

National Identity of a ‘Borderland Man’: the case of Dušan Todorović, Russian Language Professor in Tokyo – from early days until end of World War I

Nobuhiro SHIBA (Josai International University)

Introduction

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Key words: Dušan Todorović, national identity, World War I, Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, Serbian Relief Committee in Tokyo

Introduction

Considering the modern history of Central and Eastern Europe, we could easily find the cases that one had to change or select his own nationality because his country collapsed and a new country was built. Recently one of the cases is a popular musician, Ms Jadranka Stojaković, in Japan who passed away in the Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2016. She was born in Sarajevo in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina of the Former Yugoslavia, taking a lively part in the popular music world in Europe as well as in the Former Yugoslavia. When Jadranka came to Japan for her recording in 1988 and played her music activities as a singer, the Bosnia Wars just began and her homeland has dissolved. As the Former Yugoslavia with her deep love has disappeared, she had to change her nationality into Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Such a case came into being in various ways when they founded their nation states as a result of the collapse of three Empires in Central and Eastern Europe, where they had been under the occupation of the Hapsburg Empire, the Russian Empire and the German Empire until the end of World War I.

Professor Dušan Todorović (1875-1963) is one of the cases, who had taught Russian language for 31 years from 1909 to 1940 at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (now, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies). When he was in Tokyo, World

War I broke out and his homeland, the Kingdom of Serbia, was integrated into the new state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (The Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929). The cases that their homeland had been changed during their living abroad like Prof. Todorović were found here and there among soldiers who were taken prisoners at the enemy countries.

On the occasion of World War I, Czech and Slovak soldier under the Habsburg army surrendered to the enemy, the Russian army, being taken prisoners. This is relatively a well-known event in relation to the later Czech and Slovak Legion¹. A few of Croat, Serb and Slovene soldiers under the Habsburg army also surrendered to the Russian Army. Especially, a quite number of Serbian officers and soldiers deserted their services, going their home and then surrendered to the Russian Army, joining it. In April of 1916 before the formation of Czech and Slovak Legion, the First Serbian Voluntary Division was founded under the command of the Russian Empire by such South Slav prisoners of war (mainly Serbs) and the officers from the Army of the Kingdom of Serbia withdrawing then at Corfu². Although the Serbian Voluntary Divisions will be examine in my another paper, South Slav prisoners of war had to change each nationality in face of building the new country, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes after World War I.

We can find the same cases as the above in Japan. Japan joining World War I sent over 70,000-men army to possess Jiaozhou Wan at the Shandong Peninsula (then the leased territory by Germany) in China in August of 1914. The German Army had already surrendered in November and about 4,600 officers and soldiers of the German Army became taken prisoners³. They were interned separately at the various places in Japan, being obliged to live in prison camps until 1919. Actually, around 400 prisoners of the Habsburg Army⁴ were found among the prisoners of the German Army. Czechs,

¹ About a recent work on the Czech and Slovak Legion in Japanese, See.: Tadayuki Hayashi, “The Czech and Slovak Legion: the Migration and Prisoners Mobilized for the Future Homeland”, Yamamuro, Okada, Ozeki and Hujiwara (eds.), *World War I: the Starting Point of Contemporary Period, Vol.2 Total War*, Tokyo, 2014, pp.55-77.

² About recent researches on the Serbian Voluntary Divisions, See the following three books by Milan Minić. Милан Минић, *Српско добровољачко питање у Великом рату (1914-1918)*, Банатски културни центар, Ново Милошево и РадиоТелевизија Србије, Београд, 2014; *Незапамћена битка: Српски добровољаци у Русији 1914-1918*, Банатски културни центар, Ново Милошево, 2016; *Српски добровољаци 1914-1918: Животи, сећања*, Банатски културни центар, Ново милошево, 2016; *Српски добровољаци из САД (1914-1918)*, Банатски културни центар, Ново Милошево, 2018.

³ About the labor and life of the prisoners during World War I, See: Atsushi Otsuru, *Prisoners and Labor during World War I as Total War*, Kyoto, 2013.

⁴ Takehiko Seto, *Soldiers Coming from Tsigtao: World War I and the True Picture of Prisoners of the German Army*, Tokyo, 2006, p. 61.

Slovaks, Croats and Slovenes were also among them. Before their coming back home in 1919, the prisoners of war confronted with the selection of their nationalities. Then Japan respected the intentions of the prisoners of war and let them carefully select their own nationalities⁵

How was the case of Dušan Todorović? He came to Japan as a professor of Russian language in 1909. When he taught Russian language at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, World War I just broke out. He, teaching it as a 'Russian', made a start on supporting Serbia with donations just after hearing of the Red Cross of Japan's support of relief goods like bandage to Serbia under the turmoil of wars through the Red Cross of Serbia in the autumn of 1914⁶. We can see his strong identity to Serbia in his activities. Todorović played an active part in the diplomatic works as 'a private ambassador' of the new country, Yugoslavia in Japan (and only one person in Japan from Yugoslavia), because Yugoslavia didn't set up her embassy in Japan at the inter-war period.

He didn't leave his memoirs and hardly wrote the essays with his personal view except several textbooks of Russian language in Japanese⁷. So there is no way but we could suppose his view and thought about Serbia, Russia, Yugoslavia, Japan and United States and his national identity from the related materials on him. This paper is an introductory work to research the changes of national identity of a 'borderland man' whom we cannot follow in the framework of a national history.

1. Growing up in Srem, Serbian village on Austro-Hungry borderland

When I introduced his activities in Japan in 2015⁸, I could not yet specify his exact date of birth and his birthplace. So the process to find out them will be shown in this paper.

⁵ Boštjan Bertalanič, "Exploring the Origins of Japanese-Yugoslav Relations during World War I through the Case of Yugoslav POWs in Japan", *The Electronic Journal of Central European Studies in Japan*, No.1, Dec. 2015

⁶ In the Great Britain, a woman whose name is Flora Sanders also supported Serbia with funds. She served in the Serbian Army from 1915 at first as a nurse and then as a soldier, organizing the relief foundation for Serbian soldiers in the Great Britain when she returned home during a leave from her military serve and was busily engaged in the charity activities for relief goods. See.: Toshiko Hayashida, 'To be a woman, to be a soldier: The experience during the war of Ms Flora Sandes, a woman soldier in the Balkans', Yamamuro, Okada, Ozeki and Hujiwara (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp.230-231.

⁷ For example, D.N.Todorović, *An Epistolary Style of Russian Language*, Tokyo, 1921; *A Way of Practical Pronunciation of Russian Language for the Japanese: Based on the New Orthography*, Tokyo, 1923.

⁸ Nobuhiro Shiba, 'Dušan Todorović: A Serb teaching Russian language in Japan', Nobuhiro Shiba and Shinichi Yamazaki (eds.), *60 Chapters to understand Serbia*, Tokyo, 2015, 323-327.

Because it is not easy for us to specify the origin of ‘an ordinary people’ living over 100 years ago, even if he was one of intellectuals. Only one clue to him was an article by Branko Vukerić, a correspondent of the newspaper in Belgrade “Politika” in Tokyo⁹. As Vukerić wrote in an article that Todorović was awarded a high decoration from the Japanese Government, Riko Shiba looked for the database of Japan Center for Asian Historical Records National Archives of Japan (JACAR) and she could find a file about his decoration¹⁰. His career is included in the file. According to it, he was born in Belgrade on February 22 in 1875. We could follow his activities during stay in Japan through the books on University history¹¹ and the newsletter of the Russian Association of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages¹², but were fully unable to know his career in Russia before coming to Japan in 1909 and his life during stay in the United States where his sons lived after leaving Japan in 1940.

Then we could find the imperfect family history of Todorović through the website, Ancestry.com in the United States which supports to find each family history of American people. Several photographs including the graves of Mr. and Mrs. Todorović and their family were on the website. One is photograph of his grave carving the birth and death dates 1875-1963, at a Serbian graveyard of Colma in California. The provider of these photos was Dana Dušan Todorović and I called for his response through the electronic bulletin board of Ancestry.com. Fortunately I could soon receive his reply. Dana is a son of Todorović’s second son, Dragutin among four brothers, living in a town in California after his retirement, where it takes about 2 hours by car from Palo Alto lived by Todorović and his wife, Catherine (Katerina)¹³ until the end of their lives.

We met Dana at a hotel of Palo Alto in 2016. He seemed to have strong interest in the lives of his grandfather and grandmother, especially Dušan as we could easily guess from using his grandfather’s name, Dušan. When his grandfather passed away in 1963, Dana was a elementary school boy. So he said to us that he only had fragmental reminiscence of his grandfather and he scarcely knew about him as there was no chance

⁹ About a translation book into Japanese of Mr. Vukerić’s articles in “Politika”, See: Hiroshi Yamasaki Vukerić (ed. and tr.), Branko Vukerić, Letters from Japan: His Articles Published in “Politika (1933-1940)”, Tokyo, 2007.

¹⁰ Riko Shiba, “Katerina Todorović (1877-1974): A Central European pianist and the Japanese Reception of Western Music in the Early 20th Century”, *The Electronic Journal of Central European Studies in Japan*, No.2, November 2016, note 14; Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan (JACAR), Ref. A10113356400 : *The document on decision of decorations in 1940*, vol.20, Foreigners 1, National Archives of Japan.

¹¹ *A History of Tokyo University for Foreign Studies*, Tokyo, 1999; Masataka Nonaka, *A History of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages: People who studied the foreign languages*, Tokyo, 2008.

¹² *The Newsletter* was published twice a year from 1926 by the Russian Association of Tokyo School of Foreign Studies.

¹³ About Catherine, See: Riko Shiba, *op., cit.*

for him to ask Todorović's early years and his life in the United States openly to his face. He showed us a lot of photographs of the decorations which were given the Todorovićs, various invitation letters, his book covers about Russian language and photos with friends or acquaintances. After the meeting, we continued exchanges of e-mail. He sent us another photo he had newly searched for whenever we received his e-mail. But curiously, we still hadn't the cue of his origin and early years.

Vukerić writes an article about Todorović's early years based on the interview with him.

I left Serbia just at 19 years old when I had finished the first year of the faculty of Technology, University of Belgrade. Then I graduated from Petersburg University in Russia, receiving a doctorate of physics and mathematics from the university. At that time I became acquainted with my wife¹⁴.

My research started at the Archives of Serbia relying on the above account. At first, I could find out the manuscript list of scholarship students by the Russia Government¹⁵. The name of Dušan Todorović sent to Petersburg for studying was at the page of 1894 of the list. But there was no other data but his name in the list. He surely entered the faculty of Technology, University of Belgrade (then Velika Škola of Belgrade, University of Belgrade since 1905), so he might be enrolled in a gymnasium in Belgrade. I tried to search the name lists of two gymnasiums in Belgrade in 1890s at the room for materials of Pedagogical Museum in Belgrade.

Fortunately, the First Gymnasium in Belgrade has published a list of the graduates to commemorate 150th anniversary of founding of the school. It was not so difficult for me to find his name among 30 graduates of 1893-94 school years¹⁶. His results at the 7th grade of the Gymnasium (8 school years) were kept in the room. According to it, Todorović took 11 courses at this school year and his evaluation of 5 subjects were 5 (on a scale of one to five), 6 subjects were 4. He was a leading student¹⁷. It seemed that students had to select French or German at the 7th grade and it was not clear whether they could learn Russian language or not. It was of great interest that his evaluation of geometry was 5 in comparison with 4 of algebra and that of botany was 5 in comparison with 4 of physics. As Velika Škola of Belgrade then consisted of three

¹⁴ 'No.23, A Serb staying in Japan for 25 years: Minister, General and Diplomat among his students', Hiroshi Yamasaki Vukerić (ed. and tr.), *op. cit.*, p.120.

¹⁵ Архив Србије, МПС-п, 1894, 27 i 45

¹⁶ Прва београдска гимназија «Моша Пијаде» 1839-1989, Београд, 1989, 436

¹⁷ Оцене ученичког успеха у I београдској гимназији 1891/92, Београд, 1892.

faculties: Law, Technology and Theology, he entered the faculty of Technology.

We necessarily sought the book of registration of his birth (*matična knjiga*) and that of registration of his marriage (*matična knjiga venčanih*) at Historical Archives of Belgrade to specify his birthplace and his parents as he graduated from the First Gymnasium in Belgrade. But I failed to find out his name in these documents. His grandson, Dana said to me that his father, Dragutin was maybe born in Niš, a city of southern part of Serbia, so I asked Historical Archives of Niš to search Dragutin's book of registration of birth. But their answer was that they had not keep documents on his relevant birth year.

I couldn't yet get the cue of his origin at Historical Archives of Belgrade and Nis. At last, I sought it again at the Archives of Serbia in Belgrade because I heard from a librarian at Pedagogical Museum in Belgrade that they kept students' record cards (*delovodnik*) of *Velika Škola* of Belgrade. I could easily find out his name among students entering the faculty of Technology in 1893 and get copies of his registration for the enrollment with the application letter for the scholarship in his own handwriting¹⁸. I have finally reached his birth place and his father Nikola Todorović's occupation after going long way¹⁹.

We can know that his father is Nikola Todorović, a leather worker at Surčin and his birth date is on February 20, 1875²⁰ from his registration for enrollment in a blue paper. His birthplace is Surčin (then under the government of Habsburg Empire), his religion is orthodox, his nationality is Serbia, the state of his finances is poor, his graduation gymnasium is the First Gymnasium in Belgrade and so on. As he stated his family was poor, he sent in an application letter for scholarship with the revenue stamp of 30 paras and a certificate from the court of Belgrade city. This certificate shows that his father, Nikola hasn't any movable and immovable property and doesn't receive any unearned income and pension, being a person of tax exemption and has to support the second son, Ilija²¹ who is student at 7th grade of gymnasium. Todorović's family seemed to be fairly poor under his father, a leather worker. We are forced to wonder

¹⁸ Архив Србије, МПС-п, Велика школа, деловодник за 1893, бр. 1209 и 2194.

¹⁹ I received a lot of kind assistance from Professor Milan Ristović, University of Belgrade on this long way.

²⁰ He wrote that his birthday was February 22, 1875 in his personal history made by Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. See: note 8 of this article.

²¹ Ilija Todorović (1877-1915) also went to Petersburg to study medicine at the Military Academy for Medicine in Petersburg. After graduating from the Academy, he came back to Belgrade and worked as an army doctor, but he died of illness during World War I. See; 'The death notice of Dr. Ilija Todorović', *Правда*, 13.марта 1915 and *Новосту*, 16.марта 1915 (Both of two newspapers were published in Belgrade).

how Todorović and his little brother, Ilija could continue to learn at the gymnasium in this state of their finances. It is not clear whether they had their relatives in Belgrade or their family had moved to Belgrade at that time. We cannot find much information about his mother and sisters²².

Moreover, it will be necessary to explain about his birth place, Surčin with complicated history. Surčin is a well-known place-name where the International airport Nikola Tesla in Belgrade is now situated. It is at only 20 km. west across the Sava river from the center of Belgrade. Surčin is now a part of Belgrade city, but going back into history, it was at northwest side of Serbia and belonged to the border land called Srem (Srijem in Croatian language) between Serbia and Croatia. Serbs, Croats, Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Vlachs and Ruthenians lived together in Srem region. The land of Srem is fertile and is suitable for cultivating fruits, especially grape, so a lot of people were coming and going to this region from ancient times.

Srem was under the rule of The Kingdom of Hungary from 12th to 16th century, under the rule of the Ottoman Empire from 16th to 18th century and under the rule of the Habsburg Empire from 18th century to World War I. At the time of the 1848-49 Revolution, when the Hungarian Revolution broke out against the rule of the Habsburg Empire, Serbs living in the southern part of Hungary including Srem as well as in Croatia rose in revolt against the rule of Hungary, demanding the use of their mother tongue, Serbian language and so on. In May of 1848, the foundation of the Duchy of Serbia (Vojvodstvo Srbija) was declared at Karlovci, the center of Srem, which included following four regions: Srem (the region between the Danube River and the Sava river), Baranja (the region between the Danube River and the Drava river), Bačka (the region the Tisa river and the the Danube River) and Banat (the region among the Mures, the Tisa river and the Danube River, the eastern region turning toward Pannonia). This declaration showed that the Duchy of Serbia forming the basis of today's Vojvodina was a free political entity having the complete equality with the 'Triune Kingdom' (Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia) under the Habsburg Empire²³.

²² As this will be discussed below in this article, Todorović was busily engaged in the support activities to Serbia during World War I. When he contributed money to the Red Cross of Serbia through the Red Cross of Japan, he answered in the interview with a newspaper journalist as follows: "Serbia is similar to Japan in the small territory and brave people. Now my brother fought bravely against Austria and my sisters worked as a nurse at the Red Cross of Serbia.", 'A contribution for rolls of bandage with strong emotions: A Russian born in Serbia who made a donation to the Red Cross', *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, the morning edition, Oct.4, 1914. His mother, Julka Todorović died in Belgrade in 1927 and his sisters' name are Mira and Milka. See: 'Funeral Announcement of Mrs. Julka Todorovic', *Правда*, 30.нояембра 1927

²³ Sima M. Ćirković, *The Serbs*, Blackwell Publishing, MA, Oxford and Victoria, 2004, pp.200-202.

The Duchy of Serbia was changed into the Duchy of Serbia and Banat of Timișoara (Vojvodstvo Srbija i Timiški Banat) after the suppression of a chain of the revolt by Serbs and the Military Border was revived at the southern parts of Srem and Banat. The Military Border was administrative units which the Habsburg Empire found at the first half of 16th century making preparations for the attack of the Ottoman Empire. The peasants living in the Military Border had a privilege without the taxation, but they had to do the military service at wartime. Therefore they were called ‘free peasants and soldiers’²⁴. A lot of people moved to the Military Border from the neighboring Serbia as well as the interior regions of the Habsburg Empire in response to the Emperor’s appeal, so the Military Border was a mixed society with multi-ethnicities. The Military Border Administration continued until 1881, but it had been abolished at Surčin in 1871. When Todorović was born in 1875, Surčin was transferred into the civil administration.

The Surčin region (satnija) formed of 6 settlements including the village of Surčin was incorporated into the Slavonia Military Border by the decree of 1746 by Maria Theresa. Then the total population of the Surčin region was 5128 (725 households), consisted of 4712 Orthodox, 328 Catholic and 48 Lutheran²⁵. Many people quickly migrated to this region at the first half of 18th century and the parish of Serbia Orthodox church was solidly prepared. According to the registration of birth of Serbian Orthodox church, 800 Serbs (134 households)²⁶ lived in only the village of Surčin in 1746, 1034 Serbs (200 households)²⁷ in 1878 when Todorović was 3 years old. Srem including the Surčin region was removed from the Military Border in 1871 and Surčin was absorbed into the district (kotar) of Zemun by the reorganization of the administrative units in 1881, developing in the agricultural and commercial fields. The social condition of the district from the end of 19th century to the beginning of 20th century and the origin of the Todorović family considerably interest us²⁸, but I cannot fully mention them at present.

Todorović was born as a Serb in the borderland of the Habsburg Empire, entering a gymnasium in Belgrade; the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia situated across the Sava river and was enrolled in Velika Škola in Belgrade. He wrote his nationality as Serbia in

²⁴ Karl Kaser, *Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slavonischen Militärgrenze*, Wien, 1997 (Japanese translation; Isao Koshimura and Hiroshi Toya (ed. and tr.), *A Social History of Military Border in the Habsburg Empire: Free Peasants and Soldiers*, Tokyo, 2013.

²⁵ Marko Kljajić, *Surčin kroz povijest*, Petrovaradin, 2010, 54.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 264.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 268.

²⁸ The Orthodox church, St. Petka (Crkva sv. Petke) in Surčin keeps the registration books of birth, marriage and death of the parish from the end of 18th century, but unfortunately the registration books in 1875 or so is missing for some reason.

the above-mentioned students' record cards of Velika Škola, so he might move to Belgrade with his family at that time. Anyway, considering the economic condition of the Todorović family and the near distance, it seemed to be natural that he selected to enter the school in Belgrade, not in Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg Empire.

2. Early days in Japan as a professor of Russian language in Japan

As I have mentioned above, we have few materials about Todorović's traces from the period when he finished the first year at the faculty of Technology, Velika Škola in Belgrade and went to Petersburg for studying as a scholarship student by the Russian government in 1894 to the date he arrived Japan in April, 1909. Vukerić's interview article is one of the important cues and he described that Todorović became acquainted with Catherine and got married with her just after he had took a doctorate in physics and mathematics at University of Petersburg, and they lived in Russia for ten years or so²⁹. Vukeric didn't write down the exact date and place Todorović and his wife met. Even now the detail of their life in Russia is not clear. But Catherine had married Joseph Kogan, having a son, Jacob (James) in September, 1902 before her marriage with Todorović as Riko Shiba mentioned³⁰. Whereas Todorović also had married with a likely Serbian woman, having two sons, Valerian in October, 1902 and Dragutin in May, 1904. It was the second marriage with their children for both of them. Therefore, Todorović probably didn't dare to reveal the fact.

According to Dana, a son of Dragutin living in California, the birthplace of Valerian and Dragutin would be Niš in Serbia. But I couldn't confirm their birthplace at the Historical Archive in Niš as stated above. I presume that Todorović got acquainted with Catherine in 1905 or so, but there is nothing to tell about where they met each other, in Petersburg or Kilija in Bessarabia, a borderland of the Russian Empire and how they became acquainted.

He didn't leave any essays about his life when he studied in University in Petersburg, but a student who studied at the faculty of medicine of University in Petersburg in 1896, two years later than Todorović left the letters to his friends. This scholarship student, M. Ivković wrote a few aspects of his student life as follows³¹.

²⁹ Hiroshi Yamasaki Vukerić (ed. and tr.), *op., cit.*, p.120.

³⁰ Riko Shiba, *op., cit.*, p.7.

³¹ «Писмо српског студента у Петрограду М. Ивковића новинару и књижевнику Р. Одавићу, о студентском животу у Русији, словенофилским круговима и предабању о Србији студента В.Н.

Two months have already passed since I came here, but I could not inform you at all. Don't think badly of me. Whenever I tried to write to you, someone bothered me and I had to make the time for him. ...I had no time for myself. It is not too much to say I have no time to spend freely in the least. I go out from my room in the morning, working as an intern and I come back to my room at 8 at night. After that, I usually study the reference books from 10 at night to 3 in the midnight.

This is the case of a medical student. We can easily imagine that Todorović graduated from the University by studying hard, moreover taking his doctorate in physics and mathematics.

Todorović had an opportunity to touch upon his own career after taking a degree at University in Petersburg on his speech at a celebration party. The party celebrating the 25th anniversary of his tenure of employment at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages was held at a restaurant, Ueno Seiyoken in Tokyo. Over 50 mens were present at the party and Vukerić was one of the guests³². To our surprise, most of speeches of participants were in Russian language at that time. Todorović expressed his thanks at the very end of the party. His speech in Russian language with his brief history was published in *The Newsletter* edited by the Russian Association of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages³³. Although he didn't put down the exact date in the brief history by himself and we cannot know precise time, he seemed to teach physics and mathematics at several schools for 7 years. Then he became interested in the life at the Far East and he went to work as a government official at Pri Amur tax office at Khabarovsk for 3 years, His life at Khabarovsk, a town at the Far East of the Russian Empire is very interesting. Catherine born at the southern borderland of the Russian Empire is now determined to live in the coldest town at the Far East of the Empire.

About 300 Japanese had lived at Khabarovsk when Todorović, Catherine and their three sons moved there in 1907. Japanese people began to be settled at Khabarovsk in 1880s, but they returned to Japan during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and came back again to this town after the War, building their settlement. Todorović wrote in his brief history that he had his interest in a country at the Far East, Japan he had heard and

Корабльова», *Москва-Србија Београд-Русија: Документа и материјали*, том 3
(*Друштвено-политичке и културне везе 1878-1917*), Москва-Београд, 2012, 550-551.

³² Juroku Mizobe, 'Report on the party celebrating the 25th anniversary of Professor Todorovic', *The Newsletter*, No.21, December, 1935, p.42.

³³ Прощалиная речь проф. Д.Н.Тодоловича, *The Newsletter*, No.21, December, 1935, pp. 20-27.

he wanted to live in Japan³⁴, Todorović and Catherine had their first son, Victor at Khabarovsk in December, 1907. We are struck with their decision to move to a strange country, Japan with four children and cannot help feeling the mental strength in their way to cross a national border with great ease. The difference of nationality or language might matter little for them born at the borderlands in the Habsburg Empire and the Russian Empire.

Anyway, Todorović and his wife arrived at Japan on April 15, 1909. Calculating backward from this date, he likely received the doctorate in 1899³⁵, living in Russia until 1906. But he had his eldest son in 1902 as mentioned above. So it is natural that he had married with a Serbian woman. We cannot tell with where he met first wife and they lived each other. He only noted that he taught physics and mathematics at several schools for 7 years after getting the degree in his brief history. But he told that he taught them in Russia for 7 years, in his speech made at his farewell party at a restaurant, Eiraku Club at Marunouchi in Tokyo when he reached retirement age at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages on May 12, 1940³⁶.

If his first wife was a Serbian woman, he might temporarily come back to Serbia after finishing study in Petersburg. When I assume like this, I have to think he had any reason why he didn't want to reveal in his brief history and his speech. Although the name of Dušan Todorović is not rare in Serbia and there is a possibility of the same name, I found an interesting material. The table of personal interchange among diplomats, officers and students is run at the end of the book quoted at note 30. We can find the name of Dušan Todorović in the table, 'III Scholarship students of the Serbian Government for studding the Russian Empire and Officers of the Ministry of War in Serbia received by the Russian Government'. This Todorović was a second lieutenant belonging to an artillery unit of Serbian Army and was sent to a artillery school for shooting in Russia³⁷.

There are two photos given by Dana Todorovic, which may show us that

³⁴ Краткие сведения из жизни проф. Д.Н.Тодоровича, *The Newsletter*, No.21, December, 1935, p. 27.

³⁵ Todorović received the Golden Order of Merit from the Red Cross of Japan for the reason that he had made a great contribution to the Red Cross of Japan in July, 1959. The party celebrating his receiving the Order was held at Berkley in California in September. The wife of James, Catherine's son worked as the president of volunteers for Berkley Red Cross. Berkeley Daily Gazette reported that he was the first American recipient of the Order from the Red Cross of Japan and he received the doctorate at University of Petersburg in 1898 and he became a United States citizen in 1945. 'Japanese Red Cross Honors Dr, D.N. Todorović at Berkeley Ceremonies', *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, September 23, 1959.

³⁶ Прощальная речь проф. Д.Н.Тодоловича, *The Newsletter*, No.30, July, 1940, p.21.

³⁷ Москва-Србија Београд-Русија: Документа и материјали, том 3, 666.

Todorović was an officer of the Serbian Army in the short term. The date and place are not known, but one is a commemorative photo in which four young officers or government officials in the uniform including Todorović were taken with two men in civilian clothes (See picture 1) and the other is a photo in which Todorović in military or government official's uniform happily smiled with his healthy-looking child on the shoulder (See picture 2). His son looked like to be one year old, so the taken date of this photo would be 1903 or so if the child was his eldest son, Valerian and in it would be 1905 or so if the child was his second son, Dragutin. The taken place of this photo may be Niš in Serbia as Dana said to us. Considering that the military system was properly provided in the Kingdom of Serbia at that time, adopting conscription system³⁸, probably, Todorović returned home for a short time to carry out his compulsory military service and belonged to the Serbian Military. But there is no evidence to prove this conjecture³⁹.

As Riko Shiba presumes in her article, Todorović got married with Catherine in 1905 or so when he was a teacher of physics and mathematics for mysterious 7 years⁴⁰. Now I will consider how he came to Japan from Khabarovsk as a professor of Russian language just on a few cues. Vukerić wrote that he became a professor of the Military Academy by the invitation of the Japanese Government and after that he was appointed a professor at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages⁴¹. But his colleague, Professor Sadatoshi Yasugi's speech at the party celebrating the 25th anniversary of his tenure of employment at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages shows that the situation was little bit different from Vukerić's article. When the employment period (1906-09) of his predecessor, Professor Aleksandor Petrov at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages had expired in 1909, leaving Japan, Petrov was expected to recommend his successor. But the deciding a new staff had difficulty for some reasons. So Yasugi had directly contact with his acquaintance, Ksimidov living in Vladivostok to ask him to recommend a suitable person. Tokyo School of Foreign Languages had the agreement for student exchange with the first University at Far East Russia, the Oriental Institute⁴² at that time

³⁸ About the military system and the conscription system in the Kingdom of Serbia, See: Милић Милићевић, «Регрутни састав војске Србије 1883-1912.: Систем позива и неки његови друштвени аспекти», *Војно-Историјски Гласник*, 1/2016, 9-25.

³⁹ I had a chance to ask two photos to a researcher of the uniforms of Serbian army, Mr. Saša Ružeskić who works at Archives of Serbia in September 14, 2017. According his opinion, Todorović's uniform is maybe not from Serbian army, but the Russian government official. The further verification of two photos shall be needed.

⁴⁰ Riko Shiba, *op., cit.*, p. 8.

⁴¹ Hiroshi Yamasaki Vukerić (ed. and tr.), *op., cit.*, p.120.

⁴² About the Oriental Institute, See: Alexander Dybovski, 'The Developmental Problems of Japanese Studies and Japanese Language Education at Far East Russia: Japanology at the Oriental Institute (1899-1920)', *Language and Culture Studies*

and received students every year who majored in Japanese language from the Oriental Institute. Ksimidov was one of exchange students, keeping in touch with Yasugi. A person whom Ksimidov selected and recommend to Yasugi was Todorović living at Khabarovsk⁴³.

The education of Russian language in Japan got into full swing after the victory of Japan at the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Because it was clear that Japan would be opposed to Russia over various interests in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula if Japan wanted to advance into China. In this situation, National Institutes for Foreign Languages were reorganized and Tokyo School of Foreign Languages made a start with 6 departments of English, French, German, Russian, Chinese and Korean in 1897 (Italian was increased in 1899). Russian language was introduced to the Military Preparatory School as a regular subject in 1897. From 1900 a native speaker from Russia was officially invited at department of Russian language in Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and this invitation system continued after that. Todorovic was the fifth Professor from Russia⁴⁴.

Returning to Yasugi's speech, he introduced a part of Ksimidov's letter recommending Todorović to him. Ksimidov wrote to Yasugi that Todorović worked as a government official at Khabarovsk in those days, but he wanted to teach Russian language in Japan, who was a person with an advanced academic background with sincerity, steady and diligence, having enough experience to teach at schools. Ksimidov recommended him to be a just the right person for a Professor of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. At last, he concluded in his letter that Todorovic's best point was not to care greatly for alcohol. Yasugi spoke that Ksimidov would be told that his predecessor, Petrov liked to drink alcohol though it was not hindered in his work, so he might add lastly Todorović didn't like alcohol⁴⁵. The decisive factor in employing him as a Professor was that he not a drinker and it would not matter that he was a Serb being not a native speaker of Russian language.

In Todorović's words, he set sail for the Japan Sea in the midst of a raging rainstorm boarding a ship, Hozan Maru like Rip Van Winkle from the dark Siberian land deeply covered with snow and came to the Empire of the Rising Sun⁴⁶. When he got out

(Osaka University), No.35, March, 2009, pp.95-117.

⁴³ Table Speech at the Celebrating Party by Prof. Sadatoshi Yasugi, *The Newsletter*, No.21, December, 1935, p. 9.

⁴⁴ *A History of Tokyo University for Foreign Studies*, op., cit., p. 795-799.

⁴⁵ Table Speech at the Celebrating Party by Professor Sadatoshi Yasugi, *The Newsletter*, No.21, December, 1935, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁶ Table Speech at the Celebrating Party by Professor Todorović, *The Newsletter*, No.21, December, 1935, pp. 21-22.

a train at Shinbashi Station in Tokyo on April 15, 1909, where Yasugi went to the station to meet him, the cherry blossoms fluttered down in Tokyo. Todorović was employed on the same day by Tokyo Institute for Foreign Languages⁴⁷. As mentioned above, the department of Russian language at the Institute had employed the foreign Professors since 1900. They usually came back to their country as soon as the period of their employment was expired. But Todorović worked as a Russian language professor at the Institute for 31 years until his retirement age. He was also employed as a Professor of Russian language on September 1⁴⁸ at the Military Academy where Petrov had held the post and he taught Russian language at the Military Academy for 2 and half years until 1912⁴⁹.

3. Activities of the Serbian Relief Committee in Tokyo during World War I

Todorović and Catherine began their lives in a foreign land with Todorović's sons (Valerian, then seven years old and Dragutin, five years old), Catherine's son (Jacob, seven years old) and Viktor (two years old) who was born in Khabarovsk when they were there. Todorović worked as a Russian language professor and Catherine enjoying good luck, could soon begin her activities as a concert pianist with the support of the Russian Embassy in Tokyo⁵⁰. The Taisho period had begun in 1912 after the Meiji period, but their lives in Tokyo were going well (See picture 3).

On the other hand, his homeland, Serbia just entered the period of wars at that time. The Balkan countries attaining their independence from the Ottoman Empire, concluded one bilateral military alliance after another by suspending their territory demands with the support of the Russian Empire, and started wars against the Ottoman Empire in October of 1912. The Empire was defeated by the first Balkan War, finishing over 400 years long rule of the Balkans. The Ottoman army withdrew their troops from the Balkan Peninsula except for the limited parts of Istanbul and neighboring area. Just after the first Balkan War, the conflicts between Bulgaria and Serbia, Greece came into the open concerning the possession of Macedonia where a vacuum of power was caused. The second Balkan War began in June of 1913, ending with Bulgarian defeat within less

⁴⁷ JACAR, Ref. A10113356400 : *The document on decision of decorations in 1940* , vol.20, Foreigners 1, National Archives of Japan.

⁴⁸ *The Military Academy: Report on Human Affairs in 1909*, vol.4, the National Institute for Defense Studies.

⁴⁹ JACAR, Ref. C06085149700: *On the entertainment to the foreign Professors at the Military Academy*, March 9, 1912, The National Institute for Defense Studies.

⁵⁰ Riko Shiba, *op., cit.*, pp. 9-10.

than one month.

All of the Balkan countries suffered huge human and material losses at the two wars. The casualties were 5,000 killed and 18,000 wounded in Serbia at the first Balkan War in spite of one of victorious countries, and 7,000-8,000 killed, 30,000 wounded and over 10,000 deaths due to cholera and others at the Second Balkan War⁵¹. As a result of two hard wars, Serbia could take over Kosovo, Sandžak around Novi Pazar and the northern part of Macedonia. But the enlargement of her territory by the military victory deviated from their political aim of liberating the Serbian people. As natural results, the role of military factors in Serbia became strengthened. The discord among the regent, the government and a section of the officers called “Unification or Death” continued until 1917⁵². The political situation was similar to the situation in which the Japanese army continued to demand her military expansion after her victory at the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War.

The murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife happened in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. After the incident, the Habsburg Empire laid down a 10-item ultimatum to Serbia. The Serbian government accepted all the demands of the ultimatum except for one item that violated her state sovereignty. But the Habsburg Empire strongly declared war on Serbia on July 28. The European war became worldwide when Japan joined the Entente by using the Anglo-Japanese Alliance as a pretext⁵³.

Public and military circles in Serbia grew excited, but the Serbian government officially condemned the assassination and tried to avoid war. Because Serbia had suffered huge human and financial losses at the Balkan Wars, Serbia had scarcely strength in reserve. Besides, there were about 2 million Serbs living in the Habsburg Empire, so the Serbian government hesitated to fight with them. In the meanwhile, the Habsburg Empire didn't send the Serb soldiers to the Serbian front, but dispatched Croat and Muslim soldiers⁵⁴.

As the battlefield for Serbia during World War I was along wide and long border region with the Habsburg Empire differing from the battlefields outside Serbia at the Balkan Wars, it goes without saying that the casualties in Serbia were huge. According to the report by the delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes at the Paris Peace Conference in January of 1919, the death toll of Serbia during World War I was

⁵¹ International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Division of Intercourse and Education, *Report of International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*, Washington, D. C., 1914, pp.395-397.

⁵² Ćirković, *op.cit.*, pp.245-245.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp.246-247.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.247-248.

1,247,000: 402,000 soldiers (out of 852,000 military effectives) and 845,000 civilians. 28 percent of the total population in 1914 was lost during World War I in Serbia⁵⁵.

It seemed that Todorović was shocked to hear the news about Serbia in wartime destruction in Tokyo far away from his homeland. According to an article quoting from *The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper* on October 4 of 1914 at note 21 of this paper, the reason why he asked the Red Cross of Japan about the aid to Serbia was as follows.

... Professor Todorovic of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages was a Russian who was born in Serbia. He sent his donation to the president of the Red Cross of Japan, Mr. Hanabusa and asked him to use his donation for rolls of bandage in this contributing from the Red Cross of Japan to the Red Cross of Serbia by his letter on September 28. The Red Cross of Japan responded on September 29 that they were pleased to receive his demand and Todorović sent 150 yen to the Red Cross on October 1. They decided at once to add 1000 rolls of bandage to their contribution, packing them in order that the Red Cross of Serbia could easily find Todorovic's donation. Professor Todorović said as follows. "I lived in Serbia until 18 years old and then moved to Russia, coming to Japan 5 years ago by accepting the invitation of the Institute for Foreign Languages. Germany and Austro-Hungary are the enemies of both Serbia and Russia. So this war stirs doubly deep inside me. When I heard the Red Cross of Japan shall gladly contribute rolls of bandage to the Red Cross of Serbia at their requests, I felt strong emotions to the chivalrous response of Japan. I could not sit idly looking on Serbia's distress. I wanted to send even a little more rolls of bandage as a token of my sentiments and made a donation to the Red Cross of Japan⁵⁶. ..."

As the fierce battles with the Hapsburg Empire continued from the start of war, Serbia had to move all functions of Belgrade located in a borderland to Niš. Todorović received the respond letter of appreciation of March 25, 1915 from Dr. Vojislav Subotić, Vice-president of the Red Cross of Serbia in Nis. Dr. Subotić appealed to Japanese people for their donation, medical supplies and clothes especially underwear and bed sheets with explaining that the Red Cross of USA, UK and France had started their activities for the collection of donations for relief and enclosing the 15 pages' explanation about Serbia and her distress in the letter⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ *Лексикон Првог светског рата у Србији*, Институт за савремену историју и Друштво историчара Србије, Београд, 2015, 13 и 360.

⁵⁶ *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, the morning edition, Oct.4, 1914.

⁵⁷ The original letter from Dr. Subotić to Todorović: Председнику Јапанског Црвеног крста

Todorović consulted Mr. Malevski, the Ambassador of the Russian Empire in Tokyo about the demands of the Red Cross of Serbia as soon as Todorović received the letter of appreciation from Dr. Subotić in May. They agreed each other to establish the Committee to Aid Serbia in Tokyo with Ms. Evgenija Malevska, the Ambassador's daughter who was a court lady of the Russian Empire and Todorovic as advocates, beginning their activities for the collection of donations for Serbia⁵⁸. The main backers are Marchioness Nagako Nabeshima, Countess Sadako Ogasawara, Viscountess Chizuko Hanabusa, Baroness Soko Ozawa, Baroness Mariko Ito and Catherine. Todorović worked as a secretary of the Committee. These nobility wives were not only the supporter of the Red Cross of Japan, but also maybe acquaintances of Catherine. Because Catherine gave a lot of daughters of nobility piano lessons⁵⁹.

An article titled by 'An appeal for contributions to aid Serbia', in which the establishment of the Committee to Aid Serbia and activities for the collection of donations was published with the translation of the explanation by Dr. Subotic into Japanese in the bulletin of the Red Cross of Japan, *Hakuai (Humanity)*. The disastrous scene in Serbia was informed in this article as follows.

... Serbian people bravely fought against their enemy for 4 years and won a victory. This was praised by the entire world, but the misery of the small country, Serbia was beyond words. As there were a lot of the sick and wounded in Serbia, our country in all seems to be a great hospital and a great grave, receiving them everywhere in hospitals, public buildings and houses. People who could not go to war are engaged in caring for the sick, but we are still lacking nurses. In addition, we have no more space to receive the sick because of the shortage of housing facilities. So the wounded and the infectious cases were received together, laying on the straw and moaning. Medical doctor Markovic said "Even the wounded that had a major operation can change their underwear only once for three months". We have not enough medicine to cure them and they have to leave themselves to die just like a big fly. ... Moreover, we have over 100,000 war prisoners and not a few refugees from the Hapsburg Empire within our country. The latter is South Slav people whose nationality is the Hapsburg Empire, but took refuge to fear the persecution from their government. Above all, Serbian people are under the most disastrous situation, because they were accustomed to take care of the sick and the wounded, the war prisoners and refugees at first, and then

Г. Председниће, Српско друштво Црвенога крста, 25. марта 1915, Београд; Поштовани и други господине професоре, Српско друштво Црвенога крста, No.3027, 25.марта 1915, Ниш

⁵⁸ 'The gratitude of the Serbian government', *Hakuai (Humanity)*, No.354, October, 1916, p.36.

⁵⁹ Riko Shiba, *op. cit.*, p.21.

themselves. Now the most serious issue for us is about the infectious diseases from the Hapsburg Army. They caused the shortage of disinfectant and the medical doctors as well as ordinary people, suffer the terrible disaster⁶⁰. …

Activities for the collection of donations to relieve Serbia spread to all over Japan through the Red Cross and the donations total amount to 4550.64 yen at the end of November, 1915⁶¹. Todorović vigorously held his charity lecture meetings, to collect donations for aiding Serbia. The articles about his charity lecture meeting presided by a famous French writer and journalist, Hugues Le Roux, then touring the world on a diplomatic mission for the French government on October 23 at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, appeared in newspapers including English-language paper published in Tokyo. According to them, Todorović held a lecture in English about history, education, religion and politics of Serbia by using 45 slides in over 100 people's presence including the Ambassador of Russia and Italy and a lot of the Allied diplomats. Especially when Todorovic quoted from a letter of 1915 from his mother living in Belgrade, an audience was amazed at the disastrous scene. The situation that led to his father's death was written in the letter. When the Hapsburg Army occupied Belgrade, his parents could not take refuge from there because of over 80 years old and his father's becoming bedridden due to illness. One evening, 10 Hungarian soldiers broke into their house and asked them to give wine. His mother said to them that they didn't keep wine in the house as they didn't drink wine, so she begged them to allow her to go and see to the neighbor. When she came back home with five litres of wine, she found everything in the house upside-down, even the bed on which father was lying and he lay on the floor where the soldiers had thrown him⁶². This directly caused his father's death.

On the occasion of the charity lecture meeting at which he mentioned father's sad accident, sons of Todorović and Catherine helped to collect donations at the venue and the total amount 200 yen were sent to the Red Cross of Serbia⁶³. We can find the other short article about Todorović's lecture meeting for the public which would be held at the

⁶⁰ 'About the collection of donations to aid Serbia', *Hakuai*, No.340, August, 1915, pp. 4-9. A flyer titled by 'An appeal for contributions to aid Serbia' appeared in Tokyo. This flyer is kept at Achieves of Serbia. See: Архив Србије, Црвени крст Србије, 11-1tif, 1915. From this flyer, we can suppose that the Committee to Aid Serbia was established about June of 1915, but cannot designate the exact date.

⁶¹ 'The contributions to aid Serbia: the charity lecture meeting', *Hakuai*, No.344, December, 1915, p.24

⁶² 'Not wanted: Austrian Kultur effects in Serbia', *Japan Times*, October 24, 1915; 'Austrian "Kultur": Prof. Todorovitch receives interesting letters', *Japan Times*, October 27, 1915.

⁶³ 'For pitiful Serbian people', *The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, the morning edition, October 24, 1915.

Kanda Youth Hall on February 5, 1916⁶⁴. The charity lecture with an interpreter was about Serbia and Serbian people by using slides, but it is not clear in which language he gave his lecture, English or Russian.

A lot of relief goods were sent to the Minister of Serbia in London at the end of 1915, for example shirts, underwear, towels, sheets, cotton clothes, flannel clothes, blankets, gauzes, cottons, bandages, biscuits, tea and so on. According to Todorović's explanation, the postage of these materials was sent free of charge through the kindness of the Japan Yusen Kaisha Line⁶⁵. The collected donations amounted to 5.562.60 yen and this was sent to the Red Cross of Serbia through Mr. Bošković, the Serbian Envoy in London at the beginning of July, 1916. Todorović received the telegram expressing his gratitude from London on July 8⁶⁶. He worked just like 'a private diplomat' from Serbia, tendering his thanks to the Red Cross of Japan 'on behalf of Serbian people'. For example, he met Mr. Ishiguro, President of the Red Cross of Japan in April, 1917 to express his gratitude for contributions like rolls of bandage, medical supplies, medical devices etc. that were to be sent to Serbia⁶⁷.

We can find the fact that Todorović's role as 'a private diplomat' was authorized by the Serbian government because the Serbian Minister in London, Mr. Jovan Jovanović Pižon officially informed the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Sutemi Chinda that 'Monsieur Todorović has the approval of the Serbian authorities for his work for Serbia'.⁶⁸ When the Red Cross of Serbia gave the Cross medal for benevolence to Mr. Koyata Iwasaki, the fourth generation of the Mitsubishi financial combines (zaibatsu), Mr. Ichizaemon Morimura, the founder of the Morimura financial combines and Mr. Setsutane Konko, the third generation of Konkokyo (religious group) who made a lot of donations to the Red Cross of Serbia (Iwasaki:200 yen, Morimura: 300 yen and Konko:250 yen), they sent their Cross medals to Todorović. So, he came to the Red Cross of Japan to deliver them personally and the President presented the deputies of three recipients with them on December 7, 1917⁶⁹. In his speech at the award ceremony, Todorović explained that there were nobody except children, older people and sick and

⁶⁴ 'The lecture meeting for the collection of donations to aid Serbia', *The Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, the morning edition, February 3, 1916.

⁶⁵ 'The gratitude of Serbian government', *Hakuai*, No.354, October, 1916, p.37.

⁶⁶ 'Sending donations to Serbia', *Hakuai*, No.352, August, 1916, p.39.

⁶⁷ 'Thanks by Professor Todorović', *Hakuai*, No.361, May, 1917, p.22; 'Sending donations to the Great Britain and Serbia', *Hakuai*, No. 365, September, 1917.

⁶⁸ JACAR, Ref. B12082281600: *On Professor Dushan N. Todorovic of International Institute*, 1917, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan; Никола Б. Поповић, *Срби у грађанском рату у Русији 1918-1921*, Институт за савремену историју, Београд, 2005, 101

⁶⁹ 'Awarding of Medals from the Red Cross of Serbia', *Hakuai*, No.368, December, 1917, p.22.

wounded soldiers in Serbia as the Salonika front still got deadlocked⁷⁰ and introduced that the Serbian government decided to award Orders of St. Sava to the advocates and secretaries of the Committee to Aid Serbia and Orders of the Red Cross of Serbia to Mr. Takeo Ozawa and Mr. Ryuji Yasukawa, the members of the House of Peers who contributed their own much money, preparing to send Todorović all the Orders⁷¹.

But the sending of the Orders was late because the Allies finally broke through the Salonika front at the end of September, 1918 and the liberation of Belgrade was at the beginning of November. After that, the Serbian government and its Ministry of foreign affairs seemed to be able to perform the function of a state. The Ministry of foreign affairs in Japan received the Orders from the Serbian Envoy in London through Mr. Chinda, the Ambassador of Japan in London at the beginning of January, 1919, just after the end of World War I, The Red Cross of Japan hold the award ceremony of the Orders on February 10. Among the activist of the Committee to Aid Serbia, Marchioness Nabeshima's wife received the Order of the third St. Sava, Countess Ogasawara's wife and the other four persons got the Order of the fourth St. Sava, and Ms. Evgenija Malevska, the Russian Ambassador's daughter and Catherine awarded the Order of the fifth St. Sava. The Order of the fifth White heron was given Todorović⁷². Todorović and Catherine continued to devotedly give the humanitarian aid to Serbia which was damaged beyond description by the fierce War. It is appropriate for them to come to be deeply trusted by the Red Cross of Serbia.

By way of a conclusion

Todorović always worried about the war situation of his hometown, Serbia during World War I. At the same time, Todorović and Catherine had good relationship with the Russian Embassy and Russian people living in Tokyo. To them the collapse of the Russian Empire by the February Revolution in 1917 seemed to matter a lot. We can find a small article of 'Meeting of Russian people in Tokyo' in Tokyo Asahi Newspaper after the February Revolution⁷³. According it, Russian people living in Tokyo and Yokohama

⁷⁰ 'Column: Small pencil', *The Yomiuri Newspaper*, morning edition, December 9, 1917.

⁷¹ 'Speech of Professor Todorović', *Hakuai*, No.369, January, 1918, pp.10-11.

⁷² 'Award ceremony of the Orders from Serbia', *Hakuai*, No.383, March, 1919, p.19. According to the article, they were searching for Ms.Evgenija Malevska because of her address unknown. It is very interesting what existence the diplomats and their family led under the state of disorder just after the Russian Revolution in 1917.

⁷³ 'Meeting of Russian people living in Tokyo', *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, morning edition, April 30, 1917.

including one of members of the committee, Todorović gathered at Imperial Hotel on April 29 to consult the celebration event for the February Revolution and the foundation of the Association of Russian people in Japan. Several Russian women joined the meeting with permission of the Metropolitan Police department. Catherine maybe participated in the meeting as she explicitly answered in an interview with Japanese newspaper that the February Revolution was a matter for congratulation⁷⁴. So it is clear that Todorović and Catherine agreed with the collapse of the Russian Empire by the February Revolution.

But we cannot mention their attitude toward the Soviet government by the October Revolution and the subsequent Civil War in Russia because we are not able to find any materials about their thoughts. There is a clue to know their some idea about them. They asked their friend living in Harbin in China to look after two sons, Valerian and Jacob who were fifteen years' old in 1917 and to send them to the commercial school⁷⁵ in Harbin where they could their education in Russian language. According to Todorović's former student at Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, Mr. Otani's remembrance, he received a long letter from Todorović when he worked at Japanese consulate in Harbin. Todorović asked Mr. Otani to persuade two sons into their school as they were intending to join the Semyonov's volunteer corps (White Guard) that just became active. Mr. Otani persuaded them not to join such volunteer corps in response to a request from Todorović⁷⁶.

In August of 1918, Japan started the Siberian Intervention on the pretext of relief of the Czech and Slovak Legion and Japanese army got involved in the Russian Civil War until 1922. You may easily imagine that it was so difficult for 'Russian people' living in Japan like Todorović and Catherine how to have something to do with the Soviet government. In such a situation, Todorović kept in close contact with the Red Cross of Japan through the Committee to Aid Serbia and the Red cross of Japan asked him to serve as an interpreter when ⁷⁷the sick and wounded of Czech and Slovak Legion were sent from Vladivostok to the Red Cross of Japan in January, 1919. As the government of the newborn Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes didn't set up the

⁷⁴ Riko Shiba, *op. cit.*, p.19.

⁷⁵ After Valerian and Jacob graduated from the commercial school in Harbin, they seemed to receive higher education in the Far East. Then they and Dragutin moved to California in USA in 1921 to be supported by their parent's friend. Three sons graduated from universities in USA, becoming medical doctors and an engineer.

⁷⁶ Jiro Otani, 'Remembrance of Professor Todorović', *The Newsletter*, No.21, December, 1935, pp.33-35

⁷⁷ 'Hospitalization of the sick and wounded of Czech and Slovak Legion', *Hakuai*, No.382, February, 1919, p.11; 'Leaving hospital of the sick and wounded of Czech and Slovak Legion', *Hakuai*, No.383, March, 1919, p.18.

diplomatic establishments in Japan, they asked him through the Embassy of France in Tokyo to do some diplomatic works when the prisoners of war of the Hapsburg Empire repatriated from the camps in Aonohara (in Hyogo) and Narashino (in Chiba)⁷⁸.

We might point out that Serbia rapidly became to occupy an important position in his mind as a 'Russian people' through World War I. But he seemed to show great interest in the newborn country, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes when he took part in the issues of repatriation of the war prisoners. He also played the role of 'representative' of the Yugoslav government in Japan during the interwar period. To Todorović who had lived his life several times beyond national borders, the selection of his nationality⁷⁹ may be a kind of expedience to live. His identity change from Serbia to Yugoslavia would be considered to be of little moment.

⁷⁸ JACAR, Ref. B07090924600: *On the visit of Professor Todorovic of Tokyo School of Foreign Languages to see the Yugoslav prisoners of war, 1919*, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁷⁹ When Todorovic left Japan from Yokohama for California on July 31, 1940, he wrote down his nationality as Yugoslavia at the passenger list. So he had changed his nationality from Russia(Soviet Union) before or had dual nationality. Cf.: *List or manifest of alien passengers for the United States, Form 500A* U.S. Department of Labor: Immigration and Naturalization Service List 21, 1940.

Picture 1: With colleagues at Khabarovsk (Todorović is on the far left, about 1907)



Picture 2: Todorovic with his son (maybe second son, Dragutin, about 1905)



Picture 3: The Todorovićs and their four sons (in Tokyo, in 1913)



Pictures 1-3 are in Mr. Dana Todorovic's possession.