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THE RUSSIAN REFUGEES IN GREECE
A FIRST ATTEMPT TO REGISTER

"How does it feel
to be on your own
like a complete unknown
with no direction home
like a rolling stone..."

Bob Dylan

The breathtaking story of the Russians who abandoned their country in vast quantities after the Revolution, from 1917 till 1921, and sought shelter at the four corners of the earth has not been totally examined yet. Some of them succeeded in carrying their wealth abroad and seasoned their homesickness in black caviar. The luckiest had already invested their money abroad. Most of them, though, discovered labor for the first time in their life¹. Those who had questioned the proletariats' revolution, unexpectedly found themselves to be proletariats, facing poverty and sickness, dispersed from Brazil to China. Strange stories about their luck "fed" popular imagination. Many were those who tasted the six-franc meals cooked by the famous cook of Duke Nikolai Nikoliefski in Strasbourg and even more recognized officials of the White Army driving taxis in the European capital cities...

The Russian refugees are connected with the anti-Bolshevik struggle, a stillborn campaign that was also reinforced by the countries abroad: Japanese, Polish, Americans, English and French, each for their own reasons, helped the opposition to the communists². It is well-known that the soviet

1. Despite the public belief, most of the refugees were not aristocrats. The majority belonged to the middle class. Among them there were many intellectuals. Very few farmers passed the russian border, except, for the Kozaks.

2. The strongest motive was the ideological terror against the predominance of communism. There were also more definite motives; for instance France wanted back the money she had loaned Tsarist Russia (Stephen Lee, *The European Dictatorships 1918-1945*, Methuen

government, a year after her establishment, was controlling only the central part of the Empire, with Moscow and ex-St. Petroupolis as centers. The anti-revolutionary elements were gathered in the periphery, being followed by a non-political mass which could not find food in the center. The periphery of this vast country became the theater of the civil war, which destroyed cities, villages and crops. All those who tried to save their life and their families created the first wave of refugees. In the spring of 1918 Ukraine declared its independence, the Kozaks did the same in the Southeastern counties, Admiral Koltchak became the dictator of the "White" Siberia while General A. Denikin was fighting the Soviets in Southeastern Russia and so was Yudenitch in Estonia. Poland joined the party as well³.

It was not long that the countdown began. In the autumn of 1919 the White Army showed signs of disintegration. Admiral Koltchak's army was defeated, while he himself was killed in Siberia in February 1920. A wave of Russian refugees towards China and Japan followed⁴. Most of them were soldiers of the defeated army and along with some civilians they crossed the border in the fatal winter of 1919-1920.

In March 1920 Denikin's army⁵ retreated and gathered mainly in Crimea. That spring was marked by the collapse of the European anti-Bolshevik front. Soon Denikin resigned from his army's leadership. General Peter Wrangel succeeded him, but even he didn't manage to hold resistance in Crimea for long and in a while he prepared for the final retreat. Despite all this, he obstinately denied the british mediation that could have insured amnesty for his army⁶. Like thousand of Russians who were found in exile, the General believed for a while that the Bolsheviks' days would soon be over...

While these troops were retreating, refugees began to flow into Russia's

Co., London, 1987, p. 30-31). A classic work on the subject is J. Bradley, *Allied Intervention in Russia 1917-1920*, N. York, 1968.

3. C. A. Macartney, *Refugees: the Work of the League*, League of Nations' Union, London, without date, p. 10-11.

4. W. Chapin Huntington, *The Homesick Million, Russia-out-of-Russia*, The Stratford Company, Boston Mass., p. 12.

5. Regarding White Army's action see the work of the white Russian forces' chief in S. Russia A. Denikine, *The White Army*, London, 1930, passim.

6. Sir John Hope Simpson, *Refugees: Preliminary report of a survey*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1938, p. 38-39. It should be noted that Simpson and his associates from the Royal Institute of International Affairs surveyed, gathered and evaluated all the available documents about the Russian refugees and published statistic reports that are—even today— considered as the most accurate of all.

bordering countries. During November 1920, 126 ships overloaded with 136,700 passengers rushed out of the ports of Sevastoupolis, Vatum and Odessa. Seventy thousands of them were the remnants of Wrangel's army that reached Constantinople, constituting the largest wave of refugees since the beginning of the war. Civilians were arriving in groups both before and along with them⁷.

Hunger, which plagued Southern Russia in the summer of 1921 created another wave of refugees. The last one was caused by the final defeat of the anti-Bolshevik forces in the Far East.

The actual total number of the expatriated Russians has not been verified yet. There are testimonies that talk about 2 or 3 millions but they actually exaggerate. The most reliable sources estimate them at 1 or 1.5 millions. Their dispersion followed three main directions: a) West, towards Poland and Germany, b) East, towards China and c) Southwest, with Constantinople as a gathering point.

According to Simpson's sources a total of about 190,000 people passed through Constantinople. For five years, from 1919 to 1924, Constantinople became the main concentration and redistribution center of the Russian refugees. What this exactly means is too difficult for someone to conceive today. Wounded soldiers, women and orphans, all dressed in rags, were piled in old barracks, in hospitals, caves or warehouses. The weakest of them either starved to death or died from diseases. It is obvious why Lord Cecil pointed that the problem of the refugees is a challenge to civilization.

The Turks and especially the Kemalists did not welcome them. The allied military and diplomatic authorities undertook the task of providing for the Russian refugees. The reasons that forced them to undertake this difficult and complicated task were, apart from the obvious humanistic and political ones, reasons of security and hygiene. With such wretched rabble to gather in the area, the allied army was in danger. Diseases and anarchy are contagious⁸.

The Balkan countries shared the burden willingly. Despite its own problems, Bulgaria accepted about 30,000 Russians till 1922. Wrangel's soldiers, after they had just recovered in the concentration camps at Vosporos,

7. Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad, a Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919-39*, Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 19-20. This study is the most complete on the subject and offers us valuable information about the Russian emigrants' effort to preserve at all cost their cultural identity in the Diaspora.

8. Marc Raeff, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20.

passed to Bulgaria in order to work at the mines and the road constructions. Bulgaria also welcomed a significant number of intellectuals, among which were well-known people, who contributed in its academic development⁹.

The country that warmly embraced them was most of all Yugoslavia. King Alexander had been brought up in the Russian Court and he kept close sentimental ties with the Romanoffs. The people loved Russia, which stood by them in 1914, the state needed trained civil servants and the army needed soldiers. The common religion of the two countries and the akin languages facilitated the assimilation. In that way whole parts of the White Army were embodied in the new state's armed forces and Belgrade became a significant center of the Russian Diaspora¹⁰.

No systematic attempt for the refugees' settlement has been made until 1921. Whatever was done aimed at their survival and their temporal relief¹¹. Apart from the French and the English government, humanitarian organizations from all over the world and mainly the International Red Cross¹², the institution "Save the Children", the Russian organization Zemstvos and Towns¹³ and the Russian Diplomatic Corps abroad, contributed to this cause. It was more than obvious though that in order to solve this problem an international hyper-governmental organization was necessary to coordinate the whole attempt. On February 20, 1921, Gustave Ador, the President of the International Red Cross, asked with his famous letter the League of Nations to appoint a Commissioner, who, as an international political authority, would be able to solve this problem, which was beyond the abilities of the humanitarian organizations. His aim would be the coordination and the supervision of the whole project, and the definition of the refugees' legal status.

9. C. A. Macartney, *op. cit.*, p. 18-19.

10. There was one more important reason for which Serbians, as leading nationality, welcomed the Russians in the army and the bureaucracy. They trusted them more than the Croats and the Slovenians! (Marc Raeff, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22).

11. Louise Holborn, *Refugees: A Problem of our Time, The Work of the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951-1972*, N. Jersey, 1975, preface.

12. The Russian Red Cross did a great job collecting the wounded soldiers from the battlefield. Moreover, it used the Russian embassies' banking accounts abroad and the money that the White Army brought out of Russia to relieve the refugees. This could go on as long as the countries did not recognize the soviet government and the Soviets did not appoint new diplomatic representatives.

13. It was a very important Russian humanitarian organization that helped civilians evacuate the war fields during the first World War and the Civil War. After 1918 the Zemstvos settled in Paris and established offices in Prague and in every concentration center of the Russian refugees. It mainly undertook their education and their health. It established

He was also supposed to find them jobs and, above all, he was supposed to do his best for the repatriation of the refugees¹⁴.

At this point Dr. Fridtjof Nansen appeared. This man, who obtained the title of the "international spirit at his highest form", had already impressed the international public opinion by giving a prosperous end to the difficult task of repatriating the war prisoners, a task entrusted to him by the League of Nations. With his help a total of 450,000 prisoners was brought back to their country at a cost of only 8.6 dollars each¹⁵. During this complicated mission Nansen had, among others, to deal with the Soviet's mistrust of that new international organization, which was thought to be an instrument of the English and the French. Nansen impressed everybody because in a short while he managed to persuade the Soviets about his good intentions and gain their trust. In August 1921 he made an agreement with Chicherin, The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, that facilitated the huge effort to help the Russian people.

As soon as he assumed responsibility, in September 1921, he called a meeting in Geneva. He then tried to enlist the refugees according to their working abilities. At the same time he also conducted a research throughout the world about the special working needs and the career prospects for the refugees in each country. He established departments of his office in the largest refugees' centers¹⁶, and, the most important, he gave solution to the problem of the refugees' legal status with the famous "Nansen passports".

At the time of his appointment 40,000 russian refugees were in Constantinople, plus those who had crossed from there to Greece, Cyprus, Egypt and other parts of the Near East. Sir Samuel Hoare was appointed Nansen's assistant and took over the critical office in Constantinople. He formed a

hospitals and sanatoria for the sick and Russian schools of all levels for the children. It often insured the financial aid of the various countries for the operation of these schools. The Balkan countries in particular offered help until the end. This attempt blossomed until the end of 1928 but followed a descending route afterwards. That means that young refugees spent just one day per week studying their mother language (More details about the organization's action are included in Raeff's and Simpson's work).

14. See the article of Atle Graham-Madsen, "The league of Nations and the Refugees" at *The League of Nations in Retrospect, Proceedings of the Symposium organized by the United Nations Library and the Graduate Institute of International Studies*, Geneva, 6-9.11.80, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, N. York, 1983, p. 358-367.

15. For the amazing work of this great humanitarian see the thesis of Clarence Arthur Clausen, *Dr. Eridtjof Nansen's Work as High Commissioner of the League of Nations*, Ph. D., Illinois, 1932.

16. Constantinople, Athens, Sofia, Vienna, Berlin.

committee, with Colonel Procter as president, which tried to insure money for food, medicine, and refugees' travelling expenses towards the countries of their final destination¹⁷. 20,000 Russians had been transferred and settled in 45 different countries until September 1923¹⁸.

Nansen was convinced that the best solution would be the repatriation of the russian refugees. Despite his great efforts he didn't succeed in having impressive results. In 1922, after an agreement with the Soviets, a small number of russian refugees returned to their homeland. The agreement concerned mainly the Kozaks¹⁹ from the districts of Don, Kuban and Terek, who were then situated in Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia. In the autumn of 1923, after 6,000 people had been repatriated, the russian refugees were forced to accept exile as inevitable. At that time Nansen's office focused its attempts at the employment and the integration of the refugees in their new countries.

THE RUSSIAN REFUGEES IN GREECE

Like all the countries neighbouring to Russia or Constantinople, the major concentration point of refugees, Greece also had to welcome and relieve a number of russian refugees. Geographic vicinity was not the only reason. Greece found herself morally bound to help the civil war's defeated because she had been actively involved in the anti-Bolshevik struggle. It is well known that after Clemenceau's proposal, the First Army Corps with three army divisions (1st, 2nd and 13th)²⁰, which means 42,000 men, were disembarked

17. It should be noted here that the English and French government as well as the American Red Cross, who had helped refugees to survive in the first crucial years, had now grown tired of paying and had declared that they would soon stop their granting. Nansen had insured only an amount of money for the functional expenses of his offices worldwide from the League of Nations. He therefore had to stimulate the sensitivity of the international-public opinion in order to find sponsors for his work.

18. Sir J. Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 79-80.

19. The Kozaks had been living free since the 14th century, discharged from taxes by accomplishing military services in distant areas of the country. Wars against neighbours led to the gathering of all this population. Land was granted to their military communities. During the 15th and 16th century the communities of Don, Volga, etc., are formed with administrative autonomy. In the beginning of the 20th century there were 11 corps of Kozaks in Russia. Their soldiers had to serve for 20 years. In order to keep them at his side, the Tsar fought to preserve their financial and social status. When the Revolution broke out most of them fought against the Bolsheviks.

20. P. Zannas, ed., *Αρχείο Π. Δέλτα, Νικόλαος Πλαστήρας*; (P. Delta Archives, Nikolaos

in Odessa and fought in a remarkable way at the side of the White Army, under K. Nider's command²¹. Venizelos accepted the french leader's proposal since he wanted to insure the french support to his plans in East Thrace and Asia Minor. Moreover there existed traditional ties between Greece and Orthodox Russia, which dated back to the turkish occupation²².

The Greek involvement in the Entente's anti-Bolshevik struggle not only endangered the numerous Greek communities in Russia²³ but also created a further moral obligation to extend hospitality to a number of Russian refugees.

The first Russian refugees on the Greek soil were probably the over 25,000 passengers of the French steamers who sailed into Gallipolis and the 10,000 who reached Limnos in the beginning of November 1920, taking the local authorities by surprise.

In Limnos the refugees were accompanied by a French general who resumed responsibility to prepare the place for another 20,000. The Greek prime minister cabled on 9.11.1920 to the annoyed and uninformed deputy governor of Limnos, Kazantzoglou, giving him directions to help the disembarkation and settlement of the Russians in tents and to inform their leader that he would be responsible for their feeding. Within a few days the Russians had settled at the east part of the island in British camps that had been granted to the French. General Bousseau took all necessary measures for the local people's and the refugees' security and health. Finally, he prohibited Russians to circulate in the near villages since very quickly rumors went around about food thefts under gun threats²⁴.

Plastiras), Hermes publ., Athens, 1989. A narration of Plastiras' about the expedition in Ukraine is contained in the book.

21. For more details see K. Nider, «Η εκστρατεία της Ουκρανίας» ("The expedition in Ukraine"), in the *Big Military and Marine Encyclopedia*, Athens, 1927-1928, vol. 1, p. 111, 119, 347. According to existing testimonies the Greek army was welcomed with enthusiasm from the Greek population there, who felt threatened by the Soviets. The greek soldiers were considered very effective and disciplined compared to the French.

22. For further details see the interesting article by P. Kitromilidis, «Από την ορθόδοξη κοινοπολιτεία στις εθνικές κοινότητες: Ελληνο-Ρωσικές πνευματικές σχέσεις» ("From the Orthodox Commonwealth to National Communities: Greek-Russian spiritual relationships"), *Ta Historika*, issue 10, vol. 6, June 1989, p. 29-46.

23. See A. Zapadis, *Ελληνο-Σοβιετικές Σχέσεις 1917-1941* (Greek-Soviet relationships 1917-1941), Estia, Athens, 1989, p. 53-59. The Soviets strongly protested and threatened that they would take hard measures against the 200,000 Greeks who were mostly anti-Bolsheviks.

24. Hist. Archives MForAff/1920/A/5/VII/5, n. 14795, Kazantzoglou's report of 14.11.

The Prefect of Gallipolis, Markopoulos, was also found unprepared; on 11.11.1920 he cabled to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that a French destroyer had arrived the previous day and that he was ready to protest if it started disembarking the refugees without the Greek government's authorization. Without paying attention to the prefect's reactions, the French started disembarking the refugees, while French steamers continued sailing in the port. On 13.11 the doctor who examined the passengers, found many cases of typhoid fever and worried about its uncontrollable spreading. The French assured him that there was no danger. On 19.11 25,000 people had settled down and a steamer with women and children was being expected. According to the local authorities' reports, the disembarkation of Russian refugees, which continued until early December, occurred in complete disorder. The measures that had been taken by the French and Russian headquarters proved to be inadequate. The police had banned liquor selling and had restrained the refugees' circulation but the soldiers kept escaping and wandering around Thrace. Robberies took place in the middle of the streets. Rumors began to spread about villagers being murdered by hungry Russians. The annoyed inhabitants could not stay calm, not even after the announcements by the police that the order would not be disturbed. It is obvious that from a certain point in the Prefect's reports reality and imagination were mixed up. This was also pointed out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which discreetly advised him not to rush into reporting every rumor that reached his ears! The Greek authorities though, trying to safeguard public order, offered to reinforce the guarding of the camps—a basically French responsibility—by the police, and they examine the possibility of dispersing the refugees in certain parts of Greece²⁵.

At the same time more than 1,000 Russian refugees of "excellent social status" sail into the port of Thessaloniki in order to settle at the old French hospitals situated in an isolated area in the outskirts. The local authorities tried to stall their disembarkation for a while, since they had already put

1920. We note that after the Russians' settlement in Limnos the Prefect of Chios panicked and sent an S.O.S. signal to the government not to allow the sending of Wrangel's soldiers to the island. "We have no residences, no food", he stresses, "and we have a cruel winter ahead of us". The Minister of Foreign Affairs agreed and calmed him down. (Hist. Arch. MForAff 1920/A/VII/5, n. 15045).

25. See the Prefect's reports of 7.11, 9.11, 11.11, 13.11, 2.12 and 12.12, Hist. Arch. MForAff 1920/A/5/VII/5. The French were also scared. They believe that among the Russian soldiers there were many propagandist kemalist agents.

2,000 Greeks from Caucasus in quarantine and they expected 4,000 more, possibly contaminated with small-pox and typhoid fever. The Russians, after their disinfection, settled in the old French hospital. At first, the French Consul took care of their feeding and the Greek authorities took care of their hygiene. In the beginning of December though, the French Consul announced that he had received instructions from Paris to pass over responsibility for the feeding of the refugees to Greece, bringing in this way the General Governor of Thessaloniki into a difficult and unpleasant position²⁶.

Both the threats of pestilential diseases²⁷ and the influx of the Greek refugees from Asia Minor, forced the Minister of Internal Affairs, Tsaldaris, to warn the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "Stop the numerous descent of Russian refugees to Greece or we shall suffer irreparable disasters"²⁸.

The first informations about the number of Russian refugees in Greece are met in the memorandum written by Dendramis, head of the permanent Greek secretariat in the League of Nations, on 20.8.1921. These informations were necessary in order to facilitate the international organization's services, which were investigating the size of the problem due to the Commissioner's appointment²⁹. According to Dendramis there were 31,500 Russians in the Greek territory at that time, distributed as follows: 24,000 were gathered in Gallipolis by the French, 3,500 were temporarily working in Limnos and were about to return to Thessaloniki, 1,500 were in Athens and Piraeus, 1,200 in Thessaloniki and 500 in various hospitals.

In the same text Dendramis stressed that the burden of the Russian refugees was devastating for the suffering Greece and therefore a way to convey them in a more suitable place had to be found.

Greece's difficult position was also verified by princess Sofia Demidoff, the russian ambassador's wife and representative of the Russian Red Cross in Athens, to whose tireless efforts the Russians who took refuge in Greece owe a great deal. While asking for help from the International Red Cross in order to insure special nutrition for 165 tuberculars, Demidoff emphasized

26. The Consul even wanted back the 100,000 that he had spent until then! (Hist. Arch. MForAff 1920/A/VII/5, n. 16704 and 15817).

27. The sanitary services admit that it is impossible to examine them one by one because of the fact that the Russians arrive in crowds; therefore the danger of epidemics was increasing. (Hist. Arch. MForAff 1920/A/5/VII, 5, n. 15022).

28. Hist. Arch. MForAff 1920/A/VII/5, n. 16099.

29. LoN: 45/17352/16065 (19-27).

that Greece did everything she could, despite her enormous needs because of the expedition in Asia Minor³⁰. The country was devastated receiving too many wounded and sick people each day. This situation was described by A. Wintergerst, the International Red Cross' representative in Athens, to his organization and Nansen, who had just been appointed as the Commissioner of the League of Nations for the Russian refugees³¹.

On 17.9.1921 Nansen received even more alarming news from Thessaloniki. The source was General Tomiloff³², chief of the camp that had been established in the autumn of 1920 for the Russians who had come from Crimea to Constantinople and then to Thessaloniki, helped by the French, on the steamers Oscar, Harrax and Arragonie. As it has already been mentioned their feeding was the responsibility of the French Consul and then of the American Red Cross. The initial number of refugees in this camp was 957. In time, some of them managed to obtain visas and left for other countries. New refugees from Bakou, Constantinople, Limnos and Gallipolis took their place. In September 1921 the camp hosted 1149 people (218 women, 840 men and 91 children) and was expecting refugees from all over Greece by the end of the agricultural season.

In the beginning their nutrition was almost satisfactory. The proportion was 6 drachmas per person per day. The situation though was slowly getting worse. In May 1921 the proportion became 2 drachmas per person. So all those who were in no position to work were doomed to starvation. Some of them found a temporary occupation in the farms³³. The younger men adjusted in a better way and undertook heavier jobs. Most of them still could not find a job in the area because they were unqualified. It should be reminded that they were soldiers with no professional training, often wounded, of a certain age and with a poor health condition that was deteriorating by the bad climate of Thessaloniki. Malaria was threatening to eliminate the already weak and starved Russians.

The situation was even more critical for the 91 children of the camp. With the American Archbishop's help, a school had been established in the

30. Greece had very few dairy products to offer to those who suffered from typhoid fever and malaria. Demidoff was asking for milk in powder, rice, meat in cans and warm clothes. Apart from the sick in Athens, there were 2,555 in Thessaloniki, in Larissa and in Volos who also needed special nutrition (LoN: 45/16364/16065 (1919-1927) R1732).

31. LoN: 45/16217/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

32. LoN: 45/16065/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

33. Those were approximately 80. The American Red Cross forced them to offer the 20% of their wages for the feeding of the rest.

camp where the children were given breakfast daily; but because of the cut down of the funding, the school was about to close and the children to starve.

Tomiloff pointed that everybody wishes to leave Thessaloniki. "There are no jobs, the climate is awful and malaria is eliminating us. The problem is that we can not get visas easily. Only few lucky ones managed to get a visa. The rest of us shall remain here in God's mercy, since even the American Red Cross, which is for now granting us with 50-60,000 drachmas per month, announced us that the financing will be stopped. The Russian organizations in Athens are sending us very few money, just enough to pay the rent for our lodgings. The Russian General Consul in Thessaloniki has no money to help us. The only thing he could do is to establish three workrooms in the camp for the handicraftsmen and women".

In the end of his desperate letter the Russian general becomes rather unfair to the Greek authorities, which according to the general opinion did their best. "The Greeks never cared about us", he emphasized³⁴. "In all the countries of the world where the Russians seek refuge there are organizations to help them. Only in Thessaloniki there is no one. If the American Red Cross abandons us in 1922, as it has been announced, then we shall all die".

Two months later, on 9.11.1921, Tomiloff wrote to Nansen again, because the new years' day was approaching and so was the threat of famine³⁵. He was begging for his help since the Russians could not get visas and tickets to more prosperous countries.

Apart from Tomiloff, Nansen's attention was at the same time also drawn by the Swiss president of the Council of the League of Nations³⁶. He was referring to the 3,000 poor Kozaks who were dispersed throughout Greece going after temporary jobs. They were asking for their transportation to Bulgaria where other Kozaks had already been settled and where agricultural jobs were available³⁷.

34. The accusations are definitely unfair considering that Greece by accepting the Russian refugees jeopardized its relations with the Soviets who were approaching Kemal's Turkey even more.

35. LoN: 45/16065/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

36. LoN: 45/17165/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

37. The strange thing is that at the same time Nansen received informations from an unknown source that Greece can absorb about 10,000 refugees in agricultural jobs and that she intends to transfer 30,000 Armenians from Cilicia in order to settle them in Peloponnesus. Philip Baker, who worked for the secretary general of the League of Nations and was about to come to Greece, was given orders to investigate whether the country had the

The denunciations “touched” the newly appointed Commissioner and in April 1922 he asked the Australian president of the mixed committee, which supervised the voluntary exchange of population between Greece and Bulgaria on behalf of the League of Nations, A. C. Corfe, to investigate as Nansen’s representative the problem of the Russian refugees in Greece and to file him a report. The second member of the mixed committee, Belgian De Roover, was asked to help Corfe. It was a clever and cheap solution, since they had both already been working in Greece and had gained the Greek authorities’ trust.

In order to help the two inexperienced men understand the very essence of this complicated problem, he asked Schlemmer of the International Red Cross, an expert on the Russian refugees’ problem who would visit Athens in April 1922, to inform them. Schlemmer gave them their first instructions: a) To persuade the Greek government to offer the certification that Nansen had proposed, b) To find sponsors for the transfer of the Kozaks from Thessaloniki to Bulgaria, or to transfer them to a healthier place in Greece (this of course after the exaggerating appeals made by Tomiloff), c) To examine the children’s condition in the camp of Thessaloniki urgently. According to Mrs. Tomiloff’s informations, as she was supervising everything that had to do with the school of the camp, the conditions were devastating for the children. Luckily, a French organization had recently offered to find families that would adopt them, resuming all the expenses except for the ticket for the part of the route between Thessaloniki and Marseilles. The money for the tickets could be easily raised by the local charity organizations and the Greek government, which provided for the children until then³⁸.

The first thing Corfe did was to insure quinine for the spring, when the new season of malaria would begin. On 22.4.1922 he sent Nansen a report³⁹ about the condition of the approximately 6,000 Russians who were enlisted in the beginning of 1922. He had already lived in Greece for twelve months, he knew the right people, he had been informed both by the ambassador and princess Demidoff. He had also discussed with Roilos of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with Streit of the Greek Red Cross on the same sub-

ability to absorb Russian refugees from Egypt, Cyprus and Constantinople. It is more than obvious that in order to accomplish his mission he leaves no chance to be lost. (LoN: 45/17683x/16065 (1919-1927) R1732).

38. LoN: 45/20192/16065 (1919-1927) R 1732.

39. LoN: 45/17636/16065 (1919-1927) R1732 and 45/19105/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

ject. The conclusions that he reached, after having visited all the Russian camps and hospitals, were the following:

— The Russians in Greece live much better than their fellow countrymen in other countries do. They are better organized and from all aspects in a better condition than the Greek refugees from Russia⁴⁰. Princess Demidoff is responsible for this exceptional coordination. It is also clear that the present Greek government is assisting them in every way -obviously because of Queen Olga's and Prince Nikolaos' influence⁴¹.

— The refugees' hospitals in Athens are very well organized with the Greek government's assistance. The sick eat one egg daily and drink fresh milk. The conclusion is that the League of Nations does not have to worry particularly about the refugees in Athens.

— The Russians in Thessaloniki undoubtedly had a very hard time during the summer of 1921. Many lost their lives because of the seasonal exaltation of malaria since they had just arrived and were not organized yet. After that terrible experience they are scared that the following summer will eliminate them; that's why they sent so desperate warnings to the Commissioner's office. Things are different this year because they are better prepared and they have at their disposal an organized hospital, ready to take care of 150 sick people. This hospital belongs to the Russian Red Cross and operates with Russian staff. It is going to be disinfected and prepared for the season of the fever for those who suffer from malaria. The Greek government offered

40. About the important Greek communities in Russia see K. Papoulidis, «Οι Έλληνες της Ρωσσίας τον 19ο και τις αρχές του 20ού αιώνα» ("The Greeks of Russia in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century"), *Balkanika Simmikta*, 4, Institute for Balkan Studies, p. 109-140. From 1919 and on, approximately 55,000 Greeks came in Greece mainly from Caucasus and Crimea. The Greek government directed them towards colonizing in Macedonia and Thrace. Most of them got the Greek nationality by law, in October 1922 (The Russian refugees, especially the ones who lived in N. Greece, accused the Greek government that neglected them by giving first priority to the Greek refugees. It is a particularly selfish complaint since everybody recognized that Greece had shown great sensitivity in the problem of the refugees). Details about the problems they faced until they safely reached the Greek territory and settled see at the Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1921, A/5/VII (2).

41. Princess Helen, Nikolaos' wife, who came from Russia, had shown great interest in the more than 100 children who lived in the area of Athens in 1922. She established a school and a nursery and she granted them a meal daily. She also asked for the international organizations' help in order to establish a high school and an orphanage. Her mediation made the Commissioner's office hasten the survey about the Russian children in Greece. Two months later Corfe took over the refugees' problem in Greece (LON:45/19195/19195 (1919-1927) R1740).

to transfer the tuberculars to a sanatorium in Macedonia, so that there would be more available beds. The paralytics shall be sent to a hospital in Athens. So, with the help of a big quinine stock, the danger of the summer will diminish⁴². Conclusion: It isn't necessary for the camp to be transferred to a healthier spot. What is necessary is a sum of 30\$ per month to be disposed to the hospital in Thessaloniki for a 4 months' period, so that more staff and better nutrition will be insured.

— The camp's school is also in a good condition although many children are absent because of fever. Still a nutritional lunch is offered to them daily.

— There is satisfactory employment of the Russian refugees in Macedonia. The ones who have relatives or career opportunities in another country shall be helped in every possible way to be transferred there.

— The Russian refugees in Volos are in a similar situation with those in Thessaloniki. Many of them suffered from malaria but unfortunately the hospital of Volos is small, it lacks quinine and it is already full. The local farmers offer temporary jobs to the Russians but there have been many denunciations that the refugees are often being exploited⁴³. This issue has been discussed with the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

General Conclusion: The most practical solution for the Russian refugees is to employ them. Neither the humanitarian organizations, nor the League of Nations, nor—even more—Greece can continue their maintenance. The establishment of an office of the League of Nations for the Russian refugees in Greece is necessary. An appropriate Russian should be put in charge, someone to keep in touch with the Greek government and the relevant organizations of the other countries. The office shall be under the supervision

42. The allied army that had camped in Macedonia had also been stricken by malaria. They numbered a 60% of victims. Then there was a thought of forbidding the soldiers to stay in Macedonian front for more than 18 months. They noticed though that the second year the malaria victims were much less. This was an additional reason for Corfe's optimism. It should be mentioned that his optimism proved realistic. In the summer of 1922 the victims were much less (For the adventures of those who lived at that front see the classic book of Alan Palmer, grandchild of a British army's officer who fought in Macedonia for a long time, *The gardeners of Salonica*, London, 1965).

43. The denunciations came from Schatzmann's report about refugees in Thessalia, which reached the League of Nations in January/February 1922. According to that the Russians' daily wage is 10 instead of the regular 15 drachmas. The children earn a few by selling candies at the shops and cafeterias. Those who settled in Pilio live in great poverty. Among them are university professors and intellectuals from Moscow who are working in the farms of Argalasti and Horto!

of the representatives of the League of Nations in Greece. The Greek Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Welfare are eager to help⁴⁴. Is the League of Nations willing to pay its functional expenses for six months?

The money that Corfe needed to complete his mission was in total the following: 200 pounds for the hospital, 300 for the transportation of those who are unable to work to appropriate places, 1,000 annually for the support of those who don't have a permanent job and 100 annually for the maintenance of the 15 Russian students who were accepted by the University of Athens without fees⁴⁵. "If we can raise this money we shall be in peace with our conscience ~~because~~ we 'll have done our duty here", Corfe concludes.

The Commissioner's office answered Corfe's letter on 24.5, assuring him that they were trying to raise the money he needed⁴⁶. Meanwhile Nansen was pushing the repatriation of the Kozaks of Greece. In July 1922 there were 500 in Thessaloniki, 200 in Athens, 200 in Piraeus, 300 in Halkidiki and 1,000 dispersed all over Greece. In the autumn of the same year Nansen's attempts were crowned with success with the return of the Kozaks of Don, Kuban, and Terek, who had been in Bulgaria and Greece⁴⁷.

Corfe himself was so active that he received many praises from the League of Nations and the Commissioner. He found jobs to many unemployed and he even pulled a few strings to settle the rest. He asked his compatriot Sir J. Allen, Commissioner for New Zealand, to accept a number of Russian refugees into his country. In order to make him more sensitive about it, he stressed how much Greeks love New Zealand and how much they were concerned about the Russians, although they had thousands of their own refugees to take care off⁴⁸. With his persistence he finally managed to be sponsored with 3,000 pounds through the Australian Red Cross. He also provided a fund for the 15 Russian students who had been accepted by the Greek university, from the same source. Finally, he asked for the help of an old friend, P. Reeves, president of the Anglo-Hellenic Society in London. In order to

44. The Greek government was eager to offer the offices and help with bureaucracy. Hist. Arch. MForAff, 1923/LoN/F/2 (52).

45. The Commissioner's representatives took many steps before Greece accepted the Russian students without paying fees. Free registration in Greek universities was then against the law. Finally they exceptionally accepted these 15 students for free as a gesture of good will (Hist. Arch. MForAff 1923, LoN: F/2 (52)).

46. LoN: 45/17636/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

47. LoN: 45/17683x/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

48. LoN: 45/21291/16065 (1919-1927).

help the poor Russian refugees to survive he proposed the opening of a cheap market for the essential goods.

In the meantime the expedition in Asia Minor had taken a dramatical turn for Greece. In March 1922 a conference was held in Paris for the revision of the Treaty of Sevres. Our ex allies evidently changed their minds and suggested that the Greek troops should retract from Asia Minor. The Greek population in this area run away under the shadow of death. In August 1922 Kemal's army launched a general attack. Despite its efforts the Greek army was defeated and scattered. In the beginning of September Smyrna was surrendered to flames. Hundreds of thousands of Greeks were uprooted from their homes and they sought shelter in their homeland. Until 1923, when the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, approximately 1,000,000 Greeks had escaped from Turkey. The rest of them arrived officially with the obligatory population exchange between Greece and Turkey that was agreed in Lausanne⁴⁹.

On 19.9.1922 the Assembly of the League of Nations ordered the Commissioner's office for the Russian refugees to undertake the safe transportation of the new refugees from Asia Minor⁵⁰. Nansen asked Greece to support financially the enterprise. Streit considered the League of Nations' involvement as extremely beneficial for the protection of the minorities in Turkey and offered 1,000,000 drachmas. The poor financial condition of Greece did not allow him to grant more for the protection of the endangered Greek population.

It is therefore clear that Greece cannot dispose anything for the Russians anymore⁵¹. In August 1922 Corfe was informed that the Greek government intended to discontinue the 2 drachmas allowance and pushed Nansen to intervene. Indeed, the Commissioner's office, although it could understand Greece's difficult position, made a step to the Minister of Welfare Doxiadis. On 20.8.1922 Doxiadis addressed a slightly indignant letter to Nansen. He stressed the interest that our country showed in the Russian refugees and the warm welcome they had received from Greece. "After the tragedy in Asia Minor we cannot offer you anything anymore", he concludes. "Please evacuate the camp of Thessaloniki as soon as possible"⁵². In the end the Greek govern-

49. Em. Roukounas, *Εξωτερική Πολιτική 1914-1923* (Foreign Policy 1914-1923), Sakkoulas ed., 1978, p. 366-369. For Greece's critical position after the refugees' influx see D. Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan exchange of minorities and its impact upon Greece*, Paris, 1962, passim.

50. The well-known Colonel Procter undertook this difficult task once more. Later on, a special body, the Greek Settlement Commission under the aegis of LoN, took over.

51. Hist. Arch. MForAff 1923/LoN/F/2 (52).

52. LoN: 45/17636×/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

ment did not discontinue the allowance of the 400 people of Thessaloniki's camp, who were incapable of working. She preferred instead to appoint a very strict committee in Athens and Piraeus, which would evaluate who was really incapable of working. Those who were would continue receiving the 2 drachmas allowance per day⁵³. The Commissioner's staff, pleased with this solution, was desperately seeking for a way to transport the Russians of Greece to more suitable countries.

The following winter the situation was even more difficult. Turkey, showing off her good will to the soviet government, announced Nansen that Constantinople had to be evacuated from the Russian refugees (15,000 self-supported and 5,000 supported by American humanitarian organizations). The announcement caused panic to the refugees, although the Commissioner managed to insure a promise from USSR that another uprooting of the refugees would not be demanded⁵⁴. Those who could get a visa run away. In that way a new wave of refugees reached Greece. They managed to obtain a transit permission by demonstrating Latin-American visas. This transit though was due to last too long, since they had no money to buy tickets to their final destination. So, Greece's Consul General in Constantinople received severe warnings to give transit permissions only to the ones who already had a ticket⁵⁵.

According to the estimations of Nansen's office in Greece, approximately 4,000 refugees were here in 1923. Corfe was trying to transfer them to a more appropriate country until the summer. He was in close touch with I. W. Collins, his colleague in Bulgaria. At the same time he warned Nansen, who was still trying to repatriate the refugees, that his intentions were about to be misunderstood by the Russian emigrants. "They suspect that we want to surrender them to the Soviets by force", he underlined on 22.6.1923. "Let's not insist on bringing them home and let's try to find them a place to live. They can no longer stay in Greece. They didn't even choose her. They came in this place without perspectives, just because it was close to Crimea and Gallipolis. We shall strengthen the League of Nations' prestige in Greece if we free her from the burden of the Russians"⁵⁶.

53. We shouldn't forget that Greece had to make a good impression to the League of Nations at that time (LoN: 45/17636/16065 (1919-1927)).

54. Nansen's report to the members of the League of Nations' Council, 29.1.1923 (Hist. Arch MForAff 1923/LoN/F/2 (52)).

55. LoN: 45/17636x/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

56. LoN: 45/29501x/16065 (1919-1927) R1732.

A year after, in the spring of 1924, the condition of the Russian refugees in Greece was stable. They enumerated approximately 3,000 people. Those who had a satisfactory job had been adjusted⁵⁷. With the help of the Russian humanitarian organization Zemstvos and Towns ten different handicrafts were established in the camp of Thessaloniki, which proved quite profitable business and occupied a sufficient number of refugees⁵⁸. Most of them though were just surviving, relying on charity and hoping to find money for the desirable ticket to Europe.

The Russian organizations, which mainly supported them, were in danger after the recognition of the Soviet Union by Greece and the re-establishment of their diplomatic relations on 8.3.1924⁵⁹. The Greek royal family did not live in Greece anymore and according to the legislation for the ex-king's property the Russian hospital was to pass under the Greek state's control.

In order to examine the effects of the soviet diplomatic representatives' arrival in Greece, a committee was formed under the presidency of Tzakoutzeff, the embassy's ex-first secretary. The committee relied on the prestige and the social position of its president, who had no formal status anymore⁶⁰. One of the most important problems that this committee tried to solve was the future of the Russian church. It should be noted here that, although before the revolution the Russian orthodox church was an authoritative and rather weak institution, it played a very important role in the exile. It represented then the vital "umbilical cord" of the refugees with the Russian tradition and their culture. Many intellectuals, indifferent until then, found there a mental shelter and a kind of relief from nostalgia. The local churches often became the center of the refugees social life. It was therefore natural that the Russians of Greece considered their church's survival as a problem of high priority.

The Russian orthodox church's financial survival⁶¹ was finally taken care

57. From 1924 until 1929 the International Labor Organization took over the Russian refugees' employment and settlement. The Commissioner's office was responsible for their legal and political protection (Jacques Vernant, *The Refugees of the Post-War World*, London, 1959, p. 24).

58. Corfe was actually trying to improve these handicrafts and incorporate them into, Thessaloniki's economical life. See his proposals in LoN: 45/37459/16065 (1919-1927).

59. B. Kondis, "The re-establishment of Greek-Soviet relations in 1924", *Balkan Studies* 26 (1985), p. 151-157.

60. LoN: 45/35776x/33944 (1919-1927) R1750.

61. A special Byzantine monument in Athens, the Russian church of Panagia Lykodimou, was established in the first half of the 10th century. In 1835 the Russian diplomatic

by the Serbian embassy in Athens, which was ready to cover all the expenses⁶². The greatest problem of course was to manage to keep the church away from the soviet embassy's control by choosing the appropriate legal status. Three options were discussed: a) To be considered as the Serbian church's property, b) To put it under the control of the Greek ecclesiastical authorities, or c) To be controlled by the legal Union of the Russian Orthodox Christians. The third option was approved as more effective.

Since 1924 two groups of Russian refugees arrived in Greece. On 23.6. 1924 a group of 126 Jews and two Russians came from Odessa to Piraeus⁶³. In 1936 the second, and last, group arrived from Constantinople. They were 80 people (according to another version 130 took transit visas but in the end only 80 managed to come) who were forced to leave Turkey⁶⁴. Greece permitted them to stay at Syros until they could travel towards the countries of their final destination. She even gave permission to 18 of them to settle at this island under the condition that the rest would leave at once. In September 1936 the Ministry of Defense reminded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that apart from the country's financial difficulties, these refugees would prove to be harmful to the public security and the social regime. The kind attempts of the island's elite to persuade the authorities to allow the Russian refugees of "excellent education and high social status" to stay, were not successful. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs answered that such initiatives simply put the government in a difficult position, because she "affectionately

mission, which wanted a temple to cover the embassy's needs, undertook the reparation of this, almost ruined, church. It became the center of the Russian religious life in Athens ever since. Archimandritis Sergios Dabits (1911-1919) was the last supervisor of the Russian temple, who was appointed by the Russian royal mission. After the Revolution his position was taken over by Russian refugees. In 1954 Duchess Helen, wife of Prince Nikolaos, who came from Russia, made a general restoration of the temple (about the temple see in detail the vicar Ilias Apostolidis' book, *Η Ρωσική Εκκλησία Η Παναγία Ληκοδήμου* (The Russian Church Panagia Lykodimou), Athens 1959). In the sixties the Greek-Russian priest Timotheos introduced the Greek language to the ceremony in order to attract the second generation's children, which often do not speak Russian fluently or at all.

62. In this way the close relation between Russians and Serbians is confirmed. According to my sources the community's registry office was located in Yugoslavia and they had to register weddings, deaths and births there.

63. LoN: 45/31354/16065 (1919-1927).

64. Turkey expelled them by offering in return Turkish citizenship to 1,500 Russians. This dismissal was actually a chance to get rid of 3 could-be soviet agents: Victor Bakeria, possibly the head of soviet propaganda in Near East, Barbara Tanitrova and Victor Kavtaratzie (see the report of the general consul in Constantinople of 1.2.1936 at Hist. Arch. MForAff 1936/22).

considers about those victims, but, since she has to refuse to Greek refugees from Russia, she is completely unable to allow the settlement of non-Greek citizens in Greece"⁶⁵.

Finally 10 ended up in Belgium, 14 in Norway, 10 in Sweden and 3 in Yugoslavia. The rest of them stayed temporarily at Syros. Many of them secretly left the island looking for jobs. Nansen's office, which had undertaken their maintenance, made huge efforts to find a state willing to offer them shelters and jobs⁶⁶.

Things have changed at the international arena since 1936. In the '20s it was much easier for the League of Nations to settle the Russian refugees. The cities that had been destroyed during the war had to be rebuilt and industry was developing. Therefore a need for labor hands existed. The young and capable of working did not find difficulties in adjusting and helped that way the writing of a splendid chapter in the history of the League of Nations. Everybody believed that the problem of the Russian refugees was almost solved a little while before the international financial crisis. The amounts of money that were in the Commissioner's disposal began to decrease gradually. The program was to cut the funds in 1938⁶⁷. The only regular source of revenue left were the 15 golden francs paid by the refugees for the Nansen's stamps on their identity certifications.

The financial crisis that followed dissolved this temporary triumph. The countries that welcomed the emigrants were now hit by unemployment. Social racism sprung. Naturally, the first victims of the crisis were the refugees. Everybody now wanted to get rid of this useless burden. In 1934 Nansen's office tried to use the League of Nations' mechanism to block the Russian

65. Appeals were made by the Doctors' Association, the Lawyers' Association, the Lykio Ellinidon, the local industrialists and by Archbishop Filaretos. Their argument was the hospitality that Russia had offered to Greeks in the past and the fact that they had very useful and original skills. At Syros for instance there was no other German teacher but Vladimir Rastorgugieff (Hist. Arch. MForAff 1936/22).

66. Simpson's data, *op. cit.*, p. 136-137.

67. So when the problem appeared again they had no money to deal with it. Except for the lack of administrative budget they had no legal status anymore, since Nansen's office would definitely close down in 1938. Thus, since 1935, discussions began on how to continue the protection of refugees. USSR was the only country who could not understand this necessity! Besides, when USSR adhered to the League of Nations she had set forth the condition that the office for the Russian refugees would definitely close. USSR was also the only country that voted against the recommendation of the Assembly that the Russian refugees' protection should continue after 1938 (*Refugees and the League*, League of Nations' Union, Sep. 1935, p. 52).

refugees' dismissal. Unfortunately their attempts did not succeed. Unwanted strangers started to go in and out of the borders, to be arrested, to be imprisoned, to be expelled again and so on.

Due to the international economical deterioration and despite Nansen's office's attempts, from a certain point and on it didn't manage to transfer the Russians of Greece to other countries. The number of those who ended up in Greece is undefined. The census of 1928 showed 3,329 people. The president of the Russian Refugees' Union in Athens estimated them to be about 4,000. Finally, according to Nansen's office, their number was 2,205⁶⁸. Their small society in Athens⁶⁹ was structured in 17 humanitarian, social or political organizations.

The Greek government, according to her liberal policy, offered them working permission quite easily but did not grant them the Greek citizenship. Those who remained in Greece after the second World War, though, became easily Greek citizens. A 75% of the Russian refugees was occupied in handicrafts—they were usually well trained handicraftsmen. Despite the hard times that Greece was going through, those who were capable did not face a prolonged unemployment problem. The ones who had a more "technical" education—like engineers and doctors—managed to integrate pretty well. The rest of them adjusted in the hard conditions and managed to earn their living with the famous russian courage as drivers, foreign language teachers, waitresses, salesmen on the streets. Their flair for fine arts and music helped them a lot. The painter N. Orloff, graduate of Kiev's art school, was one of the most eminent russians in Greece. Many more distinguished either by making miniatures at the Benaki Museum or by working at Keramikos industry of pottery as painters. Others run restaurants in Faliro and others pastry shops at Stadiou street (the "Petrogrand" and the "Rossikon"). The elderly and the incapable of work were those who lived under critical conditions.

Various corporations and organizations helped them preserve an illusion of warmth and security in a generous but foreign country. The most active organizations were: The Mutual Aid Fund, a kind of social security institution under Sofia Demidoff's⁷⁰ chairmanship that helped the sick, the Russian

68. Simpson's data, *op. cit.*, p. 136-137.

69. It proved very difficult to gather informations about the social and political life of the small Russian communities in the other big cities in Greece for the period 1945-1994. My sources are all Russian refugees settled in Athens and Piraeus.

70. Sofia Demidoff was obviously the guardian angel of the community. After her death this role was apparently taken over by Alfred Gatzen, an attorney who became a merchant and helped every suffering Russian until his death in 1987.

Hospital in Piraeus, which occupied the Russian doctors and nurses, the Russian Club in Plaka⁷¹, where the community's social events took place, the Kozaks' Association and, above all, the Russian Church at Filellinon street, where a lending library was located as well.

The Russian Refugees' Union in Greece had a semi-official status and issued identity certifications for its members. Nansen's office's representatives in Athens were trying to help individually the refugees who were in need or to support their organizations with money from Geneva and Nansen's stamps⁷².

They were easily assimilated. This was due to the fact that the men, who were certainly more than the women, had to marry Greek girls and they were, therefore, incorporated in Greek families. A positive factor was the common religion between the guests and those who offered hospitality, as well as the high social status of the Russians, who were very proud of the zero criminality of their community.

The Russian School in Athens operated regularly during the interwar period. For a prolonged period of time Father Sergios Sniegiroff was its soul. According to the testimonies of Russian refugees living in Athens today⁷³, great efforts were made in order to preserve that school with money raised by balls and other charities. The American organizations helped a lot. In 1936 the school closed down because there were not enough children. Besides the Russians had finally lost their hopes of returning to their country and wanted their children to adjust into Greek reality.

Many children of the Russian refugees which settled in Thessaloniki used to go to the Russian schools of Serbia in order to continue their studies. Those schools were funded by international Russian organizations and the Serbian government.

After the second World War many of the Russian refugees, who had

71. The russian club established in 1928 in order "to facilitate the social life and the mutual aid of the russian emigrants". Every ex citizen of the Russian Empire who didn't recognize the soviet government could be member of this club.

72. In May 1930 Nansen died. After that the legal and political part of the refugees' protection was kept as the object of the International Nansen Office for the Refugees. The charity work was divided in independent offices.

73. I would like to thank Father Timotheos of the Russian Church, who is the soul of the Russian Senile House in Argiroupolis, the engineer Dimitri Lebedeff and Nina Zaparozets, wife of the Demidoff's driver, for their kindness and their willingness to share their memories from that hard era with me. I also thank all the others who wished to remain anonymous.

survived the hunger and the cruelty, left Greece in order to avoid the civil war's consequences. At that time their motto was "go away from the Balkans". In the USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina and France, which became their new countries, they prospered and educated their children. The few families living in Greece today dream to travel back to their homeland along with their children after almost 80 years. As visitors...

Athens' Law School