International Scientific Conference "Far East Con" (ISCFEC 2018)

Peculiarities of the Formation of the Hospitality Industry in Russian Harbin

V. A. Chernov

Management of post graduate study, doctoral studies and research training
Far Eastern State Transport University
Khabarovsk, Russia
vl.af.chernov@mail.ru

Abstract— The article firstly reveals the history of the establishment and development of the hospitality industry in Harbin, the capital of the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) in the late XIX early XX century. Harbin is one of the largest cities of the Northeast of China which was founded in 1898 as the central point of railway construction. Rapid construction pace turned it into a city of European level in two decades. A large number of temporary people who came to construction with the purpose of big earnings contributed to the rapid development of the hospitality industry: hotels, restaurants, entertainment sphere. And even the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 did not, as usual, lead to a decrease in business activity in this sphere, but, on the contrary, stimulated even greater development, as, basically, supplies of troops were passing through Harbin, and money continued to enter the sphere of hospitality in large quantities. To reveal the theme archival sources, memoirs of contemporaries and periodicals published in the Far East including Harbin were used. The history of both the industry itself and the activity of the main entrepreneurs - hoteliers and restaurateurs are shown.

Keywords— hospitality, Harbin, CER, Manchuria, hotels, Russo-Japanese war.

1. Introduction

Harbin, one of the largest cities in northeast of China, was founded in 1898 as a central point of the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER). The rapid pace of the construction turned it into a city of European level in as little as two decades.

The construction of the Russian railway through the territory of China was conditioned by the need to create the shortest way to the Eastern borders of the country, as the events in the East-Asian region starting from 1880s were constantly creating a threat to our remote territories and ports, there was even a danger of their loss. This way was essential, particularly for the rapid troops shift to Eastern ports. Longlasting sea route or land route through Siberia had a negative impact on the economic development of the new Amur region.

Two options were considered from the very beginning of the railway construction: through the heavy-going Russian territory along the Amur River with the necessity to build the largest bridge crossings and a shorter route through the relatively flat Manchuria. The second option seemed to be more cost-efficient, it also gave the possibility to connect not only Vladivostok, but also the ports Dal'ny and Port Arthur with the European part of Russia [9].

As the certain sections of the future Trans-Siberian Railway – the Ussuri Railway in the east and Zabaikal'skaya from the west had been built by 1897, it was decided to build a new road from several places, one of which was crossing the route of the railroad with the Sungari River. A suitable place for the construction of Harbin – the center of future Chinese Eastern Railway - was determined by the engineer Adam Shidlovsky in April 1898.

The bank of the Sungari River selected for construction represented a desertlike moorland plain with small, widely-spaced villages of several fanzas. Since Shydlovsky had no time to build new premises, he decided to use the Chinese grain alcohol plant "Xiangfang" abandoned after the attack of Honghuzi, which was located 8 miles from the river. There were 32 fanzas (mud and brick) falling to decay but with walls and roofs. Russian builders from Shydlovsky's squad with the help of Chinese from Ashihe quickly made fanzas more or less decent-looking [1]. After a little while the established in such a way Russian village got the name "Harbin", and later a new place was selected for the Construction Department, which was named the "New Town", and former one was called the "Old Town".

In May 1898, the steamships "Blagoveshchensk" and "Saint Innokentiy" arrived from Khabarovsk that carried the management of the Construction Department, as well as workers, employees, and Cossacks of the Security guard. At the place of unloading of the steamships a "strawmat" village was founded developing day by day; "besides to the strawmats, they began to use everything that came to hand as a shelter from rain whether they like or not: boards, poles, tarpaulins from the barges, the individual iron sheets and even empty crates from the goods unloaded from barges and steamships. This place was the cradle of life of the future Wharf, trade-industrial and commercial district of Harbin" [15].

In one of the fanzas of the former plant a small canteen for builders was opened, run by Georgian Agresti - the first private entrepreneur in Harbin. The first hotel "Gamarteli's rooms for travelers" was set up and it was also private. Though it was small and rather dirty, but its rooms weren't empty. By July, the branch of the Russian-Chinese Bank started its operations in one of the barracks. The popular in the



Far East firm of I.Ya. Churin set up its trade business. Natsievskiy Yu.P. first set up a tea-room in Harbin. The first perfume and variety French store as well and the barbershop "Russial" opened their doors on 12 August. [54].

At the beginning, the road builders faced with big challenges with provisions. There were no staple, traditional for Russian products, because the Chinese are not cultivated neither potatoes or cabbage, nor kept dairy cattle, and there were almost no beef and dairy products on markets in Manchuria. Veselovzorov V.N. in his memoirs published in the Harbin newspaper "Russkii Golos" (Russian Voice), wrote: "The residents and servants of the road suffered from the lack of rve bread and buckwheat. Wild game - pheasants, roe, Manchurian deer meet - was in abundance but palled, and it was almost impossible to get ordinary beef as it was imported too. Russian cabbage, potatoes were rare during the construction of the city. They were brought from Siberia just in the same way as butter. But alcoholic drinks were in abundance due to duty free trade and free ports of Vladivostok and Port Arthur. For example, a bottle of the best three stars cognac brand Martel costs 1 ruble 20 kopecks, and a quarter of vodka cost 30-40 cents! Farmers gave the chicken for an empty bottle, a hundred eggs costed a quarter (25 cents), and a couple of pheasants -20 cents! At the same time, it cost 2 gold rubles to get shaved at the barber's"[27]. In 1899, in Harbin there were about 14 thousand immigrants from the Russian Empire, mostly Russians, but there were also Polacks, Jews, Armenians and other nationalities.

A theater appeared in the rapidly growing city with establishment of the Railway Assembly on 25 December 1898. First the amateur choir and players on musical instruments made performances on a small stage of the Assembly, but in May 1899 one of the first chamber concerts took place in the city, which gave Czech family Erml. A new type of public places called a café-chantant was the most popular at that time, it also appeared in Harbin under the name "Bellevue".

Harbin was the most attractive resting place for officers of the Security Guard who were living on deserted small stations and road line halts. The distance of 200 and even 300 miles to Harbin was considered for young officers as a trifle, and they often overcome it at both ends ahorseback. So, the plank caféchantant was constantly crowded and worked all night. "Wrapped in clouds of tobacco smoke, by the light of kerosene lamps and candles "the Romanian" orchestra rattled "Romanian" orchestra, "French" cabaret singers sang, a corps de ballet danced on the stage. It was a variety entertainment, put it that way. And nearby, aside, behind the Green tables, habitual frequenters, occasional players and indispensable participants of such companies - card-sharpers were playing nines, baccarat, shtos, and bank. Stacks of gold coins passed from hand to hand. Arisen misunderstandings were sometimes resolved with quarrels and fights, but without firing. The Russians preferred not to wield guns, but fists" [22, p. 79-80].

The Hotel Gamarteli was described by contemporaries, historians and writers. P. N. Krasnov, seconded by the War Minister to the Far East in 1901 to study the life of Manchuria,

China, Japan and India, recallected: "As before my eyes I see – hotel Gamarteli. It has narrow small rooms in the manner of prisoner cells. Unpainted, fissured flooring, low iron beds and stinking sinks. There holidays were celebrated, weddings were held, dates were made and meetings with authorities were appointed. A low hall... sometimes, when trumpeters start playing – so the ears ache then "[18]. And more by Krasnov: "Adya is sitting on the bed in the tiny room of the only Harbin Hotel - Gamarteli. The hotel represents a simple barrack, hastily hammered together from logs and planks, dirty and cold. It's hardly possible to turn around even for one person in the room, but there are three people in it"[19].

N.A. Baikov, one of the first researchers of Manchuria, naturalist and writer, wrote: "We have recommended the hotel Gamarteli, which was the only hotel suitable for stay. We stopped at the entrance of the pathetic single-storey low building with little dim windows. Over the door of this building the rusty sign was shown off "Gamarteli rooms for travelers"" [3]. Valentin Pikul: "We recommend the hotels for visitors: "The Pacific ocean", with a restaurant with a female choir and a tropical garden, "European" is also good with Gypsy singing, and in Gamarteli rooms Romanians are playing the violin until morning" [25].

Most likely, the hotel and the café-chantant "Bellevue" was one and the same establishment. According to the memoirs of Harbin old residents: "Gamarteli /Gomaretelli/ - a convict settler, Georgian by nationality, was the pioneer of the café-chantant business. In those years, the whole life of the city was concentrated in Old Harbin. This is where the Gamarteli set up its business. Empty boxes, empty kerosene cans, chips, slab wood and any improvised material suitable for construction of premises were the materials of this notorious café-chantant. Nobody is waiting for the delivery of construction materials - every minute is precious. Such building under the famous name "Bellevue" became the first café-chantant in Harbin. This place was always crowded, and there "all hell was let loose" at night: a shady Romanian orchestra rattled, cabaret singers (almost all were "French") yelled, primitive corps de ballet hooved"[51].

Contemporaries mentioned that Gamarteli was a settler convicted and sentenced to penal servitude, but served his time and settled here as an exiled [33]. Fyodor Pogodin said that he arrived at the Chinese Eastern Railway from Nerchinsk jail [25].

At the same time, "traces" of similar Gamarteli found in Primorye. In 1894 from the village Nikolskoye (at present Ussuriysk) the advertisement was placed in the newspaper "I have the honor to bring to the attention of the distinguished audience that I have again opened a rooming house for visitors at moderate prices, near the Public Assembly in Kinev's house. Yours respectfully, I. Gamarteli [64]. Nikolskoye village is a railway junction connecting the Ussuri Railway and the Chinese Eastern Railway. Three years later, the reference calendar (Tomsk) reported that Gomarteli Joseph Sachinovich was already a hotelkeeper of the hotel "Moscow" in Vladivostok [56]. The hotel itself has existed since the days of V. Krestovsky, author of "Petersburg slums", who arrived in Vladivostok in 1880 as a Secretary of the Chief of the



Pacific Squadron. He recollected: "There are also the hotel "Moscow" and "Vladivostok", both are very bad, and finally, "Hotel de Louvre", under the French flag – the only more or less tolerable place, with decent, albeit expensive kitchen" [20].

The reference calendar, continued (except 1998) to mark Gomarteli I. S. as the hotelkeeper of the rooming house (1899), the hotelkeeper of the hotel "Zolotoy Rog" (Golden Horn) (1900 and 1903) annually [AR]. It's worth pointing out that the reference-books published in other cities often contained inaccuracies related with unclear pronunciation or illegible handwriting of those who had furnished information, therefore one letters in surnames were often replaced by other letters. More accurate reference-books were published in situ. Thus, the Vladivostok reference book notifies of completely different hotelkeeper of the hotel "Zolotoy Gog" (Golden Horn) in the printed advertisement: "Rooming house "Zolotoy Rog" (Golden Horn), Vladivostok, corner of Svetlanskaya and Aleutskaya streets. There are 21 rooms, from 2 rubles 50 kopecks to 6 rubles 50 kopecks per day. There is a luxury kitchen under my personal supervision. The Hotelkeeper E. G. Gamerteli". There's also another advertisement posted in this reference-book: "City of Harbin in Manchuria, in the Old Town, in Police street, own house, two hotels, a theater hall of Gamarteli and K°. And a delicatessen store at the Wharf is also theirs. A hotel with the theater hall in the New Town [32]. Thus, the hotelkeeper of the "Zolotoy Rog" (Golden Horn) in Vladivostok was E. G. Gamerteli and Joseph Sachinovich at that time was already in Harbin, which we find confirmation in 1908 in the information about Harbin restaurants: "Restaurants: Gomarteli I. S. (in- hotel), Gromova M. M., R. Kechel and K°, Europe (with the orchestra), Union (with orchestra)"[65].

As for Agresti, the first entrepreneur according to some assertions, such one played part on the field of entrepreneurship in Vladivostok before the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway. But he was not Georgian, but Italian citizen Agresti Gaetano, the owner of the garden "Italy" (with a restaurant and entertainment complex). According to the historian N. G. Miz', he also owned the hotel "Far East" and died in Vladivostok on 06.06.1900[14]. He was also mentioned in the pages of the print media in 1894: "the Italian national Gaetano Filippova Agresti shall be put under arrest for failure to maintain good housekeeping in the yard, and preparation of provision from spoiled food, sale of rotten pickles and untidiness in the preparation of products pursuant to Articles 55, 115 and 116 of the Global Code for two weeks" [63]. We cannot say that it was the same Agresti but there are very much in common.

In the memoirs of old residents of Harbin there was one more pioneer of the restaurant business – Tatos Grigoryevich Ter-Akopov. He arrived in Harbin in 1900. First he gets a job as a barman to Gamarteli, and from there he moves to the Wharf, where he starts his own business in Artilleriyskaya street – a snack-bar under the name "Novaya vydumka" (New invention). The Cossacks of the Security Guard start to visit "Novaya vydumka" (New invention). Rumors about it reach the Police and the Police closes this place. Ter-Akopov has to change the name of his bar and opens its business over again.

Thus, "Novaya vydumka" (New invention) becomes "Novyi krai" (New region). The Harbin Agency of the public newspaper "Novyi krai" (New region) files a complaint to the Chief of Police with a demand to close the public place (the Agency called it as "the sink of iniquity"), that allegedly undermines its authority. It was closed. Ter-Akopov had to go back to Gamarteli and get a job as a cook [AZH]. The first restaurant "Zolotoy Yakor" (Golden Anchor) owned by Gershevich opened at the Wharf in 1899 [22].

There was some unstated allocation of the main occupations and areas of commercial and business activities. Russians were engaged in the civil and military administration, technical leadership and represented the largest trading firms and companies. Jews were engaged in trade, export and import. Armenians most often set up confectioneries and candy-chocolate business, kept cafes and restaurants; the Georgians were usually the owners of hotels, restauranteurs, kept canteens and cafeterias [22].

In terms of the hospitability development, Harbin was gradually approaching the main cities of Kvantun district - Port Arthur and Dal'niy. By 1901 in Harbin there had already been 11 Russian hotels and restaurants, 5 "rooms for visitors" and 5 "cheap canteens" with the Russian population of 8,632 people. Besides, there were 12 Chinese inns and hotels and 58 Chinese eateries and snack-bars with the Chinese population of 18,580 people. 1,158 foreigners and 879 Japanese and Koreans lived in Port Arthur. In Dal'niy there were 7 Russian hotels and restaurants for 1,514 Russian inhabitants; as for Chinese there were: 7 inns and hotels, 12 eateries and snackbars, 23,768 inhabitants; there were only 22 foreigners and 383 Japanese and Korean people [34].

The decline in the development of hospitality, or rather the suspension that occurred in 1900 - due to the Yihetuan Movement (Boxer Rebellion), when Russian population, leaving all their possessions, fled to Russia. During several days over 5, 000 employees which were working under construction of the Chinese Eastern Road and their families came to Khabarovsk from Harbin and other places of the line [4] resulting in doubling the population of Khabarovsk for three summer weeks. For many Russians, the only way to leave the Chinese Eastern Railway was the Sungari River, therefore employees and workers, merchants and businessmen rushed to Harbin to the Wharf, taking with them the most valuable belongings. Unconceivable chaos and turmoil were reigning supreme. During that time, the owner of one of the restaurants, fearing that his reserves of vodka and wine can be taken by the enemy, rolled out all his barrels to the street and gave everyone the opportunity to drink it for free [22]. In August 1900, the coalition forces of eight countries, including Russia, came to Beijing and stormed the Imperial Palace. In October, troops of the Russian Empire completely occupied Manchuria.

Life quickly began to return to Harbin and other towns on the line of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The period from the beginning of 1901 to January 1904, i.e. after the Yihetuan suppression before the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war was a golden age of the private entrepreneurial and commercial activity in Harbin - both in the New Town and at



the Wharf. But in the Old Town "almost all new houses are occupied by shops, there are several hotels, cafés-chantant and other places of entertainment. On the streets – electric light" [22]. According to the results of the first in the history of Harbin one-day census held on 15 May,1903, there lived in the city: Russian citizens – 15,579, Chinese – 28,338, Japanese – 462, others – 200.

A large influx of people, mostly those who had no families, some - to build a road and others in the pursuit of "big money", had its effect. Pyotr Mikhailovich Golovachev, historian and a pioneer of the studying and teaching of economic geography of Siberia, described the manners of Harbin as follows: "As a result of the extraordinary accumulation of rowdy and immoral elements, and the abundance of easy money, acquired without any difficulty, the demand for women extremely raised. "The demand for this "product," one correspondent says, exceeded the supply to such an extent, that, in spite of the extraordinary abundance of overt and covert brothels, different birds of passage of all countries and nationalities, practicing alone and in groups, in spite of the free sale by parents of daughters, starting almost from the age of 10, by brothers of sisters, by husbands of wives - there was a feeling of the lack of "this product" to such extent that, at last, the police and road construction management started to participate in its replenishment... "Ladies" were only drinking champagne, it was instead of water. They didn't know the price of money- they gave a big tip to lackeys, not counting, and thereby a cohort of "servants" was appeared nesting together with these "ladies" at different assignation houses under the nicknames like Kolhid, Londonov and Monte-Carlo" [13].

At that time, the area of hospitality (hotels, restaurants, entertainment) was rapidly developing. Gomarteli not only opened the first rooms in Harbin (Old Town) and the hotel in the first 2-storey house in Kazachya street [15] (the Wharf), but also owned three hotels by 1902, giving them the most common names at that time: Bellevue (the Old Town), Bristol, Grand Hotel (in New Town) - the hotels with such names were popular in many world capitals and major cities, they were in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and the Far Eastern cities: Khabarovsk (Bristol, Grand Hotel and Belvedere – the Italian style) [4], in Vladivostok (Bristol and the Grand Hotel) [6], Blagoveshchensk (the Grand Hotel) [7]. "Vostochnyi Vestnik" (Eastern Herald) described the Harbin – the Wharf as follows: "It's a continuous series of shops, taverns, stores - wine and grocery, manufactory, fancy-goods, and wine and grocery again, small restaurants, taverns, bawdy houses under various covers, hotels, taverns again, shops, eateries, etc." [66].

The launching of the transit track along the Chinese Eastern Railway, which linked the Western and Eastern sections of the Trans-Siberian railway, attracted a large number of not only Russian merchants and travelers to take advantage of this way. It was discussed in France and Japan, in England and its distant colony Australia. According to some "English calculations, 22 days are enough, namely: from London to Moscow – three days, from Moscow to Port Arthur – 10 days, from Port Arthur in Australia – 8 days. The London newspaper "Daily Mail" is assured that since September this year, as it was notified in writing from St. Petersburg, "an

accurate weekly communication between Moscow and Port Arthur and probably to Beijing opens, and from January 1905 – daily movement of trains on the line Warsaw – Moscow – Port Arthur Beijing" [BK]. Delivery of new comfortable passenger cars for the railway and "launching express trains on the Siberian and Chinese Eastern Railways influenced on the intensification of passenger traffic. Japanese and Chinese merchants travel by groups through Siberia and Russia to Western Europe", – reported the newspaper [29].

Not only Russian and Chinese enterprises and institutions started to emerge in the city, but also foreign ones, including Japanese hotels and restaurants (this was also linked with the intensification of intelligence activities of Japan in Manchuria), but most of all they appeared after the Russo-Japanese war.

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war significantly reduced business activity in the Far Eastern cities - it left its mark on the hospitality industry, not only in Harbin. Fleet and troops were supplied through Harbin. Here it was ordinary to earn quickly 200-300 thousand - it was facilitated by the fact that a lot of rail cars with goods moved along the Chinese Eastern Railway that were lost in most cases. It was ascertained that during the Russo-Japanese War 6 thousand rail cars disappeared on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Goods were lost on quartermaster depots; financial flows intended for supply of the army were poorly controlled. One can judge the extent of corruption and pilferage by two examples: the aggregate income of the Head of the Transport Department of the Manchurian Army Colonel N.A. Ukhach-Ogorovich during the war amounted to 1,125 million rubles, but predilections of the Chief of the Artillery Park, Junior Captain Kazimirskiy, were widely publicized in connection with his loss one day of 63 thousand rubles [Ve]. "Newly-arrived" population significantly increased, the wounded and sick from the battlefield recovered in Harbin, "the officer mass together with all the suppliers, merchants, contractors of the war, swimming in a sea of blood and gold, hungered spectacles and entertainment" [10].

At the end of the war and after it people escaped from Port Arthur, Dal'niy and other territories annexed by Japan. Beylin Grigory Isayevich arrived in Dal'niy from the Vilno in 1898, where he owned watch and jewerly shop in 1902-1905. During the Russo-Japanese war he moved to Harbin, then with family to Vladivostok, where they had the hotel "Central'naya" (Central).

The entrepreneurs whose business wasn't enough successful at home went to Harbin.

The merchant belonging to the 2nd guild A. A. Ivanov, the hotelkeeper of Vladivostok "Railway" hotel, received an zero-interest (!) loan of 35 thousand rubles for the arrangement of the hotel in 1896. The need for this was due to the fact that Vladivostok, as a major international trading port was annually visited by many foreigners, but there weren't first-class hotels there. It was an unprecedented case when the Amur Governor-General applied for the allocation from Treasury the amounts for the construction of the hotel, and Ivanov gave the obligation "to arrange the accommodation, quite convenient for foreign visitors, and to prevent



connection of the hotel with any entertainment establishments" [28]. The super-luxurious hotel "Pacific Ocean" was built and consecrated in the same 1896 [31]. In 1899, Ivanov, as a great lover of the theater, attached a theater hall to the hotel with a restaurant with a capacity of 450 seats, the largest in Vladivostok. In the winter of 1904, the theater was burnt down [43]. After that, he moved to Harbin, where he managed to build a theater "Pacific ocean", and there he died on 3 November 1906 [53].

Shimanskiy Lukyan Mikhailovich, as the hotelkeeper of the hotel "Zvezdochka" (Star) in Khabarovsk, was obliged to apply annually for the setting up the tavern. On 15 October 1896, the City Council allowed the farmer Shimanskiy to open "the hotel rooms with the sale of hard liquors" in 1897 [35]. But in 1897, after selling the hotel he moved to Vladivostok with his family, where he also had a hotel. From the personal records of Shimanskiy M. L. (son): "We moved to Harbin in 1899, where my father had a sausage factory and butcher shops. My father died in Nikolsk-Ussuriisk in 1907 or 1908" [62].

And Joseph Aleksandrovich Kaspe, the soldier of the Army in the field, holder of the St. George Cross, settled in Harbin after demobilization in 1906. In pre-revolutionary Russia Jews were allowed to live only in certain places, and Harbin was among them. Kaspe set up a watch workshop and became engaged in the buying-up and reselling of things, as well as practicing usury and gold trading. Then he bought a plot of land on the main street and started construction. Thus, in 1913, a multi-purpose building of the up-market hotel "Modern" appeared, which became the first hotel of the European level and style in Harbin. In addition to the hotel and restaurant, the complex comprised jewelry store, a cinema and theater. The first illusions had been allocated in unsuitable buildings, but the Modern Hotel had a special hall for it. After the Modern Hotel began to operate at full capacity (theater, restaurant and hotel), Harbin became known as little Far Eastern Paris [17]. For the record, the hotel is still a landmark of Harbin.

The subsequent rise in the hospitality industry in Harbin as well as throughout Russia fell at 1913 - the year of the highest economic boom. As it was indicated in the reference book (it doesn't always contain all enterprises and institutions), at that time the following hotels operated in Harbin: "Akropolis", "Bellevue", "Warsaw", "Grand Hotel", "Europe", "Imperial", "Commercial", "Metropol", "Moskovskoye Podvorye" (Moscow Inn), "Oriant", "Petrograd", "Siberia", "Severnaya" (North), "Harbinskoye Podvorye" (Harbin Inn), "Yar" (Steep bank) and restaurants: "American bar", "Grand Hotel" (inhotel), "Chisinau", "Kiev", "Commercial", "LUrs", "Oriant", "Beijing", "Severnye NN" (North No.No.), "Yar" (Steep bank) [49]. Although before the revolution tavern business consisted of up to 18 types of tavern establishments, but not always adhered to these rules, so the restaurant could be called the "American tavern" (Blagoveshchensk) or "American bar" (Harbin), in Harbin there were restaurants called "the buffet of Ukraine" and even "Kazanskaya stolovaya" (Kazan canteen) (Construction Department Administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway took against the word "restaurant"," [51]). As time has gone on, the America bar has become not the name

but the type of a restaurant: such a "first-class restaurant - American bar" was opened later at Harbin International Assembly, at the circus of N.K. Borovskoy, or a bar with a huge selection (about 100) of American drinks at already existing catering establishment, for example, at the canteen of the Railway Assembly.

Another Vladivostok merchant - Unzhakov Innokenty Innokentyevich, the hotelkeeper of the European Hotel [56, 57] and the wine cellar, groceries seller, left Vladivostok for Blagoveshchensk in 1914, with the outbreak of the First World War. In 1915, he and his family moved to Harbin. He kept a rooming house in Horse street in 1925, he died in 1931, the business was continued by his son Innokenty, which he closed in 1933 [61].

In Russia the World War gradually moved in a series of revolutions, and then in the Civil War. The flow of refugees to the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway began to increase. The troops of invaders that arrived in Manchuria left farther to Siberia and the Far East, their command posts, rear services, separate units left in Harbin. The city has been flooded with foreign soldiers, in the widest diversity the military forms, shoulder straps, headgear and weapons of all kinds of different armies in the world appeared on its streets.

Following the troops, all sorts of foreign businessmen, merchants, bankers, dealers of all stripes flocked to Manchuria. "Japanese, who penetrated at that time into all pores of Harbin's economy, were prevalent. In 1919 there was a tremendous influx of new-comers and Harbin began to acquire the form of multilingual city of different ethnicities - a kind of the international settlement of Shaghai. There were the mixing of nationalities and races, signs in foreign languages, foreign banks, offices of foreign firms and companies, foreign speech on the streets, colorful flags, among which the former Russian tricolor that already got lost faded, forfeted its former respect of foreigners ..." [21]. Despite the grown up prices in hotels, there weren't enough rooms for all coming and passing. A. N. Serebrennikova wrote in her diary upon arrival in Harbin on 19 March 1920: "We came to the recommended hotel. But a Czech, who was sitting on the bench beside it, told us that this hotel was occupied by the Czechoslovak quartermaster service. My husband said that we came also with quartermaster echelon and called a few names. The Czech was delighted and so gracious that immediately went with us to search for a hotel - there were two such hotels nearby. We came in to the first one - there were no vacant rooms; but in the second hotel there was one vacant room... I was so struck by our luck that considered it as a happy omen: find a room in a hotel in Harbin at once!" [11].

The number of hotels grew rapidly with the growth of the temporary population. Manchuria, that grew from the samename near-border station of the west section of the Chinese Eastern Railway, took the first "blow" of refugees upon itself. "It was the sudden influx of a huge, multifarious mass of humanity - more than 20 thousand people, who often don't have have neither house nor home. Languages and nations of all classes and social categories of former Russaia were mixed. At the one pole there were disarmed when crossing the Chinese border, demoralized as a result of defeat



Cossacks, remaining part of Jews, Buryat, Chinese and other "companies", Semyonov's national Mongols-horchens, Kappel's officers and soldiers - all in different uniforms, with different insignia. The former prisoners of war were between them. All of them were homeless, hungry and ragged. At the other pole there was a narrow circle of general Semyonov's officers, many of whom made sufficient fortune during their stay in Zabaikalye; wealthy former Siberian and Zabaikalye large and small manufacturers and merchants, also with fair amount of money; wealthy local entrepreneurs and businessmen; fed and prosperous old railway officials". 60 restaurants, hotels and inns were opened in the city, dozens of restaurants, entertainment establishments, opium dens, gambling and bawdy houses bloomed and burned, since there was a capital for it [21]. But it didn't last long. From 1921 to 1925, the city lost half of the population, which moved farther in search of a better life.

Not all were able to find a worthy place in the new environment, some went farther to Harbin, Beijing, Shanghai, most tried to deal with what they were accustomed to do, and someone got in the hotel and catering for the first time here, or as it used to be called before – tavern business.

Not everyone managed to resume their business in Harbin, it demanded an initial capital, so many people had to start from the very beginning and be employed or to seek other sources of income, associated with an unaccustomed activity.

Before the First World War Aleksey Dyachek owned the hotel "Kiev" in Novopashenny house in Khabarovsk [31] and kept a bar on the mail steamer "Baron Korff" (in the modern concept it's a restaurant on a passenger ship performing regular voyages), which sailed along the Amur River on the route Blagoveshchensk - Khabarovsk - Nikolaevsk. After the revolution he worked in the restaurant business artel in the town of Alexeyevsk in the Amur region, and after he illegally moved in Harbin in 1929, got job in the restaurant "Eden", first as a waiter and then a doorman. Since 1941, he worked as a bar-keeper at the restaurant "Bufet Ukraina' (Bar Ukraine) [60]. In 1917 K.O. Augustovskiy emigrated to Harbin, who kept the hotel "Russia" with a photostudio at it in Blagoveshchensk before the Revolution [8].

The above mentioned P. M. Novopashenny owned houses and commercial establishments in Khabarovsk, where the hotels "Kiev" and "Borodinskoye Podvorye" (Borodino Inn) were located from 1910 to 1918[16]. In 1922, he was deprived of his rights to the property at 34/13, Lisunovskaya street, consisting of residential stone buildings with residential area up to 800 square sazhens. (old Russian measure of length (1 sazhen = 2.134 m). He, disfranchised, was without occupation in Khabarovsk up to 1924. He became an owner of the wooden residential houses in Harbin from February 1925 [60].

Italians Donotello (Don Otello, Don-Otello, Donatello etc.) were also managed to continue their business, who came to Russia with their parents in childhood. Became interested in cinema, Antonio organized his first cinemas in many cities of Siberia and the far East: Chita, Verkhneudinsk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, he, together with Alexeyev opened the Grand Illusion in the above mentioned hotel "Belvedere" [24]. The

Revolution and the Civil War immiserated Donotello. In Russian cities, all of his cinemas were municipalized. The owner was put in prison. Released from prison, Donotello went to Omsk, then to Chita, and, in 1924, he moved to Harbin where he with his partner Alekseyev built the largest cinema "Palas" in Harbin, but sold it later. After the construction of the new cinema "American", he worked there as Manager until the end of his life [17]. His brother Bernand Donotello had a cinema in Chita before the Revolution. He came to Harbin with his family in 1918, where he had cinemas "Oriant", "Modern", "Dekant" since 1919 [58].

A huge mass of people in Harbin demanded the significant efforts from the authorities and various measures to maintain order, one of which was regular inspection of the documents of the visitors of hotels. "According to regulations of the Police Headquarters made for all Harbin police-stations, the Police squad began to make daily rounds of the city hotels and require from the owners of the latter the presentation to them of house registers and passports of new customers, booked the rooms on the day of the inspection rounds of the Harbin hotels by the Police " [39]. Hotel owners, who didn't follow this Police order, were fined.

Where necessary, the Police made raids and searches in hotels. "On the night of Friday to Saturday, the Police made a rigorous search in the Wharf hotels <i.e. in the Wharf area>, located in the area of Police Station No.3. The following hotels and rooming houses were inspected: "Eldorado", "Shatkovskoye Podvorye", "Kerch", "Singapore", "Nice" etc. The Police inspected all the rooms and apartments of the hotel owners. Passports of the visitors of hotels were carefully checked. Persons, who seemed to the Police suspected, were detained. The weapons were taken away by the Police from its owners, if they didn't have a relevant permission to carry it. The search was caused by the reports that heaps of people lived in hotels without residence permit" [40]. During the hotel inspection and the identification by the Police of persons without "new passports, it was proposed to acquire them in the near future" [45].

Lack of hotels was compensated to a certain extend by the rent of rooms, including with all the amenities and full board and lodging, and the local newspapers of that time were riddled with its announcements. This allowed the old residents to have additional income. The city and railway employees who lived in apartments didn't stay on the sidelines, they "relish the opportunity and rent out rooms..."by acquaintance". In both cases, they ask to pay for an apartment 2-3 months in advance. Poor officials of the city kept living in poverty nestling and hovelling anywhere" [42]. Besides, Chinese merchants allowed belated buyers to stay for a night in tiny shops. [2]

Hundreds of houses were being built at an accelerating pace in Harbin and its suburbs, for the construction of which the population spent over 5 million gold rubles [42], railway provided more corporate apartments, accommodated its agents in passenger cars [44], but the housing crisis didn't disappear, because the influx of new-comers from Primorky region and Zabaikalye continued. More and more hotels appeared in the



city, and by 1921 advertisements on vacant rooms multiplied in newspapers. [48]

Economic positions of the Russians - this small part of the population of the Northern China were very strong. Emigrants from Russia took the 2nd place after Japanese with regard to the investments to the economics of Manchuria. Each Russian emigrant possessed a capital of almost 10 times more that an average Chinese. In fact, the capital of the Russian emigrants in the latter half of the 1920s amounted to 158 million gold rubles: an average of 2,633 gold rubles per one person, 280 gold rubles per one Chinese [12]. The Chinese Eastern Railway, which remained under the control of White Russians until October 1924, gave a big boost to the economic development of the region. Also, the economic position of the Russian population in Manchuria was significantly strengthened.

By this time in Harbin the competition in the field of hotel and catering service was increased dramatically, as many Japanese hotels appeared here, the most famous of which were "Kokumon-Hoteru", "Yamato Hotel", "Tokio Hotel", "Nagoya". But for all that "in conditions of a refugees (as a rule, of the loss of all property) by the beginning of 1925 in Harbin the Russian owners have already had, thanks to their hard work, persistence and entrepreneurial spirit: ...3 theaters, 8 cinemas, 32 hotels" [21].

The city had 36 restaurants, including such popular as "Martyanych", "Yar", "Arsenich", "Strel'na", "Pompey", and others. Each of them was trying to "show off" something special to attract guests. Almost all of the restaurants arranged their concert programs, some still resembled Cafés-Chantant, which became popular in Russia in the late XIX century, some of them made serious theatrical performances, competing not only with restaurants, but also with theaters. The restaurant "Casino", while performing the functions both restaurant and casino mastered a new "profile": invited visitors to the "Ballet Evening", and announced a free entry [38]. Cabaret "Nice" showed every day "grand concert program" with participation of over 35 "wonderful No." <acts>, among which there were "new releases: Over the Sungari (mosaic), factory party (quire), popular prints, travesties, dramatizations, and a lot more" [47]. And the restaurant "Faun" was distinguished by its literary-artistic Cabaret: "Theater of fine trinkets, funny jokes and light satire. The repertoire consists of exclusively new releases of the Paris open theater of Valiev and Vanich as "Letuchaya mysh" (The Bat) and the Berlin Cabaret "Faun" as well as topical travesties and sketches of local authors [37]. And even the Canteen of the Railway Assembly invited repeatedly for a performance of a string orchestra conducted by the famous violinist Emel Zingler who played during lunches and dinners, and offered French wines at greatly reduced prices [50].

In the severe conditions restaurants changed names, subjects, profile and hotelkeepers. The restaurant "Parisienne" (in the premises of the former cabaret "Bayan") immediately announced: "An unprecedented grand cabaret is being prepared in Harbin with the participation of well-known actors of drama and opera. Breakfasts, lunches and dinners A la carte. A wonderful sextet conducted by Franz Ganish will play

during lunches and dinners. The kitchen is under the supervision of the European metropolitan cookery experts" [42]. The restaurant "International Club" opened in the premises of the former cafe "Ural" began to arrange various card programs: trente-et-quarante, automatic card game "Fortune", solitaires contest, etc., as well as a chess tournament with money prizes [42, 46, 47].

Such a form as the arrangement of various lotteries, contests, prize drawing, etc. was also used to attract visitors not only by restaurant establishments, but also by various Associations and Assemblies: The Railway Assembly, the Harbin International Assembly, the Harbin Sportsmen Association, the Harbin Landlords Association, etc.

Life of Harbin become differentiated: some who lost everything in their homeland (not only officers and merchants turned out to be thrown out of their country, but also ordinary soldiers, various employees, service personnel, etc.) made ends meet, and some drowned their misfortune and losses in wine, someone partied after "making a scoop" in such environment. Restaurants and entertainment establishments "seized the moment", trying by all means to lure customers. Almost all restaurants offered a concert program, with free entrance and tables. As a rule, the program started at 12:00 in the evening, to be precise, at night. Restaurants worked most often up to 5:00 in the morning.

For the owners of restaurants night sprees brought not only income, but also losses. The cases of night fires wasn't uncommon, when burned the property acquired for many years. One of the first Gamarteli hotels and restaurant shared the same fate. In September, 1921 "restaurant "Bellevue" burned down in Old Harbin, the final destination of morning walks of parting Harbiniens.. Firefighters managed to defend the only buildings adjacent to the" Bellevue; the restaurant and rooms next to it were destroyed by fire" [43]. Such an outcome was expected for many first buildings of the city, as they were wooden.

By 1932, with the active participation of Russian capital, Harbin has become the main distribution and transshipment center of the entire region. According to incomplete data, there were more than 300 large production and more than 3,000 commercial enterprises with predominance of the Russian capital in the city (without the Chinese suburb Fujiadian and the enterprises that remained under the Unified Soviet Administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway). In some spheres of economic activities the Russian entrepreneurs featured prominently [23], including in the field of hospitality.

CONCLUSION

The construction of the railway by Russians in Northern China led to the arrangement of the whole Manchuria, often to the detriment of the development of the Russian Far East. Harbin attracted a significant number of visitors, factories, enterprises and institutions were being built up here. For the first time in Asia here a taxi and the phone appeared, the University was founded. Life was "boiling", and the sphere of hospitality played a substantive role in it.



References

- Ablova, N. History of CEL and of the Russian colony in Manchuria in the late XIX – early XX century (1896-1917) / / Belarusian journal of international law and international relations. -1998. - No. 3.
- Amur newspaper. 1902. No. 85.
- [3] Baykov N.A. Moi priezd v Manchzhuriu [My arrival in Manchuria]. 1902 // Russian Harbin / compiler, introduction and comments by E.P. Taskina – 2nd edition., revised and enlarged – M.: MSU Publishing House.: Science, 2005. - pages 7-12 (in Russian).
- Chernov, V.A. Gostinichnaya otrasl' Khabarovska [Hotel Industry in the City of Khabarovsk] (1858-1918): monography. - Khabarovsk: PH Far Eastern State Transport University, 2009. – 87 p. : il. (in Russian)
- Chernov, B.A. Gostinichny promysel na sibirskom priiske [Hotel business at the Siberian gold-mine // ANTRO (Annalas of the scientific theory and development of society]: science magazine. - 2014. -No. 1 (14). – p. 71-78. (in Russian)
- Chernov, V.A. Istoria stanovlenia gostinichnoy ortasly Vladivostoka [History of the establishment of the hotel industry in Vladivostok // The condition and problems of human resourcing of the sphere of culture and art in the Far East of Russia: conference information package - P. 1. -Khabarovsk: PH of Khabarovsk State Institute of Arts and Culture, 2010. – p. 271-278. (in Russian)
- Chernov, V.A. Istoria stanovleniya I razvitiya industrii gostepriimstva Blagoveshcheska [History of the establishment and development of the hospitality industry in Blagoveshchensk // Culture and tourism in the contemporary world: directions and trends of development: materials of All-Russian scientific conference with international participation. Khabarovsk: PH Far Eastern State Transport University, 2010. - p. 140-152. (in Russian)
- Chernov, V.A. O nekotoryk lichnostyakh sygravshikh zametnuyu rol' m razvitii gostinichnogo dela e Priamurskom Krae [On some personalities who played an important role in development of the hotel business in the Amur region (end XIX – start XX века) // The condition and problems of human resourcing of the sphere of culture and art in the Far East of Russia: conference information package. - P. 2. - Khabarovsk: PH of Khabarovsk State Institute of Arts and Culture, 2010. - p. 49-54. (In Russian)
- Chernov, V.A. S chego nachinalsya Transsib [How started the Trans-Siberian Railway]// Turmenu. – 2011. – No. 1. – p. 30-34. (In Russian)
- [10] Chernyavskiy S.R. Harbinskiy teatr: nachalo [Harbin theater: start] // Russian Harbin / compiled by E.P. Taskina. – 2nd Edition., revised and enlarged - M.: MSU Publishing House: Nauka (Science), 2005. - P. 125-133. (In Russian)
- [11] China and Russian Emigration in diaries of I. I. and A.N. Serebrennekovy. In 5 Vol. Vol. 1: «For the time being, we are happy that nothing threatens us...» (1919-1934). - (Contemporary Russian History: researches and documents). - M.: Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 2006. - 448 p.: ill. - (Russian treasures of Hoover tower). - Par. Headings in English
- [12] Chuprina, M.V. Rol' russkih beloemigrantov v sotsial'noekonomicheskom razvitii Manchurii v 1920-30 gg. [The Role of Russian White Emigrants in the social and economic development of Manchuria in the 1920s – 30s// Vlast'. – 2012. – No. 7. – p. 128-130. (In Russian)
- [13] Golovachev, P.M. Rossiia na Dal'nem Vostoke [Russia in the Far East]. St. Petersburg.: Edition by E.D. Kuskova, 1904. - 217 pages (in
- [14] Gostinitsy I restorany starogo Vladivostoka [Hotels and restaurants of old Vladivostok] (history pages) : education edition / compliled by N.G Miz', T.I. Eliseeva. – 2nd edition., revised and enlarged. – Vladivostok : PSEU Publishing House, 2006. – 72 pages. (in Russian)
- [15] Istoricheskiy obzor Kitaiskoy Vostochnoy Dorogi. Historical review of the Chinese Eastern Railway. 1896-1923 . - Vol. 1. - Harbin : Type. CER and Partership «Ozo», 1923. – 690 pages.
- Khabarovsk kupecheskiy [Merchant Khabarovsk]. In photos and documents / compliled by M. Burilova. - Khabarovsk : Priamurskiye vedomosty, 1998. – 48 p. (in Russian)

- [17] Kradin, N.P. Harbin Russkaya Atlantida [Harbin Russian Atlantis]: essays. - Khabarovsk: Khabarovsk Regional Priniting-House, 2010. -368 p. : il. (in Russian)
- [18] Krasnov, P.N. Vypash: novel. 2, Rue Pierre-le-Grand, Paris. 1931. (in Russian)
- [19] Krasnov, P.N. Sbornik povestey I rasskazov [Collection of novels and stories]. - St. Petersburg, 1909. - P. 66.
- [20] Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk g. Vladivostoka [Brief historical essay about the city of Vladivostok] 1860 – 1910 / By N.P. Matveev. – Vladivostok : Publishing House of Tio3. Matveev, 1910. – 192 p. (in Russian)
- [21] Melikhov, G.V. Belyi Harbin [White Harbin]: Mid 20-s. M.: Russkiy put', 2003. - 440 p.: ill. (in Russian)
- Melikhov, G.V. Manchuria dalyokaya i blizkaya [Manchuria distant and near]. - M.: Science, 1991. - 317 p. (in Russian)
- [23] Melikhov G.V. Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniiakh na Dal'nem Vostoke [Russian emigration in international relations of the Far East] (1925-1932). - M.: Russkiy put'; Vikmo-M, 2007. – 320 p. : ill. (in Russian)
- [24] Obyekty kulturnogo naslediya (pamyatniki istorii I kultury) Khabarovskogo kraya [Objects of cultural heritage (historical and cultural landmarks) of Khabarovsk Territory: album/ complilers: A.V. Dyminskaya, L.B. Shokurova, M.K. Yankevich, A.R. Lasjin. - 2nd edition., revised and enlarged. - Khabarovsk: Ministry of Culture of Khabarovsk Territory, 2013. – 248 p.: ill. (in Russian)
- [25] Pikul', V. Kreysera [Cruisers] . Novel. M.: Sovremennik, 1989. -511 p. (in Russian)
- [26] Pogodin, F. Na sopkakh Manchurii. Russkie v Severnom Kitae [On the mountains of Manchuria. Russians in the Northern China] // Russkii predprinimatel'. - 2003. - No. 3 (12). (in Russian)
- [27] Politechnik (Sidney). 1979. No. 10.
- [28] Priamurskiye vedomosty [Amur journal]. 1896. No. 110.
- [29] Priamurskiye vedomosty [Amur journal]. 1906. No. 956.
- [30] Priamurye. 1913. No. 1883.
- [31] Reference Book of the City of Vladivostok. Vladivostok: Edition of Matveev, 1900.
- [32] Reference Book of the City of Vladivostok with additional information about the Far East. Plans, charts and illustrations. - Vladivostok : Edition of N.P. Matveev, 1902.
- [33] Rossiyane v Azii [Russians in Asia] Edition 3-4. Centre of Russian and East Europeanians Study, Toronto University, 1996.
- [34] Russian State Historicl Archive, f. 1284, op. 194, d. 120, l. 48ob, 57ob.
- [35] Russian State Historical Archive FE, f. 1259, op. 1, d. 3, l. 209.
- [36] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 166.
- [37] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 182.
- [38] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 337.
- [39] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 344.
- [40] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 346.
- [41] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 348.
- [42] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 354. [43] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). - 1921. - No. 355.
- [44] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 362.
- [45] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 363.
- [46] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 364.
- [47] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 367.
- [48] Russkii Golos [Russian Voice] (Harbin). 1921. No. 430.
- [49] Siberian Trade-Industrial Annual Publication. 1914-1915 rr.: [with attachment of six city plans, portraits of public figures and many illustrations] / [edition of D.R. Yung]. – [Petrograd] : [Pub. House AO "Argus", Partnership "Trud"]. – P. 2. D. 3, 4: Descriptions of governorates and provinces of Siberia, Stepple Region and Russian Turkestan. Trade-Industrial Index of populated points of Siberia, Manchuria, Mongolia and Turkestan: (according to the local statistic committees). – 268, 653 p. : ill., tables.
- [50] Svet [Light] (Harbin). 1921. No. 624.



- [51] Tairov, M. *Kak razvlekalis' v Harbine*. [How entertain in Harbin] // Politechnik (Sidney). 1974. No. 6 p. 41-42. (in Rissian)
- [52] Tonkiy, N.V. Chelovecheskiy factor v tylovom obespechenii russkoy armii v voine s Yaponiey 1904-1905. [The human factor in the rear support of the Russian army in the war with Japan [1904-1905] // Novosibirsk State University Newsletter – 2011. – No. 10. – p. 116-119.
- [53] Turmov, G.P. *Vladivistok: istoricheskiy putevoditel'* [Vladivostok: historical guidebook] / G.P. Turmov, A.A. Hisamutdinov. M.: Veche, 2010. 304 p.: il. (in Russian)
- [54] Shirokorad, A.B. *Uteryannye zemli Rossii. Ot Petra I to the Grazhdanskoy voiny*. [Lost lands of Russia. From Peter I to the Civil War]. M.: Veche, 2006. 128 p. (In Russian)
- [55] Sholokh, E Chto nasha zhizn'? Spektakl'...: teatral'naya letopis' Vladivostoka [What is our life? Stage performance...: theater chronicles of the City of Vladivostok: how it started / E. Sholokh// Konkurent. 2005. No. 50. p. 28. (In Russian)
- [56] The Siberian Trade-Industrial and Reference Calendar for 1897. Edition of F.P. Romanov. Forth Year. Tomsk. 1897.

- [57] The Siberian Trade-Industrial and Reference Calendar. Edition of F.P. Romanov. Tomsk. 1898, 1899, 1900, 1903.
- [58] The State Archive of Khabarovsk krai, f. P-830, op. 3, d. 13426.
- [59] The State Archive of Khabarovsk krai, f. P-830, op. 3, d. 14047.
- [60] The State Archive of Khabarovsk krai, f. P-830, op. 3, d. 33882.
- [61] The State Archive of Khabarovsk krai, f. P-830, op. 3, d. 48604.
- [62] The State Archive of Khabarovsk krai, f. P-830, op. 3, d. 54126.
 [63] Vladivistok. 1894. No. 34 (in Russian).
- [64] Vladivostok. 1894. No. 42 (in Russian).
- [65] Wolskij, Z. Vsya Sibir (All Siberia). Reference book on all branches of cultural and commercial and industrual life of Siberia. 1st edition. Saint-Petersburg: Publishing House and its warehouse at the First St. Address affair, 1908 (in Russian).
- [66] Vostochny Vestnik. 1903. No. 140.