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The development of the education system: foreign experience

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Education of White Immigrants' Children in Istanbul in 1920—1923

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Abstract. The article discusses the organization of education for the children of Russian refugees, called “White Russians,” in Istanbul in 1920–1923. The main focus of the study is on the quantitative analysis, on the age and social composition of the children of White immigrants, and the property status of refugees. Also the assistance of Russian and international charitable organizations in the creation of educational institutions for the children of White immigrants is highlighted. The school educational process is analyzed, and the future fate of Istanbul educational institutions is revealed. The author comes to the conclusion that the three-year active work of Russian and foreign organizations in Istanbul to save Russian children from death, namely to ensure their nutrition, upbringing and education, practically ceased by the end of 1923 due to the transfer of some of the schools to Bulgaria and Belgium and the gradual closure of the remaining ones.

Keywords: Russian Immigration of 1919–1921 to Turkey, Children of White Russians, Russian Refugees School in Istanbul

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Развитие системы образования: зарубежный опыт

Научная статья

Обучение детей белых иммигрантов в Стамбуле в 1920—1923 гг.

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются вопросы организации обучения детей русских беженцев, именуемых «белыми русскими», в Стамбуле в 1920—1923 гг. Основное внимание в исследовании уделяется анализу количественного, возрастного, социального состава детей белых иммигрантов, имущественного положения беженцев. Освещается помощь российских и международных благотворительных организаций в создании учебных заведений для детей белых иммигрантов. Анализируется школьный образовательный процесс, а также раскрывается дальнейшая судьба стамбульских учебных заведений. Автор приходит к выводу о том, что трехлетняя активная деятельность русских и иностранных организаций в Стамбуле по спасению русских детей от гибели, а также по обеспечению воспитания и образования, к концу 1923 г. практически прекращается ввиду перевода части школ в Болгарию и Бельгию и постепенного закрытия оставшихся.

Ключевые слова: русская иммиграция 1919—1921 гг. в Турцию, дети белых русских иммигрантов, образовательные учреждения для русских беженцев в Стамбуле

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Introduction

The Civil War in Russia that followed the October Revolution of 1917 led to a mass exodus of hundreds of thousands of people from the country. The main starting point of the evacuation was the Black Sea coast, and the destination was Istanbul. The sailing to Istanbul took place in three stages, each differing from the other primarily by the different socio-economic status of the refugees.

The initial stage of immigration dates back to 1919. The core of this wave was made up of aristocrats trying to get to the Western European capitals, mainly Paris, where the Russian Provisional Government was established. Thus, Istanbul turned out to be only an intermediate point for them.

A larger wave of immigrants came to Istanbul in February 1920, after the Bolsheviks occupied Odessa. The mass evacuation of people was carried out from the ports of Odessa and Novorossiysk. Because General A.I. Denikin went to Istanbul with this wave of immigrants, it was nicknamed “Denikin's”. The immigrants of this wave belonged to different classes, but most of them had no money and needed shelter and food.

Eight months later, the third stage began. The last and largest wave of refugees, the “Wrangel”, poured into Istanbul after the Red Army captured Crimea on November 16, 1920. The commander-in-chief of the Russian army, Baron General P.N. Wrangel, issued an order for evacuation of the army and navy. The military was followed by their family members, loved ones, as well as members of educational institutions and other civilians who managed to get on the ships. By the end of November 1920, 126 overloaded ships were anchoring one after another in the Golden Horn Bay and in the Sea of Marmara.

The number of children of White immigrants who arrived in Istanbul

Registration of White immigrants in Istanbul began in February 1920, immediately after the arrival of the second wave and was conducted by the British occupation authorities. In May, by the decision of the Central Joint Committee of Russian Public Organizations, the Main Reference Bureau was created. Since August 1921 the Main Registration Bureau¹ task was to carry out administrative work for the purpose of re-registration of Russian refugees in Istanbul and its environs. By the end of June, 25 thousand names had been registered. In November 1920, after the arrival of the third wave of immigrants who evacuated from the Crimea together with the remnants of the Russian army of General P.N. Wrangel, the Bureau's filled up instead of began to be replenished quickly and reached 190 thousand names with addresses.

Other attempts were also made to statistically record the White immigrants who arrived in Turkey. For example, the beginning of the activity of the Central Information Bureau of Countess Bobrinskaya dates back to May 1920. However, it did not last long – only until August 1921. Attempts to register and count Russian refugees were made by several organizations after the closure of the Central Information Bureau starting with the Russian Zemgor (United Committee of the Union of Zemstvos and the Union of Towns)² and ending with the American Red Cross. As a result, today there are several points of view regarding the quantitative composition of Russian immigration in Turkey.

According to the information specified by the authors of the textbook “Russian immigration in Turkey, South–Eastern and Central Europe of the 20s”, based on

¹ It was created in May 1920. Since August 1921 – the Main registration bureau.

² Zemgor – Russian organization created in 1915 to help the government with their efforts in World War I. The first Chairman of the Committee was Prince G. Ye. Lvov, a representative of the Constitutional Democratic party. The organization was disbanded by Bolsheviks in 1919.

the materials of the Russian State Military Archive (RGVA), the number of Russian military in Istanbul was estimated at 50–60 thousand, of which almost half were officers, and the number of civilian refugees was 130–150 thousand. About 30 thousand civilian refugees were selectively identified on the basis of their professional affiliation, 2,700 (9%) of which were students and 2,700 (9%) minors. [1, c. 11]¹ Thus, at the end of 1920 – the beginning of 1921, out of 130–150 thousand civilian refugees, researchers identify about 25 thousand children. [1, p. 26]

The priority was the issue of urgent dispersal of the refugee mass. All the wounded, sick and disabled were accommodated in foreign and Russian hospitals, sanatoriums and homes for the disabled in the Istanbul area. About 60 thousand ranks of the army were sent, with the preservation of the military organization and with the abandonment of some weapons, to special military camps in Gallipoli, in the Chataldzha area, and to the islands of Mudros and Lemnos. The materially well-off refugees (aristocrats, officials and merchants), having settled all the formalities within one or two weeks, went on to Europe. According to Red Army intelligence, the number of such refugees reached 35–40 thousand people by the beginning of November. [1, p. 11] The rest of the 90,000 to 110,000 mostly materially unsecured civilians were left to themselves.

Based on the above, we can conclude that by the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921, there were about 8–10 thousand students and the same number of children of White immigrants in Istanbul.

Age, marital and property status of refugee children

In contrast to determining the quantitative and age composition, it is more difficult to clarify the family and property status of the children of White immigrants. And here the analysis of 2 403 children's essays comes to the rescue. This is about 6 500 pages of text written by students on the topic “My memories since 1917” (“Moi vospominaniya s 1917 goda”), written in 1924 on the initiative of the Pedagogical Bureau under the chairmanship of Professor Vladimir Zenkovsky. [2]

The essays belong to students of all classes of 15 Russian immigrant schools: 2 from Turkey, 1 from Bulgaria, 10 from Yugoslavia and 2 from Czechoslovakia, 9 of which are mixed, 4 are male and 2 are female.

The authors of the essays are children: 1603 boys and 781 girls (the gender of 19 is not defined) aged from 8 to 24 years, which means that during the revolutionary events their age was 7, and during the evacuation to Istanbul 4 years less, i.e. from 4 to 20 years. Therefore, they must remember everything that has happened to them since 1917 differently.

In the 701 essay there was no mention of marital status at all, in the 360 – it was rather vaguely. 1012 children spoke of their parents, one or both, as being alive. In 330, the death of the father is reported, in 137 the mother and in 54 both parents were reported as dead. It is impossible to determine a very important figure – the number of unaccompanied children, meaning those whose parents remained in Russia. In any case, it is a significant data; especially many single children were among the students of cadet corps and institutes, those educational institutions that had been established in Russia and evacuated with their entire staff.

There were 889 people who had previously studied in Russia, 151 in other Russian schools in emigration. Many children aged 11–12 took part in the armed struggles during the civil war years.

Even more interesting for our study is the fact that for all of them Istanbul was either a transit point (students of the gymnasium in Yugoslavia), or a place

¹ With reference to: RGVA, f. 101, inv. 1, case 148, p. 58; f. 102, inv. 3, case 584, p. 89–90; p. 12; f. 33988, inv. 2, case 596, p. 187 on the back; f. 7, inv. 2, case 734, p. 10; f. 109, inv. 3, case 360, p. 4 with on the back; case 373, p. 20; p. 13; f. 7, inv. 2, case 386, p. 4; f. 109, inv. 3, case 365, p. 4 with on the back; case 373, p. 22; f. 33988, inv. 2, case 213, p. 364 with on the back; p. 26; GARF, f. 5809, inv. 1, case 100, p. 27.

where they studied for up to one year (former students of the First Constantinople Gymnasium and then the Russian gymnasium in Moravian Trebova, as well as Mrs. Neratova's gymnasium in Bulgaria), or continued to live and study for a fourth year in the British schools for Russians founded in Istanbul.

The material survey shows that the social composition of pupils in different schools is rather heterogeneous. The parents of most of the children belonged to the average urban intelligence. Coming from almost all over Russia, they mostly fled abroad during the evacuations from Odessa, Novorossiysk, Crimea, Arkhangelsk and Vladivostok. Many children left either with the army or with educational institutions without their parents. A minority came from Russia after the end of the civil war, after surviving the famine of 1921.

Another significant group is the children of Cossacks, mainly Donetsk. "Singling them out as a special group, different from the urban intelligence, in addition to other specific features typical for them, is also caused by the fact that they were mostly villagers, farmers, often poor, who themselves worked with their families on the land". They stand apart from the general mass of children. Cossack children and cadets are "thereal victims of the revolution... They suffered more than the other children". [1, p. 17]

Finally, the children of landowners are not a very large group. No more than 10 with 20 essays contain indications of a strong, permanent and everyday connection of the authors' parents with the land and the village. In most of the essays of this insignificant group, there is only a brief statement of the fact of their social identity.

The fate of Russian refugee children in Istanbul

The fate of the children and, above all, their physical survival was practically everyone's concern from the first day of the exodus. The outcry "Save the children!" was heard even on Allied ships carrying away refugees. Voluntary groups were organized on their overloaded decks with the purpose of providing classes for the children. Immediately upon arrival in Istanbul, all the Allied authorities responded to the same need. The Princes' Islands were equipped for the resettlement of poor refugees, providing them with shelter, food and medical care.



Photo 1. In the canteen of the International Union for Children's Aid, which served the boarding school and kindergarten of the Russian House. Photo from the author's personal archive
Фото 1. В столовой Международного союза помощи детям, которая обслуживала интернат и детский сад Русского дома. Фото из личного архива автора

“On Proti¹ the Americans organized help, on Antigone² – the Italians, on Halki³ – the French and on Prinkipo⁴ – the British”. American ships stationed in Istanbul made general contributions to purchase food for the refugees, and special feeding stations were in operation. Almost every Allied warship had adopted groups of Russian orphans.



Photo 2. Gen. Baron P.N. Wrangel with the pupils of the School of American sailors. Photo from the almanac: [3]
Фото 2. Ген. барон П. Н. Врангель с воспитанниками Школы американских моряков. Фото из альманаха: [3]

Thousands of Russian children were also saved from physical and moral death by the help of such international charitable institutions as the American Red Cross and the American Relief Organization (ARA), the League of Nations, the International Red Cross, the Red Crescent and other humanitarian organizations, as well as individual benefactors and representatives of American and British committees – the United States High Commissioner in Istanbul and the Head of the American Red Cross, Admiral Bristol and Mrs. Bristol, Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Reggles, Professor Whittimore and others.

In addition to the organized assistance of foreign governments and charitable institutions, the local population of Istanbul also came to the rescue, carrying it out privately. Thanks to this private assistance, the wife of the Russian Consul General, M.I. Yakimova, was able to arrange daily donation of food to over 200 people for over two years. “At first, it was done with money donations collected by her, and then by subscription lists or personally by going around banks, stores, restaurants and private wealthy individuals, and all nationalities, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians and Jews, gave as much as they could to feed the starving Russian refugees”. [3, c. XV]

The children needed not only to be fed, clothed and shod, but also to be educated and taken care of their soul “its straightening and healing, and its liberation from the heavy burden of everything experienced...” [2, c. 160] That is why the main mission of their inclusion in the process of socialization was transferred to educational institutions.

¹ One of the Prince islands (now Khynaly).

² One of the Prince islands (now Burgaz).

³ One of the Prince islands (now Heibeli).

⁴ One of the Prince islands (now Buyukada).

Educational institutions for children of White immigrants in Istanbul

The loss of homeland, family, school posed a serious threat to children's value system and might have led to moral degradation, and, in particular, to "denationalization" of personality, forgetting their native language, religious traditions and lack or low level of knowledge about Russia, etc. Children of pre-school and primary school age were of particular concern. The solution to this social and pedagogical problem imposed the need for creating a system for national education and upbringing of the younger generation, which included a set of educational institutions and out-of-school institutions with primary purpose of educating younger generation by creating a Russian micro society.

In order to help refugees, especially children, Russian charitable institutions began to emerge one after another in various European capitals, including Istanbul, by mid-1920 and throughout the following 1921. They were coordinated and financed by the Zemstvo and City Committee, established in Paris for Assistance to Russian Citizens Abroad.

A meeting in May 1920 in Istanbul of representatives of government and public organizations abroad under the chairmanship of General A.S. Lukomsky assigned the duties of organizing school education to the All-Russian Union of Cities, whose activities were financed by the government of P.N. Wrangel. The American Red Cross also rendered great assistance.

The Provisional Main Committee of the All-Russian Union of Cities conducted its cultural and educational activities in Istanbul through a group of public figures headed by P.P. Yurenev and A.V. Zhekhulina who were stationed in Istanbul.

From the middle of 1920 until February 1921, the Committee of the All-Russian Union of Cities managed to accomplish a lot on the issue of education of immigrant children in Istanbul. In Istanbul they created "three gymnasiums (for over 900 students), three colleges (incomplete secondary schools), ten elementary schools, two orphanages, ten kindergartens, playgrounds and nurseries, six children's canteens and many boarding schools". [4, с. 12]



Photo 3. Proгимnasium of the All-Russian Union of Cities at Selimiye camp. Photo from the author's personal archive
Фото 3. Прогимназия Всероссийского союза городов в лагере «Селимие». Фото из личного архива автора

Since February 1921, the cultural, educational and school work in Istanbul has received regular and relatively extensive support from the Zemstvo and City Committee, which allocated a total of 739,330 francs from March to June 1921 to the Provisional Main Committee of Sogor. [4, c. 12]

In parallel with the Committee of the All-Russian Union of Cities, other Russian organizations and private individuals also maintained 3 gymnasiums, an orphanage, a shelter and an elementary school. In June 1920, on the initiative of the wife of the Russian ambassador, Mrs. V.V. Neratova, the School of the Holy Cross, known as the “Neratova Gymnasium”, resumed its activities, with 117 boys and 76 girls enrolled. It was followed by a second parochial gymnasium in Harbiye at St. Nicholas Church, and a third one on Gallipoli, which was maintained by the Russian military command. The orphanage was founded by the Russian Red Cross Society, the elementary school by Baroness Wrangel, and the Catholic boarding school by Father Sipyagin.

From the diary of Archbishop Damian (Govorov) of Tsaritsyno, kept by his great-grandson in Bulgaria, we discover that since March 1, 1921, the St. Vladimir Brotherhood, which was headed by Bishop Damian, rented a house of 38 rooms in neighbourhood Ferikoy of the district Shishli, known as the “Russian House”: “In 17 rooms, renovated with the assistance of Prof. Whittimore and the American Red Cross and the American Committee for the Rescue and Education of Russian Children, a kindergarten for 60 children was established. In addition to the kindergarten, a boarding school for young men of school age for 30 people and a canteen serving the boarding school and kindergarten were included. An orphanage for children with disabilities, warm barracks for overnight accommodation of the poor and a bathhouse were being planned to be open”. [5, c. 476—477]

International charitable organizations as well as the Union authorities were directly involved in solving the problem of educating immigrant children. “Foreign charitable organizations and donors (American Red Cross, American Relief Organization, International Red Cross, English societies, representatives of American societies – Mrs. Bristol, Prof. Whittimore, etc.), by willingly adding their funds to the sums of money spent by the Russians themselves, increased several times (mainly with food and linen) the funds released by the Zemstvo and City Committee”. [4, c. 12]

For example, in the middle of 1920, two schools were established in Buyukdere district and on Proti Island with the funds of British private benefactors who formed the “Society for helping Russians and assisting in the restoration of Russia” in London.

The school in Buyukdere was headed by Father Churchward, an experienced English teacher of “high moral qualities, exceptionally beneficial” for the pupils, and the school in Proti – together with his deputy Mr. Coffey who was “also skillfully and intelligently directing the moral education of his pupils”. [3, c. XXXII]

Unfortunately, it is not known how many children were educated in these institutions from the first days. It is known that by the beginning of 1924 the school in Buyukdere had 270 boys and 30 younger girls, and the orphanage school in Proti had over 80 Russian girls.

In August 1921, with the material support of American sailors, a free Russian school was opened, which was attended by up to 30 children at a time, ranging in age from 6 to 12 years old. The children gathered at the school in the morning and spent the whole day until 6 o'clock in the evening, receiving excellent meals. When the first of two United States Navy ships named after Seaman Norman Eckley Edsall that helped the school left for America, it handed over the care of the school to the crew of the second destroyer, which maintained the school until its closure, that is, until September 1, 1923. The trustee of the school, Princess Gagarina, involved the wife of Admiral Bristol's chief of staff, Mrs. Hepburn, and subsequently transferred to her all the cares of the school and its pupils. [3, c. XIX]

Education of children of White immigrants

The October Revolution and the events that followed it, led to a 3-year break in the educational process. Many children were completely deprived of education and upbringing, which undoubtedly affected the learning process in Istanbul's educational institutions. The composition of the classes in them can be divided into two main groups, which can be labeled as students and additional students. The age span of the pupils was different in all the classes, which resulted in the absence of any distinction between pupils of V, VI, VII and VIII classes. Often even in V class there were older pupils than in VIII class.



Photo 4. Lesson of Russian literature in the seventh grade of the First Constantinople Gymnasium in Topkhane. 1921. Photo from the archives of Major Charles Claflin Davis

Фото 4. Урок русской литературы в седьмом классе Первой Константинопольской гимназии в Топхане. 1921. Фото из архива майора Чарльза Клафлина Дэвиса

Most of them were severely affected by all the horrors of the revolutionary era and the civil war, many of them had been at the front for several years and had not taken a book in their hands.

A clear assessment of the divergence of intellectual school criteria from the criteria of life is the record made by V.V. Zenkovsky: “The children's soul nowadays resembles a dilapidated house in which only a few living quarters have survived, and everything else is destroyed, crumpled and broken... Their soul, of course, is relentlessly healing itself, but our duty is to help it in every possible way, for it is not easy for them to cope with the heavy burden, with the poison that has poisoned their souls...”. [2, с. 160]

The students first of all needed a “pedagogical therapy”. It was the duty of the teachers to heal their wounded soul, to prepare them for life, to make people out of them. How to achieve this? The answer is the speech of the director A.A. Petrov at the first meeting of the pedagogical council of the First Constantinople Gymnasium of the All-Russian Union of Cities in which he says: “We cannot think only about supplying students with some complex knowledge; we must once and for all abandon the old passive school. It goes without saying that the task of education comes to the fore: we must educate the children, and the rest will come easily; we cannot think of developing only the intellect when the

whole soul is sick. But we cannot accept the method of 'nurturing education', which may have many good sides, but is unsuitable for the present moment. The whole structure of the school must be arranged in a way that the lessons, the recreations, the life in the boarding school should affect the whole soul of the child or young person, including both educating and teaching at the same time. Our school must become, first of all, a school-family, where the life of the teacher is inseparably linked with the life of the children, where there will not be two camps: 'we' and 'they', but all will be united. Furthermore, our school, in view of the time we live in, must think about the education of the will and character, and to fight against the flaccidity and softness that so strikingly affected the Russian intelligence in this year of severe trials. Finally, the third - and perhaps the most important: guided by the latest trends in pedagogy and psychology, our school should be strictly national, we have a difficult and responsible task - to preserve in children, and in the right cases to ignite in them the holy fire of love for the lost fatherland, to acquaint them with the greatness of their native history and the beauty of their native poetry and literature - in a word, to give them knowledge and understanding of the native land". [6 c. 95-96]

The greatest challenge for the education process was the diversity of ages (9-23) and the heterogeneity (from the most democratic classes to the titled ones) of the classes in co-education. However, it was this coeducation that was most beneficial: the female element undoubtedly played a tremendous ennobling role.

"Every day it was felt that the coarseness of manners and expressions with which the former 'warriors' had come to the gymnasium was softening; it was possible to see clearly how these prematurely aged young men were becoming children again, how the deep creases of thoughtfulness or contempt that had been formed on their foreheads were gradually disappearing. The atmosphere was improving in general, but some individuals continued to be 'wild animals' and looked at everything that was going on with a sidelong glance. The majority did not believe in the durability of this 'scheme'; it seemed to them that a week or two would pass and this 'prosperity' would end, and then... again the street, again hunger and poverty, or at best hard physical labor on the Constantinople wharf". [6, c. 98]

As for the academic program of Russian schools in Istanbul under the auspices of the All-Russian Union of Cities, we note that they had all the rights of Russian government educational institutions abroad. And the content and direction of the educational activities were determined by the programs and study table approved by the Crimean government.

The gymnasium programs were based on the latest orders of the Ministry of Count N.P. Ignatiev, but with some changes: the study of Latin began not in the III, but in the V grade and 3 lessons per week were given to it; the study of new languages was also strengthened: French, German and English, with the mandatory study of two of them was provided, as well as group French conversational practice lessons three times per week. Mandatory manual labor lessons (mainly shoemaking); special courses of needlework and fine work for girls were organized outside of school hours, with the assistance of representatives of the American Red Cross, who undertook free teaching and supplying students with material. [6, c. 93]

The programs of educational institutions organized and managed by foreigners were close to the pre-war programs of the Russian real seven-year school with some changes and adaptation to the new circumstances. "Everyone who had a chance to visit British schools for Russian children in Buyukdere or on Proti, was left with the most enthusiastic impressions from these visits, particularly satisfied by the very system of education of children in the spirit of love for their homeland, with Russian customs and Russian way of life preserved intact". [3, c. XXII]

They were purely Russian schools aimed to give children not only general education, but also a practical training for the future in the field of technology, agriculture or commerce. At the same time, much attention was paid to the study of foreign languages (English, French, and German) – the total number of lessons per week was 28–29. In addition, for two hours, the children worked under the guidance of experienced instructors in one of the following workshops: carpentry, locksmithing, shoemaking, bookbinding, tailoring, oil and water painting, wood carving and decorative arts; or learned gardening and horticulture. Children were usually trained in two or three workshops in succession.

The mission to save thousands of refugee children was successful – they were plucked from the ruinous environment of the barracks or the streets and then included in a well-organized educational process. The establishment of a number of educational institutions in Istanbul, as well as the educational activities in them had a special character – neither the economic nor the political conditions in the country allowed to think about a lasting settlement of the Russian immigration here. That is why Istanbul turned out to be only a temporary shelter for refugee children, only one stage on the way to further resettlements, mainly in Slavic countries.

By the beginning of 1923, “Russian” Istanbul gradually began to disappear. From the huge wave of refugees, which in 1919–1920 from the Black Sea ports to the shores of the Bosphorus, by 1924 only about 10 thousand people remained, and by 1926 – 4–5 thousand people. With the termination of the occupation of the city by the Entente troops and the announcement of the new republican government in the country, foreign humanitarian organizations stopped their work, and numerous Russian institutions serving them closed or evacuated together with the flow of refugees.

The fate of educational institutions in Istanbul

During 1922–1923, the chain of schools and cultural/educational institutions of the Zemstvo and City Committee in Istanbul and its environs was gradually dismantled. The most important institutions were evacuated. The First Constantinople Gymnasium (600 students with teaching staff and parents) was transferred to Trebova in Czechoslovakia at the end of 1921.



*Photo 5. Sending Russian children to Prague. Photo from: [3, с. XXVII]
Фото 5. Отправка русских детей в Прагу. Фото из: [3, с. XXVII]*

The other gymnasium was renamed “Pupil's Stage and Passing Point”, and its cadre of teachers and students gave rise to large Russian gymnasiums in Shumen (Bulgaria) and Dolno Orekhovo (Macedonia). The students of several Kuban folk schools were evacuated to Bulgaria from Lemnos, which laid the foundation for the agricultural school in the Plakovo monastery “The Holy Prophet Elijah”. [3, с. XXII]

The orphanage could not be evacuated as a whole institution. Some of the children and staff left for Belgium, America and other countries, while the rest stayed in Istanbul. The property of the orphanage, the bookstore and libraries were transferred to Serbia. The remaining small institutions of the Zemstvo and City Committee in the Istanbul district were gradually closed during 1923 and student aid was discontinued.

The fate of other educational institutions, which appeared in Istanbul, but were not included in the chain of schools maintained by the Zemstvo and City Committee, is the following: the gymnasium of Mrs. Neratova was transferred to Bulgaria in February 1922, in Peshtera town; the gymnasium, maintained by the military command in Gallipoli, was also evacuated to Bulgaria, in the town of Gorno-Panicherevo; the orphanage of the Russian Red Cross Society was moved to Belgium in the spring of 1923. In the summer of 1923, the gymnasium established by the parish of St. Nicholas Church in Harbiye district, which had been subsidized by the Zemstvo and City Committee, was also finally closed.

After the departure of the Allied authorities, only few of the previously numerous school institutions remained in Istanbul. At the end of 1923, there were still two secondary schools maintained by the English Charitable Society – one in Buyukdere (180 boys of poor Russian refugees or orphans aged 9–19) and one on Proti Island (60 girls), as well as one elementary school named after Baroness Wrangel (32 pupils). Outside the schools, there were approximately 200 school-age children. [4, с. 15]

Thus, the three-year vigorous activity of Russian and foreign organizations in Istanbul to save Russian children from death and provide them with food, upbringing and education comes to a complete halt.

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