

Engineers, Entrepreneurs, Emigres: Contribution of Central Europeans to the Development of Manchuria 1890-1918

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Abstract

Competition between Russian and Japanese imperialists and the hard labor of Chinese workers put Manchuria on the path toward globalization at the turn of the last century. The construction of railways, opening of mines, and urban building projects attracted many experts and businessmen. Among them were Austro-Hungarian subjects who contributed to Manchuria's economic development through both the application of their expertise and the distribution of their products. Czech and Jewish subjects of the Dual Monarchy were especially active in Manchuria and western Siberia. Conflicts erupted between the various ethnic groups, but there are no records of bloodshed. Although the Jews did not realize their Zionist dream of a Jewish homeland in Manchuria, their harmonious cultural development in this region rekindles nostalgia among Manchurian Jews and their descendants.

Keywords: Migration, Chinese Eastern Railway (CER), Zionism, Harbin

Before the mid-nineteenth century Manchuria was backward and sparsely populated. The miracle of its sudden and rapid development, beginning in that century's last decade and culminating in 1918, was triggered by two phenomena: competition between Russian and Japanese imperialists, and the hard labor of Chinese workers. Among the individuals and companies from many nations, that arrived during this time were subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, who contributed to Manchuria's economic growth. Drawing on Austrian archives, Chinese archives in Taipei, and some old newspapers, this paper is an attempt to fill some historical gaps.

Politics was the cause of Manchuria's delayed growth. The Qing Dynasty originated there, and for Manchus it was a protected living space. Without governmental management though, such "protection" in effect resulted in economic stagnation for the region. Starting in 1860 the Qing government gradually began to open Manchuria up to Chinese settlement. Farmers in other parts of China whose lands had been devastated by flood or drought were granted permission to resettle in Manchuria. In 1902 all remaining restrictions were lifted for Kirin province, and in 1904 for Amur province. The opening of Manchuria to foreigners had begun in 1860,

and Niuzhuang (牛莊) became the first treaty port there; its opening clearly marks the beginning of a continuous and sustained rise in the volume of the region's exports.¹

The defeat suffered in the Sino-Japanese war (1894) forced the Qing to recognize Manchuria's vulnerability, and to accelerate the rate of the area's settlement. In 1895 Japan seized Korea, figuratively at Manchuria's front door; two years later, Russia unveiled plans for railway construction. In September 1896, the Chinese government and the Russo-Chinese Bank signed an agreement to form a company, to be called the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) Company, to construct a railway crossing Manchuria from the town of Chita (赤塔), in Russia's Trans-Baikal Province, to a point on the Southern Ussuri Railway.² The CER, completed in 1903, thus cut across Manchuria from west to east, and linked it to Vladivostok. The South Manchuria Railway (SMR, a term that appeared after the Japanese occupation) linked Harbin to the seaport of Dalny (大連), thus putting Harbin at the junction of the two railroads. From a small fishing port on the River Sungari, Harbin grew into a modern city, nicknamed "Manchurian Paris." Over the years 1907-17 its Russian residents turned it into an "open city." From the outbreak of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution until 1926, Harbin was controlled by the White Russian Army. The railway quickly became the "trunk-line" between Europe and Asia, and the many contemporary reports introduced it to Europe and the rest of the world.



Map drawer: Claire Chien

While the railway was under construction, the Boxer Rebellion broke out giving Russia the opportunity to occupy all of Manchuria, from Aigun (瑯珺) to Mukden (瀋陽). Tensions with Japan were thus exacerbated, but Japan waited for the completion of the SMR. After the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), both countries quickly

¹ Alexander Eckstein, Kang Chao and John Chang, "The Economic Development of Manchuria: the Rise of a Frontier Economy," *The Journal of Economic History*, 34:1 (1974 March), 239-264.

² Alexander Hosie, *Manchuria: Its People, Resources and Recent History* (London: Bethuen & Co., 1901), 43.

modified their foreign policies, and, by means of three treaties, divided Manchuria between them. Japan occupied the SMR and the two ports of Dalny and Port Arthur. Created in 1932 by Japan, the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1935 bought the CER from the Soviet Union for 140 million Japanese Yen.

Table 1
The Import-Export of Harbin: 1908-1925³
(Unit: 1000 Haikwan taels)

| Year | Imports | Exports | Total |
|------|---------|---------|--------|
| 1908 | 7,315 | 9,519 | 16,834 |
| 1909 | 14,584 | 19,714 | 34,298 |
| 1910 | 14,732 | 21,962 | 36,694 |
| 1911 | 16,546 | 26,660 | 43,206 |
| 1912 | 19,773 | 23,998 | 43,771 |
| 1913 | 20,172 | 18,566 | 38,738 |
| 1914 | 17,947 | 16,487 | 34,434 |
| 1915 | 13,375 | 19,968 | 33,343 |
| 1916 | 23,161 | 32,041 | 55,202 |
| 1917 | 8,777 | 30,775 | 39,552 |
| 1918 | 5,224 | 9,311 | 14,535 |
| 1919 | 13,017 | 12,398 | 25,415 |
| 1920 | 8,120 | 10,239 | 18,359 |
| 1921 | 7,254 | 20,535 | 27,789 |
| 1922 | 12,097 | 38,340 | 50,437 |
| 1923 | 9,236 | 33,860 | 43,097 |
| 1924 | 9,439 | 45,302 | 54,741 |
| 1925 | 12,829 | 42,541 | 55,370 |

The above table indicates progress from 1908 to 1925. Customs protocols between the two countries were formally established in 1908, after the opening, in 1907, of the frontier stations of Suifenho (綏芬河) and Manchouli (滿州里), at either end of the CER. Statistics of the time were recorded as in the table, although actual trade involving Manchuria, Russia, and China had been taking place for some time. Enormous progress occurred in the first two years, followed by some regress in 1918, the end of World War I, and a resurgence of development after the Soviet Civil War.

³ Hsiao, Liang-lin, *China's Foreign Trade Statistics, 1864-1949* (Harvard University Press, 1974), 172-173.

Arrival of Foreigners Bringing Technology and Business

Vast and isolated, Manchuria aroused the interest of many enterprising individuals. In 1893 an Austrian diplomat stationed in Japan asked permission from the Chinese government to travel around Manchuria, either as part of a political mission or out of personal interest or possibly both.⁴ Between 1904 and 1918, Benedek Baráthosi Balog (1870-1945), a Hungarian secondary school principal, visited Vladivostok and places along the Amur River. Professor Lajos Ligeti, also from Hungary, was a specialist in Inner Asian linguistics, and spent almost three years, from 1928 to 1931, in Inner Mongolia and northern Manchuria.⁵ Professor Owen Lattimore visited Manchuria in 1928-29, and wrote his famous book, *Manchuria: the Cradle of Conflict* (1932) based on his visit.

A number of musicians from Central Europe came to reside in Vladivostok,⁶ and there were more in Harbin, some of whom had been recruited from the area around Königgrätz (present day Hradec Kralove in the Czech Republic) and Nechanitz (present-day Nechanice also in Czechia). The musicians, mostly girls between the ages of 15 and 17, had followed their parents to Harbin. They had a difficult life, playing all night in the humblest guesthouses, often exploited by their employers. It is reported that many had to turn to prostitution to survive.⁷ Musical instruments from Austria-Hungary also sold well; someone named Jelinek dealt in them in Vladivostok.⁸

The opening of Manchuria raised expectations of increased opportunities for Austrian industry and trade. The Lower Austrian Chamber of Commerce (Der Niederösterreichischen Handels- und Gewerbekammer) expressed interest in Manchuria, and in 1907 attempted to establish a connection with an Austrian company in Harbin.⁹ The Russians, who mostly lived along the railway, bought cheap Austrian jewelry in great quantities, preferring continental products over those from Britain.¹⁰ Russian consumers were especially attracted to Austrian luxury goods.¹¹

Other possible Austrian and Hungarian products in northern Manchuria were

⁴ Archive of Institute Modern History, Academia Sinica, 01-19-007-01-004, 1893 May 8.

⁵ István Sántha, "Hungarian Witnesses of Infrastructure Construction in Manchuria (1877–1931): The Case of the Eastern Chinese Railway," *Inner Asia*, 16 (2014), 152-177.

⁶ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, Miloslav, 8 Sept 1909, Tientsin.

⁷ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, "Abschrift eines Berichtes des V. Consul Kobr, Harbin, 17 Juni 1909.

⁸ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, Bernauer, 16 Sept 1907 Vladivostok.

⁹ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, Zl. XLVIII, 12 Aug 1907, Tientsin.

¹⁰ AVA China 1909 F1093/Zl 14293, 1909 Mai 26.

¹¹ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, Miloslav, 8 Sept 1909, Tientsin.

shoes, linen, cloth, chiffon, canvas, covers, various dry goods, metal goods, sail canvas, wooden furniture, and so on. The more profitable products were paper, wood-free paper, glass containers, crystal and half crystal products, jute sacking, colored papers, cigarette papers, women's confections, machinery, and enamel products.¹² A very practical article, the Austrian scythe, came to Amur province, and was also a major import item in neighboring Manchuria.¹³ It became the instrument of choice for clearing land for settlement.

The Monarchy's merchants relied in large part on German agents for representation in Manchuria. Austrian export-import firms in Vienna had an urgent need for information regarding the Manchurian market. For this service, the Consul Nikolaus Post recommended several Russian and German firms: Kuznitzoff & Co., Lazarewitsch, Semenoff, Scheweileff & Co. and Tschuryn & Co., all of which were Russian, and the German Kunst & Albers, and S. M. Langelüukte. All of these firms dealt in both wholesale and retail. Tschuryn and Kunst had branches in Vladivostok and other major cities in Russia and Northeast Asia.¹⁴

An alternative option for Austro-Hungarian companies wishing to access the Manchurian market was via Warsaw and Moscow. An Austrian merchant, Hermann Kobritz, chose this way to expand his business.¹⁵ After the completion of the Trans-Siberian railway, most firms reached Harbin indirectly with the help of agents in Warsaw and Moscow.¹⁶ Only a very small portion of Austrian goods came directly from Vienna. An example of one of few Austrian firms that expanded its business into Manchuria on its own was Rauch Bernhard, which exported wine, spirits, canned goods, coffee, oil, and chocolate, to Russia through its branch in Odessa.¹⁷

Austria appears to have had a closer relationship with the Russian Far East than with European Russia. Some Austrians had established their businesses in the southern part of Manchuria moving their operations to the north after the Russo-Japanese War. The market in northern Manchuria had a special interest in Austrian products. Moreover, there was no serious competition from English and North American firms because they had concentrated their efforts on conquering the market in southern Manchuria, where the Japanese had promptly and exclusively developed their commercial activities. Around 1907 Karl Bernauer, the Austro-Hungarian consul, reported that very few subjects of the Monarchy were living in southern Manchuria.¹⁸

¹² ÖMO, 1909:11, 114-117, Charbin; AVA China 1909 F1093/Z114293, 1909 Mai 26.

¹³ ÖMO: 1900:5, 49-58, N. Post, "Handels- und Geschäftsverhältnisse in Ostasien."

¹⁴ ÖMO: 1900:5, 49-58, N. Post, "Handels- und Geschäftsverhältnisse in Ostasien."

¹⁵ HHStA, AR 8/108, Konsularsitze 1880-1918 Charbin.

¹⁶ ÖMO, 1909:11, 114-117, "Charbin."

¹⁷ *Compass Finanzielles Jahrbuch für Österreich-Ungarn* 1913, Band III/2, 2306. (Wien: 1912)

¹⁸ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, Zl. XLVIII, 12 Aug 1907, Tientsin.

Another case is that of Wenzel Ruziska (Ružicka), who built a brewery in Liaoyang (遼陽) in 1903. It was destroyed during the Russo-Japanese War, with losses totaling 20,780 rubles. When he put in a claim for damages, the Japanese government turned it down stating: “The War Department is of the opinion that the Japanese army cannot be held responsible for the damage, but that the buildings which have since been repaired and expanded at great expense will be transferred to him if he will defray the costs.”¹⁹ Trade between Austria and southern Manchuria progressed very slowly. There were no Habsburg firms in Niuzhang, and imports from Austria were insignificant.²⁰

However, life under Russian authority was not always easy. In 1909, an Austrian by the name of Victor Heller, who for three years had an office in Russian-controlled Harbin, was told by the Russian police that he could not continue to maintain his office without a *carte blanche*. He went to the Central Railway Authority, where he was told to pay 15,000 rubles as a deposit. He suspected that this deposit would ultimately be confiscated, as was the common Russian practice. Money was not a problem, however, because at that time in Harbin a merchant could count on annual returns of 25 to 30 percent on capital invested. Such demands by the Russian police for payments of 5,000 rubles had a tendency to become regular and came to be seen as a kind of high annual tax.²¹ The shakedown of merchants by the police is at once an example of the difficult life, as well as ease of making a profit in this new frontier.

Austro-Hungarians as Conduits of Technology

The Dual Monarchy's engineers participated in the construction of the great railway. For example, Jenő Cholnoky, a Hungarian professor of geography, was hired as an inspector by a French mining company, and in 1898 spent more than three months in Manchuria inspecting silver and gold mines. József Geleta, also a Hungarian, took part in the repair of telegraph lines and the construction of a power station to provide electricity for the city of Urga (present-day Ulaanbaatar). As a First World War prisoner, Geleta was exiled by the Russians to southern Siberia, from where, in 1919, he escaped through Uriangkhai (Tuva) to Mongolia. Károly Gubányi (1867-1935), electrical engineer from 1898 to 1903, left vivid descriptions of the railway construction process, with its recurring breakdowns, epidemics, physical exhaustion and starvation of workers. Lack of professional expertise even led

¹⁹ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 089, Wenzel Ruziska. Japanese Legation Peking Jan 9, 1908

²⁰ HHStA, AR F8/242 Tientsin, 11 May 1905, Bernauer.

²¹ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 065, Harbin.

Gubányi to ask one of his friends, a fellow engineer, to come from Hungary to Manchuria for several months to assist with the construction of a tunnel. Gubányi turned his experiences into a novel, *The Graves in Mukden*, a story set in 1904.²² In Vladivostok two Hungarian engineers designed a tunnel on the Siberian railway, in which 30 Czech workers also took part; in this case, however, they all lived comfortably.²³ Not all railway workers were laborers; some served as railway company staff.²⁴ Another Hungarian, A.M. Szentgali, worked as an engineer and supervisor for an American trading company, Clarkson & Co., which operated an iron mine in Olga-Buch, a coal mine in Novaja Nadyeshda, and a granite quarry on Askold Island.²⁵

Manchuria's abundant supply of wheat encouraged several Austro-Hungarians to found breweries. Apart from Wenzel Ruziska, another brewery technician from what is now the Czech Republic was Urban Joseph Vyacheslavowicz who was active in Harbin from 1905 to 1913, when he married and moved to Suifenhe where he continued to work in beer production until 1940. Though he lost his job that year, he remained in China for ten years after the end of World War II, working for a brewery in Harbin. Although he spent much of his life in Manchuria, Vyacheslavowicz sent his four children back to Czechoslovakia.²⁶

Skoda, the Czech company, with a branch office in Harbin, cooperated with the Russians, and took part in railway construction. They helped build the CER, providing everything from railroad bridges to cranes, elevators, and hydraulic presses.²⁷

The Chinese Never Throw Stones at Jews

The Monarchy's merchants were interested in the Balkans, India, and Russia, but less so in China. It is very strange that so many of its people should have been active in Manchuria and western Siberia. According to Qing customs records, at the end of 1906 there were only 236 Austrians in the whole of China; it is possible that by 1910

²² István Sántha, "Hungarian Witnesses of Infrastructure Construction in Manchuria (1877–1931): The Case of the Eastern Chinese Railway," *Inner Asia*, 16 (2014) 152-177.

²³ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, Manchuria. Vladivostok.

²⁴ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, "Abschrift eines Berichtes des V. Consul Kobr, Harbin, 17 Juni 1909.

²⁵ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, Bernauer, 16 Sept 1907 Vladivostok.

²⁶ Shi, Fan (石方), etc, *The History of Russian Overseas in Harbin* (《哈爾濱俄僑史》), (Harbin, He-lung-jiang pub., 2003), 218-220.

²⁷ Bakešova, Ivana, *Československo - Čína: 1918-1949* (Rakovnik: self print, 1997), 80.

up to 600 Austro-Hungarian subjects were in Harbin.²⁸ Others went to eastern Siberia, especially Vladivostok. About 150 Austrians (the overwhelming majority of whom were Czech) were distributed among Vladivostok, Ussuriysk (Nikolsk), Pugachev (Nikolajevsk), Chabarowsk (Khabarovsk), Blagowestschensk (Blagoveshchenske), the island of Sakhalin, and so on. Diligent and prudent, a good number of these Czech subjects of the Dual Monarchy became quite prosperous. The inhabitants of these miniature Czech colonies maintained close ties with their home towns, and their relatives often came to visit. The Czechs had untroubled relations with the Russians, and their hard work won them the respect and recognition of Russian authorities.²⁹

Are these demographic numbers trustworthy? I think they are. I would think that many of those identified as Czechs were Jews. It was in this period that Russian Jews were being deported to Manchuria and Siberia. Jewish soldiers settled in Harbin instead of going home after the Russo-Japanese War. More arrived after the outbreak of the First World War and the Bolshevik Revolution. Following the Russian Jews, other Jews arrived from various countries. They quickly became the middle class of this area.

Although figures vary, the Harbin Jewish population reportedly topped 20,000 at its peak in the 1920s. There were two major synagogues, the Main or “Old” Synagogue and the New Synagogue. The Jewish community also established a library, a Talmud Torah, an elementary and a secondary school, a cemetery, a women’s charitable organization, a soup kitchen, a home for the aged and a Jewish hospital, which treated both Jews and non-Jews.

Jews were furriers, bankers, bakers, shopkeepers, restaurateurs, teachers and people of letters and the arts. They owned coal mines, lumber mills, breweries and candy factories. The Jewish-owned Hotel Moderne boasted a restaurant, a cinema, a billiard room, a bar and a barber shop. Because of its ornate, European-inspired architecture, Harbin became known as the “Oriental St. Petersburg” and the “Paris of the Orient”. Its rich cultural life led to the nickname “City of Music.” Between 1918 and 1930, about 20 Jewish newspapers and periodicals were published in Harbin. All but one – the Yiddish *Der Vayter Mizrekh* (The Far East) - were in Russian.³⁰

²⁸ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 088, Manchuria, No 270/10, Shanghai, Jan 27 1910. North Daily News recorded that “The foreign population of Harbin has increased by leaps and bounds during the last few years, and at present consists, in round numbers, of 19600 Russians, 800 Japanese, 600 Austrians, 250 Greeks, 160 Germans, 18 Frenchmen, 17 Americans, 8 British, 6 Italians and 4 Swedes.”

²⁹ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 077, Manchuria. Vladivostok.

³⁰ <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/harbin/index.htm>, Aug. 16, 2017.

Without a doubt, the Jewish merchants proved their commercial ability in this new land. The export of Manchurian soybean was credited to Roman Moiseevich Kabalkin, who had been active as a grain trader in European Russia. Lev Shmulevich Skidel'ski accumulated his wealth from lumber, and occupied the position of the only millionaire in Manchuria.³¹ It is hard to imagine that no less than seven banks -- Harbin Russo-Chinese Bank (1896), Harbin American Credit Bank (1927), the French International Bank (1917), Harbin Jewish Bank, the Jewish People's Bank (1923), the Far-Eastern Jewish Commercial Bank, and the American International Insurance Company (1925) -- could have had enough business and provided services to this new city.³²

I did not find any Austro-Hungarian Jewish tycoons in Manchuria, but an Austrian Jewish physician was commemorated by the Chinese. Jakob Rosenfeld (1903-1952) came directly to Shanghai in 1939, as soon as he was released from concentration camp. In the Second World War, China was the only visa-free country for Jews. Rosenfeld served with the Communist forces as a field doctor, then, worked in Harbin as the head of the medical unit of the First Army in 1946-48, and participated in the Chinese Civil War. In 1949, he was with Communist forces when they took Beijing. In the same year, he left China to search for his relatives in Austria. He died in Israel from a heart attack.³³ A Jewish native of Austria, Ruth Weiss (1908-2006, 魏璐詩) graduated from the University of Vienna, and arrived in Shanghai in 1933. The rest of her century long life was spent entirely in China except for the year 1946, when she worked at the United Nations in New York. It is said that under the influence of Sun Yat-sen's wife, Soong Ching-ling (宋慶齡), she devoted herself to the Chinese Communist movement through education, journalism, and translation work. She was active in Sichuan (四川) during the Second World War, and hid Communist friends in her house. It is not known whether she suffered during the Cultural Revolution. Her efforts were recognized by the Communist Party, and she was buried in the same cemetery as Soong Ching-ling (宋慶齡).³⁴

Living in a region with a Jewish population of 20,000, many Jews were attracted to the idea of establishing a Jewish homeland in Manchuria. Other options for Zionists seeking to build a Jewish state were Palestine, Uganda, Angola, Morocco, and Canada.³⁵ Dr. Abraham I. Kaufman (1885-1971) led the Zionists, as well as a

³¹ Wolff, David, *To the Harbin Station: the Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898-1914* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1999), 99.

³² Qu Wei (曲偉), Li Shuxiao (李述笑) ed., *The Jews in Harbin* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2006), 53-55.

³³ Qu Wei, Li Shuxiao ed., *The Jews in Harbin*, 132-137.

³⁴ <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E9%AD%8F%E7%92%90%E8%AF%97>, 2017 Aug 24.

³⁵ Wolff, David, *To the Harbin Station: the Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria*, 79.

women's association and youth organizations.³⁶ A Russian-born doctor, Kaufman, moved to Harbin in 1912. During the First World War, he helped 200,000 refugees. From 1919 he actively led the Zionist movement in Harbin's Jewish community, in which capacity he maintained close ties with the Japanese authorities. As a consequence, Kaufman was arrested and interned in a Soviet Gulag from 1945 to 1956. Zionist dreams of a Jewish state in Manchuria, were never realized.

Again, the railway played an important role after the First World War, which Japan entered in August 1914. In Manchuria, Germans and Austrians gradually migrated to the area of the SMR from Harbin and Vladivostok, preparing for the next retreat. The Japanese authorities were kind to them.³⁷ In August 1917 the Chinese Government declared war on Germany. The war ended the next year. The German Red Cross and the Hungarian government asked permission to send 30,000 POWs to Vladivostok through Harbin.³⁸ Another occasion on which the trunk railway was used was when 7,118 Austrian and German POWs in Vladivostok were to be sent to Shanghai by the CER; the Beijing Government asked for financial help from Holland.³⁹ When they finally got there, several of them preferred to stay and live in Shanghai instead of going home.⁴⁰ Hungarian architect László Ede Hudec, for example, successfully developed his career in Shanghai. It was a very confusing situation: when the ships in Shanghai were full, Austrians and Germans residing in Manchuria were asked to go home through Vladivostok.⁴¹ In 1919 the Chinese government considered sending the Monarchy's Jews home as China's enemies. Several Habsburg Jews, born in Romania, declined to be returned, and preferred to stay in Tianjin, out of fear for their lives.⁴² Twenty-nine Yugoslav soldiers, though, who were trapped in Manchuria, were allowed to stay in Tianjin temporarily.⁴³ Before the war they had all been Habsburg subjects; after it they changed their national identity to Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, and Romanian as the Empire had ceased to exist,

A true story illustrates the sad situation. Before the war Bruno Stransky, an acting consular agent in Harbin, worked for the Austro-Russian Trade Company, with a Russian boss. When war broke out, the suddenness of his departure from Harbin prevented him from liquidating his business, and for several months he and his wife

³⁶ <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/harbin/index.htm>, Aug, 16, 2017.

³⁷ Shen-jing Times (盛京時報) September 17, 1914.

³⁸ Archive of Institute Modern History, Academia Sinica, 03-36-113-03-003, 1920 Sept. 24.

³⁹ Archive of Institute Modern History, Academia Sinica, 03-36-113-03-029, 1920 Nov 15

⁴⁰ Archive of Institute Modern History, Academia Sinica, 03-36-051-03-027, 1918 April 6

⁴¹ Archive of Institute Modern History, Academia Sinica, 03-36-107-03-094, 1920 June 17

⁴² Archive of Institute Modern History, Academia Sinica, 03-36-070-01-015, 1919 Feb. 26

⁴³ Archive of Institute Modern History, Academia Sinica, 03-36-107-03-49, 1920 March 12

had to live on whatever cash he had. The Hilfsvereine in Tianjin granted him a subsidy to travel to Shanghai, and his wife received one month's living expenses, making a total of \$338. Stransky had no property in Europe, and later received \$50 from the Hilfsvereine in Shanghai.⁴⁴

Conclusion

Despite Qing China's protection, Manchuria was unable to resist the trend of globalization by its two imperialist neighbors. With the railway construction, the Manchurian economy quickly matured. In that process many people, from various countries, were attracted, summoned, or deported to Manchuria. Technicians, bankers, entrepreneurs, and Chinese coolies labored, explored, and invested in this land. Austro-Hungarian subjects made contributions at this time. The Czech people were close to Manchuria and Siberia; Czech legions even cooperated with the White Army, controlling the Trans-Siberian Railway. Conflicts indeed erupted between different ethnic groups, but no incidents involving bloodshed are recorded. On this frontier, the Jewish community nurtured a harmonious cultural development; some Jews came to see Manchuria as a possible location of Jewish homeland, but their dreams, now the subject of nostalgia, were never realized.

⁴⁴ HHStA, Gesandtschaftsarchiv Peking 108, Bruno Stransky, 27 May 1916.

Primary Resources:

Archive of Institute Modern History, Academia Sinica, 01-19-007-01-004, 1893 May 8; 03-36-051-03-027, 1918 April 6; 03-36-070-01-015, 1919 Feb. 26; 03-36-107-03-49, 1920 March 12; 03-36-107-03-094, 1920 June 17; 03-36-113-03-003, 1920 Sept.24; 03-36-113-03-029, 1920 Nov 15;.

AVA (Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv China) China 1909 F1093/ZI 14293, 1909 Mai 26.

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