

## **Educating those who matter: Thomas Whittemore, Russian refugees and the transnational organisation of elite humanitarianism after the First World War**

### **Abstract**

This article examines the work of the Committee for the Education of Russian Youth in Exile (CERYE) and its founder, the American scholar, Thomas Whittemore.

Established during the Russian Civil War, the CERYE rescued displaced Russian youth from Constantinople and placed them in schools and universities across Europe, but only if they could demonstrate sufficient intellectual merit. It made a virtue of its elitism and Whittemore revelled in its selectivity; the committee intended that its students would return to Russia following the completion of their education and constitute a new intellectual elite once the Bolshevik government had fallen. The article contributes to the growing historiography on humanitarianism in the era of the First World War by emphasising that elitism and selectivity co-existed with discourses of universal suffering when describing the needs of displaced students.

The article traces the emergence of the CERYE at the end of the First World War and explores its anti-Bolshevik political mission, its funding network in North America, and the experiences of a number of its students. It argues that the work of the CERYE was inherently anti-Bolshevik and an example of what Charles Maier called the 'recasting of bourgeois Europe.' The article sheds light on an overlooked element of First World War era humanitarianism, namely, the many small scale and amateur organisations which co-existed alongside larger bodies such as Save the Children. Assured of the financial support of an influential network of likeminded donors in

America, Whittemore's committee could pursue a narrowly focused and highly elitist humanitarian mission in the early 1920s.

## **Keywords**

Humanitarianism, transnational, Russia, war, education, archaeology.

## **Introduction**

‘The world is too apt to forget the miserable, pathetic condition of the thousands of refugee children who are pouring out of Russia’, reported the American archaeologist Thomas Whittemore from Paris in 1921. Whittemore, who had worked with refugees in Constantinople since 1920, particularly emphasised the importance of the relief of young people: ‘just think of what Russian geniuses may be contained in the ranks of these children! How many great poets, writers and musicians may be lost to the world if these many bodies in which the germ of genius may be stored are not properly cared for.’<sup>1</sup> A year later, Whittemore wrote to potential benefactors at the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial in New York to request financial support. He implicitly criticised the humanitarian culture which had emerged since the end of the First World War, claiming that in order to successfully acquire backing for his relief work he was expected to ‘use higher colors in my descriptions or they will fade away beside the lurid painting of the Volga Relief’ and to provide ‘heartrending scenes of starving children and pictures of cannibal feasts in Constantinople.’<sup>2</sup> Whittemore stated that he could not provide these images to support his appeal for funds and, in his relief work which began

---

<sup>1</sup> “Children of Russia are almost forgotten”, *The Scranton Republican*, 2 April 1921, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Unsigned report c1922, The Committee for the Rescue and Education of Russian Youth in Exile (CERYE), Rockefeller Archive Centre (RAC) Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM) (FA061), Series 3: Appropriations Subseries, 3\_03, Emergency Relief, Box 8, folder 94, 3.

during the war and finished in 1931, he rarely did. Instead, he focused on assisting only those children and students who demonstrated the most intellectual promise in order to raise ‘seedlings for the scientific reforestation of Russia.’<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Whittemore is primarily remembered as an archaeologist and Byzantine scholar. Accounts of his life all focus on his work restoring the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul (the result of personal negotiations with President Atatürk), his foundation of the Byzantine Institute in the United States, and his activities as an archaeologist.<sup>4</sup> Overlooked in all of this is his remarkable humanitarian work during and especially after the First World War, where he was responsible for the placement and upkeep of hundreds of Russian refugee children and students in schools and universities across Europe. Whittemore’s work was highly elitist and he chose to assist only those whom he deemed to be the most intellectually gifted youth. In 1922, his work was described by one observer as ‘the education of picked minds.’<sup>5</sup>

The CERYE is important for what it tells us about the development of modern humanitarianism during and after the First World War and, in a broader sense, the ways in which European societies were reconstructed following the conflict in light of the new threat of Bolshevism. Much of the recent historiography of humanitarianism focuses on its ‘modern’ characteristics and the ways in which it was transformed by the First World War. Historians such as Keith D. Watenpugh, Bruno Cabanes, and

---

<sup>3</sup> Whittemore report, 20 September 1923, 13 October 1922, RAC, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller (OMR), Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369.

<sup>4</sup> Edward W. Forbes, “Thomas Whittemore, 1871-1950”, *Archaeology*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (September, 1950), pp. 180-182. For more on this, see Robert S. Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, Warren R. Dawson and Eric P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1972, 303.

<sup>5</sup> Eugenia S. Bumgardner, “The Rescue and Education of Russian Youth in Exile”, Monthly Bulletin no. 5, Constantinople Chapter, American Red Cross, March 1922, Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and Eastern European Culture (BAR), Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library (CURBML), Committee for the Education of Russian Youth in Exile Records (CERYE), 1914-1939, Series IX, Box 96, folder 49, 1.

Michael Barnett have pointed to the transformation of humanitarianism – as both a practice and an ideology – in the era of the First World War.<sup>6</sup> While these historians disagree on certain details, there is a broad consensus that the First World War led to the gradual emergence of humanitarianism which was professional, more secular, transnational, and characterised by permanent institutions that focused on human suffering above all else.<sup>7</sup> As Barnett neatly notes, ‘need, not identity’ increasingly became the benchmark to determine who received aid.<sup>8</sup> However, the emergence of modern humanitarianism was a process which was neither smooth nor linear.<sup>9</sup> The period following the First World War saw the residue of older forms of humanitarianism, which were hierarchical, elitist, and which privileged the identity of recipients, sitting uncomfortably alongside newer forms which emphasised need. Much historiography of the history of humanitarianism has – for obvious reasons – tended to focus on the large professional organisations that emerged from the period, such as the American Relief Administration (ARA) or the Save the Children Fund (SCF). However, the emergence of professional and modern humanitarian organizations was accompanied by the creation of hundreds of small-scale operations which were often amateur in their organization, impermanent, elitist and integrated into long-standing networks. The CERYE exemplifies all of the latter characteristics and,

---

<sup>6</sup> Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-24*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014; Keith D. Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: the Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*. Oakland, CA, University of California Press, 2015; Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones*, pp. 2-9; Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, pp. 4-7; Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>8</sup> Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones*, p. 5; 22-23; Rebecca Jinks, “‘Marks Hard to Erase’ : The Troubled Reclamation of “Absorbed” Armenian Women, 1919–1927’, *American Historical Review*, 123.1 (2018), 91-92.

in so doing, highlights the multi-layered and transitional nature of humanitarianism at the end of the First World War.

One prominent manifestation of the primacy of suffering in humanitarian activities as well as humanitarian discourses can be seen in the figure of the child as the ultimate innocent victim of warfare. The establishment of the Save the Children Fund by Eglantyne Jebb in 1919 was testament to this; the SCF used images of malnourished children as a means of generating support and donations for their work, while Jebb spoke remarked that ‘every generation of children...offers mankind anew the possibility of rebuilding his ruin of a world.’<sup>10</sup> In 1923 Jebb drew up the Declaration of the Rights of the Child on behalf of SCF which established the right of children to different forms of protection. It was adopted by the League of Nations in 1924.

Children as subjects of humanitarianism have received much historiographical attention in recent years. Emily Baughan has shown how the suffering of children as a consequence of the First World War, Armenian Genocide and Russian Civil War as often portrayed as an issue of relevance to all humanity, it was mobilized by different states and actors to serve national, imperial, and universal ends.<sup>11</sup> Baughan has also argued that, through initiatives like adoption schemes, humanitarian interventions were frequently disruptive of the communities that they aimed to save.<sup>12</sup> Elisabeth Piller has identified what she calls a ‘diplomacy of pity’ which placed children at its heart and was utilized by the German government to secure treaty revision in the early 1920s.<sup>13</sup> The experience and treatment of children are illustrative of how the wider development

---

<sup>10</sup> Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, 279-280.

<sup>11</sup> Emily Baughan, “Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!” *Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-war Britain*, *Historical Research*, 86.231 (2013), 132.

<sup>12</sup> Emily Baughan, “International Adoption and Anglo-American Internationalism, c 1918-1925”, *Past and Present*, 239.1 (2018), 217.

<sup>13</sup> Elisabeth Piller, “German Child Distress, US Humanitarian Aid and Revisionist Politics, 1918-24”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 51.3 (2016) 453-486.

of humanitarianism came about during and after the First World War. Thomas Whittemore's work with the CERYE demonstrates that not all humanitarian organisations viewed children and young people in this way. He secured the finances from a network of wealthy backers in America, set out a niche humanitarian programme, and never needed to resort to public appeals of the type made famous by Save the Children. Without the need to call on the consciences of parents around the world who were moved to action by the universal image of the suffering child, Whittemore could forge an opposite path, providing aid only to those who demonstrated the greatest intellectual merit.

The CERYE's work dealt with both children and adolescent students, who were grouped collectively as 'youth', without strict age categorizations. There is a growing historiography which focuses on students as recipients of humanitarian aid in this period, although their suffering has received less attention than that of children.<sup>14</sup> What links the two, however, was the overarching belief in the aftermath of the First World War that educated youth could drive political, cultural, and economic reconstruction across Europe.<sup>15</sup> This belief in the future mission of young people meant that, in the midst of Europe's post-war humanitarian crisis, they required not only food and medicine, but also educational support. Educational humanitarianism of this sort had a janus-faced quality; on the one hand, it was backward looking, often casting children as 'bearers of an old European social order.'<sup>16</sup> At the same time, young people were

---

<sup>14</sup> Guillaume Tronchet, "L'accueil des étudiants réfugiés au xxe siècle: un chantier d'histoire globale", *Monde(s)*, 15 (2019), pp. 93-116; Georgina Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond, 1880-1980*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, Johanna M. Selles, *The World Student Christian Federation, 1895-1925: Motives, Methods, and Influential Women*. Pickwick Publications: Eugene, OR, 2011.

<sup>15</sup> For an example of this type of thinking, see Ruth Rouse, *Rebuilding Europe: The Student Chapter in Post-War Reconstruction*. London: Student Christian Movement, 1925.

<sup>16</sup> Baughan, 'International Adoption and Anglo-American Internationalism, 217.

valued for what they would be in the future, especially in countries that emerged from the war requiring significant reconstruction.

This belief in the importance of youth to post-war reconstruction is an example of what Charles S. Maier called the ‘recasting of bourgeois Europe’, which he defined as the search for ‘stability and status associated with pre-war Europe.’<sup>17</sup> The creation of successor states in central and eastern Europe was accompanied by the fear among the victorious allies that they could be overrun by Bolshevism, a threat which was made manifest by Bela Kun’s short-lived takeover of Hungary in March 1919.<sup>18</sup> Anti-Bolshevism was undoubtedly a major motivation of post-war humanitarianism. At the Paris peace conference, diplomats and statesmen spoke of the importance of addressing Europe’s humanitarian crisis in order to prevent the spread of Bolshevism. The American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, famously remarked that ‘full stomachs mean no Bolsheviks.’<sup>19</sup> However, we still know relatively little about the mechanics of how humanitarianism sought to roll back the advance of Bolshevism. This article will address that historical lacuna.

Most of those in receipt of aid from the CERYE were displaced as a consequence of the Russian Civil War and a significant number were from noble or affluent backgrounds. As such, these children and adolescents were the literal embodiment of an order that had been deposed in Russia and was under threat elsewhere. Whittemore’s committee did not seek the direct restoration of the old order; instead, it felt that these students would be essential to rebuilding Russia following the anticipated demise of the Bolshevik regime, although the precise political form of a

---

<sup>17</sup> Charles S. Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade after World War I*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End*. London: Allen Lane, 2016, 118-152.

<sup>19</sup> John M. Thompson, *Russia, Bolshevism and the Versailles Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, 222.

future Russia was never articulated in full. The CERYE could undertake an anti-Bolshevik humanitarian mission in a targeted manner because it was a relatively small-scale operation with narrowly defined objectives. Herbert Hoover, the programme director of the ARA, wrote in support of Whittemore's work in 1921, stating that 'when the overthrow [of the Soviet] is accomplished, the mind of the Russian represented by the refugee children, will be needed.'<sup>20</sup> This article will analyse how Whittemore sought to do this, by exploring his background, his motivations and funding network, and the ways in which students were selected and supported by the CERYE. It demonstrates that in this period of humanitarian change, small scale, amateur humanitarian operations often forged a different path to their larger counterparts but still managed to undertake work of lasting significance.

### **From archaeologist to humanitarian**

Thomas Whittemore was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1871, and completed a degree in English literature at Tufts College in 1894, where he later held a teaching post. Whittemore developed an interest in the art and culture of ancient civilizations while studying at Harvard University around the turn of the century, although he never graduated. In 1908 he spent a year studying architecture at the Sorbonne in Paris and during that time he visited Russia for the first time and began to make studies of 'the Russian people, their art, their church.'<sup>21</sup> In 1910 he was appointed a docent in the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and in 1911, Whittemore

---

<sup>20</sup> Memorandum regarding talk of Mr. Whittemore, 1 January 1921, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99, folder 10.

<sup>21</sup> "Who was Thomas Whittemore?", <https://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/before-byzantium/who-was-thomas-whittemore>. Remarks by Charles W. Eliot at meeting of Boston Committee for Russian Relief, 19 February 1920. BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99, Folder 7.



was given the ‘unusual compliment’ of being the first American chosen to join the annual expedition of the Egypt Exploration Fund, which was supported by the British government.’<sup>22</sup> Whittemore travelled relentlessly in the period before the First World War; around 1910 he spent a lot of time in Paris and numbered Henri Matisse and Gertrude Stein in his social circle.<sup>23</sup> In 1912 his archaeological studies took him to Bulgaria where he undertook his first humanitarian work, helping Bulgarian refugees following the Balkan wars.<sup>24</sup> He also visited Russia again in 1913.

Amidst his wide-ranging artistic interests, Whittemore continued his archaeological research in Egypt up to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.<sup>25</sup> Alice Stevenson has shown how Whittemore’s excavations were funded by a variety of museums and cultural institutions in the United States, demonstrating his aptitude for convincing different parties to back his endeavours. Whittemore sent back antiquities as reimbursement, and, in Stevenson’s words, these excavations had little scientific importance about them and were more notable for the removal of objects for the purposes of ‘museum enrichment.’<sup>26</sup>

The outbreak of war in August 1914 saw Whittemore turn his energies towards helping victims of the conflict through work with the British Red Cross in France.<sup>27</sup> This was motivated by an encounter that he had with hundreds of wounded British soldiers at Calais, where they awaited transportation to England. Whittemore felt that

---

<sup>22</sup> “Will go to dig in Egypt”, *Boston Globe*, 7 January 1911, 5; “How Egypt is being reclaimed”, *Birmingham Times*, 24 February, 1911, 4.

<sup>23</sup> Robert S. Nelson, “The Art Collection of Emily Crane Chadbourne and the Absence of Byzantine Art in Chicago”, in Christina M. Neilsen ed., *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008, 141-142. Speech by Charles W. Eliot, c1920, in BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99, Folder 7.

<sup>24</sup> Whittemore, ‘Relatia of my journey in Russia. November – December 1915 and January – Febr. 1916’, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99, Folder 14.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Whittemore, “The Ibis Cemetery at Abydos: 1914”, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1.4 (1914), 248-249.

<sup>26</sup> Alice Stevenson, *Scattered Finds: Archaeology, Egyptology and Museums*. London: UCL Press, 2019, 94-95.

<sup>27</sup> ‘News and Notes’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 2.2 (1915), 115.

little was being done for these men and so he organised tea and biscuits to feed them.<sup>28</sup> In November 1914 he sent a telegram from London to the Red Cross Society in the United States which was reproduced in the *Boston Globe* and was designed to draw attention to frontline conditions. ‘Just returned from France for supplies. Acres of wounded. Unimaginable suffering. Operations without ether.’<sup>29</sup> Whittemore continued his relief work in France into 1915 but also managed to continue his excavations in Egypt during this time.<sup>30</sup> Between November 1915 and January 1916, he travelled across Russia, visiting Moscow, Petrograd and Kiev as well as some provincial towns, and encountering unsanitary conditions that were conducive to the spread of infectious diseases.<sup>31</sup> The *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* reported that he had ‘a prolonged stay in Petrograd, where he had been working among the refugees.’<sup>32</sup> Whittemore claimed that he wished to study ‘Russia’s great refugee problem in this war ... in Russia itself.’<sup>33</sup>

Whittemore’s humanitarian work in Russia was undertaken under the auspices of the Committee for the Relief of Russian Refugees and involved dealing with displaced children following the advance and subsequent retreat of the Russian army in 1916. He worked to provide sanitation for refugees in hospitals and camps.<sup>34</sup> Whittemore also worked in conjunction with the Committee of the Grand Duchess Tatiana. He maintained a typically energetic and mobile existence in this period,

---

<sup>28</sup> ‘Facts to be used wholly or in part in introducing Mr. Thomas Whittemore’, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99, Folder 7.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Acres of Wounded Men’, *Boston Globe*, 5 November 1914, 8.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Notes and News’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 2.1 (1915), 40; ‘Notes and News’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 2.2 (1915), 115; ‘Notes and News’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 2.2 (1915), 115.

<sup>31</sup> Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I*. Bloomington, IN.: Indiana University Press, 2005, 81.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Notes and News’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 3.2/3 (1916), 218.

<sup>33</sup> Whittemore, ‘Relatia of my journey in Russia. November – December 1915 and January – Febr. 1916’, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99, Folder 14.

<sup>34</sup> Account of Whittemore’s war work, 30 April 1921, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 33.

travelling to Japan in 1917 to seek supplies for displaced Russians.<sup>35</sup> Following the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, Whittemore focused on the relief of refugee children in southern Russia and the Caucasus, where he worked closely with Russian Zemstvos and Towns Union, which was formed by representatives of Russian towns and Zemstvos in Moscow shortly after the outbreak of war in 1914.<sup>36</sup>

Whittemore had already involved himself substantially in humanitarianism by the end of the First World War but this interest would be transformed by the mass displacement of people caused by the Russian Civil War and the growing humanitarian crisis in Constantinople by 1920. The civil war greatly exacerbated the humanitarian crisis in Russia. A series of offensives launched by the White forces in 1919 were repelled and, by the start of 1920, it was clear that the Red Army was in the ascendency, while the remnants of White forces were pushed back to Crimea.<sup>37</sup> Successive waves of refugees were forced to leave Ukraine between 1919 and 1920, with 10,000 leaving Odessa for Constantinople in spring 1919, and up to 150,000 leaving following General Wrangel's ultimate defeat in November 1920.<sup>38</sup> The latter evacuation was substantially assisted by the allies: France, Britain, and the United States.<sup>39</sup> This mass displacement of people led to the emergence of a series of refugee settlements on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Gallipoli peninsula, as well as across the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>40</sup> In the words of Martyn Housden, it meant that Constantinople became 'a bottleneck for desperate people', many of whom were children.<sup>41</sup> A wide variety of

---

<sup>35</sup> "Plight of Russian Refugees is Cited", *El Paso Morning Times*, 24 February 1917, 9.

<sup>36</sup> "The educational work of the Russian Zemstvos and Towns Relief Committee Abroad", RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369.

<sup>37</sup> Gerwarth, *The Vanquished*, 92-93.

<sup>38</sup> Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Modern Humanitarianism*, 141.

<sup>39</sup> Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad: a Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, 17.

<sup>40</sup> Martyn Housden, "White Russians Crossing the Black Sea: Fridtjof Nansen, Constantinople and the First Modern Repatriation of Refugees Displaced by Civil Conflict, 1922-23", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 88.3 (2010), 497.

<sup>41</sup> Housden, "White Russians Crossing the Black Sea", 498.

humanitarian agencies and organisations began to operate in Constantinople, with children becoming a particular focus for relief; as Elizabeth White has shown, there was often disagreement amongst these bodies about the role that might be played by children in the future.<sup>42</sup> For many of these children, their story of displacement neither began nor finished at Constantinople; while many arrived there unaccompanied by adults.<sup>43</sup>

By 1920, Whittemore was operating in Constantinople under the auspices of the Committee for the Education of Russian Youth in Exile. On 13 May 1920, he sent a cable from Constantinople to Seth Gano, a Boston-based lawyer and the treasurer of his committee, which sought to shed light on the suffering of displaced Russian children as well as raise funds for their relief. ‘Help give Russian refugee children Russian schools to preserve national life in exile. Upwards two thousand children from constantly arriving intellectual families from all parts Russia ages fourteen to sixteen. Many destitute depending upon charity for food and clothing.’ Whittemore’s cable requested \$100,000 to teach and provide educational materials for these children, and added that ‘I buy and distribute all materials myself.’<sup>44</sup>

Whittemore wrote to Gano in a personal capacity three days later, describing the terrible humanitarian crisis facing central and eastern Europe, outlining the many humanitarian efforts already under way there, and mapping out his own approach to helping it. ‘No one does anything for schools’, he argued, adding that he had begun working ‘exclusively’ for them. He secured access for Russian students to the American missionary-run Robert College and the Constantinople Women’s College.<sup>45</sup> In Sofia,

---

<sup>42</sup> Elizabeth White, “Relief, Reconstruction and the Rights of the Child: the Case of Russian Displaced Children in Constantinople, 1920-22”, in Nick Baron ed., *Displaced Children in Russia and Eastern Europe 1915-1953*. Leiden: Brill, 2017, 71-74.

<sup>43</sup> White, “Relief, Reconstruction and the Rights of the Child”, 70, 77.

<sup>44</sup> Whittemore cable to Gano, 13 May 1920, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 95, Folder 17.

<sup>45</sup> White, “Relief, Reconstruction, and the Rights of the Child”, 83.

Whittemore purchased school supplies, such as maps, pencils, erasers, blackboards and books, which he then brought to Constantinople to distribute. He also worked in tandem with the American Red Cross in 1920, receiving lists of Russian children in Bulgaria who had requested aid from the ARC.<sup>46</sup> Whittemore sold 25,000 Russian school textbooks to the ARC to help their relief effort.<sup>47</sup> He justified his focused approach by dropping the name of a famous acquaintance: ‘Mr. Henry James said to me once to penetrate you must be narrow.’<sup>48</sup>

### **The aims of the Whittemore Committee**

The work of Whittemore and the CERYE was fundamentally elitist; they did not did promote what Bruno Cabanes has called an image of the ‘universal child.’<sup>49</sup> Instead, Whittemore frequently boasted about the selectivity of his work and sometimes used shocking language to do so. In 1921 he wrote that ‘education is the only important thing in Russia. To me it seems almost better that 50 out of 100 children should die if their living would mean that they should be fed only and not educated.’<sup>50</sup> In 1923 he wrote privately that ‘we are not trying to educate every Russian who wants to warm his back against a school stove. We are trying to educate as many as possible of those who matter.’<sup>51</sup> In 1926, he could look back on over a half decade of humanitarian activity whereby ‘so many applicants have been rejected to reach our standard of choice.’<sup>52</sup> Whittemore was able to pursue an elitist and selective form of humanitarianism because

---

<sup>46</sup> List of needs of Russian children, 13 March 1920, BAR CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, folder 49.

<sup>47</sup> C. Claflin Davis to Whittemore, 27 November 1920, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, folder 49.

<sup>48</sup> Whittemore to Gano, 16 May 1920, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 95, Folder 17.

<sup>49</sup> Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, 273.

<sup>50</sup> “Wrangel sought refuge not Bolshevik defeat”, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 28 January 1921, 24.

<sup>51</sup> Whittemore to Elisabeth Cram, 23 November 1923, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, folder 35.

<sup>52</sup> Whittemore to Mrs Belin, 25 July 1926, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 12.

he had the financial support of a network of likeminded backers in the United States, meaning that he did not need to issue large public appeals for funds.

Whittemore's students were aided and educated for a purpose, which was to fill the void left by the anticipated end of the Bolshevik regime, as well as replacing those intellectuals who had been displaced during the Russian Civil War, deported by the Bolsheviks, or who had died in the great famine of 1921-22. It was expected that they would return to Russia to aid in its reconstruction. Whittemore framed the problem in terms of civilizational decline, arguing that 'the education of Russian children is a matter of gravest importance, not only for Russia, for like wise for the civilized world [sic]... the intellectual life of the country is flickering out like a tallow dip.'<sup>53</sup> The idea of civilizational decline was common in the aftermath of the First World War to describe a range of ideas, from a general sense of cultural pessimism to a more politically motivated fear of the rise of Bolshevism.<sup>54</sup> While fears of Bolshevism often cited the atheism of the regime, Whittemore rarely cited religion as an explicit motivation for his work.

Whittemore wrote in May 1923 that his students constituted 'a group of men and women foregoing individual claims and ardently pledging themselves to return as one to offer a trained scientific mind to Russia.'<sup>55</sup> On returning to Russia, these students would be 'useful as experts and specialists.'<sup>56</sup> Whittemore frequently spoke of the 'restoration' of Russia and its intellectual life; this was understood as constituting

---

<sup>53</sup> Undated Whittemore speech, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99 folder 11.

<sup>54</sup> John Horne and Robert Gerwarth, "Bolshevism as Fantasy: Fear of Revolution and Counter-Revolutionary Violence, 1917-1923", in Gerwarth and Horne eds., *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 40-51; Jan Ifversen, "The Crisis of European Civilisation after 1918", in Menno Spiering and Michael Wintle eds, *Ideas of Europe Since 1914: the Legacy of the First World War*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 14-31.

<sup>55</sup> Whittemore to Gano, 7 May 1923, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 95, Folder 20.

<sup>56</sup> Unsigned report c1922 on CERYE, RAC, LSRM (FA061), Series 3: Appropriations Subseries, 3\_03, Emergency Relief, Box 8, folder 94, 5.

an important component of post-conflict reconstruction.<sup>57</sup> While his work was undoubtedly anti-Bolshevik in motivation, Whittemore seldom articulated a clear vision of what sort of Russia he envisaged emerging in the future. In a lecture in 1920, he claimed that the demise of Bolshevism was imminent and argued, without elaboration, that ‘Russia will reappear among the nations in some powerful federated form.’<sup>58</sup> In not clearly articulating a vision of a future Russian state Whittemore differed to Tomáš Masaryk, the president of Czechoslovakia. Masaryk took a leading role in providing education to displaced Russians in his hope that a new, liberal Russia would emerge as a counterweight to Germany and Austria, to which these freshly-trained students could later return.<sup>59</sup>

Whittemore’s work was unusual in its elitism, but was not unique in its scale or its emphasis on intellectual relief. Hundreds of small-scale humanitarian committees and organizations emerged during and after the First World War. By 1922, there were at least 84 organizations of varying sizes aiding Russian refugees in Constantinople alone.<sup>60</sup> At its conference in Geneva in August 1921, the League of Nations resolved that it was ‘especially desirable’ that ‘special protection and employment’ should be found for Russian refugee intellectuals.<sup>61</sup> Hubs of displaced Russian intellectuals emerged across Europe, in Prague, Berlin, and Paris.<sup>62</sup> Zemgor was founded in 1921 to coordinate a wide range of activities, including relief. Led by Prince George E. Lvov,

---

<sup>57</sup> Whittemore speech c1922, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99, Folder 11. See also Charles W. Eliot letter, c1924, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99, Folder 7.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Predicts Russia will rise again’, *The Boston Globe*, 20 February 1920, 11.

<sup>59</sup> Catherine Andreyev and Ivan Savický, *Russia Abroad: Prague and the Russian Diaspora*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 13, 80-116.

<sup>60</sup> Arthur C. Ringland, “Russian refugees in Constantinople”, RAC, LSRM (FA061), Series 3: Appropriations Subseries, 3\_03, Emergency Relief, Box 8, folder 94.

<sup>61</sup> Conference on the Question of Russian Refugees, 24 August, 1921, League of Nations Archives (LNA), C.277.M.203. 1921. VII.

<sup>62</sup> Robert C. Williams, *Culture in Exile: Russian Emigrés in Germany, 1881-1941*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972, 111-138; Raeff, *Russia Abroad*, 47-64; Robert H. Johnston, *New Mecca, New Babylon: Paris and the Russian Exiles, 1920-1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988.

it placed a strong emphasis on education and oversaw the running of educational institutions across Europe for displaced Russians.<sup>63</sup> A pamphlet published by the Russian Zemstvos and Towns Relief Committee about ‘the children of Russian refugees in Europe’ argued that not only was their physical health at risk, but their ‘moral health’ was also a concern.<sup>64</sup> It claimed that it was only through education would they ‘be able to hold their own, to save themselves from losing caste abroad in exile, and be able in time to be of assistance to their Motherland, when she will need them.’<sup>65</sup> The Zemstvos and Towns Relief Committee was the largest body to provide relief and education to exiled Russian children which, by 1924, it referred to as ‘a national duty and its own primary function.’<sup>66</sup> By 1925, it was responsible for the education of 5,090 students across Europe in 66 institutions.<sup>67</sup>

The World Student Christian Federation’s European Student Relief was among the largest aides to Russian refugee students.<sup>68</sup> By 1922, it had provided relief to 68,000 students, of whom many were Russian refugees. It helped transport 1,500 students from Constantinople to Prague, where they were placed in Czechoslovak universities and provided relief to 2,000 refugee students in Germany. European Student Relief (ESR) was funded through public appeals and made a virtue of its non-political status, claiming that it was ‘started not to further any political aim but to bring relief.’<sup>69</sup> One of the leading organisers of the ESR, Ruth Rouse, saw great value in the aiding of

---

<sup>63</sup> Catherine Gousseff, *L’exil russe La fabrique du réfugié apatride (1920-1939)*. Paris: CNRS, 2008, 271-273.

<sup>64</sup> ‘The Children of Russian Refugees in Europe’, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 366, 11.

<sup>65</sup> ‘The Children of Russian Refugees in Europe’, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 366, 20.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Statement of the Activities and needs of the Russian Zemstvos and Cities Committee of the Aid of Russian Citizens Abroad’, 30 December 1924, in RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 366.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Statement of the educational work of the Russian Zemstvos and Towns Relief Committee’, 1 April 1925, and Russian Zemstvos and Towns Relief Committee, in RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 366.

<sup>68</sup> Benjamin L. Hartley, ‘Saving Students: European Student Relief in the Aftermath of World War I’ *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 42.4 (2018), 295 – 315.

<sup>69</sup> L.W. Halford, ‘The Torch of Learning’, *Russian Life*, 6 (1922), 217-218, in West Glamorgan Archives (WGA), Papers of Winifred Coombe Tennant, D/DT 4012.



refugee students and their grouping together in centres like Prague where ‘experiments of all kinds in international goodwill can be carried on by native and foreign students together.’<sup>70</sup>

The League of Nations and its High Commission for Refugees (established in 1921) showed limited interest in the education of displaced Russians; its work was restricted to funding their transport to a country where they could avail of educational opportunities. Fridtjof Nansen, the League’s High Commissioner for Refugees, acknowledged that there was a ‘very close relation’ between the education of refugees and Russia’s general economic reconstruction. A report issued in March 1922 noted that Russia had lost ‘technical experts of every sort’ following the Civil War. Nansen called on other European countries to follow the lead of Czechoslovakia and commit to supporting the education of Russian students.<sup>71</sup> The League saw this as an issue for individual states to address; its fledgling Committee on Intellectual Cooperation received many appeals seeking support to displaced students and scholars but was insufficiently financed to aid many of them.<sup>72</sup>

While similar bodies sat alongside Whittemore’s CERYE, few had such an emphasis on social and intellectual elitism. Whittemore was able to create an organization on his own terms because of his aptitude for raising money, primarily through the cultivation of a network of wealthy American donors. Whittemore had demonstrated skill for raising money in his archaeological work before the First World War and he deployed similar skills in funding his relief work (as well as his later work

---

<sup>70</sup> Ruth Rouse, *Rebuilding Europe*, 156. See also Selles, *The World Student Christian Federation, 1895-192*, 132-136.

<sup>71</sup> League of Nations, Russian Refugees. General Report on the Work Accomplished up to March 15<sup>th</sup> 1922, by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner of the League of Nations. 15 March 1922. LNA, C.124.M.74, 11.

<sup>72</sup> Tomás Irish, “The ‘Moral Basis’ of Reconstruction? Humanitarianism, Intellectual Relief and the League of Nations, 1918-1925”, *Modern Intellectual History*, 17.3 (2020), 769-800.

in restoring Hagia Sophia). In certain cases, Whittemore's patrons, such as Charles R. Crane, supported many of his projects, be they scholarly or humanitarian.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, there was a tradition of philanthropic support for elite education in the United States which made donors like John D. Rockefeller, jr., receptive to contributing to Whittemore's work.

A number of common themes connected Whittemore's backers; many were drawn from the social elites of Boston and Chicago, had interests in the art world, had sponsored relief or were generally sympathetic to Russia and Russian culture. Many had connections to Rockefeller philanthropies, specifically through either the Rockefeller Foundation or the University of Chicago. Frederic C. Walcott was on the CERYE's New York committee; he had worked for the Rockefeller Foundation's war relief effort at the start of the war before taking on a role with Herbert Hoover's food relief of Poland.<sup>74</sup> These connections were useful in generating further financial support; when it became clear that John D. Rockefeller himself was hesitant about whether to support Whittemore, Carrie Ryerson asked Anson Phelps Stokes, the philanthropist and former secretary of Yale University, to write to Rockefeller and seek his support.<sup>75</sup> As a result, Rockefeller personally gave \$2,500 towards the work of the committee each year between 1923 and 1930, although reservations were expressed about the dependency of this work upon one man.<sup>76</sup>

Many of Whittemore's supporters were themselves closely connected. In Chicago, Carrie Ryerson was a key supporter of Whittemore's humanitarianism. She

---

<sup>73</sup> Norman E. Saul, *The Life and Times of Charles R. Crane, 1858-1939: American Businessman, Philanthropist, and a founder of Russian Studies in America*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013, 132, 251.

<sup>74</sup> M.B. Biskupski, "The Diplomacy of Wartime Relief: The United States and Poland, 1914-1918", *Diplomatic History*, 19.3 (1995), 437.

<sup>75</sup> Anson Phelps Stokes to W.S. Richardson, 10 October 1923, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369.

<sup>76</sup> Memorandum, Office of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 15 December 1924, Memorandum, Office of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 17 November 1926, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369.

was a major patron of the Art Institute of Chicago.<sup>77</sup> Her husband, Martin Ryerson, inherited a lumber fortune and gave substantially to the University of Chicago, as well as being a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>78</sup> Martin Ryerson's cousin, Richard T. Crane, jr., was another supporter of Whittemore's relief. Crane was a businessman and philanthropist in Chicago; his brother, Charles R. Crane, was also a backer of Whittemore and among his philanthropic interests was the promotion of Russian studies at American universities, notably the Rockefeller-established University of Chicago.<sup>79</sup> Whittemore also received support from a network around Boston and Harvard University. Prominent among these was Charles W. Eliot, who had been president of Harvard between 1869 and 1909 and was the Honorary President of the American Central Committee for Russian Relief. Eliot had also been a long-time board member of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, with which Whittemore had a long association.<sup>80</sup> Meanwhile, the composer and pianist Sergei Rachmaninoff was one of the committee's representatives in New York.<sup>81</sup>

Whittemore's work also benefited from close connections to the world of American diplomacy. Charles R. Crane was on the Honorary Committee; he served as American ambassador to China between 1920 and 1921 and his son, Richard T. Crane, II, was appointed ambassador to Czechoslovakia. Both Cranes were democrats and supporters of Woodrow Wilson.<sup>82</sup> Charles R. Crane was also a close personal friend of

---

<sup>77</sup> Christina M. Nielsen, "'To Step into Another World': Building a Medieval Collection at The Art Institute of Chicago" *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 2004, 30.2, Devotion and Splendor: Medieval Art at the Art Institute of Chicago (2004), 6-17, 89-90.

<sup>78</sup> *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report*. New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1920, x.

<sup>79</sup> Saul, *The Life and Times of Charles R. Crane*, 193-196, 246-256.

<sup>80</sup> Museum of Fine Arts Boston, *Thirty Sixth Annual Report for the year 1911*. Boston: the Metcalf Press, 1912.

<sup>81</sup> Account of Whittemore work, Yale University Divinity Library Special Collections (YUDLSC), World Student Christian Federation Records (WSCF), Series 24.D (aa) Russia; Series 25.D (ab), Box 298, Folder 2723.

<sup>82</sup> Saul, *The Life and Times of Charles R. Crane*, 193-196.

both Tomáš Masaryk and Paul Miliukov.<sup>83</sup> Also on the Honorary Committee was Henry Morgenthau, former US Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, and Admiral Mark L. Bristol, the US High Commissioner to Turkey after the war who was a key figure in organising the evacuation of white Russians across the Black Sea in 1920.<sup>84</sup> Whittemore had himself been a member of Bristol's Disaster Relief Committee.<sup>85</sup> All of these were strongly supportive of anti-Bolshevik initiatives.

Whittemore frequently held small fundraising events in the United States where he rarely described himself as a humanitarian and only occasionally placed the plight of Russian children to the fore. Instead, he was usually billed as an archaeological explorer and adventurer, a Russian political commentator, or, as in the case of one event in Chicago, as 'the well known Boston bachelor, connoisseur, and art collector.'<sup>86</sup> Whittemore played on public fascination with Egyptian archaeology, especially pronounced after the 'discovery' of Tutankhamun's tomb by Howard Carter in late 1922; in October of that year he toured America, discussing his archaeological work in Egypt.<sup>87</sup> For one of his talks he was billed as an 'Egyptian Explorer' but the newspaper notice of his lecture added that 'unusual experiences both in Russia and in the Near East will form the basis of his lecture.'<sup>88</sup> He gave a series of public lectures again in 1925, where he discussed his excavations of a palace belonging to Tutankhamun at El-'Amarnah for which he had received much publicity.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Saul, *The Life and Times of Charles R. Crane*, 126.

<sup>84</sup> Account of Whittemore work, YUDLSC, WSCF, Box 298, Folder 2723.

<sup>85</sup> 'Memorandum regarding talk of Mr. Whittemore, January 1, 1921', BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 99 folder 10.

<sup>86</sup> "Help for the Russians" *Chicago Tribune*, 3 September 1922, 79.

<sup>87</sup> "Gives Lecture on Excavations Made Recently in Egypt", *The Indianapolis Star*, 9 November 1922, p. 20; "Lecture on excavations", *St Louis Post-Dispatch*, 12 October 1922, 21.

<sup>88</sup> "Egyptian Explorer to talk at College", *Oakland Tribune*, 25 October 1922, 1.

<sup>89</sup> "Explorer depicts wonders of old Pharaoh's Palace", *Buffalo Courier*, 26 July, 1925, 46. "Notes and News", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 10.1 (1924), 61; "Excavations at Tell-El-Amarna", *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, 11.3 (1924), 111-115; Thomas Whittemore, "The Excavations at el-'Amarnah 1924-5", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 12.1 (1926), 3-12.

Carrie Ryerson organised many fundraising events in Chicago which were advertised in the society pages of the *Chicago Tribune*. In December 1922, the English baritone John Barclay gave a concert to raise money for Whittemore's work.<sup>90</sup> In a notice advertising a set of fundraising talks in 1923, Whittemore was given a colourful introduction, including an account of how he transported a consignment of spinach and vegetables by train from Siberia to Southeast Russia, 'sitting on top of the cars with a loaded rifle across his knees.'<sup>91</sup> A 1925 fundraising event featured 'a delightful program of songs, dances and recitations', following by 'dancing until after 2am'. A report of the event assured readers that the recipients of aid were 'said to be remarkably intelligent students', but little was said about their suffering or need.<sup>92</sup>

### **The work of the Committee for the Education of Russian Youth in Exile**

By the summer of 1921, Whittemore had identified a series of students to aid, and sought to place them in 'the most important educational centers in Europe.'<sup>93</sup> He stated that cost of keeping students in Constantinople was 'greater than in any other educational centre in Europe.'<sup>94</sup> By late 1922, Whittemore's committee was responsible for the placement of 227 advanced students (199 male), who were settled in France (Lille, Paris), Belgium (Louvain, Liège, Brussels), Switzerland (Lausanne), Greece (Athens), Yugoslavia (Belgrade), Czechoslovakia (Prague), Turkey (Constantinople), Germany (Berlin), Bulgaria (Sofia, Samakov), Syria (Beirut), and Italy (Rome, Naples, Milan). These students were those for whom war and revolution had interrupted their studies. Whittemore also maintained three schools for 750 Russian

---

<sup>90</sup> "Chicago Society", *Chicago Tribune*, 17 December 1922, part 7, 5.

<sup>91</sup> "Chicago Society", *Chicago Tribune*, 30 December 1923, 72.

<sup>92</sup> "For Refugee Russians", *Chicago Tribune*, 20 December 1925, 84.

<sup>93</sup> Whittemore to Gano, 8 June 1921, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 95, Folder 18.

<sup>94</sup> Account of Whittemore work, YUDLSC, WSCF, Box 298, Folder 2723.

‘intellectual children’ in Bulgaria.<sup>95</sup> Eugenia S. Bumgardner, who herself ran a relief operation in Constantinople, wrote of her amazement at how all of this had been accomplished with ‘no offices, no personnel, none of the large overheads one usually finds accompanying philanthropic work.’<sup>96</sup> By 1924, the committee was responsible for 419 students in twelve countries who, an article in the *Boston Transcript* claimed, constituted ‘a single great university, a university of practical idealism, a university for the redemption of Russia.’<sup>97</sup>

It was significant that the towns where schools and universities took Russian students (such as Louvain, Lille, Liège and Strasbourg) had themselves suffered in the First World War and thus their charitable action was symbolic of the wartime entente. Wartime alliance remained a strong theme in the education of Russian refugees into the 1920s; an account of refugee students in Strasbourg in 1927 stated that their only crime was ‘to have wanted to be our allies to the end and their faith in the cause of the Entente.’ It claimed that while some students would return home and others would settle in France, all would remain faithful to the memory of Alsace and Strasbourg.<sup>98</sup>

By his own reckoning, Whittemore’s committee educated three distinct categories of young people. The first were children whose secondary school education was interrupted by the civil war. Many of these were too young to fight and, on finishing their education in places like Constantinople or Tophane, proceeded to study at university. The second group of men were older, meaning that they had ‘passed through all the hardships of war and the unprecedented upheaval of the revolution.’ One student by the name of Pygov travelled from Gallipoli to Constantinople ‘without any means’

---

<sup>95</sup> “Mr Thomas Whittemore”, in Pratt to Rockefeller, 13 October 1922, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369. Account of Whittemore work, YUDLSC, WSCF, Box 298, Folder 2723.

<sup>96</sup> Bumgardner, “The Rescue and Education of Russian Youth in Exile”, 1.

<sup>97</sup> “The ‘Rhodes Scholars’ of Russia’s Future”, *Boston Transcript*, 5 January 1924, in CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 97, folder 27.

<sup>98</sup> “La colonie des étudiants russes émigrés”, *l’Alsace Française*, 14.359, (1927), 938-940.

in search of Whittemore's committee, completed his education, and was subsequently accepted in the High Technical School of Louvain in Belgium. Whittemore noted that for the second group there was more difficulty in adjusting to intellectual work 'but their ardour to return to Russia and their belief that it is criminal for intellectuals to remain outside Russia longer than to secure their safety overcame all obstacles.'<sup>99</sup> The third group consisted of men for whom the war had torn them from 'advanced scientific investigations and from their instructorships in Russian universities', most of whom only required one year in a university to complete a doctorate or to 'perfect themselves in some special branch of knowledge.' Whittemore saw female students as part of his scheme too, arguing that 'these women will bring new civilization to their remote mountain homes in the Caucasus'.<sup>100</sup> However, women only constituted a small proportion of the students supported by the CERYE.

Whittemore took a personal interest in the students who his committee supported and he travelled across Europe to visit them annually, combining this with his archaeological work. Whittemore's representative in Belgrade, Aleksander Brandt, reported that Whittemore visited Belgrade annually to meet the students and hear their needs, even when his archaeological commitments in Egypt took up much of his time.<sup>101</sup> In 1923 Whittemore visited students in Paris, Lille, Louvain, Brussels, Malines, Lyon, Marseilles and Poitiers, and, in a letter to Elisabeth Cram, one of his committee members, he gave detailed reports on the students in each city or town, concluding that 'the intellectual quality of this group is very highly regarded.' Whittemore took a great interest in individual students. In the same letter he reported seeing eleven men 'whom

---

<sup>99</sup> Unsigned report c1922, RAC, LSRM(FA061), Series 3: Appropriations Subseries, 3\_03, Emergency Relief, Box 8, folder 94, 8-9.

<sup>100</sup> Unsigned report c1922, RAC, LSRM (FA061), Series 3: Appropriations Subseries, 3\_03, Emergency Relief, Box 8, folder 94, 9.

<sup>101</sup> Brandt, Undated report, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 19.

I last saw in Constantinople’, and detailed them by name.<sup>102</sup> In January 1926 Whittemore reported that ‘I have now made the rounds of the students: Paris to the south of France, Rome, Belgrade, Sofia, Constantinople, Athens, Cairo. Everywhere I find an increasingly convincing group of young men under our direction, and everywhere rumours from Russia of the need of them.’<sup>103</sup>

By the autumn of 1923, Whittemore stated that there were no more Russians left in Constantinople to be considered for education, meaning that ‘our work has ceased to be relief or rescue; it is solely educational.’<sup>104</sup> However, the work of the CERYE was contingent upon stability prevailing in the centres where students had been placed; by late 1923, Whittemore wrote that owing to the instability caused by hyperinflation and the Ruhr invasion ‘the situation in Germany has been so threatening that a retreat ... has been prepared for Vienna and France.’<sup>105</sup> Similarly, the establishment of formal relations between European states and the Soviet government impacted the positioning of the CERYE. France formally recognised the USSR in October 1924. This placed the French Commission pour l’organisation de l’enseignement russe en France in a difficult position because the French state could not be seen to be supporting the overthrow of its Bolshevik counterpart in Russia; accordingly, they decided to work with Whittemore’s committee to ensure that the greatest number of Russian students came to France where they could be ‘ensured of the benefits of French discipline.’<sup>106</sup> The two bodies later formally cooperated with one

---

<sup>102</sup> Whittemore to Cram, 3 February 1923, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 35.

<sup>103</sup> Whittemore to Gano, 27 January 1926, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 95, folder 23.

<sup>104</sup> Whittemore report, 20 September 1923, Frederick B. Pratt to Rockefeller, 13 October 1922, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369.

<sup>105</sup> Whittemore to Mrs Cram, November 1923, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 35.

<sup>106</sup> Paul Appell, Louis Gentil and Étienne Fournol to the President du Conseil, c July 1924, UNESCO Archives, Papers of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation, B.VI.2.



another. The CERYE also collaborated with two Belgian organisations, Patronage belge de la jeunesse universitaire and l'Aide belge aux russes.<sup>107</sup>

### **Student selection and experience.**

Whittemore took a 'hands on' approach to the management of the CERYE, reviewing accounts of the work and conduct of students, making decisions about whether they should receive financial support, and deciding where they ought to be placed. He either met refugee students in person in Constantinople or was made aware of them by his network of representatives in cities across Europe. The placement of students depended on a variety of factors; some had certain language skills which made a given country a good fit, while others had academic interests which informed their placement at a given institution. For example, all medical students were placed in Strasbourg.<sup>108</sup> Eugenia Bumgardner's 1922 account of the work of the CERYE claimed that specialists in electricity, engineering, medicine, physics, biology, and chemistry were especially in demand.<sup>109</sup> A 1924 report stated that 'practical subjects predominate', noting that 200 of 419 students were pursuing studies in engineering, with commerce (28), medicine (29), mathematics (25), and agriculture (20) also well represented.<sup>110</sup> That said, decisions seem to have been made on a case-by-case basis where personal suffering, as well as academic interests, made up part of the narrative. Class was also an important determining factor, and many of the children in receipt of aid from the CERYE were the sons and daughters of Russian nobility.

---

<sup>107</sup> Boris Ermolov to Whittemore, 27 September 1927, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, folder 50.

<sup>108</sup> Whittemore cable to Belin, 11 December 1922, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, folder 12.

<sup>109</sup> Bumgardner, "The Rescue and Education of Russian Youth in Exile", p. 1.

<sup>110</sup> "The 'Rhodes Scholars' of Russia's Future."

Academic excellence was frequently mentioned in reports about students. Boris Ermolov, who was the distributing secretary for the committee in Paris and later the librarian of the Byzantine Institute in Paris, often forwarded applications for support to Whittemore which were framed in terms of academic achievement and potential.<sup>111</sup> One, written in August 1926, described a student called Goussev who ‘produced an exceptionally good impression’ and that ‘a professor of mathematics of the Sorbonne spoke of him as an exceptionally capable boy.’<sup>112</sup> The examination of Nicholas Balashev, who studied at the University of Lille, was described as ‘the most brilliant in the history of the university.’<sup>113</sup>

While the scheme aimed to save intellectually promising Russian youth, it was undoubtedly the case that the CERYE aided many Russians from noble or military backgrounds. In March 1923 Belin wrote to Whittemore that ‘I understand that Prince Talitius [sic] wants to become one of your students at Louvain ... his aunt the Princess Sophia Yostchakoff spoke to me about him.’<sup>114</sup> Aleksander Brandt reported from Belgrade in 1924 that a thirteen-year-old relative of Count Leo Tolstoy had finished the Belgrade gymnasium and had been sent to Brussels where ‘he might get there a stipend and continue his studies in a commercial high school.’<sup>115</sup> Brandt wrote to Whittemore of another thirteen-year-old who was the son of a Russian colonel ‘who is very poor and has been compelled to neglect the education of his boy.’<sup>116</sup> Irrespective of their background, the students aided by Whittemore’s committee often knew terrible living conditions. Barbara Lermantoff described the Russian students in Lille as having been

---

<sup>111</sup> Nelson, *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950*, 170; Forbes, “Thomas Whittemore, 1871-1950”, 181-182.

<sup>112</sup> Ermolov to Whittemore, 25 August 1926, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 50.

<sup>113</sup> Whittemore report, 20 September 1923, Frederick B. Pratt to Rockefeller, 13 October 1922, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369.

<sup>114</sup> Belin to Whittemore, 3 March 1923, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 12.

<sup>115</sup> Brandt to Whittemore, 1 October 1924, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 19.

<sup>116</sup> Brandt to Whittemore, 1 October 1924, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 19.

‘dragged away from school, separated from their parents’ and having known ‘all the horrors of the revolution, the terrible civil war and all the miseries of exile.’<sup>117</sup> F.L. Belin, who was one of Whittemore’s representatives in Paris, described two boys called Dombadze who were the sons of a Russian general but arrived in Louvain ‘in a most lamentable state, having absolutely nothing...they had to reclothe them from hand to foot.’<sup>118</sup>

For some refugees, the support of Whittemore’s committee offered a chance to escape poverty and hunger in Constantinople. Accordingly, some students, in their desperation to move, lied about their personal circumstances. One student was turned down when it was discovered that ‘his only aim is to get to Germany by some means or others.’<sup>119</sup> Other students bought into the goals of the committee: Bumgardner quoted one as saying ‘we do not want to return to Russia empty handed: we want to return with a “capital”, and we believe the “capital” of greatest value to Russia will be the “capital” of scientific training, and it is this that Mr. Whittemore is giving us.’<sup>120</sup>

Beyond the education of older students of university age, Whittemore’s committee was responsible for the education of up to 750 Russian children in three schools in Bulgaria. Management of these schools was overseen locally by Aleksander and Dmitrii Ermolov. The work of the Ermolovs in Bulgaria was briefly supported by the Bulgarian government and also received some initial assistance from the League of Nations but subsequently came to rely on Whittemore’s backing.<sup>121</sup> The schools in Bulgaria had to deal with challenging circumstances, such as allegations of sexual

---

<sup>117</sup> Lermantoff to Whittemore, no date, Whittemore to Gano, 23 June, 1928, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, Folder 26.

<sup>118</sup> Belin to Whittemore, 24 April 1922, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, folder 12.

<sup>119</sup> Belash to Whittemore, 27 October 1922, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 9.

<sup>120</sup> Bumgardner, “The Rescue and Education of Russian Youth in Exile”, 2.

<sup>121</sup> Ermolov to Whittemore, 18 September 1922, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 95, Folder 1.

misconduct against one teacher, and the conviction of another teacher for murder, and rumours of alcoholism among the teaching cohort generally.<sup>122</sup> These schools also faced particular pedagogical challenges; some of the teaching staff tended ‘to impress too forcibly upon the children certain ideas of a political nature’, although it is not clear what they were. Dmitri Ermolov also claimed that female teachers struggled to exert authority over students ‘who often are formed men having gone through the civil war and lived their independent lives in terrible conditions.’<sup>123</sup> Having visited these schools with Whittemore, Arthur C. Ringland, the ARA’s Chief of Mission in Constantinople, reported that conditions for the children were ‘very trying. Barracks have been placed at their disposal but often as many as twenty must live in a room really fit for only eight.’<sup>124</sup>

Aside from paying annual visits to his students, Whittemore also corresponded with some, like Vladimir Raievsky. The two first met at Gallipoli, before Raievsky continued at the University of Berlin with Whittemore’s support, where Raievsky’s self-described ‘mental hunger’ came to an end.<sup>125</sup> Raievsky wrote movingly and emotively of his gratitude towards Whittemore. ‘I remember about the time when I sat in Gallipoli, about that almost hopeless period, [the] dreariest period of my life. Could I even imagine, dream then, that the time will come, when the inexhaustible richness of science and the treasuries of arts will be opened to my eye and heart [?]’ One conversation with Whittemore at Gallipoli had ‘decided all my further fate.’<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> Dmitri Ermolov to Whittemore, 2 October 1922, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 95, Folder 1.

<sup>123</sup> Dmitri Ermolov report of 3-5 September 1923, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 95, Folder 1. The traumatic effects of war and displacement were also an issue for students in Czechoslovakia. See Andreyev and Savický, *Russia Abroad*, 101.

<sup>124</sup> Arthur C. Ringland to Walter Lyman Brown, 14 April 1922, RAC, LSRM (FA061), Series 3: Appropriations Subseries, 3\_03, Emergency Relief, Box 8, folder 94.

<sup>125</sup> Raievsky to Whittemore, 15 May 1922, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, Folder 46.

<sup>126</sup> Raievsky to Whittemore, 16 October 1922, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, Folder 46.

Raievsky not only articulated a sense of personal gratitude, but thanked Whittemore for saving Russia ‘from the most horrid kind of death, not from physical, but from [a] spiritual one.’<sup>127</sup>

Whittemore had a personal interest in the wellbeing of his students and the committee took great pride in their intellectual development, but support was not unconditional. In 1922, Whittemore sent a letter to all 227 of the students then placed across Europe, stating the committee’s expectations ‘upon the continuance of its help to you.’ Students were implored to achieve ‘conspicuously high’ attainments in their respective schools and universities; moreover, students were urged to ‘distrust all political organizations working outside of Russia. The activities of all alike are futile.’<sup>128</sup> The CERYE expected that all of its students would be known, but only known, for their intellectual achievements.

It was undoubtedly the case that some of the CERYE’s students subsequently pursued exceptionally distinguished careers. While the committee had expressed a desire to train scholars in fields such as engineering and medicine, the profile of distinguished alumni was a diverse one. Alexandre Piankoff, for example, was an Egyptologist (like Whittemore) who was born in 1897 in St. Petersburg and had his studies interrupted by the war.<sup>129</sup> He subsequently studied at Berlin and completed a doctorate at the Sorbonne in 1930. In 1929, Whittemore’s committee gave 10,000 Francs towards the publication of Piankoff’s thesis.<sup>130</sup> Piankoff spent much of his later career in the Institut français d’archéologie orientale at Cairo where he published prodigiously on Egyptian religion in French, with a number of his works being

---

<sup>127</sup> Raievsky to Whittemore, 14 March 1924, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, Folder 46.

<sup>128</sup> Account of Whittemore work, YUDLSC, WSCF, Box 298, Folder 2723.

<sup>129</sup> Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 231-232.

<sup>130</sup> Whittemore to Gano, 11 February 1929, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, Folder 2

translated into English. His significance to the field of Egyptology is evidenced by the fact that he has an entry in *Who was who in Egyptology* - like Whittemore himself.

Vladimir Lossky was born in 1903 in Göttingen, Germany, where his father was studying. Nicholas Lossky later took up a professorship at Petrograd University, where Vladimir enrolled as a student in 1919. In 1922, both father and son were among a number of non-Marxist intellectuals who were forced to leave Russia.<sup>131</sup> Nicholas Lossky was invited to Prague by Czechoslovakian president Tomáš Masaryk and appointed professor at the Russian university.<sup>132</sup> Vladimir settled in Paris, where he completed a doctorate at the Sorbonne, which the CERYE supported. He would go on to become a distinguished figure in the history of theology.<sup>133</sup> Boris Solokoff worked on cancer research in Nice in the mid-1920s and later had a distinguished career as a cancer specialist in the United States.<sup>134</sup> Vsevolod Basanoff was born in Moscow in 1897 and left Russia in 1920, spending time in Prague and Berlin before settling in Paris, publishing widely in Roman Law.<sup>135</sup> When he died in 1951 Basanoff held the position of Director of Studies for the Religion of Rome at the Section of Religious Science at the *École pratique des hautes études* in Paris.<sup>136</sup> Boris Timchenko had a more colourful career; he studied landscape gardening in France before becoming famous for it in the United States, designing gardens for Mamie Eisenhower and Jacqueline Kennedy, among others.<sup>137</sup> The elitism of the cohort who were supported by

---

<sup>131</sup> Gousseff, *L'exil russe* p. 88; Lesley Chamberlain, *Lenin's Private War: the Voyage of the Philosophy Steamer and the Exile of the Intelligentsia*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006, 100-130.

<sup>132</sup> Louis J. Shein, 'N.O. Lossky, 1870-1965', *The Russian Review*, 25.2 (1966), 214.

<sup>133</sup> Whittemore to Gano, 11 February 1929, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, Folder 2

<sup>134</sup> Whittemore to Brent, 26 May 1926, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 21.

<sup>135</sup> Whittemore to Brent, 26 May 1926, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 21.

<sup>136</sup> André Grabar, 'Vsevolod Basanoff (1897-1951)', in *École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses. Annuaire 1951-1952*. Paris, 1952, 13-15.

<sup>137</sup> <https://tclf.org/pioneer/boris-timchenko>

Whittemore is evident in their subsequent trajectories; however, not all are visible in the historical record.

## **Conclusion**

From the outset, Whittemore wanted his students to return to Russia to aid in its reconstruction. By the mid-1920s, the situation had changed: most major European powers had formally recognised the Bolshevik state by 1924. The idea that Whittemore's students would return to Russia following the demise of Bolshevik rule was no longer realistic. In 1926, Whittemore reported that many students 'expect never to return to Russia.'<sup>138</sup> In the same year, the CERYE announced that no further applications would be taken.<sup>139</sup> Whittemore explained that applicants over thirty were deemed to be 'too long detached from studying' where as 'families who are asking for educational aid for children actually born in exile' should be 'so far established themselves in their new life as to assume responsibility for the education of their own children.'<sup>140</sup> By the end of the 1920s, Whittemore wrote proudly that almost a thousand men and women had by that point received degrees or diplomas at institutions of the 'highest standing in Europe.'<sup>141</sup> By August 1930, CERYE was supporting only twenty-three students in France and Belgium, as well as eight school children.<sup>142</sup> The committee ceased its work in 1931. Whittemore was proud of the work that he had undertaken and remarked in 1926 that 'even if not a single youth of the emigration ever

---

<sup>138</sup> Whittemore to Mrs Belin, 25 July 1926, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 12.

<sup>139</sup> Memorandum, Office of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 17 November 1926, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369.

<sup>140</sup> Whittemore to Gano, 23 June, 1928, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 96, Folder 1.

<sup>141</sup> Whittemore to Rockefeller, 12 October 1929, RAC, OMR, Series Q, Box 42, Folder 369.

<sup>142</sup> List of students of the American committee for 1930-31, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 50.

return to Russia', the CERYE's work still constituted 'a strong Russian contribution to the advancement of Universal culture.'<sup>143</sup>

Thomas Whittemore died suddenly at the State Department in Washington D.C. in June 1950 on his way to meet John Foster Dulles, then a special advisor to the Secretary of State. Whittemore's obituary in the *Boston Globe* had little to say about his humanitarianism; instead, he was remembered as a 'Harvard Professor, Byzantine Authority'.<sup>144</sup> In particular, his work uncovering mosaics hidden under the plaster on the walls of St. Sophia's Church, the Hagia Sophia, in Istanbul was highlighted as especially significant.<sup>145</sup> In a longer obituary written for *Archaeology*, Edward W. Forbes, the former director of the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard, again focused on Whittemore's work at Hagia Sophia and gave only one short paragraph to his humanitarianism.<sup>146</sup>

Whittemore's humanitarian work sheds light on two related but difficult to reconcile themes which emerged in the aftermath of the First World War. The first was the idea that the child was a figure of universal sympathy and humanitarian action. The second was the notion that children and young people could be educated to build a better and more stable world. The former idea implied universalism, whereas the latter, as interpreted by Whittemore, was fundamentally elitist and premised upon intellectual excellence. However, whereas larger humanitarian organizations depended upon mass appeals and the invocation of universal images of the suffering of children, Whittemore's committee, with funding secured through a range of political and social

---

<sup>143</sup> Whittemore to Brent, 26 May 1926, BAR, CURBML, CERYE, Series IX, Box 94, Folder 21.

<sup>144</sup> "Deaths and Funerals: Thomas Whittemore", *Boston Globe*, 9 June 1950, 10.

<sup>145</sup> More on Whittemore's work at the Hagia Sophia can be found here: Thomas Whittemore, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 42.2 (1938), 218-226; Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933-1942.

<sup>146</sup> "Thomas Whittemore, 1871-1950", *Archaeology* 3.3 (1950), 180-182; "Thomas Whittemore. Harvard Professor, Byzantine Authority", *The Boston Daily Globe*, 9 June 1950, 10.



elites in the United States, could be more focused in their approach and sidestep empathy altogether, instead selecting only the ‘most intelligent’ students for aid.

The Committee for the Education of Russian Youth in Exile shows that post-First World War humanitarianism was in transition, with small-scale, elitist operations undertaking influential work alongside better known, large scale operations which emphasised universal suffering. This was made possible by the existence of a wealthy network of backers who shared the cultural and political assumptions of Thomas Whittemore, namely, a firm opposition to Bolshevism, a longstanding interest in the support of cultural, intellectual, and artistic projects of different types, and a belief that young people would play a key role in the reconstruction of post-war Europe. Fundamentally, they were all united by a commitment to the enthusiasm, charisma, and entrepreneurial energy of Thomas Whittemore in managing a complex organisation which was built in his own image. The CERYE exemplifies the ways in which post-First World War humanitarianism was a multi-layered and complex phenomenon, serving many interests simultaneously.

## Bibliography

- Andreyev, Catherine and Ivan Savický. *Russia Abroad: Prague and the Russian Diaspora*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Barnett, Michael. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Baughan, Emily. "Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!" Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-war Britain, *Historical Research*, 86.231 (2013): 116-137.
- Baughan, Emily. "International Adoption and Anglo-American Internationalism, c 1918-1925", *Past and Present*, 239.1 (2018): 181-217.
- Biskupski, M.B. "The Diplomacy of Wartime Relief: The United States and Poland, 1914-1918", *Diplomatic History*, 19.3 (1995): 431-452.
- Brewis, Georgina. *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond, 1880-1980*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Cabanes, Bruno. *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-24*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Chamberlain, Lesley. *Lenin's Private War: the Voyage of the Philosophy Steamer and the Exile of the Intelligentsia*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006.
- Dawson, Warren R. and Eric P. Uphill. *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1972.
- Gatrell, Peter, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I*. Bloomington, IN.: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- Gerwarth, Robert. *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End*. London: Allen Lane, 2016.
- Gousseff, Catherine. *L'exil russe La fabrique du réfugié apatride (1920-1939)*. Paris: CNRS, 2008.
- Grabar, André. 'Vsevolod Basanoff (1897-1951)', in *École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses. Annuaire 1951-1952*. Paris, 1952: 13-15.
- Hartley, Benjamin L. "Saving Students: European Student Relief in the Aftermath of World War I" *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 42.4 (2018): 295 - 315.
- Horne, John and Robert Gerwarth. "Bolshevism as Fantasy: Fear of Revolution and Counter-Revolutionary Violence, 1917-1923", in *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War*, edited by John Horne and Robert Gerwarth, 40-51. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Housden, Martyn. "White Russians Crossing the Black Sea: Fridtjof Nansen, Constantinople and the First Modern Repatriation of Refugees Displaced by Civil Conflict, 1922-23", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 88.3 (2010): 495-524.

Ifversen, Jan. "The Crisis of European Civilisation after 1918", in *Ideas of Europe Since 1914: the Legacy of the First World War*, edited by Menno Spiering and Michael Wintle, 14-31. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Irish, Tomás. "The 'Moral Basis' of Reconstruction? Humanitarianism, Intellectual Relief and the League of Nations, 1918-1925", *Modern Intellectual History*, 17.3 (2020): 769-800.

Jinks, Rebecca. "'Marks Hard to Erase' : The Troubled Reclamation of 'Absorbed' Armenian Women, 1919–1927", *American Historical Review*, 123.1 (2018): 86-123.

Johnston, Robert H. *New Mecca, New Babylon: Paris and the Russian Exiles, 1920-1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988.

Maier, Charles S. *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade after World War I*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Nelson, Robert S. *Hagia Sophia, 1850-1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Nelson, Robert S. "The Art Collection of Emily Crane Chadbourne and the Absence of Byzantine Art in Chicago", in *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*, edited by Christina M. Neilsen, 131-148. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008.

Nielsen, Christina M. "'To Step into Another World': Building a Medieval Collection at The Art Institute of Chicago" *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 2004, 30.2 (2004), 6-17, 89-90.

Piller, Elisabeth. "German Child Distress, US Humanitarian Aid and Revisionist Politics, 1918-24", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 51.3 (2016): 453-486.

Raeff, Marc. *Russia Abroad: a Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Rouse, Ruth. *Rebuilding Europe: The Student Chapter in Post-War Reconstruction*. London: Student Christian Movement, 1925.

Saul, Norman E. *The Life and Times of Charles R. Crane, 1858-1939: American Businessman, Philanthropist, and a founder of Russian Studies in America*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013.

Selles, Johanna M. *The World Student Christian Federation, 1895-1925: Motives, Methods, and Influential Women*. Pickwick Publications: Eugene, OR, 2011.

Shein, Louis J. 'N.O. Lossky, 1870-1965', *The Russian Review*, 25.2 (1966): 214-216.

Stevenson, Alice *Scattered Finds: Archaeology, Egyptology and Museums*. London: UCL Press, 2019.

Thompson, John M. *Russia, Bolshevism and the Versailles Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966,

Tronchet, Guillaume. "L'accueil des étudiants réfugiés au xxe siècle: un chantier d'histoire globale", *Monde(s)*, 15 (2019) : 93-116.

Watenpugh, Keith D. *Bread from Stones: the Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*. Oakland, CA, University of California Press, 2015.

White, Elizabeth. "Relief, Reconstruction and the Rights of the Child: the Case of Russian Displaced Children in Constantinople, 1920-22", in *Displaced Children in Russia and Eastern Europe 1915-1953*, edited by Nick Baron, 70-96. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Whittemore, Thomas. "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 42.2 (1938), 218-226.

Whittemore, Thomas. *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933-1942.

Williams, Robert C. *Culture in Exile: Russian Emigrés in Germany, 1881-1941*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972.