local industry made educational institutions the base of regional studies. Focusing on specific needs of the Russian Far East, migrant geologists, chemists, engineers and other researchers fostered expeditions and experiments, which contributed to the economic stability of the region. Moreover, they helped to foster awareness of the territory and thus created the framework for further research in the region. The current scientific organisations in Vladivostok, such as the Institute of Chemistry, Geology Institute, Institute of Bioorganic chemistry and the Pacific Fishing Institute, are rooted in the migrants' initiatives in 1919–22. The Geology Museum at the Far Eastern University and the Russian State Historical Archives of the Far East in Vladivostok are also among the organisations founded by migrant researchers. Their achievements in creating the regional research infrastructure have been recognised today.⁶³

This analysis of the intelligentsia migrants' activity in the Far East shows that the public initiatives were far ahead of government decisions during the Civil War and quite often pushed the latter forward. The migrants' efforts in promoting higher

education and research strengthened the potential of this remote Russian region and facilitated its scientific, technical and cultural development in the subsequent period. This unique experience is instructive and useful in many ways. The Russian intelligentsia's faithfulness to professionalism, and their experience of being integrated in the harsh circumstances, and doing the best they could in this situation can still serve as a lesson. Their work in the Far East during the Civil War in Russia and their role in regional development shows intelligentsia migrants' crucial role in the social and economic spheres of any country.

Notes

1. Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 4.
2. The Far East is a general name given to states and territories in East Asia. The Russian Far East is a term that refers to the Russian part of the Far East, i.e. the extreme north-eastern areas of Russia, between Siberia and the Pacific Ocean. Both terms are used in the article, for the Russian migrants' influence was also extended to the Chinese Eastern Railway area (Northern China) and Japan.
3. Siegelbaum and Moch, *Broad is My Native Land*, 14.
4. Gattrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee; A Whole Empire Walking*; 'Domestic and International Dimensions of Population Displacement in Russia'; 'War, Population Displacement and State Formation in the Russian Borderlands, 1914–24'. Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*. Another study of war-induced migration in 1914–18 is Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire*. Siegelbaum and Moch also focus on various forms of population displacement in the twentieth century such as seasonal and labour migration, resettlement and deportations, *Broad is My Native Land*.
5. The history of the Civil War in Russia has attracted hundreds of studies from historians from various countries. See the detailed and balanced assessment of the historiography in Vladislav Goldin, *Rossia v grazhdanskoi voine*. Goldin has highlighted major trends and issues in this research. His book is the most complete Russian survey of research on the Civil War. Several attempts have been made to compose a Western historiography of the Civil War. See the survey by U.S. historian Peter Kenz who analyzed the major studies of the Civil War published prior to 1990, *Zapadnaia istoriografiia grazhdanskoi voiny v Rossii*. The most valuable work for researchers is Jonathan D. Smele, *The Russian Revolution and Civil War. 1917–1921*.
6. The most complete and detailed regional description of the Civil War in the Russian Far East has been made by scholars from the Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Far East People (Vladivostok). Larin, *Dal'nii Vostok Rossii v period revoliutsii 1917 i grazhdanskoi voiny*. Among researchers from abroad who deal with revolutionary events in Siberia and the Far East, see Smith, *Vladivostok under Red and White Rule* and Paul Dotsenko, an eyewitness and active participant in the Civil War, with *The Struggle for a Democracy in Siberia. 1917–1920*, based on archival documents, Soviet and émigré publications, and his own reminiscences. Letters of another eyewitness, Eleanor Prey, who lived in Vladivostok in 1894–1930, gives us a vivid picture of the city during the Civil War, Prey, *Pis'ma iz Vladivostoka*. The political situation in Vladivostok in 1917–22, along with other issues, is described by the U.S. historian John Stephan, *The Russian Far East. A History*. Revolutionary Vladivostok

- and the international intervention in Siberia and the Russian Far East is covered in Benjamin Isitt's *From Victoria to Vladivostok*.
7. Poliakov, *Sovetskaia strana posle okonchaniia grazhdanskoi voiny*; Komissarov, *Khudozhestvennaia intelligentsia*.
 8. Eliutin, *Vysshaia shkola SSSR za 50 let*; Kim, *Velikaia oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia i stanovlenie sovetskoii kul'tury*; *Izdatel'skoe delo v pervye gody Sovetskoii vlasti*.
 9. Soskin, *Sibir'*, *revoliutsiia, nauka*; *Revoliutsiia i kul'tura (1917–1920)*; Ermakova, *Dal'nevostochnyi gosudarstvennyi universitet*; Beloglazova, *Kul'tura Dal'nego Vostoka v usloviakh obshchestvennykh transformatsii 20–30-kh gg. XX v.*; Koroleva, *Khronika kul'turnoi zhizni Vladivostoka. 1917–1922*; Khisamutdinova, *Dal'nevostochnaia shkola inzhenerov*.
 10. Fedukin, 'Intelligentsia i beloe dvizhenie'; Danilov and Mametov, *Intelligentsiia provintsiia v istorii i kul'ture Rossii*; Zakharov, 'Otnosheniia nauchno-tekhnicheskoi intelligentsii k sovetskoii vlasti v 1920–30-e gody'.
 11. Fitzpatrick, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1921–1934*; idem, 'Klassy i problemy klassovoi prinadlezhnosti v sovetskoii Rossii 20-kh godov'.
 12. Badcock, *Politics and the people in Revolutionary Russia*; idem, 'Talking to the People and Shaping Revolution'.
 13. For example, Eliashevich, *Vozrast i kachestvo iuzhno-ussuriiskikh iskopaemikh uglei*; Georgievskii, *Primorskaia oblastnaia arkhivnaia komissia*; Pentegov, 'Issledovatel'skaia rabota v oblasti khimii v DVK za desiat' let (1922–1932)'.
 14. Ivashkevich, *Pisateli, uchenye i zhurnalisty na Dal'nem Vostoke v 1918–1922*.
 15. Veimarn, 'Neskol'ko slov ob Ural'skom gornom institute', 10.
 16. Soskin, *Sibir'*, *revoliutsiia, nauka*, 31.
 17. Veimarn, 'Neskol'ko slov', 10.
 18. The Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) was a single-track line built by the Russian Empire on Chinese territory between 1897 and 1903 to shorten the route between Chita and Vladivostok.
 19. Larin, *Dal'nii Vostok Rossii v period revoliutsii 1917 i grazhdanskoi voiny*, 70.
 20. Galiamiva, *Rabochie Dal'nego Vostoka vo vtoroi polovine XIX – nachale XX v.*, 30.
 21. Stephan, *The Russian Far East*, 128.
 22. Issit, *From Victoria to Vladivostok*, 53–107; 111–34.
 23. Stephan, *The Russian Far East*, 132.
 24. Prey, *Pis'ma iz Vladivostoka*, 351.
 25. 'News', *Dalekaia Ukraina*, 23 November 1918, 1.
 26. Filatov, *Byt' po semu!*, 94.
 27. Georgievskii, 'Dal'nevostochnyi gosudarstvennyi universitet v proshlom i nastoiashchem', 350–1.
 28. *Academic Staff of Vladivostok Polytechnic Institute. Curricula Vitae*. (1918). RGIA DV, f. P-117, op. 1, d. 6, ll. 29–33.
 29. Malysheva, 'Velikii iskhod kazanskikh universitariiev v sentiabre 1918 g.'
 30. *Minutes of the Far Eastern Society for Higher Education Promotion Board Meeting*. 21 July 1918. RGIA DV, f. P-117, op. 1, d. 14, ll. 63–5.
 31. Fitzpatrick, *Klassy i problemy*, 22.
 32. Ershov, 'Zaprosy i nuzhdy vysshego obrazovaniia na Dal'nem Vostoke'.
 33. Dmitrash, 'Kraevoi gosudarstvennyi universitet vo Vladivostoke', 6.
 34. *Academic Staff List of the Polytechnic Institute in Vladivostok*. 1919. RGIA DV, f. P-117, op. 1, d. 6, ll. 35–7.
 35. Ivashkevich, *Pisateli*.

36. Sonin, 'Stanovlenie iuridicheskogo obrazovaniia na Dal'nem Vostoke', 12–14.
37. Ivashkevich, *Pisateli*.
38. Ershov, 'Zaprosy i nuzhdy'.
39. Veimarn, 'Ocherki po energetike kul'tury', 1–32.
40. *Academic Staff List of the Polytechnic Institute in Vladivostok*. April 1920. RGIA DV, f. P-117, op. 1, d. 57, ll. 1–3.
41. 'Ustav Vladivostokskogo Politechnicheskogo Instituta'.
42. 'Ustav Vladivostokskogo Politechnicheskogo Instituta'.
43. Ermakova, *Dal'nevostochnyi gosudarstvennyi universitet*, 64–5.
44. Founded in 1882 in St Petersburg, the Russian Geological Committee had been the initiator of all geological research in Russia. It had to terminate its activity during the Civil War.
45. Turmov, *U istokov vysshei tekhnicheskoi shkoly na Dal'nem Vostoke Rossii (1918–1941)*, 59–60.
46. The Far Eastern Republic (FER) (April 1920–November 1922) was a sovereign democratic state established by Soviet Russia as a buffer state between Russia and Japan.
47. Beloglazova, *Kul'tura Dal'nego Vostoka Rossii*, 54.
48. Turmov, *U istokov vysshei tekhnicheskoi shkoly*, 36, 39, 79, 91.
49. Eliashevich, *Vozrast i kachestvo iuzhno-ussuriiskikh iskopaemikh uglei*, 6.
50. Otchet o sostoianii i rabote Geologicheskogo komiteta Dal'nego Vostoka, 25–28.
51. Riazantseva, *Geologicheskaiia sluzhba Primoriia*.
52. Pentegov, 'Issledovatel'skaia rabota v oblasti khimii v DVK za desiat' let (1922–1932)', 22–8.
53. Turmov, *U istokov vysshei tekhnicheskoi shkoly*, 20, 39, 42, 91, 121.
54. *Minutes of the FER Ministry of the Public Education Academic Board Meeting*. 21 September 1921. RGIA DV, f. P-730, op. 5, d. 11, l. 17.
55. Georgievskii, *Primorskaia oblastnaia arkhivnaia komissiia*, 2–4.
56. Ivashkevich, *Pisateli*, 42.
57. Koroleva, *Khronika*.
58. Matveev, *Periodicheskaiia pechat' na Dal'nem Vostoke*, 37.
59. Khisamutdinov, *Sleduiuschaia ostanovka – Kitai*.
60. Eudin, *The Life of a Chemist*, 484.
61. Turmov, *U istokov vysshei tekhnicheskoi shkoly*, 36, 47.
62. Georgievskii, 'Dal'nevostochnyi gosudarstvennyi universitet v proshlom i nastoiashchem', 356.
63. Akoulin, 'B. P. Pentegov i drugie osnovateli'; Shevchenko, *Svarshchik Viktor Vologdin; Solov'eva, Nemnogo o radio i o nas s vami*; Ermakova, 'Georgievskii i arkhivnoe delo.'

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