

P. V. Vologodskii and His Diary

The diary of Petr Vasil'evich Vologodskii, a prominent Siberian lawyer and regionalist who served as chairman of the Council of Ministers in the most important anti-Bolshevik government of the Russian Civil War, far surpasses other known diaries from the period not only in terms of chronological coverage and the frequency and detail of its entries but also in the variety of information it presents, the depth of the diarist's involvement, the scale of events covered, and the number of important figures encountered. Vologodskii began keeping his diary in Omsk on June 6, 1918, not long before he became head of the Provisional Siberian Government.* [*Unless otherwise indicated, all dates prior to February 1, 1918, in both introduction and notes, are given according to the Julian (Old Style) Calendar, which lagged behind the Gregorian (New Style) Calendar by twelve days in the nineteenth century and thirteen days in the twentieth.] He assiduously maintained it throughout his tenure in successive anti-Bolshevik governments in Siberia, including the Directory and the Provisional Russian Government of Admiral A.V. Kolchak. He continued to make regular entries even after leaving the political stage, the fall of the Kolchak regime, his flight to China in January 1920, and over the next five years as a struggling refugee. The former Siberian premier made his last diary entry in Harbin on August 7, 1925, a little more than two months before his death.

The Russian Civil War and its aftermath sent millions, among them Vologodskii, fleeing to the corners of the world. From the scattered souls of this new diaspora came an outpouring of personal accounts in the form of memoirs, autobiographies, letters, and diaries.¹ Memoirs—retrospective “interpretations of the historical record”² predominate, but diaries such as Vologodskii's, though their number is incomparably fewer, are

generally of greater value to historians. A diary, as Terence Emmons has observed, "is a contemporary document and thus part of the historical record."³ It reflects an author's immediate state of mind, free of retrospective embellishments or emphasis colored by knowledge of outcomes or by subsequently gathered information.⁴

All but a handful of the more substantial diaries from the Russian Civil War have come from participants in the White movement in the East (Siberia and the Russian Far East). For the most part they have been long available to, and fruitfully utilized by, historians of the period.⁵ Though all these diaries serve as important historical sources, their value is often limited by subsequent editing or narrow chronological boundaries; many diarists had limited access to the upper echelons of power, and so confined themselves to discussions of only those spheres of activity they knew best.⁶

Vologodskii, as a central figure in White Siberia throughout virtually all its existence, was intimately involved in the domestic and foreign policies of the Omsk government. An educated and perceptive observer with the life long habit of committing his thoughts to paper, Vologodskii presents a great deal of information on the politics and main personages of White Siberia. He offers rare, sometimes unique glimpses into the life of the Russian communities in Shanghai, Tientsin, Peking, and Harbin in the early 1920s.⁷ No other diary known to these editors provides a more vivid picture of a leading figure's changing dramatic public and personal experiences over such a long and tumultuous period.

By his own admission, Vologodskii's biography was largely typical of a first-generation native (*korennoi*) Siberian *intelligent*. Petr Vasil'evich was born on January 30, 1863 (old style), in the village of Kurishinskoe (later renamed Komarovskoe), Kansk *uezd*, Enisei province, into the family of the village priest. According to family legend, Petr Vasil'evich's great-great-grandfather had been a priest-missionary who arrived in Western Siberia from V o l o g d a during the time of Peter the Great. He settled in Tobol'sk, and sent his twelve-year-old son, under the surname V o l o g o d s k i i, to the local clerical school (*dukhovnoe uchilishche*). Petr Vasil'evich's father, after graduating from the Tomsk seminary and serving his parish in Kurishinskoe, was reassigned to the large and prosperous village of Krasnorechenskoe, in Mariinsk *uezd*,

Tomsk province, built on the site of the Krasnorechenskii state-owned distillery on the banks of Chulym River, where he served from 1865 until his death in 1882. Peter Vasil'evich's mother, Serafima Dmitrievna (née Emel'ianova), was the daughter of the chief priest of the Tomsk cathedral. Her family, too, had a long history of service in the Siberian clergy.⁸

Petr Vasil'evich's early education was at home. Upon his graduation from the village school, his parents, who, as he later recalled, "despite their clerical roots were not particularly religious,"⁹ broke from family tradition and sent their only son to a gymnasium in the town of Krasnoiarsk, and then, from the fourth grade on, to a gymnasium in Tomsk.¹⁰

At that time Tomsk was the cultural, commercial, and industrial capital of Western Siberia. Even before the opening there of Siberia's first university in 1888, Tomsk was home to a substantial number of students, a few newspapers, and a colony of political exiles. These exiles were particularly influential in the city's cultural life. Mainly populists, they enjoyed relative freedom in Tomsk, contributing regularly to the local papers and forging ties with students of the various educational establishments in the city. The most intellectually developed students were those of the senior classes at the Tomsk gymnasium, and they quickly found themselves attracted to the exiles, who held the aura of champions of "the people's cause." In 1881, as a student in the sixth grade, Vologodskii came under the influence of some prominent exiles grouped around the *Sibirskaiia gazeta*, among them the well-known "People's Will" member and future Socialist Revolutionary F. V. Volkhovskii.¹¹ There is no direct evidence of Volkhovskii or anyone else having shaped Vologodskii's social and political views in any specific way, but contact with these exiles would certainly have furthered the development of his social conscience and political awareness. Perhaps inevitably, these qualities would lead him into opposition against the existing political and social order.

Books also helped to shape Vologodskii's emerging views. In his later years at the gymnasium he read voraciously. From the seventh grade onward he kept annual lists of his reading, which he carefully recorded in his personal notebook (*zapisnaia knizhka*).¹² Alongside the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century classics of Russian and Western European literature, the early lists include many then-influential authors from the so-called "revolutionary democrats," such as V. G. Belinskii, D. I.

Pisarev, and N. G. Chernyshevskii. Like many of his generation he also read a fair amount on physiology and personal hygiene.

What stands out most in these unsystematic but impressive early reading lists is his developing interest in Siberia. In 1882 he read the newly released work of N. M. Iadrintsev, *Siberia as a Colony*.¹³ Written by the doyen of Siberian regionalism, the book was aimed primarily at Vologodskii's generation of young Siberian *intelligenty*, on whom he laid his hopes for the region's future. Iadrintsev believed that Siberia's problems stemmed from its subordination to central Russian authority. In illustrating the degree to which the absence of local self-government affected Siberia, he highlighted such centrally imposed burdens as the region's disproportionate presence of prison and exile populations, its economic exploitation by European Russia, and its administration by corrupt officials appointed in St. Petersburg. Siberia required its own university, zemstvos, and modern judicial system, and the diverse native population in Siberia deserved protection from exploitation and extinction. Emphasizing local autonomy as the means by which the region could realize its unique destiny and potential, *Siberia as a Colony* quickly became the manifesto of Siberian regionalism, by and large remaining the bellwether of the movement over the next several decades.¹⁴ Although Vologodskii did not record any of his impressions of *Siberia as a Colony*, his subsequent and lasting commitment to regionalism indicates the significant, perhaps even determining, influence Iadrintsev's book exercised on the formation of his social and political views.

Vologodskii's interest in Siberian regionalism continued to grow, particularly after graduating from the Tomsk gymnasium and entering the law faculty of St. Petersburg University in 1884. At a time when high-profile regionalists were touting the peasant commune as the most appropriate form of social organization on which to base the legal, administrative, and cultural development of Siberia as an autonomous region,¹⁵ Vologodskii's reading lists included much on the peasants' way of life, serfdom, the peasant commune, and the history of peasant migrations from European Russia to Siberia. The works of V. O. Kliuchevskii, V. I. Semevskii, and N. V. Shelgunov figured in prominently among his favored authors.

Vologodskii's surroundings in St. Petersburg were well suited for a young Siberian patriot. Living alongside the University in the Petersburg district, he found himself surrounded by many fellow Siberians. He joined local Siberian student clubs (*zemliachestva*), wrote news commentaries and literary reviews about Siberian affairs for St. Petersburg newspapers, and about life in the capital for Siberian papers. He took a job in the editorial office of Iadrntsev's weekly, *Vostochnoe obozrenie*, which at the time was published in St. Petersburg. Soon he was attending a regionalist salon of sorts, the so-called "Iadrntsev Thursdays," which Iadrntsev and his wife held in their apartment for all interested Siberians and their sympathizers to celebrate the publication of each issue of *Vostochnoe obozrenie*. At these gatherings Vologodskii met a number of the prominent writers of the period, including V. I. Semevskii, A. P. Chekhov, and V. S. Prugavin. He was also introduced to Grigorii Nikolaevich Potanin, who would become the unquestioned leader of the regionalist movement after Iadrntsev's death a decade later. In general, apart from his coursework at the university, Vologodskii devoted his years in St. Petersburg entirely to Siberian affairs. It was in these same years, and in more or less the same way, that some of Vologodskii's future associates in White Siberia, such as A. V. Adrianov and V. M. Krutovskii, became adherents to Siberian regionalism.¹⁶

Vologodskii's passion for Siberia does not seem to have interfered with his legal studies. To the contrary, he took his education quite seriously, consistently earning high marks. He appears to have been a dedicated and inquisitive student of many branches of legal studies, not limiting himself only to the required readings. He read and attended the lectures of the foremost legal positivists of the time, including S. A. Bershadskii (history of the philosophy of law), A. D. Gradovskii (state or constitutional law, and Russian state law), N. M. Korkunov (common and state law), and F. F. Martens (international law). In these years, it would seem, he built up the profound respect for the rule of law that he was to display throughout his subsequent careers as a lawyer and a politician. His efforts to cultivate this respect in society at large would later be particularly evident during the heady years of revolution and civil war.

The Petersburg period did not last long, however. In June of 1887, while preparing to enter his fourth year, he was, along

with 300 other students of the university, expelled for political activity. Furthermore, he was forbidden to reside in St. Petersburg, Moscow, or any other major industrial city, and barred from reentry into St. Petersburg University.¹⁷ Left with few choices, Vologodskii went to live with his mother in Tomsk, where he soon took an entry-level civil service job as a *pomoshchnik stolonachal'nika* in the chancellery of the Tomsk Provincial Court. At the same time he began bombarding the Minister of Popular Enlightenment with petitions for permission to take the state examination at the law faculty of Kazan' University, Khar'kov, or Odessa's Novorossiiskii University.¹⁸ Not until March 1891, nearly four years later, was permission finally granted. Meanwhile, he had slowly moved up the civil service ranks, changing posts several times within the boundaries of the Tomsk judicial district. In the summer of 1891 Vologodskii headed off to Khar'kov University to prepare for the state examination. He duly passed it the following spring, and his career quickly took off.¹⁹

In the summer of 1892 the restrictions on his choice of residence were also lifted, allowing the opportunity for a post of greater responsibility in the chancellery of the governor general of the Steppe Region. After receiving some start-up money to have an official uniform and peak cap tailored (complete with the insignia of a recent graduate of law faculty), Vologodskii set off in early August for the administrative capital of Siberia, the city of Omsk.²⁰ He spent about a year there before being reappointed to the town of Vernyi (now Alma-Aty) in the Semirechensk region where he worked as an investigator, municipal judge, and, finally, as a deputy district prosecutor.²¹ In August 1897, after the introduction of liberal legal institutions in Siberia (the same judicial reforms had been introduced in European Russia in 1864), Vologodskii left state service and entered the ranks of the newly created Bar.²² For the next twenty years Vologodskii would live in Tomsk and run his own legal practice as a sworn advocate (*prisiazhnyi poverennyi*).

Scant information is available about his practice. He handled a variety of civil and criminal cases and by all indications was quite successful, living a comfortable life and keeping active in his professional association; more than once he was elected deputy chairman of the governing council of sworn advocates in the Omsk judicial district.²³ He owned a home in the center

of Tomsk (17 Nechaevskaia ulitsa), and enjoyed long vacations in Europe.

But it was the Revolution of 1905 and its aftermath that brought Vologodskii recognition throughout Siberia as a defense lawyer. A committed opponent of the death penalty, he managed to save the lives of several defendants. Among his clients were participants in the demonstrations in Tomsk in 1905, and the leaders of the Krasnoiarsk Railroad Workshops' Soviet (the so-called Krasnoiarsk Republic). He also gained a reputation as a public accuser (*obshchestvennyi obvinitel'*) by demanding punishment for the perpetrators of the anti-Jewish pogrom that took place in Tomsk on October 20–23, 1905. His role in the latter case earned him the attention and respect of Siberia's well-organized and wealthy Jewish community.²⁴

In addition to his legal work, Vologodskii's political and social activism during this period also appears to have reached a peak. He was one of the most energetic members of the Tomsk Municipal Duma, representing it at the first All-Russian Zemstvo Congress in Moscow in November 1904. Upon returning home he served as the key organizer of the so-called banquet campaign in Western Siberia, and in 1906 was chosen to be an elector for the city in the elections to the First State Duma.²⁵

In August 1905 Vologodskii and Potanin co-founded the Siberian Regional Union, a body designed to unite the representatives of Siberian political parties and groups to the left of the Constitutional Democrats (Kadets), and for the next two years the meetings of the Union's Bureau were regularly held in Vologodskii's home. This, of course, did not escape the watchful eye of the local police agents. A secret police report described his residence as "a haven for anyone in hiding from the authorities" for political offenses.²⁶ Yet contrary to the authorities' claims that the members of the Siberian Regional Union were "Siberian separatists," secession from Russia was never an integral part of the regionalist program. Having set themselves the goal of attaining regional autonomy, the members of the Union worked out a structure wherein self-rule could be instituted through a Siberian Regional Duma. Vologodskii played an important role in elaborating the conception of this solely Siberian representative, legislative, and sovereign institution. Among the regionalists, he was considered an authority on questions of legal procedure and local self-government. In particular, he was among those who

helped Potanin write the "Prospectus of Fundamental Proposals on Zemstvo Institutions in Siberia" (*Proekt osnovnykh nachal polozheniia o zemskikh uchrezhdeniakh v Sibiri*), which proposed a network of provincial, *uezd*, and *volost'* zemstvos, complete with all-Siberian zemstvo congresses.²⁷

The culmination of this unusually busy period in Vologodskii's life was his election to the Second State Duma as a deputy of the Tomsk province in May 1907. During the election campaign he ran on the so-called progressists' list of electors, which had been compiled shortly before the elections with the aim of sending to the Duma a group of democratic candidates from oppositional, and therefore "progressive," parties ranging from the Kadets to the Social Democrats.²⁸ However, the newly elected deputy never had a chance to participate in the national assembly—the decree to disband it appeared as he was en route to St. Petersburg.²⁹

After 1907, like many of his politically involved contemporaries, Vologodskii more or less gave up activism, and, at least in part, he redirected his energies back toward his old interest in journalism. He wrote articles on Siberian and legal themes described as "well informed, and elegantly written" by one contemporary, which were published not only in the region but also in leading national journals such as *Pravo* and *Russkoe bogatstvo*.³⁰ Vologodskii did not shed his political sympathies completely during this time; he continued for many years to describe himself as a "sympathizer" of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, though not a card carrying and ideologically committed member.³¹ This close association with the Siberian SRs, who like the regionalists built their conceptions around the peasant commune, went back as far as 1902 with the founding of the party organization in Tomsk. In 1903, Vologodskii had been among the group of political exiles and local activists that took over the Tomsk newspaper *Sibirskii vestnik* and transformed it into an SR-regionalist-leaning publication.³² In the diary he reveals that he helped organize the printing house that the "Siberian Union of SRs" used to publish the underground party paper *Otgoski bor'by*.³³ His long-standing affinity with the SRs came to an end only in 1917, apparently out of frustration with the party leaders' ideological dogmatism, partisanship, and lack of commitment to Siberia's needs.³⁴ By the time Vologodskii

began keeping his diary, regional loyalties took a clear precedence over party sympathies.

Generally speaking, Vologodskii's social and political views were fairly typical for a Siberian *intelligent-democrat* of his generation. Though essentially pro-Western in orientation, he was at the same time acutely sensitive to the specific needs of Siberia as well as patriotic about Russia as a whole. He clearly considered himself a "Siberian regionalist," and by all indications his confreres perceived him in the same way.³⁵ He expressed this overarching fealty to regionalist ideas throughout his life, even during the Civil War years, when, in attempting to placate competing constituencies as head of the Omsk government, he was at times compelled to act against these convictions.

Vologodskii's meteoric rise to prominence as a public politician began as soon as the news of the revolution in the capital reached Western Siberia in the first days of March 1917. A Temporary Committee in Charge of Public Order and Safety was set up in Tomsk. Like its counterparts in other provincial centers of the empire, the Tomsk committee declared itself sovereign in the province, and appointed a commissariat of three to run daily affairs, led by Vologodskii.³⁶ He spent the next three months in this difficult post trying to maintain some semblance of normality in the province without the benefit of guidance from the Provisional Government in Petrograd, and with constant interference from the local Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies. Then, at the start of May, after elections to the Provincial People's Assembly, Vologodskii was chosen as its chairman, but he retained the post for only a few days. Citing illness, he resigned. As he later intimated in the diary, the real reason for his resignation was his frustration with the hyper-politicization of the Assembly and with what he felt to be the irrelevance of the questions under debate to local concerns.³⁷ Even so, under his brief chairmanship the People's Assembly adopted several important regionalist demands, including a resolution on the need to establish an All-Siberian Regional Duma and convoke a Regional Congress, and voted on a new Siberian emblem, a white and green flag, symbolic of the snows and forests of Siberia.³⁸

Vologodskii was not to remain out of the public eye for long. In July the Provisional Government appointed him senior chairman of the Omsk Judicial Chamber (*Starshii predsdatel' Omskoi sudebnoi palaty*), on the recommendation of his

colleagues on the regional Bar. This was the highest judicial office in the enormous territory of Akmolinsk province and the Steppe Region.³⁹ Vologodskii must have been pleased by the appointment, especially after the exhausting political struggles of his previous two posts. The work in Omsk would be more familiar to him and more specific in character. He remained in this new position from late August until December 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power and disbanded the existing judicial institutions.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, events were occurring in Tomsk that were to have momentous implications for Vologodskii's political career, the regionalist movement, and the future of the anti-Bolshevik movement in Siberia. A Regional Congress met in the first week of August at the behest of the Provincial People's Assembly. This supposedly "All-Siberian" congress foundered almost immediately upon the discovery that forty-six of the sixty-three delegates represented organizations exclusive to the Tomsk province. To avoid embarrassment, the "congress" was renamed a "conference," and after a few days of meetings the delegates opted to disband and prepare a genuine congress with a broad Siberian mandate for the autumn.⁴¹

The disappointing turnout at the congress diminished the regionalists' long-standing hopes that with the fall of the Old Regime, Siberian autonomy would become a reality; worse still, the regionalists, like many other political and social movements of the time, were proving vulnerable to politically driven schisms within their own ranks. Serious disagreements over the future status of Siberia within the Russian state were already being voiced at the Provincial People's Assembly in May 1917. Some regionalists, especially those on the political left, leaned toward the national orientation of the SRs, while others stood firm on defending the interests of Siberia. The divide only deepened in the months leading up to the August Assembly. The majority now identified solidly with the SRs. The politically more moderate minority, with which Vologodskii would increasingly identify himself, considered themselves supra-party regionalists, beyond any particular political affiliation. The lines drawn by this split largely presaged the attitudes of the formerly unified regionalist movement toward the later anti-Bolshevik governments in Siberia during the Civil War.

Characteristic of his nonconfrontational style, Vologodskii managed to remain on the sidelines during the regionalists' political battles in 1917. He did, however, take an active part in the First Siberian Regional Congress that met in Tomsk in early October. Like other well-known moderate regionalists, Vologodskii attached great significance to the Congress. They hoped that the Congress would revive the traditional regionalist agenda and unite the various political parties and factions, the soviets, the zemstvo and cooperative organs, the trade unions, and the ethnic organizations under the traditional regionalist banner of an autonomous Siberia. These high expectations were expressed in a detailed but evidently overenthusiastic report Vologodskii compiled about the trip to Tomsk: "Already at the entrance to the vestibule of the [Tomsk] university library [where the congress convened] one could feel that this would be a congress, not merely a conference. Delegates were exchanging animated greetings at the seats and in the open spaces of the hall hours before the opening of the session. Other delegates were filling out registration cards and receiving official passes. ... One could see a big difference from the conference of two months ago in every detail. The significance of this assembly, its serious, businesslike tone, the smooth organization of its work, and the anticipation of fruitful sessions was evident. What a contrast to the sloppiness, misunderstandings, uncertain procedures, and doubts as to whether there would even be a congress that reigned on the earlier occasion."⁴² Yet again the turnout was far less than expected (about two-thirds less), and again it was dominated by the SRs. The Mensheviks were a distant second, followed by the Popular Socialists and Kadets. The moderate regionalists, without any party affiliation, made up only a small fraction.⁴³ Instead of the regionalist gathering Potanin, Vologodskii, and their allies had hoped for, the Congress proved to be little more than another regional assembly.

It was in this spirit that the Congress deliberated and made its primary proposals. Instead of the expected unity, irreconcilable divides surfaced at the very first meetings. The numerically small, but vocal Mensheviks pulled out of the Congress in protest over the leading positions accorded to "bourgeois ideologues" (that is, the moderate non-party regionalists) and "the preponderance of the well-off peasantry (*zasilie zazhitochnogo krest'ianstva*)."⁴⁴ The Kadets, in turn, lodged formal protests over what they felt to be the leftists'

domination of the Congress. The delegates could not even come together on the question of Siberian autonomy. Frustrated and exhausted by continuous meetings and arguments, a mere handful of delegates remained in session only eleven days after the Congress had opened with such great pomp and fanfare. No final decision was made over the future status of Siberian statehood (*sibirskoi gosudarstvennosti*) or a constitution. This was instead to be accomplished by a specially called All-Siberian constituent congress.⁴⁵

But the Bolsheviks' seizure of power in Petrograd, which came just one week after the close of the Tomsk congress, cast a serious cloud over realization of these plans any time in the near future. In place of an All-Siberian constituent congress, an emergency congress was urgently summoned to form an autonomous government in Siberia as an alternative to Soviet power. This new assembly, known by the somewhat cumbersome and even bewildering name, All-Siberian Extraordinary Congress of Delegates from Public Organizations, was convened in Tomsk on December 7. Predictably, the SR-dominated assembly refused to recognize Soviet authority or its decrees, and during its last session on December 15 called for the convocation of an "all-socialist" Siberian Regional Duma and appointed a Provisional Siberian Council, answerable to the Duma, that would "act as a government." The opening of the Duma was set for January 8, 1918.⁴⁶

As far as we know, Vologodskii took no part in the Congress, and indeed was not even in Tomsk at that time. If he had been, he likely would have joined in the regionalist dissent (Potanin, A. V. Adrianov, I. I. Serebrennikov, and others) over the majority's decision to exclude the propertied classes from participation in the future Duma. The regionalists had always maintained that the highest governing body in Siberia should be freely elected.

As it happened, the Duma could not open on the date the congress had set for it for lack of a quorum requiring that a minimum of one third of the delegates, or ninety-three, be present. Many of the delegates had already been arrested by local Bolshevik authorities; others had not been able to reach Tomsk. When three weeks later, on the night of January 28–29, some forty delegates finally succeeded in meeting, they

expeditiously elected a government known as the Provisional Government of Autonomous Siberia (PGAS), ironically, under the chairmanship of a young non-Siberian SR P. Ia. Derber.⁴⁷

According to a participant at this underground meeting, after appointing the new government the delegates proceeded to entrust it with a far-reaching mandate "to organize armed resistance to the Bolshevik usurpers . . . to wipe them from the territory of Siberia, and to reinstate proper order."⁴⁸ None of this, of course, could be accomplished at a time when the newly elected ministers could not even remain in Tomsk without risking arrest. Some of them, including Derber, quickly fled to the Far East; others went into hiding, disappearing into the vast spaces of Siberia. The task of organizing anti-Bolshevik resistance was left to what was originally conceived of as the PGAS council of plenipotentiaries, but was renamed the Western Siberian Commissariat (WSC), based in Novonikolaevsk (now Novosibirsk).

Notwithstanding the overtly socialist composition of the WSC and the government that instituted it, many conservative-minded officers of the former Imperial army who had fled to Western Siberia from Bolshevik-controlled European Russia joined the clandestine military units it organized. The officers were of course leery of socialists of any kind, but they were nonetheless determined to carry on an armed struggle against Bolshevism. Among them were such future luminaries of White Siberia as Lt. Colonel P. P. Ivanov-Rinov (in Omsk), Lt. Colonel A. N. Pepeliaev (in Tomsk), Lt. Colonel A. V. Ellerts-Usov (in Irkutsk), and Captain A. N. Grishin-Almazov (in Novonikolaevsk).⁴⁹

In contrast to the WSC with its fairly delineated structure and personnel, the PGAS was an organization that existed primarily in the minds of its architects and a narrow circle of their political friends. Of the PGAS' twenty ministers, only six had been present at the founding meeting of January 28–29. Two had been in Bolshevik prison, and the rest were scattered throughout Siberia and north China and were chosen in absentia, without their prior consent. Vologodskii was one of the latter. Although not a member of the Duma, he was elected Minister of Foreign Affairs on the recommendation of the regionalist faction.⁵⁰ From the beginning, it seems, no one seriously believed in any longevity of the PGAS or even in its ability to pose a viable alternative to the organs of Soviet power. More important, as noted by the German historian

Nikolaus Katzer, with no sufficient claim on local loyalties, the Derber government was incapable of uniting the diverse and profoundly divided Siberian population.⁵¹ Nor could it count on recognition from foreign powers, without which the PGAS could not access the material and military support so essential to its survival.⁵²

According to the Diary, Vologodskii first learned of his appointment to PGAS only in April 1918. He says that he initially refused the offer, considering himself unfit to be a minister.⁵³ He may also have been concerned about possible Bolshevik retaliations against his family, and at least at one point during the spring he considered fleeing Omsk for the Bolshevik-free Far East. Eventually he yielded to the repeated entreaties of anonymous messengers from the Derber government and accepted.⁵⁴ At about the same time Vologodskii was also informed of his election as honorary chairman of the Siberian Cossack People's Court in Omsk, set up by the Cossacks in opposition to the Bolshevik People's Courts.⁵⁵

On the whole, Vologodskii seems to have kept a fairly low political profile throughout the first half of 1918. At the end of January the Bolsheviks shutdown the newspaper *Zaria*, the main organ of the Omsk "Bloc" of socialist-defensists, which Vologodskii had been editing, and searched his apartment and briefly held him under arrest. A month or so later he became editor in chief of the cooperative weekly *Trudovaia Sibir'*, published by the newly established Central Union of Cooperatives of Western Siberia and the Steppe Region (*Tsentrosibir'*) in Omsk.⁵⁶ The new authorities seem to have left him alone, except for commandeering a portion of his apartment for the "real Bolshevik woman (*formennaia bol'shevichka*) Sof'ia Zakharovna Bulatova," about whom Vologodskii repeatedly grumbles in his diary.⁵⁷

No reliable evidence appears to connect Vologodskii directly with the operations of the WSC's underground military organizations.⁵⁸ There is little doubt that he knew of their existence, and he may have helped them collect funds through the Siberian network of cooperative organizations, even though, as late as May 1918, he remained skeptical of their readiness for an open confrontation with the Bolsheviks.⁵⁹ Vologodskii was never especially attracted to the Bolsheviks; he most certainly became profoundly anti-Bolshevik after

experiencing six months of their rule. As a regionalist and lawyer, he seemed particularly to detest their strong centralist tendencies and their complete disrespect for law and legal continuity.

In any event, he greeted the first, not yet confirmed, reports of the Czech anti-Bolshevik uprising along the Trans-Siberian Railway on May 25–26 with hopeful enthusiasm. He was still more pleased to learn of the Bolsheviks' evacuation of Novonikolaevsk (on May 26) and his much-loved Tomsk (on May 31). This was more than simply the joy of liberation. Vologodskii grasped the historic significance of the unfolding events and thus began his diary, recording his observations on a regular, ongoing basis. His first entry, June 6, 1918, states his purpose: "I have chosen to keep a diary. The Russian Revolution now appears to have reached a new stage, a stage perhaps more tumultuous and complicated than that which has transpired so far. . . . It seems that we are living on the eve of great events."⁶⁰ Unlike Iu. V. Got'e, the refined Moscow intellectual and historian who began recording his observations a year earlier under the impression of the disintegration of the Russian state and its collapse "as a great and unified power," and out of despair "over an impending national disaster,"⁶¹ the Siberian *intelligent* Vologodskii began a diary only when, to his mind, there appeared real hopes for restoring the Russian state. Furthermore, and as his political career would demonstrate, he felt that the restoration of Russia as a great, democratic, and unified power must begin in Siberia.

Although the primary impulse to keep a diary was Vologodskii's keen sense of the historical transformation then taking shape, the motivations that sustained his efforts over the course of the next seven years may be better understood within the context of a more than century long Russian memoir and diary writing tradition. From the outset he saw his diary as being not merely for his own use or those closest to him but as a significant historical document, and he understood that the true value of the diary would become clear only much later. "The course of this meeting must be described in writing," he wrote about an important meeting of his cabinet in the summer of 1919: "Who knows what will become of us? Will the minutes survive for [a future] historian? A catastrophe could erase all traces of our records. Thus this diary entry will provide another chance to leave a trace [of our efforts]."⁶²

Another principal reason why Vologodskii kept up his diary so faithfully was his intention to compose a detailed memoir covering the greater part of his life, from early childhood through the Civil War (and eventually his escape to China in January 1920).⁶³ The diary would thus provide the necessary raw material. In 1920 he completed the first three chapters of his memoirs, devoted to his childhood, university years, and early judicial service in Tomsk. The first two of these chapters, leading up to his expulsion from St. Petersburg University, were published the same year in the December issue of the Peking *ImigrJ* journal *Russkoe obozrenie*.⁶⁴ There is reason to believe that he also began work on chapters covering the Civil War period. Judging from a few surviving fragments of a rough draft, it appears he strayed little from the diary entries for the corresponding period.⁶⁵

The evolving motivations underlying Vologodskii's writing of the diary are to some degree reflected in its composition, character, and candor, and in the choice of events and persons described. As the years went on, Vologodskii's style and method changed. For the first sixteen months (that is, for almost the entire period in which he played a major role in Siberian politics) he used a method common to diarists and suited to his duties as premier, jotting down fragmentary comments and short observations in incomplete sentences, and with numerous abbreviations, on a perforated writing pad (*otryvnye pamiatnye listki*) or in a pocket-size notebook (*zapisnaia knizhka*), while events were still fresh in his mind.⁶⁶ He used this method especially while on the road, as he often was while serving as premier. Then, depending on circumstances, but usually later that day or on the next (more rarely he would make a summation after a few days had passed),⁶⁷ he would expand these brief notes into a more detailed entry, which he entered into a custom-printed 1918 desktop diary-calendar (hereafter "1918 Diary") manufactured by the Petrograd publisher of calendars Otto Kirchner.⁶⁸ During 1918 Vologodskii transcribed his entries under the indicated date in the "1918 Diary." In 1919 he began working his way back through the volume using whatever space remained available, clearly dating the entries for the new year. In contrast to the abbreviated notes Vologodskii initially made on the writing pad or in his notebook, the "1918 Diary" entries are written neatly, with a minimum of corrections and

abbreviations, and usually with all the initials of persons present at each event, perhaps with an eye on his future memoirs.

After running out of space in the "1918 Diary" (the last entry was for October 20, 1919), Vologodskii switched to a new calico-bound notebook. From this point on, all entries are first drafts (*pervichnye zapisi*). Each New Year's Day for the next three years Vologodskii began a fresh notebook (the 1924 and 1925 entries are contained in the notebooks for 1923 and 1924 respectively). He thus wrote five notebooks between 1920 to 1925. In 1924, while considering a fragment of the diary for publication in the Berlin émigré journal *Arkhiv russkoi revoliutsii*, he apparently decided to organize his earlier entries, and in an attempt to give them the same general appearance as the later notebooks he retranscribed all the entries from the "1918 Diary" (that is, the entries from June 6, 1918, to October 20, 1919) into two separate notebooks. In the process, he made a few alterations in both style (adding initials, standardizing the spelling of certain names and places) and content.⁶⁹ The total number of the diary notebooks thus comes to seven, the number of pages roughly to 1,230.⁷⁰

Vologodskii's intention to use the diary as a basis for his memoirs helps explain his decision to compose most of the entries in the dry, matter-of-fact style of a chronicler—"my annalistic records" ("*moi letopisnye zapisi*"), he characterized them in retrospect.⁷¹ He often wrote detailed, systematic accounts of events that he thought would be of importance to him and a "future historian," without personal comments or evaluation, seldom passing judgment on figures whom we know from other sources he disliked. Interpretive assessments, analytical observations, axe grinding and settling of personal scores would have required a different set of motivations and a larger distance from the events and so would belong to a different genre, that is, to memoirs.

Thus the diary offers very little personal information about his family, friends, inner thoughts, passions, or personal convictions.⁷² This is especially apparent in the entries from the Civil War period. The author's inner world is virtually closed to the reader; nor does the diary shed light on any side of Vologodskii's life and activities falling outside the self-imposed parameters of "a chronicle of the anti-Bolshevik movement in Siberia," the protagonist of which would be first and foremost the chronicler himself. After his escape to China,

Vologodskii began to write in a slightly more revealing way, but even then his overall style remained essentially unchanged.

In any case, the foreboding Vologodskii noted in the first entry of the diary, that "we are living on the eve of great events," was quite prescient. Already by the first week of June the Bolsheviks had been swept out of power in cities across Western Siberia. On June 7, they fled Omsk, the Czech legionnaires entered the city, and the beginnings of a new administration were laid that would soon emerge as the main center of anti-Bolshevik activity in the region. Initially, civilian authority in Omsk fell into the hands of the WSC, whose headquarters had been quickly relocated there from Novonikolaevsk. Acting as representatives of the Derber government (with most of its members still cut off from events in western and central Siberia), the WSC's commissars faced the formidable task of rebuilding the administrative and judicial institutions abolished by the Bolsheviks in December. Quite expectedly, they turned to Vologodskii, who, as a well-known public figure and an elected member of the only anti-Bolshevik government in the region (the PGAS), provided the new administration with some degree of legitimacy. He was immediately reinstated as senior chairman of the Omsk Judicial Chamber and began to take active part in the WSC's meetings and decisions.⁷³ As the diary shows, Vologodskii was quite aware of his importance to the new administration and seems to have exercised his influence in securing several top-level appointments in the WSC's administrative apparatus for his protégés, some of whom, including G. K. Guins, would later serve as members of his cabinet.

It soon became clear, however, that the SR-dominated WSC would have to be replaced by a stronger, less ideologically partisan government structure, one more attuned to Siberian public opinion.⁷⁴ Furthermore, such a new government would have to attract wider support in Siberian political circles and at the same time appeal to the conservative officers who had helped to bring down Soviet power in the region. No less important, because the military intervention in the Russian Far East was now picking up steam, any new government would require support of foreign powers. The landing of British marines and Japanese troops in Vladivostok had already begun early in April.⁷⁵

Faced with such a complex spectrum of demands and expectations, the new administration would require a prominent but flexible leader, someone who was well known across Siberia and could appeal to various constituencies, but who also knew how to compromise and keep a cabinet united around him. By all indications, the choice fell quickly on Vologodskii. Regionalists of the influential Potanin circle campaigned for him, and he was found acceptable to a wide range of political camps—from the SRs to the conservative officer corps.⁷⁶ The former viewed Vologodskii almost as one of their own because of his long-time connections to the party, for all the distance he had assiduously maintained from the party leadership at the national level. His appeal to the latter rested primarily on his reputation as a principled and uncompromising, if passive, opponent of the Bolsheviks. These considerations, together with Vologodskii's high profile in Siberia, made his candidacy attractive to the local SRs, the Kadets, and to the so-called "census society" (*tsenzovoe obshchestvo*).

The decision to form the Provisional Siberian Government (PSG) was made on June 29, 1918, in Omsk, at a meeting featuring several members of the PGAS who were still in Western Siberia (G. B. Patushinskii, M. B. Shatilov, I. A. Mikhailov, V. M. Krutovskii, and Vologodskii), the chairman of the Siberian Regional Duma, I. A. Iakushev, and the WSC's administrative secretary, G. K. Guins. Vologodskii was appointed chairman of the Council of Ministers in the new government, which immediately took over authority from the WSC. Vologodskii noted in his diary that day: "Everything went smoothly and painlessly."⁷⁷ This was not entirely true, for at least at some point the WSC had considered handing over power to its political twin—the SR-dominated Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly (Komuch), which since its formation in Samara in June 1918 had "the strongest lawful claim to power as the political successor of the disbanded All-Russian Constituent Assembly."⁷⁸

As expected, Vologodskii's government was more politically balanced than Derber's. Some of its leading personalities, particularly Vologodskii and the former SR I. A. Mikhailov, enjoyed a reputation for being first and foremost pragmatic politicians who stood largely above the fray of party politics. It was particularly important that the new government inspired confidence among the ranks of the moderate regionalists,

Kadets, and propertied classes in general, because the Siberian political establishment was gradually becoming "Kadet-ized" (*kadetizirovat'sia*), with Vologodskii personifying the process.⁷⁹ The PSG chose Omsk as its capital. It was here that Vologodskii would carry out most of his work as Siberian premier, spend the most intense seventeen months of his life, and produce one of the most vivid and detailed personal records of White Siberia.

In contrast to the quiet but traditionally more cultural Tomsk, the seat of the new government was by reputation the busy, dry, and "dusty center of the old Tsarist bureaucracy" with a disproportionally large military garrison and an army of civil servants.⁸⁰ The transformation of Omsk into the capital of the newly established regime and the military center of the White movement in the East brought in still more civil and military officials. One Omsk entrepreneur later recalled that the influx of people from all over Russia was truly extraordinary: "All private houses and apartments were crowded. For the quartering of numerous ministries and every kind of governmental offices, which in their number and organization and staffs quite corresponded to the `All-Russian` Government, not only were all former government buildings occupied, but also all school buildings, courts, etc. were used."⁸¹ Omsk swarmed with politicians, industrialists, merchants, army officers, and anyone else committed to establishing a base from which to overthrow Bolshevism throughout Russia.⁸² Everything relating to "White Siberia" now revolved around Omsk. All military and civil policies, all appointments and lucrative government contracts were decided upon here. Unavoidably, intrigues flourished and, as Norman Pereira explains, these intrigues "involved virtually everyone, from the lowest yard-keeper (*dvornik*) to the highest government minister. It was no secret that among those championing the military ideal most vigorously were profiteers. The Wild East atmosphere encouraged political opportunism and naked self-promotion. It also made possible the meteoric rise of political fortunes."⁸³ A sense of this unpleasant, overheated atmosphere in which Vologodskii set to work permeates the pages of the diary from the period.

In spite of his leading position in the Omsk government and the major role he was destined to play in Siberian politics during the Civil War, Vologodskii has thus far received very

little attention in the historical literature. In part, this can be attributed to the fact that no researcher has ever had access to the full text of his diary.⁸⁴ Perhaps this also explains why historians have tended to find Vologodskii so poorly suited to handling the complexities facing the Omsk regime. As a premier, he has often been criticized as too "passive," a man "easily swayed by those surrounding him."⁸⁵ Susan Zayer Rupp suggests that "the presence of a person like Vologodskii in the leadership of a government could only handicap it." Even his character is found lacking; thus in her rendering, Vologodskii "was an individual of nervous temperament, at times prone to hysteria."⁸⁶ Pereira offers a somewhat similar portrayal. Relying on the testimony of one of Vologodskii's personal antagonists, he writes that the prime minister "suffered from a hypochondria that frequently prevented him from doing anything more taxing than pursuing his passion for playing cards."⁸⁷ V. M. Krutovskii, a colleague of Vologodskii's in the PSG, and not one of his close supporters, provided a different and perhaps more balanced picture: "Vologodskii's group [in the PSG] did not fall under anyone's influence. Vologodskii was a very gentle man, with a very proper character. But he was not the sort to compromise his convictions and subordinate himself to outside influence."⁸⁸ Admittedly, a cursory look at certain entries from the diary might seem to confirm some of the more unfavorable descriptions of his character. Vologodskii had numerous weaknesses, of which he was well aware: he conceded that he lacked the energy and political will to become a major political force in his own right, he often admits to being tired, ill, or exhausted. And he does appear to bow to political pressure other individuals or groups exert on him. But these first impressions are not borne out by a closer analysis of his tenure as chairman of the Council of Ministers in the PSG, which reveals a substantial degree of independence, integrity, and decisiveness on his part. He was a savvy, firm, and far-sighted politician able to prioritize the government's multifarious problems and focus his efforts toward solving the most important of them. First in line was to secure recognition for the PSG as the sole legitimate and unified authority for the whole of Siberia and the Russian Far East. Second was to mold the new Siberian government into an All-Russian body that could serve as a platform from which to launch a nationwide struggle against the Bolsheviks. The PSG's principal slogan,

"From autonomous Siberia to the revival of a free Russia," mirrored Vologodskii's own views.

It would not be fair to say, however, that Vologodskii betrayed his regionalist ideals in the process. Being a pragmatic politician (but not a "pragmatic careerist," to borrow Pereira's phrase), Vologodskii understood that he must to some degree sacrifice his regionalist principles if he was to secure the support of the financial and industrial elites, as well as the influential Siberian Kadets led by V. A. Zhardetskii.⁸⁹ In the summer of 1918, the civil war was just gathering momentum, and it was hardly the time for the Siberian government, which had to navigate a myriad of complex political, social, economic, and ethnic interests, to insist upon an immediate and permanent resolution of the age-old question of Siberian autonomy. Regionalist ideals were, so to speak, the proper ballast to jettison. Given the nature and political composition of the White movement in the East, the white and green flag of the regionalists could not have become the unifying banner of the disparate anti-Bolshevik forces.

On July 4, 1918, the PGS issued a declaration of Siberian independence from European Russia until such time as its territory was cleared of Bolshevik and German occupation. This first important statement by the new Siberian government was not necessarily a reflection of its regionalist sentiment. It seems rather to have been a political decision aimed at solidifying the PSG's control over Siberia and the Russian Far East. To this end, the declaration insisted that the Omsk government possessed exclusive authority over this enormous territory, that it was to act as a sovereign state in relation to foreign powers, and that it "together with the Siberian Regional Duma [was] responsible for Siberia's fate."⁹⁰ Clearly, such a bold proclamation presented an open challenge to other anti-Bolshevik governments aspiring to sovereignty in the region, especially to the few remaining members of Derber's PGAS in Vladivostok and to the more conservative Business Cabinet (*Delovoi kabinet*) of General D. L. Khorvat, the chief Manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Harbin. Indeed, only a few days after the July 4 declaration, General Khorvat responded by proclaiming himself the provisional supreme ruler of Russia.

Following the declaration of Siberian independence, the new Omsk leadership began energetically setting up its

administrative apparatus and addressing the immediate political and economic consequences of the previous year. They reversed nearly everything the Bolsheviks had perpetrated, annulling all Soviet decrees and banning all Soviet organizations, including the factory committees. Trade unions were permitted to function but were forbidden any direct political role. The railroads were militarized, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its local military commandants were given the authority to impose martial law if they judged the new political regime and "public safety" to be in danger.⁹¹

All industries and confiscated lands were returned to their former owners, though the peasants were allowed to gather the 1918 harvest of crops they had raised on the expropriated lands. The main idea behind these restitutions was not to reward the wealthy at the expense of "antagonizing the democrats and the peasants," as some historians have argued.⁹² Vologodskii, who took personal responsibility for all major PSG decisions and policies, even presenting them personally to the public, was driven by considerations of a more legal nature. To him, the restitution of property rights meant the reimposition of legal order, which the Bolsheviks and the revolutionary excesses they inspired had destroyed. In his view any government was above all obliged to restore legal continuity and uphold the rule of law.

These and other similar measures taken by the PSG naturally pleased the propertied and moderate elements of Siberian society. But Vologodskii and the other members of his still predominantly socialist government claimed they were not betraying the lower classes in the process. In eradicating all traces of Bolshevik rule, they intended every social group to benefit. Indeed, in economic and social matters, as in the sphere of high politics, Vologodskii's government was trying to take a supra-class, supra-party approach. They sought to be a government for all Siberia.

The economic program Vologodskii announced at the August 15 opening of the Siberian Regional Duma in Tomsk was designed to accommodate the interests of every group. The program declared its support for a market-oriented economy, free trade, and denationalization of industry, and promised subsidies for reprivatized enterprises. The government was to refrain from any interference in the economy, with the exception of combating speculation. In addition, it undertook to renew and extend the Siberian railway network, which was

considered fundamental to the economic health of the entire region. The premier also used the occasion to propose measures for improving the working conditions in factories and shops, and to form a special commission to study the conditions of factory workers. In Vologodskii's opinion, only such a combination of measures would offer the broad Siberian public with a viable alternative to Bolshevik-controlled European Russia.⁹³

A crucial first step taken by Premier Vologodskii toward securing recognition of the PSG's authority was a diplomatic mission he and some of his leading ministers conducted to the Far East from September 8 to October 18, 1918. The mission had three major aims: (1) to persuade the Derber group in Vladivostok to renounce its governmental claims, (2) to subordinate General Khorvat and his Business Cabinet to the PSG, and (3) to secure diplomatic recognition and financial and military assistance from the Allies. Vologodskii in his diary provides ample detail about the nature and participants of this largely successful mission, though he says little about the workings or features of his overall political strategy.

During this long and exhaustive mission—from Omsk to Chita to Harbin to Vladivostok—which included meetings with such diverse figures as the unruly Cossack ataman G. M. Semenov, the socialists from the Derber government, the conservative General Khorvat, and British High Commissioner to Siberia Sir Charles Eliot, it was Vologodskii who set the tone in most of the negotiations. In some cases, he demonstrated a strong and uncompromising will, as on the question of liquidating Derber's government; at other times he displayed a gift for compromise, as when persuading General Khorvat to recognize the supreme authority of the PSG in exchange for naming the old general the PSG's Viceroy to the Far East and promising high-ranking posts in the Omsk government to several members of his Business Cabinet. Thus in a remarkably short time Vologodskii was able to subdue his two chief rivals and secure their pledges of loyalty to the PSG.

The Far East mission also bore fruit in the realm of international diplomacy. At a meeting in Harbin, Sir Charles Eliot assured Vologodskii that the British government was satisfied with the PSG's efforts to establish a strong and united regime in Siberia, and held out the possibility of official recognition for the Omsk government in the near future.⁹⁴ At a

meeting in Harbin with the head of Japan's diplomatic mission to Siberia, Count Tsuneo Matsudaira, the two discussed plans for joint actions against the Bolsheviks in Siberia, including Japanese military intervention.⁹⁵

Perhaps the most important immediate dividend of the Far East trip was Vologodskii's reinforced confidence in the authority of the PSG and in his own premiership. This confidence, in turn, affected the tactics employed by the PSG delegation a thousand miles away at the Ufa State Conference, which met September 8–23, 1918, to form an All-Russian government to replace the many regional governments that had emerged in previous months in Siberia, the Urals, and the Volga region. At the time the conference opened, Vologodskii was already on his way to the Far East, and, if we were to judge only from his diary entries, it would seem that he was not particularly caught up in the heated political discussions going on there. Other sources reveal the degree to which the State Conference in fact preoccupied him. His instructions to the head of the PSG delegation in Ufa, I. I. Serebrennikov, testify to his desire to see a strong, unified, and independent all-Russian government emerge from the conference.

In these instructions Vologodskii outlined his insistence that “the All-Russian government [*vserossiiskaia vlast'*] be organized along the lines of a directory with no more than five members.” Second, it was to be held accountable “only to a future Constituent Assembly. Until such a national body could be formed, the All-Russian government [to be created at the Ufa State Conference] should be irremovable.” Third, “the government now formed [at Ufa] must be firm, solid, and strong. It should fight as one towards the goal of resurrecting Great Russia [*Velikuiu Rossiю*] and resuming the struggle with the Allies against the Austro-German coalition.”⁹⁶ Inspired, it would seem, by the success of his diplomacy in the Far East, Vologodskii subsequently instructed Serebrennikov to make no concessions to the Komuch and to insist that the State Conference at once create an all-Russian government in the form of a Siberian directory, and that “the existing Siberian [PSG's] ministries be converted into all-Russian ministries.”⁹⁷ It was in this spirit that on September 21 Vologodskii telegraphed his consent to the PSG's Administrative Council in Omsk, which in the absence of a majority of the Council of Ministers assumed full governmental authority, to the prorogation of the Siberian Regional Duma.⁹⁸

Vologodskii's strategy might ultimately have succeeded had not the disturbing news of the notorious "Novoselov Incident" reached Ufa just as the State Conference was coming to its conclusion. On September 22, one of Derber's ministers, A. E. Novoselov, was murdered by Cossacks in Omsk, and several high-ranking socialist politicians, including Iakushev and two PSG ministers, Krutovskii and Shatilov, were arrested on the orders of their right-wing colleague I. A. Mikhailov. According to Serebrennikov, these developments compelled his delegation to compromise with the largely socialist Conference, though apparently not to abandon their pursuit of Vologodskii's instructions altogether.⁹⁹ On September 23, a five-man All-Russian Directory was formed. Its chief competitor for the mantle of recognition in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, the Komuch, for all practical purposes ceased to exist as a viable political force. The embryo of national power was now in place, although Vologodskii was the only Siberian member of the Directory.¹⁰⁰

We shall probably never know why Vologodskii chose not to elaborate on his political tactics or certain details of his Far East trip in the diary; however, two plausible reasons can be suggested here. First, it should be borne in mind that the Siberian premier was keeping his diary at least in part with an eye to posterity. He would not want to appear beholden to foreign powers, for as he was intensively developing contacts with the Allied and Japanese representatives in Harbin and Vladivostok, his plenipotentiaries in Ufa were negotiating on the form and composition of the future All-Russian government. Second, he would clearly have preferred not to reveal his intention to usurp an all-Russian administration for the sake of the Siberian government, which would be seen in some way responsible in the event of the Directory's collapse or the downfall of the anti-Bolshevik movement in Siberia.

The diary makes clear that Vologodskii was pleased with the overall results of his mission. Setting off for Omsk from Vladivostok on the night of October 9, he noted that although "[the mission] did not satisfy the democrats [that is, the left wing of the PSG]," his delegation was able to complete "a difficult and important work *po gosudarstvennomu stroitel'stvu*."¹⁰¹ The day after his return to Omsk, on October 19, Vologodskii gave his first official report to a meeting of the Directory that only ten days before had moved its base of

operations there from Ufa. After highlighting his chief accomplishments—the disbanding of Derber's and General Khorvat's governments, and securing the promise of foreign financial and military aid—no one present could doubt who now held the reins of power. In the ensuing negotiations between the Directory and the PSG on the formation of a Council of Ministers for the Directory acceptable to both sides, Vologodskii served as an essential connecting link between the two bodies. In the end, he was able to convince his colleagues in the Directory to hand over power to a single all-Russian government, and, lacking their own administrative structure, to adopt the existing PSG apparatus. On November 4, 1918, the Directory officially announced the formation of the Provisional All-Russian Government (PARG), with Vologodskii as its chief executive.¹⁰²

In assessing Vologodskii's tenure as head of the PSG, the Novosibirsk historian M. V. Shilovskii recently concluded that he “managed to steer his government through all the watersheds of 1918, to overcome competition from the Komuch and the ‘Business’ Cabinet of General D. L. Khorvat, to secure the support of the Allies; he first neutralized and then did away with the Siberian Regional Duma; and after the Ufa State Conference formed the Directory he persuaded its members to recognize the Provisional Siberian Government as the All-Russian authority.”¹⁰³ Vologodskii himself summed up the work of the PSG in a retrospective interview given to the Omsk newspaper *Zaria* in January 1919. Not without a hint of satisfaction, he praised the government for consistently pursuing the most important tasks set before it. It had attended to the reestablishment of civil administration at the central and local levels, and to economic and financial affairs. It had put an end to the interference of workers' and peasants' organizations in politics. Yet he also acknowledged the division within the PSG that had quickly split it into two rival groups. The group on the left included proponents of PSG accountability to the Siberian Regional Duma. Those on the right, Vologodskii among them, insisted on the PSG retaining full sovereignty.¹⁰⁴ The clash between the government and the Duma mirrored the growing tension between the non-socialist and military groupings on the one hand and the SRs on the other. The crisis came to a head in late September 1918, and ended in a victory for the right wing, led by I. A. Mikhailov.

In the same *Zaria* interview, the Siberian premier revealed his own attitude toward the fate of the Directory. Even though the political composition of the Directory was more balanced than the PSG, the constant absence from Omsk of some of its members made the new national government practically immobile. Equally fatal to the Directory, Vologodskii said, was its tendency to conduct itself as "a collective monarch."¹⁰⁵ In the end, the Directory collapsed after its guiding principle, the SR notion of an all-socialist anti-Bolshevik coalition, became obsolete. The preference of the upper layers of Siberian society was leaning increasingly toward military dictatorship.

The November 18, 1918, coup d'état in Omsk that resulted in the dissolution of the Directory and establishment of a military dictatorship under Admiral A. V. Kolchak as Supreme Ruler of Russia marked a new period in the history of the anti-Bolshevik movement in the East, and in Vologodskii's own political career. Following the coup, the Directory's Council of Ministers under Vologodskii's chairmanship was renamed the Provisional Russian Government (PRG). While continuing to oversee civil matters, it was compelled to grant Kolchak unlimited authority in conducting the war. The organizers of what became known as the Kolchak or Omsk coup were conservative politicians and military officers in Omsk who hoped by means of a dictatorship to create a strong centralized authority that could unify around it those territories liberated from the Bolsheviks. Contrary to these expectations, however, the imposition of a military dictatorship had grave implications for the future of White Siberia. Not only did the coup undermine the achievements of the PSG in strengthening the civil administration and the development of institutions of local self-government, the establishment of a dictatorship reinforced the argument used by the Bolshevik agitators that the Whites were attempting to restore the monarchy. The military coup inevitably narrowed the Omsk regime's social and political base of support and created new enemies, including a sizable number of Siberian SRs, Mensheviks, and even some regionalists. A strong, third contender for power thus emerged in the East, which would fight not only the Bolsheviks but against Kolchak as well. The coup had even wider consequences. It eventually cooled the Allies' sentiments for the White movement and prompted the Czechs to leave the Siberian front.¹⁰⁶

Kolchak's coup and subsequent reorganization of the government put Vologodskii in a difficult position. As a lawyer and lifelong democrat, he ought to have spoken up or even resigned in protest against the overthrow of the Directory, which, unlike the Kolchak regime, could claim at least some semblance of legitimacy. After all, members of the Constituent Assembly had participated in its formation, as had various regional governments and political groupings. The new Omsk regime could not point to anything similar. Its sole appeal to legitimacy was the continued presence of Vologodskii as chairman of the Council of Ministers. As Jonathan Smele points out, "However tenuously, Kolchak was aware that Vologodskii's political lineage could be traced back to the Siberian Government elected at Tomsk in January 1918 and to the (indirect) popular mandate of the *Sibobduma* [Siberian Regional Duma]." ¹⁰⁷ Perhaps it was this continuity and symbolism associated with Vologodskii's name that best explains his political longevity in the Kolchak government, a tenure lasting virtually until its collapse. ¹⁰⁸ As a pragmatic and conscientious politician, Vologodskii must have sensed that he shared some of the responsibility for Kolchak's ascendancy, and thus felt obliged to stay on. As the diary shows, he acquiesced in the Kolchak coup and remained in power. But from that moment to the end of his days he was stuck with the label "Kolchakist" (*kolchakovets*), making him an object of continuous mockery and condemnation from old as well as new adversaries, both in Russia and later in exile.

Contrary to some assertions in the memoir and historical literature, Vologodskii's decision to stay on in the Kolchak government does not necessarily implicate him in the preparations that led to the overthrow of the Directory. ¹⁰⁹ No reliable evidence links him to the conspiracy in any way, not even in the sense of his having been informed of it in advance; nor does the diary raise any suspicions in this direction. To be sure, Vologodskii fully understood the delicacy of his position after November 18; the diary provides a compelling account of the moral torment he underwent for betraying his oath to support the Directory. He even made efforts to explain himself publicly. In a widely circulated newspaper interview in January 1919, he confessed to enervation after the coup and claimed to have initially refused to remain in the cabinet. ¹¹⁰ Only after his colleagues' repeated entreaties did he change his mind: members of the cabinet, he said, told him that his "resignation

would be interpreted as a change in the Council of Minister's political course, which would benefit extremists on both the right and the left" and that his absence would undermine the prestige of the Omsk government "in the eyes of the Allies."¹¹¹ In the same interview Vologodskii also hastened to assure his fellow Siberians that he would remain true to his democratic and regionalist ideals and was anxiously "longing for the moment when a National [Constituent] Assembly would be elected to determine the future form of government of great Russia and Siberia, which is so dear and close to my heart." It would be difficult to guess at how credible such assurances appeared to the Siberian public at the time.

Certainly Vologodskii's role changed markedly under the new regime. Before the coup he had been the *primus inter pares*, but now his premiership was subordinate to the Supreme Ruler; and the structure of the government and its *modus operandi* had changed also. Under the new power arrangement, known as the Act of Provisional Governmental Organization in Russia, decisions on civil matters still required the approval of the Council of Ministers, yet with Kolchak spending much of his time at the front, and being in any case uninterested in administrative details, decisions fell more and more to a small circle of his close advisers, divided between the five-member Council of the Supreme Ruler and an even smaller informal inner cabinet, a *Kichenkabinett* of sorts.¹¹²

Reappointments within the Council of Ministers also fell outside the authority of Vologodskii and his group. The composition of the cabinet became noticeably more right wing, and younger. At age fifty-six, Vologodskii already belonged to the older generation of politicians. The initiative, as well as influence, was passing to young, energetic, and ambitious ministers like I. A. Mikhailov (Finance), G. G. Telberg (Justice), and I. I. Sukin (Foreign Affairs). The number of Siberians in the cabinet also steadily dwindled, replaced by nationally known politicians, primarily Kadets. By November 1919, fewer than half of the ministers were Siberians, and seven of fifteen were Kadets.¹¹³ Under these circumstances Vologodskii's influence within the leadership of the Kolchak regime inevitably faded, all the more so as he was often ill. The shifting composition of the cabinet hampered any solution to the complex problems facing his government. Nevertheless, it would be an oversimplification to suggest, as does the British historian

Smele, that the “passive” and “patently inept” Vologodskii “seemed quite incapable of halting the slide into the chaos characteristic of governmental affairs by the middle of 1919.”¹¹⁴ It is not at all obvious that some other, stronger personality could have prevented this slide. The causes underlying the crisis of the Kolchak regime, as Smele himself so convincingly demonstrates, were too deep and too complex for any civilian premier to cope with while working in a milieu increasingly dominated by the military.

During his tenure in the PRG, Vologodskii frequently spoke out against the military authorities' increasing use of force and extralegal methods of administration, and he continued to press for the concentration of power in the hands of a civilian administration, except in matters directly related to military operations. In December 1918, for instance, in an interview he gave to a Tomsk newspaper, Premier Vologodskii declared that “currently the country is governed by excessive measures. This cannot go on for long. It demoralizes the population and undermines their trust in the government. One cannot restore order through whippings and executions.”¹¹⁵ In November 1919, in one of his last exchanges with Kolchak by direct wire, the distressed premier urged the supreme ruler to “put an end to the arbitrary actions of certain military commanders!”¹¹⁶

Considering the level of resistance Vologodskii faced from military officials and the rivalry between ministerial factions in the PRG, it is remarkable that he managed to accomplish anything at all during this period. The diary makes clear that in spite of continuing complaints of fatigue and poor health, in some areas he was an effective, perhaps even successful premier. He was responsible for significant improvements in judicial institutions and local administration, deserving credit for the creation of the Ruling Senate as the Kolchak regime's highest court and organ of administrative oversight, and for facilitating the channeling of wider prerogatives to local and territorial organs of self-government.¹¹⁷ Anxious to preserve a record for posterity, Vologodskii devoted a lengthy, almost transcript-style diary entry to a special session of the cabinet that discussed the Ministry of Justice's proposal to broaden the powers of the zemstvo and town administrations. As the diary details, it was “a great parliamentary day” for Vologodskii, who played a decisive role in approving the measure.¹¹⁸ At the same time, he failed to halt the extraordinary swelling of the ranks of officialdom in Omsk, which by then had reached truly

all-Russian proportions. He must also share responsibility for the relentless in-fighting between the various ministerial factions in the government, which at several points during the summer and autumn of 1919 brought its civilian side to a state of virtual paralysis.

In his role as chairman of the Council of Ministers, Vologodskii devoted most of his time to matters of high politics and to the strengthening of state authority and its institutions. But he also had to attend to such other pressing matters as the economy, finance, and the agrarian situation. His government ultimately accomplished very little in these important spheres, which may account in part for scarce mention of them in the pages of the diary. Although the Provisional Russian Government's general line on economic policy differed little from that of its predecessor, it was more aggressive in courting the various professional public organizations for assistance in reviving the Siberian economy. In June 1919 the government convened the State Economic Conference in Omsk, inviting representatives of moderate and conservative political organizations, cooperatives, zemstvos and town unions, professional, commercial, and financial organizations from all over Siberia. Vologodskii attached great significance to this forum, and in his opening remarks he urged the delegates to work together with the government in shaping a program that could meet the priorities of the moment: the supply of the army, denationalization of industry, introduction of a sound monetary policy, and a reform of the tax system.¹¹⁹ In practice, only the last of these challenges was ever met. The government failed to reduce the huge budget deficit and was forced to print money at a destructive rate.¹²⁰ Though the standard of living in Siberia did not sink to the same depths as in European Russia, which had been ruined by the First World War, Bolshevik requisitioning, and the Civil War, it nevertheless remained very low. In the end, the Omsk regime proved unable to overcome the economic hardships it had inherited from the Bolsheviks. The imperative of supplying the army undermined all attempts to revive the economy.¹²¹

In spite of an honest effort, the PRG also failed to make much progress on the agrarian problem. Vologodskii, who since his youth had been interested in questions of peasant landholding and agriculture in Siberia, played a noticeable role in the attempt. Because the Supreme Ruler was asserting his

authority over all Russia, the agrarian problem was far more complex for the Kolchak regime than it had been for the PSG. As Kolchak's troops moved westward, it was incumbent on Vologodskii's cabinet to declare some position regarding the private lands peasants had expropriated in European Russia in the course of the agrarian revolution of 1917–1918 (in Siberia, owing to the paucity of private landowners there before 1917, the issue was nearly moot).¹²² The position Vologodskii took on this issue during the crucial months in the spring and summer of 1919 proved very important. While shrinking from the kind of radical stance characteristic of the essentially SR-inspired agrarian policy of the Omsk government, Premier Vologodskii insisted on the gradual liquidation of gentry latifundia and supported the temporary rights of peasants to gather the harvest from the lands they had seized and then worked.¹²³ Among the few tangible results in rural policy achieved by the PRG, the abrogation of food requisitioning, partial restoration of a market economy, and lowering of tax collections from the peasantry should be mentioned.

But the overall agrarian policy of the Omsk government never gave proper consideration to the deep social and material divides that existed within the Siberian peasantry. It ignored, for example, differences between Stolypin reform homesteaders and peasant villages holding large amounts of land on a communal basis. The PRG did not manage to control widespread speculation, or stop the army from unlawfully seizing food, fodder, and horses from villages. These seizures in particular turned the peasantry away from the Kolchak regime and eventually drove them to open revolt.¹²⁴ Vologodskii understood the social-economic characteristics of the Siberian peasantry and was well aware of the ongoing injustices the army was perpetrating. He protested, but was unable to control the situation. Further confounding his efforts in rural policy was a wave of peasant migration into Siberia that began in the middle of 1918.¹²⁵

Another important aspect of Vologodskii's work as premier that he rarely discusses in the diary is the continued efforts of the PRG to secure diplomatic recognition from the Allies. The available documents confirm that Vologodskii was actively engaged in this area. Almost daily he spent time familiarizing himself with incoming diplomatic correspondences from the PRG's representatives abroad, putting his signature on all manner of outgoing policy directives. During the Paris Peace

Conference, for example, he insisted that the Russian representatives inform him personally in addition to making their regular reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹²⁶ Though not an experienced diplomat, Vologodskii proved himself to be fairly astute in matters of international diplomacy. A telling illustration is his restrained position concerning the relations of his Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Japan. In his opinion, the pursued policy of maneuvering between the United States and Japan could not bring lasting benefits to his government: "America does not want to be drawn into any complications because of Russia. In order to avoid a possible conflict with Japan, they will keep their distance from us."¹²⁷

Given the brief existence of the Omsk regime and the subsequent fate of the anti-Bolshevik movement as a whole, one cannot easily assess Vologodskii's overall performance in the sphere of foreign affairs. In fairness, he lacked the technical means to guide his government's foreign policy effectively; reports from his representatives in Europe reached Omsk only after long delays, sometimes as late as three months after they were sent.¹²⁸ He was only intermittently successful in smoothing over the continually arising conflicts between Allied diplomats and Russian military commanders in Siberia, and Allied military and financial aid to the Kolchak regime turned out to be woefully inadequate; formal diplomatic recognition remained an unfulfilled promise.¹²⁹ It is entirely possible that Vologodskii's sense of the unlikelihood of achieving official recognition kept him from devoting more space to foreign affairs in his diary. In the end, his most important contribution to Kolchak's foreign policy seems to be limited to his mere presence in the government, which probably helped to convince the Allies of the continuity of the Omsk regime and its basic commitment to democracy.

Other aspects of Vologodskii's activity during his tenure in power are discussed both in the diary and in the editors' commentary in sufficient detail and do not require further elaboration here. But it is worth emphasizing that Vologodskii was in a certain sense a political survivor. Through the endless crises confronting the Omsk government in 1918 and especially in 1919, he often seemed to be on the verge of losing his post, yet each time he survived, usually unscathed. The fact that he was one of only four original members of the

first Omsk government (PSG) to retain his post well into the Kolchak period speaks to this resilience and to his overall skill as a politician.

There is no denying that by agreeing to lead the Omsk government in the summer of 1918, Vologodskii knowingly became a symbol of the anti-Bolshevik movement in Siberia, and therefore he shares in responsibility for its excesses, blunders, and eventual collapse. But it can also be said that Vologodskii remained essentially loyal to his democratic and regionalist convictions, notwithstanding pressure from the military authorities and the all-pervading *atamanshchina*. His diary records the moral anguish he experienced whenever political wisdom dictated a course running counter to his convictions. Like Kolchak and some other leaders of White Siberia, Vologodskii believed that the Constituent Assembly alone should decide the future form of government in Russia; and he considered the preparation of proper elections, with a universal adult franchise, to a Siberian—and eventually an all-Russian-Constituent Assembly to be his highest political responsibility.¹³⁰ This is why when, at the end of November 1919, Kolchak finally decided to replace his “old premier” in favor of the younger and “more decisive” N. V. Pepeliaev, Vologodskii was offered the chairmanship of the commission (by that time, already ceremonial) to draft an election statute for a new Constituent Assembly.¹³¹

Throughout his political career, Vologodskii fought to instill a deep respect for law, legality, and state institutions in Siberian society. He was, of course, unable to overcome the myriad of political, social, economic, and diplomatic problems that worked against the White cause in Siberia, but this would have been true of most any other politician of the time. Beyond its own internal shortcomings, the Kolchak regime had to fight against a whole spectrum of external adversaries: from the Bolsheviks and SRs to an assortment of unruly Cossack *atamans* like Volkov, Kalmykov, Krasil’nikov, Katanaev, and Semenov. Kolchak’s weak dictatorship never commanded full obedience from its own civil authorities, let alone its military commanders.¹³²

Vologodskii’s diary indicates that he received the long-awaited news of his replacement with considerable relief.¹³³ Now he could take a relaxing stroll around Irkutsk, where the government had not long before been evacuated from Omsk, wearing “the outfit of a semi-proletarian *intelligent* (a short fur

coat and an unassuming fur hat).¹³⁴ It is hard to say whether this clothing mostly reflected his personal modesty or was part of the particular atmosphere of the twilight of White Siberia. As one contemporary noted about Irkutsk: "well-dressed people disappeared from the streets of the city. The women were all wearing headcloths and scarves, the men [wore] old coats and simple fur hats. Everything turned gray and somber."¹³⁵

Returning to private life, Vologodskii appears quickly to have lost his acute political perceptiveness. In a conversation with a Japanese military officer on December 18, 1919, he offered a surprisingly optimistic prediction that the advancing Red Army would be unlikely to move beyond Krasnoiarsk, that the Bolsheviks would not be able to hold out for long in Siberia, and that, for all the many difficulties, the situation of Pepeliaev's government was "not at all hopeless."¹³⁶ The anti-Kolchak uprising that began several days later in Irkutsk and the subsequent speedy collapse of the White regime refuted such optimism: just three weeks after his conversation with the Japanese officer, Vologodskii and a number of other former high officials from the Kolchak government were fleeing in a Japanese military train in search of safe haven for themselves and their families beyond the borders of Siberia. A new refugee period for the former Siberian premier had now begun.

On January 29, 1920, Petr Vasil'evich Vologodskii arrived in Harbin along with his wife, Sofiia Ivanovna, and their nearly seven years old daughter, Zina. Founded in 1898 by Russian engineers to serve as the transportation hub and headquarters of the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER), Harbin was located on the site of a Chinese fishing settlement along the banks of the Sungari River, a tributary of the Amur and the largest river in Manchuria. By 1903, three major rail lines radiated out from the city: northwest toward the Trans-Siberian Railway, east toward Vladivostok, and south toward Mukden and Port Arthur. In addition to Harbin and the lines themselves, the CER's authority also extended over the small settlements built along the railway and its 1,200-mile long and 50-mile wide right-of-way zone (*polosa otchuzhdeniia*). This territory soon became known as Russian Manchuria, with Harbin serving as its provincial capital.¹³⁷

By the time Vologodskii arrived, Harbin was already a booming multinational city with a population of about 300,000.¹³⁸ Almost half of the inhabitants were Russians, the

rest being mostly Chinese, though there was a sizable number of Japanese, Russian and Polish Jews, Georgians, Latvians, Ukrainians, Poles, and Armenians.¹³⁹ Between 1918 and 1922 the Russian-speaking contingent grew at a rapid rate as refugees from Siberia, the Trans-Baikal, and the Far East poured into Manchuria ahead of the White army retreat. By some accounts, more than 100,000 refugees settled in Harbin in these years.

The Russian part of the city (which included the districts of Old Harbin, New Town, and Pristan', and later those of Nakhlovka and Mojiagou) resembled any other Siberian provincial center of the time. The streets had Russian names and store signs. There were Russian-language advertisements, postal services, stores, restaurants, newspapers, churches, monasteries, schools, hospitals, banks, factories, cinemas, theaters, and even an opera house, as well as Russian political, social, scientific, charitable, and professional organizations.¹⁴⁰ More important, Russian Harbin had its own Russian administration, made up of a police force, a district court, a public prosecutor's office, an appeals court, and an elected city council.¹⁴¹ In short, by the early 1920s Harbin was the only Russian city in the world outside the Soviet Union with a population aptly described by Rosemary Quested as "the only complete multi-class European community which has ever existed in Southern or East Asia, or indeed in any part of Asia since the fall of Byzantium."¹⁴²

In terms of its general composition, the Russian population of Harbin (and, by extension, that of the right-of-way zone) was divided into two main groups. The first was that of the old residents (*starozhily*) who had arrived before 1917, and included most of the officials of the CER and the many organizations and services surrounding it, such as the railway police, military guards, and judicial functionaries; to this group can be added the small and mid-size entrepreneurs of the town, and a few representatives of various other professions. The second was the refugees. Socially and politically the refugees were a motley collection. About two-thirds of them were workers, peasants, and Cossacks, with an admixture of merchants and civil servants. Many of the remainder were professionals and intellectuals, including lawyers, teachers, doctors, engineers, scientists, journalists, and writers.¹⁴³ There were adherents to nearly all political parties and ideologies, from Bolsheviks to Monarchists and arch-Nationalists. In other

words, the Russian community in Harbin and the CER's settlements roughly paralleled that of prerevolutionary Russian society.

This was less true of Russian-speaking communities elsewhere in China, which were concentrated around the so-called "open cities" of Hankow, Shanghai, Tientsin, and the diplomatic quarter in Peking. Numbering only a few thousand in each of these cities by the early 1920s, the Russian residents there enjoyed extraterritorial rights established by Chinese-Russian agreements dating to the 1850s that put them under the jurisdiction of the local Russian consuls. The Russian concessions were also granted elected municipal councils that performed selected municipal and community, as well as charitable functions.¹⁴⁴

In March 1920, Vologodskii and his family left Harbin for Shanghai, where he hoped to earn an income from legal consultations for the growing number of Russian entrepreneurs and establishments. The reason for the move was not only Harbin's meager work prospects but also ominous rumors that former ministers of the Kolchak government residing there would soon be arrested and turned over to the Soviets to stand trial. Shanghai was a disappointment, and Vologodskii continued to rely on his savings, hoping only that Soviet power would soon collapse and he would be able to return home.¹⁴⁵

In the autumn 1920, a few months after Vologodskii had relocated yet again, this time to Tientsin, the central Chinese government, taking advantage of the absence of a major anti-Bolshevik administration in Siberia and the Far East, imposed a series of decisive measures abolishing the extraterritorial rights of Russian citizens "residing everywhere in China."¹⁴⁶ In September all Russian diplomatic representatives and the institutions belonging to them, including the consular courts, were closed, and Russian residents were placed under the jurisdiction of local Chinese authorities.¹⁴⁷ In October the CER right-of-way zone, including Harbin, with all its Russian population and administrative institutions, was transferred to the direct control of provincial Chinese officials and renamed the Special Manchurian Region of the Three Eastern Provinces (made up of Fengtien, Kirin, and Heilungkiang provinces). The Russian courts in Harbin were replaced with a specially created District Court and Judicial Chamber of the Special Manchurian Region under which Russian lawyers were still allowed to

defend their former fellow countrymen.¹⁴⁸ Over the course of the next year all other governmental services and institutions, with the exception of the Harbin Municipal Council, were either closed or, with some modifications, transferred to Chinese authority. Its turn was to come in 1926.¹⁴⁹

These were devastating blows to the whole Russian community in China, but especially to the refugees, who already were finding it difficult to make ends meet. Even before the liquidation of Russian courts Vologodskii's chances of finding some sort of steady income by practicing law had been negligible at best; now they almost completely evaporated.

Then, in the summer of 1922, Vologodskii's former colleague and friend in the Omsk government, G. K. Guins, contacted him in Peking, where Vologodskii had been living since August 1921. After considerable lobbying, Guins had managed to secure for him a fixed-term position as an agent in the Juridical Department of the CER's Main Administration in Harbin. This was not a permanent staff position and it came with an unenviable salary, but it was a lifeline for Vologodskii, who was by then almost completely worn out from repeated moves and the constant struggle to support his family on his fast-evaporating savings.

Although the CER, like other Russian establishments in China, was greatly affected by the changes of 1920 (Russian control over the railway was for all practical purposes lost, with many important offices and services taken over by the Chinese), its day-to-day operations remained largely in the hands of Russian engineers, technicians, managers, and other service personnel, and the great majority of the CER's 16,000 employees remained Russians.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the CER was still by far the largest employer in the region. It oversaw numerous repair shops and related facilities, and it owned land, health resorts, buildings, steamships, hospitals, printing houses, schools, and property all across the former right-of-way zone. No company, bank, or legal firm could hope to succeed without maintaining some sort of business relationship with the CER Administration and its offices. A variety of periodical publications depended almost entirely on subsidies from the CER, as did many educational, cultural, and charitable institutions. Finding even a temporary position in the CER's main administration thus meant attaining a status in society and securing a more or less financially adequate existence. So,

once the job came through, it took almost no time for Vologodskii and his weary family to pack their meager belongings and set out for Harbin in July of 1922.¹⁵¹

At first Harbin provided a welcome contrast to his experiences in Shanghai, Tientsin, and Peking. It seems Vologodskii even began to like the city, where many of his acquaintances and a few close friends from Siberia had also settled. His job in the Juridical Department was not particularly demanding and brought a steady, if limited, income. Slowly but surely, life was stabilizing. Vologodskii even began to take an active interest in the city's cultural and social events. He attended the theater and public lectures and occasionally relaxed over a game of billiards or a day at the horse races. As before, he continued to pay close attention to events in Soviet Russia, and still refused to believe in the longevity of the Bolshevik regime. Almost any unsubstantiated rumor or newspaper article about a change in the Kremlin leadership or an uprising against Bolshevik rule somewhere inside the USSR (and there was no lack of them in these years) lifted his spirits from the depression induced by years of refugee existence and raised his hopes of returning to Siberia soon. Vologodskii also tried to follow the ongoing rivalry between different Chinese military cliques struggling for control over the central government in Peking.¹⁵² Notwithstanding the dramatically changed circumstances of his life and the turmoil of events surrounding him, he remained ever the chronicler, dutifully recording his impressions of these and other topics in his usual matter-of-fact style, mentioning what he saw and whom he met with. The diary rarely became a medium through which to revisit or analyze the past.

This is not to say that Vologodskii ceased thinking about the epochal events of the recent past of which he had been an observer and active participant. On the contrary, the reading lists, a habit he had kept in his youth and took up again in China, reveal a heightened interest in the last decades of the Old Regime and the Revolution, an interest shared by many of his contemporaries in emigration. He now had more time to read. By 1924, his reading list included just about every significant memoir and interpretation published at the time, ranging from S. Iu. Witte's memoir on the reign of the last three tsars to N. N. Sukhanov's *Zapiski o revoliutsii* and P. N. Miliukov's *Tri popytki*.¹⁵³ In trying to deepen his understanding

of the internal dynamics of the Russian Revolution, he sought out historical parallels in the French Revolution, as seen by a half-dozen books on the subject he read (from the French socialist leader and historian Jean Jaures to Hippolite Taine, one of the most respected authors among Vologodskii's moderate and conservative contemporaries). To supplement his modest income, but also to keep up with the flow of new literature, Vologodskii worked for some time during 1923 as a book reviewer for the Harbin moderate-liberal paper *Russkii golos*.¹⁵⁴ He also closely followed everything that was being published on the Civil War in Siberia, and in the diary he repeatedly refers to works written by several of his former colleagues.

Vologodskii's relatively peaceful period in Harbin lasted almost two years. On May 31, 1924, the central Chinese government extended formal recognition to the Soviet Union, which in turn relinquished all special privileges Russia and her citizens had enjoyed on Chinese territory. In a separate "agreement on the temporary administration of the CER," signed in Peking on the same date, the railway was declared a commercial enterprise with a joint, equal Soviet and Chinese management until such time as China would purchase it from the USSR.¹⁵⁵ In practice, this entailed the equal representation of Chinese and Soviet citizens on the CER staffs. No room would be left on the railway or in its numerous establishments for the thousands of Russian émigrés unless they received either Soviet or Chinese citizenship. Vologodskii and many of his fellow countrymen thus found themselves facing an imminent layoff.

But the country was in turmoil, with an array of rival military cliques and regional warlords controlling different spheres of influence. Under these circumstances, agreements signed in Peking did not necessarily carry much weight in Manchuria. The central government was then under the control of the Chihli clique, headed by Wu P'ei-fu, an arch-rival of the Mukden-based Fengtien clan, whose leader Marshal Chang Tso-lin held sway in Manchuria and who subsequently refused to honor the terms of the Soviet-Chinese accord.¹⁵⁶

Vologodskii's diary entries in this period reflect the unusually tense atmosphere in Harbin and the constant rumors circulating on the future status of the CER's Russian employees. Vologodskii seems to have fully expected the Mukden authorities to come to an understanding with the

Soviets, and cherished little hope of keeping his job once such an agreement was implemented.¹⁵⁷ Partly on this account he began to think about ways of preserving his diary, which by that time he certainly considered his most precious possession. He was probably influenced by the example of his former colleague in the Omsk government, Baron A. P. Budberg, whose diary was published in 1923–1924 in the *JmigrJ* journal *Arkhiv russkoi revoliutsii* in Berlin. Sometime in June 1924, encouraged by Guins and despite his earlier intention “to leave the diary unpublished so long as I remain alive,” Vologodskii decided “to prepare for publication” a portion of the diary he considered most valuable from a historical perspective.¹⁵⁸ He selected most of the entries for the period June 6, 1918, to March 21, 1920, excised “everything of a personal nature,” and had them typed out. In July 1924, he sent the edited manuscript, some 523 pages, to V. I. Gessen, the publisher of *Arkhiv russkoi revoliutsii*. Another consideration behind the decision to publish the diary had been financial: he hoped to receive an honorarium to help out his family in the event he should lose his job. However, for reasons that remain unknown, the diary was not published, and no honorarium ever materialized, either for himself or later for his family.¹⁵⁹

Vologodskii's anxieties about the impending “descent of the Bolsheviks” on the CER were soon justified. It took the Soviet diplomats almost four months to convince the defiant Manchurian marshal to honor the terms of the Soviet-Chinese treaty. On September 24, 1924, a separate agreement was signed in Mukden between the Soviets and the Autonomous Provincial Government of Three Eastern Provinces of the Republic of China. The agreement for the most part replicated all provisions of the earlier Peking accord with respect to Russian subjects working for the CER.¹⁶⁰ Within two weeks Chinese authorities arrested the CER chief manager, Russian engineer B. V. Ostroumov, and replaced him with a Soviet official, A. N. Ivanov. From the outset Ivanov announced his intention to “purge” the staffs of the railway. But because of a protest from the Chinese side, the official decree (known as Decree no. 94) on the removal of “all employees not holding citizenship of the USSR or the Republic of China” was delayed until April 1925, making it effective June 1.¹⁶¹ Vologodskii and the many Russians in Harbin who shared his predicament thus had to endure several months of helpless anticipation. The

sense of uncertainty comes through forcefully in the diary entries of this period; one gets the impression that Vologodskii had resigned himself to his fate, continuing to record what was happening around him but dispassionately, as if events could no longer have any effect on his future and financial security.

Applying for Soviet citizenship was out of the question for the former Omsk premier. As for Chinese citizenship, Vologodskii at first felt it would be inappropriate for him. He later changed his mind and put together some of the necessary paperwork, but by then his post in the Juridical Department had already been given to a Chinese lawyer. On June 4, 1925, Vologodskii and about two hundred other Russians were fired from the CER.¹⁶² This was the final straw for Vologodskii. For the next couple of months he tried to keep himself busy; he had occasional legal consultations, and he toyed with a project to open a law office in Harbin in partnership with a few old friends. His diary entries were sporadic. The last one is dated August 7, 1925. A few stylistic corrections in the most recent entries before that date suggest that he was dotting the "i"s and crossing the "t"s of his long labor. Within a few months, depressed by his hopeless position and his inability to support his family, his nerves gave way. He died on October 19, 1925, in a Red Cross hospital for the needy. The Omsk premier and Honored Citizen of Siberia (only the second to have received this title, after Potanin) was buried in Harbin's New Cemetery. A few decades later the Chinese Communists bulldozed the location and turned it into a city park.¹⁶³

By a fortunate combination of circumstances, and thanks to the efforts of Vologodskii's widow and daughter as well as several generations of librarians and archivists at the Hoover Institution, the historical document Vologodskii maintained for so long and with such devotion has survived to the present day. The authors of this introduction prepared the diary for publication "as is," just as Vologodskii's entry for June 18, 1921, would have it. Semion Lyandres compiled and edited the original texts, annotated the 1920–1925 entries, and wrote the biographical and archeographical sections of this introduction. Dietmar Wulff contributed annotations for the 1918–1919 entries and the corresponding sections of the introduction covering Vologodskii's political career during the Civil War.

Vologodskii's own corrections and notes, as well as the editors' commentary, are given as numbered footnotes. His

purely stylistic corrections are not noted. The text is printed in modern Russian orthography, but with Vologodskii's spelling and punctuation. We have left intact his double dating (in 1918), underlining, quotation marks, and peculiarities and inconsistencies in spelling some words, names, and places (the correct spelling is indicated at its first appearance). Words peculiar to the times and obsolete grammatical forms have been left also. Words Vologodskii added are signaled in footnotes. Omitted letters and obvious missing words have been corrected without indication. Illegible words are noted in arrow brackets with the number of illegible words noted: <1 nrzb.[nerazborchivo]>, for example.

Abbreviations of titles, ranks, geographical terms, and the like are spelled out in brackets. Ellipses in brackets signify gaps in the text or in a cited passage. The commentaries are included for clarification. They usually do not stray from the period described in the diary, and do not pretend to elaborate on Vologodskii's thoughts. This proviso pertains particularly to Vologodskii's little-studied "Chinese" period, Chinese domestic politics, and Chinese military conflicts of the early 1920s, which lie outside the competence of the editors of this publication. The commentaries also pass over in silence the most well known events of the period. A list of abbreviations is provided in the first volume. An expanded biographical glossary appears at the end of the second volume.

1. See, e.g.: S. P. Postnikov, ed., *Politika, ideologiya, byt i uchenye trudy russkoi emigratsii 1918–1945. Bibliografiya. Iz kataloga biblioteka R. Z. I. Arkhiva* (New York, 1993), pp. 110–148; David Arans, *How We Lost the Civil War: Bibliography of Russian Emigré Memoirs on the Russian Revolution, 1917–1921* (Newtonville, Mass., 1988), pp. 127–146; Terrence Emmons and A. G. Tartakovskii, eds., *Rossiia i rossiiskoe zarubezh'e v vospominaniakh i dnevnikakh: Annotirovannyi ukazatel' knig, zhurnal'nykh i gazetnykh publikatsii, izdannyykh za rubezhom na russkom iazyke v 1917–1991 gg.* (Moscow, forthcoming); *Istoriia sovetskogo obshchestva v vospominaniakh sovremennikov, 1917–1957. Annotirovannyi ukazatel' memuarnoi literatury* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 125–231; *Sovetskoe obshchestvo v*

vospominaniia i dnevnikakh. Annotirovannyi bibliograficheskii ukazatel' knig, publikatsii v sbornikakh i zhurnalakh, 1917–1941, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1987), pp. 265–288; *Tematicheskii ukazatel' literatury po grazhdanskoi voine. S predisloviem Filippa Anulova* (Leningrad, 1929); I. A. Kondakova, ed., *Otkrytyi arkhiv. Spravochnik opublikovannykh dokumentov po istorii Rossii XX veka iz gosudarstvennykh i semeinykh arkhivov* (Moscow, 1997); “Annotirovannyi ukazatel' materialov (po tomam),” *Minuvshee* 25 (St. Petersburg, 1999); A. I. Ushakov, *Istoriia grazhdanskoi voiny v literature russkogo zarubezh'ia* (Moscow, 1993).

2. According to Terence Emmons. See *Time of Trouble: The Diary of Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e, Moscow, July 8, 1917, to July 23, 1922*, trans., ed., introd. by Terence Emmons (Princeton, NJ., 1988), p. 6.

3. Ibid. See also, A. G. Tartakovskii, “1812 god glazami sovremennikov,” *Russkie voennye dnevnik. 1812 god. Voennye dnevnik* (Moscow, 1990), p. 5.

4. For important discussions of the differences between memoirs and diaries, see Tartakovskii, *Russkie voennye dnevnik*, pp. 5–10, and Emmons, *Time of Troubles*, pp. 6–7. See also: A. G. Tartakovskii, *Russkaia memuaristika XVIII–pervaia polovina XIX v.* (Moscow, 1991), and Peter Hattenberger, “Tagebücher,” in Bernd-A. Rusinek, Volker Ackermann, Jörg Engelbrecht, eds., *Einführung in die Interpretation historischer Quellen* (Paderborn, 1992), pp. 27–44.

5. These include: “Dnevnik barona Alekseia Budberga,” *Arkhirusskoi revoliutsii*, vol. 12: 197–290, vol. 13: 197–312, vol. 14: 225–341, vol. 15: 254–345; “N. V. Ustrialov. Belyi Omsk. Dnevnik kolchakovtza,” ed., introd. by A. V. Smolin, *Russkoe proshloe* 2 (1991): 283–338, and “N. V. Ustrialov. 1919-i god. Iz proshlogo,” ed., introd. by A. V. Smolin, *Russkoe proshloe* 4 (1993): 194–287; [V. N. Pepeliaev], “Dnevnik,” *Krasnye zori* (Irkutsk), no. 4 (1923): 79–90, no. 5 (1923): 32–50; “Razval kolchakovshchiny (iz dnevnika V. N. Pepeliaeva),” *Krasnyi arkhiv* 6 (1928): 51–80; V. G. Boldyrev, *Direktoriia, Kolchak, interenty: vospominaniia* (Novonikolaevsk,

1925). See also: Helmut Altrichter, “‘Ich bin ein Fremder.’ Zum Zerfall Russlands in Revolution und Bürgerkrieg,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 3 (1993): 661-688; *Fondy Russkogo zagranichnogo istoricheskogo arkhiva v Prage. Mezhharkhivnyi putevoditel’* (Moscow, 1999), and the exhaustive bibliography in the excellent recent studies of the civil war in the East by N. G. O. Pereira, *White Siberia: The Politics of Civil War* (Montreal, 1996); Jonathan D. Smele, *Civil War in Siberia: The Anti-Bolshevik Government of Admiral Kolchak, 1918–1920* (Cambridge, 1996); and Serge P. Petroff, *Remembering a Forgotten War: Civil War in Eastern European Russia and Siberia, 1918–1920* (Irvington, N.Y., 2000).

6. For instance, Budberg's otherwise extremely valuable diary proves less informative on the critical initial period of White Siberia. The author's presence in Omsk was limited to six months (April to October of 1919) during which he dealt directly only with Kolchak's Ministry of War. The recently published diary-memoir notes of N. V. Ustrialov, covering the period February 1919 to January 1920, share this same limitation, since the author's exposure was largely restricted to the regime's propaganda effort. Special mention should be made of one as yet unpublished diary by a major civil war figure, General N.N. Iudenich. His detailed diary for 1919 is preserved in the Bakhmeteff Archive at Columbia University.

7. In contrast to the far better documented period of Russian diaspora in China in the late 1920s through the 1940s, no substantial diary is known to these editors covering the early 1920s besides Vologodskii's.

8. Here and later we have incorporated biographical data on Vologodskii from a selection of sources, including his autobiography, composed in Harbin in the summer of 1924 (TsGIA SPb [Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Sankt-Peterburga], f. 2297, op. 1, d. 2), his published reminiscences, “Iz istorii moei zhizni,” *Russkoe obozrenie* (December 1920), pp. 98–135; an undated and unfinished section of his memoirs, “Na rasput'e,” preserved in his daughter's, Z. P. Popova (Vologodskaia), family archive (hereafter abbreviated as FA); P. V. Vologodskii's personal notebook, *Zapisnaia knizhka*, in FA; an official

biography of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Admiral Kolchak's Provisional All-Russian Government, in M. N. Penegin, ed., *Nastol'nyi kalendar' na 1919 god* (Tomsk, 1919), pp. 81–83; and a short but valuable biographical sketch of Vologodskii by M. V. Shilovskii in *Istoriia "beloi" Sibiri v litsakh* (St. Petersburg 1996), pp. 7–10.

9. "Iz istorii moei zhizni," *Russkoe obozrenie*, pp. 103–104.

10. P.V. Vologodskii had a younger sister, Pelageia (Polia). She attended the village school for a few years and after her father's death moved with her mother to Tomsk.

11. See "Iz istorii moei zhizni," pp. 114–115. Ironically enough, *Sibirskaia zhizn'* began publication on March 1, 1881, the day of Alexander II's assassination, and soon thereafter became the most influential daily in Tomsk. Initially the exiled Populists S. L. Chudnovskii and D. A. Klements took part in editorial tasks. By the 1890s, when P. V. Vologodskii became a regular contributor, the newspaper served as a mouthpiece of G. N. Potanin's regionalist circle.

12. Vologodskii, *Zapisnaia knizhka*, FA; *Iz istorii moei zhizni*, pp. 114–117.

13. Vologodskii, *Zapisnaia knizhka*; N. M. Iadrintsev, *Sibir' kak koloniia. K iubileiu trekhstotletii. Sovremennoe polozhenie Sibiri. Ee nuzhdy i potrebnosti. Ee proshloe i budushchee* (St. Petersburg, 1882). This book was published to commemorate the 300th anniversary of Russia's annexation of Siberia in 1581. For more on the early regionalists (and regionalism), see M. V. Shilovskii, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskoe dvizhenie v Sibiri vtoroi poloviny XIX–nachala XX vv. Oblastniki* (Novosibirsk, 1995).

14. For a brief but useful discussion of Siberian regionalism as an important current of modern Russian political thought, see S. V. Utechin, *Russian Political Thought: A Concise History* (London, 1963), pp. 151–152. See also: Wolfgang Faust, *Russlands Goldener Boden: Der sibirische Regionalismus in der zweiten H@lfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1980); Anthony P. Allison, "Siberian

Regionalism in Revolution and Civil War, 1917–1920,” *Siberica* (Summer 1990): 81–95; M. V. Shilovskii, “Sibirskie oblastniki v 1917 g.: K istoriografii problemy,” *Istoricheskaiia nauka na rubezhe vekov* (Tomsk, 1999), pp. 88–99; G. Gins, “Sibirskoe oblastnichestvo,” *Vozrozhdenie*, no. 11 (September–October 1950): 144–150; Stephen Watrous, “The Regionalist Conception of Siberia, 1860 to 1920,” in Galya Diment and Yuri Slezkine, eds., *Between Heaven and Hell: The Myth of Siberia in Russian Culture* (New York, 1993), pp. 113–132; Norman G. Pereira, “The Idea of Siberian Regionalism in Late Imperial and Revolutionary Russia,” *Russian History* 20, nos. 1–4 (1993): 163–178.

15. See Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, pp. 45–47.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 17, 53.

17. TsGIA SPb, f. 2297, op. 1, d. 3, l. 39; I. I. Serebrennikov, “O sibirskikh oblastnikakh,” *Zaria*, June 15, 1941, p. 2.

18. Before taking the job at the Provincial Court, Vologodskii lived for a brief time in the fall of 1887 in Irkutsk, where he assisted Iadrintsev in establishing his *Vostochnoe obozrenie*, which had just been relocated there from St. Petersburg.

19. Vologodskii's letter to the rector of Khar'kov University, October 24, 1891, FA; TsGIA SPB, f. 2297, op. 1, d. 2; Vologodskii, *Zapisnaia knizhka*, FA. In May of 1892 he received a 2d class diploma instead of 1st class. He subsequently contested the decision, but his protests went unrecognized at the Ministry of Popular Enlightenment. See the official notification of the Ministry's Department of Higher Educational Institutions, dated April 17, 1893, no. 6903, FA. Significantly, by receiving a 2d instead of the 1st class degree a civil servant would automatically receive a lower rank. In this case, a 2d class degree corresponded to a rank of 12, a Provincial Secretary (*gubernskii sekretar'*), whereas a 1st class degree conferred a higher 10th rank of a Collegiate Secretary (*kollezhskii sekretar'*).

20. Vologodskii, *Na rasput'e*, p. 35a. FA. Unfortunately, the lists of Vologodskii's reading material end with his appointment in Omsk, thus eliminating a valuable source of insight into his evolving thoughts and interests. The reading lists resume only after he settled in China in 1920.

21. TsGIA SPb, f. 2297, op. 1, d. 2, l. 9ob., d. 15, ll. 3, 5.

22. By this time he had attained the rank of Collegiate Secretary (*kollezhskii sekretar'*, the 10th rank on the Table of Ranks), and held the Order of Saint Stanislav, 3d class.

23. The Tomsk Judicial District was within the jurisdiction of the Omsk Judicial Chamber and its District.

24. On Vologodskii's participation in the court hearings concerning the causes of the Tomsk pogrom, see *Delo o pogrome v g. Tomske. Otchet o sudebnom zasedanii Tomskego okružhnogo suda* (Tomsk, 1909).

25. M. V. Shilovskii, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskoe dvizhenie v Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine XIX–nachale XX vv. Liberaly* (Novosibirsk, 1995), p. 33. In his unfinished autobiographical sketch, Vologodskii stated that certain unnamed “personal reasons” prevented him from participating further in the selection of deputies to the First Duma. TsGIA SPb, f. 2207, op. 1, d. 2.

26. A citation from a missive of the Tomsk Gendarme Department, dated March 12, 1913, on Vologodskii, surveying his political activity since 1900. FA; Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, pp. 77–78, and *Liberaly*, p. 35. In fact, Vologodskii's anti-government activities so irked the authorities that the acting Tomsk governor-general ordered him exiled from Siberia in February 1906. Thanks to his connections among the local judicial officials, the order was soon annulled.

27. *Istoriia “beloi” Sibiri v litsakh*, p. 6; Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, pp. 71–75. During this period Vologodskii belonged to the Tomsk University's Juridical Society. In 1908 he joined the Tomsk Society for the Study of Siberia (*Obshchestvo izucheniia Sibiri*) whose membership included such future political luminaries as N. V. Nekrasov, V. I. Anuchin, M. A. Krol', and Vl. M. Krutovskii. Shilovskii, *Liberaly*, pp. 45–46.

28. See the official certification of Vologodskii's election to the State Duma, dated May 11, 1907, in FA. See also, V. P. Zinov'ev, ed. *Tomskaia oblast'. Istoricheskii ocherk*

(Tomsk, 1994), pp. 208–209. The slate of “Progressists” had no connection with the Moscow Progressist Party founded several years later, or with the Progressive group in the III and IV State Dumas. The Kadet Professor N. N. Rozin was the second deputy elected to the II Duma from Tomsk on the Progressist slate. Perhaps this can explain in part the confusion in the historical literature over Vologodskii's party affiliation. He has often been identified as a Kadet-Progressist, or simply as a Kadet, or a right-wing Kadet, or even a monarchist. See, e.g., V. V. Garmiza, *Krushenie eserovskikh pravitel'stv* (Moscow, 1970), p. 103, and “Direktsiia i Kolchak,” *Voprosy istorii*, no. 10 (1976): 26; *Grazhdanskaia voina i voennaia interentsiia v SSSR. Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 1983), p. 112; A. G. Rogachev, *Al'ternativy rossiiskoi modernizatsii: sibirskii aspekt (1917–1925 gody)* (Krasnoiarsk, 1997), p. 151.

29. TsGIA SPb, f. 2297, op. 1, d. 2. Of the twenty delegates to the II Duma from Western and Eastern Siberia, only the two from Tomsk, Vologodskii and E. F. Shishkin, failed to reach the capital before the Duma was disbanded. See Iu. P. Rodionov. “Sibirskie deputaty vo II Gosudarstvennoi dume,” *Po stranitsam istorii. Sbornik statei* (Omsk, 1996), p. 50. For more on the Siberian delegates to the II Duma, see A. A. Kuznetsov, “Sibirskie deputaty v Gosudarstvennoi dume (1906–1914)” (*Kandidatskaia* dissertation, Moscow, 1980).

30. G. K. Guins [Gins], *Sibir', soiuzniki i Kolchak. Povоротnyi moment russkoi istorii. 1918–1920 gg. (Vpechatleniia i mysli chlena Omskogo pravitel'stva)*. vol. 1 (Peking, 1921), pp. 105–106. See also, Vologodskii, *Iz istorii moei zhizni*, pp. 116, 129–132.

31. “Interv'iu s predsdatelem Soveta Ministrov P. V. Vologodskim,” *Zaria*, January 11, 1919. See also, *Sibirskaia zhizn'*, January 23, 1919; Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, p. 33, and Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, March 23, 1924.

32. *Tomskaia oblast'*, p. 181; S. P. Shvetsov, “Kul'turnoe znachenie politicheskoi ssylki v Zapadnoi Sibiri,” *Katonga i ssylka*, no. 41 (1928): 96; N. S. Tiutchev, “Poslednii iz karakozovtsev—Maksimilian Nikolaevich Zagibalov,”

Katorga i ssylka, no. 10 (1924): 209. At about the same time a subset of so-called SR regionalists emerged from within the regionalist ranks, which also included a number of Vologodskii's future colleagues in White Siberia, among them V. I. Anuchin, M. B. Shatilov, and A. N. Shpitsyn. See V. M. Shilovskii, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskoe dvizhenie v Sibiri vtoroi poloviny XIX– nachala XX vv. Sotsialisty-revoliutsionery* (Novosibirsk, 1996), pp. 10–13, 22, 33–34.

33. Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, March 23, 1924.

34. *Istoriia “beloi” Sibiri v litsakh*, p. 8. The Soviet historian S. G. Livshits is mistaken in saying that Vologodskii formally joined the SR party only at the end of 1917. See his “Krakh `Vremennogo pravitel’sstva avtonomnoi Sibiri,” *Voprosy istorii*, no. 8 (1978): 88. The same political transformation happened with another prominent regionalist and sometime SR, I. I. Serebrennikov. Once he realized the serious divergences between the nationally oriented politics of the SR leaders and the Siberian concerns of the regionalists, Serebrennikov left the SR party, in July 1917. See I. I. Serebrennikov, *Moi vospominaniia. V revoliutsii (1917–1919)*, vol. I (Tientsin, 1937), pp. 26–27.

35. See, e.g., Petr Vologodskii, “Vynuzhdennoe ob’iasnenie (pis’mo v redaktsiiu [Russkogo golosa]),” typescript; TsGIA SPb, f. 2297, op.1, d. 5, l. 1; and I. I. Serebrennikov, “O sibirskikh oblastnikakh,” *Zaria*, June 15, 1941.

36. *Tomskaia oblast’*, p. 229; E. L. Zubashev, “Moia komandirovka v Sibir’ (vospominaniia o fevral’skoi revoliutsii),” *Vol’naia Sibir’* (Prague), no. 2 (1927): 98; B. Gan, “Fevral’skaia revoliutsiia v Tomskoi gubernii,” *Severnaia Azia*, no. 13 (1927): 18. See also a copy of an urgent telegram dated March 6, 1917, from A. A. Baron, Voskoboinikov, and Vologodskii to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Provisional Government with a request for immediate instructions and plenipotentiary powers, FA.

37. Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, March 23, 1924; Zubashev, *Moia komandirovka v Sibir’*, p. 107.

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38. Allison, *Siberian Regionalism*, p. 81.
39. *Pravo*, nos. 27-28 (July 11, 1917): 1100; *Sibirskaia zhizn'*, August 20, 1917, p. 4. On Vologodskii's nomination for this post by his colleagues, see a telegram from Kotliarov in Omsk to Vologodskii in Tomsk, March 23, 1917, FA.
40. TsGIA SPb, f. 2297, op. 1, d. 2, ll. 9–9ob.
41. Allison, *Siberian Regionalism*, pp. 81–82; Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, pp. 104–105.
42. “Otchet o poezdke v Tomsk na Pervyi Obshchesibirskii s'ezd Predsedatelia Zemel'nogo Oblastnogo Komiteta Vologodskogo,” Coll. P. V. Vologodskii, box 1, HA. The Congress awarded Vologodskii the honorable position of chairman of the Land Committee and a seat on the Presidium of the Congress representing the Transbaikal Region.
43. Allison, *Siberian Regionalism*, p. 82; Shilovskii, “Sibirskie oblastniki v 1917 g.,” pp. 95–96, and *Oblastniki*, pp. 105–107. On Siberian Regional Congresses, see V. Vegman, “Oblastnicheskie illiuzii, rasseiannye revoliutsiei. (K istorii vozniknoveniia Sibirskoi oblastnoi dumy),” *Sibirskie ogni*, no. 23 (1923): 94–114; P. M. Razgon and M. E. Plotnikova, “G. N. Potanin v gody sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii i grazhdanskoi voiny,” *Voprosy istorii Sibiri*, vol. 2 (Omsk, 1968), pp. 142–145; Norman G. O. Pereira, “Regional Consciousness in Siberia Before and After October 1917,” *Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, no. 1 (1988): 118–119. Only about a third of the intended number of delegates took part in the Congress (182 of a planned 557); 52 percent of them were SRs, 12 percent SDs, 7 percent Popular Socialists, and 2 percent Kadets. Regionalists proper (non-party) formed a small minority, only about 4.5 percent.
44. Allison, *Siberian Regionalism*, p. 82; Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, pp. 105–107.

45. M. V. Shilovskii, "Pervyi sibirskii oblastnoi s'ezd (oktiabr' 1917 g.)," *Voprosy istorii Sibiri XX veka* (Novosibirsk, 1998), pp. 53–55.

46. See Shilovskii's "Sibirskie oblastniki v 1917 g.," p. 97, *Oblastniki*, pp. 108–109, and "Dekabr'skii (1917 g.) chrezvychainyi oblastnoi s'ezd," *Sibirskaia zaimka* (<http://www.cclib.nsu.ru>). For a slightly different sequence to the order of decisions made by the All-Siberian Extraordinary Congress, see Razgon and Plotnikova, "G. N. Potanin v gody sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii," p. 144, and Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 48. The membership of the Provisional Siberian Council included SRs P. Ia. Derber, A. E. Novoselov, M. B. Shatilov, Popular Socialist G. B. Patushinskii, and G. N. Potanin. Potanin was chosen as chairman, but soon refused the honor over disagreements with the majority of the congress on the limitation of participation in the future Duma to members of socialist parties. Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, p. 109.

47. Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, pp. 108–109; Susan Zayer Rupp, "The Struggle in the East: Opposition Politics in Siberia, 1918" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1992), pp. 125–126. As N. Pereira points out, Derber, who was only "a recent arrival from European Russia," could not claim any local loyalties "or any expertise to qualify him for the job of heading a vast regional government." Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 51.

48. "At Novo-Nicolaevsk (1918). From personal reminiscences of Mr. V. I. Moravsky," Coll. V. I. Moravsky, box 11, HA. See also, Zayer Rupp, "The Struggle in the East," pp. 125–126.

49. For an informative discussion of the origins and activities of the WSC, see S. G. Livshits, "K istorii Zapadnosibirskogo komissariata," *Uchenye zapiski Barnaul'skogo gosudarstvennogo pedinstituta* (Barnaul, 1974). See also, Nikolaus Katzer, *Die weisse Bewegung in Russland. Herrschaftsbildung, praktische Politik und politische Programmatik im Bhrgerkrieg* (Cologne/Weimar/Berlin, 1999), p. 185.

50. E. V. Lukov, "Vremennoe pravitel'stvo avtonomnoi Sibiri i ego mesto v `belom' dvizhenii na vostoke Rossii," *Istoriia "beloi" Sibiri. Tezisy nauchnoi konferentsii (7-8 fevralia 1995 g.)* (Kemerovo, 1995), pp. 19–22. Alongside such well-known Siberians as Vologodskii, G. B. Patushinskii, I.I. Serebrennikov, V. M. Krutovskii, and L. A. Ustrugov, the PGAS included a number of recent arrivals from European Russia, most notably P. Ia. Derber.

51. Katzer, *Die weisse Bewegung in Russland*, pp. 180–181.

52. The Derber's emissaries were cautioned by a French envoy in Peking that they "should not expect a recognition of the Siberian Government anytime soon . . . [and that] for the time being the Siberian Government should let its military organization take the lead." Ustrugov–Stal' to Derber–Moravskii, April 9, 1918, Coll. V. I. Moravskii, box 1, HA.

53. *Dnevnik*, June 7, 1918. There are some indications, however, that Vologodskii knew of his election to PGAS before April. See "Vremennoe pravitel'stvo avtonomnoi Sibiri," *Krasnyi arkhiv* 4, vol. 13 (1928): 98.

54. Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, June 7, 1918. In April 1918, for example, he sold his personal library to the local office of *Tsentrosoiuz*, perhaps as a preparatory step to leaving Omsk. A. K. Kas'ian, "Antinarodnaia rol' rukovoditelei kooperatsii Zapadnoi Sibiri v pervyi period Sovetskoi vlasti i grazhdanskoi voiny (dekabr' 1917–noiabr' 1919 gg.)," *Uchenye zapiski Omskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta*, vol. 15 (Omsk, 1962), p. 68. See also, Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, November 19, 1919, and June 13, 1920.

55. "Pis'mo grazhdaninu P. V. Vologodskomu iz Prezidiuma 3-go Voiskovogo kruga Sibirskogo kazach'ego voiska. April 11, 1918," FA.

56. "Protokol obyska v kvartire grazhdanina P. V. Vologodskogo" by the Omsk Revolutionary Tribunal, January 20, 1918, FA. Vologodskii's employment at

Tsentrosibir' is confirmed by the official letter of the Union's personnel department from March 6, 1918 (old style), FA. According to the Soviet historian Kas'ian, in late 1917 and early 1918 the regionalists- and SR-dominated *Tsentrosibir'* was the largest cooperative union in Siberia and the Urals, embracing over 900 cooperatives and 186,000 members. Kas'ian, "Antinarodnaia rol' rukovoditelei kooperatsii Zapadnoi Sibiri," pp. 51–73.

57. Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, June 6, 1918, June 3 1923. Vologodskii was even able to make some additional income by giving paid lectures on legal topics at the Omsk Political-Cultural Club. On March 13, 1918 (new style), for instance, he gave a lecture entitled, "The Revolutionary Tribunal as a Judicial Organ." A poster announcing the lecture is preserved in FA.

58. After a thorough examination of the pertinent archives, Tomsk historian N. S. Lar'kov has found no mention of Vologodskii in connection with the anti-Bolshevik underground. See N. S. Lar'kov, *Nachalo grazhdanskoi voiny v Sibiri* (Tomsk, 1995), pp. 105–137. On the other hand, Norman G. O. Pereira, relying on the memoirs of M. P. Golovachev, states that Vologodskii, G. B. Patushinskii, and Golovachev tried to coordinate the activity of various anti-Bolshevik groups, admitting, however, that such activity yielded no tangible results. Pereira, "Regional Consciousness in Siberia," pp. 118–119. See also, Lar'kov, "Antisovetskii perevorot v Sibiri i problema vlasti v kontse vesny–letom 1918 g.," *Gumanitarnye nauki v Sibiri. Serii: Otechestvennaia istoriia*, vol. 2 (Novosibirsk, 1996), p. 25.

59. Regarding the participation of the cooperative organizations in the financing of the anti-Bolshevik underground, see the important work of Zayer Rupp, "The Struggle in the East," pp. 125–126.

60. Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, May 24 (June 6), 1918.

61. Emmons, *Time of Troubles*, p. 3. See also, Iu. V. Got'e, *Moi zametki*, ed. by Terence Emmons and S.V. Utechin (Moscow, 1997), pp. 13–14.

62. Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, June 24, 1919. See also: *ibid.*, February 4 and July 1, 1924; P. V. Vologodskii, "Ot avtora dnevnika," July 1, 1924 [Harbin], FA.

63. Vologodskii began collecting materials for a memoir long before the revolution. Throughout his life, moreover, he kept a number of notebooks in which he made brief entries on the most important events in his life. Some of the materials he collected were lost in Irkutsk after 1919; others are preserved in TsGIA SPb, fond 2297, in State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF [Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii]), fond 193, and in FA, Castlecrag, Australia.

64. P. Vologodskii, "Iz istorii moei zhizni. Glava 1. 'Detstvo i iunost'. Glava 2. 'Universitetskie gody,'" *Russkoe obozrenie* (December 1920): 98–135. See also, *Dnevnik*, December 20, 1920, and June 19, 1921. The Family Archive also contains a typescript fragment of an unpublished third part of Vologodskii's memoirs covering the late 1880s and early 1890s, entitled, "Na rasput'e."

65. Some of Vologodskii's notes in the margins of his *Dnevnik* (such as "*primechanie avtora vospominanii*") provide further confirmation. See, e.g., *Dnevnik*, November 5 (18), 1918. Reportedly, the announcement of the forthcoming publication of Vologodskii's memoirs for the Civil War period, under the title *Iz khroniki antibol'shevistskogo dvizheniia v Sibiri*, was made in Harbin in 1924. Unfortunately, after years of searching in the libraries and archives around the world, the authors of this preface have not been able to find any other evidence that they were in fact ever published. Other historians seemed to have had better luck. They have not only located the apparently non-existing memoirs but have even managed to classify them as "authoritarian-bureaucratic," (*avtoritarno-biurokraticheskie*), setting them alongside those of G. K. Gins and M. S. Margulies. See G. A. Bordiugov, A. I. Ushakov, and V. Iu. Churakov, *Beloe delo: ideologiia, osnovy, rezhimy vlasti. Istoriograficheskie ocherki* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 118, 148.

66. A small number of these *otryvnykh pamiatnykh listkov* for September and October 1918 are preserved among Vologodskii's papers in GARF, f. 193, op. 2, d. 33. There are two kinds of these *listki*, sized 14 x 20 centimeters. One has the heading "Prisiazhnyi poverennyi Petr Vasil'evich

Vologodskii,” the other’s heading reads: “Predsedatel’ Soveta Ministrov Vremennogo Sibirskogo Pravitel’sva.”

67. See, e.g., *Dnevnik*, August 25 (September 7), 1918, and October 17, 1919.

68. Compare, e.g., the following entry in Vologodskii’s notebook with that in *Dnevnik* for the same date: “16/29 iunia 1918 g[oda] v vagon-salone Omskoi vetki na b[eregu] Irtysha ia izbran predsedelem Soveta Ministrov Vrem[ennogo] Sib[irskogo] Prav[itel’sva]” (FA), or what he wrote on one of the *otryvnye listki* on September 19, 1918: “V Nik[ol’ske] Ussur[iiskom] 19 sent[iabria]. I.A. Lavrov, gor[odskoi] Golova, preds[edatel’] Zem[skoi] Upr[avy]. Zashchita inter[esov] rabochikh ot pr[avitel’sva] Khorvata i samovlast[iia] soiznikov[.] Prizn[anie] Lavrovym Sib[irskogo] pr[avitel’s]va edinstv[enno] pravomochn[ym].” (GARF, f. 193, op. 1, d. 33, l. 2ob.). See also *Dnevnik*, entries of February 4 and April 15, 1919.

69. All changes in content as well as most significant stylistic changes made by Vologodskii to the “notebook version” of the “1918 Diary” are noted in the present publication.

70. Vologodskii’s widow, Sofiia Ivanovna (nJe Gerasimchik), sold these seven notebooks to the Hoover Library in 1933 for \$700; see Z. P. Popova (Vologodskaia) to S.M. Lyandres, July 17, 1992; Harold H. Fisher to Robert Smith, August 31, 1933, Hoover Institution Internal Records, box 43B. The “1918 Diary” and additional family documents, held by Z. P. Popova (Vologodskaia), were kindly made available to these editors during 1994–1997. It is noteworthy that in February 1933 G. K. Gins [Guins], then living in Harbin, offered the “1918 Diary,” along with autobiographical materials and some documents from the Ufa Directory and Omsk government belonging to Vologodskii, to the Hoover Library, acting through a certain Robert Smith, an American collecting historical documents for the Hoover Library in China. However, for budgetary reasons, the Library was unable to purchase the Vologodskii collection. See Hoover Institution Internal Records, Correspondence: 1933–1934, box 43B; G. K.

Guins Collection, box 1, and Robert Smith Collection, box 1, file 1, HA.

71. *Dnevnik*, July 4, 1924. At the same time, Vologodskii was well aware of some of the drawbacks of the chosen style of his entries.

72. For example, Vologodskii mentions his wife just a handful of times, and then only as “Sonia.” The same goes for his sister, “Polia” (Pelageia), and his only daughter, “Zina” (Zinaida). He provides no background information on any of them. Even Sonia's volunteer work with the wounded soldiers of the Siberian (White) army in Omsk in 1918–1919, goes unmentioned. On S. I. Vologodskaia's work in Omsk, see *Zaria*, April 2, 1919.

73. Vologodskii formally resigned as senior chairman of the Omsk Judicial Chamber only on July 1, 1918, following his appointment as chairman of the Council of Ministers in the Provisional Siberian Government. *Ukaz Vremennogo Sibirskogo Pravitel'stva po vedomstvu Ministerstva Iustitsii ot 15 iulia 1918*. FA.

74. The WSC's leaders were the SRs P. Ia. Mikhailov, B. D. Markov, M. E. Lindberg, and V. O. Sidorov.

75. Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, p. 29.

76. Ibid.; Lar'kov, *Antisovetskii perevorot v Sibiri*, p. 28.

77. *Dnevnik*, June 16 (29), 1918.

78. Pereira, *White Siberia*, pp. 67–70.

79. For more on this process of *kadetizatsii*, see Pereira, “Oblastnichestvo i gosudarstvennost' v Sibiri vo vremia grazhdanskoi voiny,” *Grazhdanskaia voina: perekrestok mnenii* (Moscow, 1994), p. 209, and Pereira, “Omsk: grazhdanskaia voina i politika antibol'shevizma,” *Rossiia v XX veke. Sud'by istoricheskoi nauki* (Moscow, 1996), p. 319.

80. Allison, *Siberian Regionalism*, p. 86.

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81. Nicholas Khrabroff, "Providence or Chance? Reminiscences," Coll. N. Khrabroff, HA. See also, Pereira, "Omsk: grazhdanskaia voina," pp. 316–317, and *White Siberia*, p. 57.
82. Allison, *Siberian Regionalism*, p. 86.
83. Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 76.
84. Pereira was apparently able to use only a small portion of the diary translated by Elena Varneck. Jonathan D. Smele mentions Vologodskii's diary once, in a reference to a passage quoted in Paul Dotsenko's memoirs. See Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 223; Paul Dotsenko, *The Struggle for a Democracy in Siberia: An Eye-Witness Account of a Contemporary, 1917–1920* (Stanford, 1983), p. 40; Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, p. 33 n. 53. See also our note to the diary entry of December 25, 1918. The diary entries covering the years Vologodskii lived in China have, for example, served as a central source in the interesting *kandidatskaia* dissertation of N. N. Ablazhei, "Emigratsiia iz vostochnykh raionov Rossii v 1920-1930-e gg." (Novosibirsk, 1997).
85. Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, pp. 140–141; Zayer Rupp, "Conflict and Crippled Compromise: Civil-War Politics in the East and the Ufa State Conference," *Russian Review* 56 (April 1997): 252. See also, Guins, *Sibir', soiuzniki i Kolchak*, part 2, p. 140.
86. See her otherwise very informative studies, "Conflict and Crippled Compromise," p. 252, and "The Struggle in the East," pp. 147–149.
87. Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 76. See also, *Istoriia "beloi" Sibiri v litsakh*, pp. 8–9.
88. Quoted in *Istoriia "beloi" Sibiri v litsakh*, p. 10. For a similar characterization of Vologodskii, see I. I. Serebrennikov, "O sibirskikh oblastnikakh," *Zaria*, June 15, 1941, p. 2; N. N. Koz'min to I. I. Serebrennikov, March 15, 1922, Coll. I. I. Serebrennikov, box 6, HA.

89. See Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 77, and “Oblastnichestvo i gosudarstvennost’,” p. 211.

90. *Zakonodatel’naia deiatel’nost’ belykh pravitel’stv Sibiri (iiun’–noiabr’ 1918 goda)*, vol. 1 (Tomsk, 1998), pp. 44–45.

91. See Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 74; Katzer, *Die weisse Bewegung*, pp. 188–189.

92. See, e.g., Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 74.

93. For more on the economic policies of the PSG, see Stephen M. Berk, “The Coup d’Etat of Admiral Kolchak: The Counterrevolution in Siberia and East Russia, 1917–1918” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), pp. 207–209; Coll. Stephen M. Berk, box 1, HA; and Zayer Rupp, “The Struggle in the East,” pp. 147–149.

94. The Russian ambassador in Paris, V. A. Maklakov, reported similar moods to be current in France. GARF, f. 6851, op. 1, d. 3, l. 367. See also: Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, p. 38; Guins, *Sibir’, soiuzniki i Kolchak*, 2: 50.

95. For more on these negotiations, see S. G. Livshits, *Politika Iaponii v Sibiri v 1918–1920 gg.* (Barnaul, 1991), pp. 21–23.

96. *Trudovaia Sibir’*, September 29, 1918, p. 1.

97. Quoted in Livshits, “Vremennoe sibirskoe pravitel’stvo,” p. 104. See also, Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, p. 39.

98. See M. V. Shilovskii, “Sibirskaia oblastnaia дума (avgust–noiabr’ 1918),” *Istoriia “beloi” Sibiri*, pp. 23–26.

99. Serebrennikov, *Moi vospominaniia*, 1: 173–179, and “K istorii Sibirskogo pravitel’stva,” *Sibirskii arkhiv* 1 (1929): 11. See also: Boldyrev, *Direktsiia, Kolchak, Interventy*, pp. 35–48; “Ufimskoe soveshchanie i Vremennoe sibirskoe pravitel’stvo,” *Krasnyi arkhiv* 61 (1933): 58–81. It is also possible that the reportedly noncommittal position of some foreign representatives in Vladivostok regarding

Vologodskii's efforts to create a strong anti-Bolshevik movement weakened the Omsk delegation's resolve in Ufa. See Georg Lensen, ed., *Revelations of a Russian Diplomat: The Memoirs of Dmitrii I. Abrikosov* (Seattle, 1964), p. 285.

100. The Directory also included two moderate SRs (N. D. Avksent'ev and V. M. Zenzinov), a Kadet (V. A. Vinogradov), and one nonpartisan representative of the Union of Regeneration (General V. G. Boldyrev).

101. *Dnevnik*, October 9, 1918.

102. M. V. Shilovskii, "Vremennoe vserossiiskoe pravitel'stvo (Direktsiia) (23 sentiabria–18 noiabria 1918 g.)," http://cclib.nsu.ru/projects/siberia/soviet/shilovski5_p2.shtml, pp. 4–5. See also, Pereira, *White Siberia*, pp. 97–98.

103. *Istoriia "beloi" Sibiri v litsakh*, p. 8.

104. *Zaria*, January 12, 1919.

105. *Ibid.*

106. V. I. Shishkin, "Kolchakovskaia diktatura: istoki i prichiny krakha," *Istoriia `beloi' Sibiri* (Novosibirsk, 1997), pp. 7–11. For valuable discussions of the Kolchak regime and the reasons for its downfall, see the monographs by Smele and Pereira.

107. Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, p. 143.

108. General K. V. Sakharov in his memoirs notes that he once asked Kolchak why he kept on an old and inactive liberal like Vologodskii, to which the Admiral responded, "He is old and he avoids all work . . . But remember he is needed here as a *`le vieux drapeau'*." K. V. Sakharov, *Belaia Sibir': vnutrenniaia voina, 1918–1920 gg.* (Munich, 1923), p. 89; Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, p. 143. Baron A. P. Budberg, whose antipathy for Vologodskii was well known, confirms the same attitude toward "an old liberal" from several high-ranking officials in the Kolchak regime. Budberg writes that Vologodskii was allowed to hold on to such an important post "as a sort of valuable relic [because

they believed] that his name and personality served as a solid indication to the Allies and the Western public opinion that the Omsk government was committed to democracy.” Budberg, *Arkhiv russkoi revoliutsii*, vol. 14, p. 300.

109. See, e.g., M. V. Shilovskii, “K voprosu o politicheskoi otsenke gosudarstvennogo perevorota 18 noiabria 1918 g. v g. Omske,” *Sibir’: XX vek*, vol. 1 (Kemerovo, 1997), p. 51. Without producing any supporting evidence, the Ural historian I. F. Plotnikov asserts that Vologodskii not only knew about the impending coup but approved of it: see I. F. Plotnikov, “Aleksandr Vasil’evich Kolchak. Zhizn’ i deiatel’nost’ (biografiia, dokumenty, materialy, kommentarii, prilozheniia s illiustratsiiami),” *Belaia armiia, beloe delo* (Ekaterinburg), no. 2 (1996): 98. For an earlier Soviet claim that Vologodskii was one of the organizers of the coup, see V. V. Garmiza, *Krushenie eserovskikh pravitel’stv*, p. 103. For a still valuable discussion of some of the memoir sources that accuse the Siberian premier of complicity in the coup, see S. P. Mel’gunov, *Tragediia admiral Kolchaka* (Belgrade, 1930), vol. 2: 131–133.

110. *Zaria*, January 12, 1919.

111. Ibid.

112. Pereira, *White Siberia*, p. 107. The *Khchenkabinett* included I. I. Sukin, G. G. Tel’berg, and General D. A. Lebedev.

113. L. V. Nekrasova, “Rossiiskoe pravitel’stvo admiral A. V. Kolchaka (18 noiabria 1918 g.—4 ianvaria 1920g.),” *Istoriia `beloi’ Sibiri* (Novosibirsk, 1997), pp. 15–19.

114. Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, pp. 140–141.

115. Quoted from *Istoriia “beloi” Sibiri v litsakh*, p. 9.

116. From S. P. Zviagin, “Privlechenie kolchakovskoi armii k navedeniiu poriadka v tylu: opyt i uroki,” *Sibir’ v period grazhdanskoi voiny* (Kemerovo, 1995), p. 93.

117. Plotnikov, "Aleksandr Vasil'evich Kolchak," pp. 111–114; *Dnevnik*, June 24, 1919. For Vologodskii, who was one of the authors of the 1905 regionalist program that envisioned an introduction of zemstvos in Siberia, the implementation of these measures marked the culmination of years of effort at reforming judicial and local administrative branches of government. See *Istoriia "beloi" Sibiri v litsakh*, p. 8; Shilovskii, *Oblastniki*, p. 72.

118. See *Dnevnik*, June 24, 1919.

119. See three works by N. I. Dmitriev: "Chrezvychainoe gosudarstvennoe ekonomicheskoe soveshchanie: kak eto bylo," *Belaia armiia. Beloe delo*, no. 1 (1996): 78–84; "Ekonomicheskaiia politika pravitel'stva admirala A. V. Kolchaka i ee realizatsiia," *Sibir' v period grazhdanskoi voiny* (Kemerovo, 1995), pp. 18–51; "O vozrozhdenii torgovo-promyshlennykh organizatsii na Vostoke Rossii v 1918–1919 godakh," *Delovaia Rossiia: istoriia i sovremennost'* (St. Petersburg, 1996), pp. 94–95; also Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, p. 508.

120. See N. I. Dmitriev, "Nalogovaia politika belogvardeiskikh pravitel'stv na territorii Sibiri," *Izvestiia Omskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-kraevedcheskogo muzeia*, no. 4 (1996): 214–215; V. M. Rynkov, "Nalogovaia politika kontrevoliutsionnykh pravitel'stv Sibiri (iun' 1918–1919 g.)," *Vlast' i obshchestvo v Sibiri v XX veke*, vol. 1 (Novosibirsk, 1997), pp. 88–90.

121. See Dmitriev, "Chrezvychainoe gosudarstvennoe ekonomicheskoe soveshchanie," p. 66. Also, Dmitriev, "K voprosu o sostoianii ekonomiki aziatskoi Rossii k seredine 1918 g.," *Evoliutsiia i revoliutsiia: opyt i uroki mirovoi i rossiiskoi istorii* (Khabarovsk, 1997), pp. 177–180; L. N. Dolgov, "Ekonomicheskie problemy grazhdanskoi voiny na Dal'nem Vostoke Rossii v politike `belykh' i `krasnykh': osobennoe i obshchee," *ibid*, pp. 174–177.

122. See Vologodskii's interview in *Zaria*, April 1, 1919.

123. *Ibid*. For more on the agrarian policies of the Omsk government, see O. F. Gordeev, "Agrarnaia politika kolchakovskogo pravitel'stva," *XX vek: Istoricheskii opyt*

agrarnogo osvoeniia Sibiri (Krasnoiarsk, 1993), pp. 131–135; Iu. G. Lonchakov, “Agrarnaia politika antisovetskikh pravitel’stv v Omske i izmenenie gosudarstvennogo statusa Sibiri v noiabre 1918 g.,” “*Sibir’ — moi krai*”: *Problemy regional’noi istorii i istoricheskogo obrazovaniia* (Novosibirsk, 1999), pp. 199–210.

124. E. A. Kir’ianova, “K voprosu ob agrarnoi politike belogvardeiskogo pravitel’sstva A. V. Kolchaka,” *Grazhdanskaia voina v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 124–126; S. P. Zviagin, “Baron Budberg o pravoporiadke na territorii Sibiri pri A. V. Kolchake,” *Iz proshlogo Sibiri*, vol. 2, part 2 (Novosibirsk, 1996), pp. 45–46. See also, M. S. Bernshtam, “Smysl kommunisticheskogo unichtozheniia narodov,” *Novyi zhurnal*, no. 143 (1981): 168–171.

125. According to V. M. Rynkov, 183,000 refugees came to Siberia in the second half of 1918. See his “Istoriografiia agrarnoi politiki kontrevoliutsionnykh pravitel’stv v Sibiri,” *Regional’nye protsessy v Sibiri v kontekste rossiiskoi i mirovoi istorii* (Novosibirsk, 1998), pp. 92–93.

126. See Coll. N. K. Giers, box 1, HA. The diplomatic correspondence that bears Vologodskii’s signatures and other evidence of his active participation in formulating and overseeing his government’s foreign policy can be found in Coll. N. K. Giers, boxes 1–4, 41; Coll. Russia. Posol’stvo (France), box 12; Coll. Russia. Missiia (Greece), box 13; Coll. P. N. Vrangeli, box 42, HA, and in GARF, f. 200 (Ministerstvo inostrannykh del Vremennogo rossiiskogo pravitel’sstva).

127. As quoted in *Iaponskaia interventsiiia 1918–1922 gg. v dokumentakh* (Moscow, 1934), p. 78.

128. See, e.g., the letters of the PRG’s Foreign Minister, S. D. Sazonov, which were sent from Paris in March 1919 but received in Omsk only in June and July 1919, in *Neizvestnaia Rossiia. XX vek*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1993), pp. 19–33. See also, GARF, f. 193, op. 1, d. 16, ll. 59–67, 96–99.

129. See S. F. Fominykh, "Kolchak i soiuzniki (k probleme priznaniia Kolchaka v 1919 g.)," *Istoriia "beloi" Sibiri*, pp. 34–38.

130. See his interview in *Sibirskaia zhizn'*, April 29, 1919.

131. TsGIA SPb, f. 2297, op. 1, d. 10. According to Smele, the Supreme Ruler had agreed to Vologodskii's resignation already on October 31, 1919, but the official order was issued three weeks later, on November 22. Smele, *Civil War in Siberia*, p. 576. See also, *Dnenvik*, November 25, 1919.

132. The insubordination and unbridled ambition of the atamans was an important element in the final undermining of the already shaky authority of the Kolchak regime. See Katzer, *Die weisse Bewegung in Russland*, pp. 213–215; Pereira, *White Siberia*, pp. 110–111. The ever present *atamanshchina* was a sad reality of the Civil War not only in Siberia and the Far East but also in southern Russia. See V. P. Brovkin, "Rossiia v grazhdanskoi voine: grazhdanskaia vlast' i obshchestvennye sily," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 5 (1994): 30; M. Hildermeier, "Tsena pobedy: grazhdanskaia voina i ee posledstviia," *Grazhdanskaia voina v Rossii: perekrestok mnenii* (Moscow, 1994), p. 310; S. P. Zviagin, "Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie pri A. V. Kolchake v otsenke zapadnoi istoriografii," *Rossiia 20-kh godov ukhodiashchego stoletii* (St. Petersburg, 1994), pp. 16–17; V. Zh. Tsvetkov, "Beloe dvizhenie v Rossii 1917–1922 gody," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 7 (2000): 62–63.

133. Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, November 25, 1919.

134. Ibid.

135. "Vospominaniia A. N. Serebrennikovoi," p. 3, Coll. I. I. Serebrennikov, box 1, HA.

136. Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, December 18, 1919.

137. On the founding of Harbin and the history of the Russian community in Manchuria before 1917, see R. K. I. Quested, "Matey" *Imperialists? The Tsarist Russians in Manchuria, 1895–1917* (Hong Kong, 1982); Olga Bakich,

“Origins of the Russian Community on the Chinese Eastern Railway,” *Revue Canadienne des Slavistes* 27, no. 1 (March 1985): 1–14; Bakich, “A Russian City in China: Harbin Before 1917,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 28, no. 2 (June 1986): 129–148; R. Edward Glatfelter, “Russia, the Soviet Union, and the Chinese Eastern Railway,” in Clarence B. Davis and Kenneth E. Wilburn, Jr., eds., *Railway Imperialism* (New York, 1991), pp. 138–154; and especially the recent monograph by David Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898–1914* (Stanford, 1999).

138. Since no official national census was taken in China between 1910 and 1920, more precise data on the Harbin population and its ethnic breakdown cannot be provided. According to the Chinese post office estimate of 1922, the approximate population total of Harbin was 306,203: *The China Year Book, 1924–1925* (Tientsin, 1925), p. 13. According to the Moscow historian G. V. Melikhov, whose estimate appears to be the most accurate, as of January 1, 1921, there were 165,857 Russians in the city of Harbin alone; his figure for the whole CER zone (including Harbin) is 288,225. In May 1922 the number of Russians in Harbin, not including some districts for which there are no data, is estimated at 185,042. In 1923 the Russian population of the CER zone (including Harbin) was about 400,000: G. V. Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Kitae (1917–1924 gg.)* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 57–58. See also: N. I. Dubina and Iu. N. Tsipkin, “Ob osobennostiakh dal’nevostochnoi vetvi rossiiskoi emigratsii (Na materialakh Khabrinskogo komiteta pomoshchi russkim bezhentsam),” *Otechestvennaia istoriia*, no. 1 (1996): 71–72; Ablazhei, “Emigratsiia iz vostochnykh raionov Rossii,” pp. 50–61, 191–192; Zhao Lianglun, “Kratkii ocherk o russkikh emigrantakh, prozhivavshikh v Kharbine s 1917 po 1932 g.,” *Dal’nii Vostok Rossii– Severo-Vostok Kitaia: istoricheskii opyt vzaimodeistviia i perspektivy sotrudnichestva. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii (Khabarovsk, 1–3 iunia 1998 g.)* (Khabarovsk, 1998), pp. 286–287; S. I. Lazareva, “Problemy adaptatsii rossiiskoi emigratsii v Kitae (20-e–seredina 40-kh godov XX v.),” *Dal’nii Vostok Rossii v kontekste mirovoi istorii: ot proshlogo k budushchemu* (Vladivostok, 1997), pp. 179–181; *100-letie goroda*

Kharbina i KVZhD. Materialy konferentsii, Novosibirsk, 29 maia 1998 g. (Novosibirsk, 1998).

139. See, e.g., Bakich, "A Russian City in China," p. 143; N. A. Vasilenko, "Kto stroil KVZhD: o chislennom i natsional'nom sostave naseleniia KVZhD v 1897–1917 gg.," *Gumanitarnye problemy stran Aziatsko-tikhookeanskogo regiona (ATR)*, no. 2, vol. 8 (1995): 66–71.

140. See Bakich, "A Russian City in China," pp. 146–148; also by Bakich, "Russian Education in Harbin, 1898–1962," *Transactions of the Association of Russian-American Scholars in the U.S.A.* 26 (1994): 269–294, and "Charbin: 'Rusland jenseits der Grenzen' in Fernost," in Karl Schlögel, ed., *Der grosse Exodus: die russische Emigration und ihre Zentren 1917 bis 1941* (Munich, 1994), pp. 304–328; see also: I. I. Serebrennikov, *Moi vospominaniia. V emigratsii (1920–1924)*, vol. 2 (Tientsin, 1940); T. N. Ias'ko, "Russkii teatr v Kharbine," *Gody, liudi, sud'by*, pp. 88–89; E. P. Taskina, ed., *Russkii Kharbin* (Moscow, 1998); Viktor Petrov, *Gorod na Sungari* (Washington, D.C., 1984); V. F. Pecheritsa, *Dukhovnaia kul'tura russkoi emigratsii v Kitae* (Vladivostok, 1999); *Politekhnik. Iubileinyi sbornik, 1969–1979* (Sydney, 1979), no. 10: 75–243; A.A. Khisamutdinov, *Po stranam rasseianiia. Chast' 1. Russkie v Kitae* (Vladivostok, 2000), pp. 32–175.

141. The Russian way of life, customs, and system of administration also extended to the settlements of the CER, which ran in three directions for hundreds of miles along its tracks. See Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Kitae*, pp. 8, 56–89; *Gorod Kharbin. Spravochnik* (Vladivostok, 1995), pp. 3–11; O. I. Sergeev and S. I. Lazareva, "Samoupravlenie v Kharbine (1907–1926 gg.)," *Dal'nii Vostok Rossii — Severo-Vostok Kitaia*, pp. 51–54.

142. Quested, "Matey" *Imperialists*, p. 3. See also, Wolff, *To the Harbin Station*, p. 8.

143. Dubina and Tsipkin, "Ob osobennostiakh dal'nevostochnoi vetvi rossiiskoi emigratsii," pp. 72–73; Lazareva, "Problema adaptatsii rossiiskoi emigratsii v Kitae," pp. 170–181.

144. See Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Kitae*, pp. 89–92; *The Tientsin Annual, 1919–1920* (Tientsin, 1920).

145. The Soviets held the trial of the leading White officials in Omsk in May 1920. The extraordinary difficulties facing Russian émigrés, including lawyers, in search of work in China at this time are described by the Serebrennikovs and M. A. Krol'. See Serebrennikov, *Vospominaniia*, vol. 2, pp. 17–66, 171–214; "Dnevnik A. N. Serebrennikovoi. V Kharbine, 19 marta–8 apreliia 1920," Coll. I. I. Serebrennikov, box 1, HA; M. A. Krol', "Stranitsy iz moei zhizni. Vospominaniia," part 2, pp. 304–305, Coll. M. A. Krol', folder 1, International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam. See also, Ablazhei, "Emigratsiia iz vostochnykh raionov Rossii," pp. 50–77, 110–115.

146. *The China Year Book, 1921–1922*, p. 626.

147. See Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Kitae*, pp. 79–97; Wesley R. Fishel, *The End of Extraterritoriality in China* (Berkeley, 1952), pp. 43–50.

148. See S. T. Ternavskii, ed., *Ves' Kharbin na 1923 god. Adresnaia i spravocnaia kniga gor. Kharbina* (Harbin, n.d.), pp. 58–60; Ablazhei, "Emigratsiia iz vostochnykh raionov Rossii," pp. 73–75; Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Kitae*, pp. 90–93.

149. Ablazhei, "Emigratsiia," pp. 74–75; Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia*, pp. 80–85; S. I. Lazareva and O. I. Sergeev, "Gorodskoe samoupravlenie v Kharbine (1906–1923 gg.)," *Gody, liudi, sud'by. Istoriia rossiiskoi emigratsii v Kitae. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii, posviashchennoi 100-letiiu g. Kharbina i KVZhD. Moskva, 19–21 maia 1998 g.* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 64–66.

150. On October 2, 1920, the Chinese government and the Russo-Asiatic Bank (now based in Paris) signed an agreement that supplemented the original 1897 accord on construction and exploitation of the CER. According to the new terms, the Chinese side received most of the positions

on the board of the CER and virtually complete control over its operation. The full text of the 1920 agreement can be found in *Ves' Kharbin na 1923 god, Prilozhenie 3*, and in *China Year Book, 1920–1921*. See also, D. R. Watson, “The Rise and Fall of the Russo-Asiatic Bank. Problems of a Russian Enterprise with French Shareholders, 1910–1926,” *European History Quarterly* 23 (1993): 39–49.

151. A few of Vologodskii's former colleagues in the Omsk government managed to find well-paid jobs in the CER administration. G. K. Guins, for example, began as the head of the Chancellery, and then advanced to become Railway's chief controller.

152. On the complex issue of China politics in the early 1920s, see Andrew J. Nathan, *Peking Politics, 1918–1923: Factionalism and the Failure of Constitutionalism* (Berkeley, 1976); James E. Sheridan, *China in Disintegration: The Republican Era in Chinese History, 1912–1949* (London, 1975), and *Chinese Warlord. The Career of Feng Yh-hsiang* (Stanford, 1966); Gavan McCormack, *Chang Tso-lin in Northeast China, 1911–1928* (Stanford, 1977); *Istoriia Severo-vostochnogo Kitaia XVII-XX vv. Severo-Vostochnyi Kitai 1917–1949 gg. part 2* (Vladivostok, 1989); V.V. Zhukov, *Kitaiskii militarizm, 1910–1920-e gody XX veka* (Moscow, 1988).

153. S. Iu. Vitte, *Vospominaniia*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1922–1923); N. Sukhanov, *Zapiski o revoliutsii*, 7 vols. (Berlin, 1920); P. Miliukov, *Tri popytki: K istorii russkogo lzhe-konstitutsionalizma* (Paris, 1921).

154. P. V. Vologodskii to A. N. Serebrennikova, February 25, 1924, Coll. I. I. Serebrennikov, box 8. HA.

155. See *Sovetsko-kitaiskie otnosheniia, 1917–1957. Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 1959), p. 84; Son Do Chzhin, “Sovetsko-kitaiskii diplomaticheskii konflikt vokrug KVZhD (1917–1931 gg.),” (*kandidatskaia* dissertation, Moscow, 1996), pp. 41–202; Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Kitae*, pp. 196–197. See also, Bruce A. Elleman, *Diplomacy and Deception: The Secret History of Sino-Soviet Diplomatic Relations, 1917–1927* (New York, 1997), pp. 180–181.

156. Son Do Chzhin, “Sovetsko-kitaiskii diplomaticheskii konflikt,” p. 209.

157. See, e.g., Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, July 4, 1924.

158. Vologodskii, “Ot avtora dnevnika,” July 1, 1924, FA; *Dnevnik*, July 4, 1924.

159. Several months after Vologodskii died, Gessen sent a letter to Guins in Harbin informing him that Vologodskii's diary had not yet been published and that no honorarium could be paid before publication. See I. V. Gessen to G. K. Guins, November 24, 1925, FA. The typescript Vologodskii sent to *Arkhib russkoi revoliutsii* was subsequently transferred to *Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhib* in Prague, and after the Second World War ended up in Moscow. It is preserved in GARF, f. 5881, op. 2, d. 773. A portion of the typescript (187 pages devoted to the period November 18, 1918–November 25, 1919) was published not long ago in the documentary collection edited by G. K. Trukan, *Rossiia antibol'shevistskaia. Iz belogvardeiskikh i emigrantskikh arkhivov* (Moscow, 1995), pp. 121–252, though regrettably without adequate historical and archeographical introduction, textual preparation, and scholarly commentary.

160. Son Do Chzhin, “Sovetsko-kitaiskii diplomaticheskii konflikt,” p. 216; Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Kitae*, pp. 196–197.

161. As quoted from Son Do Chzhin, “Sovetsko-kitaiskii diplomaticheskii konflikt,” pp. 230–232. See also, Melikhov, *Rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Kitae*, pp. 198–200.

162. Son Do Chzhin, “Sovetsko-kitaiskii diplomaticheskii konflikt,” p. 232; Vologodskii, *Dnevnik*, June 10, 1925.

163. “Pamiati P. V. Vologodskogo,” *Russkii golos*, October 20, 1925; Z. P. Popova (Vologodskaia) to S.M. Lyandres, June 17, 1992; I. I. Serebrennikov, “O sibirskikh oblastnikakh,” *Zaria*, June 15, 1941, p. 2.