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## **IZBEGLIŠTVO U UČIONICI:**

*Srpski studenti i đaci u Velikoj Britaniji za vreme Prvog svetskog rata*

## **EXILE IN THE CLASSROOM:**

*Serbian Students and Pupils in Great Britain during the First World War*

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# PREDGOVOR

Pre tačno sto godina, jedan brod prešao je kratku razdaljinu između Avra u Francuskoj i Sautemptona u Engleskoj, prevozeći grupu srpske dece uzburkanom vodom kanala Lamanš u Veliku Britaniju, gde ih je čekala, kako su se svi nadali, bolja sudbina od one koju su, nažalost, iskusili u prethodnim godinama. Dečaci i devojčice koji su izbegli iz porobljene Srbije i u periodu od nekoliko meseci, od kraja 1915. do kasnog proleća 1916. godine, bili razasuti po celom Mediteranu, od Soluna do Korzike, putovali su na Ostrvo, gde su im, zahvaljujući podršci britanskih dobrotvora, bili obezbeđeni smeštaj, ishrana i besplatno školovanje. Za grupu od oko 350 srpske dece, koliko ih je imalo sreću da učestvuje u ovom poduhvatu, put u Veliku Britaniju nije značio samo prestanak ratnih i izbegličkih nedaća, već i obećanje bolje budućnosti u godinama koje su dolazile po okončanju rata. Zbrinjavanje

izbeglih srpskih mladića i devojaka u Francuskoj, Italiji, Švajcarskoj i Velikoj Britaniji tokom Prvog svetskog rata predstavlja veliku, ali nedovoljno osvetljenu priču, jer je život srpske omladine u izbeglištvu ostao na margini događaja koji su krojili sudbine naroda i država. Međutim, koliko god se ovaj poduhvat činio nevažnim u kovitlacu političkih, vojnih i diplomatskih procesa koji su obeležili Prvi svetski rat, on je duboko uticao na celu jednu generaciju i u ogromnoj meri odredio odnose između dvaju naroda i dveju država u posleratnom periodu. Srpska deca koja su u Francuskoj i Velikoj Britaniji pronašla zaklon od užasa rata, bila su u posleratnim godinama ambasadori poštovanja i prijateljstva između našeg i dvaju velikih evropskih naroda, kao i spona kulturne, ekonomske i političke saradnje. Na činjenicu da je srpsko međuratno društvo u velikoj meri bilo frankofilsko i anglofilsko umnogome su

# FOREWORD

Exactly one hundred years ago, a ship crossed the short distance between Le Havre in France and Southampton in England, transporting a group of Serbian children across the rough seas of the English Channel, where they were hoping to find a better fate to the one they had the misfortune to experience in the previous years. Boys and girls who had managed to escape from a conquered Serbia and who were for several months, from the end of 1915 until the late spring of 1916, scattered across the Mediterranean, from Thessaloniki to Corsica, travelled to Great Britain, where accommodation, food and free education were provided for them, thanks to the support of the British benefactors. For around 350 Serbian children, who were lucky enough to be included in this undertaking, the journey to the United Kingdom meant not only the end of the adversities related to the war and exile but also a promise of a better future in the years

after the war. Taking care of the Serbian children-refugees in France, Italy, Switzerland and Great Britain during the First World War represents a great and insufficiently revealed story, which was left on the margins of the events that were deciding the fates of nations and states. However, insignificant as it may seem in the whirlpool of political, military and diplomatic processes that marked the First World War, this endeavour had deeply influenced an entire generation and had a major effect in determining the relations between the two nations and states in the interwar period. The Serbian children, who took refuge from the horrors of war in France and Great Britain, were the ambassadors of respect and friendship between the nations and the nexus of cultural, economic and political cooperation in the following years. To the fact that the Serbian interwar society was predominantly Francophile and Anglophile was to a large extent in-

uticali srpski studenti i đaci koji su se u tim zemljama školovali tokom rata.

Prvi svetski rat i mnogobrojni procesi koji su ga karakterisali dobro su proučeni u svetskoj i srpskoj historiografiji. Interesovanje za ovaj prvi izistinski globalni vojni i politički sukob posebno je poraslo u godinama koje su pretihodile obeležavanju stogodišnjice izbijanja rata. Međutim, pojedine teme su ostale zapostavljene. Sudbina srpskih mladića i devojaka koji su se, nošeni ratnim vihorom, našli u izbeglištvu - obrađena je tek delimično, neki segmenti ove teme bolje i detaljnije, a neki uopšte ne. Istoričari koji su se bavili vojnom i diplomatskom stranom rata, poput Andreja Mitrovića, deci-izbeglicama posvetili su svega nekoliko pasusa u svojim delima. Isto važi i za one istoričare koji su se posvetili proučavanju bilateralnih odnosa između država u ratu. Tako se, primera radi, u odličnoj monografiji Čedomira Antića o srpsko-britanskim odnosima u periodu Prvog svetskog rata, pitanje srpske dece u Britaniji jedva i pominje. Istraživači istorije školstva i pedagogije bili su nešto konkretniji, pa tako danas imamo iscrpan pregled života srpskih đaka u Francuskoj autorke Maje Niko-

love iz Pedagoškog muzeja. Takođe, postoji i veoma informativna knjiga o Srbima na francuskim univerzitetima, koju je napisao Amede Mulan. U pionirskom radu, kada je posredi istraživanje životnih prilika srpskih đaka i studenata u izbeglištvu, istakle su se Ljubinka Trgovčević, Jelica Reljić, Ubavka Ostojić-Fejić i Dušica Bojić.

Grupa autora koja se posvetila proučavanju života mladih Srba u Velikoj Britaniji zainteresovala se za ovu temu prilikom ranijeg istraživačkog projekta, čiji su predmet bili sportski kontakti između Srba i Britanaca u periodu pre i za vreme Prvog svetskog rata. Istražujući, između ostalog, kakve su bile sportske navike srpskih mladića i devojaka izbeglih u Veliku Britaniju za vreme rata, naišli smo na ogroman korpus istoriografske građe koja je mnogo govorila o njihovom svakodnevnom životu, školovanju, o percepciji sredine u kojoj su se našli, kao i o odnosu domaćina prema njima. Činilo se da se ukazala izvanredna prilika da se istraživanje produbi i proširi, te da se rezultati predstave u posebnoj monografiji. Njen je cilj, pre svega, bio da se sistematizuju dosadašnja saznanja o boravku i školovanju mladih Srba u

fluenced by students and pupils who were educated in those countries during the war.

The First World War and numerous processes that characterised it are well-examined in both Serbian and world historiography. The interest for this first truly global military and political conflict especially arose in the years that preceded the marking of the centenary of the outbreak of the war. However, some of the topics were left neglected. The fate of the Serbian boys and girls who had become refugees during the war was only partially researched, some segments better and more detailed and other completely neglected. Historians who predominantly researched military and diplomatic aspects of the war, such as Andrej Mitrović, dedicated only few paragraphs in their works to the refugee children. The same goes for historians who focused their attention on the bilateral relations between the countries in the war. Therefore, for instance, otherwise excellent monograph about the Serbian-British relations during the First World War written by Čedomir Antić, barely touches upon the question of the Serbian children in Britain. Education and peda-

gogy historians were somewhat more concrete, so today we have a comprehensive overview of the life of the Serbian pupils in France by Maja Nikolova of the Museum of Pedagogy in Belgrade. Also, a very informative book about the Serbs at French universities was written by Amédée Moulins. A pioneering work in researching the life of the Serbian pupils and students in exile was done by Ljubinka Trgovčević, Jelica Reljić, Ubavka Ostojić-Fejić and Dušica Bojić.

The authors engaged in researching the lives of the young Serbs in Great Britain became interested in the topic while conducting a research for a previous project that dealt with the sporting contacts between the Serbs and the British before and during the First World War. While researching, among other things, what were the sporting habits of the young Serbian boys and girls who spent the war years in Great Britain, we have found a huge corpus of historiographical material which spoke volumes about their everyday life, their education, their perceptions of the environment they had found themselves in and what their hosts thought of them. It seemed that an excellent opportunity had arisen for

Velikoj Britaniji, da se ukaže na relevantne izvore koji se tiču ove tematike, kao i da se, eventualno, otvore neka nova pitanja za dalji istraživački rad. Neprocenjiva je sreća što je autorski tim naišao na veliku podršku Ambasade Velike Britanije u Srbiji, bez čije bi pomoći samo istraživanje i objavljivanje rezultata bili gotovo nemogući.

Građa koja je poslužila u pisanju ove monografije svakako je veoma raznovrsna. Korišćeni su srpski, britanski i francuski izvori, i to: razna zvanična dokumenta srpskih i britanskih državnih organa i privatnih udruženja; korespondencija istaknutih ličnosti iz sveta politike, diplomatije, obrazovanja i kulture; memoari, dnevnici, sećanja i uspomene aktera događaja, objavljeni i neobjavljeni; pamfleti, brošure i propagandni materijal; dnevna, nedeljna i periodična štampa i mnogi drugi. Najvažniji korpus građe koju su istraživači pregledali kao relevantnu za istraživanje - nalazi se na nekoliko mesta - u Arhivu Srbije u Beogradu (fondovi Ministarstva inostranih dela i Ministarstva prosvete i crkvenih dela), u Arhivu Jugoslavije (lični fond Jovana Jovanovića Pižona) i u Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije (legat Tihomira Đorđevića),

zatim u Nacionalnom arhivu u Kjuu (dokumenti Komiteta za ratne izbeglice, Ministarstva spoljnih poslova i Ministarstva finansija), kao i u Biblioteci Škole za slovenske i istočnoevropske studije Univerzitetskog koledža u Londonu (kolekcija Roberta Siton-Votsona). Ostaje žal što neki izvori nisu mogli biti obrađeni ovom prilikom, poput zaostavštine Pavla Popovića i Milana Ćurčina u Arhivu SANU, ličnog fonda Dobrivoja Stošovića u Arhivu Jugoslavije i, s druge strane, kolekcije ser Edvarda Bojla, koja se čuva u biblioteci Univerziteta u Lidsu, dokumenata Henrija Vikama Stida, koji su pohranjeni u Britanskoj biblioteci u Londonu ili građe koja se čuva u Imperijalnom ratnom muzeju u Londonu. Razlog za to što neki izvori nisu pregledani prevashodno su praktične prirode i posledica su ograničenosti autora u vremenu i materijalnim resursima. Ostaje nada da će drugo, dopunjeno i prošireno, izdanje ove knjige obuhvatiti i ono što je ovom prilikom izostalo.

Na kraju, autori bi želeli da se zahvale svima koji su pomogli da ova knjiga ugleda svetlost dana - Ambasadi Velike Britanije u Beogradu, na podršci u istraživanju i objavljivanju monografi-

the research to be deepened and widened and the results to be presented in a monograph, which would, if nothing else, systematise the current findings about the residence and education of the young Serbs in Great Britain, map the relevant sources, and, possibly, ask relevant questions for further research. The research team was very lucky to find a major supporter in the British Embassy in Serbia, without whose help neither the research nor the publication of the results would be possible.

Material used for this book was very versatile. Serbian, British and French sources were used, namely various official documents of the Serbian and British governmental bodies; correspondence of the prominent people from the world of politics, diplomacy, education and culture; memoirs, diaries and recollections of the participants in the events, both published and unpublished; pamphlets, brochures and other propaganda material; daily, weekly and periodical publications and many others. The most important collections examined by the researchers were the funds of the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education (the Archives of Serbia in Belgrade), the fund of Jovan Jovanović Pižon (the

Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade), the legacy of Tihomir Djordjević (National Library of Serbia in Belgrade), documents of the War Refugees Committee, Foreign Office and HM Treasury (The National Archives in Kew) and the collection of R. W. Seton-Watson (SSEES Library, UCL). Regretfully, some of the sources could not have been examined on this occasion, such as the legacies of Pavle Popović and Milan Ćurčin in the Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the personal fund of Dobrivoje Stošović at the Archives of Yugoslavia, and the collection of Sir Edward Boyle, kept in the University of Leeds Library, the documents of Henry Wickham Steed, stored in the British Library and the material kept at the Imperial War Museum in London. Reasons for omitting some of the material are purely of practical nature – authors were limited both financially and time-wise. Hopefully, the second edition of the book, supplemented and broadened, will include the resources presently omitted.

In the end, the authors would like to extend their gratitude to all who helped the process of making of this book – the British Embassy in Serbia, for their support in researching and publishing

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U Beogradu, aprila 2016.

the monograph; the National Library of Serbia, for an extraordinary cooperation in researching and promoting the results of the work; Louise Miller from Edinburgh, who was generous enough to share the results of her own research; Dave Day and Margaret Roberts from the Manchester Metropolitan University, who significantly helped with the gathering of information by providing access to the British digital archives; Gillian Long from the UCL SSEES Library, who helped the authors to examine the entire legacy of R. W. Seton-Watson during their short stay in London; reviewers Danilo Šarenac

and Dalibor Denda, who significantly improved the work with their comments and suggestions; proof-readers Jovana Jovanović and Gordana Baljkas, who put an enormous effort to make the text closer to the spirit of both Serbian and English languages; all the employees of the National Library of Serbia, Archives of Serbia, Archives of Yugoslavia, National Archives in Kew, UCL SSEES Library and the British Library, for making the work on this book pleasant and free from unnecessary worries.

Belgrade, April 2016.

# **1.0 PREGLED POLITIČKIH ODNOSA I VEZA SRBIJE I VELIKE BRITANIJE OD KRAJA 19. VEKA DO MEĐURATNOG PERIODA**

# **1.0 OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SERBIA AND GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE END OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY TO THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

## *1.1 Srbija i Velika Britanija do početka Prvog svetskog rata - kratak osvrt na odnose dveju zemalja*

<sup>1</sup>Srbija je ostala neutralna tokom Krimskog rata, posle čega se Pariskim mirom stavlja pod zaštitu svih velikih evropskih sila, a ne samo Rusije, kao do tada, čime de fakto stiče viši stepen samostalnosti. Na Berlinskom kongresu Velika Britanija i Srbija često su se nalazile na suprotnim stranama, ali su odnosi ubrzo napredovali.

Razvoj diplomatskih, ali i privrednih i drugih, odnosa između Srbije i Velike Britanije, od njihovih zvaničnih uspostavljanja 1837. godine, pa do početka Prvog svetskog rata, u solidnoj meri je obrađen u dosadašnjoj srpskoj historiografiji. Može se reći da su se ovi odnosi u principu sporo krećali uzlaznom putanjom, uz pojedine nesporzume i povremena razmimoilaženja interesa dveju strana.<sup>1</sup> Srbija je do 1878. godine bila hrišćanska vazalna kneževina u sastavu Osmanškog carstva i kao takva prevashodno se nalazila pod patronatom Rusije, zbog čega je, svakako, britanska

politika prema Srbiji isprva bila deo šireg okvira imperijalne politike Londona prema ova dva velika istočna carstva. Iako je neutralnošću u Krimskom ratu (1853–1856) Srbija uspela da izdejstvuje za sebe nešto samostaliju ulogu na evropskom jugoistoku, odnosi dveju zemalja nisu odlučnije uznapredovali sve do perioda posle Berlinskog kongresa.

Tokom 60-ih godina 19. veka Srbija je ipak morala da se oslanja na druge velike sile – za vreme pregovora sa Carigradom u vezi sa iseljavanjem turskog stanovništva sa njene teritorije, kao i

## *1.1 Serbia and Great Britain until the Outbreak of the First World War - Short Overview*

The development of the diplomatic, economic and other relations between Serbia and Great Britain starting with their official establishment in 1837 until the beginning of the First World War has been relatively well researched in the Serbian historiography. One can say that they were slow to flourish, sometimes burdened with misunderstandings and sometimes the two countries' interests simply diverged.<sup>1</sup> Until 1878 Serbia was a vassal Christian principality within the Ottoman Empire, and, as such, often found itself under the Russian patronage, due to which the British policy regarding Serbia was initially

a part of a wider scope of the British imperial policy towards the two vast Euroasiatic empires. Even though by remaining neutral during the course of the Crimean War (1853–1856), Serbia emerged as a more independent factor in the European south-east, the relationship between the two countries failed to significantly advance until after the Congress of Berlin.

During the 1860s Serbia still had to rely on other great powers - during the negotiations with Constantinople regarding the expulsion of Turkish population from its territory and during the Conference of Calindja in

<sup>1</sup> Serbia remained neutral during the Crimean War, after which, by the resolutions of the Treaty of Paris, it put itself under the protection of all major European powers, rather than Russia alone, which effectively raised the level of its independence. At the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain and Serbia were often on opposing sides, but the mutual relations were, nevertheless, improving.

<sup>2</sup> Jelena Paunovic Štermenski, „Philip Hristich and Jovan Ristich - Two brothers in low in Serbian statehood and diplomacy”, *Beogradski istorijski glasnik*, vol. 4 (2013), 141-161. Filip Hristić (1819-1905) bio je srpski političar i diplomata. Obavljao je brojne značajne dužnosti - bio je predsednik vlade, ministar inostranih dela, ministar prosvete, guverner Narodne banke, počasni član Srpske kraljevske akademije, te poslanik u Carigradu, Beču, Berlinu i Londonu.

<sup>3</sup> Čedomir Popov, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, knj. VI-1 (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1983), 57.

<sup>4</sup> Aleksandar Rastović, *Velika Britanija i Srbija 1903-1914* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2005), 45-46; 49-50.

<sup>5</sup> Rastović, *Velika Britanija...*, 58.

za vreme Konferencije u Kanlidži 1862. godine. Posle sticanja nezavisnosti na Berlinskom kongresu, Srbija je sklopila samostalan trgovinski sporazum sa Velikom Britanijom 1879. godine, a samo četiri godine kasnije u London je poslala svog prvog opunomoćenog poslanika, Filipa Hristića.<sup>2</sup> Poboljšanje u odnosima videlo se i na osnovu podrške koju je početkom 80-ih godina 19. veka Velika Britanija pružala Srbiji u njenom nastojanju da sa Austrougarskom sklopi povoljniji trgovinski ugovor ali je to ipak ostalo bez rezultata.<sup>3</sup> U svakom slučaju, privredni i politički odnosi su krajem 19. veka jačali i taj trend se postojano nastavio sve do 1903. godine. Treba pomenuti i da su prvi kulturni i naučni kontakti između dvaju naroda bili uspostavljeni još pred kraj 18. i tokom prve polovine 19. veka, u čemu su učestvovali i Dositej Obradović i Vuk Karadžić. Međutim, kao što je bio slučaj i u drugim oblastima, tek se krajem 19. veka kulturne veze intenziviraju i u Srbiji počinje da se uči do tada malo kome poznat engleski jezik i prvi srpski stipendisti odlaze na studije u Englesku. Takođe, od 1860-ih godina počinju da se pojavljuju i srpski prevodi Čarlsa Dikensa, Džona Stjuarta Mila i Viljema Šekspira.<sup>4</sup>

Početak 20. veka dolazi do zahtućenja u britansko-srpskim odnosima, koje je potrajalo nekoliko godina, usled nasilne smene dinastije Obrenović 1903. godine. Kraljevstvo i dolazak na presto Petra I Karađorđevića na takav način bili su vrlo loše primljeni, kako od strane zvaničnog Londona - posebno kraljevske porodice, tako i od strane britanske štampe i javnosti uopšte. Nastupio je prekid diplomatskih odnosa, koji je potrajao sve do 1906. godine. Tokom ovog perioda Velika Britanija je prvenstveno zahtevala da se oficiri koji su učestvovali u zaveri izvedu pred sud. Ipak, razvoj međunarodnih prilika, kao i interesi obeju država, nisu dozvoljavali da se njihove veze trajnije poremete. Srbiji je, u situaciji u kojoj su njeni odnosi sa Bečom postajali sve zahtegnutiji, bilo potrebno da, osim Rusije, na svojoj strani ima i velike zapadnoevropske sile, Francusku i Veliku Britaniju. Istovremeno je i u samom Londonu sve više prevladavalo mišljenje da je Srbija jedan od važnih potencijalnih saveznika u nastojanjima da se spreči ekonomsko-politički prodor Nemačke ka Turskoj i dalje ka Bliskom istoku.<sup>5</sup>

1862. Having gained its independence at the Congress of Berlin, Serbia signed its own trade agreement with Great Britain in 1879, and only four years later, it sent its first ambassador to London - Filip Hristić<sup>2</sup>. That the relations were improving was also obvious from the fact that Great Britain tried to help, though in vain, Serbia to conclude a more favourable trade agreement with Austria-Hungary.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, both economic and political relations were strengthening towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the trend remained steady until 1903. It is worth mentioning that cultural and academic contacts between the two nations had been established even earlier, towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with involvement of both Dositej Obradović and Vuk Karadžić. However, similarly to other areas, it was only towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that those ties began to intensify when the previously little known English language had begun to be thought and the first Serbian students had obtained scholarships for studies in England. Also, starting with the 1860s, the first Serbian translations of Charles Dickens, John Stewart Mill and William Shakespeare began to emerge.<sup>4</sup>

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a cooling in the Anglo-Serbian relations came about, lasting for a number of years, due to the violent overthrow of the Obrenović dynasty in Serbia in 1903. Regicide followed by the accession to the throne by Petar I Karadjordjević was badly received both by the official London - especially the Royal family, and by the British press and general public. The diplomatic relations between the two countries were suspended and were not restored until 1906. During this period, Great Britain persistently demanded that the officers responsible for the regicide were tried. However, the development of international circumstances and the interests of the two states did not allow for the ties to be permanently severed. Serbia, who found itself in a situation where its relations with Vienna were fast becoming more and more strained, needed to have on its side, along Russia, great Western European powers like Britain and France. At the same time in London, the idea that Serbia was one of the important potential allies of the Entente powers in their efforts to suppress the German economic and political penetration towards Turkey and the Middle East was gaining traction.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Jelena Paunović Štermenski, "Philip Hristich and Jovan Ristich - Two brothers in law in Serbian statehood and diplomacy", *Beogradski istorijski glasnik*, vol. 4 (2013), 141-161. Filip Hristić (1819-1905) was a Serbian politician and diplomat. He carried out many important duties - he was the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Education, Governor of the National Bank, honorary member of the Serbian Royal Academy and diplomatic representative in Constantinople, Vienna, Berlin and London.

<sup>3</sup> Čedomir Popov, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, knj. VI-1 (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1983), 57.

<sup>4</sup> Aleksandar Rastović, *Velika Britanija i Srbija 1903-1914* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2005), 45-46; 49-50.

<sup>5</sup> Rastović, *Velika Britanija...*, 58.

Tokom Aneksione krize, najveće međunarodne krize koja je potresla Srbiju pre izbijanja balkanskih ratova, Velika Britanija nije blagonaklono gledala na aneksiju Bosne i Hercegovine, ali suštinski se nije mešala u sve izvesniji sukob Beograda i Beča. Britanska vlada je, pre svega, priželjkivala da se održi status quo na jugoistoku Evrope, a kada je do sukoba balkanskih država konačno i došlo 1912. godine, London je iskreno saradivao sa Berlinom kako bi se rat lokalizovao i što pre završio.<sup>6</sup> Međutim, iz brojnih razloga ispostavilo se da to nije bilo moguće. Proces teritorijalnog i političkog osipanja i slabljenja Osman-skog carstva, neposredno započet anektiranjem Bosne i Hercegovine, pokrenuo je niz sukoba, koji su na kraju doveli i do vojnog uključivanja Srbije u ovaj tok događaja. Tadašnji britanski ministar Edvard Grej<sup>7</sup> osuđivao je ovakav postupak Dvojne monarhije, smatrajući ga kršenjem Berlinskog sporazuma, ali za Veliku Britaniju prioritet je bilo očuvanje evropskog mira, pa se na kraju po-

mirila sa aneksijom.<sup>8</sup> Na kraju su sve velike sile priznale ovaj akt, ali bilo je jasno da je to samo još jedan korak ka većim, i to vojnim, sukobima. Velika Britanija se najaktivnije uključila u diplomatske napore tokom dvaju balkanskih ratova. Upravo na inicijativu Velike Britanije i Nemačke došlo je do sazivanja konferencije ambasadora u Londonu, na kojoj se raspravljalo o budućim granicama Srbije i Crne Gore sa novostvorenom albanskom državom. Ser Edvard Grej, kao domaćin konferencije, uglavnom je tražio način da pomiri dijametralno suprotstavljene stavove Rusije i Austrougarske. Britanska politika nastojala je da se situacija što pre smiri, pošto je pretila da dovede do raspada „koncerta evropskih sila” i time do stvaranja opasnosti od kontinentalnog rata.<sup>9</sup> U predvečerje Velikog rata, Srbija i Velika Britanija bile su se na istoj strani – vlade obeju zemalja iskreno su želele da se izbegne sukob za koji je postojala osnovana pretpostavka da može prerasti u evropski i svetski.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Kennedy, *The Realities Behind Diplomacy* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 135–136.

<sup>7</sup> Ser Edvard Grej, prvi vikont Grej od Falodona (1862–1933), bio je britanski liberalni političar i državnik. U periodu između 1905. i 1916. bio je britanski ministar spoljnih poslova.

<sup>8</sup> Rastović, *Velika Britanija...*, 108.

<sup>9</sup> Ivan Obradović, „Britanska politika i stvaranje Albanije 1912–1914“, *Tokovi istorije*, no. 4 (2006), 135.

During the Bosnian Annexation crisis of 1908, the biggest international crisis that shook Serbia before the Balkan Wars, Great Britain did not look favourably upon the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia, but essentially did not get involved in what seemed to have been a certain rift between Vienna and Belgrade. The British government hoped, above anything else, that the status quo in the South-Eastern Europe would be preserved. When the Balkan states eventually united against the remnants of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, London collaborated with Germany in order to localise the war and bring it to a speedy end.<sup>6</sup> However, for numerous reasons, that turned out to be impossible. The process of territorial and political weakening of the Ottoman Empire, directly caused by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, incited a series of conflicts that eventually led to the Serbian military involvement. The then British Secretary of State, Sir Edward Grey,<sup>7</sup> immediately condemned this move of the Dual Monarchy as a breach of the terms of the Congress of Berlin, but since the preservation

of peace in Europe was a priority to Britain, it eventually accepted it more or less as a *fait accompli*.<sup>8</sup> In the end, all great powers did the same, but it was clear that it had only put Europe one step closer towards even bigger conflicts, and military ones at that. As mentioned, Great Britain played a very active part in diplomatic efforts aimed at stopping the Balkan Wars. Under the initiative of Great Britain and Germany, the Conference of Ambassadors was convened in London to determine the future borders of Serbia and Montenegro with a newly-formed Albanian state. Sir Edward Grey, as the Conference host, mainly sought a way to reconcile diametrically opposed stances of Russia and Austria-Hungary. The main British goal was to calm down the situation as soon as possible, since it threatened to destroy the whole “European Concert of Powers”, and to lead to a continental war.<sup>9</sup> On the eve of the Great War, Serbia and Great Britain found themselves on the same side – the governments of both countries sincerely wanted to avoid a conflict, reasonably assumed to have a potential to grow into a European and global one.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Kennedy, *The Realities Behind Diplomacy* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 135-136.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Edward Grey, 1st Viscount Grey of Faldoon (1862-1933) was a British Liberal politician and statesman. In the period between 1905 and 1916 he was the British Foreign Secretary.

<sup>8</sup> Rastović, *Velika Britanija...*, 108.

<sup>9</sup> Ivan Obradović, “Britanska politika i stvaranje Albanije 1912-1914”, *Tokovi istorije*, no. 4 (2006), 135.

## 1.2 Zajedno u neželjenom ratu 1914–1918

Kao što je već napomenuto, na početku Prvog svetskog rata Srbija i Velika Britanija su se, iako bez ikakvog međusobnog ugovora o savezu, našle na istoj strani. Zajednički interes bio je sasvim jasan i vodećim političarima, kako na britanskoj, tako i na srpskoj strani.<sup>10</sup> Sama ta činjenica umnogome je pomogla da se međusobna saradnja ovih dvaju naroda, vojna, ali i svaka druga, neminovno intenzivira, kao i da se između njih postigne viši nivo uzajamnog razumevanja i uopšte veza svake vrste. Odmah po početku ratnih dejstava, u Srbiju i na Balkan počele su da stižu prvo bri-

tanske diplomatske, a zatim i vojne misije. Ovde naročito treba izdvojiti misiju braće Bakston. U vladinim krugovima u Londonu nije postojala jasna strategija u pogledu toga kako precizno definisati britansku politiku prema Balkanu. Pojedini političari, kao na primer ministar spoljnih poslova Evarđ Grej, zagovarali su rad na prijateljskoj neutralnosti balkanskih država. Međutim, postojala je i struja koja je zastupala mišljenje da je neophodan ulazak Rumunije, Grčke i Bugarske u rat na strani Antante, uz novu teritorijalnu preraspodelu. Jedan od pristalica takvog kursa bio je i

<sup>10</sup> Andrej Mitrović, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, knj. VI-2 (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruka, 1983), 41.

<sup>11</sup> Čedomir Antić, *Neizabrana saveznica: Srbija i Velika Britanija u Prvom svetskom ratu* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2012), 58.

## 1.2 Together in an Unwanted War 1914–1918

As already mentioned, at the beginning of the First World War, Serbia and Great Britain, though without any written agreement, had found themselves on the same side. A common interest was plainly obvious to politicians on both sides.<sup>10</sup> That very fact immensely helped the mutual cooperation between the two nations, military and otherwise, to become inevitably intensified, and to achieve a higher level of mutual understanding and connections of any kind. Immediately after the outbreak of the war, the British diplomatic and military missions started to arrive to Serbia and the Balkans. Particularly impor-

tant mission was that of the Baxton brothers. In government circles in London there was no clear strategy as to how to precisely define the British policy regarding the Balkans. Some politicians, such as the British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey, were in favour of a diplomatic action that would result in a friendly neutrality of the Balkan states. However, another group believed that Romania, Greece and Bulgaria should join the war on the side of the Entente, with a new territorial redistribution. One of the main proponents of this course was the future Prime Minister David Lloyd-George.<sup>11</sup> Essentially, it came

<sup>10</sup> Andrej Mitrović, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, knj. VI-2 (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1983), 41.

<sup>11</sup> Čedomir Antić, *Neizabrana saveznica: Srbija i Velika Britanija u Prvom svetskom ratu* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2012), 58.

<sup>12</sup> James Evans, *Great Britain and the Creation of Yugoslavia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008), 163.

<sup>13</sup> Snežana Toševa, *Srbija i Britanija, Kulturni dodiri početkom XX veka* (Beograd: Muzej nauke i tehnike – Galerija nauke i tehnike SANU, 2007), 16–34; Milan Grba, *Britanske sanitetske misije i Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu* (neobjavljena magistarska teza, Univerzitet u Beogradu).

<sup>14</sup> Ser Ralf Spenser Pedžet (1864–1940) bio je britanski diplomata. Od 1910. do 1913. bio je britanski poslanik u Beogradu. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata obavljao je funkciju pomoćnika državnog podsekretara u Ministarstvu spoljnih poslova, a od 1916. godine funkciju ambasadora Velike Britanije u Danskoj. Bio je i član Srpskog potpornog fonda

<sup>15</sup> Ser Ernest Čarls Tomas Trubridž (1862–1826), britanski admiral, pomorski sekretar Prvog lorda Admiraliteta (1911–1912), komandant krstaričke eskadre na Mediteranu (1914) i u periodu 1915–1920. prominentno angažovan u balkanskoj politici i ratnim poslovima.

<sup>16</sup> O misiji je detaljnije pisao Vladimir Požeg, *Vekovi srpskog pomorstva i rečnog brodarstva*, (Zemun: Loma, 2008).

budući premijer Dejvid Lojld-Džordž.<sup>11</sup> Suštinski, radilo se o tome da li će se Velika Britanija zalagati za opstanak postojećih granica, uz eventualne manje izmene, ili za potpuno preuređenje političke mape Srednje Evrope i Balkana, uz drastičnu teritorijalnu preraspodelu šireg regiona Jugoistočne Evrope. Događaji su, ipak, sami donekle odredili političku budućnost poluostrva, kao i britansku i srpsku ulogu u njoj.

Velika Britanija isprva nije pridavala veliki značaj balkanskom frontu, poklanjajući daleko veću pažnju pokušajima da se Italija nagovori da uđe u rat na strani Antante.<sup>12</sup> Ipak, uloga koju su britanske vojne, diplomatske i sanitetske misije obavljale u Srbiji 1914. i 1915. godine svakako nije bila beznačajna.<sup>13</sup> Ove misije, osim što su predstavljale deo zajedničkog ratnog napora Antante, kao i napora da se Srbiji, kao savezničkoj zemlji, olakša položaj – bile su i svojevrsna odskočna daska za diplomatske pokušaje Britanaca da spreče ulazak Bugarske u rat na strani Centralnih sila. Ovakva je, na primer, bila misija ser Ralfa Pedžeta<sup>14</sup> u zimu 1915. godine. Posle zapaženih uspeha Srbije tokom leta

i jeseni 1914. godine, svest o vojnom značaju ovog južnog evropskog fronta svakako je postala daleko jasnija, zahvaljujući čemu su i britanski napori da se Srbiji pomogne bili pojačani, a veze dveju zemalja produbljene i osnažene. Tome je posebno doprinela i misija admirala Ernesta Trubridža<sup>15</sup> koja je u Srbiju stigla u januaru 1915. godine, sa prvenstvenim zadatkom da organizuje rečnu flotilu na Dunavu suprotstavljenu austrougarskoj flotili koja je dominirala tim plovničkim putem. Tom misijom je ostvarena i prva direktna vojna saradnja dve države na zajedničkom frontu. Njen značaj je porastao s početkom savezničke operacije na Galipolju, blokadom Dunava kao rute snabdevanja prema Osmanskom carstvu.<sup>16</sup>

Ovakvom razvoju odnosa, osim situacije na ratištima, doprinele su i promene do kojih je došlo sve učestalijim aktivnostima humanitarnih organizacija u Velikoj Britaniji, čiji je cilj prvenstveno bio pomoć Srbiji i srpskom stanovništvu tokom ratnih godina.<sup>17</sup> Ovde pre svega mislimo na Srpski potporni fond, ali i na druge organizacije zahvaljujući kojima se šira britanska javnost mogla bliže upoznati

down to whether Britain would be in favour of the existing borders, with possible minor alternations, or in favour of a complete reorganisation of the political map of the Central Europe and the Balkans, with a drastic territorial redistribution in the wider region of the South-Eastern Europe. However, the events which unfolded determined in part the political future of the Balkan Peninsula, as well as the British and Serbian roles in it.

Great Britain did not initially attach too much importance to the Balkan front, instead focusing on the Allied efforts to bring Italy into the war on their side.<sup>12</sup> However, the role that the British military, diplomatic and humanitarian missions played in Serbia during the course of 1914 and 1915 was by no means insignificant.<sup>13</sup> These missions, which represented part of the joint Entente war efforts, as well as an effort to ease the position of Serbia, an ally country - were a unique stepping stone towards the British diplomatic endeavours aimed at stopping Bulgaria to join the Central Powers. The mission of Ralph Paget<sup>14</sup> in the winter of 1915 was significant in that regard. Certainly, following the prominent Serbian military victories during the summer

and autumn of 1914, the significance of this Southern European front had become much clearer, resulting in the intensification of the British efforts to help Serbia and deepening and strengthening of ties between the two countries. The mission of Admiral Ernest Troubridge<sup>15</sup> especially contributed to this. The mission had arrived in Serbia in January 1915 with a primary task of organising the Danube riverine flotilla to counter the Austro-Hungarian flotilla that had dominated the waterways. The mission was the first direct frontline military cooperation between the two countries. Its significance increased during the Gallipoli campaign, when it blocked Danube, a supply route to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>16</sup>

What contributed to these developments, together with the happenings on the frontline, were the changes that had been brought about by the growing activities of the humanitarian organisations in Britain. The main aim of these organisations was to assist Serbia and its population during the war years.<sup>17</sup> The institution that we primarily have in mind here is the Serbian Relief Fund, but also other organisations thanks to which the wider British public could learn

<sup>12</sup> James Evans, *Great Britain and the Creation of Yugoslavia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2008), 163.

<sup>13</sup> Snežana Toševa, *Srbija i Britanija, Kulturni dodiri početkom XX veka* (Belgrade: Muzej nauke i tehnike – Galerija nauke i tehnike SANU, 2007), 16-34; Milan Grba, *Britanske sanitetske misije i Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu* (unpublished thesis, University of Belgrade).

<sup>14</sup> Sir Ralph Spencer Paget (1864-1940) was a British diplomat. From 1910 to 1913 he acted as the British Minister in Belgrade. During the First World War he worked for the Foreign Office and in 1916 was appointed the British ambassador in Denmark. He was also a member of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>15</sup> Sir Ernest Charles Thomas Troubridge (1862-1926) was a British admiral, Naval Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty (1911-1912), commander of the cruiser squadron in the Mediterranean (1914) and prominently engaged in the Balkan politics and war affairs in the period of 1915-1920.

<sup>16</sup> More details about the mission can be found in: Vladimir Požeg, *Vekovi srpskog pomorstva i rečnog brodarstva*, (Zemun: Loma, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Osim Srpskog potpornog fonda, posebno treba istaći i Srpski crkveni potporni fond, Fond srpskog poslanika, kao i Srpski Crveni krst u Velikoj Britaniji.

<sup>18</sup> Ser Vinston Leonard Spenser-Čerčil (1874-1965) bio je britanski političar, državnik i publicista. U dva navrata je vršio dužnost predsednika vlade. U periodu Prvog svetskog rata obavljao je funkciju prvog lorda Admiraliteta, sa koje je smenjen posle debakla kod Galipolja.

<sup>19</sup> Mitrović, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, 93.

<sup>20</sup> Antić, *n. d.*, 253.

<sup>21</sup> Mitrović, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, 103.

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Henri Askvit, prvi erl od Oksforda i Askvita (1852-1928), bio je britanski liberalni političar i državnik. Vršio je funkcije ministra unutrašnjih poslova i ministra finansija, a u periodu između 1908. i 1916. godine obavljao je dužnost predsednika vlade.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Seton-Watson, *Serbia: yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow* (London: The Kossovo Day Committee, 1916) 2.

sa situacijom u Srbiji i patnjom kroz koju je prolazilo njeno stanovništvo. Aktivnosti ovih društava doprinele su i dolasku britanskih humanitarnih i medicinskih misija u Srbiju posle velikih bitaka 1914. godine. Tako je i misija Bolnice škotskih žena u decembru prve godine rata stigla u Srbiju, gde je provela i celu narednu 1915. godinu, do povlačenja preko Albanije. Istovremeno, i u britanskoj spoljnoj politici polako je dolazilo do zaokreta, koji se ogledao u sve aktivnijoj ulozi Velike Britanije na širem prostoru Balkana, ali i u odnosima prema Srbiji. Zamisao Vinstona Čerčila<sup>18</sup> da se iskrcavanjem na Galipolju Turska izbac iz rata - doživela je neuspeh. Time su ujedno osujećeni i žestoki diplomatski naponi Velike Britanije i cele Antante da se u poslednji čas spreči ulazak Bugarske u rat na strani neprijatelja. Ovi naponi uključivali su i mučne pregovore sa Srbijom, u okviru kojih su Velika Britanija, Francuska i Rusija predlagale Srbiji da ustupi deo makedonske teritorije Bugarskoj, u zamenu za teritorije na zapadu, u Bosni i južnoj Dalmaciji. Ovakvi predlozi su, i pored ratovanja na istoj strani, 1915. godine povremeno dovodili do zategnutosti u odnosima

Srbije i Antante, pa samim tim i Velike Britanije.<sup>19</sup> Međutim, ulaskom Bugarske u rat, osvajanjem Srbije od strane Centralnih sila i povlačenjem srpske vojske preko Crne Gore i Albanije do Jadranskog mora, sve ove dileme su postale izlišne. Premda su Britanci veoma aktivno učestvovali u snabdevanju delova srpske vojske i naroda tokom povlačenja, u decembru 1915. godine izgledalo je kao da nije napravljen nikakav precizniji plan za spasavanje i revitalizaciju srpskih trupa. Forin ofis tražio ke od Italije da pomoću svoje vojske i mornarice preveze Srbe na sigurno, ali sve do januara naredne godine ništa konkretno u tom smislu nije bilo preduzeto.<sup>20</sup>

Tako su Velika Britanija i Francuska 8. januara 1916. godine donele odluku da se pristigli Srbi prebace na ostvro Krf, a francuske jedinice započele su tri dana kasnije pripremu za ovu operaciju.<sup>21</sup> Britanski premijer Herbert Askvit<sup>22</sup> je 23. februara iste godine rekao da „mač, koji nismo olako isukali, nećemo nikad vratiti u korice, dok Belgija - i, dodao bih, Srbija - ne povrate sve, i više nego sve, što su žrtvovala”.<sup>23</sup> Zapravo su tek pad Srbije, te izmeštanje njene vlade i vojske

about the situation in Serbia and the plight of the Serbian people. Activities of these societies also contributed to the arrival of the British humanitarian and medical missions to Serbia following the great battles of 1914. Thus, in December of that year, the mission of the Scottish Women's Hospital arrived, and spent the following year in Serbia, right until the retreat of the Serbian Army through Albania. Simultaneously, a turnaround in the British foreign policy slowly came about, reflected in an increasingly more active role of Great Britain in the wider Balkan region, and in relations towards Serbia. Unfortunately, the Gallipoli campaign - an effort designed by Winston Churchill<sup>18</sup> to get Turkey out of the war - failed. That failure also marked an unsuccessful end to the joint Allied diplomatic operations to prevent Bulgaria from entering the war on the enemy side. These efforts included prolonged and uncomfortable negotiations with Serbia, characterised by the British, French and Russian suggestion that Serbia should concede a part of its Macedonian territories to Bulgaria in exchange for western territories in Bosnia and southern Dalmatia. These suggestions, joint military ef-

forts notwithstanding, sometimes led to strained relations between Serbia and the Entente, and consequently Britain.<sup>19</sup> However, with Bulgaria joining the war on the side of the Central Powers, and with the retreat of the Serbian army through Montenegro and Albania to the Adriatic Sea, these dilemmas had become moot. Even though the British had played an active part in provision of supplies to the Serbian army and population during the retreat, in December of 1915 it seemed that no definite plan as to how to save and revitalise the Serbian troops existed. The Foreign Office was demanding of Italy to deploy its army and navy and transfer the Serbs to safety, but until January of 1916 no definite steps in that regard were undertaken.<sup>20</sup>

On 8<sup>th</sup> January 1916, Great Britain and France finally decided to transfer the Serbs, who had arrived to the Albanian Adriatic coast, to Corfu, and three days later the French special units started preparatory work for the campaign.<sup>21</sup> The Prime Minister Herbert Asquith<sup>22</sup> said on 23<sup>rd</sup> February in the House of Commons: "We shall never sheathe the sword, which we have not lightly drawn, until Bel-

<sup>17</sup> Apart from the Serbian Relief Fund, other organisations were very active, such as the Serbian Church Relief Fund, the Serbian Minister's Fund and the Serbian Red Cross in Great Britain.

<sup>18</sup> Sir Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill (1874–1965) was a British politician, statesman and author. He was elected Prime Minister on two occasions. During the First World War he was the First Lord of the Admiralty, but he was dismissed after the Gallipoli debacle.

<sup>19</sup> Mitrović, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, 93.

<sup>20</sup> Antić, *op. cit.*, 253.

<sup>21</sup> Mitrović, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, 103.

<sup>22</sup> Herbert Henry Asquith, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Oxford and Asquith (1852–1928) was a British Liberal politician and statesman. He was the Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer and between 1908 and in 1916 he was the Prime Minister.

<sup>24</sup> Dimo Vujović, „Francusko-britanske konvencije o snabdijevanju srpske vojske za vrijeme Prvog svjetskog rata”, *Vojnoistorijski glasnik*, br. 2 (1986), 177-205.

<sup>25</sup> Dalibor Denda, *Automobil u srpskoj vojsci 1908-1918* (Beograd: Vojnogeografski institut, 2008), 114.

<sup>26</sup> Dejvid Lojd-Džordž (1863-1945) bio je liberalni političar, ministar finansija u vladi Henrija Herberta Askvita, državni sekretar za rat i od 1916. godine predsjednik vlade.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Vilijem Siton-Votson (1879-1951) bio je škotski historičar i britanski politički aktivista. Osnivač je Škole za slovenske studije na Univerzitetском Koledžu u Londonu. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je aktivista Srpskog društva u Velikoj Britaniji i počasni sekretar Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>28</sup> Henri Vikam Stid (1871-1956) bio je novinar i publicista, a jedno vreme i urednik lista „Tajms”. Bio je veliki simpatizer jugoslovenskog ujedinjenja. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je veoma aktivan u Srpskom društvu Velike Britanije.

iz zemlje – predstavljali pravi početak zajedničkog ratnog iskustva Srba i Britanaca. Osim prihvata mladih Srba u Velikoj Britaniji, tome je, možda još i više, doprinelo udruženo vojevanje srpskih i britanskih jedinica na uspostavljenom Solunskom frontu, gde su vojnici obeju država imali priliku da dobro upoznaju navike, običaje i način života svojih saboraca, pa makar i u ratnim uslovima. Dve velike saveznice su praktično preuzele brigu o opremanju i snabdevanju srpske vojske u Grčkoj.<sup>24</sup> Iako su britanske divizije na frontu bile uglavnom razdvojene od srpskih, niz manjih britanskih jedinica je bio ubačen u sastav srpske vojske. Tako je 10 auto-četa sa preko 500 vozila vodilo brigu o neposrednom snabdevanju srpskih armija i na samoj liniji fronta do kraja rata.<sup>25</sup> Takođe, produbljivanju srpsko-britanskih kontakata svakako je doprineo i dolazak srpskih đaka i studenata u Veliku Britaniju tokom rata, pre svega uzrokovan njihovim izbeglištvom iz domovine, posle sloma u zimu 1915/16. Međutim, imajući u vidu navedeni deo govora premijera Askvita, možemo zaključiti da nije slučajnost što su se navedene političke promene vremenski poklopile sa razvojem

ideje da Velika Britanija sledi primer Francuske u prihvatanju srpske dece koja je trebalo da u ratnim uslovima nastave svoje školovanje u savezničkim zemljama.

Na odnos prema Srbiji i južnoslovenskom pitanju uopšte, uticale su i političke promene u samoj Velikoj Britaniji. Herberta Askvita je upravo u decembru 1916. godine na mestu premijera nasledio Dejvid Lojd-Džordž.<sup>26</sup> Ova promena u vrhu vlasti donela je samo još aktivniju politiku Britanije prema drugim područjima na kojima se vodio rat, posebno vanevropskim. Međutim, i do tada je u britanskoj vladi postojala volja da se razvoj rata u Evropi posmatra šire od Zapadnog fronta. Od samog izbijanja sukoba, pa i pre toga, pojedine ličnosti u britanskoj političkoj i intelektualnoj javnosti zalagale su se za otklon od tradicionalne britanske politike održanja Austrougarske, kao i za aktivnije učešće Britanaca u rešavanju južnoslovenskog pitanja. Osim Roberta Siton-Votsona,<sup>27</sup> ovde pre svega mislimo na Henrija Vikama Stida,<sup>28</sup> koji je zahvaljujući ličnim poznanstvima uspevao da se približi Lojd-Džordžu i pre nego što je ovaj postao prvi mini-

gium - and I will add Serbia - recovers in full measure all, and more than all, which she has sacrificed".<sup>23</sup> Actually, it was only after the fall of Serbia and the relocation of its government and army away from Serbia that the real common experience of the war of the Serbs and British began. Apart from welcoming some of the Serbian youth to Britain, what contributed even more to that common experience was joint fighting and the time that the Serbian and British troops spent together at the newly-formed Salonica front. There, ordinary soldiers from both countries had a chance to get acquainted with each other's habits, customs and way of life, even if under wartime circumstances. Two great allies practically took over the task of equipping and supplying the Serbian army in Greece.<sup>24</sup> Even though the British divisions at the Salonica front were mostly separated from the Serbian troops, a series of smaller units were embedded within the Serbian army. Thus, ten car companies with over 500 vehicles maintained the immediate logistics for the Serbian army even at the frontline up until the end of the war.<sup>25</sup> Equally, the arrival of Serbian pupils and students to Britain during the war caused by their

exile from their homeland following the defeat in the winter of 1915/16 contributed to the deepening of the Serbian-British contacts. However, bearing in mind the quoted speech of the Prime Minister Asquith, we can conclude that it was not a coincidence that the change of political climate coincided with the emergence of the idea that Britain should follow France's example in accepting the Serbian children, who were to continue their education in the Allied countries during the war.

The said shift in the British policy towards Serbia and the South Slavic question in general, was influenced by political changes in Great Britain itself. In December 1916, David Lloyd-George<sup>26</sup> replaced Herbert Asquith as the Prime Minister. This change brought about an even more active British policy towards other theatres of war, especially the non-European ones. However, even up until that time there existed a willingness in the British government to consider the war in Europe as an issue wider than merely the Western front. Since the break-out of the war, and even before that, certain British politicians and intellectuals advocated a shift

<sup>23</sup> Robert Seton-Watson, *Serbia: yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow* (London: The Kossovo Day Committee, 1916), 2.

<sup>24</sup> Dimo Vujović, "Francusko-britanske konvencije o snabdjevanju srpske vojske za vrijeme Prvog svjetskog rata", *Vojnoistorijski glasnik*, vol. 2 (1986), 177-205.

<sup>25</sup> Dalibor Denda, *Automobil u srpskoj vojsci 1908-1918* (Belgrade: Vojnogeografski institut, 2008), 114.

<sup>26</sup> David Lloyd-George (1863-1945) was a Liberal politician and statesman, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Asquith's government, Secretary of State for War and from 1916 Prime Minister.

<sup>29</sup> Evans, *Creation...*, 160.

<sup>30</sup> G. H. Bennett, *British foreign policy during the Curzon period, 1919–24* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), 179.

<sup>31</sup> Filip Henri Ker, jedanaesti markiz od Lodijana (1882–1940) bio je britanski političar, diplomata i novinski urednik. Obavljao je funkciju ličnog sekretara Dejvida Lojd-Džordža.

<sup>32</sup> Dejvid Dejvis, prvi baron Dejvis (1880–1944), velški liberalni političar i dobrotvor, te član Parlamenta, bio je veoma blizak saradnik premijera Dejvida Lojd-Džordža.

<sup>33</sup> John Turner, *Lloyd-George's Secretariat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 10.

<sup>34</sup> Brock Millman, „A Counsel of Despair: British Strategy and War Aims, 1917–18”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2001), 242–246.

<sup>35</sup> *Isto.*

<sup>36</sup> Antić, *n. d.*, 423.

<sup>37</sup> Mitrović, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, 231.

star vlade.<sup>29</sup> Uz to treba napomenuti i da je tokom rata došl porastao značaj Kancelarije britanskog premijera, kao i njegovog novoosnovanog Sekretarijata, u procesu kreiranja spoljne, posebno evropske politike, u odnosu na raniju neprikosnovenost Forin ofisa u ovom domenu.<sup>30</sup>

Prisustvo Roberta Siton-Votsona i Henrija Vikama Stida pri britanskoj vladi, kao i Filipa Kera<sup>31</sup> i Dejvida Dejvisa<sup>32</sup> u novoformiranom Lojd-Džordžovom Sekretarijatu, bilo je veoma značajno za nastavak britanskog interesovanja za sudbinu Srbije i habzburških Južnih Slovena.<sup>33</sup> Ovo je bilo od posebne važnosti 1917. godine, kada su, zbog izlaska revolucijom uzdrmane Rusije iz rata, u Velikoj Britaniji prevagu počeli da odnose pesimistični pogledi na njegov ishod, a u vrhu britanske politike vodile se velike debate o poželjnim ratnim ciljevima.<sup>34</sup> Dodatno opterećenje predstavljali su kapitulacija Rumunije i poraz Italije 1917. godine, dveju država koje su nešto kasnije ušle u rat na strani Antante. Pre svega zahvaljujući krugu bliskih saradnika britanskog premijera, prevladala je tzv. „Nova istočna revizija”, koja je podrazumevala

defanzivu na Zapadnom frontu, a intenziviranje savezničkih aktivnosti na istoku.<sup>35</sup> Ovakva nova ratna strategija bila je od važnosti i za balkanski front, a time i za Srbiju, pošto je intenzivirala ne samo britanske političke veze sa srpskom vladom i vojskom, nego i veze sa celokupnim srpskim i drugim južnoslovenskim narodima, ističući njihov značaj. Treba pomenuti i da je od proleća 1915. godine u Londonu delovao Jugoslovenski odbor.<sup>36</sup> Međutim, kada je reč o posleratnom teritorijalnom uređenju regiona, sve do prve polovine 1918. godine nije bio poznat konačan stav ni Velike Britanije ni drugih velikih sila o Austrougarskoj - a njen opstanak je do tog vremena predstavljao dominantnu politiku i Londona, i Pariza, i Vašingtona.<sup>37</sup> Ipak, neuspeh Saveznika u nastojanju da sa Dvojnomo monarhijom potpišu separatni mir, propast nemačkih ofanziva u Francuskoj u proleće 1918. godine, te probaj Solunskog fronta, kao i drugi saveznički vojni uspesi, doveli su do oslobođenja Srbije i formiranja nove jugoslovenske države. Velika Britanija je 1. juna 1919. godine i zvanično priznala Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

from the traditional British policy of support for the Habsburg monarchy, and a more active British engagement towards the resolution of the South Slavic question. Alongside Robert Seton-Watson<sup>27</sup>, we must also mention Henry Wickham Steed,<sup>28</sup> who, thanks to his personal connections, had managed to become close to Lloyd-George even before he became the Prime Minister.<sup>26</sup> We also need to mention here that during the course of the war, the office of the Prime Minister had grown in importance, and that David Lloyd-George gave a prominent role in creation of the British foreign policy, especially European, to the newly-founded body, the so-called Secretariat, at the expense of the Foreign Office.<sup>30</sup>

The presence of Seton-Watson and Wickham Steed in the British government, and also the roles that Philip Kerr<sup>31</sup> and David Davis<sup>32</sup> played in the Secretariat, were instrumental in the continuous British interest in the fate of Serbia and those South Slavs who were still under the Habsburg rule.<sup>33</sup> This was of an utmost significance in 1917, when, due to the exit of the revolutionary Russia from the war, many in London acquired increasingly pes-

simistic outlook on the end of the war, and the desirable war aims were hotly debated.<sup>34</sup> Additional burden on Britain and other Allies represented the capitulation of Romania and the Italian defeats in 1917, the countries that had entered the war on the side of the Entente in 1915 and 1916, respectively. Primarily thanks to the circle of the Lloyd-George's closest aides, the so called "New Eastern Version" war strategy which entailed a defensive campaign at the Western front, and intensification of the Allied activities in the east (although, first and foremost, outside Europe, but not exclusively) had prevailed.<sup>35</sup> This new strategy was significant for the Balkan front and Serbia, as it intensified not only the British political ties with the Serbian government and military, but also with the entire Serbian and other South Slavic nations, emphasising their significance. One more thing worth mentioning is that starting from the spring of 1915 the Yugoslav Committee was working from London.<sup>36</sup> However, as far as the post-war territorial settlement for the region was concerned, the attitude of Great Britain and other great powers towards Austria-Hungary was not definite right until the spring of

<sup>27</sup> Robert William Seton-Watson (1879–1951) was a Scottish historian and political activist. He founded School of Slavonic and East European Studies at University College London. During the First World War he was a member of the Serbian Society of Great Britain and the Honorary Secretary of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>28</sup> Henry Wickham Steed (1871–1956) was a journalist, author and editor of *The Times*. He was a great sympathiser of the Yugoslav unification. During the First World War, he was an activist of the Serbian Society of Great Britain.

<sup>29</sup> Evans, *Creation...*, 160.

<sup>30</sup> G. H. Bennett, *British foreign policy during the Curzon period, 1919–24* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), 179.

<sup>31</sup> Philip Henry Kerr, 11<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Lothian (1882–1940) was British politician, diplomat and newspaper editor. He was a personal Secretary to David Lloyd-George.

<sup>32</sup> David Davies, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Davies (1880–1944) was a soldier, Welsh Liberal politician, MP and a benefactor. He was a close associate of David Lloyd-George.

Novonastala situacija po završetku svetskog rata označila je potpuno novu stranicu u britansko-srpskim odnosima, koji su zapravo postali britansko-jugoslovenski odnosi. Budući da je tema ovog rada i uticaj intelektualaca, umetnika i naučnika koji su ratne godine proveli u Velikoj Britaniji na kasniji društveni život u Jugoslaviji, odnosno Kraljevini SHS, ovde ćemo ukratko predstaviti i politički okvir u kome su se ovi odnosi odvijali.

1918 - until that time the dominant position of all three major powers (Britain, France, and the USA) had been that it should survive.<sup>37</sup> However, the failure of the Allied efforts to sign a separate peace with Vienna, the defeat of the German offensives in France in the spring of 1918, and the eventual collapse of the Central Powers on the Salonika front in the Autumn 1918, coupled with other Allies' successful operations, brought about the liberation of Serbia and the foundation of a new South-Slavic state. Great Britain officially recognised the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats

and Slovenes on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1919.

The new situation which arose following the end of the war represented a new page in the Anglo-Serbian relations, which, in fact, now became Anglo-Yugoslav relation. Since the topic of this work is also the influence that intellectuals, artists and scientists who had spent the war years in Britain later had on the social life of Yugoslavia, i.e. the Kingdom of SCS, we will here briefly describe the political framework within which the Anglo-Yugoslav/Serbian relations continued after the end of the war.

<sup>33</sup> John Turner, *Lloyd-George's Secretariat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 10.

<sup>34</sup> Brock Millman, "A Counsel of Despair: British Strategy and War Aims, 1917-18", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2001), 242-246.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Antić, *op. cit.*, 423.

<sup>37</sup> Mitrović, *Istorija srpskog naroda*, 231.

### 1.3 Posleratne političke veze

<sup>38</sup> H. James Burgwyn, *Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period* (Westport: Praeger, 1997), 1-2.

<sup>39</sup> Navešćemo samo neke značajne studije i radove koji se bave ovim problemom: Ferdo Šišić, *Jadransko pitanje na Konferenciji mira u Parizu: Zbirka akata i dokumenata* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1920), 118-127; Andrej Mitrović, „Aprilski pregovori o Jadranskom pitanju na Konferenciji mira 1919. godine“, *Istorija XX veka*, VIII (1966) 271-359; 279; 283; DBFP (*Documents on British Foreign Policy*) 1919-1939, First Series, Vol.VIII, No. 17 (London: HMSO, 1970), 186-187.

Posle završetka ratnih dejstava, i Velika Britanija i Srbija našle su se na strani pobednika u najvećem vojnom sukobu koji je svet do tada video. Britanska vlada je među prvima od velikih sila priznala postojanje nove države, što govori u prilog tome da je bila zainteresovana za stabilnost novonastale jugoslovenske kraljevine. Što se tiče nastupa dveju država na Konferenciji mira u Parizu, Velika Britanija morala je da vodi računa kako o svojoj poziciji u Kraljevini SHS, tako i o obećanjima koje su sile Antante dale Italiji prilikom ulaska u rat na njihovoj strani, po pitanju konačnih

italijanskih granica, prevashodno u Dalmaciji.<sup>38</sup> Na osnovu opsežne diplomatske građe koja je o tome objavljena, jasno je da je vodećim britanskim političarima bilo stalo da se problem reši direktnim pregovorima Rima i Beograda, što se na kraju i dogodilo.<sup>39</sup> Ulaskom Sjedinjenih Američkih Država u rat na strani Antante, ceo sukob dobio je snažniji ideološki karakter, uvodeći kao faktor u sukobu i princip samoopredeljenja naroda, blizak američkom predsedniku Vilsonu - U ovom smislu su se pokazala kao dalekovida nastojanja srpske vlade da svoje interese na teritoriji Habzbur-

### 1.3 Post-War Political Ties

Following the end of the military operations, both Great Britain and Serbia found themselves on the victorious side in the biggest armed conflict the world had seen so far. The fact that the British government was amongst the first to recognise the new South-Slavic state testifies to its interest in the stability of the new Yugoslav kingdom. Regarding the positions the two states had taken at the Peace Conference in Paris, Great Britain had to be mindful of both its future position in Yugoslavia and the promise the Entente gave to Italy in return for its participation in the war regarding Italy's future borders, es-

pecially in Dalmatia.<sup>38</sup> Based on an impressive number of published diplomatic resources, it is clear that the leading British politicians wanted to settle the issue via direct negotiations between Rome and Belgrade which happened in the end.<sup>39</sup> Once the United States of America had joined the war on the side of the Entente, the conflict gained a much stronger ideological character, via the introduction, as a factor in the conflict, of the principle of a nation's right to self-determination, an issue close to the American president Wilson's heart. Therefore, the endeavours of the Serbian government to present

<sup>38</sup> H. James Burgwyn, *Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period* (Westport: Praeger, 1997), 1-2.

<sup>39</sup> Some of the important studies of the issue are: Ferdo Šišić, *Jadransko pitanje na Konferenciji mira u Parizu: Zbirka akata i dokumenata* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1920), 118-127; Andrej Mitrović, "Aprilski pregovori o Jadranskom pitanju na Konferenciji mira 1919. godine", *Istorija XX veka*, VIII (1966) 271-359; 279; 283; DBFP (*Documents on British Foreign Policy*) 1919-1939, First Series, Vol.VIII, No. 17 (London: HMSO, 1970), 186-187.

<sup>40</sup> Saša Mišić, *Albanija – prijatelj i protivnik, jugoslovenska politika prema Albaniji 1924-1927* (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2009), 28-29.

<sup>41</sup> The National Archives (NA), Foreign Office (FO), Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966 (371), C 9746/328/19 No. 3575, Instructions to Ambassador to Sofia, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1920.

<sup>42</sup> NA, FO, 371 C 10007/328/19; C 10873/328/19, Reports by the British representative in Sofia Sir Arthur Peel from 30<sup>th</sup> October and 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1920.

<sup>43</sup> Džordž Kurzon, prvi markiz Kurzon od Kedlston (1859-1925), bio je britanski konzervativni političar, diplomata i državnik. Obavljao je dužnosti potkralja Indije, ministra spoljnih poslova i lidera Doma lordova.

ške monarhije predstavi kao principijelno pitanje samoopredeljenja Južnih Slovena koji su tu živeli. Davanje prioriteta ovom principu u odnosu na stari evropski način zaključivanja mira i podelu teritorija isključivo prema moći sila pobednica, dovelo je do nove situacije u kojoj britanski političari, posebno stariji među njima, nisu odmah mogli da pomire nove i stare metode. Postojali su i ozbiljniji problemi koji su opterećivali odnose dveju zemalja, kao što je pitanje razgraničenja sa Albanijom, te pitanja vezana za srpski ratni dug ili za britanski kapital uložen u firme na prostoru bivše Austrougarske, koje su se sada našle na teritoriji Kraljevine SHS. Možemo reći da je do najveće krize u posleratnim odnosima dveju zemalja (ali takođe i u jugoslovenskim odnosima sa Italijom i Francuskom) – došlo tokom pojačanih pograničnih borbi jugoslovenskih i albanskih trupa u periodu neposredno pre priznavanja nezavisnosti Albanije u novembru 1921. godine. No, na kraju krajeva, ovo zaoštavanje nije ostavilo dugoročnije posledice, budući da se zajednički interes Beograda i Londona sastojao u tome da italijanski uticaj u Albaniji ne bude toliko dominantan.<sup>40</sup>

Međutim, bez obzira na ovakva, ponekad i ozbiljna razmimoilaženja, obe države bile su tokom prvih posleratnih godina zainteresovane da se međunarodni poredak utvrđen u Parizu osnaži i održi. Primera radi, u nesuglasicama između Kraljevine SHS i Bugarske, koje su izbijale zbog aktivnosti bugarskih komita u jugoslovenskom delu Makedonije, Velika Britanija čvrsto je stajala na stanovištu (možda i najviše od svih velikih sila pobednica) da sve obaveze koje je Bugarska preuzela mirom u Neiju moraju biti do kraja sprovedene.<sup>41</sup> Jedan od primera za to jeste, recimo, i odsustvo ozbiljnije reakcije Londona na jugoslovensko zauzimanje dotadašnjih bugarskih teritorija koje su mirovnim ugovorom pripale Kraljevini SHS – i pre nego što je komisija za razgraničenje završila svoj posao.<sup>42</sup> Šire gledano, iako su se britanski političari, bilo među sobom, bilo u razgovoru sa svojim kolegama iz Beograda povremeno žalili na ulogu vojske i policije u životu zemlje, u nekoliko navrata priznavali su da je Kraljevina SHS jedina sila u regionu sposobna da održi međunarodni režim nastao na Konferenciji mira. Na to je jednom prilikom implicitno ukazao i sam Kurzon.<sup>43</sup>

their interests concerning the Habsburg territories as a principled issue of self-determination of the South-Slavic population living there, had proved to be far-sighted. Prioritising this principle ahead of the old European way of conducting peace negotiations and territorial settlements solely in accordance with the power of the victorious countries, had led to the situation in which some British politicians, especially the older ones, were not able to instantly reconcile the new and old methods of diplomacy. Other serious issues burdening the relations between the two countries, such as the question of the delineation of the Yugoslav-Albania border and the issues regarding the Serbian war debt and the fate of the British capital invested in the companies formerly located in Austria-Hungary and now on the territory of the Kingdom of SCS were also in play. Perhaps the biggest post-war crisis that occurred between the two countries (but also between Yugoslavia and Italy and France) was due to the intense border fighting between the Yugoslav and Albanian troops during the period immediately before the recognition of the Albanian independence in November 1921. Still, in the

end, these diplomatic clashes did not leave a lasting mark on the Anglo-Yugoslav relations, because, in essence, an Albanian state in which the Italian influence was not dominant was in both Yugoslav and British interest.<sup>40</sup>

It is generally safe to say that in the immediate aftermath of the Great War, regardless of the occasional differences such as those mentioned above, both sides wanted the international order that had been established at the Peace Conference in Paris to be strengthened and lasting. For instance, during the post-war tensions between the Kingdom of SCS and Bulgaria, mainly regarding the activities of the Bulgarian brigands in the Yugoslav part of Macedonia, Great Britain was probably the great power that stood most firmly on the stance that Bulgaria had to fulfil all of its obligations undertaken by signing the Treaty of Neuilly.<sup>41</sup> One of the examples of the British attitude was the absence of any concrete reaction from London when the Yugoslav army took over the Bulgarian territories that had been given to the Kingdom of SCS by the peace treaties, even before the delineation commission had finished its job.<sup>42</sup> In a

<sup>40</sup> Saša Mišić, *Albanija – prijatelj i protivnik, jugoslovenska politika prema Albaniji 1924-1927* (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2009), 28-29.

<sup>41</sup> The National Archives (NA), Foreign Office (FO), Political Departments: General Correspondence from 1906-1966 (371), C 9746/328/19 No. 3575, Instructions to Ambassador to Sofia, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1920.

<sup>42</sup> NA, FO, 371 C 10007/328/19; C 10873/328/19, Reports by the British representative in Sofia Sir Arthur Peel from 30<sup>th</sup> October and 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1920.

<sup>44</sup> NA, FO, 371 C 14492/704/22, Talks between Curzon and Italian Ambassador in London, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1921.

<sup>45</sup> NA, FO, 371 13587/307/19, No. 390 (R), Federalism. Comments on report sent by Alban Young from Belgrade, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1920.

<sup>46</sup> NA, FO, 371 C 4962/308/22, No. 252, Notes by Harold Nicholson on the report of Alban Young, 28<sup>th</sup> August 1920.

<sup>47</sup> Nikola Pašić (1845–1926) ubraja se među najuticajnije srpske političare 19. i prve polovine 20. veka. Bio je jedan od osnivača i dugogodišnji prvak Narodne radikalne stranke. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je predsednik vlade i ministar inostranih dela.

Takođe, kada se radilo o unutrašnjem integritetu jugoslovenske države, može se reći da je podrška iz Londona bila skoro potpuna. Pozivi nekih političkih snaga da se jedinstvo zemlje ozbiljno dovede u pitanje – nisu nailazili na prevelike simpatije britanske diplomatije (takve su predloge, na primer, iznosili predstavnici tada već bivše crnogorske dinastije Petrović, kao i prvak Hrvatske republikanske seljačke stranke Stjepan Radić). Britanski ministar spoljnih poslova Džordž Kurzon smatrao je da izlaznost i glasanje na izborima u Crnoj Gori 1921. godine za ustavotvornu skupštinu Kraljevine SHS pokazuju da su i u tom delu zemlje postojale snažne simpatije lokalnog stanovništva prema jugoslovenskom ujedinjenju i zajedničkoj novostvorenoj državi.<sup>44</sup> Razlika je bilo u stavovima britanskih diplomata o unutrašnjem uređenju Kraljevine SHS, ali tih razlika takođe je bilo i među političkim predstavnicima raznih naroda u Kraljevini, kao i među srpskom političkom elitom.<sup>45</sup> Premda su britanske diplomate u Beogradu i Londonu, u kolokvijalnim razgovorima, predstavnike Kraljevine SHS nazivali samo kratko „Srbima”, oni nisu novu južnoslovensku državu vi-

deli kao nekakvu „proširenu Srbiju”. Ukratko, smatrali su da je različitim delovima zemlje potrebno dati određeni nivo autonomije. Mišljenje članova britanske vlade po pitanju Rijeke je da je neophodno pronaći rešenje koje je prihvatljivo za jugoslovensku stranu, kako bi se održalo jedinstvo zemlje i postigao balans između dveju najvažnijih etničkih komponenata u novoj državi – Srba i Hrvata.<sup>46</sup> Valja primetiti da je i za Siton-Votsona, kao verovatno najistaknutijeg jugoslovenofila tokom ratnog perioda, balans u odnosima ovih dvaju naroda bio jedna od osnovnih ideja vodilja. I britanski i srpski političari želeli su da jugoslovenska država bude što jača i postojanija, ali su se njihove ideje često razlikovale. Kao što je poznato, Nikola Pašić<sup>47</sup> i većina drugih starijih srpskih političara smatrali su da bi federalizam oslabio novu državu.

Jedna od karakteristika ne samo političkih, već i širih društvenih veza između Londona i Beograda u posleratnim godinama (uključujući i ekonomske) jeste da su se one u izvesnoj meri ostvarivale u senci još širih sveukupnih odnosa koji su u ratnim godinama uspostavljeni između Srbije i

wider perspective, although the British politicians, sometimes between themselves, sometimes in conversations with their Yugoslav colleagues, occasionally complained about the role that the army and police played in the Yugoslav political life - they would also admit that the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was probably the only regional power that was able to maintain the international order created at the Peace Conference. Even Lord Curzon<sup>43</sup> himself indicated this, albeit implicitly.

The support for the internal integrity of the Yugoslav state that was coming from London was firm and total. Calls that were coming from certain political forces for a serious reconsideration of the need for Yugoslav political unity never found much sympathy with the British diplomacy (such oppositions were put forward by the representatives of the dethroned Montenegrin Petrović dynasty and the leader of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, Stjepan Radić). The then British Secretary of State Lord George Curzon was of the opinion that the turnout and results of the elections for constitutive assembly of the Kingdom of SCS in Montenegro in

1921 had been enough of a proof that the popular sentiment in that part of the new country was in favour of the country's unity.<sup>44</sup> Within the Foreign Office, some differences existed regarding as to how the Kingdom of SCS should be constituted internally - as a federal or as a centralised state - but those differences of opinions also existed between the various Yugoslav peoples, and also among the Serbian political elite.<sup>45</sup> Although the British diplomats in both London and Belgrade frequently, and colloquially, called the representatives of Yugoslavia "the Serbs", they did not regard the new state as some kind of "Greater Serbia". In short, they were mainly of the opinion that different parts of the country should enjoy different level of autonomy. There were also opinions within the British government that the Adriatic question, the problem of Rijeka in particular, should be solved in such way that would ensure the unity of the nation, and also a balance between its two most important ethnic groups - the Serbs and the Croats.<sup>46</sup> It should be noted that the idea of this balance was shared by Seton-Watson, probably the most prominent Yugoslavophile during the war period. What

<sup>43</sup> George Nathaniel Curzon, 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859-1925) was a British Conservative politician, diplomat and statesman. He was a Viceroy of India, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Leader of the House of Lords.

<sup>44</sup> NA, FO, 371 C 14492/704/22, Talks between Curzon and Italian Ambassador in London, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1921.

<sup>45</sup> NA, FO, 371 13587/307/19, No. 390 (R), Federalism. Comments on report sent by Alban Young from Belgrade, 11<sup>th</sup> December 1920

<sup>46</sup> NA, FO, 371 C 4962/308/22, No. 252, Notes by Harold Nicholson on the report of Alban Young, 28<sup>th</sup> August 1920.

Francuske. Može se reći da je Kraljevina SHS tokom 20-ih godina bila deo francuskog kontinentalnog „sistema”, čiji je osnovni cilj bio da spreči obnavljanje nemačke vojne i političke moći u Evropi. Kao prevashodno pomorska i vanevropska kolonijalna sila, Velika Britanija prosto nije mogla imati podjednak uticaj na jugoslovenski politički vrh. Slične konstatacije možemo doneti i kada govorimo o širim društvenim vezama. Broj đaka, studenata i intelektualaca koji se u Srbiju vratio iz Francuske daleko je premašivao broj onih koji su dolazili iz Velike Britanije. Uprkos tome, ni uticaj ovih povratnika iz Velike Britanije na društveno-politički život zemlje nije bio zanemarljiv.

Premda nisu bili previše brojni, prijatelji „Engleske” u međuratnoj Jugoslaviji ostavljali su trag i na intelektualnom i na političkom planu.<sup>48</sup> Obe strane želele su da se međusobni odnosi unaprede i na simboličkoj ravni, koju su, na primer, predstavljale uzajamne posete članova dveju kraljevskih porodica. Privredna saradnja je i posle rata bila u priličnoj meri jednosmerna. Teme koje su dominirale u međudržavnim odnosima ticale su se

pokušaja dveju vlada da na obostrano prihvatljiv način reše pitanje britanskog ratnog zajma Srbiji, kao i pitanja britanskog kapitala u Kraljevini SHS. Težnja Beograda svakako je bila da konačnim teritorijalnim i političkim rešenjima krize koja je na jugoistoku Evrope i dalje trajala, dobije što širi i bezbedniji pristup morskim putevima, što bi ujedno u velikoj meri olakšalo i intenziviralo trgovinsku razmenu sa Velikom Britanijom. Zanimljivo je da se iz pisanja britanskog poslanika u Beogradu Albana Janga<sup>49</sup> vidi da su Britanci bili u dilemi u pogledu pravca kojim treba uputiti dalji srpski tj. jugoslovenski privredno-trgovinski razvoj: da li ka kontinentalnoj i regionalnoj saradnji, što bi bilo u skladu sa principijelnom britanskom politikom, ili ka moru, što bi svakako bilo više u interesu britanske trgovine.

Priroda odnosa Londona i Beograda u posleratnom periodu uglavnom je bila očekivana za dve strane nejednake snage koje su iz tako velikog rata izašle zajedno kao države-pobednice. Velika Britanija je sve do 1924. godine među balkanskim državama izdvajala one koje su se u ratu nalazile u ratu na pobedničkoj strani od

<sup>48</sup> Radmila Radić, „Prilog istraživanju mreže anglofilskih organizacija u Srbiji tokom prve polovine 20. veka”, *Tokovi istorije*, vol. 3 (2012), 278–322. Ranka Gašić, *Beograd u hodu ka Evropi: kulturni uticaji Britanije i Nemačke na beogradsku elitu 1918–1941* (Beograd: ISI, 2005), 258.

<sup>49</sup> Ser Alban Jang, deveti baronet (1865–1944), bio je britanski diplomata. Službovao je u Teheranu, Centralnoj Americi i Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

both British and Yugoslav politicians essentially wanted was a Yugoslav state, as strong and stable as possible, but their ideas as to how to achieve this often differed. Nikola Pašić<sup>47</sup> and the majority of the Serbian older politicians, as we know, thought that federalism would weaken the new state.

One of the characteristics of, not only political but also wider social and economic, contacts between London and Belgrade in the interwar years, was the fact that they were exercised in a shadow of much wider relations established during the war between Serbia and France. It could be argued that, during the 1920s, the Kingdom of SCS was part of the French continental “system”, whose main purpose was to prevent the resurrection of the German military and political power in Europe. Being primarily a naval and non-European colonial power, Great Britain simply could not have had the same influence on the Yugoslav political leadership. Similar conclusions can be drawn when discussing the wider social connections. The number of pupils, students and intellectuals which had returned from France far surpassed the number of those coming back from Great

Britain. However, the influence of the returnees from the United Kingdom on the social and political life was far from negligible.

Even though they were not very numerous, the friends of “England” in the interwar Yugoslavia left a mark in both intellectual and political fields.<sup>48</sup> Both sides wanted the mutual relations to improve on a symbolical level as well, personified by, for example, mutual visits by the members of the two royal families. Economic cooperation was still pretty one-sided. The topics which dominated the state relations concerned the attempts of both governments to find satisfactory solution to the issues of the British war loan to Serbia and the British capital in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Belgrade also wanted to finalise the crisis in South-East of Europe and to, by settling territorial and political disputes, gain wider and safer access to the sea routes, which would also simplify and intensify the economic exchange with Great Britain. It is interesting that, as gleaned from the writings of Alban Young<sup>49</sup>, the British Minister in Belgrade, the British were in a dilemma regarding the ways to instruct further Serbian

<sup>47</sup> Nikola Pašić (1845-1926) was one of the most influential Serbian politicians of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He was one of the founders and leaders of the People's Radical Party. During the First World War he was Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

<sup>48</sup> Radmila Radić, “Prilog istraživanju mreže anglofilskih organizacija u Srbiji tokom prve polovine 20. veka”, *Tokovi istorije*, vol. 3 (2012), 278-322. Ranka Gašić, *Beograd u hodu ka Evropi: kulturni uticaji Britanije i Nemačke na beogradsku elitu 1918-1941* (Belgrade: ISI, 2005), 258.

<sup>49</sup> Sir Alban Young, 9<sup>th</sup> Baronet (1865-1944) was a British diplomat. He held posts in Teheran, Central America and Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

onih sa kojima to nije bio slučaj. Isto tako, Srbija, odnosno Kraljevina SHS, tražila je od Londona podršku za unutrašnje i spoljne probleme sa kojima se sama susretala, ali je u tome imala promenljivog uspeha. Dolaskom prvog laburističkog kabineta na vlast 1924. godine i, ubrzo zatim, ponovo Torijevaca sa Ostinom Čembrlenom na mestu ministra spoljnih poslova, formulisana je novi britanski diplomatski pristup evropskom kontinentu. U okviru njega artikulirana je i nova britanska balkanska politika, koja se, u najkraćem, može svesti na stavljanje akcenta u punoj meri na regionalnu saradnju, pre nego na izvršavanje obaveza sa Konferencije mira.<sup>50</sup>

Na kraju, možemo konstatovati da su odnosi Velike Britanije i Srbije u periodu tokom i oko Prvog svetskog rata za relativno kratko vreme prošli kroz nekoliko faza. Na samom početku 19. veka, Srbija je Veliku Britaniju posmatrala kao nesumnjivo veliku silu, ali je usled geografske udaljenosti, sa njom imala skromne diplomatske i ekonomske odnose, ne doživljavajući je kao državu od najvećeg značaja za svoju sudbinu i budućnost. Čak i posle Carinskog rata sa Austro-

ugarskom, koji je zapretio opstanku dobrog dela srpske privrede, Srbija je izlaz iz svojevrstne izolacije u prvi mah tražila u Nemačkoj, Belgiji i drugim manjim evropskim zemljama. Međutim, usled teritorijalnog rastakanja Osmanskog carstva, i u okviru toga balkanskih ratova, te usled približavanja svetskog sukoba – Srbija i Velika Britanija bile su prinuđene da ostvaruju sve češće i dublje kontakte. Naravno, Prvi svetski rat drastično je intenzivirao taj proces, a masovnim odlaskom srpskih đaka, studenata i intelektualaca u Veliku Britaniju tokom rata, kao i njihovim kasnijim povratkom u Srbiju, odnosi dveju zemalja trajno su obeleženi, dobivši jednu potpuno novu dimenziju. Posleratni odnosi pak bili su sasvim drugačiji nego samo dvadesetak godina ranije. Velika Britanija, ako i ne više ekonomska i politička, i dalje je bila prva diplomatska sila sveta. Srbija je postala deo verovatno najvažnije balkanske države, ali i države koja je imala svoje političko mesto i ulogu u Srednjoj Evropi, pa čak i na Mediteranu. Postoje mišljenja da je Balkan, uključujući i Kraljevinu SHS, bio deo sanitarnog kordona, koji je trebalo da ograničava obnavljanje moći Ne-

<sup>50</sup> Patrick Finney, „Raising Frankenstein: Great Britain, ‘Balkanism’ and the Search for a Balkanlocarno in the 1920s”, *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2003), 322.

or rather Yugoslav economic development - either towards continental and regional cooperation, which would be in accordance with the official British policy, or towards the sea, which would certainly be more beneficial for the British trade interests.

The nature of the relations between London and Belgrade in the interwar period was probably expected for the two sides of such an unequal strength, which emerged together from the Great War as victors. Until 1924, Great Britain was very clear about separating the Balkan states that were on the winning side from the ones that were not. Also, Serbia, and consequently the Kingdom of SCS, asked for the support from London in resolving its own internal and external problems, but with limited success. When the first Labour Cabinet took office in 1924, and also with the next Tory government with Austin Chamberlain as the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, a new diplomatic approach was established towards the continental Europe. Within this new approach, the new British Balkan policies were articulated, which could be summed up as the support for regional cooperation, rather than the fulfilment

of the obligations of the Paris Peace Conference.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, we can say that the relations between Great Britain and Serbia in the period prior to and during the First World War went through several stages in a short period of time. At the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Serbia saw Great Britain as a major force but, due to the geographical distance, had very modest diplomatic and economic contacts with it, and did not perceive it as a state of great importance for its fate and future. Even after the Pig War (1906-1908) with Austria-Hungary, which seriously endangered Serbian economy, Serbia was trying to find the way out of the isolation by cooperating with Germany, Belgium and other smaller European nations. However, due to the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire and the consequent Balkan Wars, and also because of the incoming global confrontation - Serbia and Great Britain were forced to develop stronger and deeper contacts. Of course, the First World War had drastically intensified the process and with the mass exile of the Serbian pupils, students and intellectuals to Great Britain during the war and with

<sup>50</sup> Patrick Finney, "Raising Frankenstein: Great Britain, 'Balkanism' and the Search for a Balkanlocarno in the 1920s", *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2003), 322.

mačke, ali i Rusije/SSSR-a i Turske.<sup>51</sup> Kada se prirodi odnosa između takvih dveju zemalja doda i veliki broj novoostvarenih ličnih, naučnih, umetničkih, ekonomskih i drugih kontakata, jasno je da su i političke i ostale veze između Srbije i Velike Britanije bile trajno transformisane. Ovo se poka-

zalo tačnim kada je Velika Britanija, posle relativnog odsustva sa Balkana i iz Srednje Evrope (otprilike, od sredine dvadesetih do sredine tridesetih godina dvadesetog veka) ponovo intenzivirala svoju ulogu u regionalnoj politici, u godinama koje su prethodile Drugom svetskom ratu.

<sup>51</sup> Bennet, *British foreign policy...*, 42.

their latter repatriation, the contacts were permanently marked, acquiring a completely new dimension. After the war, the relations were completely different than they had been just twenty years earlier. Great Britain was still the strongest diplomatic force in the world, even though it was not the number one in economy or political power. Serbia became part of the most important state in the Balkans, and a state that also had its political place and role in Central Europe and even at the Mediterranean. Some scholars argue that the Balkans, including the Kingdom of SCS, was part of the *cordon sanitaire*, which

was supposed to limit Germany's rise to power, as well as that of Turkey and Russia/USSR.<sup>51</sup> When a number of personal, scientific, artistic, economic and other contacts were incorporated into the nature of relations between the two countries of such stature, it had become clear that the political and other ties between Serbia and Great Britain were permanently transformed. This was confirmed when Great Britain, after a period of relative absence from the Balkans in the period between the mid-1920s and the mid-1930s, intensified its role in the regional politics, in the years prior to the Second World War.

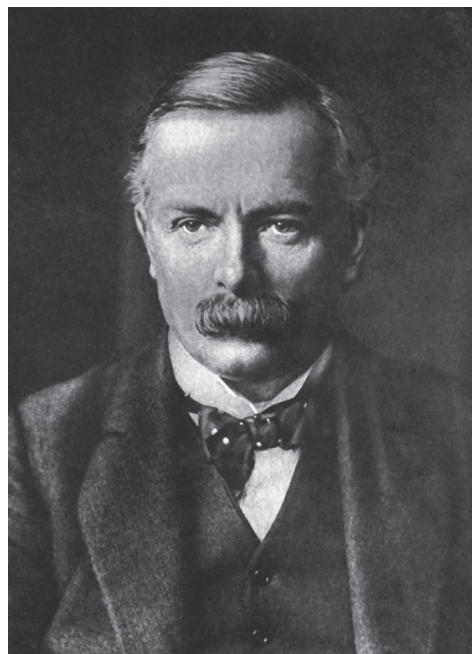
<sup>51</sup> Bennet, *British foreign policy...*, 42.



Filip Hristić, srpski poslanik u Londonu

Filip Hristić, Serbian Minister in London

(Legat Koste St. Pavlovića, Istorijski arhiv  
Beograd / Archives of Kosta St. Pavlović,  
Historical Archives of Belgrade)



Dejvid Lojd-Džordž, britanski premijer

David Lloyd-George, British Prime Minister

(Fotografija / Photo by A. & R. Annan & Sons)



Ser Edvard Grej, britanski ministar inostranih poslova

Sir Edward Grey, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs

(F. W. Woolworth & Co. Ltd.)



Ser Ralf Pedžet, britanski diplomata

Sir Ralph Paget, British diplomat

(National Portrait Gallery, London)



Ernest Trubridž, britanski admiral

Ernest Troubridge, British Admiral

(The Lafayette Negative Collection, V&A Museum)



Robert Siton-Votson, istoričar i politički aktivista  
R. W. Seton-Watson, historian and political activist



Henri Vikam Stid, novinar i publicista

Henry Wickham Steed, journalist and publicist

(Fotografija / Photo by Russell, London)



Dejvid Dejvis, političar i dobrotvor

David Davies, politician and benefactor



Regent Aleksandar Karadjordjević sa princom Albertom u Londonu, april 1916

Regent Aleksandar Karadjordjević with Prince Albert in London, April 1916

(<http://www.royalfamily.org>)

## **2.0 SRPSKA PROSVETA U IZBEGLIŠTVU I ULOGA VELIKE BRITANIJE**

## **2.0 SERBIAN EDUCATION IN EXILE AND THE ROLE OF GREAT BRITAIN**

## 2.1 Srpsko školstvo u kontekstu Velikog rata

<sup>1</sup> Redžinald Spenser Braun (1856-1943), bio je australijski vojnik, pisac i novinar. U Prvom svetskom ratu je učestvovao u kampanji na Galipolju. Bio je nosilac srpskih vojnih odličja.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer Browne, *The Heroic Serbians. An Appeal for Help* (Weymouth: Sherren, 1916), 3.

Na početku svoje kratke studije pod nazivom „Herojski Srbi“, pukovnik Spenser Braun<sup>1</sup> obeležio je položaj Srba trojako – „Srbin je talac u svojoj zemlji... ili vojnik rame uz rame sa Britancima, Francuzima i Italijanima na Makedonskom frontu, ili lualica-bezemljaš – obogaljen ratom i teškom patnjom – koji živi od samaričanske pomoći onih na čije obale dođe”<sup>2</sup>. Treći opis savršeno pristaje položaju srpske dece i omladine koja je izbegla iz zemlje i pokušala da nastavi svoje školovanje u godinama Prvog svet-skog rata. Prosvetni sistem Srbije je, poput celokupnog državnog aparata,

doživeo slom povlačenjem vlade i vojske iz zemlje krajem 1915. godine. Formalni prekid u radu Ministarstva prosvete trajao je od 6. oktobra 1915. do 6. januara 1916. godine, kada je ova institucija iz Brindizija prebačena na Krf. Tada počinje organizacija prosvetnog sistema u izbeglištvu, kao *ad hoc* proces, u teškim uslovima i na novim, težim i do tada nepoznatim osnovama. Prosveta u izbeglištvu, u geografskom i kulturnom smislu, predstavljala je nastavak ranijih srpskih institucija koje su osnivane u evropskom delu Osmanskog carstva pre Prvog balkanskog rata 1912/13,

## 2.1 Serbian Schools in the Context of the Great War

At the beginning of his short study entitled “The Heroic Serbians”, Colonel Spencer Browne<sup>1</sup> depicts the current Serbian position as threefold - “A Serb is a hostage in his own land... or he is a soldier fighting shoulder to shoulder with the British and the French and the Italians on the Macedonian front, or he is a landless wanderer - crippled by war and awful suffering - living by the Samaritan-like help of those on whose shores he may be cast”.<sup>2</sup> The third description perfectly fits the fate of the Serbian children and youth that had fled the country and tried to continue their education in the years of the First

World War. The Serbian educational system, like the entire state apparatus, had collapsed with the retreat of the government and the army from the country in the late 1915. The formal break of the Ministry of Education’s activities lasted from 6<sup>th</sup> October 1915 to 6<sup>th</sup> January 1916, when this institution was transferred from Brindisi to Corfu. Then, a new organisation of educational system was set up, as an *ad hoc* process under difficult conditions and a new and unknown basis. In geographic and cultural terms, the education in exile represented a continuation of the earlier Serbian institutions that had been founded

<sup>1</sup> Reginald Spencer Browne (1856–1943) was an Australian soldier, writer and journalist. During the First World War he took part in the Gallipoli campaign. He was a recipient of a number of Serbian honours.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer Browne, *The Heroic Serbians. An Appeal for Help* (Weymouth: Sherrin, 1916), 3.

<sup>3</sup> Aleksandra Novakov, „Društveni značaj Srpske gimnazije „Dom nauke” u Solunu (1894–1910)”, *Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke*, 153, (4/2015), 677–697.

<sup>4</sup> Jovan Tomić (1869–1932) bio je srpski istoričar, upravnik Narodne biblioteke i član Srpske kraljevske akademije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je delegat ministarstva prosvete u Ženevi.

<sup>5</sup> Jovan Tomić, *Jugoslavija u emigraciji: pisma i beleške iz 1917* (Beograd: Vuk Karadžić, 1921), 297.

<sup>6</sup> Ljubomir Davidović (1863–1940) bio je istaknuti srpski političar, prvak Samostalne radikalne stranke i osnivač i predsednik Demokratske stranke u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Bio je i predsednik Opštine grada Beograda i predsednik vlade. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je jedno vreme obavljao funkciju ministra prosvete i crkvenih dela.

<sup>7</sup> Jelica Reljić, „Arhivska građa Ministarstva prosvete na Krfu: izvori za istoriju Srba u izbeglištvu 1916. godine”, u Ljiljana Aleksić (ur), *Srbija 1916. godine. Zbornik radova*, knj. 5, (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1987), 277.

poput Srpske gimnazije u Istanbulu (1893), Srpske muške gimnazije u Skoplju (1894), Srpske gimnazije „Dom nauke” u Solunu (1894), Srpske muške gimnazije u Bitolju (1897) i Srpske gimnazije u Pljevljima (1901). One su bile vezane za srpsko Ministarstvo prosvete, što se ogledalo ne samo u finansijskoj pomoći, nego, pre svega, u nastavnom kadru koji su primale, kao i nastavnim planovima i programima koji su rađeni prema uputima iz Beograda i prilagođavani lokalnim specifičnostima. Neke od ovih škola uključene su u redovni sistem Ministarstva prosvete nakon Prvog balkanskog rata i teritorijalnog širenja Srbije. Silom prilika, 1916. prosvetni sistem Srbije preselio se na područja koja su samo par godina ranije smatrana poljem spoljnopolitičke akcije i kulturne misije.<sup>3</sup>

Pozicija omladine i dece, istrgnutih iz školskih klupa, zapravo nije bio prioritet srpskim vlastima po sklanjanju u Grčku; vojna pitanja su, u skladu sa datim trenutkom, uzela primat nad svima ostalima. Tadašnji upravnik Narodne biblioteke i član Srpske kraljevske akademije, Jovan Tomić<sup>4</sup>, beleži brojne rasprave vođene oko odgovarajućeg načina upošljavanja izbegle

omladine. Postavljalo se pitanje treba li nastaviti sa njihovim obrazovanjem ili ih poslati u vojsku, pri čemu Tomić apostrofira regenta Aleksandra kao veoma naklonjenog drugoj opciji.<sup>5</sup> Ministar prosvete Ljuba Davidović<sup>6</sup> objašnjavao je predsedniku Ministarskog saveta Nikoli Pašiću da je obrazovanje izbegle omladine državna potreba naspram njihovog odlaska na front, čak i u datim okolnostima. Takvo mišljenje obrazlagao je rečima da „najveći deo naših studenata i učenika srednjih škola bio bi prinuđen da prekine dalje školovanje, čime bi bila potpuno uništena naša nada, da u kratkom vremenu dobijemo znatan broj univerzitetski spremnih činovnika koji su sada potrebni nego ikad”. Takođe, ministar je Pašiću postavljao i sledeća pitanja „da li će veća korist biti za državu našu, ako se ovi mladići upute na vojnu dužnost, gde će izgubiti vreme, koje bi mogli upotrebiti na produženje ili dovršenje školovanja, ili ako se oni sada poštede službe i upotrebe docnije, na mestima na kojima mogu biti neizostavni, univerzitetski spremni činovnici u obnovljenoj i uvećanoj Srbiji, i da li se upotreba nekoliko stotina studenata može smatrati doista neophodnom?”<sup>7</sup>

in the European part of the Ottoman Empire before the First Balkan War 1912/13, like Serbian Grammar School in Istanbul (1893), Serbian Boys' Grammar School in Skopje (1894), Serbian Grammar House "Science House" in Thessaloniki (1894), Serbian Boys' Grammar School in Bitola (1897) and Serbian Grammar School in Pljevlja (1901). These schools were a part of the Serbian Ministry of Education, which was reflected not only in the financial aid, but also in the teaching staff and the curricula compiled in Belgrade and adjusted to the local needs. Some of these schools were incorporated in the regular system of the Ministry of Education after the First Balkan War and the subsequent territorial expansion of Serbia. Due to the war, the Serbian educational system moved in 1916 into the regions that had been considered to be a domain of the foreign policy activities and cultural missionary work just several years earlier.<sup>3</sup>

The position of young adults and children torn away from their school benches was not a priority for the Serbian government following the withdrawal to Greece; the situation had demanded that the military mat-

ters take precedence over everything else. Jovan Tomić<sup>4</sup>, the then director of the National Library and a member the Serbian Royal Academy, recorded numerous debates on the appropriate form of engaging the refugee youth. The main question was whether the boys of the appropriate age should continue their education or be drafted, and Tomić pointed out that Regent Aleksandar was in favour of the second option.<sup>5</sup> The Minister of Education Ljubomir Davidović<sup>6</sup> was explaining to the Prime Minister Nikola Pašić that the education of the refugee youth was of a higher national interest then sending them to the frontline, even in the dire current circumstances. He pointed out that the "majority of our students and secondary school pupils would be forced to end their education, which would completely ruin our hope to, within a short period of time, acquire a considerable number of university-educated administrators that we need now more than ever". He also asked Pašić "would the greater good for the country be served in sending these young men to military duty, where they would lose time that could be used for extending or finishing their education, or if they were spared the

<sup>3</sup> Aleksandra Novakov, "Društveni značaj Srpske gimnazije "Dom nauke" u Solunu (1894-1910)", *Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke*, 153, (4/2015), 677-697.

<sup>4</sup> Jovan Tomić (1869-1932) was a Serbian historian, director of the National Library and a member of the Serbian Royal Academy. During the First World War he was a delegate of the Ministry of Education in Geneva.

<sup>5</sup> Jovan Tomić, *Jugoslavija u emigraciji: pisma i beleške iz 1917* (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1921), 297.

<sup>6</sup> Ljubomir Davidović (1863-1940) was a prominent Serbian politician, leader of the Independent Radical Party and a founder of the Democratic Party in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. He was a president of the Belgrade Municipality and the President of the Council of Ministers. During the First World War he was for a time a Minister of Education.

<sup>8</sup> Jovan Žujović (1856-1936) je bio srpski geolog, profesor Univerziteta u Beogradu i predsednik Srpske kraljevske akademije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je obavljao poslove organizacije nastave za srpske izbeglice u Francuskoj.

<sup>9</sup> Arhiv Srbije (AS), Lični fond Jovan Žujović (JŽ), 59, 24. 11/7. 12. 1915.

<sup>10</sup> Ljubinka Trgovčević, „Children in Emigration: An Example of Serbian Children in World War One” u: Slobodan Naumović and Miroslav Jovanović (eds.) *Childhood in South East Europe: Historical Perspectives on Growing up in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Graz - Beograd: Institut für Geschichte der Universität, Abteilung Südosteuropäische Geschichte - Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2001), 180.

Prvi veći talas izbeglica zaputio se iz Srbije prema Solunu već u septembru i oktobru 1915. godine, s početkom druge ratne kampanje Centralnih sila protiv Srbije, a povlačenje se nastavilo i sledećih meseci, kako su austro-ugarske, nemačke i bugarske trupe zauzimale delove srpske teritorije. Manji broj dece poticao je iz porodica solidnijeg imovinskog stanja, koje su i u takvim okolnostima mogle da se staraju o njima, a velika većina bila je iz siromašnijih porodica ili čak bez porodice. Bogatije porodice uspevale su samostalno da se prebace do Francuske ili Švajcarske, dok su siromašnije ostale na grčkoj teritoriji, čekajući akciju države za nastavak školovanja dece. U Britaniju se uputila prilično raznolika grupa stanovništva, sačinjena od bogatijih srpskih porodica, koje su pošle u sopstvenom aranžmanu - mnogi putnici kao pratioci svoje dece; tu su, zatim, bili korisnici raznih oblika pomoći srpskih vlasti i dobrotvornih organizacija, među kojima su učenici činili posebnu skupinu; konačno, zasebnu grupu predstavljale su izbeglice u tranzitu, čije su krajnje odredište uglavnom bile Sjedinjene Američke Države.

Čak i za porodice čiji su svi članovi

uspeli zajedno da se povuku u Grčku, život u izbeglištvu značio je razdvajanje dece (školskog uzrasta) od roditelja. Bilo da su deca slata dalje u savezničke zemlje, bilo da je nastava organizovana *in situ* u Grčkoj, potreba obrazovanja nalagala je da internatski sistem postane dominantna forma školovanja. Prethodno gotovo potpuno nepoznat u srpskoj prosveti, internatski sistem izazivao je skepsu samih vrhova vlasti. Tako je Jovan Žujović<sup>8</sup>, organizator srpske izbegličke prosvetne delatnosti u Francuskoj, mislio da „nije verovatno da će 500 srpskih porodica biti razdvojeno od svoje dece kako bi ona bila poslata čak u Francusku. Majke se teško razdvajaju od svojih sinova, pogotovo u ovom trenutku.”<sup>9</sup> Međutim, dobar odziv roditelja pokazao je da je njegova skepsa bila preterana.<sup>10</sup>

Srpska vlada je, uz koordinaciju sa emigrantskim krugovima, te zainteresovanom i naklonjenom javnošću u prijateljskim zemljama, radila na stvaranju humanitarnih organizacija, koje bi kroz dobrotvorne akcije ublažile teškoće srpskog stanovništva u ratnim uslovima. „Srpski potporni fond” (*Serbian Relief Fund*) osnovan je u Velikoj Britaniji već septembra

service and used later at the positions where they would be irreplaceable, as university-educated administrators in a renewed and enlarged Serbia, and could the military use of few hundred students be considered truly necessary?”<sup>7</sup>

The first major wave of refugees left Serbia for Thessaloniki in September and October 1915 with the start of the second major campaign of the Central Powers against Serbia, and the retreat continued in the following months as Austro-Hungarian, German and Bulgarian troops conquered parts of the Serbian territory. While a small number of children came from high-income families that could provide for them even in such circumstances, a huge majority came from poorer families or had no family at all. The wealthier families would manage to travel to France or Switzerland independently while the poorer ones stayed in Greece and waited for the state to provide the education for their children. A fairly diverse group of children was Britain-bound, comprising wealthier families, travelling in their own arrangement - many escorting their own children; there were beneficiaries of various relief programmes of the Serbian authori-

ties and charity foundations who gave special attention to school-age children; finally, there were refugees in transit, whose final destination was mostly the United States of America.

Even if a family had managed to escape together, the exile in Greece meant that the school-age children would be separated from their parents. Whether the children were sent to the Allied countries or the schools were set up *in situ* in Greece, the educational needs had demanded that boarding schools become the dominant form of school system. Previously almost entirely unknown to the Serbian education, this system was met with scepticism of the Serbian authorities. For instance, Jovan Žujović<sup>8</sup>, the organiser of the Serbian educational activities in France during the war, thought that “it is not probable that 500 Serbian families will be separated from their children so they could be sent to France. It is hard for mothers to be separated from their sons, especially in this situation”.<sup>9</sup> However, a favourable response from the parents showed that his scepticism was exaggerated.<sup>10</sup>

In coordination with the émigré circles and an interested and friendly

<sup>7</sup>Jelica Reljić, “Arhivska građa Ministarstva prosvete na Krfu: izvori za istoriju Srba u izbeglištvu 1916. godine”, in Ljiljana Aleksić (ed), *Srbija 1916. godine. Zbornik radova*, knj. 5, (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1987), 277.

<sup>8</sup>Jovan Žujović (1856–1936) was a Serbian geologist, professor at the University of Belgrade and the President of the Serbian Royal Academy. During the First World War was dealing with the organisation of education for the Serbian refugees in France.

<sup>9</sup>Arhiv Srbije (AS), Lični fond Jovan Žujović (JŽ), 59, 24. 11/7. 12. 1915.

<sup>10</sup>Ljubinka Trgovčević, “Children in Emigration: An Example of Serbian Children in World War One” in: Slobodan Naumović and Miroslav Jovanović (eds.) *Childhood in South East Europe: Historical Perspectives on Growing up in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Graz - Beograd: Institut für Geschichte der Universität, Abteilung Südosteuropäische Geschichte - Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2001), 180.

1914. godine pod patronatom Nj. v. kraljice Meri, organizacija „Srpski narod u Francuskoj” (*La Nation Serbe en France*) osnovana je u Francuskoj januara 1915. godine, a u Švajcarskoj je ustanovljen niz manjih organizacija koje su sakupljale humanitarnu pomoć.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ljubinka Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine u emigraciji 1916-1918”, *Istorijski časopis*, knj. XLII–XLIII (1995–1996), 147.

public in the Allied countries, the Serbian government started to work on humanitarian organisations which would ease the wartime hardships of the Serbian people. The Serbian Relief Fund was founded in Great Britain as early as September

1914 under the patronage of Her Majesty Queen Mary, the Serbian Nation in France (*La Nation Serbe en France*) was founded in France in January 1915 and a number of smaller charities for humanitarian relief were founded in Switzerland.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ljubinka Trgovčević, “Školovanje srpske omladine u emigraciji 1916–1918”, *Istorijski časopis*, knj. XLII–XLIII (1995–1996), 147.

## 2.2 Školovanje u inostranstvu - Grčka, Francuska, Italija, Rusija i Švajcarska

Grčka je postala i do kraja rata ostala centralna lokacija srpske uprave u izbeglištvu, a samim tim i glavno područje za neposredno delovanje Ministarstva prosvete i crkvenih dela. Već u februaru 1916. počela je da radi improvizovana Gimnazija na Krfu, koju je pohađalo nekoliko desetina srpskih đaka, a 6. aprila otvorena je osnovna škola sa dečjim zabavištem, koja je kroz nekoliko meseci imala 138 đaka, a 1917. već njih 237.<sup>12</sup> U osnovnim školama u Vodenu, Soviću i Soroviću s proleća 1916. godine bio je smešten 191 đak.<sup>13</sup> Predratna Bitoljska gimnazija formalno je preseljena u Volos po-

četkom avgusta 1916. i posle nekoliko meseci brojala je oko 300 učenika. Oni su bili ili završni razred gimnazije, skupljeni iz svih krajeva Srbije, ili maturanti kojima je omogućeno polaganje maturalnih ispita, ili gimnazisti otpušteni iz vojske, kojima su bili potrebni razni dopunski tečajevi. Škola je bila uređena kao internat, u okviru kojeg je postojao i bolnički pansion, a sve je organizovano pod nadzorom delegata Ministarstva prosvete u Solunu. Pored adekvatnog broja srpskih profesora, škola je imala i četiri francuska profesora. Takođe, osim redovnog gimnazijskog kurikuluma,

<sup>12</sup> Isto.

<sup>13</sup> *Domovina, ilustrovani kalendar za 1918. Godinu* (Krf: Ministarstvo prosvete i crkvenih poslova, 1918), 154.

## 2.2 Education Abroad - Greece, France, Italy, Russia and Switzerland

Until the end of the war, Greece had become the central location of the Serbian institutions in exile, and by extension the main area of the direct operations of the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs. As early as February 1916, an improvised grammar school on the island of Corfu started working and was attended by several dozens of children. On 6<sup>th</sup> April the first primary school with a kindergarten began its operation and had 137 pupils after several months and 237 in 1917.<sup>12</sup> In primary schools in Edessa, Sovich and Amyntaio 191 pupils were housed in the spring of 1916.<sup>13</sup> The pre-war grammar school

in Bitola was moved to Volos in the early August of 1916 and after several months had some 300 students. For the most part, they were secondary school seniors from all around Serbia, or final year students who were eligible to sit their final examinations, or ex-grammar school students discharged from the army that needed various remedial classes. This grammar school was organised as a boarding school with an adjoining ambulance, all under the supervision of the delegate of the Ministry of Education in Thessaloniki. Beside the appropriate number of Serbian teachers, the school also had four French teach-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Domovina, ilustrovani kalendar za 1918. godinu* (Corfu: Ministarstvo prosvete i crkvenih poslova, 1918), 154.

u gimnaziji su bili otvoreni i učiteljski i bogoslovski tečajevi. Srbija je 9. novembra 1915. sa Francuskom potpisala poseban sporazum o obrazovanju, po kome je ova saveznička zemlja Francuska primala određen, unapred dogovoren broj učenika i nastavnika. Jednom broju učenika odobreno besplatno školovanje, do iznosa koji su pokrivala za to namenjena sredstva. Francuska Skupština donela je 26. novembra 1915. odluku o prihvatu 500 srpske dece i uputila cirkularnu notu internatima, raspitujući se o slobodnim mestima i uslovima za njihovo obrazovanje.<sup>14</sup> Istovremeno je izglasan i početni namenski budžet od 100.000 franaka, a potom osnovan i Univerzitetski komitet za pomoć srpskoj omladini. Francusko Ministarstvo prosvete je 1. decembra 1916. godine poslalo upite na adrese univerziteta i liceja o broju srpskih učenika koje bi eventualno mogli da prime. Odziv je bio dobar i pored činjenice da je Francuska već bila zapljusnuta talasom izbeglica iz pograničnih delova zemlje, okrenutih prema Nemačkoj i Belgiji, kao i iz same Belgije. Do sredine februara 1916. u Francusku je stiglo 1150 đaka, koji su bili raspoređeni u nizu mesta,

delom zahvaljujući organizaciji vlade u Parizu, ali znatnim delom i zalaganjem lokalnih vlasti. „Velika Srbija” je 28. aprila 1916. prenela zvaničan izveštaj „Srpskih novina” da je u tom trenutku u Francuskoj bilo oko 3000 srpskih đaka, poslatih iz Albanije (800), sa Krfa (650) i iz Soluna (1350). Od njih je približno oko 2000 bilo raspoređeno u oko 50 škola, uključujući i škole na Korzici i u Alžiru. Za brigu o njima bilo je zaduženo novoosnovano Prosvetno odeljenje u Parizu, pod upravom Jovana Žujovića, kao i njemu podređen prosvetni delegat u Marseju, Dragomir Obradović.<sup>15</sup> Nakon što je prva grupa od 766 srpskih đaka stigla u Francusku početkom 1916. godine, francuski ambasador u Londonu Pol Kambon zvanično je o tome obavestio britansku vladu, postavivši pritom pitanje da li će Velika Britanija učiniti sličan korak. Paralelno s tim, Srpski potporni fond kontaktirao je britanske vlasti i ispitivao uslove za prihvatanje dece. Moćnost francuskog uticaja na srpske đake umnogome je delovala na rezonovanje britanskih vlasti, a ser Ralf Pedžet potcrtao je francusku želju da drži Britaniju podalje od tog posla. Harold Nikolson, istaknuti britanski

<sup>14</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 148.

<sup>15</sup> *Velika Srbija*, br. 19, 28. april 1916, 3.

ers. Alongside the regular grammar school curriculum, theology and teacher-training courses were set up as well.

On 9<sup>th</sup> November 1915, Serbia and France had signed an educational agreement whereby the allied France took in a predefined number of Serbian students and teachers. Free education was provided for a number of children, up to a previously agreed cost. On 26<sup>th</sup> November 1915, the French Parliament decided on the acceptance of 500 Serbian children and issued a note to boarding schools nationwide asking about free spaces and educational conditions for these children.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, the initial budget of 100,000 francs was voted in, and the University Committee for Aid of Serbian Children was established. The French Ministry of Education sent further questionnaires on 1<sup>st</sup> December to various universities and lyceums regarding the number of Serbian children they could possibly accept. The response was good in spite of the fact that France had already been awash with the waves of its own refugees from the borderlands with Germany and Belgium, as well as with the Belgian refugees. By the mid-

February 1916 some 1,150 pupils and students had arrived to France and were settled at a number of locations through the actions of the French government and the strong involvement of the local authorities. On 28<sup>th</sup> April 1916 *Velika Srbija* (*The Great Serbia*) reprinted an official report from *Srpske novine* (*The Serbian News*) stating that some 3,000 pupils and students sent from Albania (800), Corfu (650) and Thessaloniki (1,350), had already been settled in France. Some 2,000 of them were settled in 50 schools, including those in Corsica and Algiers. They were cared for by the newly-established Educational Department in Paris, under the stewardship of Jovan Žujović and his subordinate, educational delegate in Marseilles, Dragomir Obradović.<sup>15</sup>

Following the arrival of the first group of 766 pupils to France in early 1916, the French Ambassador in London, Paul Cambon, officially notified the British government, simultaneously asking if the Great Britain would take a similar step. At the same time, the Serbian Relief Fund had contacted the British authorities and inquired about the possibilities of bringing the children to Britain. The possibil-

<sup>14</sup> Trgovčević, “Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 148.

<sup>15</sup> *Velika Srbija*, no. 19, 28<sup>th</sup> April 1916, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 148-149.

<sup>17</sup> Isto, 152.

<sup>18</sup> Gertruda Karington Vajld je bila britanska dobrotvorka i jedna od najistaknutijih i najaktivnijih članica Srpskog potpornog fonda. O njoj nije sačuvano puno podataka i ne znaju se pouzdano ni godine njenog rođenja ni smrti. Nalazila se na čelu obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda. Za svoje zasluge nagrađena je brojnim medaljama, između ostalih i Ordenom svetog Save II stepena.

<sup>19</sup> Milenko Vesnić (1863-1921) je bio srpski pravnik, političar i diplomata. U svojoj bogatoj karijeri obavljao je dužnosti profesora na Visokoj školi u Beogradu, narodnog poslanika, ministra prosvete i predsednika vlade. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je srpski poslanik u Parizu.

<sup>20</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 150-151.

diplomata, smatrao je da je zapravo posredi nešto više od puke filantropije, jer „će sva srpska studentska generacija biti raspoređena po francuskim licejima i da će buduća Srbija biti prožeta francuskim idealima i načинима mišljenja”.<sup>16</sup> Pedžet i Nikolson nisu grešili u proceni – tokom debata u francuskom Senatu rečeno je da „ne treba gubiti iz vida da mladi Srbi mogu da se okrenu ka drugim zemljama: Italiji, Rusiji, Engleskoj, SAD, koje su naši rivali na teritoriji Srbije u svim pogledima, posebno trgovačkim”.<sup>17</sup> Posleratni uticaj je svakako bio jedan od dominantnih motiva celokupnog ovog poduhvata. Tako je počelo tiho nadigravanje dveju saveznica, čiji je cilj bilo stvaranje kulturnih veza među izbeglim đacima i studentima, kao i naklonost buduće srpske inteligencije.

Iako je Forin ofis ostao pri uzdržanom stavu po tom pitanju, pojedinci su preuzeli na sebe aktivniju ulogu. Predstavnica Srpskog potpornog fonda Gertruda Karington Vajld<sup>18</sup> obišla je oko 500 srpskih izbeglica u Mon Dofanu, dok su njeni saradnici obilazili srpske ranjenike u britanskim bolnicama. Isto tako, sekretar Fonda, Robert Siton-Votson, javio je Forin ofisu

16. marta 1916. da je u Parizu postigao sporazum sa srpskim ambasadorom Milenom Vesnićem<sup>19</sup> da se 300 dece, čiji se dolazak očekivao u Marselju, preusmeri na školovanje u Veliku Britaniju. „Bolje da se držimo podalje od toga”, bio je stav iz Forin ofisa, koji je smatrao da je u vezi sa školovanjem srpske omladine potrebna formalnija akcija srpske vlade prema Londonu, kako se ne bi po tom pitanju otvarao problem između Pariza i Londona. Takva akcija sa srpske strane usledila je naredbom Nikole Pašića od 26. marta da se 300 dece prebaci sa Krfa direktno u Veliku Britaniju, što nije moglo biti ispunjeno, jer su deca, po prethodnom dogovoru, već bila pristigla u Francusku. No, od tog trenutka svakako se može govoriti o zvaničnom, državnom pokroviteljstvu nad celim projektom školovanja srpske omladine u Velikoj Britaniji.<sup>20</sup> Ilustrovani kalendar „Domovina”, u izdanju Ministarstva prosvete iz 1918. godine, pruža dobar uvid u organizaciju rada i učeničkog života u izbegličkim okolnostima. Najveći broj dece bio je lociran u Francuskoj. Na Korzici su otvorene tri osnovne škole za ukupno 204 učenika, koje su bile vezane za postojeće izbegličke kolonije, gde

ity of a French influence over the Serbian pupils and students had an immense effect on the reasoning of the British authorities, and Sir Ralph Paget pointed out a French ambition to keep Great Britain away from that endeavour. Harold Nicolson, a prominent British diplomat, thought that more than mere philanthropy was involved, because “the whole Serbian student generation would be settled in French lyceums and the future Serbia will be imbued with French ideals and ways of thinking”.<sup>16</sup> Paget and Nicolson were not wrong in their assessments - during the debates in the French Senate it was said that “one should not lose sight of the possibility that young Serbs could turn to other countries: Italy, Russia, England, and the USA, which are our rivals in the Serbian land in every way, especially commercial”.<sup>17</sup> The post-war influence was surely one of the dominant motives for this entire undertaking. So the silent outdueling of the two Allies for the creation of cultural relations amongst the refugee pupils and students, as well as for the loyalty of the future Serbian elite, had begun.

Even though the Foreign Office had remained somewhat reserved re-

garding the idea, certain individuals took more active steps. A representative of the Serbian Relief Fund, Gertrude Carrington Wilde,<sup>18</sup> had visited some 500 Serbian refugees in Mont-Dauphin while her associates visited wounded Serbian soldiers in British hospitals. Also, the Secretary of the Fund, Robert Seton-Watson informed the Foreign Office on 16<sup>th</sup> March 1916 that he had reached an agreement with the Serbian Minister Milenko Vesnić<sup>19</sup> to re-route 300 Serbian children expected to arrive to Marseilles towards Great Britain for education. “We’d better stay clear of that” was the immediate response from the Foreign Office, which thought that the eventual task of educating Serbian refugee children required a prior and formal approach by the Serbian government to London, in order to assure that no issues regarding the matter would arise between Paris and London. Such an approach was made on 26<sup>th</sup> March by the order of Nikola Pašić to transfer the said 300 children directly from Corfu to Britain, but it could not be accomplished since the children had already arrived in France per prior arrangement. However, from that moment on we can speak of an official, state sponsorship

<sup>16</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 148–149.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 152.

<sup>18</sup> Gertrude Carrington Wilde was a British benefactor and one of the most prominent and active members of the Serbian Relief Fund. Not many details are known about her, not even reliable years of birth and death. She was at the head of the Serbian Relief Fund's Educational Subcommittee. For her merits she was awarded numerous medals, including the Saint Sava Order, II class.

<sup>19</sup> Milenko Vesnić (1863–1921) was a Serbian jurist, politician and diplomat. During his distinguished career, he held positions of a professor at the Grand School in Belgrade, Member of Parliament, Minister of Education and President of the Council of Ministers. During the First World War he was the Serbian Minister in Paris.

su roditelji boravili zajedno sa decom. U Alžiru je u sedam škola bilo raspoređeno 44 učenika, a u Kormeju kod Pariza 28 učenika pohađalo je jednu privatnu osnovnu školu. Internat Darinke Grujić je nekoliko meseci nakon državnog udara u Atini avgusta 1916. preseljen iz Novog Falera u Nicu, gde je pod imenom „Srpsko-američki zavod za srpsku decu” finansiran od strane američkog dobrotvora Džona Frotingema, zeta profesora Sime Lozanića, i u njemu se školovalo 24 učenika i 19 učenica. Tako je u osnovnim školama bilo razmešteno 319 učenika, od toga 200 dečaka i 119 devojčica. Dece koja su pohađala srednju školu bilo je daleko više. U francuskom obrazovnom sistemu postojalo je tri tipa srednjih škola - liceji i koledži (gde su liceji bili državni, a koledži uglavnom privatni), u kojima je država plaćala deo osoblja, kao i izvestan broj stipendista, te više osnovne škole od tri razreda, u koje se stupalo nakon završetka obične petogodišnje osnovne škole. Od školske 1917/18. godine, sva srpska deca koja su inicijalno bila smeštena u višim osnovnim školama razmeštena su po licejima i koledžima. U 16 muških i četiri ženska liceja bilo je raspoređeno 445 učeni-

ka i 45 učenica, u 26 muških i četiri ženska koledža 590 učenika i 87 učenica, a u devet muških i osam ženskih osnovnih škola ukupno 175 učenika i 100 učenica. U specijalizovanim, mahom učiteljskim školama, bilo je smešteno 25 učenika i 61 učenica. Srpska gimnazija u Nici brojala je 511 đaka, a Đački bataljon u Žosijeju, koji je postojao od maja 1916. do kraja 1917. godine - još 114 đaka. Tako je srednje škole, mahom francuske i poslednje dve nabrojane - srpske, pohađalo 1860 učenika i 302 učenice, ukupno 2162 đaka. Ocene Ministarstva prosvete s početka 1918. godine govore da su đaci tokom prve godine školovanja uspešno savladali jezičku barijeru, a da su od druge mogli u razumno velikoj meri da učestvuju u nastavi koju su organizovali francuski domaćini. Oko tri četvrtine učenika redovno je prošlo u viši razred posle prve godine učenja, dok je ostalima dozvoljeno da polažu ispite naknadno i uhvate priključak. Pored prevazilaženja jezičke barijere, Ministarstvo je ocenilo da je i ponašanje učenika znatno popravljeno nakon prve godine boravka, da nije bilo većih izgreda i da su samo pojedinci isključivani iz škola i slati u izbegličke kampove. Za školsku 1917/18.

of the entire project of educating Serbian children in Great Britain.<sup>20</sup>

Illustrated yearbook *Domovina* (*Homeland*) published by the Ministry of Education in 1918 gives a good insight into the organisation of students' work and life in exile. The greatest number of children was located in France. Three elementary schools were opened in Corsica for 204 pupils, adjacent to the existing refugee colonies where the parents lived together with their children. Forty-four pupils attended seven schools in Algiers while 28 pupils were enrolled in a private school in Cormeilles-en-Parisis. Darinka Grujić's boarding school in Neo Faliro near Athens was moved to Nice following the unrests in Athens in August 1916, where, under the name of Serbian-American Institute for Serbian Children, was financed by the American benefactor John W. Frothingham, a son-in-law of the professor Sima Lozanić, and housed 24 boys and 19 girls. Thus, 319 children (200 boys and 119 girls) were taught in primary schools in France. The number of secondary school students was much higher. The French educational system had three types of secondary schools - lyceums and col-

leges (lyceums were state-owned and colleges were for the most part private) in which the state paid part of the staff and a number of scholarship students, and higher primary schools attended by the pupils who had finished the five-year primary schools. Starting with the 1917/18 academic year, all of the Serbian children that had initially been enrolled into higher primary schools were transferred to lyceums and colleges. In sixteen boys' and four girls' lyceums there were 445 boys and 45 girls, in twenty six boys' and four girls' colleges there were 590 boys and 87 girls and in nine boys' and eight girls' primary schools there were 175 boys and 100 girls. In specialised, mostly teacher-training schools, there were 25 boys and 65 girls. Serbian grammar school in Nice had 511 students and a Student Battalion located in Jausiers and active from May 1916 to the end of 1917 had 114 students. There were 2,162 students, 1,860 boys and 302 girls in total, in French and Serbian secondary schools. The evaluations done by the Serbian Ministry of Education in early 1918 stated that the students had overcome the language barrier during their first school year, and that from the second year they were

<sup>20</sup> Trgovčević, "Školovanje srpske omladine...", 150-151.

pripremljeno je Đačko odmaralište u Mentonu kod Nice, u koje su upućivani bolesni đaci. U mestu je bilo zakupljeno nekoliko vila, u kojima je u svakom trenutku boravilo nekoliko desetina đaka. Od ozbiljnijih bolesti đaci su se lečili u posebnom sanatorijumu na Korzici. Nažalost, nisu svi životi mogli biti sačuvani - u školskoj 1917/18. u Francuskoj je umrlo 13 srpskih učenika.<sup>21</sup>

Kako vidimo, većina učenika bila je uklopljena u redovan francuski obrazovni sistem i razmeštena u francuske škole ili u „kopiju” srpske gimnazije u Nici. Posebnu organizacionu formu pri Ministarstvu činio je Đački bataljon, čije je postojanje nalagalo ratno vreme i izbeglički položaj srpske prosvete. On je formiran maja 1916. godine, za đake koji su bili rođeni 1897. godine. Bataljon je imao tri čete, od kojih su dve bile smeštene u Žozijeu, a jedna u Mont Dofanu. Nastava je imala kombinovani civilno-vojni program, po planu srpskog Ministarstva prosvete, a pod nadzorom Prosvetnog odeljenja u Parizu, a sprovodili su je rezervni oficiri koji su pre rata, kao civili, bili redovni nastavnici. Troškove nastave, obuke, hrane i smeštaja Đačkog bataljona snosilo je

francusko Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova. Inicijalno je bataljon brojao 353 učenika, 276 u Žozijeu i 77 u Mont Dofanu, među kojima su bili đaci učiteljskih i trgovačkih škola, gimnazija, kao i mlađi studenti i bogoslovi. Do leta 1916. oko polovina učenika, onih rođenih pre 1897, upućeno je u Bizeru, a 57 svršenih maturanata dalje na univerzitete. Preostalih 114 učenika završilo je narednu godinu u sklopu bataljona. Oni koji su maturirali, redovno su upućeni na univerzitete, dok su preostali poslani u Srpsku gimnaziju u Nici.<sup>22</sup>

Kalendar „Domovina” takođe daje pregled organizacije univerzitetske nastave i studentskog života. Iz Srbije je, kroz izbegništvo, u Francusku stiglo 268 studenata, a posle mature ih je upisano još 422, od toga 630 muškaraca i 60 žena. Njih 547 primalo je srpsku državnu pomoć, 96 francuske državne stipendije, 45 pomoć francuskih dobrotvornih organizacija, dok je 2 studenta izdržavao jedan francuski skupštinski poslanik. U pogledu stručnog opredeljenja najviše je bilo medicinara - 221, pravnika 200, tehničara 153, a njih 116 studiralo je razne društvene nauke. Specifičan problem postojao je sa studentima Tehničkog

<sup>21</sup> *Domovina*, 147-148.

<sup>22</sup> *Isto*, 149.

able to participate reasonably well in the regular French classes. Approximately three quarters of students regularly passed all of their classes, while others were allowed to take additional exams and catch up. Beside overcoming the language barrier the Ministry stated that the students' behaviour was considerably better in the second year, that there were no major incidents and that only a few were expelled and sent to regular refugee camps. A students' holiday home in Menton near Nice was prepared for the 1917/18 academic year, with sick students being the primary guests. Several villas were rented in the area and they housed several dozen students at any time. More serious health problems were treated in a special sanatorium in Corsica. Sadly, not all of the lives could be saved - in the 1917/18 academic year thirteen Serbian students had died in France.<sup>21</sup>

As we can see, most of the students were integrated into the regular French educational system and enrolled in a number of French schools or a "copy" of the Serbian grammar school in Nice. The Student Battalion was a special organisational form within the Ministry, whose existence was a product of war circumstances

and the refugee status of the Serbian educational system. It was established in May 1916 for the boys born in 1897. It had three companies, two of which were located in Jausiers and one in Mont-Dauphin. Its curriculum was of a combined civilian-military type, designed by the Serbian Ministry of Education under the supervision of the Educational Department in Paris and carried out by the reserve officers who were teachers in their civilian lives. The expenses of education, military training, food and housing were paid by the French Ministry of the Interior. Initially, the battalion had 353 students, 276 in Jausiers and 77 in Mont-Dauphin, including the students of teaching and trading schools, grammar schools and younger university students and theologians. By the summer of 1916, one half of the group, those born before 1897, were sent to Bizerte and 57 matriculates were transferred to universities. The remainder of 114 students finished secondary school within the battalion. Matriculates were again sent to universities while a small number of others was sent to the grammar school in Nice.<sup>22</sup>

The *Domovina* yearbook gives us an overview of the university classes and

<sup>21</sup> *Domovina*, 147–148.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 149.

fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu. Naime, francuski obrazovni sistem nije imao takav fakultet, već samo fakultete užih stručnih profila, pa je napravljena podela tako da su studenti nižih godina upućeni u Specijalnu školu za javne radove u Arkeju, a oni sa viših godina – u Lion i Grenobl. Uprava Specijalne škole za javne radove odobrila je da srpski studenti uče delimično po srpskom kurikulumu, kako bi kasnije eventualno mogli lakše da završe matični fakultet, po povratku u zemlju. Ocene Ministarstva prosvete o dočeku srpskih studenata, te njihovom snalaženju i vladanju u Francuskoj bile su veoma povoljne, a bazirale su se na redovnim proverama koje je sprovodio inspektor Ministarstva pri Prosvetnom odeljenju u Parizu.<sup>23</sup>

Budući neutralna država u Prvom svetskom ratu, Švajcarska nije bila sklona da se upušta u organizovan prihvata izbeglica, a još manje da sa nekom od zaraćenih strana sklapa državne sporazume u vezi sa tim pitanjem. Stoga je i srpska Vlada pokazivala nezainteresovanost prema Švajcarskoj, ne nadajući se da će ona, poput Francuske s kraja 1915. godine, preuzeti na sebe troškove prihvata i

obrazovanja izbegle srpske omladine. Ministarstvo prosvete vodilo je zato načelnu politiku da ne upućuje svoje učenike i studente u Švajcarsku, već je samo nastojalo da omogući završetak školovanja onim studentima koji su započeli studije u toj zemlji pre rata ili u toku rata pre jeseni 1915. godine, dok su novi studenti upućivani u Francusku. Životne okolnosti nisu dozvoljavale potpuno ispunjavanje ovih smernica. Tako je Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova nastavilo podršku školovanja 12 lekara i tri farmaceuta u Švajcarskoj, jer su studenti bili upisani na univerzitetu u nemačkom govornom području ili su izbegli iz Nemačke i Austrougarske, pa bi se njihovim prebacivanjem u Francusku stvorio novi jezički problem. Takođe, postojali su i problemi nostrifikacije položenih ispita, te su ovi studenti, i pored želje francuskih vlasti da ih prime, ostali u Švajcarskoj.<sup>24</sup> Za njihove studije ostalo je nadležno Prosvetno odeljenje u Parizu, pod rukovodstvom Jovana Cvijića<sup>25</sup>, koji je i pre toga privatnom inicijativom pokušao da poboljša položaj tamošnjih učenika. Italija nije pokazivala interesovanje za prihvata srpskih učenika. Svega nekoliko studenata boravilo je na tamoš-

<sup>23</sup> *Isto*, 149–150.

<sup>24</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 152.

<sup>25</sup> Jovan Cvijić (1865–1927), bio je jedan od najvećih srpskih naučnika, profesor Univerziteta u Beogradu, osnivač Srpskog geografskog društva i predsednik Srpske kraljevske akademije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata obavljao je brojne prosvetne i političke funkcije.

student life. In total, 268 Serbian refugee students had arrived to France, and 422 have been enrolled into universities after their matriculation, 630 of whom were boys and 60 girls. Most of them, 547, were recipients of the Serbian state aid, 96 had French state scholarships, 45 received charities' aid and two students were financed by a French member of parliament. Regarding their trades - 221 were medical students, 200 law students, 153 studied civil engineering and 116 were in arts and humanities. A specific problem arose with the students from the Technical Faculty of the University of Belgrade. The French educational system had no counterpart to this faculty, but had a number of highly specialised faculties, so the students attending the first and second year were sent to the Special School for Public Works in Arcueil while the third and fourth year students were sent to the engineering schools in Lyon and Grenoble. The administration of the Special School in Arcueil allowed parts of the Serbian curriculum to be taught so that the students could graduate from their own faculty more easily once they returned to Serbia. Notes from the Ministry of Education on the reception of

the students and their adaptation and behaviour in France were very positive, and were based on regular checks by its own inspectors within the Educational Department in Paris.<sup>23</sup>

Having been neutral in the First World War, Switzerland was not keen on an organised reception of refugees, and even less on making any contractual arrangements with any of the warring parties regarding the issue. Therefore, the Serbian government did not pursue the matter regarding Switzerland, harbouring no hope that it would, like France at the end of 1915, undertake the cost of accommodation and education of the Serbian children refugees. In the light of this, the Ministry of Education had a policy of avoiding Switzerland as a possible destination for its school-age children, and had only tried to help those students that had already been studying in Switzerland prior to autumn 1915 to finish their studies, while new students were sent to France. Life circumstances did not allow for a full execution of such policy. Thus, the Ministry of Interior had continued to support twelve students of medicine and pharmacy in Switzerland, since they had been studying

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 149–150.

njim univerzitetima pred rat i sve do početka 1918. nije postojala institucionalizovana saradnja dveju država. Tek tada se otvara Prosvetno odeljenje u Rimu, pod rukovodstvom profesora Tehničkog fakulteta dr Vladimira Mitrovića.<sup>26</sup> On je organizovao prihvatanje manje grupe studenata arhitekture i lepih umetnosti, tako da je Ministarstvo prosvete stipendiralo ukupno 8 studenata, a ostale su finansirali roditelji ili su studirali zahvaljujući privatnim donacijama.<sup>27</sup> Rusko Ministarstvo prosvete je u Rusiji finansiralo školovanje oko 260 dece, koja su uglavnom preko Rumunije izbegla u Rusiju. Ruska crkva školovala je 50 bogoslova, a u Slavjanskom pansionu bilo je 13 učenika, što je ukupno 323 učenika, od kojih je najveći deo, usled revolucionarnog meteža, tokom 1918. godine prebačen u Grčku i Veliku Britaniju.

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<sup>26</sup> Vladimir Mitrović (1872-1941), bio je inženjer, univerziterski profesor i rektor Univerziteta u Beogradu.

<sup>27</sup> *Domovina*, 150.

at German-speaking universities or had left their studies in Germany or Austria-Hungary, and the transfer to France would create a new language issue. Also, there were issues with recognition of academic diplomas, so they had stayed in Switzerland even though the French were willing to accept them.<sup>24</sup> The authority over these students was in the hands of the Educational Department in Paris and Jovan Cvijić<sup>25</sup>, who used his personal initiative to improve their position.

Italy did not show any interest in accepting Serbian students. Only a small number of them was enrolled in Italian universities before the war, and until the beginning of 1918 there was no institutionalised cooperation between the two countries. The Educational Depart-

ment in Rome was opened just before the end of the war, under the leadership of Vladimir Mitrović<sup>26</sup>, a professor at the Technical Faculty in Belgrade. He had organised the arrival of a small group of architecture and beaux arts students, eight of whom were on state scholarships and several others were financed by their parents or through private donations.<sup>27</sup> The Russian Ministry of Education had financed some 260 pupils and students that had escaped to Russia via Romania. The Russian Orthodox Church took care of 50 theology students and Slav-ansk Boarding School had thirteen pupils, which amounted to 323 school-age children in total, most of whom were transferred to Greece and Great Britain in 1918 during the revolutionary turmoil.

<sup>24</sup> Trgovčević, "Školovanje srpske omladine...", 152.

<sup>25</sup> Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927) was one of the greatest Serbian scientists, professor at the University of Belgrade, founder of the Serbian Geographical Society and a Chairman of the Serbian Royal Academy. During the First World War he performed a number of educational and political functions.

<sup>26</sup> Vladimir Mitrović (1872-1941) was an engineer, university professor and the President of the University of Belgrade.

<sup>27</sup> *Domovina*, 150.

## 2.3 Materijalne i druge poteškoće

Država je imala načelnu obavezu da za učenike i nastavnike obezbedi izvesna materijalna sredstva, za njihove stipendije, stan, odeću i hranu. Potrebe su se proračunavale u skladu sa finansijskim mogućnostima države, ali i prema postojećim načinima finansiranja kroz pomoć drugih država, dobrotvornih organizacija i privatnih lica. Presek stanja za mesec januar 1918. godine pruža nešto detaljniji uvid u budžetske izdatake. Tako je Prosvetno odeljenje u Parizu tražilo 412.202 franaka, Prosvetni inspektor u Londonu 2000 funti, delegat Ministarstva prosvete u Ženevi

4000 švajcarskih franaka, delegat Ministarstva prosvete u Solunu 38.867 drahmi i Gimnazija u Volosu 65.710 drahmi. Procena ukupnog budžeta za 1918. bila je između 6 i 7 miliona franaka. Skupštinski odbor je tražene iznose redovno odobravao, ali je kod ministra prosvete pokušavao da izdejsvuje promenu u načinu finansiranja đaka. Naime, Odbor je smatrao da ne treba sva deca da budu stipendirana o državnom trošku, već da se mora napraviti razlika prema imovnom stanju, te da deca iz bogatijih porodica ne bi trebalo da se finansiraju državnim novcem, već novcem svojih rodi-

## *2.3 Financial and Other Difficulties*

The state had a general responsibility to provide some financial assistance to students and teachers, for scholarships, housing, clothing and food. These needs were subject to the overall state financial capabilities but were also calculated in accordance with the help received from other countries, various charities and private donors. The balance for January 1918 gives us a detailed view into the budgetary requests and expenses. The Educational Department in Paris had asked for 411,202 francs, the Educational Inspector in London had asked for £2,000, the delegate

in Geneva had asked for 4,000 Swiss francs, the delegate in Thessaloniki for 38,867 drachmas and the grammar school in Volos had asked for 65,710 drachmas. The full budget estimate for education in 1918 came at 6-7 million francs. The Parliamentary Committee would generally approve the requested sums but had asked the Minister to make a change in the way the children were financed. The Committee thought that not all of the children should be eligible for state aid and that some stratification must be done according to their personal financial position so that the children

telja. Odbor je takođe pozivao na to da Ministarstvo prosvete u potpunosti preuzme nadležnost nad školovanjem đaka, jer su za pojedine manje grupe đaka bile nadležne još četiri institucije – Ministarstvo vojno, Ministarstvo privrede, Ministarstvo unutrašnjih dela (zubari i babice) i Ministarstvo građevina.<sup>28</sup> Država je u toku rata povećavala svoje rashode za prosvetu, a posebno za trošak učenika u inostranstvu, tako da su se mesečni rashodi do kraja 1918. godine povećali do oko 750.000 franaka.<sup>29</sup> Iako je vremenom prevazilažen, jezički problem je ostao glavna preokupacija za decu koja su se školovala u stranim školama, te je srpska vlada rešila da osnuje svoje škole u ino-

stranstvu. Tokom 1916. otvorene su tri namenske škole, u Mont Dofenu, Virivilu i Vorepu, kako bi se na početku školovanja prevazišla jezička barijera, a potom i Srpsko-američki zavod za srpsku decu u Nici, kao i Srpska srednja škola. Za decu smeštenu u hraniteljskim porodicama srpski učitelji organizovali su i dodatnu nastavu iz maternjeg jezika i nacionalne istorije, kako bi se prevazišao uticaj otuđenosti i sprečio eventualni gubitak nacionalnog identiteta. Školovanje dece u grupama bilo je poželjnije rešenje od slanja pojedinaca u strana odeljenja, jer je boravak među vršnjacima iz domovine makar malo ublažavao šok zbog izmeštanja od roditelja i dolaska u novu sredinu.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Izveštaj skupštinskog parlamentarnog odbora za kontrolu utroška vanrednog kredita od 200 miliona dinara*, (Krf: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1918), 26.

<sup>29</sup> Dušica Bojić, *Srpske izbeglice u Prvom svetskom ratu (1914-1921)* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007), 445.

<sup>30</sup> Trgovčević, „Children in Emigration...”, 187.

from the wealthier families were supported by their parents and not by the state. The Committee had also persistently asked for the unification of jurisdiction over the educational process under the Ministry of Education, because four more ministries - of War, Commerce, Interior (dentists and midwives) and Construction - were financing smaller student groups.<sup>28</sup> The educational costs had steadily risen throughout the war, and especially for the expenses of students abroad, so the monthly expenditure by the end of 1918 was 750,000 francs.<sup>29</sup>

Even though the language barriers had been overcome over time, it remained the main issue for the children at foreign schools, and the Ser-

bian government decided to open its own schools in the Allied countries. Three schools were opened in 1916 in Mont-Dauphin, Viriville and Voreppe to help students with the language issues, and similar courses were set up at the Serbian-American Institute for Serbian Children and Serbian Grammar School. Special courses were set up for children housed in foster families, where Serbian teachers held additional lessons in Serbian and national history in order to overcome the effect of isolation and possible loss of national identity. It was more preferable to have Serbian children in their own groups than to put them individually in foreign classes, since it somewhat alleviated the shock of separation from their families and coming to a completely new environment.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Izveštaj skupštinskog parlamentarnog odbora za kontrolu utroška vanrednog kredita od 200 miliona dinara*, (Corfu: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1918), 26.

<sup>29</sup> Dušica Bojić, *Srpske izbeglice u Prvom svetskom ratu (1914-1921)* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007), 445.

<sup>30</sup> Trgovčević, "Children in Emigration...", 187.

## 2.4 Privatna inicijativa

Pored sistemskih rešenja kroz zakonske predloge i rad vlade u izbeglištvu, obrazovanje omladine zavisilo je i od iskazane privatne inicijative. Krajem 1916. godine, Jovan Tomić je preko Ženeve, gde su cirkulisali brojni srpski političari, i Pariza, gde je, pored toga, postojalo i Prosvetno odeljenje, pokušavao da sačini program rada sa omladinom u emigraciji, koji bi imao široke edukativne osnove, ali bi istovremeno i uključivao praktičan rad u privredi savezničkih zemalja, sve do povratka u domovinu. Njegovi kontakti sa Jovanom Cvijićem u Parizu nisu doveli do praktičnih rezultata

- Cvijić je, po Tomićevom svedočenju, bio skeptičan i prema privatnim poduhvatima i, posebno, prema vlastima, s kojima se, kako je tvrdio, „ne može raditi”.<sup>31</sup> Razočarani Tomić potom piše pismo kralju Petru, navodeći da „čuvanje i spremanje ovog malog ali sigurnog podmlatka, koji predstavlja kapital uložen za dugi niz godina, treba da bude jedna od tačaka državnog programa...”. Dalje u pismu Tomić napominje: „pa neka se pođe i sa gledišta interesa, čini mi se da ovi nigde u potpunosti ne podudaraju kao u ovom pitanju: interes mladeži o kojoj se mora starati baš zato što je

<sup>31</sup> Jovan Tomić, *Jugoslavija u emigraciji...*, 306.

## 2.4 *Private Initiative*

Beside systemic solutions through legislation and overall work of the government in exile, children's education relied on private initiatives. Towards the end of 1916, Jovan Tomić ventured in Geneva, that saw a host of Serbian politicians, and Paris, that was a home to the large Educational Department, to create a special programme of working with the refugee youth on a wider educational basis that would include practical work in commerce of the Allied countries until their return to the homeland. His contacts with Jovan Cvijić in Paris failed to yield practical results - by Tomić's own account Cvijić was sceptical

towards private endeavours and especially towards the government officials with whom "one cannot work".<sup>31</sup> Disappointed, Tomić then wrote a letter to King Peter saying that "the preservation and preparation of this small but trustworthy youth that represents the capital invested in the long term, should be one of the points of a state policy". Tomić continued to say that "even if we look from the interests' point of view, I feel that they do not meet anywhere else like in this point: the interest of youth which we must take care of since there is so few of them, and the interest of the state and the crown that looks after the

<sup>31</sup> Jovan Tomić, *Jugoslavija u emigraciji...*, 306.

nje malo, i interes države i krune koja se stara o dobru naroda”, tražeći pritom da se omladina u školskoj dobi izdvoji iz vojske i organizovanije uputi na završetak školovanja.<sup>32</sup> Dvanaest dana kasnije Tomić je od kralja dobio telegrafski odgovor: „Spremite predavanja”.<sup>33</sup> Vrhovna komanda ubrzo je dozvolila da mladići godišta 1897/98. budu izuzeti iz regrutacije, a potom i zahtevala da se Tomić uputi u Francusku, da izvrši pregled svih đачkih grupa i da im drži predavanja na temu rada i zahvalnosti. Međutim, budući da su pitanja obrazovanja omladine spadala u domen Ministarstva prosvete i crkvenih dela, a ne Vrhovne komande, Tomić je pismo sa navedenim zahtevima dobio od Ministarstva tek 2. januara 1918. godine, gotovo godinu dana nakon što je ceo proces započet, i to bez ikakvih odobrenih troškova za boravak i rad u Francuskoj, čak ni za stan i hranu.<sup>34</sup> Jovan Cvijić je deo 1915. proveo u Nešatelju, gde je iz prve ruke uspeo da se upozna sa položajem studenata i manjeg broja izbeglih porodica. Početkom 1916. molio je predstavnike Srpskog potpornog fonda da mu pošalju finansijsku pomoć. Sredinom marta i sredinom jula 1916. godine do-

bio je po 1000 funti pomoći, a u avgustu 1917. još 2000 funti - ukupno oko 100.000 franaka. Novcem je lično raspolagao, pomažući redovne studente ili čak direktnim uplatama rektorima ili direktorima škola. Prvenstvo su imali siromašniji i uopšte učenici u teškoj materijalnoj poziciji, što je Cvijić utvrđivao korespondencijom sa njima i konsultacijama sa srpskim konzulom u Ženevi. I posle preseljenja u Pariz, iza njega je ostao tzv. „Cvijićev fond”, pod rukovodstvom profesorâ Božidara<sup>35</sup> i Lazara Markovića<sup>36</sup> i službenika Ministarstva prosvete Dimitrija Rošua. Fond je svakog meseca pomagao između 30 i 80 studenata, a tokom 16 meseci za koje postoje podaci, utrošeno je oko 87.300 franaka. Pored toga, u Lozani je delovao Komitet za srpsku siročad, pod predsedništvom dr Arčibalda Rajsa.<sup>37</sup> Od decembra 1915. do jula 1916. godine oko pedesetoro dece prebačeno je u ovaj švajcarski grad iz oblasti Drača i Soluna, a od leta 1916. i konzulat u Ženevi uspostavio je redovni kontakt sa Komitetom, ostvarivši detaljniji uvid u njegov rad. Do kraja rata Komitet je vodio brigu o ukupno oko 100 siročadi. Osim ovih bio je aktivan i fond kojim je rukovodila Mabel Grujić<sup>38</sup>, supruga srpskog poslanika u

<sup>32</sup> *Isto*, 313.

<sup>33</sup> *Isto*, 314.

<sup>34</sup> *Isto*, 317.

<sup>35</sup> Božidar Marković (1874–1946), bio je srpski političar i pravnik, funkcioner Samostalne radikalne stranke i jedan od osnivača Demokratske stranke. Bio je profesor na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu.

<sup>36</sup> Lazar Marković (1882–1955), profesor Pravnog fakulteta Univerziteta u Beogradu i političar, prvak Narodne radikalne stranke. Obavljao je brojne funkcije u državnoj službi i diplomatiji.

<sup>37</sup> Rudolf Arčibald Rajsa (1875–1929), švajcarski forenzičar, hemičar, publicista i profesor Univerziteta u Lozani. Istraživao je zločine počinjene za vreme Prvog svetskog rata.

people's benefit", and asked that the school-age children should be withdrawn from the army and sent off to finish their education in an organised fashion.<sup>32</sup> Twelve days later, Tomić received the King's reply by telegraph: "Prepare your classes".<sup>33</sup> The Supreme Command had quickly allowed the boys born in 1897/98 to be exempted from the service, and then had asked Tomić to go to France to inspect all of the children groups and give lessons on the subject of labour and gratitude. However, such instructions were the domain of the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs and not of the Supreme Command, and Tomić received the letter with the stated requests from the Ministry on 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, practically a year after he had jumpstarted the process, and without any approved work or travel expenses while in France, not even for lodging or food.<sup>34</sup>

Jovan Cvijić spent a part of 1915 in Neuchatel, where he acquired a first-hand knowledge of the position of the students and a small number of refugee families. At the start of 1916 he asked the representatives of the Serbian Relief Fund to send him financial aid. In mid-March and

mid-July he received £1,000, and in August 1917 £2,000 - totalling to approximately 100,000 francs. He disposed of the money personally, by helping regular students or pupils by direct payments to their provosts and school directors. Poorer and generally worse-off students had a seniority in receiving aid, and that was determined by Cvijić himself through regular correspondence with students and the Serbian consul in Geneva. Following his move to Paris, he left behind a so-called "Cvijić's Fund" under the stewardship of professors Božidar<sup>35</sup> and Lazar Marković<sup>36</sup> and Dimitrije Rošuo, a civil servant at the Ministry of Education. This fund gave aid to 30-80 students each month, and for the sixteen months for which there are records total expenses reached 87,300 francs. Beside that fund, there was an active Committee for Serbian Orphans in Lausanne under the presidency of doctor Archibald Reiss.<sup>37</sup> From December 1915 to July 1916 some 50 children were relocated from Thessaloniki and Durres to this Swiss town, and from the summer of 1916 the Geneva consulate made official contacts with the committee and had a detailed insight into its work. By the end of the war, the commit-

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 313.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 314.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 317.

<sup>35</sup> Božidar Marković (1874-1946) was a Serbian politician and jurist, an official of the Independent Radical Party and one of the founders of the Democratic Party. He was a professor at the University of Belgrade's Faculty of Law.

<sup>36</sup> Lazar Marković (1882-1955), a professor at the University of Belgrade's Faculty of Law, a politician and a prominent member of the People's Radical Party. He held various state and diplomatic positions.

<sup>37</sup> Rudolph Archibald Reiss (1875-1929), a Swiss forensic scientist, chemist, publicist and a professor at the University of Lausanne. He researched war crimes committed during the First World War.

Švajcarskoj Slavka Grujića, koja se od početka rata istakla u više poduhvata čiji je cilj bio pomoć Srbiji, poput organizovanja lekarskih misija u Srbiji, te slanja humanitarne pomoći – kako u zemlju, tako i srpskim zarobljenicima u Austrougarskoj. Njen komitet bio je fokusiran na to da učenicima i studentima omogući nastavak školovanja, uglavnom kroz direktno finansiranje školarina. Najpotpuniju sliku stanja u Švajcarskoj pronalazimo u dopisu Ministarstva prosvete s jeseni 1917. godine, u kome se navodi da ukupno 189 studenata, 37 đaka trgovačkih srednjih škola i 22 đaka drugih škola, boravi na školovanju u ovoj zemlji.<sup>39</sup> Zahvaljujući privatnoj inicijativi i aktivnostima, informacije o smeštaju i životu dece i omladine u inostranim školama stizale su redovnije, kako do porodica (ako ih je bilo), tako i do šire javnosti. Srpski listovi koji su štampani u Grčkoj, poput „Velike Srbije”, re-

dovno su izveštavali o tome, ne uzdržavajući se ni od kritike srpskih vlasti. Tako „Velika Srbija” 12. aprila 1916. prenosi obaveštenje da je grupa od 12 srpskih učenika smeštenih u gimnaziji u Barseloneti u „najboljem zdravljju”. Šest dana kasnije list izveštava da je gospođica Komb, saradnica dr Rajsa, posle odvođenja grupe dece u privatni smeštaj i na školovanje u Lozanu, poslala iscrpno obaveštenje o hraniteljskim porodicama u koju je svako pojedinačno dete smešteno, „što nije učinio nijedan od srpskih nastavnika koji su poslani od solunskog konzulata za šefove pojedinih grupa u Francuskoj”.<sup>40</sup> Posle nekoliko dana u „Velikoj Srbiji” počeli su se objavljivati uredni spiskovi dece u Francuskoj, prema školama u koje su upućeni, uz podatke o nastavnicima-šefovima grupa. Takva praksa je ustaljena i nastavljena do kraja rata. Poseban aspekt izbegličkog razmešta-

<sup>38</sup> Mabel Grujić (1881-1956), Amerikanka, supruga srpskog diplomate Slavka Grujića. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata prikupljala je sredstva za srpske bolnice i za pomoć izbeglicama. Takođe je veoma značajan bio njen rad na organizaciji društava za pomoć Srbima u Švajcarskoj, Velikoj Britaniji i Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, kao i propagandni rad u korist Srbije.

<sup>39</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 156-158.

<sup>40</sup> *Velika Srbija*, br. 3, 12. april 1916, 2-3; *Velika Srbija*, br. 8, 18. april 1916, 2-3.

tee took care of some 100 orphans. Beside these, a third private fund operated under Mabel Grujić<sup>38</sup>, the wife of the Serbian Ambassador to Switzerland Slavko Grujić, who had excelled in numerous undertakings to help Serbia since the start of the war, such as organising medical missions in Serbia, sending humanitarian relief to the country and to the Serbian POWs in Austria-Hungary. Her committee was focused on providing education to refugee children through direct financing of scholarships. We can find the fullest picture of the situation in Switzerland in the Ministry of Education's memorandum from the autumn of 1917, which states that 189 university students, 37 pupils in trading schools and 22 other pupils were educated in this country.<sup>39</sup>

Due to the private initiative and activities, the information about the location and the life of children in foreign schools became increasingly available, first to the families (if there

were any) and then to the general public. Serbian newspapers published in Greece, such as *Velika Srbija*, published regular reports on the issue, and did not hesitate to criticise the government. Thus *Velika Srbija* from 12<sup>th</sup> April 1916 reported that the group of twelve Serbian students housed at the grammar school in Barcelonnette were in "the best of health". Six days later, it reported that Ms Comb, an associate of Dr Reiss, had sent a detailed report on the well-being of a group of children she had taken to Lausanne to be schooled and accommodated in private homes and on the foster families of each of the children, "something that no Serbian teacher sent from the Thessaloniki consulate to head various children groups in France had ever done".<sup>40</sup> After few days *Velika Srbija* started to publish precise lists of children in France, by the school they attended and with the names of the teachers who were heads of their groups. Such a practice became a standard and continued until the end of the war.

<sup>38</sup> Mabel Grujić (1881-1956), an American, the wife of the Serbian diplomat Slavko Grujić. During the First World War, she raised funds for the Serbian hospitals and refugee relief. She performed an important work in organising charity societies for Serbs in Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States of America, as well as in propaganda efforts in Serbia's favour.

<sup>39</sup> Trgovčević, "Školovanje srpske omladine...", 156-158.

<sup>40</sup> *Velika Srbija*, no. 3, 12<sup>th</sup> April 1916, 2-3; *Velika Srbija*, no. 8, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1916, 2-3.

## *2.5 Razmena iskustava i ukupan broj srpskih studenata i đaka u inostranstvu*

ja učenika i učitelja u nizu evropskih zemalja predstavlja njihov neposredan i ustaljen kontakt sa prosvetnim sistemima tih zemalja - sa opštom organizacijom, pravilima, kurikulima, navikama, kao i svim onim normama i običajima koji uokviruju proces obrazovanja. Sistemizovan pristup ovom prikupljanju podataka omogućen je usvajanjem „Pravila o proučavanju škola na strani”, koji je štampala Državna štamparija na Krfu početkom 1918. godine. Šefovi učeničkih grupa dobili su instrukciju da proučavaju uređenje škola koje deca pohađaju i da o tome podnose

pismene izveštaje. Pored same organizacije škola, naglasak je stavljen na promatranje unutrašnjeg života škole. Srednje škole dobile su prioritet kao objekat proučavanja, a za sve ostale škole data je instrukcija da se prikupljaju samo osnovni podaci - o broju učenika i odeljenja, te o tome da li je škola koedukativna ili ne. Svrha ovog posla jasno je opisana u članu 7 „Pravila”, koji poručuje: „s proučavanjem pohitati, i nastojati da bude što dublje i što svestranije, a izveštaji što potpuniji, kako bi se, s jedne strane, imalo što više podataka za korenitu reformu našeg školovanja uopšte, a srednje

## *2.5 Exchange of Experience and the Total Number of Serbian Students and Pupils Abroad*

A specific aspect of the refugee settlement of students and teachers in a number of European countries was their immediate and steady contact with the educational systems in those countries - with general organisation, rules, curricula, habits, and all other norms and customs that frame the education process. Systematic approach to acquiring this data was enacted by “The Rules of Monitoring the Schools Abroad” printed by the State Printing Institution at Corfu at the beginning of 1918. Heads of the student groups were instructed to analyse the organisation of the school

that their wards attended and to submit written reports. Beside the school organisation, the emphasis was put on the internal school life. Secondary schools were prioritised as a subject-matter, and for other schools the instructions read that only the basic facts should be complied - the number of students and classes, whether they were co-educational or not. The purpose of this activity is clearly visible from Article 7 of the “Instruction” that recommends: “hurry up with the analysis, and make sure that it is detailed and versatile and that your reports are as complete as possible,

škole posebice, a s druge strane, umanjila prepiska oko sporednijih ili naknadnih obaveštenja”.<sup>41</sup> Ministarstvo prosvete ovim je pokazalo želju da na najbolji mogući način iskoristi izbeglički status hiljada učenika raspoređenih u nizu evropskih zemalja, kako bi unapredilo školski sistem, predviđajući pritom njegovu „korenitu reformu” nakon završetka rata i pokazujući inicijativu da makar nešto iz akumuliranog znanja primeni u praksi.

Koji je ukupan broj srpskih učenika koji su se školovali u savezničkim zemljama tokom rata? U jednom izveštaju Vlade s početka 1918. navodi se brojka od 2108 đaka na školovanju u Francuskoj, 360 u Velikoj Britaniji, 308 u Švajcarskoj, 323 u Rusiji.<sup>42</sup> Izveštaj Srpske narodne skupštine iz aprila 1918. govori o odobravanju

novčanih sredstava za ukupno 4896 đaka, od kojih je u Francuskoj bilo 3171, u Velikoj Britaniji 300, u Švajcarskoj 308, u Rusiji 328 i u Grčkoj 700.<sup>43</sup> Kalendar Ministarstva prosvete iz 1918. navodio je da je ukupan broj đaka i studenata koji je sistemski školovan bio 5432, od čega je njih 4896 bilo pod Minisarstvom prosvete, 390 pod Ministarstvom privrede, 32 pod Ministarstvom unutrašnjih dela, 24 pod Ministarstvom vojnim i 90 pod Ministarstvom građevina. Uz određenu toleranciju za ove brojeve, imajući u vidu da su postojali studenti bez državnih stipendija, koje su školovali roditelji bez ili strani privatni dobrotvori, nezavisno od srpskog državnog aparata, dolazimo do okvirne brojke od oko 5500 đaka i studenata.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ministarstvo prosvete i crkvenih dela, *Pravila o proučavanju škola na strani*, (Krf: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1918), 5.

<sup>42</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 182.

<sup>43</sup> *Izveštaj skupštinskog parlamentarnog odbora za kontrolu utroška vanrednog kredita od 200 miliona dinara* (Krf: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1918), 49.

<sup>44</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 163.

so that, on the one side, we could have more data for a total overhaul of our educational system in general and secondary schools in particular, and on the other to reduce the future correspondence on ephemeral or additional information”.<sup>41</sup> The Ministry of Education hereby demonstrated its intentions to utilise in the best possible way the refugee status of thousands of children in several European countries to modernise its own educational system, announcing its “total overhaul” after the war, and showed an initiative to apply at least a portion of the accumulated knowledge in practice.

What was the total number of Serbian pupils and students educated in the Allied countries during the war? One governmental report from the beginning of 1918 lists the number of 2,108 in France, 360 in Great Britain, 308

in Switzerland, 323 in Russia.<sup>42</sup> A report by the Serbian Parliament from April 1918 speaks about the appropriation of finances for 4,896 pupils and students, of which 3,171 were in France, 300 in Great Britain, 308 in Switzerland, 328 in Russia and 700 in Greece.<sup>43</sup> The Ministry of Education’s Yearbook for 1918 gives the number of 5,432 pupils and students, 2,896 of which were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, 390 under the Ministry of Commerce, 32 under the Ministry of Interior, 24 under the Ministry of War and 90 under the Ministry of Construction. Allowing for a certain leeway, and bearing in mind that there were students without state financing, schooled by their parents or foreign private benefactors independently from the Serbian state apparatus, we reach the approximate number of 5,500 pupils and students.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ministarstvo prosvete i crkvenih dela, *Pravila o proučavanju škola na strani*, (Corfu: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1918), 5

<sup>42</sup> Trgovčević, “Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 182.

<sup>43</sup> *Izveštaj skupštinskog parlamentarnog odbora za kontrolu utroška vanrednog kredita od 200 miliona dinara* (Corfu: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srbije, 1918), 49.

<sup>44</sup> Trgovčević, “Školovanje srpske omladine...”, 163.

## 2.6 Srbi i Britanci

<sup>45</sup> Slavica Popović Filipović, „Srpski potporni fond u Srbiji i sa Srbima u Prvom svetskom ratu i u posleratnom periodu“ u: *800 godina srpske medicine*, (Beograd: Infinitas - Srpsko lekarsko društvo, 2012), 290.

<sup>46</sup> Bertram Kristijan (?-1953) bio je predsednik Srpskog potpornog fonda. O njemu se malo zna, osim toga što je bio novinar koji je sa simpatijama izveštavao o borbi hrišćanskih naroda Balkana za oslobođenje od Osmanske carevine u periodu pred Prvi svetski rat.

<sup>47</sup> Ser Edvard Bojl (1878-1945), drugi baron Bojl od Okama. Bio je pravnik po profesiji. U međuratnom periodu

Već početkom rata, agilni pojedinci iz vrha britanskog društva počeli su da organizuju razne vidove pomoći Srbiji. Srpski potporni fond zaista je bio okosnica dobrotvornog rada koji se s tim ciljem razvio u Velikoj Britaniji, te koji je tokom i neposredno posle rata angažovao preko 700 britanskih građana u svojim aktivnostima.<sup>45</sup> Njegovo osnivanje, 23. septembra 1914. godine, pod rukovodstvom Bertrama Kristijana<sup>46</sup>, uz Roberta Siton-Votsona (sekretar) i ser Edvarda Bojla<sup>47</sup> (blagajnik), dobilo je široku javnu podršku. Dejvid Lojd-Džordž, Henri Vikam

Stid, ser Artur Evans<sup>48</sup>, Džordž Makoli Trevelijan<sup>49</sup>, Čarls Vilijam Čedvik Oman<sup>50</sup>, ser Valentin Čirol<sup>51</sup> - samo su neke od ličnosti britanske politike, nauke i publicistike koje su se angažovale pri osnivanju Fonda.

Prva praktična delatnost Fonda bila je podrška bolnicama koje su uspostavljane u Srbiji, a među njima najznačajnije su bile: bolnica u Skoplju pod rukovodstvom ledi Pedžet<sup>52</sup> (su-pruge bivšeg britanskog poslanika), druga bolnica u Skoplju, pod pokroviteljstvom ledi Vimborn<sup>53</sup>, rođene tetke Vinstona Čerčila, bolnica u Kragujevcu, pod upravom Mabel Sent Kler

## 2.6 Serbs and Britons

At the very beginning of the war, agile individuals from the top of the British society had started to organise various forms of help for Serbia. The Serbian Relief Fund truly was a mainstay of the charity work that had developed in Great Britain, and had engaged over 700 British citizens through its activities.<sup>45</sup> Its establishment on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1914, under the leadership of Bertram Christian<sup>46</sup>, with Robert Seton-Watson (Secretary) and Sir Edward Boyle<sup>47</sup> (Treasurer), received a wide public support. David Lloyd-George, Henry Wickham Steed, Sir Arthur Evans<sup>48</sup>, George Macaulay Trevelyan<sup>49</sup>, Charles William Chad-

wick Oman<sup>50</sup>, Sir Valentine Chirol<sup>51</sup> – were just some of the representatives of the British politics, science and journalism that were involved in starting the Fund.

The first practical involvement of the Fund was in setting up hospitals in Serbia, the most important ones being: the first hospital in Skopje under Lady Paget<sup>52</sup> (the wife of a former Ambassador to Serbia), the second hospital in Skopje under Lady Wimborne<sup>53</sup>, an aunt of Winston Churchill, the hospital in Kragujevac under Mabel St Claire Stobart<sup>54</sup> and hospitals in Belgrade and Požarevac.

<sup>45</sup> Slavica Popović Filipović, “Srpski potporni fond u Srbiji i sa Srbima u Prvom svetskom ratu i u posleratnom periodu” in: *800 godina srpske medicine*, (Belgrade: Infnitas - Srpsko lekarsko društvo, 2012), 290.

<sup>46</sup> Bertram Christian (?–1953) was a President of the Serbian Relief Fund. Little is known of him, just that he was a journalist who sympathetically reported on the Christian peoples’ fight against the Ottoman Empire prior to the First World War.

<sup>47</sup> Sir Edward Boyle (1878–1945), 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Ockham. A jurist; in the interwar period he was a High Sheriff and Justice of Peace Court in Sussex, and a member of the Royal Geographical Society. He was decorated with Serbian and Albanian orders for his humanitarian work.

<sup>48</sup> Sir Arthur Evans (1851–1941), a British archaeologist, antiquarian, adventurer and political activist. He was supportive of the Balkan nations’ struggle for independence and had a big role in the creation of Yugoslavia. He was a member of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>49</sup> George Macaulay Trevelyan (1876–1962) was a renowned British historian

obavljao je dužnosti Visokog šerifa i Mirovnog sudije u Saseksu. Bio je član Kraljevskog geografskog društva. Bio je nosilac visokih srpskih i albanskih odličja, zbog svog humanitarnog rada.

<sup>48</sup> Ser Artur Evans (1851-1941), britanski arheolog, muzeolog, pustolov i politički aktivista. Podržavao je borbu balkanskih naroda za samostalnost i odigrao je veliku ulogu u procesu stvaranja Jugoslavije. Bio je član Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>49</sup> Džordž Makoli Trevelijan (1876-1962) bio je čuveni britanski historičar i učenjak. Dugogodišnji profesor na Triniti koledžu u Kembridžu.

<sup>50</sup> Ser Čarls Vilijam Čedvik Oman (1860-1946) bio je britanski vojni historičar i profesor na Nju koledžu u Oksfordu. Takođe je bio i konzervativni političar i član Parlamenta. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je radio u novinskom birou britanske vlade.

<sup>51</sup> Ser Ignejšus Valentin Čirol (1852-1929), bio je britanski novinar, publicista i diplomata. U mladosti je radio za Forin ofis i bio je veliki poznavalac prilika na Bliskom istoku i na

Stobart<sup>54</sup>, te bolnice u Beogradu i Požarevcu. Tokom povlačenja vlade, administracije, dela vojske i izbeglica iz Srbije, Srpski potporni fond pomagao je u organizovanju njihovog prevoza i spasavanja. Po stabilizaciji stanja na teritoriji Grčke, Fond je organizovao promet pošiljki i pisama među izbeglicama, ratnim zarobljenicima i interniranim civilima, a ubrzo zatim preuzeo je na sebe i veliki deo tereta školovanja izbegle srpske dece u školama i univerzitetima u Velikoj Britaniji. Žene iz društva Bolnica škotskih žena organizovale su tri bolnice pod rukovodstvom dr Elsi Inglis<sup>55</sup> i uz angažman niza britanskih bolničarki, a sve to uz saradnju sa Srpskim potpornim fondom. Rat je i među njima uzео svoj danak – Ketrin Meri Harli<sup>56</sup>, sestra generala Džona Frenča, stradala je pri bombardovanju Bitolja marta 1917. godine. Potporni fond je svoj poslednji novac, po okončanju rata, uložio u izgradnju sirotinjskog doma za ratnu siročad u Nišu. U kritičnim trenucima januara 1916. godine, u jeku povlačenja preko Albanije, apele britanskoj javnosti za pomoć uputili su i Fond Sv. Helene za pomoć siročadi, Fond Beogradske arhiepiskopije, te Parlamentarni fond za pomoć srp-

skim izbeglicama. Svemu tome pretodio je apel Srpskog Crvenog krsta u Velikoj Britaniji, koji je uz pomoć i o trošku privatnih britanskih donatora već organizovao slanje paketa pomoći ka Srbiji i internircima u Nemačkoj.<sup>57</sup> Marta 1916. godine, ponajviše zahvaljujući agilnosti Srpskog potpornog fonda, počeo je organizovani proces obrazovanja izbegle srpske omladine u Velikoj Britaniji. Ispred Ministarstva prosvete tim poslom je rukovodio inspektor Ministarstva dr Pavle Popović<sup>58</sup>, profesor književnosti na Beogradskom univerzitetu. Srpski potporni fond preuzeo je na sebe gro finansijskog tereta smeštaja, školovanja i života đaka, a u leto 1918. godine je i britanska vlada odlučila da pomogne Fond sa 25.000 funti na godišnjem nivou, kako bi se nesmetano nastavio njegov rad.<sup>59</sup> Prema ocenama Andreja Mitrovića, uslovi života srpskih učenika bili su mnogo bolji u Britaniji nego u Francuskoj, delom zbog odsustva troškova izazvanih ratnim razaranjima i internim raseljavanjem lica, a delom zbog činjenice da je učenika bilo nekoliko puta manje.<sup>60</sup> Britanski školski sistem je u tom trenutku bio veoma heterogen u odnosu na srpski, što je prevashodno dolazilo

During the withdrawal of the government, administration, part of the army and refugees from Serbia, the Serbian Relief Fund helped organise their transport and evacuation. After the stabilisation of circumstances in Greece, the Fund had organised dispatching of packages and letters amongst refugees, prisoners of war and interned civilians, and soon took upon itself a large part of provision of education of the Serbian children in schools and universities in Britain. Women from the Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Service had organised three hospitals under the leadership of Dr Elsie Inglis<sup>55</sup> with the involvement of a number of British nurses, and in cooperation with the Serbian Relief Fund. The war took its toll even amongst them - Katherine Mary Harley<sup>56</sup>, General John French's sister, was killed in March 1917 in the bombardment of Bitola. The Fund invested its last money after the war into the construction of a home for the war orphans in Niš. In the critical moments of January 1916, in the midst of the withdrawal through Albania, appeals to the British public were made by the St Helen's Fund for the orphans, the Fund of the Belgrade Archdiocese and the Parliamentary

Fund for Serbian Refugee Relief. This appeal was preceded by an appeal from the Serbian Red Cross in Great Britain, which had already been shipping aid packages to Serbia and interned civilians in Germany with the help of the British donors.<sup>57</sup>

In March 1916, primarily due to the agility of the Serbian Relief Fund, the organised process of the Serbian refugee children's education in Britain had begun. The envoy of the Ministry of Education for this purpose was its inspector Pavle Popović<sup>58</sup>, a professor of literature at the University of Belgrade. The Serbian Relief Fund took upon itself the greatest part of the financial burden for lodging, schooling and living expenses of the students, and in the summer of 1918 the British government had decided to aid the Fund with £25,000 annually so it could continue its work without problems.<sup>59</sup> Andrej Mitrović's estimate was that the living conditions of the Serbian children were much better in Britain than in France, partly due to the absence of costs caused by war destruction and internally displaced people, and partly to the fact that the number of students was several times lower.<sup>60</sup> The British school system

and scholar. He was a professor at Trinity College, Cambridge.

<sup>50</sup> Charles William Chadwick Oman (1860-1946) was a British military historian and a professor at New College, Oxford. He was a conservative politician and a Member of Parliament. During the First World War, he worked at the government press bureau.

<sup>51</sup> Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol (1852-1929) was a British journalist, publicist and diplomat. He worked at the Foreign Office and was an expert on the Balkans and Middle East politics, and an editor of *The Times*.

<sup>52</sup> Dame Louise Margaret Leila Wemyss Paget, Lady Paget (1881-1958), the wife of Sir Ralph Paget and a humanitarian activist in the First World War. She organised the work of hospitals in Serbia and took part in organising relief for the Serbs.

<sup>53</sup> Cornelia Henrietta Maria Guest, Lady Wimborne (1847-1927), the wife of Ivor Bertie Guest, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Wimborne. She was involved in charity work and was a member of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>54</sup> Mabel St Claire Stobart (1862-1954), a renowned suffragette in the years prior to the First World War and a

Balkanu. Takođe je bio jedan od urednika u listu „Tajms“.

<sup>52</sup> Luiz Margaret Lejla Vemis Pedžet, leđi Pedžet (1881-1958), supruga ser Ralfa Pedžeta, humanitarna radnica za vreme Prvog svetskog rata. Organizovala je rad bolnica u Srbiji a takođe je prikupljala sredstva za pomoć Srbima.

<sup>53</sup> Kornelija Henrijeta Marja Gest, leđi Vimborn (1847-1927), supruga Ajvora Bertija Gesta, prvog barona Vimborna. Bavila se dobrotvornim radom i tokom Prvog svetskog rata bila je članica Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>54</sup> Mabel Sent Kler Stobart (1862-1954), istaknuta sifražetkinja u periodu pre Prvog svetskog rata, a za vreme rata humanitarna aktivistkinja, koja je organizovala medicinsku pomoć za Belgijance i Srbe. Vodila je na terenu jednu od bolnica Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>55</sup> Elsi Ingliš (1864-1917) bila je škotska lekarka, sifražetkinja i osnivačica humanitarne medicinske organizacije Bolnice škotskih žena. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je učestvovala u organizaciji medicinske službe u Srbiji i Rusiji. Dobila je značajna priznanja srpske države,

do izražaja u ustrojstvu škola i odsustvu uniformnosti nastavnih planova i programa. Osnovno britansko školstvo, besplatno i obavezno za decu od 5 do 14 godina, nakon reforme 1870. Sačinjavala su dva tipa obrazovnih institucija - bivše crkvene škole, koje su stavljene pod državni nadzor, te nove škole, koje su podizale lokalne vlasti. Oba tipa svrstavana su u javne osnovne škole pod kontrolom lokalnih Odbora za vaspitanje. Ovi odbori imali su dominantan uticaj u brizi o školskim troškovima, razmatranju nastavnih pitanja i postavljenju upravnika i nastavnog kadra, dok je nadležno ministarstvo zapravo samo vršilo kontrolu putem svojih inspektora. Ove škole su bile suplement već postojećim privatnim školama pri raznim udruženjima, najčešće strukovnim esnafima, koje su o svom trošku privlačile određeni sloj dece. Srednje obavezno obrazovanje činile su tzv. više škole, grupisane kao centralne, tehničke i trgovačke, koje su trajale do tri godine. Na najvišem stepeniku tercijarnog obrazovanja, država je od kraja 19. veka započela naročitu ekspanziju tehničkih koledža, kako bi proširila vrh obrazovne piramide koji su činili etablirani univerziteti, poput

Oksforda ili Kembridža, ali i sa ciljem da odgovori sve većim potrebama industrijskog razvoja.<sup>61</sup>

Jasno je da je školovanje srpske dece istog uzrasta po različitim programima, i to na stranom jeziku, iziskivalo ozbiljan i koordiniran rad svih učesnika u tom poslu, a posebno značajan bio je odnos šefova učeničkih grupa i uopšte svih srpskih nastavnika koji su bili uključeni u obrazovni proces. Pored toga, predstavnici srpskog Ministarstva prosvete nisu davali zadnju reč, nego su uvek radili u dogovoru sa britanskim vlastima, što je dodatno usložnjavalo posao. Kako Srpski potporni fond nije imao posebnog iskustva u prosvetnim delatnostima, formirao je svoj pododbor, pod predsedništvom Gertrude Karington Vajld, u koji su ušli dr Barouz<sup>62</sup> iz Kings Koledža u Londonu, dr Foster<sup>63</sup> iz Juniverstiti Koledža u Londonu, ser Henri Guč<sup>64</sup> iz Londonskog okružnog veća, Henri Noel Brejlsford<sup>65</sup>, novinar, gospođa Kari, gospođica Mekvin, dr Pavle Popović, te Nikolaj Velimirović.<sup>66</sup> Početkom 1918. godine, pri kancelariji inspektora Ministarstva prosvete u Londonu, formiran je Prosvetni savet, u kome su, pored inspektora Pavla Popovića bili i njegov

was quite heterogeneous at the time in comparison to the Serbian, which manifested itself in the organisation of schools and an absence of curriculum uniformity. After the reform of 1870, primary schools in Britain were free and compulsory for the children aged 5 to 14. There were two types of schools - former religious schools that had been put under the state supervision, and new schools, built by the local authorities. Both of them were considered as public primary schools under the direct control of the local Education Boards. These boards had a dominant role in caring for school expenses, class issues and the appointment of directors and teachers, while the Ministry oversaw the whole process through its inspectors. These schools were supplementing already established private schools organised by various professional associations, usually trade guilds, which attracted some of the children. Compulsory secondary education comprised the so-called higher schools, grouped as central, technical and trade, which lasted three years. On top of the tertiary education, the state had started a strong expansion of technical colleges at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in order to expand the width of the

educational pyramid comprising the renowned universities such as Oxford and Cambridge, but also with a goal to answer the growing needs of the industrial development.<sup>61</sup>

It is clear that education of Serbian children of the same age under different programmes, and in foreign language, had necessitated a serious and coordinated work of all the participants in this enterprise, and especially important were the relations with the student groups' heads and the Serbian teachers that were involved in the education process. Besides, the representatives of the Serbian Ministry of Education did not have a final word but had always worked in sync with the British authorities which made the job even more complicated. As the Serbian Relief Fund had no particular experience in the educational issues, it formed a sub-committee under the presidency of Gertrude Carrington Wilde. Its members were Dr Burrows<sup>62</sup> from King's College London, Dr Foster<sup>63</sup> from University College London, Sir Henry Gooch<sup>64</sup> of London County Council, journalist Henry Noel Brailsford<sup>65</sup>, Mrs Curry, Ms McQueen, Dr Pavle Popović and Nikolaj Velimirović<sup>66</sup>.

humanitarian worker during the war, she helped organise relief for the Belgians and the Serbs. She was at the head of one of the Serbian Relief Fund's field hospitals.

<sup>55</sup> Elsie Inglis (1864–1917) was a Scottish doctor, suffragette and a founder of the Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Services. During the First World War, she helped with the organisation of medical services in Serbia and Russia. She received important decorations from the Serbian state, such as the Order of the White Eagle, V Class and Order of Saint Sava, III Class.

<sup>56</sup> Katherine Mary Harley (1855–1917) was a sister of Field-marshal Sir John French, a suffragette and humanitarian worker. She came with Elsie Inglis to Serbia in 1915. She was killed in the bombardment of Bitola in 1917.

<sup>57</sup> Jovan M. Jovanović, *Engleska za Srbiju*, (Belgrade: Udruženje prijatelja Velike Britanije i Amerike u Jugoslaviji, 1934), 14–16.

<sup>58</sup> Pavle Popović (1868–1939) was a Serbian literary historian, professor and a President of the University of Belgrade and a member of the Serbian Royal Society. During the First World War, he was the Ministry of Education's inspector in London and a

Orden Belog orla V stepena i Orden svetog Save III stepena.

<sup>56</sup> Katerin Meri Harli (1855-1917), sestra feldmaršala Džona Frenča, sifražetkinja i humanitarna radnica. Sa Elsom Inglis došla u Srbiju 1915. godine. Poginula je prilikom bombardovanja Bitolja.

<sup>57</sup> Jovan M. Jovanović, *Engleska za Srbiju*, (Beograd: Udruženje prijatelja Velike Britanije i Amerike u Jugoslaviji, 1934), 14-16.

<sup>58</sup> Pavle Popović (1868-1939) je bio srpski istoričar književnosti, profesor i rektor Univerziteta u Beogradu i član Srpske kraljevske akademije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je prosvetni inspektor u Londonu i član obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>59</sup> Jelica Reljić, „Školovanje srpske omladine u Velikoj Britaniji 1916-1919. godine“, *Balkanika*, XXIV (1993), 104.

<sup>60</sup> Andrej Mitrović, *Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruza, 1984), 284.

<sup>61</sup> Dragutin Subotić, „O engleskim školama“, *Misao*, I-1, (1918), 25-29.

<sup>62</sup> Dr Ronald Montagju Barouz (1867-1920), bio je britanski arheolog i

zamenik Mihailo Popović, poslanik Jovan M. Jovanović<sup>67</sup>, Tihomir Đorđević<sup>68</sup>, Bogdan Popović<sup>69</sup>, Đorđe Đurić<sup>70</sup>, Nikolaj Velimirović<sup>71</sup> i Josif Cvijović<sup>72</sup>. Cilj osnivanja Prosvetnog saveta bio je efikasnija koordinacija obrazovnih poslova, jer se pokazalo da je obim posla preveliki da bi se njime bavio samo inspektor Pavle Popović.<sup>73</sup> Posebnu brigu o srpskoj siročadi vodilo je društvo „Savet nacionalnog bratstva“ (*National Brotherhood Council*) - društvo koje je, u koordinaciji sa Srpskim potpornim fondom, avgusta 1918. u Faveršamu, u Kentu, organizovalo sirotište za decu od 7 do 14 godina starosti, ukupno 97 dečaka i devojčica sa četiri srpska nastavnika. Deca su postala pitomci Saveta nacionalnog bratstva, koje je vodilo svu materijalnu brigu o njima, kroz saradnju sa „Nacionalnim domom i sirotištem za decu“ (*National Children's Home and Orphanage*), britanskom fondacijom za siročad. Osim nastave srpskog jezika, srpske istorije i geografije, deca su u okviru Saveta učila i engleski jezik, a neizostavno je bilo i prisustvo srpskog sveštenika. Po završetku školske godine, mešovite srpsko-britanske prosvetne komisije upućivale su decu na dalje školovanje

ili na izučavanje zanata.<sup>74</sup>

Sam Pavle Popović u Britaniji je imao trojaku ulogu. Pored redovnih poslova inspektora Ministarstva prosvete, radio je efektivno i kao propagandista i kao naučnik. Tokom rata je u Velikoj Britaniji održao preko 30 predavanja u akademskim institucijama, koja su bila posvećena aktuelnim temama („O jugoslovenskom pitanju“, „O našim osećanjima prema saveznicima“, „O pobeđi na Solunskom frontu“, „O važnosti teoloških studija“ itd.).<sup>75</sup> Uz to je objavio dve veće studije - „Srpska Makedonija“ i „Književnost Južnih Slovena“, kao i nekoliko članaka („Šekspir u Srbiji“, „Jedan srpski anglofil - Dositej Obradović“, „Srbija i Grčka“). Kulturna akcija Srbije u Velikoj Britaniji tokom rata svakako je tema, ali se ovde možemo osvrnuti na njene glavne domete, jer su bili neraskidivo vezani sa izbegličkim karakterom državne vlasti i najvećeg dela njene elite, te sa potrebom da se savezničkim zemljama predstave srpska istorija i srpska pozicija u ratu. Tako je u junu 1916. u Londonu održana izložba predmeta domaće ženske radnosti, čiji su kreatori bile žene smeštene na Korzici, a prihodi od prodaje bili su namenjeni fondovima za po-

At the start of 1918, the Educational Council was formed within the office of the Ministry of Education's inspector, which numbered, alongside Dr Pavle Popović, his deputy Mihailo Popović, Jovan M. Jovanović<sup>67</sup>, Tihomir Djordjević<sup>68</sup>, Bogdan Popović<sup>69</sup>, Djordje Djurić<sup>70</sup>, Nikolaj Velimirović<sup>71</sup> and Josif Cvijović<sup>72</sup> as its members. The Educational Council was established with a goal to efficiently coordinate the educational work, since the volume was too great to be dealt only by inspector Pavle Popović.<sup>73</sup>

A special care for the Serbian orphans was taken by the National Brotherhood Council - a society that had organised an orphanage in Faversham, Kent, for the children of 7 to 14 years of age, with 97 boys and girls and four Serbian teachers, all in coordination with the Serbian Relief Fund. The children became wards of the National Brotherhood Council which undertook in full the financial care for them through its cooperation with the National Children's Home and Orphanage, a British orphans' fund. Alongside Serbian language, history and geography classes, the children learned English language, and had a presence of a Serbian Or-

thodox priest. Following the completion of an academic year, mixed Serbian-British educational commissions sent children to further education or to learn a trade.<sup>74</sup>

Pavle Popović had a threefold role in Britain. Alongside his obligations as an inspector for the Ministry of Education, he worked effectively as a propagandist and a scientist. During the war, he gave over 30 lectures dedicated to contemporary issues ("On Yugoslav Question", "On Our Feeling towards the Allies", "On the Victory on the Salonika Front", "On the Importance of Theology Studies" etc.) in various British academic institutions.<sup>75</sup> He had also published two studies - "A Serbian Macedonia" and "The Literature of the South Slavs" and several articles ("Shakespeare in Serbia", "One Serbian Anglophile - Dositej Obradović", "Serbia and Greece"). Serbian cultural activities in Great Britain during the war is a subject in its own right, but here we can briefly look at its major achievements, since they were intertwined with the refugee character of the state authority and most of its elite. In June 1916 London saw an exhibition of women's handicraft whose creators were the Serbian women settled in Corsica, while the proceeds were de-

member of the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>59</sup> Jelica Reljić, "Školovanje srpske omladine u Velikoj Britaniji 1916-1919. Godine", *Balkanika*, XXIV (1993), 104.

<sup>60</sup> Andrej Mitrović, *Srbija u Prvom svetskom ratu* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1984), 284.

<sup>61</sup> Dragutin Subotić, "O engleskim školama", *Misao*, I-1, (1918), 25-29.

<sup>62</sup> Ronald Montagu Burrows (1867-1920) was a British archaeologist and the Principal of King's College, London. During the First World War, he was involved in the Allied propaganda in Greece and was a member of the Serbian Relief Fund's Educational Subcommittee.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas Gregory Foster (1866-1931) was a British linguist. He held many functions during his career, including that of a Provost of the University College, London and a Deputy President of the University of London. During the First World War, he was a member of the Serbian Relief Fund's Educational Subcommittee.

<sup>64</sup> Henry Cubitt Gooch (1871-1959) was a British jurist and conservative politician. He was also an education expert. He was

principal Kings Koledža u Londonu. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je radio na savezničkoj propagandi u Grčkoj i bio je član obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>63</sup> Ser Tomas Gregori Foster (1866-1931), bio je britanski jezikoslovac. Tokom karijere obavljao je mnoge dužnosti, između ostalih, bio je i starešina (Provost) Univerzitetskog Koledža u Londonu i zamenik rektora Univerziteta u Londonu. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je član obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>64</sup> Ser Henri Kjubit Guć (1871-1959), bio je britanski pravnik i konzervativni političar. Takođe je bio i stručnjak za obrazovanje. Obavljao je dužnosti odbornika u Okružnom veću Londona, bio je član Školskog odbora Londona a biran je u britanski Parlament na listi Konzervativne partije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je član obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>65</sup> Henri Noel Brejlsford (1873-1958), novinar i publicista. Bio je jedan od najpoznatijih levičarskih mislilaca svog vremena. Pisao je za „Gardijan” i „Dejli njuz”. Bezuspešno je pokušavao da uđe u

moć izbeglicama. U decembru 1917. godine u Grafton galeriji održana je izložba ratnih fotografija na temu srpskog povlačenja preko Albanije. Ivan Meštrović<sup>76</sup> takođe je održao dve velike izložbe - u junu 1915. u Muzeju Viktorije i Alberta, te 1917. u Grafton galeriji. U ovoj galeriji održan je i ciklus od 18 javnih tribina, započet krajem 1917. godine, sa raznovrsnim programom koji je obuhvatao kako istorijske i kulturne teme (iz istorije književnosti, posebno narodne poezije), tako i aktuelne političke teme (povlačenje srpske vojske, srpski ratni ciljevi i dr.), uz mešoviti sastav govornika (dr Pavle Popović, dr Milan Ćurčin, ser Artur Evans, Robert Siton-Votson i mnogi drugi).<sup>77</sup>

Pojačana izdavačka delatnost približila je britanskoj publici neke srpske teme, što naročito dolazi do izražaja kroz knjige „Srbija” i „Memoari jednog balkanskog diplomate” Ćedomilja Mijatovića<sup>78</sup> (koji je tada odavno već bio i britanski državljanin).<sup>79</sup> Na engleski jezik prevedene su pesme Jovana Jovanovića Zmaja, „Gorski vijenac” vladike Petra Petrovića Njegoša, kao i pripovetke Laze Lazarevića, dok su u srpskom originalu štampane razne crkvene knjige. Jovan Cvijić po-

javljuje se u još jednoj, za ovu studiju značajnijoj ulozi. Naime, početkom 1915. godine on je poslat u London, kao nezvanični agent Ministarstva spoljnih poslova, sa ciljem da britanskoj javnosti predstavi geopolitičke aspekte sukoba na Balkanu i značaj Srbije za saveznike. Neposredan predlog za takvo angažovanje dali su profesor Slobodan Jovanović<sup>80</sup> i Robert Siton-Votson. Našavši se u jeku razmatranja jadranskog i makedonskog pitanja, Cvijić je pokušavao da stručno podrži rad srpskih predstavnika u Velikoj Britaniji, zatim da publicističkom aktivnošću pojača percepciju srpskih ratnih ciljeva (npr. kroz članak „Jedinstvo Jugoslovena”), te da sarađuje sa Jugoslovenskim odborom i pripadnicima britanske elite. Na Vidovdan 1918. godine Bogdan Popović je na Oksfordu održao predavanje „Šta Srbi mogu da nauče od Engleza”, u kojem je pokušao da sublimira istorijske putanje dvaju naroda i njihovo ratno savezništvo protkano novim društvenim vezama, kao i da ukaže na pouke koje Srbi na školovanju u Engleskoj mogu da izvuku i ponesu sa sobom kući po završetku rata. Prema Popovićevim rečima, „britanska nacija je otišla dalje od bilo koje druge na

posited to refugee charities. A wartime photographs exhibition portraying Serbian withdrawal through Albania was held at the Grafton Gallery in London in December 1917. Ivan Meštrović<sup>76</sup> held two major exhibitions - in June 1915 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and in 1917 at the Grafton Gallery. This gallery was the venue for eighteen panel discussions that ran from the end of 1917 with a diverse programme that encompassed a wide range of historical and contemporary political issues (the withdrawal of the Serbian army, Serbian war goals, etc.) with various speakers (Dr Pavle Popović, Dr Milan Ćurčin, Sir Arthur Evans, Robert Seton-Watson and many others).<sup>77</sup>

An increased publishing activity brought many Serbian themes closer to the British public, and is especially visible in the books *Serbia* and *Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomat* by Čedomilj Mijatović<sup>78</sup> (who had long before became a British citizen).<sup>79</sup> Jovan Jovanović Zmaj's poems, Petar Petrović Njegoš's *The Mountain Wreath* and Laza Lazarević's novels were translated into English, while various church books were printed in Serbian. Jovan Cvijić appears in yet another, for this study, more important role. Namely, at the

start of 1915, he was sent to London as an unofficial agent of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with a task to present to the British public the geopolitical aspects of the war in the Balkans and the Serbian relevance to the Allies. A direct suggestion for this activity came from Professor Slobodan Jovanović<sup>80</sup> and Robert Seton-Watson. Finding himself at the height of debates regarding the Adriatic and Macedonian question, Cvijić tried to scientifically support the work of Serbian delegates in Great Britain, to enhance the perception of Serbian war aims through publishing activity (e.g. through his article "The Unity of Yugoslavs"), and to cooperate with the Yugoslav board and members of the British elite. On St Vitus day 1918 in Oxford, Bogdan Popović gave a lecture "What Serbs can learn from the English" in which he had tried to lift up the historical paths of two nations and their wartime alliance strengthened by the new societal connections, and to emphasise lessons that the Serbs educated in Britain could learn and bring back home with them after the war. In Popović's words "the British nation had travelled further than any other upon the path of self-discipline and consideration towards others, which are the most important qualities of social

a councilman in London County Council, a member of the London's Scottish Board and a conservative Member of Parliament. During the First World War, he was a member of the Serbian Relief Fund's Educational Subcommittee.

<sup>76</sup> Henry Noel Brailsford (1873-1958), a journalist and publicist. He was one of the foremost left-wing thinkers of his time. He wrote for *The Guardian* and *The Daily News*. He unsuccessfully tried to win a Parliament seat as a member of the Labour Party. During the First World War, he was a member of the Serbian Relief Fund's Educational Subcommittee.

<sup>77</sup> School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) Library, University College London (UCL), Seton-Watson Collection (SEW), 7/7, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1916.

<sup>78</sup> Jovan M. Jovanović Pižon (1869-1939), a Serbian politician and diplomat. He held diplomatic positions in Istanbul, Athens, Cetinje and Vienna. From 1916, he was a Serbian Minister in London. One of the founders of the Agrarian Party.

<sup>79</sup> Tihomir Djordjević (1868-1944) was a Serbian

Parlament kao kandidat Laburističke partije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je bio član obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>66</sup>School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) Library, University College London (UCL), Seton-Watson Collection (SEW), 7/7, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1916.

<sup>67</sup>Jovan M. Jovanović Pižon (1869–1939), srpski političar i diplomata. Službovao je u Carigradu, Atini, Cetinju i Beču. Od 1916. godine obavlja dužnost srpskog poslanika u Londonu. Jedan je od osnivača Zemljoradničke stranke.

<sup>68</sup>Tihomir Đorđević (1868–1944) je bio srpski etnolog, folklorista i istoričar kulture. Bio je profesor na Univerzitetu u Beogradu i član Srpske kraljevske akademije. Prvi svetski rat je proveo u Londonu, kao član Prosvetnog saveta.

<sup>69</sup>Bogdan Popović (1863–1944), književni kritičar i istoričar književnosti, esejista, profesor istorije, francuskog jezika, teorije književnosti i estetike na Univerzitetu u Beogradu. Bio je

putu samodiscipline i pokazivanja obzira prema drugome, što su najvažniji kvaliteti društvenog morala [...] Građanske vrline Britanaca, njihova ljubav za slobodu, hrabrost, pribranost u trenucima opasnosti koju su britanske žene pokazale u meri ne manjoj nego muškarci [...] su bili dobro poznati i prijateljima i neprijateljima.”<sup>81</sup> Za dr Milana Ćurčina<sup>82</sup>, profesora, pesnika i publicistu koji je blisko sarađivao sa Srpskim potpornim fondom i britanskim bolničarkama u Srbiji, to iskustvo imalo je transformativni karakter, pre svega u pogledu jednog posebnog pitanja. Sudeći, naime, po njegovom predavanju, štampanom pod nazivom „Britanske žene i Srbija u ratu”, septembra 1916. godine, ratno iskustvo posvedočilo mu je da su britanske žene nesumnjivo pokazale „sposobnosti jednake muškim, tako da ništa ne preostaje nego da se to uvaži”. Tako je, po svom priznanju, od protivnika ženskog prava glasa Ćurčin postao njegov zagovornik, makar kada je reč o britanskim ženama, smatrajući i da „srpski narod neće imati primedbi ako bi njegove interese u Britaniji zastupala neka žena”<sup>83</sup>. Nije stoga čudno što je pri Srpskom potpornom fondu 1917. osnovano i Društvo za ob-

razovanje srpskih žena.

Đaci i nastavnici koji su tri ratne godine (od proleća 1916. do novembarskoga primirja 1918. godine) proveli u Velikoj Britaniji bili su od krucijalne važnosti za uspostavljanje i delovanje niza društava srpsko-britanskog i jugoslovensko-britanskog prijateljstva u međuratnom periodu. Tako su Hrišćanska zajednica mladih ljudi (1919), koju su pokrenuli bogoslovi na školovanju u Britaniji, Anglo-američko-jugoslovenski klub (1924), Udruženje prijatelja Velike Britanije i Amerike (1930), Englesko-jugoslovenski klub u Nišu (1930), Udruženje bivših jugoslovenskih đaka u Velikoj Britaniji (1933), Društvo za širenje anglosaksonske kulture u Jugoslaviji (1935), Udruženje studenata engleskog jezika i književnosti Univerziteta u Beogradu (1938), te posebno Englesko-srpski dečji dom u Nišu (1919), koji je finansirao Srpski potporni fond i koji se nalazio u ulici Ledi Pedžet, predstavljajući dugo godina jedinu koedukativnu ustanovu u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji – svedočili da su ser Ralf Pedžet i Harold Nikolson bili u pravu kada su 1916. ocenjivali da će školovanje srpske dece u Velikoj Britaniji imati nesumnjiv pozitivan i dugoročan efekat na razvoj odnosa dveju zemalja.

morality [...] The civic virtues of the British, their love of freedom, their sense of duty, their public spirit, their courage, the composure in the face of danger shown by the British women in no less a measure than by the men [...] were well-known to their friends and enemies alike.”<sup>81</sup> For Dr Milan Ćurčin<sup>82</sup>, a professor, poet and publisher, who had closely worked with the Serbian Relief Fund and the British nurses in Serbia such an experience had a transformative character, particularly regarding one special issue. Judging by his lecture printed in September 1916 under the title “British Women in Serbia and the War”, his experience had taught him that the British women had undoubtedly showed “capabilities equal to men’s, so there’s nothing else but to accept that”. Thus, from an opponent of women’s suffrage, in his own words, Ćurčin had become its proponent, at least when the British women were concerned, writing that “Serbian nation won’t have objections if its interests in Great Britain were represented by a woman”.<sup>83</sup> It is no wonder then that within the Serbian Relief Fund a Society for the Education of Women was founded in 1917.

Students and teacher that had spent three war years (from spring 1916 to the Armistice in November 1918) were of a crucial importance in setting up and functioning of a series of Serbian-British and Yugoslav-British friendship societies in the interwar period. The Young Men’s Christian Association (1919), started by theologians schooled in Britain; the Anglo-American-Yugoslav Club (1924) the Society of Friends of Great Britain and America (1930); the English-Yugoslav Club in Niš (1930); the Society of Former Yugoslav Students in Great Britain (1933); the Society for the Advancement of Anglo-Saxon Culture in Yugoslavia (1935); the Society of English Language and Literature Students of the University of Belgrade (1938) and especially the English-Serbian Children Home in Niš (1919) financed by the Serbian Relief Fund and located at Lady Paget Street, representing for a long time the only co-educational school in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia - confirm that Ralph Paget and Harold Nicolson had been right in 1916 when they thought that the education of the Serbian children in Great Britain would have an undoubtedly positive and long-term effect on the development of the two countries’ relations.

ethnologist, folklorist and cultural historian. He was a professor at the University of Belgrade and a member of the Serbian Royal Academy. During the First World War, he was a member of the Educational Board in London.

<sup>69</sup> Bogdan Popović (1863–1944), a literary critic and literary historian, essayist, professor of history, French language, literary theory and aesthetics at the University of Belgrade. He was a member of the Serbian Royal Academy. He spent the war in London on various educational and propaganda tasks.

<sup>70</sup> Djordje Djurić (1880–1962) was a Serbian economist, diplomat and university professor. He was a Minister of Finance and a Minister in London in the interwar period.

<sup>71</sup> Nikolaj Velimirović (1881–1956), Holy Bishop Nikolaj of Ohrid and Žiča, canonized saint of the Orthodox Church. He was a prominent theologian, scholar and church dignitary. He spent the First World War in Great Britain where he took care of a small group of theology students. He was also a member of the Serbian Relief

član Srpske kraljevske akademije. Rat je proveo u Londonu, gde je bio angažovan u prosvetnim i propagandnim pitanjima.

<sup>70</sup> Đorđe Đurić (1880-1962) je bio srpski ekonomista, diplomata i univerzitetski profesor. U međuratnom periodu je obavljao dužnosti ministra finansija i jugoslovenskog poslanika u Londonu.

<sup>71</sup> Nikolaj Velimirović (1881-1956), Sveti vladika Nikolaj Ohridski i Žički, danas kanonizovani svetac Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Bio je istaknuti teolog i učenjak i crkveni velikodostojnik. Prvi svetski rat je proveo u Velikoj Britaniji, gde je brinuo o grupi mladih studenata teologije. Takođe, bio je član prosvetnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>72</sup> Josif Cvijović (1878-1957), bio je episkop bitoljski i mitropolit skopski Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je bio vojni sveštenik, diplomatski predstavnik u Bizerti i u Rusiji i na kraju rektor srpske bogoslovije u Oksfordu u Velikoj Britaniji.

<sup>73</sup> AS, Ministarstvo prosvete (MPs), Krf,

1918, XVIII, 72.

<sup>74</sup> AS, Ministarstvo inostranih dela (MiD), Poslanstvo u Londonu, Pomoć, 1916-1919, F16.

<sup>75</sup> AS, MiD, Poslanstvo u Londonu, 1917, Pov, F3.

<sup>76</sup> Ivan Meštrović (1883-1962), veliki svetski skulptor. Bio je član Jugoslovenskog odbora u Londonu. Uz pomoć srpskog poslanstva u Londonu, Srpskog potpornog fonda i Srpskog društva u Velikoj Britaniji, održane su velike Meštrovićeve izložbe u Londonu.

<sup>77</sup> Jelica Reljić, „Arhivska građa Ministarstva prosvete na Krfu...”, 113.

<sup>78</sup> Čedomilj Mijatović (1842-1932), bio je srpski ekonomista, političar, diplomata i publicista. Bio je simpatizer dinastije Obrenović i lični prijatelj kralja Milana. Dugo godina je bio srpski diplomatski predstavnik u Velikoj Britaniji. Jedan od najvećih anglofila u Srbiji u periodu pred Prvi svetski rat.

<sup>79</sup> Bojić, *Srpske izbeglice u Prvom svetskom ratu...*, 446-447.

<sup>80</sup> Slobodan Jovanović (1869-1958) je bio srpski pravnik, istoričar, književnik i političar. Bio je profesor i dekan Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu, rektor Univerziteta u Beogradu, predsednik Srpske kraljevske akademije i predsednik Ministarskog saveta Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je radio u Presbirou srpske vlade a kasnije kao eksprt u ministarstvu inostranih dela.

<sup>81</sup> Bogdan Popović, „Šta imaju Srbi da nauče od Engleza”, *Misao*, I-1, (1918), 10-18; 46-54.

<sup>82</sup> Milan Ćurčin (1880-1960), bio je pesnik, književni kritičar, publicista i prevodilac. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata živeo je i radio u Londonu, kao sekretar srpskog poslanstva.

<sup>83</sup> Dr. M. Ćurčin, *British Women in Serbia and the War* (London, 1916).

Fund's Educational Subcommittee.

<sup>72</sup> Josif Cvijović (187–1957) was a bishop of Bitola and metropolitan of Skopje in the Serbian Orthodox Church. During the First World War, he was an army priest, diplomat in Bizerte and Russia and the Principal of the Serbian Theology School in Oxford.

<sup>73</sup> AS, Ministarstvo prosvete (MPs), Krf, 1918, XVIII, 72.

<sup>74</sup> AS, Ministarstvo inostranih dela (MiD), Poslanstvo u Londonu, Pomoć, 1916–1919, F16.

<sup>75</sup> AS, MiD, Poslanstvo u Londonu, 1917, Pov, F3.

<sup>76</sup> Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962), a world-famous sculptor. He was a member of the Yugoslav Board in London. With the assistance of the Serbian Legation in London, the Serbian Relief Fund and the Serbian Society in Great Britain, large exhibitions of Meštrović's work were held in London during the war.

<sup>77</sup> Jelica Reljić, "Arhivska grada Ministarstva prosvete na Krfu...", 113.

<sup>78</sup> Čedomilj Mijatović (1842–1932) was a Serbian economist, politician, diplomat and publicist. He was a sympathiser of the Obrenović dynasty and a personal friend of King Milan. He was a long-time Serbian representative in London and one of greatest anglophiles in Serbia prior to the First World War.

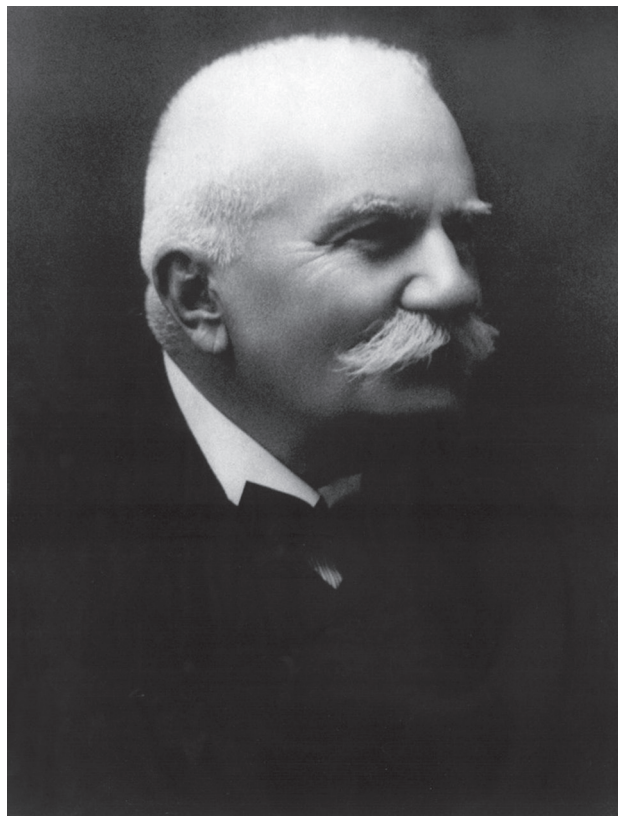
<sup>79</sup> Bojić, *Srpske izbeglice u Prvom svetskom ratu...*, 446–447.

<sup>80</sup> Slobodan Jovanović (1869–1958) was a Serbian jurist, historian, writer and politician. He was a professor and dean of the University of Belgrade's Faculty of Law, President of the Serbian Royal Academy and the President of the Council of Ministers of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. During the First World War, he was working in the government press bureau and as an expert of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

<sup>81</sup> Bogdan Popović, "Šta imaju Srbi da nauče od Engleza", *Misao*, I-1, (1918), 10–18; 46–54.

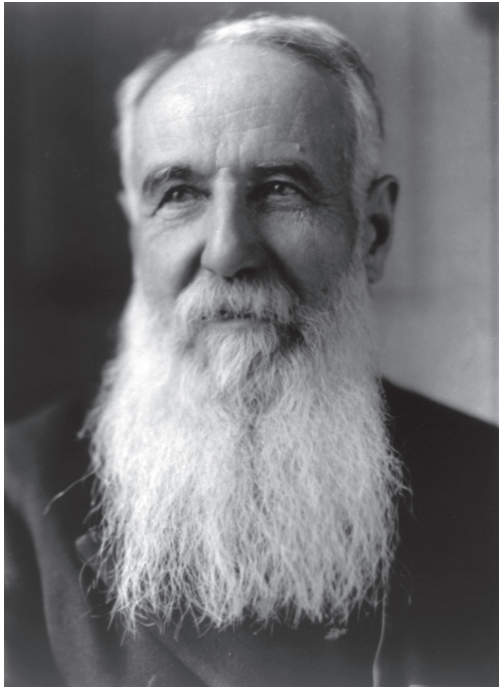
<sup>82</sup> Milan Ćurčin (1880–1960) was a poet, literary critic, publicist and translator. During the First World War, he lived and worked in London as a secretary to the Serbian Legation.

<sup>83</sup> Dr M. Ćurčin, *British Women in Serbia and the War* (London, 1916).



Ljubomir Davidović, srpski ministar prosvete

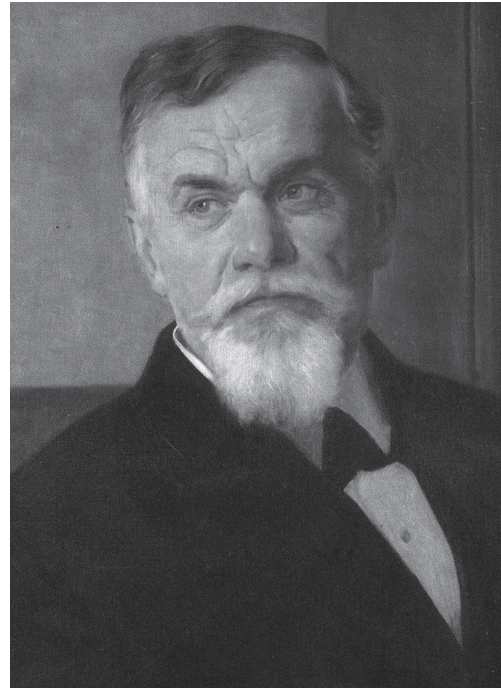
Ljubomir Davidović, Serbian Minister of Education



Nikola Pašić, predsednik vlade i ministar inostranih poslova

Nikola Pašić, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

(Harris & Ewing collection at the United States Library of Congress)



Jovan Žujović, geolog i prosvetni administrator u Francuskoj

Jovan Žujović, geologist and educational administrator in France

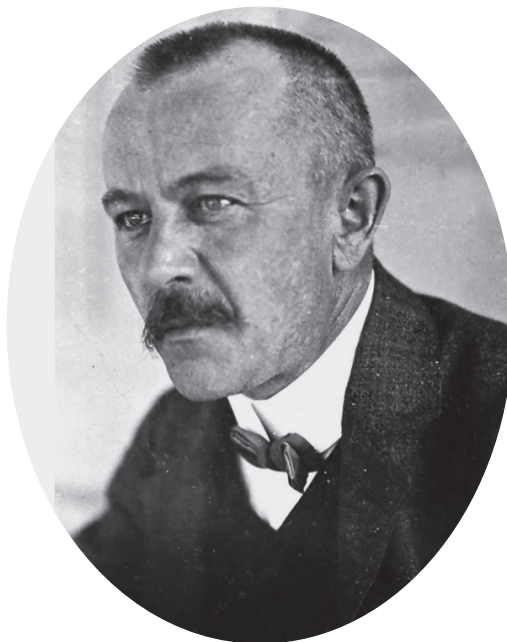
(Naslikao / Painting by Uroš Predić)



Milenko Vesnić, srpski poslanik u Parizu

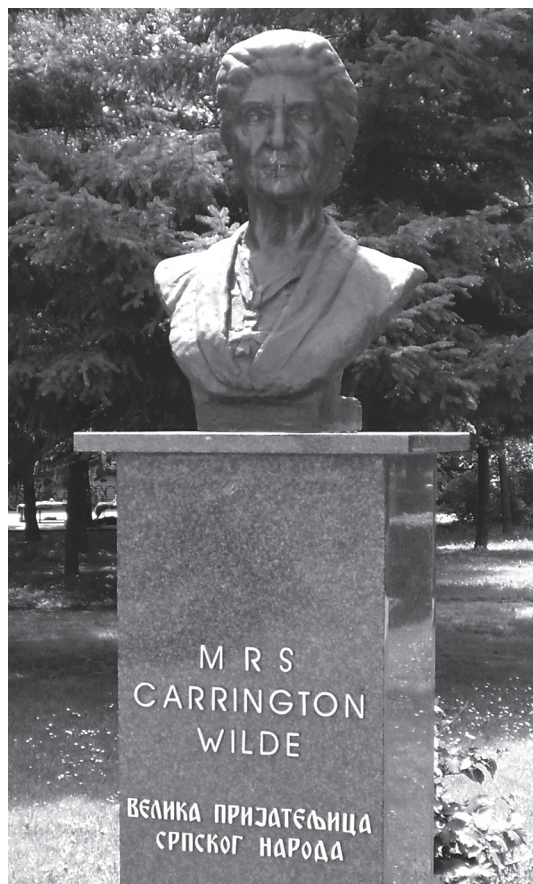
Milenko Vesnić, Serbian Minister in Paris

(George Grantham Bain collection at the United States Library of Congress)



Jovan Cvijić, geograf i prosvetni administrator u Francuskoj i Svajcarskoj

Jovan Cvijić, geographer and educational administrator in France and Switzerland



Bista Gertrude Karington Vajld, britanske dobrotvorke, u Nišu

Bust of Gertrude Carrington Wilde, British benefactor, in Niš

LITTLE SERBIAN REFUGEES DOMICILED IN FRANCE.



Serbian children on their way to school at Marseilles.

Srpske izbeglice u Francuskoj

Serbian refugees in France

(Birmingham Gazette)



Kromvel roud u Južnom Kensingtonu, sedište Srpskog potpornog fonda

Cromwell Road in South Kensington, HQ of the Serbian Relief Fund

(Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Library)



Mabel Grujić, američko -  
srpska dobrotvorka

Mabel Grouitch, American -  
Serbian benefactor



Rudolf Arčibald Rajs, švajcarski  
kriminolog i forenzičar

Rudolphe Archibald Reiss, Swiss  
criminologist and forensic expert



Džordž Makoli Trevelijan, istoričar

G. M. Trevelyan, historian



Ser Artur Evans, arheolog

Sir Arthur Evans, archeologist



Ser Čarls Oman, istoričar

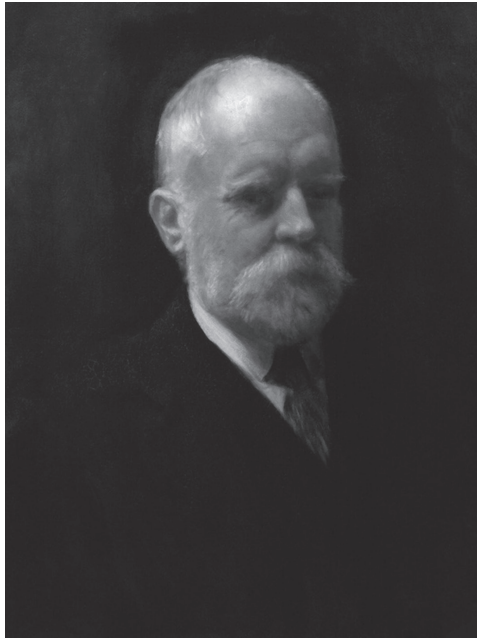
Sir Charles Oman, historian



Mabel Stobart, organizatorica bolnica u Srbiji

Mabel Stobart, hospital organiser in Serbia

(George Grantham Bain collection at the United States Library of Congress)



Ser Valentin Čirol, pisac i diplomata

Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol, author  
and diplomat

(Naslikao / Painting by John Collier,  
National Portrait Gallery, London)



Dr Elsi Inglis, škotska lekarka

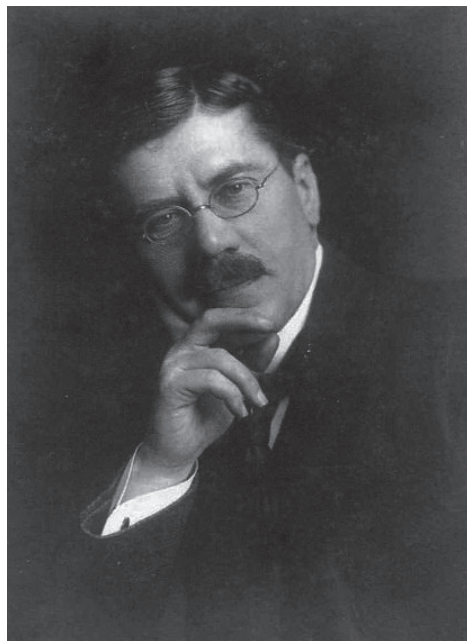
Dr Elsie Inglis, Scottish doctor

(Wellcome Library, London)



Dama Luiz Pedžet,  
humanitarna radnica

Dame Louise Paget,  
humanitarian worker



Pavle Popović , srpski prosvetni  
inspektor u Velikoj Britaniji

Pavle Popović, Serbian educational  
inspector in Great Britain



Dr Ronald Barouz, profesor Kings  
koledža u Londonu

Dr. Ronald Montagu Burrows,  
Professor at King's College London

(Ure Museum, University of Reading)



Ser Henri Kjubit Guč, stručnjak  
za obrazovanje

Sir Henry Cubitt Gooch,  
educational expert



Ser Gregori Foster, starešina Univerzitetskog koledža u Londonu

Sir Thomas Gregory Foster, Provost of the University College London

(Naslikao / Painting by William Orpen, UCL Art Museum)



Otac Nikolaj Velimirović

Father Nikolaj Velimirović



Čedomilj Mijatović, srpski poslanik u Londonu

Čedomilj Mijatović, Serbian Minister in London

## **3.0 SRPSKI STUDENTI I ĐACI U VELIKOJ BRITANIJ**

## **3.0 SERBIAN STUDENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN**

### 3.0 Srpski studenti i đaci u Velikoj Britaniji

Napadom Centralnih sila na Srbiju u jesen 1915. godine i povlačenjem srpske vojske i izbeglica na Krf, delatnost Srpskog potpornog fonda uveliko se izmenila. Poljske bolnice, koje su tokom 1915. godine bile uspostavljene u Srbiji, kao deo sanitetskih mera za pomoć srpskoj vojsci i stanovništvu, i dalje su funkcionisale, samo na drugim lokacijama - prvo na Krfu, a kasnije tokom 1916. godine - u okolini Soluna. Pored brige o funkcionisanju bolnica, u proleće 1916. godine Srpski potporni fond prihvatio je i obaveze da izdržava deo srpskih izbeglica na Krfu, Korzici, u Solunu i severnoj Africi, kao i da prikuplja pomoć, novčanu

i materijalnu, za srpske zarobljenike u logorima u Austrougarskoj.<sup>1</sup> U želji da se srpska omladina skloni od ratnih dejstava, te da se sačuva od epidemija, bolesti i neizvesnog snabdevanja osnovnim životnim namirnicama, ogromna većina izbegle srpske dece poslata je u Francusku, u skladu sa dogovorom između srpske i francuske vlade. Budući već ranije angažovan u brizi oko srpske dece, Srpski potporni fond želeo je da nastavi sa ovim aktivnostima i u Francuskoj. Stoga je na Korziku poslat ser Edvard Bojl, istaknuti član Fonda, koji je trebalo da dogovori uslove saradnje sa francuskim vlastima i srpskim

<sup>1</sup> Ubavka Ostojić-Fejić, „Akcije za pomoć Srbiji u Velikoj Britaniji tokom Prvog svetskog rata”, u: Petar Kačavenda (ur.), *Jugoslovensko-britanski odnosi* (Beograd: ISI, 1988), 196.

### *3.1 Serbian Relief Fund and the Arrival of Serbian Children in Great Britain*

With the attack of the Central Powers on Serbia in autumn of 1915 and the withdrawal of the Serbian army and refugees to Corfu, the activities of the Serbian Relief Fund had to change significantly. Field hospitals, established in Serbia in 1915 as a means of aid, were still in operation but in different locations, first in Corfu and later in 1916 in the area of Thessaloniki. In addition to taking care of the hospitals, in spring of 1916, the Serbian Relief Fund assumed the obligation to support some of the Serbian refugees in Corfu, Thessaloniki, northern Africa and Corsica, and also to raise help, both financial

and material, for the Serbian prisoners held in the Austro-Hungarian prisoner camps.<sup>1</sup> Wishing to keep the Serbian youth away from the war and to save it from the epidemics of various diseases and the uncertainty of the supply of the basic provisions, most of the refugee children were sent to France, following an agreement between the governments of France and Serbia. The Serbian Relief Fund, which was already engaged in the care for the Serbian children, wanted to continue with these activities in France. Sir Edward Boyle, a distinguished member of the Fund, was sent to Corsica,

<sup>1</sup> Ubavka Ostojčić-Fejić, “Akcije za pomoć Srbiji u Velikoj Britaniji tokom Prvog svetskog rata”, in: Petar Kačavenda (ed.), *Jugoslovensko-britanski odnosi* (Belgrade: ISI, 1988), 196.

<sup>2</sup> Ser Čarls Luj de Grac (1860-1940), britanski diplomata, službovao je u Carigradu, Teheranu, Rimu, Atini, Cetinju i Južnoj Americi. U periodu Prvog svetskog rata bio je britanski diplomatski predstavnik u Srbiji.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Kar Bosankvet (1871-1935) bio je britanski arheolog i profesor Univerziteta u Liverpulu. Tokom Prvog svetskog rata bio je član Srpskog potpornog fonda i istakao se humanitarnim radom u Makedoniji.

<sup>4</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/1/1, Sir Edward Boyle to Bertram Christian, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1916.

<sup>5</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Serbian Relief Fund, Report on relief work since the enemy occupation of Serbia, 12-15.

<sup>6</sup> Meri Elis Bler (1880-?) bila je lekarka sa Novog Zelanda. Odmah po izbijanju Prvog svetskog rata pristupila je organizaciji Bolnice škotskih žena. Blisko je saradivala sa ser Edvardom Bojlom i njegovom majkom, ledi Bojl, koji su bili predstavnici Srpskog potpornog fonda na Korzici.

predstavnicima u Francuskoj. Uz pomoć ser Čarlsa de Graca<sup>2</sup>, britanskog poslanika u Srbiji i Roberta Bosankveta<sup>3</sup>, univerzitetskog profesora i aktivnog humanitarnog radnika na Balkanu, Bojl je uspeo da organizuje prebacivanje srpskih izbeglica sa Krfa i iz Soluna, preko Italije, na Korziku.<sup>4</sup> U razgovorima između predstavnika francuskih vlasti, srpskog poslanika u Parizu Milenka Vesnića i predstavnika Srpskog potpornog fonda dogovoreno je da staranje o srpskoj koloniji izbeglica na Korzici preuzmu Francuzi, a da se Srpski potporni fond brine o lečenju i snabdevanju odećom i obućom.<sup>5</sup> Doktorka Meri Bler<sup>6</sup> iz Bolnice škotskih žena organizovala je bolnicu u Ajačiju. Ambulante su uspostavljene i u Bastiji, kao i na ostrvu Friul nedaleko od Marselja, na kojem se nalazio karantin za srpske izbeglice.

U februaru 1916. godine, nakon što je većina srpskih izbeglica bila razmeštena po južnoj Francuskoj, Alžiru i na Korzici, među članovima Srpskog potpornog fonda javila se ideja da se aktivnosti fonda prošire i da fond preuzme brigu o izdržavanju i školovanju jednog broja srpske izbegličke dece, posebno one koja su se u tom trenutku još uvek nalazila na Jonskim

ostrvima i u okolini Soluna. Gospođa Gertruda Karington Vajld, inicijator ove ideje, predložila je da Srpski potporni fond ugosti oko 300 srpskih dečaka i devojčica mlađeg uzrasta u Velikoj Britaniji, čime bi se u velikoj meri olakšali naponi srpskih prosvetnih vlasti da zbrinu izbegličku decu. Međutim, razlozi praktične prirode, pre svih veoma teško stanje dece evakuisane u Francusku, naterali su Srpski potporni fond da promeni svoj predlog i okrene se deci koja su bila smeštena na Korzici. Takođe, prisustvo agenata fonda na Korzici i u Marselju učinilo je evakuaciju dece lakšom. Na sednici izvršnog odbora Srpskog potpornog fonda održanoj 17. februara 1916, odlučeno je da gospođa Karington Vajld i ser Ralf Pedžet, pomoćnik državnog podsekretara za spoljne poslove i bivši britanski poslanik u Beogradu, otputuju u Pariz kako bi se sa srpskim i francuskim vlastima dogovorili oko prebacivanja dece u Veliku Britaniju.<sup>7</sup> Ipak, prilikom polaska u Francusku, savetovano im je da tokom razgovora ne budu previše nasrtljivi - kako zbog toga što je i u okviru fonda bilo pojedinaca koji su se protivili prihvatanju dece, smatrajući da to nije posao za jednu humanitarnu instituciju, tako i zbog

where he was supposed to arrange the terms of cooperation with the French authorities and the representatives of the Serbian government in France. With the help of Sir Charles des Graz<sup>2</sup>, a British representative in Serbia, and Robert Bosanquet<sup>3</sup>, a university professor and active charity worker in the Balkans, Boyle managed to organise transport of the Serbian refugees from Corfu and Thessaloniki to Corsica, via Italy.<sup>4</sup> In talks between the French authorities, the Serbian minister in Paris, Milenko Vesnić, and the representatives of the Serbian Relief Fund, it was arranged that the care of the Serbian refugee colony in Corsica should be taken over by the French, while the Fund should provide medical care and the supply of clothing and footwear.<sup>5</sup> Doctor Mary Blair<sup>6</sup> from the organisation of the Scottish Women's Hospitals set up a hospital unit in Ajaccio. Infirmaries were also established in Bastia and in the Frioul archipelago, near Marseilles, where a quarantine for the Serbs was located.

In February 1916, after the majority of the Serbian refugees was relocated to the south of France, Algiers and Corsica, an idea emerged within the Serbian Relief Fund to expand their activi-

ties by assuming responsibility for the support and education of a contingent of the Serbian refugee children, especially the ones still located at the Ionian Islands and around Thessaloniki. Mrs Gertrude Carrington Wilde, who was the initiator of the idea, suggested that the Serbian Relief Fund should accommodate around 300 Serbian children, younger boys and girls, in Great Britain in order to help the efforts of the Serbian educational authorities to take care of them. However, due to the practical reasons, the foremost of which was a dreadful state of the children evacuated to France, the Serbian Relief Fund was forced to change their initial idea and focus on the children situated in Corsica. Also, the presence of the Fund's agents in Corsica and Marseilles made the evacuation easier. At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Serbian Relief Fund held on 17<sup>th</sup> February 1916, it was decided that Mrs Carrington Wilde and Sir Ralph Paget, the Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and a former British emissary to Belgrade, should go to Paris in order arrange the transfer of the children to the United Kingdom with the French and Serbian authorities.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, before leaving, they were advised not to be too ag-

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Louis des Graz (1860–1940) was a British diplomat. He was posted in Istanbul, Teheran, Rome, Athens, Cetinje and South America. During the First World War he was acting as a British diplomatic representative in Serbia.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Carr Bosanquet (1871–1935) was a prominent British archaeologist and a professor at the University of Liverpool. During the First World War he was a member of the Serbian Relief Fund and an active humanitarian worker in Macedonia.

<sup>4</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/1/1, Sir Edward Boyle to Bertram Christian, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1916.

<sup>5</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Serbian Relief Fund, Report on relief work since the enemy occupation of Serbia, 12–15.

<sup>6</sup> Mary Alice Blair (1880–?) was a physician from New Zealand. When the First World War broke out she joined the organisation of the Scottish Women's Hospitals. She closely collaborated with Sir Edward Boyle and his mother, Lady Boyle, the representatives of the Serbian Relief Fund in Corsica.

<sup>7</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/7, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> February 1916.

<sup>8</sup> Pol Penleve (1863-1933) bio je francuski matematičar, univerzitetski profesor i političar. Dva puta je obavljao dužnost predsednika vlade, a u periodu između 1915. i 1917. bio je ministar prosvete i nauke.

<sup>9</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain 1916-1924, 2-4.

<sup>10</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/7, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 16<sup>th</sup> March 1916.

<sup>11</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje...”, 149-151.

<sup>12</sup> AS, Ministarstvo prosvete (MPs), UI, 1916, Dopis Drag. S. Obradovića, inspektora, Ministru prosvete i crkvenih dela, 15. mart 1916. Prema sećanju Siton-Votsona, jedan od dvojice predstavnika Srpskog potpornog fonda koji se tada nalazio na ostrvu Friulu bio je Džon Belouz, koji je kasnije postao nadzornik svih srpskih đaka u Velikoj Britaniji. SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain 1916-1924, 4.

bojzani da se Francuzi ne uvrede, budući da su uložili napor da prihvate i organizuju školovanje za nekoliko hiljada srpskih mališana.

Krajem februara 1916. godine održan je sastanak između ser Ralfa Pedžeta i Gertrude Karington Vajld ispred Srpskog potpornog fonda, francuskog ministra prosvete Pola Penlevea<sup>8</sup> (*Paul Painlevé*) i srpskog poslanika u Francuskoj Milenka Vesnića, na kojem je pomenuta i mogućnost da jedan broj dece nastavi školovanje u Velikoj Britaniji. Francuski ministar, koji je bio upoznat sa radom fonda na Korzici, upitao je da li bi fond mogao da ugosti srpsku decu. Pošto je dobio potvrđan odgovor, o ovom pitanju mišljenje je trebalo da iznese i srpski poslanik, koji u načelu nije imao ništa protiv.<sup>9</sup> Informisani od svojih delegata u Parizu da Srbi i Francuzi prihvataju da se kontingent dece pošalje u Veliku Britaniju, predstavnici Srpskog potpornog fonda obavestili su o svojoj nameri britanska ministarstva spoljnih i unutrašnjih poslova.<sup>10</sup> Međutim, politički aspekt celog aranžmana bio je daleko komplikovaniji nego što se to isprva činilo. Harold Nikolson, sekretar u Forin ofisu, za beležio je da francuska vlada ulaže

velike organizacione napore i finansijska sredstva da prihvati i obrazuje mlade srpske izbeglice, sa ciljem da raširi francuski uticaj među srpskom omladinom, pokušavajući tako da se pozicionira kao patron srpske države po završetku rata i njenom oslobođenju.<sup>11</sup> Nikolson je smatrao da bi bilo štetno kvariti odnose sa Francuzima zbog pitanja koje Britancima i nije toliko značajno. Ipak, rešenje je pronađeno - srpsko Ministarstvo prosvete dalo je načelnu saglasnost da se deca pošalju na školovanje u Veliku Britaniju, a ser Ralf Pedžet razgovarao je o tome sa predsednikom srpske vlade Nikolom Pašićem i prestolonaslednikom Aleksandrom Karađorđevićem, prilikom njihove posete Londonu u martu 1916. godine.

Srpska vlada obaveštena je o namerama britanske humanitarne organizacije, pa je s tim u vezi ministar prosvete Ljubomir Davidović naredio srpskom prosvetnom inspektoru u Marselju da bude na usluzi Srpskom potpornom fondu. U dopisu Ministarstvu prosvete od 28. marta 1916. (15. mart po julijanskom kalendaru), prosvetni inspektor Dragomir Obradović izveštava da se dvojica predstavnika Srpskog potpornog fonda već nala-

gressive on the issue, not only because certain individuals within the Serbian Relief Fund opposed the whole idea, regarding it inappropriate for a humanitarian institution, but also not to insult the French, considering the efforts they had already put into settling and organising education for several thousand Serbian children.

At the meeting held in February 1916 between Gertrude Carrington Wilde and Sir Ralph Paget, on the behalf of the Serbian Relief Fund, and the French Minister of Public Instruction Paul Painlevé<sup>8</sup> and the Serbian Minister in Paris Milenko Vesnić, it was suggested that there was a possibility for some of the children to continue their education in the United Kingdom. Minister Painlevé, who was well acquainted with the work the Serbian Relief Fund was doing in Corsica, asked if the organisation was able to host the children. Having received a positive answer, he declared that he had nothing against the idea. The Serbian Minister was also on board.<sup>9</sup> When the leadership of the Serbian Relief Fund in London was informed that both French and Serbian authorities agreed to the idea, they informed the British Foreign Office and the Home Office

about the proposed scheme, seeking formal approval.<sup>10</sup> However, the political side of the entire project turned out to be far more complicated than it had seemed initially. Harold Nicholson, the Secretary at the Foreign Office, noted that the French government had put a lot of effort, both organisational and financial, to accommodate and educate young Serbian refugees, with an aim to spread French influence among the younger Serbian generation and therefore position itself as a patron of the Serbian state after the war had ended and the country had been liberated.<sup>11</sup> Nicholson argued that the British should not disrupt their relations with the French over an issue which was not that important to them. In the end, a solution was found - the Serbian Ministry of Education gave a principal approval for the children to travel to the United Kingdom and Sir Ralph Paget discussed the issue with the Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić and the Serbian Prince Regent Aleksandar Karadjordjević, during their visit to London in March 1916.

The Serbian government was informed about the intentions of the British charity organisation and the Serbian Minister of Education

<sup>7</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/7, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> February 1916.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Painlevé (1863-1933) was a French mathematician, university professor and politician. He was the Prime Minister on two occasions. In the period between 1915 and 1917 he was the Minister of Public Instruction.

<sup>9</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain 1916-1924, 2-4.

<sup>10</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/7, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 16<sup>th</sup> March 1916.

<sup>11</sup> Trgovčević, "Školovanje...", 149-151.

<sup>12</sup> AS, Ministry of Education (MPs), U1, 1916, Letter of Dragomir Obradović, inspector, to the Ministry of Education, March 15<sup>th</sup> 1916. According to Seton-Watson, one of the people who had already arrived to the Frioul archipelago was John Bellows, the later superintendent of all Serbian students in Great Britain. SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain 1916-1924, 4.

<sup>13</sup> AS, MPs, U9, 1916, Inspektor Drag. S. Obradović Prosvetnom odeljenju u Parizu, 15. mart 1916.

<sup>14</sup> Milan Majzner (1868-1942) bio je gimnazijski profesor i bibliotekar. Tokom svoje duge i bogate karijere predavao je srpski jezik u gimnazijama u Nišu, Kragujevcu, Čupriji i Beogradu. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata brinuo je o grupi srpskih učenika u Londonu.

<sup>15</sup> Dragutin Subotić (1887-1952) bio je jedan od supervizora srpskih đaka u Velikoj Britaniji za vreme Prvog svetskog rata. Po završetku rata ostao je na Ostrvu, gde je radio kao predavač u Školi za slovenske i istočnoevropske studije. Istovremeno je bio i kulturni ataše pri ambasadi Jugoslavije u Londonu.

<sup>16</sup> Milorad Vanlić (1889-1968) bio je istaknuti srpski pedagog i istoričar školstva. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je nadzornik srpske đačke kolonije u Dandiju. Posle rata je radio kao profesor na Višoj pedagoškoj školi i Muzičkoj akademiji u Beogradu.

<sup>17</sup> Slavko Šećerov (1888-?)

ze u Francuskoj, na zadatku odabira dece koja će otputovati u Veliku Britaniju.<sup>12</sup> Inspektor Obradović još uvek nije znao da li će predstavnici fonda u Veliku Britaniju odvesti samo mlađu decu (do 16 godina starosti) ili i onu stariju. Stoga je ministru predložio da bi, ukoliko se odluče za mlađe, u Veliku Britaniju trebalo poslati decu iz Ajačija, kojih taman ima oko 300 na broju. U slučaju pak da predstavnici fonda izaberu starije, inspektor je predložio da se na školovanje u Britaniju pošalju neraspoređeni đaci iz Marselja, Eks le Bena i Eks an Provanza. Politika Srpskog potpornog fonda bila je da se prihvate mlađa deca, kao i da dečaci i devojčice, po mogućnosti, budu ravnopravno zastupljeni. Međutim, pošto su iz Srbije izbegli uglavnom dečaci, i to iz straha da ih austrougarske okupacione vlasti ne odvedu u zarobljeništvo, odlučeno je da se u Veliku Britaniju odvedu dečaci iz Ajačija. Već tokom marta meseca sastavljeni su preliminarni spiskovi dece koja je trebalo da pođu na put.

Prva grupa dece krenula je za Veliku Britaniju 27. marta 1916. godine (14. marta po julijanskom kalendaru), nakon što su proveli neophodan vremenski period u karantinu, na ostrvu

Friulu, nedaleko od Marselja.<sup>13</sup> Grupu je činilo 145 učenika, podeljenih u pet grupa, i pet nastavnika - po jedan na čelu svake grupe. Nastavnici koji su pratili učenike bili su: Milan Majzner<sup>14</sup>, dr Dragutin Subotić<sup>15</sup>, Milorad Vanlić<sup>16</sup>, dr Slavko Šećerov<sup>17</sup> i Milan Luković.<sup>18</sup> Uz učenike i nastavnike, za Veliku Britaniju su krenula i dva prevodioca, Milan Bradić i Aleksandar Vidaković, koji je i sam bio osamnaestogodišnji đak iz internata Sent Eloa kod Eks an Provansa.<sup>19</sup> Putovali su brodom do Sautempton, a odatle dalje vozom do Londona, gde su bili stacionirani dok nije pronađeno dugoročno rešenje za njihov smeštaj u Velikoj Britaniji. Uz pomoć britanskog Komiteta za ratne izbeglice, Srpski potporni fond obezbedio je privremeni smeštaj za decu u pansionu Karington haus u Deptfordu, u jugoistočnom Londonu. Zahvaljujući saradnji sa Komitetom, organizatori smeštaja dobili su veoma povoljnu cenu - svega dva šilinga i šest penija po detetu dnevno, u šta je bila uračunata i ishrana.<sup>20</sup> Druga grupa od 150 srpskih učenika krenula je u Veliku Britaniju 11. juna 1916,<sup>21</sup> ali spiskovi sa njihovim imenima nisu sačuvani. U međuvremenu, deca koja su se već nalazila u Velikoj Britaniji raspo-

Ljubomir Davidović instructed the Serbian educational inspector in Marseille to help the Serbian Relief Fund in any way he could. In a letter dispatched to the Ministry of Education on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1916 (15<sup>th</sup> March according to Julian calendar), the educational inspector Dragomir Obradović wrote that two representatives of the Serbian Relief Fund were already in France and engaged in selecting the children who should be sent to the United Kingdom.<sup>12</sup> Inspector Obradović was still not informed whether the Serbian Relief Fund representatives would only take younger children (up to 16 years of age) or if they were also interested in older children. He suggested to the Minister that, should the Serbian Relief Fund only take the younger ones, they should send the children from Ajaccio, who numbered approximately 300. If they were also interested in the older ones, he suggested sending the unallocated children from Marseilles, Aix-les-Bains and Aix-en-Provence. The representatives of the Serbian Relief Fund had a policy of accepting younger children and, where it was possible, an equal number of boys and girls. However, due to the fact that a vast majority of the children refugees were young boys, who

escaped Serbia in fear of being taken into captivity by the Austro-Hungarian forces, the decision was made to take the boys from Ajaccio to Great Britain. Preliminary lists of the boys who were to go to Britain were being drafted as early as March.

The first group of children embarked on a journey to the United Kingdom on 27<sup>th</sup> March 1916 (14<sup>th</sup> March according to Julian calendar), after the quarantine on the island of Frioul, near Marseilles.<sup>13</sup> The group comprised 145 students, divided into five smaller groups, and five heads, one for each group. Heads who escorted the students to the United Kingdom were: Milan Majzner<sup>14</sup>, Dr Dragutin Subotić<sup>15</sup>, Milorad Vanlić<sup>16</sup>, Dr Slavko Šećerov<sup>17</sup> and Milan Luković.<sup>18</sup> Alongside students and heads, two translators also set out on the journey, Milan Bradić and Aleksandar Vidaković, an eighteen-year-old student from Saint-Eloi boarding school near Aix-en-Provence.<sup>19</sup> They travelled by boat to Southampton from where they took a train to London, designed as a temporary stop, until a permanent solution for their accommodation in the United Kingdom was arranged. With the help of the War Refugees Commit-

<sup>13</sup> AS, MPs, U9, 1916, Inspector Dragomir Obradović to the Educational Department in Paris, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1916.

<sup>14</sup> Milan Majzner (1868–1942) was a teacher and librarian. During his long and successful career he taught Serbian language and literature at grammar schools in Niš, Kragujevac, Čuprija and Belgrade. During the First World War he took care of the Serbian children stationed in London.

<sup>15</sup> Dragutin Subotić (1887–1952) was one of the supervisors of the Serbian students in the United Kingdom during the First World War. After the war had ended, he remained in the United Kingdom and worked as a lecturer at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies. At the same time, he was a cultural attaché in the Embassy of Yugoslavia in London.

<sup>16</sup> Milorad Vanlić (1889–1968) was a distinguished Serbian pedagogue and historian of education. During the First World War he supervised the Serbian colony in Dundee. After the war, he worked as a lecturer at the Teacher's College in Belgrade and the Academy of Music in Belgrade.

bio je srpski ekonomista, političar i narodni poslanik Demokratske stranke.

<sup>18</sup> Milan Luković (1889-1972) bio je srpski geolog, profesor Univerziteta u Beogradu i član Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti.

<sup>19</sup> AS, MPs, U1, 1916, Liste des garçons Serbes pour aller en Angleterre.

<sup>20</sup> NA, War Refugees Committee (MH 8), Correspondence and allocations. Serbian Relief Fund (MH 8/4), Hon. Secretary to Mrs. Wilde, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1916.

<sup>21</sup> AS, MPs, U9, 1916, Inspektor Drag. S. Obradović Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih dela od 26. maja 1916.

<sup>22</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/2/1, Seton-Watson to Rev. R. W. Grace, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1916.

<sup>23</sup> Sidni Bol (1857-1918) bio je profesor filozofije na koledžu Sent Džons u Oksfordu. Dao je veliki doprinos razvoju društvenih nauka na Oksfordskom univerzitetu, posebno političke ekonomije i sociologije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je predsednik lokalnog obrazovnog odbora Srpskog potpornog

ređena su širom zemlje, a najviše ih je prebačeno u Viklif hol u Oksfordu, gotovo polovina.<sup>22</sup> Odluka da se deca smeste u Oksford delimično je bila proizvod spleta srećnih okolnosti, jer je Viklif hol upravo u to vreme napustila grupa regruta, te je raspolagao slobodnim mestima, ali i rezultat angažovanja lokalnih zvaničnika, učenjaka i političara, koji su oformili lokalnu podružnicu Srpskog potpornog fonda. Na njenom čelu nalazio se Sidni Bol<sup>23</sup>, profesor na koledžu Sent Džons u Oksfordu.<sup>24</sup>

Kako bi rad na zbrinjavanju đaka i studenata bio bolje koordiniran, čelnici Srpskog potpornog fonda formirali su specijalni pododbor za obrazovanje,<sup>25</sup> na čijem se čelu nalazila Gertruda Karington Valjd, a osim nje činili su ga: gospođa Kari, gospođica Makvin, dr Ronald Barouz, principal Kings koledža u Londonu, Henri Noel Brejlsford, novinar i pisac, kao i članovi fonda koji su radili na terenu. Formalna pozivnica da se priključe radu obrazovnog potkomiteta Srpskog potpornog fonda poslata je i ocu Nikolaju Velimiroviću, ser Gregoriju Fosteru, upravitelju Univerzitetskog koledža u Londonu i ser Henriju Guču, konzervativnom političaru i stručnjaku za

obrazovanje. Ovom pododboru ubrzo su se priključili i Sidni Bol sa koledža Sent Džons u Oksfordu, Džon Belouz<sup>26</sup>, Aldžernon Modslit<sup>27</sup>, predstavnik britanskog Komiteta za ratne izbeglice i profesor Pavle Popović, predstavnik srpskog ministarstva prosvete u Velikoj Britaniji.<sup>28</sup> Sastav obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda menjao se tokom ratnih godina, ali mu je delatnost uglavnom ostala ista. Ova institucija, predvođena gospođom Karington Vajld, obavljala je sve tekuće poslove vezane za obrazovanje i smeštaj srpske dece u Velikoj Britaniji i o svom radu obavestavala je izvršni odbor.

U avgustu 1916. godine, pošto su oba kontingenta srpskih učenika bezbedno pristigla u Veliku Britaniju i bila razmeštena po različitim lokacijama širom Ostrva, počelo se razmišljati i o njihovom daljem raspoređivanju i upisu u pojedine škole. U tom trenutku, deca su se nalazila na sledećim lokacijama: 112 u Oksfordu, u Viklif holu; 130 u Kembridžu (od toga 78 u Vestminsterskom koledžu i 52 u koledžu Česhant); 23 u Birminghamu; 8 u Mejdenhedu i 25 u Šipi Hilu. Smeštaj u Oksfordu obezbeđen je zahvaljujući pomoći već pomenutog Sidnija

tee, the Serbian Relief Fund managed to secure temporary accommodation at Carrington House, a boarding house in Deptford in south-east London. Thanks to the War Refugees Committee, the organisers got a very reasonable price for accommodation – 2s.6d. per student a day, including the meals.<sup>20</sup> The second group of 150 Serbian students headed to Great Britain on 11<sup>th</sup> June 1916.<sup>21</sup> The list of students who comprised the second group did not survive. Meanwhile, the children who had already arrived to the United Kingdom were accommodated across the country. The majority, almost half of them, was moved to Wycliffe Hall in Oxford.<sup>22</sup> The decision to move the children to Oxford was partially result of a fortuitous set of circumstances, as Wycliffe Hall had been left vacant following a departure of a group of recruits, but also a result of the engagement of local officials, both scholars and politicians, who formed the local committee of the Serbian Relief Fund. Head of the local committee was Sidney Ball<sup>23</sup>, a Fellow of St John’s College.<sup>24</sup>

In order to better coordinate the work on settling the Serbian boys and students, the officials of the Serbian Re-

lief Fund had created a special Educational Subcommittee.<sup>25</sup> The head of the Subcommittee was Gertrude Carrington Wilde and the members included Mrs Currie, Miss Macqueen, Dr Ronald Burrows, the Principal of King’s College in London, H. N. Brailsford, a journalist and author, and other members of the Fund who had already been engaged in the fieldwork, and a formal invitation to join the work of the Subcommittee was extended to Father Nikolaj Velimirović, Sir Gregory Foster, Provost of University College London, and Sir Henry Cubitt Gooch, an educationalist and Conservative politician. Soon after, the Educational Subcommittee was joined by Sidney Ball from St John’s College in Oxford, John Bellows,<sup>26</sup> Algernon Maudslay,<sup>27</sup> a representative of the British War Refugees Committee and professor Pavle Popović, a representative of the Serbian Ministry of Education in Great Britain.<sup>28</sup> The structure of the Educational Subcommittee changed during the war, but the backbone of the organisation remained the same. The Subcommittee was in charge of all the activities regarding the education and accommodation of the Serbian children and they reported directly to the Executive Committee.

<sup>17</sup> Slavko Šećerov (1888–?) was a Serbian economist and politician. He was a Member of Parliament in front of the Democratic Party.

<sup>18</sup> Milan Luković (1889–1972) was a Serbian geologist, professor of the University of Belgrade and a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

<sup>19</sup> AS, MPs, UI, 1916, Liste des garçons Serbes pour aller en Angleterre.

<sup>20</sup> NA, War Refugees Committee (MH 8), Correspondence and allocations. Serbian Relief Fund (MH 8/4), Hon. Secretary to Mrs. Wilde, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1916.

<sup>21</sup> AS, MPs, U9, 1916, Inspector Obradović to the Ministry of Education, 26<sup>th</sup> May 1916.

<sup>22</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/2/1, Seton-Watson to Rev. R. W. Grace, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1916.

<sup>23</sup> Sidney Ball (1857–1918) was a philosophy tutor at St John’s College in Oxford. He was much credited with development of social sciences at the University of Oxford, most notably political economy and sociology. During the First World War he was

fonda.

<sup>24</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain 1916-1924, 5.

<sup>25</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/7, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1916.

<sup>26</sup> Džon Belouz je bio jedan od najznačajnijih funkcionera Srpskog potpornog fonda. Bio je administrator prosvetnog pododbora i najbliži saradnik Gertrude Karington Vajld. U ime fonda i pododbora, komunicirao je sa svim zainteresovanim stranama - srpskim poslanstvom, Srpskim Crvenim krstom, Komitetom za ratne izbeglice i drugima. U poslu mu je pomagala sestra Hana. Osim navedenog, i podatka da je Belouz pripadao Društvu prijatelja (kvekerskoj zajednici), o njemu i njegovom životu se ne zna gotovo ništa.

<sup>27</sup> Aldžernon Modсли (1873-1948) je bio britanski moreplovac i državni činovnik. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata obavljao je dužnost sekretara Komiteta za ratne izbeglice. Takođe, bio je strastveni

Bola. U Kembridžu je tokom leta 1916. godine, slično kao i u Oksfordu, formiran lokalni potporni fond, na čelu sa ser Albertom Sjuardom<sup>29</sup>, upravnikom koledža Dauning. Budući da je najveći broj dečaka bio smešten u Kembridžu, i celokupna administracija obrazovnog potkomiteta Srpskog potpornog fonda, na čelu sa Džonom Belouzom, preselila se u ovaj univerzitetski centar. Zahvaljujući preporukama leđi Jang, jednu grupu dečaka primili su u Mejdenhedu upravnik škole i njegova supruga. Istovremeno, Elizabet Kadberi<sup>30</sup>, supruga Džordža Kadberija<sup>31</sup>, bogatog proizvođača kakaoa i čokolade i člana Srpskog potpornog fonda, iznajmila je kuću u Birmingemu, u kojoj su gospodin Dagleas Mejnard i njegova supruga vodili računa o 23 srpska dečaka.<sup>32</sup> Tokom leta javljali su se zainteresovani iz svih krajeva Velike Britanije - iz Aberdina, Glazgova, Edinburga i Dandija - u Škotskoj, zatim iz Mančesteru i Lidsa - u Engleskoj, kao i iz nekih gradova u Velsu. Do septembra su već u nekim od tih gradova formirane đačke kolonije: 17 dečaka nalazilo se u Lidsu, 21 u Glazgovu, 25 u Edinburgu, 3 u Mančesteru i 44 u Londonu.<sup>33</sup>

Kada se još početkom 1916. godine

razgovaralo o tome gde bi bilo najbolje smestiti decu iz Srbije i kako organizovati njihovo školovanje, javile su se dve različite i međusobno suprotstavljene ideje. Ser Artur Evans predlagao je da deca budu koncentrisana na jednom mestu, u Londonu ili Oksfordu, jer bi tako bilo jednostavnije držati ih pod kontrolom i takav bi pristup umnogome olakšao organizaciju celog poduhvata.<sup>34</sup> Sa druge strane, Siton-Votson smatrao je da dečake treba podeliti u manje grupe i poslati u različite delove zemlje, jer bi to omogućavalo delegiranje posla lokalnim podružnicama Srpskog potpornog fonda i različitim lokalnim dobrotvornim organizacijama. Takođe, na taj način lakše bi se pronašli kapaciteti za smeštaj dece i odgovarajuće obrazovne ustanove koje bi bile u mogućnosti da ih prime. Siton-Votsonov predlog dobio je veću podršku članova fonda. Ipak, odluka da se srpski đaci razdvoje na manje grupe uticala je na njihov moral, te je Pavle Popović u svom dnevniku zapisao da je razdvajanje kod dece izazvalo veliko nezadovoljstvo. Milan Majzner izveštavao ga je kako dečaci plaču kad ostanu sami i govore da nije pravedno to što su zajedno prošli Albaniju, a sada ih razdvajaju. „Sad se

In August 1916, after the both contingents of the Serbian students had arrived and been safely dispatched to various locations in the United Kingdom, the organisers started to think about their permanent accommodation and enrolment into schools. At that moment, the children were situated in the following locations: 112 in Oxford, Wycliffe Hall; 130 in Cambridge (78 at Westminster College and 52 at Cheshunt College); 23 in Birmingham; eight in Maidenhead and 25 at Shippea Hill. The accommodation in Oxford was provided courtesy of Sidney Ball. In Cambridge, similarly to Oxford, a local branch of the Serbian Relief Fund was founded in the summer of 1916, headed by Sir Albert Seaward,<sup>29</sup> Master of Downing College. The fact that most of the Serbian boys in Great Britain were situated in Cambridge caused the move of the administration of the Educational Subcommittee, headed by John Bellows, to Cambridge. Thanks to the recommendations of Lady Young, a group of Serbian boys was accommodated in Maidenhead by the school principal and his wife. At the same time, Elizabeth Cadbury,<sup>30</sup> the wife of George Cadbury,<sup>31</sup> a wealthy cacao and chocolate manufacturer and member of the

Serbian Relief Fund, rented a house in Birmingham, where Mr Douglas Maynard and his wife took care of 23 boys.<sup>32</sup> During the summer of 1916, people from all over Britain contacted the Fund, from Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Manchester, Leeds and Wales. By September 1916, Serbian colonies were created in some of those towns: seventeen boys were situated in Leeds, 21 in Glasgow, 25 in Edinburgh, three in Manchester and 44 in London.<sup>33</sup>

When the initial talks were held in early 1916, on the issues of how to accommodate the children and how to organise their education, two different and confronting ideas emerged. Sir Arthur Evans suggested that the children should be concentrated in one place, in London or in Oxford, because it would be easier to control them and it would generally facilitate the organisation of the entire endeavour.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, Robert Seton-Watson suggested that the boys should be divided into smaller groups and sent to different parts of the country, as that would allow for delegation of some of the work to the local branches of the Fund and various local charity organisations, and also

the Chairman of the local educational branch of the Serbian Relief Committee.

<sup>24</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain 1916-1924, 5.

<sup>25</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/7, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1916.

<sup>26</sup> John Bellows was one of the most important officials of the Serbian Relief Fund. He was the administrator of the Educational Subcommittee and the closest associate of Gertrude Carrington Wilde. On the behalf of the Fund and the Subcommittee he communicated with all the interested parties - the Serbian Legation, the Serbian Red Cross, the War Refugees Committee and others. He was aided in his work by his sister Hannah. Apart from the above-mentioned, and the fact that Bellows was a member of the Society of Friends, very little is known about his life and work.

<sup>27</sup> Algernon Maudslay (1873-1948) was a British sailor and government official. During the First World War he was the Secretary of the War

jedrilica i osvajač dve zlatne medalje na Olimpijskim igrama u Parizu 1900. godine.

<sup>28</sup> *For Serbia* (London: Serbian Relief Fund, 1917), 18.

<sup>29</sup> Ser Albert Čarls Sjuard (1863-1941), britanski geolog i botaničar, bio je član Geološkog društva u Londonu i Kraljevskog društva. Od 1915. godine upravnik je koledža Dauning u Kembridžu, a obavljao je i funkciju predsednika kembričkog odbora Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>30</sup> Dama Elizabet Meri Kadberi (1858-1951) bila je supruga industrijalca Džordža Kadberija, aktivistkinja za ženska prava i humanitarna radnica. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata vodila je brigu o belgijskim i srpskim izbeglicama u Birmingemu.

<sup>31</sup> Džordž Kadberi (1839-1922) bio je bogati proizvođač kakaoa i slatkiša iz Birmingema. Kao kveker i pacifista, najveći deo svog bogatstva trošio je za pomoć siromašnima, bolesnima i obespravljenima, a za vreme rata pomagao je izbeglim Srbima.

voli više drug nego otac”.<sup>35</sup>

Prva faza raspoređivanja i organizovanja obrazovanja srpske dece u Velikoj Britaniji okončana je do kraja 1916. godine. U periodu od 6 meseci po dolasku na Ostrvo, dečaci su razmešteni širom Velike Britanije, u pansione i hostele, a zatim upisani u škole i na fakultete. Sačuvana je detaljna tabela iz novembra 1916. godine, koja otkriva detalje dogovorenih aranžmana.<sup>36</sup> Prema izveštaju od 15. novembra, ukupno 46 đaka bilo je smešteno u Londonu, i to: 24 u Klapamu, 12 u hostelu na Ficroj skveru, 6 u hostelu u Endslej Gardensu i četvero u Vimblدونu. Klasičnu gimnaziju (*Grammar School*) Strand pohađalo je 24 učenika, Inženjerski institut u Nortemptonu dvoje, školu Holovej u Islingtonu desetero; troje je učilo medicinu na Kings koledžu, četvero inženjerske studije na Tehničkom institutu u Vimblدونu, jedan rudarstvo na Imperijalnom institutu i jedan se školovao za železničara pri Velikoj centralnoj železnici (*Great Central Railways*). Kada je reč o plaćanju smeštaja i školovanja srpske dece, postojalo je nekoliko aranžmana - smeštaj je uglavnom plaćao Srpski potporni fond (u rasponu od 10 šilinga do 22 šilinga i 6 penija

nedeljno po učeniku), ali i pojedinačni dobrotvori. Troškove školovanja su pokrivali Opština grada Londona, zatim same institucije koje su pružale obrazovanje, a u slučaju dece koja su se školovala u Vimblدونu - obrazovne vlasti grofovije Sari. U Oksfordu je takođe bilo smešteno 46 učenika, i to: 40 u koledžu Sent Endrjus i po jedan u koledžima Magdalen, Krajstčerč, Baliol, Sent Džons, Džisus i Nju koledžu. U Oksfordu su mlađi učenici pohađali različite osnovne i srednje škole, a stariji studirali tehničke nauke, šumarstvo, medicinu, teologiju, ekonomiju, pravo i književnost. Troškove smeštaja dece snosili su u celosti koledži koji su ih ugostili, a troškove obrazovanja zajednički su pokrivali lokalni obrazovni komitet i školske institucije. U Kembridžu je bilo smešteno 36 dečaka, od kojih je 34 živelo u Sent Anselms hausu, a dvojica u koledžu Dauning. Mlađih učenika, koji su pohađali osnovne i srednje škole, bilo je 28, šestoro je studiralo poljoprivredne nauke, a dvoje inženjerstvo. Njihov smeštaj plaćao je Srpski potporni fond, a troškove školovanja preuzimala je škola ili lokalni obrazovni komitet. Jedan dečak školovao se u koledžu Radli, što je gotovo u potpunosti finansirao Srpski potpor-

facilitate finding of suitable accommodation and adequate educational institutions available to accept the children. Seton-Watson's proposal had more backers. However, the decision to separate the boys and divide them into smaller groups affected their morale. Pavle Popović wrote in his diary that the separation caused a great dissatisfaction. Milan Majzner reported to Popović that the boys cried when left alone and said that it was not fair to be separated now after they had crossed Albania together. "One loves more a friend than a father now".<sup>35</sup>

The first phase of accommodating and organising education for the Serbian children in the United Kingdom had finished by the end of 1916. Within six months of their arrival, the children were placed all over the island, accommodated in guest houses and hostels and enrolled in schools and colleges. A detailed chart dating from November 1916 reveals details of the arrangements.<sup>36</sup> A total of 46 students were situated in London, 24 of which were in Clapham, twelve in a hostel at Fitzroy Square, six in a hostel at Endsleigh Gardens and four in Wimbledon. Twenty four students were enrolled at Strand Grammar School, two studied

engineering at the Northampton Institute, ten were educated at Holloway School in Islington, three studied medicine at King's College, four studied engineering at the Technical Institute in Wimbledon, one studied mining at the Imperial Institute and one was being educated for a railway engineer at the Great Central Railways. Arrangements concerning the accommodation and the cost of education varied from case to case - the accommodation was usually paid by the Serbian Relief Fund (in the price range between 10s. and 22s.6d. weekly per child), but also by individual benefactors. The cost of education was covered by the London County Council, the institutions where the students were enrolled, and in case of the children who were educated in Wimbledon - the educational authorities of the Surrey County. In Oxford there were also 46 students: 40 in St Andrew's College, one in New College, one in Magdalen College, one in Christ Church College, one in Balliol College, one in St John's College and one in Jesus College. Youngsters in Oxford attended various primary and secondary schools, and the older ones were studying technical sciences, forestry, medicine, theology, economy, law and literature. The cost of accom-

Refugees Committee. He was also a passionate sportsman, who won two gold medals for the United Kingdom at the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris.

<sup>28</sup> *For Serbia* (London: Serbian Relief Fund, 1917), 18.

<sup>29</sup> Sir Albert Charles Seward (1863-1941) was a British geologist and botanist. He was a member of the Geological Society of London and a member of the Royal Society. He was also the Chairman of the Cambridge branch of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>30</sup> Dame Elizabeth Mary Cadbury (1858-1951) was the second wife of industrialist George Cadbury. She was an activist for women's rights and a humanitarian. During the First World War she took care of the Serbian and Belgian refugees in Birmingham.

<sup>31</sup> George Cadbury (1839-1922) was a wealthy cocoa and chocolate manufacturer from Birmingham. He was a Quaker and a pacifist by conviction, who gave most of his wealth to the poor, sick and destitute. During the First World War he helped the Serbian refugees in Birmingham.

ni fond. U Birminghamu je bilo dvadesetoro dece i sva su bila smeštena u pansionu Seli Ouk. Mahom su to bili mlađi dečaci koji su pohađali osnovne i srednje škole. Troškove njihovog smeštaja i ishrane preuzeli su Srpski potporni fond i lokalni obrazovni komitet, dok je trošak obrazovanja pao na škole u koje su bili upisani. U Mejdenu je u pansionu u Sent Marks roudu bilo smešteno osmoro dečaka koji su pohađali osnovnu školu. Troje studenata u Mančesteru smešteno je u Hjum holu i bili su polaznici inženjerskog tečaja u tehničkoj školi. U Lidsu, u hostelu Holi Benk, raspoređeno je 18 učenika, od kojih je 14 pohađalo srednju školu i gimnaziju, troje se obučavalo za učiteljski poziv, a jedan je studirao ekonomiju na Univerzitetu. Materijalna sredstva za njihov smeštaj snosio je Srpski potporni fond, s tim što su gospodin i gospođa Mozli, vlasnici hostela, uspeli sami da obezbede oko 300 funti godišnje za izdržavanje ovih učenika. Troškove njihovog školovanja preuzele su škole i Univerzitet u Lidsu. U malom mestu Šipi Hil, na farmi Čivers Estejts, živelo je 39 učenika, koji su se obučavali u poljoprivrednoj struci. Pošto su dečaci bili plaćeni za rad na farmi, Srpski potporni fond samo je po potrebi do-

davao novac za njihov smeštaj i ishranu. U Edinburgu se nalazilo 25 đaka - njih 10 u hostelu Bleket plejs i 15 u hostelu Kilmors terasu i svi su pohađali školu Džordž Heriot. Troškove života u pansionima snosili su Srpski potporni fond i ser Edvard Perot<sup>37</sup>, liberalni poslanik iz Edinburga, dok je školovanje na sebe preuzela škola Džordž Heriot. Glazgov je ugostio 16 učenika, koji su bili raspoređeni u hostelu Hamilton drajv. Đaci su pohađali različite srednje škole, smeštaj i ishranu je plaćao fond, a školovanje prosvetne vlasti Glazgova. U Aberdenu je živelo desetoro učenika, svi u privatnom smeštaju, a o njihovom izdržavanju i školovanju brinuo je lokalni obrazovni komitet. Na ostrvu Hejling u južnoj Engleskoj, u Sent Endrjus houmu, živela su sedmorica dečaka, od kojih su trojica studirala medicinu i jedan inženjerstvo na koledžu u Portsmutu, a trojica su ostala neraspoređena. Još 25 dečaka nije bilo raspoređeno, ali je u izveštaju navedeno da će oni verovatno biti poslani na seosko imanje u Čendlers Ford.

U decembru 1916. godine srpsko Ministarstvo prosvete i crkvenih poslova na Krfu primilo je izveštaj srpskog poslanstva u Londonu o prijemu

<sup>32</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain 1916-1924, 5-6.

<sup>33</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Location of Serbian Youths, 4<sup>th</sup> September 1916.

<sup>34</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1916.

<sup>35</sup> Citirano prema: Trgovčević, „Školovanje...”, 158.

<sup>36</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Statement Showing of Serbian Boys in England, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1916.

<sup>37</sup> Ser Edvard Perot (1863-1921) bio je britanski učitelj, pisac i političar, liberalni poslanik iz Edinburga u britanskom Parlamentu. Tokom Prvog svetskog rata je vodio brigu o srpskim dečacima koji su se nalazili u tom škotskom gradu.

modation was settled by the colleges who welcomed the children and the costs of education were jointly paid by the local educational subcommittee and the educational institutions. Thirty six boys were placed in Cambridge and 34 of them lived in St Anselm's House and two in Downing College. There were 28 younger boys, enrolled in primary and secondary schools, six studied agriculture and two were studying engineering. Their accommodation was paid by the Serbian Relief Fund and the cost of education was borne either by the school or by the local committee. One boy was being educated at Radley College, which was financed entirely by the Serbian Relief Fund. All of twenty boys who were living in Birmingham were accommodated in a guest house at Selly Oak. Mostly younger boys were situated in Birmingham and they were enrolled in local primary and secondary schools. Their lodgings and food were paid by the Serbian Relief Fund and the local educational committee, while the tuition fees were paid by the schools. In Maidenhead, eight primary school aged boys were accommodated in a guest house at St Mark's Road. Three students were situated in Manchester, in Hulme Hall, and they were enrolled in a technical

course at the Technical School of the Victoria University of Manchester. In Leeds, eighteen boys lived in the Holly Bank hostel, fourteen of which went to vocational and grammar schools while three were studying teaching and one was studying economics at the university. The cost of the accommodation was covered by the Serbian Relief Fund, while the hostel proprietors, Mr and Mrs Mozley, personally managed to raise £300 per year for their upkeep. The expenditure regarding education was covered by schools and the university. In the small village of Shippea Hill, on Chivers Estates farm, 39 Serbian boys were accommodated and trained in the area of agriculture. They were paid for their work on the farm so the Serbian Relief Fund contributed financially only if additional expenditures regarding accommodation and food were incurred. There were 25 students in Edinburgh - ten at Blackett Place and fifteen at Kilmaurs Terrace. They all studied at George Heriot's School. The cost of their accommodation and education was covered by the Serbian Relief Fund and Sir Edward Parrott,<sup>37</sup> a Liberal MP from Edinburgh, while the tuition fees were covered by the school. Glasgow hosted sixteen children who stayed at a hostel at Hamilton Drive.

<sup>32</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain 1916-1924, 5-6.

<sup>33</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Location of Serbian Youths, 4<sup>th</sup> September 1916.

<sup>34</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1916.

<sup>35</sup> Cited according to Trgovčević, "Školovanje...", 158.

<sup>36</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Statement Showing of Serbian Boys in England, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1916.

<sup>37</sup> Sir Edward Parrott (1863-1921) was a British teacher, author and politician. He was a Liberal MP, representing Edinburgh in Westminster. During the First World War he took care of the Serbian boys who were settled in this Scottish city.

i smeštaju dece u Velikoj Britaniji. Izveštaj su sastavili srpski poslanik Jovan Jovanović i profesor Tihomir Đorđević, specijalni inspektor Ministarstva prosvete. U dopisu se navodi da srpske vlasti mogu biti spokojne u pogledu brige o srpskim đacima, da je sve sprovedeno u najboljem redu i u skladu sa interesima dece. U izveštaju, između ostalog, stoji: „Deca su sva muška raznoga doba starosti, svih struka i škola, svih staleža, pismenih i nepismenih, iz Srbije i ostalih krajeva Srpstva. Ta su deca sva ovde razmeštena u Engleskoj i Škotskoj po raznim školama. O njima se za sve stara Srpski Relif Fond, koji je blagodareći predusretljivosti Engleza sa svim dobro uputio ovu decu. U svoje vreme biće poslat Gospodinu Ministru Prosvete naročiti izveštaj o svemu što se ove dece tiče, a za sada radi znanja i umirenja Vlade mogu reći ovo. Ja sam obišao u društvu sa inspektorom srpskih đaka i dr Tihomirom Đorđevićem, docentom Univerziteta, dve grupe đaka u Londonu, zatim grupu u Oksfordu, grupu u Kembridžu, grupu u Šipi Hilu, i bio sam zadovoljan da konstatujem: da su deca potpuno zdrava, zadovoljna, najbolje smeštena i negovana/bolje nego kod svojih kuća/ i da se Englezi sa njima za sada

hvale. Deca se nalaze neka na Univerzitetima, neka u trgovačkim školama, neka u šumarskim, neka u tehničkim, neka u gimnazijama, neka u poljoprivrednim školama i neka na teološkim školama. Nastavnici Srbi, koji se nazale uz ovu decu tako isto su vredni i zauzimljivi. Za ova dva meseca Englezi ne samo da se nisu tužili kao što reko, na đake među kojima je međutim bilo i raspuštene dece, već traže da im se pošlju još srpskih đaka na školovanje”.<sup>38</sup> Krajem 1916. godine svi akteri ovog poduhvata mogli su biti zadovoljni. Srpski potporni fond uspeo je da prebaci oko 300 dečaka u Veliku Britaniju, da im organizuje smeštaj i rasporedi ih po školama i kolidžima, kao i da oformi mrežu lokalnih komiteta koji su u najvećoj meri preuzeli svakodnevne obaveze oko dečaka. Srpskoj vladi bilo je po volji sve što je do tada učinjeno i nadala se da će broj đaka u Velikoj Britaniji u budućnosti biti još veći.

Školovanje srpskih đaka u Velikoj Britaniji otpočelo je do kraja 1916. godine, a s obzirom na to da su u obrazovni proces bili istovremeno uključeni i srpski i britanski nastavnici, postavilo se pitanje standarda nastave i kvaliteta znanja i veština koje su učenici

<sup>38</sup> AS, MPs, U9, 1916, Jovan Jovanović Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih poslova, 26. novembar 1916. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

The boys in Glasgow were enrolled in different secondary schools, the food and accommodation were paid by the Fund and the education was covered by the educational authorities of Glasgow. Ten students were living in Aberdeen, all of them accommodated in private households. All of their expenses were covered by the local educational committee. Seven boys lived on the island of Hayling, in southern England, in St Andrew's Home. Three of them studied medicine and one studied engineering at Portsmouth College while further three were unassigned. At that time 25 boys were still unallocated but the report states that they would probably be sent to Chandler's Ford, to the country estate.

In December 1916, the Serbian Legation in London sent a report on admission and accommodation of the Serbian children in Great Britain to the Serbian Ministry of Education in Corfu. The report was written by Jovan Jovanović, Serbian Minister to London, and Professor Tihomir Djordjević, special inspector of the Ministry of Education. The report stated that the Serbian authorities should be reassured with regards to the care of the Serbian students, and that everything was being done in the

best order and in accordance with the best interest of the children: "The children are all male, of different age, of all trades and levels of education, of all classes, literate and illiterate, from Serbia and other parts of Serbian lands. All the children have been allocated here in England and Scotland to various schools. They are being taken care of by the Serbian Relief Fund, which managed to direct the children well, thanks to the courtesy of the English. Eventually, a special report to the Minister will be sent regarding the children, but for now, in order to inform and reassure, I can state the following. Together with the inspector of Serbian students, Dr Tihomir Djordjević, assistant professor at the University of Belgrade, I had visited two groups of students in London, the group in Oxford, the group in Cambridge and the group in Shippea Hill, and I was very pleased to find the children completely healthy, satisfied, properly accommodated and nurtured /better than at their own homes/ and that the English are full of kind words for them. Some of the children are at universities; others are at business schools, forestry, technical, grammar, agricultural or theological schools. The Serbian teachers accompanying the children are also hardworking and

sticali. Srpsko Ministarstvo prosvete želelo je da bude u toku sa onim što se dešava u Velikoj Britaniji, namera-  
vajući pritom da zadrži uticaj na ob-  
razovanje i vaspitanje srpske omladi-  
ne. S tim ciljem je u drugoj polovini  
septembra 1916. godine za inspekto-  
ra svih škola u Velikoj Britaniji po-  
stavljeno profesor Univerziteta u Beo-  
gradu Pavle Popović, koji je već bio  
član obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog  
potpornog fonda. Popoviću je pove-  
rena dužnost da obilazi srpske đačke  
kolonije, da vodi nadzor nad đacima  
i profesorima i bude direktna veza  
između Ministarstva prosvete i cr-  
kvenih poslova i Srpskog potpornog  
fonda.<sup>39</sup> Nešto kasnije, kada je srpska

kolonija u Velikoj Britaniji već dosti-  
gla pozamašan broj đaka, po ugledu  
na druge države u kojima se školovao  
veći broj Srba, u Londonu je uspo-  
stavljeno i Prosvetni savet. Osim Pavla  
Popovića, njega su činili i srpski po-  
slanik u Londonu Jovan Jovanović,  
pomoćnik inspektora dr Mihailo  
Popović, profesor dr Tihomir Đor-  
đević, dr Đorđe Đurić i dr Vojislav  
Subotić. Članovi Prosvetnog saveta  
su, prema dokumentima, vredno i  
savesno obavljali svoj posao, koordi-  
nirali rad različitih britanskih huma-  
nitarnih organizacija sa srpskim po-  
slanstvom i Ministarstvom prosvete  
i brinuli za dobrobit i napredak srp-  
ske dece u Velikoj Britaniji.

<sup>39</sup> *Nastavnik*, XXVII  
(1916-1919), 73-74.

industrious. As I said, in the course of these two months the English did not complain about the children, amongst which some were quite troubled, but asked us to send more of them".<sup>38</sup> By the end of 1916, all involved in the undertaking could be quite satisfied. The Serbian Relief Fund managed to transfer about 300 boys to Great Britain, to organise accommodation, to enrol them in different schools and colleges and to form a network of local committees, who took over the majority of daily responsibilities concerning the boys. The Serbian government was very satisfied with what had been done and hoped that number of students in the United Kingdom would increase in the future.

Since by the end of 1916, the process of education of the Serbian students in Great Britain had begun, and, due to the fact that both Serbian and British teachers were in charge of the education, the question of educational standards and the quality of knowledge and skills acquired was raised. Since the Serbian Ministry of Education wanted to be kept informed about the goings-on in the United Kingdom and intended to retain its influence on the education and upbringing of

the Serbian children, in September 1916 the Ministry appointed Professor Pavle Popović, who had already been elected as a member of the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund, to the position of an inspector of all schools in Great Britain, with a task to visit the Serbian student colonies, supervise the children and their professors and to act as a direct link between the Serbian Ministry of Education and the Serbian Relief Fund.<sup>39</sup> At a later date, when the Serbian colony in the United Kingdom became quite substantial, an Educational Council was established in London, as had been the practice in all other countries where a large number of Serbs was educated. Besides Pavle Popović, members of the Educational Council were the Serbian Minister to London Jovan Jovanović, assistant inspector Dr Mihailo Popović, Dr Tihomir Djordjević, Dr Djordje Djurić and Dr Vojislav Subotić. According to the documents, members of the Educational Council worked conscientiously and diligently, coordinating the work of different British charitable organisations with the Serbian Legation and the Serbian Ministry of Education and took care of the well-being and prosperity of the Serbian children.

<sup>38</sup> AS, MPs, U9, 1916, Jovan Jovanović to the Ministry of Education, 26<sup>th</sup> November 1916 (according to Julian calendar).

<sup>39</sup> *Nastavnik*, XXVII (1916-1919), 73-74.

### 3.2 Ishrana i briga o zdravlju srpske dece

Po dolasku srpskih đaka u Veliku Britaniju, kao najznačajnija i najurgentnija nametnula su se pitanja njihovog smeštaja i nastave, te im je u samom početku poklonjena najveća pažnja. Međutim, postojali su i drugi problemi sa kojima se trebalo uhvatiti u koštac, a jedan od najznačajnijih bilo je pitanje ishrane srpske dece po dolasku na Ostrvo. Iskustvo koje su o životu učenika u inostranstvu imale srpske prosvetne vlasti govorilo je da su se srpska deca veoma teško prilagođavala prehranbenim navikama u Evropi.<sup>40</sup> Kako su bili adaptirani na ishranu koja je sadržavala velike

količine hleba, mesa i mladog sira, srpskim učenicima je hrana servirana u internatima i pansionima u Francuskoj bila odbojna. Tako je, primera radi, ponuda sira brija umalo izazvala đачku pobunu i neredu u jednoj francuskoj licejskoj trpezariji. Iako hrana u Velikoj Britaniji nije bila u tolikoj meri egzotična za prosečnog Srbina kao što je bila u Francuskoj, ipak se na pojedine specifičnosti britanske kuhinje trebalo navići.

Dečaci koji su bili smešteni po koledžima hranili su se u zajedničkim kantinama koje su postojale pri svakom koledžu, a ukoliko su živeli u

<sup>40</sup>Trgovčević, „Children in Emigration...”, 189.

### *3.2 Dietary and Healthcare Issues*

Issues of accommodation and education were the most important and the most urgent after the arrival of the Serbian boys in the United Kingdom. However, other issues needed to be addressed as well. A significant problem for the Serbian boys in Great Britain was the question of diet. The experience the Serbian government had concerning the youngsters living abroad stated that it had been very difficult for them to adjust to the European dietary habits.<sup>40</sup> Used to large quantities of bread, meat and fresh cheese, they found the food served in boarding schools and hostels in

France repugnant. Even though the British food was not as exotic for an average Serb as the French food was, where the brie cheese almost instigated riots in a lyceum dining room, the boys had to get accustomed to certain specificities of the British cuisine.

Food for the boys was served either in college refectories, if they were staying in college dormitories, or in their boarding houses. A general notion was that it was better for those of the Serbian boys who lived in boarding houses, as they could influence their hosts to somewhat adjust the meals to the Serbian dietary habits. In colleges

<sup>40</sup> Trgovčević, "Children in Emigration...", 189.

pansionima, u okviru njih su imali i obroke. Svakako su u boljem položaju bila deca koja su se hranila u pansionima, jer su mogla uticati na domaćine da donekle prilagode pripremanje obroka srpskim navikama u ishrani. U koledžima pak to nije bilo moguće. Sačuvana su pojedina svedočenja srpskih đaka i njihov stav prema britanskoj hrani. U pismu roditeljima, jedan pitomac sa Oksforda piše kako za doručak obično imaju „poreč“<sup>41</sup>, odnosno slatku kuvanu pšenicu, zatim čaj s mlekom ili kakao i po jedno jaje. Ručak je, kaže, vrlo dobar – dobija se po jedno jelo, testo i maslo. Za večeru se servira jedno jelo, čaj s mlekom, maslo i po jedan kolač.<sup>42</sup> Pitomac Milorad, koji je napisao pismo, bio je generalno zadovoljan ishranom. Dva puta dnevno dobijao je kuvano jelo i, što je najbitnije, puno hleba i putera. Neobična mu je bila kuvana kaša i, posebno, čaj koji se u Britaniji pije sa mlekom, što u Srbiji nije bio običaj. Jedno sačuvano svedočanstvo vrlo rečito govori o tome kako su Srbi doživljavali britanske prehrambene navike. Odmah po dolasku na Ostrvo, srpskim izbeglicama serviran je doručak koji je zbog raznovrsnosti i količine kod njih izazvao veliko čuđenje. Tradicionalni engleski doručak sasto-

jao se od pržene slanine, kuvanih jaja ili kajgane, prženog ili grilovanog paradajza, prženih pečuraka, pečenog hleba ili tosta sa puterom, kobasica i pasulja, što je svakako za srpske standarde bio veoma obilan obrok. U prilog tome govori i sećanje Branka Kocića, jednog od srpskih dečaka, koji je o svom prvom obroku u Velikoj Britaniji zabeležio sledeće: „Na redu je bio engleski doručak. Nismo verovali da će nam iduće četiri godine svako jutro biti služen takav isti doručak. Ti Englezi ručaju ujutro...“<sup>43</sup>

U pansionima je situacija vezana za ishranu varirala. Prema dokumentima koji su sačuvani, srpski đaci uglavnom nisu imali zamerki na ono što su im domaćini spremali i posluživali. Međutim, bilo je i slučajeva kada su se žalili srpskim vlastima, posebno jer su smatrali da ne dobijaju dovoljno hrane. Sačuvano je jedno pismo u kome su se dečaci smešteni u hostelu gospođe Ru, u Nevern plejsu u Erls kortu, u Londonu, žalili gospođi Jovanović, supruzi srpskog poslanika u Londonu, na ishranu koja im je obezbeđena. Gospođa Jovanović, predstavnica Srpskog Crvenog krsta u Velikoj Britaniji, obavestila je o sadržaju pisma Ralfa Barsdorfa<sup>44</sup>, po-

<sup>41</sup> Poridž (porridge) - ovsena kaša, prim. aut.

<sup>42</sup> „Naši đaci u Engleskoj“, *Srpske novine*, 105, 8. decembar 1916, 2.

<sup>43</sup> Branko Kocić, „Od Drača do Londona“, *Čovečanstvo*, br. 1 (1940), 22-23.

<sup>44</sup> Ralf Bizmark Barsdorf (1870-1950) bio je britanski pravnik i državni službenik. Tokom Prvog svetskog rata radio je kao podsekretar u Komitetu za ratne izbeglice i bio direktno zadužen za rad sa Srbima.

such approach was not possible. A number of testimonies of the Serbian boys regarding their attitude towards the British food have survived. In a letter to his parents, one Serbian student from Oxford wrote that for breakfast they usually had porridge, tea with milk or cocoa and an egg. The lunch was, as he said, very good - consisting of a cooked meal, bread and butter. For dinner one would have a cooked meal, tea with milk, butter and a piece of cake.<sup>41</sup> The boy who wrote the letter, Milorad, appears to have been generally satisfied with the food. He had a cooked meal twice a day and, very importantly, a lot of bread and butter. He found the porridge quite unusual and also the tea taken with milk, which was not customarily done in Serbia. Another interesting testimony about the Serbian perception of the British dietary habits is preserved. Immediately after landing in England, the Serbian boys were served a breakfast which caused quite an amazement. Traditional English breakfast, consisting of fried bacon, eggs, fried tomato and mushrooms, toast with butter, sausages and baked beans, was a very heavy meal for the Serbian standards. Branko Kocić, one of the Serbian boys, noted

on his first meal in Britain: "It's time for an English breakfast. We could not believe that the exact same breakfast would be served for the next four years. The English are obviously having their lunch in the morning..."<sup>42</sup>

In boarding houses, the situation concerning the food varied. According to the saved documents, the Serbian boys generally had no objections regarding the food that was prepared and served to them. However, on a number of occasions they did complain to the Serbian authorities, especially when they thought they did not get enough food. The boys who were accommodated in Miss Rue's hostel at Nevern Place in London's Earl's Court, complained to Mrs Jovanović, the wife of the Serbian Minister in London, about the food provided in the hostel. Mrs Jovanović, who was also a representative of the Serbian Red Cross in London, notified Ralph Barsdorf,<sup>43</sup> an assistant secretary of the War Refugees Committee, about the complaint, as the boys were staying with Miss Rue on Barsdorf's recommendation.<sup>44</sup> He immediately sent an inspection to Miss Rue's hostel, however, the inspection determined that the food served in the hostel was

<sup>41</sup> "Naši đaci u Engleskoj", *Srpske novine*, 105, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1916, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Branko Kocić, "Od Drača do Londona", *Čovečanstvo*, no. 1 (1940), 22-23.

<sup>43</sup> Ralph Bismarck Barsdorf (1870-1950) was a British lawyer and civil servant. During the First World War he worked as an assistant secretary in the War Refugees Committee and worked directly with the Serbs.

moćnika sekretara Komiteta za ratne izbeglice, pošto su dečaci smešteni kod gospođe Ru upravo na njegovu preporuku.<sup>45</sup> Barsdorf je odmah poslao inspekciju u pansion, međutim, utvrđeno je da je ishrana sasvim zadovoljavajuća i da bi, eventualno, količina hrane mogla biti veća, ali da to ne zavisi od gospođe Ru.<sup>46</sup> Barsdorf je takođe pisao i gospođi Ru, tražeći objašnjenje, ali je vlasnica pansiona u odgovoru napisala da je veoma iznenađena što se srpski mladići žale na hranu. Poslala je i primer jelovnika u pansionu, odnosno izveštaj o onome što je bilo posluženo u poslednjih nekoliko dana. Navodi se da je u subotu za večeru poslužena kafa s mlekom, četiri parčeta hleba sa puterom, salata od boranije i losos. U nedelju je za doručak poslužen hleb, puter, džem i kafa s mlekom, za ručak pečena govedina, kupus, mladi krompiri i kolač od riže, a za večeru hladno meso, salata, krompiri, četiri parčeta hleba sa puterom i kafa s mlekom. U ponedeljak je doručak bio isti kao i prethodnog dana, za ručak je servirana supa od graška, kuvana slanina, krompir, paradajz i hleb sa puterom, a za večeru makaroni, hladna šunka, hleb, puter i kafa s mlekom.<sup>47</sup> U pismu Barsdorfu, Gospođa Ru navela je i kako razume

dečake, jer su, osim pohađanja škole, oni najčešće bili i zaposleni pola radnog vremena, ali je objasnila da im sa budžetom kojim raspolaže - nikako ne može izaći u susret. Vlasnica pansiona napisala je tom prilikom i šta su dečaci tražili da jedu - svako jutro ovsenu kašu, hleb, puter, džem i kafu, za ručak šest parčadi hleba sa mesom (da nose na posao) i uveče supu, meso, povrće i slatko.<sup>48</sup> Posle temeljne istrage, Barsdorf je ustanovio da se u pansionu gospođe Ru jede sasvim dobro, a da se srpski dečaci, ukoliko im to nije dovoljno, možda mogu prijaviti za dodatna sledovanje hrane kod lokalnih vlasti.

Nije samo pitanje prehrambenih navika dovelo do problema u ishrani srpskih đaka i studenata u Velikoj Britaniji. Dugotrajan rat i nedostatak radne snage iscrpli su britansku poljoprivredu, a sve žešći napadi nemačkih podmornica na konvoje brodova koji su dopremali hranu iz prekookeanskih kolonija - ugrozili su dalje snabdevanje osnovnim životnim namirnicama. Hrana je postala skupa, te je britanska vlada uvela njeno racionalisanje, sa ciljem da spreči glad i trgovačke špekulacije. Kako bi se predupredile eventualne poteškoće oko

<sup>45</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Assistant Secretary Barsdorf to Madame Yovanovitch, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>46</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Arthur Tery to Ralph Barsdorf, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>47</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Jane Rue to Ralph Barsdorf, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>48</sup> *Isto.*

adequate and that eventually the portions could be bigger, but that it was not Miss Rue's fault.<sup>45</sup> Barsdorf also wrote to Miss Rue, asking for an explanation. In her reply, the owner of the hostel wrote that she was very surprised with the complaints. She also sent the example of the hostel's daily menu. On the previous Saturday, coffee with milk, four slices of bread with butter, green bean salad and salmon were served for supper. On Sunday, there was bread, butter, jam and coffee with milk for breakfast; roast beef, cabbage, new potatoes and rice pudding for lunch and cold meat, salad, potatoes, four slices of bread with butter and coffee with milk for supper. On Monday, the breakfast was the same as the previous day, while pea soup, boiled bacon, potatoes, tomatoes and bread with butter were served for lunch and macaroni, cold ham, bread with butter and coffee with milk was on the menu for supper.<sup>46</sup> Miss Rue stated that she understood the boys but that she could not possibly accommodate their demands with the budget on her disposal. She also wrote what the boys wanted oatmeal, bread, butter, jam and coffee every morning for breakfast, for lunch six slices of

bread with meat to take to work and in the evening soup, meat, vegetables and dessert.<sup>47</sup> After thorough investigation, Barsdorf concluded that the food in the hostel was more than adequate and that the Serbian boys, if they felt the food was scarce, should apply for additional portions to the local authorities.

It was not only the issue of the Serbian dietary habits what had caused problems with the provision of food for the Serbian students. The long-lasting war and a shortage of working force had exhausted the British agriculture and the increasingly fierce attacks of the German submarines on convoys of ships which supplied Britain with food from overseas colonies had endangered a regular distribution of basic goods. Food had become more expensive and in order to prevent hunger and black-marketeering, the British government had introduced food rationing. In order to prevent any possible problems in supplying the Serbian hostels with food, the War Refugees Committee proposed to the Serbian Relief Fund to try and obtain basic goods through the National Food Fund, a government organisation responsible for

<sup>44</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Assistant Secretary Barsdorf to Madame Yovanovitch, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>45</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Arthur Tery to Ralph Barsdorf, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>46</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Jane Rue to Ralph Barsdorf, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

snabdevanja srpskih hostela u takvim uslovima, Komitet za ratne izbeglice predložio je Srpskom potpornom fondu da elementarne namirnice za hostele nabavlja preko Nacionalnog fonda za hranu, državne organizacije koja je bila zadužena za distribuciju i racionalisanje hrane. Komitet za ratne izbeglice imao je privilegiju da nabavlja prehrambene proizvode po povlašćenoj ceni - robu vrednosti 8 šilinga plaćali su svega 5. Srpski potporni fond sa zadovoljstvom je prihvatio ovu veoma velikodušnu ponudu. Štaviše, od sredine 1918. godine, Komitet za ratne izbeglice potpuno je preuzeo troškove snabdevanja hranom hostela u Kembridžu, Oksfordu, Redingu, Mejdenhedu, Birmingemu i Lidsu.<sup>49</sup>

Takođe, sredinom 1918. godine Srpski potporni fond sprovodio je reviziju namirnica koje je dobijao od Nacionalnog fonda za hranu. Pansion Sent Endrjus lodž u Oksfordu, u kojem je bilo smešteno 40 učenika, dobijao je jednom u dve nedelje oko 4,5 kg čaja, oko 11 kg brašna, oko 11 kg pasulja, oko 11 kg sočiva, oko 11 kg pirinča, 4,5 kg tapioke i 4,5 kg ječma.<sup>50</sup> Otuda proističe da je sledovanje za dve nedelje, po učeniku, iznosilo: 113 g čaja, 275 g brašna, 275 g pasulja, 275 g sočiva,

275 g pirinča i po 113 g tapioke i ječma. Berkširski dom za srpsku decu u Redingu, gde je bilo smešteno 38 učenika, dobijao je jednom u dve nedelje 3,18 kg čaja, po 10,43 kg brašna, pasulja, sočiva i pirinča, po 4,1 kg tapioke i ječma, kao i 8,6 kg šećera,<sup>51</sup> što po glavi iznosi 84 grama čaja, 275 grama brašna, pasulja, sočiva i pirinča, 108 grama tapioke i ječma i 226 grama šećera. Slično je bilo i u ostalim pansionima. Kada se sagledaju količine namirnica koje su pansionima slate, može se utvrditi da to nije bilo ni izbliza dovoljno za normalnu ishranu učenika. Nameće se zaključak da su namirnice nabavljane od Nacionalnog fonda za hranu predstavljale samo deo ukupne količine koja je pansionima bila potrebna, te da su većinu prehrambenih proizvoda upravnici kupovali regularnim putem. Takođe, često su se javljali i problemi sa kvalitetom namirnica koje je isporučivao Nacionalni fond za hranu. Gospođa Robinson, upravnica Srpske kuće u Norvud roudu u Londonu, izvestila je Srpski potporni fond da je kvalitet dostavljene hrane loš, kao i da se zakida na količini - hleb koji su dobijali bio je nedelju dana star i oko 25% vekni bile su buđave; meso je stizalo u značajno manjim količinama nego što je

<sup>49</sup> NA, MH 8/4, J. Bellows to Mrs. Wilde, 17<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>50</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Miss Leah to Mrs. Wilde, 16<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>51</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Belehamber to Mrs. Wilde, 16<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

distribution and rationing of food. The War Refugees Committee had a privilege to buy food on preferential prices - for an 8s. worth of goods they would only pay 5s. The Serbian Relief Fund was very happy to accept such a generous offer. Moreover, by the mid-1918, the War Refugees Committee had completely taken over the financial burden of supplying the hostels in Cambridge, Oxford, Reading, Maidenhead, Birmingham and Leeds.<sup>48</sup>

In the mid-1918, the Serbian Relief Fund undertook a review of the groceries obtained through the National Food Fund. St Andrew's Lodge, where 40 students were accommodated, received 10 lbs. of tea, 24 lbs. of flour, 24 lbs. of beans, 24 lbs. of lentils, 24 lbs. of rice, 10 lbs. of tapioca and 10 lbs. of barley once a fortnight.<sup>49</sup> This meant that a two week rations per student were 0,25 lbs. of tea, 0,6 lbs. of flower, beans, lentils and rice, 0,25 lbs. of tapioca and 0,25 lbs. of barley. The Berkshire Home for the Serbian boys in Reading, which accommodated 38 students, received 7 lbs. of tea, 23 lbs. of flour, brown beans, lentils and rice, 9 lbs. of tapioca and barley and 19 lbs. of sugar once a fortnight.<sup>50</sup>

Per head, it amounted to 0,18 lbs. of tea, 0,605 lbs. of flour, beans, lentils and rice, 0,237 lbs. of tapioca and barley and 0,5 lbs. of sugar. The situation was similar in other hostels. If the quantities of the food supplies sent to the hostels are examined, one can conclude it was not nearly enough for a regular diet of Serbian boys. The only reasonable explanation is that food obtained by the National Food Fund formed but a portion needed by the hostels and that most of the food managers bought the regular way. Also, the issues concerning the quality of the food sent were quite common. Mrs Robinson, manager of the Serbian House at Norwood Road in London, reported to the Serbian Relief Fund that the quality of the food sent by the National Food Fund was very poor and that the quantity standards were not met - bread was often a week old and about 25% of the loaves were mouldy; far less meat was delivered than it had been agreed in the contract and usually poor cuts with about 40% bone; only 75% of the tinned meat promised was delivered and about 20% of the dripping; bacon was often bad and even the pieces suitable for consumption were too fatty and used only for cook-

<sup>48</sup> NA, MH 8/4, J. Bellows to Mrs. Wilde, 17<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>49</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Miss Leah to Mrs. Wilde, 16<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>50</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Belehamber to Mrs. Wilde, 16<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

predviđeno ugovorom, i to uglavnom loši komadi, sa 40% koske; isporučeno je svega 75% dogovorene količine konzerviranog mesa, kao i svega 20% predviđene masnoće; slanina je često bila ukvarena, a i ona ispravna često je bila premasna za jelo i pogodna samo za kuvanje; krompir je pristizao buđav; dopremljeno je manje od polovine predviđenog svežeg povrća, a i džema takođe.<sup>52</sup> I iz drugih pansiona ponekad su stizale slične vesti, poput toga da su se u isporučenom brašnu zapatili miševi, ili da se katkad u hrani mogla naći prljavština, ili da je ona bila loše upakovana.

Šema koju je napravio Komitet za ratne izbeglice i po kojoj je srpskim pansionima širom zemlje dostavljana hrana, predstavljala je samo dopunu za redovne lance snabdevanja, mahom od lokalnih proizvođača, a ređe donacijama humanitarnih organizacija. Troškove ishrane uglavnom je snosila centrala Srpskog potpornog fonda, ali su u pojedinim slučajevima snabdevanje pomagali lokalni komiteti, humanitarne organizacije i pojedinačni darodavci. Ishrana srpskih đaka je u najvećoj meri bila zadovoljavajuća, i po kvalitetu i po količini, a mladi Srbi mnogo su se lakše prilagodili britan-

skim prehrambenim navikama od svojih kolega u Francuskoj.

Briga o zdravlju srpske omladine u Velikoj Britaniji predstavljala je jedno od najvažnijih pitanja vezanih za njihov boravak u toj zemlji, i to iz nekoliko opravdanih razloga. Mladići i devojke određeni da putuju na Ostrvo bili su veoma lošeg zdravstvenog stanja, što je uglavnom bila posledica surovih uslova kojima su izloženi prilikom povlačenja iz Srbije. Glad, hladnoća, nepovoljne vremenske prilike i ostali faktori doprineli su tome da većina njih stigne do Krfa prilično narušenog zdravlja, sa veoma neizvesnim izgledima za potpun oporavak. Uprkos natčovečanskom trudu srpskih i savezničkih lekara i bolničara, veliki deo srpske omladine nije uspeo da se oporavi. O tome koliko je loša bila zdravstvena situacija svedoči i prosvetni inspektor Dragomir Obradović, navodeći u pismu ministru prosvete kako među decom koja su se nalazila u Francuskoj i određena su da putuju u Veliku Britaniju, ima obolelih od pegavog tifusa i kolere, kao i mnogo slučajeva narušenog duševnog zdravlja, usled svega što su ta deca prošla na putu do Francuske.<sup>53</sup> I britanski listovi izveštavali su o zdravstvenom stanju

<sup>52</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Mrs. Robinson to Mrs. Wilde, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>53</sup> AS, MPs, U1, 1916, Dopis Drag. S. Obradovića, inspektora, ministru prosvete i crkvenih dela, 15. mart 1916. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

ing; potatoes were mouldy; less than a half of the fresh vegetables was being delivered; the same situation was with jam.<sup>51</sup> Other hostels occasionally sent similar reports, recording mice-infested flour deliveries, food mixed with dirt or incorrectly packaged food.

The scheme devised by the War Refugees Committee to supply the Serbian hostels all over Britain with food was just a complement to the regular chains of supply, mostly from local producers and merchants, less often from charity organisations' donations. Food expenses were usually covered by the Serbian Relief Committee, but occasionally local committees, charity organisations and individual benefactors helped. The diet of the Serbian boys in Great Britain was mostly satisfactory, regarding both quality and quantity, and it was much easier for the young Serbs to adjust to the local dietary habits than it was for their compatriots in France.

Care for the health of the young Serbs in Great Britain was one of the most important issues of the entire endeavour, and for very good reasons as well. The youngsters who were set to travel to the United Kingdom were

in very poor health as a result of the conditions they had been exposed to during their retreat from Serbia. Cold, hunger, harsh weather conditions and other factors contributed to the fact that most of them had reached Corfu with impaired health and with uncertain outcomes for a full recovery. Despite the superhuman efforts made by the Serbian and Allied physicians and medics, a vast number of the Serbian children had failed to recover. The severity of the health situation was witnessed by the educational inspector Dragomir Obradović, who wrote in a letter to the Ministry of Education that amongst the children who had been settled in France and allocated to travel to Great Britain there were many cases of spotted fever and cholera, and also many cases of mental health issues, stemming from everything the children had to endure on their way to France.<sup>52</sup> The British newspapers also reported on the health of the young Serbs - a daily newspaper from Leeds stated that amongst the Serbian boys who had arrived to the city there were many cases of rheumatism and malaria.<sup>53</sup> The second issue connected with the health conditions of the young Serbs was the matter of climate differences.

<sup>51</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Mrs. Robinson to Mrs. Wilde, 10<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>52</sup> AS, MPs, U1, 1916, Letter of Dragomir Obradović to the Minister of Education, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1916 (according to Julian calendar).

<sup>53</sup> "Nineteen Boys Who Deserve Best of Leeds", *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 30<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 3.

mladih Srba - dnevni list iz Lidsa pisao je da među dečacima koji su stigli u taj grad ima mnogo obolelih od reumatizma i malarije.<sup>54</sup> Drugi razlog za brigu kada je posredi zdravstveno stanje srpske dece u Velikoj Britaniji, odnosio se na klimatske razlike između dvaju podneblja. Srpska deca navikla su na život u kontinentalnim, umerenim klimatskim uslovima i postavljalo se pitanje kako će se prilagoditi životu u vlažnijoj i hladnijoj atlantskoj klimi, posebno pošto je njihovo zdravlje već bilo načeto. Srpski lekari naročito su se plašili epidemije tuberkuloze i drugih respiratornih oboljenja. Treći razlog za brigu bilo je mentalno zdravlje srpske dece, koje je moglo biti ugroženo time što su odvojeni od prijatelja i rodbine i što su se nalazili veoma daleko od domovine, u stranom i nepoznatom okruženju.

Brigu o zdravlju srpskih dečaka u Velikoj Britaniji zajednički su vodili Srpski potporni fond i Srpsko poslanstvo u Londonu, koji su organizovali redovne lekarske preglede. Te redovne preglede srpskih studenata i đaka obavljao je dr Vojislav Subotić<sup>55</sup>, jedan od najuglednijih srpskih lekara i rodonačelnik srpske hirurgije, koji je tokom Prvog svetskog rata boravio u

Parizu i Londonu. Po potrebi, angažovani su i britanski lekari specijalisti. O deci koja su bila smeštena po koledžima brinuli su lokalni lekari sa kojima su te obrazovne ustanove već imali ugovore, odnosno o njima se vodilo računa kao i o britanskoj deci koja su se školovala na istim koledžima. Ukoliko bi se kod učenika javila potreba za specijalističkim tretmanima, dugoročnim terapijama ili za dužim oporavkom u specijalnim institucijama, materijalna sredstva obezbeđivala su ili lokalna povereništva Srpskog potpornog fonda ili Srpski Crveni krst, a neretko su u finansiranju lečenja i oporavka učestvovali i britanski dobrotvori.

Uprkos tome što je nega srpske dece organizovana na najvišem nivou, tokom boravka u Velikoj Britaniji zabeleženi su smrtni slučajevi među đaćkom i studentskom populacijom. U izveštaju Ministarstvu prosvete iz avgusta 1918. godine, srpski prosvetni inspektor u Londonu dr Mihailo Popović napisao je da su za vreme školovanja u Velikoj Britaniji preminula četiri učenika: Milan Papić, Petar Petrović, Milan Avramović i Dušan Petrović.<sup>56</sup> Milan Papić, rođen 1898. godine u Bileći, završio je pet razre-

<sup>54</sup> „Nineteen Boys Who Deserve Best of Leeds”, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 30<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 3.

<sup>55</sup> Vojislav Subotić (1859-1923) bio je srpski lekar i hirur, šef hirurškog odeljenja Opšte državne bolnice i jedan od osnivača Medicinskog fakulteta u Beogradu.

<sup>56</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Mihailo Popović Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih poslova na Krfu, 17. avgust 1918. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

The Serbian children were used to living in moderate continental climate and the question was raised how they would accommodate to a life in colder and damper Atlantic climate, especially as their health had already been compromised. Serbian doctors especially feared the epidemics of tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases. The third important issue was the mental health of the Serbian children, which could have been affected by the separation from friends and relatives and the fact they were very far away from Serbia, in an unknown and strange environment.

Care for the health of the Serbian children in the United Kingdom was jointly organised by the Serbian Relief Fund and the Serbian Legation in London. Regular medical examinations of the Serbian students and pupils was conducted by Dr Vojislav Subotić,<sup>54</sup> one of the most prominent Serbian physicians and the founder of surgery in Serbia, who spent most of the First World War in Paris and London. When necessary, British specialists were engaged. The children accommodated in colleges were cared for by the doctors who already had arrangements with the college

managements, and they were treated the same way as the British children. If specialist treatments or therapies were needed, or long-term recovery stints in special institutions, money was provided either by the local committees of the Serbian Relief Fund or by the Serbian Red Cross, but often also by private benefactors.

Despite the fact that the care for Serbian children was of a highest level, there were several cases of death among the children during their stay in Great Britain. In a report to the Serbian Ministry of Education, the educational inspector in London Dr Mihailo Popović wrote that during the stay in the United Kingdom a total of four Serbian students had died: Milan Papić, Petar Petrović, Milan Avramović and Dušan Petrović.<sup>55</sup> Milan Papić was born in 1898 in Bileća (Herzegovina) and completed five years in the grammar school in Mostar. Together with his brother Vasa he joined the Serbian army as a volunteer. His older brother was sent to the Salonica front while Milan, due to his age, was sent to continue his education. During 1914 and 1915 he survived the spotted fever but the illness had weakened his organism. He

<sup>54</sup> Vojislav Subotić (1859–1923) was a Serbian physician and surgeon, chief of the surgical department of the General State Hospital and one of the founders of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Belgrade.

<sup>55</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Mihailo Popović to the Ministry of Education, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1918. (according to Julian calendar).

da gimnazije u Mostaru i zajedno sa bratom Vasom pridružio se srpskoj vojsci kao dobrovoljac. Njegov stariji brat poslat je na Solunski front, a on je, zbog nedovoljno godina, upućen na dalje školovanje. Još tokom 1914. i 1915. godine preležao je pegavi tifus, što je veoma oslabilo njegov organizam. Razboleo se odmah po dolasku u Englesku i jesen 1916. godine proveo oporavljajući se na ostrvu Hejling u južnoj Engleskoj. Umro je 3. decembra 1916. godine (po gregorijanskom kalendaru) i sahranjen je u Hejlingu. Opelo je služio pravoslavni sveštenik Dušan Marković,<sup>57</sup> a sahrani su prisustvovali i srpski poslanik u Londonu, inspektor ministarstva prosvete profesor Tihomir Đorđević i Džon Belouz iz Srpskog potpornog fonda. Petar Petrović rođen je u Gornjem Milanovcu 1898. godine i u Srbiji je završio četiri razreda gimnazije. U Veliku Britaniju došao je već bolestan od tuberkuloze, u aprilu 1916. godine. Lekari su pokušali da ga spasu, ali bezuspešno. Umro je u Viklif holu u Oksfordu 15. juna 1916. godine (po gregorijanskom kalendaru). Sahranjen je takođe u Oksfordu, u prisustvu velikog broja ljudi, a službu za pokojnika držao je otac Nikolaj Velimirović. Milan Avramović, rođen u Limovcu 1903. godine, u Srbi-

ji je završio tri razreda osnovne škole. Sa ocem se povlačio preko Albanije i to povlačenje jedva je preživeo. Došao je u Veliku Britaniju u aprilu 1916. godine i u početku bio smešten u Birminghamu, gde je pohađao osnovnu školu Bornvil. Milanovo zdravstveno stanje pogoršalo se u proleće 1917. godine, kada mu je dijagnostifikovan tuberkulozni meningitis. Umro je 7. juna 1917. godine (po gregorijanskom kalendaru) i sahranjen na groblju Seli Ouk u Birminghamu. Pravoslavno opelo služio je sveštenik Milan Ržaničanin, a pogrebu su prisustvovali i Džon Belouz iz Srpskog potpornog fonda, Spasoje Prica, vođe srpske kolonije u Birminghamu i članovi lokalnog potpornog komiteta. Dušan Petrović, rođen u Nišu 1905. godine, gde je završio dva razreda osnovne škole, našao se u izbeglištvu prateći oca. Došao je u Veliku Britaniju sa grupom učenika u aprilu 1916. godine i bio smešten u Kembridžu, gde je pohađao pripremnu školu Pers. Zbog slabog zdravlja nije imao uspeha u školi. Skoro celu 1917. godinu proveo je na lečenju u sanatorijumima južne Engleske, a kasnije je priključen srpskoj đачkoj koloniji u Čendlers Fordu kod Saughtona. Ipak, nije se oporavio od tuberkuloze i umro je 31. jula 1918.

<sup>57</sup> Dušan Marković (1874-1935) bio je pravoslavni sveštenik i radikalni narodni poslanik u međuratnom periodu. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata, izbegavši iz Zemuna, bio je najpre vojni sveštenik, a po povlačenju srpske vojske poslat je u Veliku Britaniju, gde je određen za starešinu đачke grupe smeštene u Edinburgu u Škotskoj.

fell sick soon after arriving to England and he spent the entire autumn of 1916 recovering on the island of Hayling. He died there on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1916 and he was buried in Hayling. The funeral ceremony was conducted by the Serbian Orthodox priest Dušan Marković<sup>56</sup> and the Serbian Minister in London, the educational inspector Tihomir Djordjević and John Bellows from the Serbian Relief Fund attended the funeral. Petar Petrović was born in Gornji Milanovac in 1898. He finished four years of grammar school in Serbia. He came to Britain in April 1916, already suffering from tuberculosis. The doctors tried to save him but without success. He died in Wycliffe Hall in Oxford on 15<sup>th</sup> June 1916. He was buried in Oxford and his funeral gathered a huge crowd. The funeral service was held by Father Nikolaj Velimirović. Milan Avramović was born in Limovac in 1903 and in Serbia he completed three years of elementary school. He followed his father in the retreat across Albania, barely surviving the journey. He came to Britain in April 1916 and was originally allocated to Birmingham, where he attended Bournville Elementary School. Milan's health deteriorated in the spring of 1917, when he was diag-

nosed with tuberculous meningitis. He died on 7<sup>th</sup> June 1917 and was buried in the Selly Oak Cemetery in Birmingham. The Orthodox service was performed by priest Milan Ržanićanin while Spasoje Prica, the Serbian head in Birmingham, John Bellows and members of the local committee attended the funeral. Dušan Petrović was born in Niš in 1905, where he finished two years of elementary school. He found himself in exile following his father, who was a soldier. He was sent to England in April 1916 and he was situated in Cambridge, where he attended classes at the Perse Preparatory School. Due to his ill health, he was underachieving at school. He spent almost the entire 1917 in sanatoriums of southern England, before being transferred to the Serbian colony in Chandler's Ford near Southampton. However, he never recovered and died on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1918, while recovering in a sanatorium on the Isle of Wight. He was buried in the small coastal town of Ventnor.<sup>57</sup>

*Daily Mirror* published an article describing the funeral of a Serbian boy. It was described as “the most unusual funeral held in this country”. On Saturday, 17<sup>th</sup> June, the people of Oxford

<sup>56</sup> Dušan Marković (1874–1935) was a Serbian Orthodox priest and a Radical politician in the interwar period. During the First World War he fled Zemun in Austria-Hungary and then joined the Serbian army as a chaplain. Following the retreat of the Serbian army, he was sent to Great Britain, where he was the head of the Edinburgh student group.

<sup>57</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Mihailo Popović to the Ministry of Education, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1918. (according to Julian calendar).

godine (po gregorijanskom kalendaru), dok se nalazio u sanatorijumu na ostrvu Vajt. Sahranjen je u varoši Ventnor, koja se nalazi na samoj morskoj obali.<sup>58</sup>

U britanskom listu „Dejli Miror” objavljen je članak koji opisuje sahranu jednog od umrlih srpskih dečaka. Ona je okarakterisana kao „najneobičnija sahrana održana u ovoj zemlji”. U subotu 17. juna 1916. godine u Oksfordu je sahranjen Petar Petrović, koji je boravio u Viklif holu. Veoma neobičnom Britancima se činila procesija na čijem su čelu bili srpski dečaci, koji su nosili „sveti kolač” i visoko podignute barjake i vence. Opelo za upokojenog služio je otac Nikolaj Velimirović, u pravoslavnoj odori, a sanduk je bio prekriven srpskom trobojkom.<sup>59</sup>

Sva je prilika da podatak o četvoriци umrlih đaka tokom školovanja u Velikoj Britaniji nije bio kompletan, iako je srpsko Ministarstvo prosvete upravo tu cifru predstavljalo kao konačnu. Zvaničan spisak dečaka kojima je pomogao Srpski potporni fond sadrži i jedno ime koje se ne pominje u izveštajima srpskog Ministarstva prosvete i crkvenih dela. To je ime

Dragoljuba Novovića, koji je umro u oktobru 1918. godine.<sup>60</sup> U izveštaju sa sednice izvršnog odbora Srpskog potpornog fonda, iz decembra 1916. godine, zabeležena je smrt dvoje đaka, već pomenutog Milana Papića, ali i učenice Rose Popović.<sup>61</sup> Rosa Popović nije došla u Veliku Britaniju kao deo đačkih kontingenata iz 1916. godine, pa u dokumentima srpskog Ministarstva prosvete o njoj nema podataka. Međutim, bilo je puno srpskih izbeglica koje su u Veliku Britaniju došle drugim kanalima, a podatak o ovoj učenicu u spisima Srpskog potpornog fonda svedoči da je ova organizacija vodila brigu o njoj. Takođe, u jednom izveštaju iz 1924. godine, u kojem su svedeni svi računi fonda u periodu između 1914. i 1924. godine, navedeno je da je do 31. decembra 1919. godine u Srbiju vraćeno 253 studenta i đaka, kao i da ova brojka uključuje i sedmoro umrlih.<sup>62</sup> U istom dokumentu stoji da je jedan đak umro 1920. godine. Nažalost, na osnovu raspoložive dokumentacije nije moguće utvrditi imena i biografije svih srpskih đaka koji su preminuli tokom boravka u Velikoj Britaniji, već samo onih četvoro čije su sudbine opisane u izveštajima srpskog Ministarstva prosvete i jednog kojeg pominje izveštaj Srp-

<sup>58</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Mihailo Popović Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih poslova na Krfu, 17. Avgust 1918. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

<sup>59</sup> „A Serbian Funeral“, *Daily Mirror*, 19<sup>th</sup> June 1916, 10.

<sup>60</sup> *List of Boys and Students Educated in Great Britain: between April 1916 and November 1918* (London: Serbian Relief Fund, 1918), 11.

<sup>61</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, *Meeting of the Executive Committee*, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1916.

<sup>62</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, *Serbian Education Committee, Agenda*, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924.

had the opportunity to witness the funeral of Petar Petrović, resident of Wycliffe Hall. The British observers found the procession, led by the Serbian boys, carrying “the Holy Cake”, and holding wreaths and banners raised high very strange. The funeral service for the deceased was held by Father Nikolaj Velimirović, wearing his Orthodox robes, and the coffin was covered with the Serbian flag.<sup>58</sup>

Four students who died while residing in the United Kingdom is certainly not the final number, despite the fact that the Serbian Ministry of Education presented it as the official data. The official report on boys who were assisted by the Serbian Relief Fund contains a name not stated in the report of the Serbian Ministry of Education and Church Affairs. It was Dragoljub Novović, who died in October 1918.<sup>59</sup> In a report from the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Serbian Relief Fund from December 1916, deaths of two Serbian students were noted, Milan Papić, who was already mentioned, and a schoolgirl Rosa Popović.<sup>60</sup> Rosa Popović was not part of the student contingents from 1916 and the papers of the Serbian Ministry of Education contain no in-

formation on her. However, there were a lot of refugees who had come to Britain from Serbia via different channels, and the very fact that she was mentioned in the Serbian Relief Fund documents accounts for the fact she was helped by the organisation. Also, in a document dating from 1924, which details all the activities of the Serbian Relief Fund between 1914 and 1924, it is stated that by 31<sup>st</sup> December 1919 exactly 253 students were repatriated to Serbia, including seven who had died during their stay.<sup>61</sup> The same document states that one student died in 1920 failing to record his name. Unfortunately, the available documents do not allow for finding out the names and biographies of the deceased children, excluding the ones mentioned in the official reports.

In order to eliminate negative consequences on the children’s health caused by the hardships sustained during the withdrawal across the Albanian mountains, the British made sure that the Serbian children ate properly, spent as much time as possible in the fresh air, exercised and were engaged in physical activities. During the course of their education,

<sup>58</sup> “A Serbian Funeral”, *Daily Mirror*, 19<sup>th</sup> June 1916, 10.

<sup>59</sup> *List of Boys and Students Educated in Great Britain: between April 1916 and November 1918* (London: Serbian Relief Fund, 1918), 11.

<sup>60</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1916.

<sup>61</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, Agenda, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924.

skog potpornog fonda.

Kako bi se otklonile sve negativne posledice po zdravlje srpske dece, nastale kao rezultat patnji koje su doživela prilikom povlačenja preko Albanije, britanski pedagozi veoma su vodili računa o tome da se srpska deca adekvatno hrane, da što više vremena provode na svežem vazduhu i da se bave fizičkim vežbama i sportskim aktivnostima. Tokom svog školovanja, srpski đaci provodili su mnogo vremena u prirodi, u šetnjama i na kampovanjima, kao i u sportskim aktivnostima, poput pešačenja, fudbala, ragbija, tenisa ili veslanja. Predstavnici Srpskog potpornog fonda obezbeđivali su

da deca jedan deo letnjeg raspusta provode odmarajući se na selu ili u prirodi, pre svega zahvaljujući tome što su im bogati članovi udruženja tokom leta davali na korišćenje svoja imanja. Robert Siton-Votson i njegova supruga, istaknuti članovi Srpskog potpornog fonda, svakog leta su na dva meseca ustupali svoj letnjikovac Ejton haus kod Perta u Škotskoj za potrebe odmora srpske dece.<sup>63</sup> Odgovarajuća zdravstvena zaštita, dobra ishrana, zdrav život i fizička aktivnost, uslovili su da srpska deca za vreme boravka u Velikoj Britaniji povrate snagu i zdravlje, koji su bili ozbiljno narušeni tokom 1915. i 1916. godine.

<sup>63</sup>SSEES, UCL, SEW  
7/8, Meeting of the  
Executive Committee,  
6<sup>th</sup> June 1917.

the Serbian children spent much time outdoors, in long walks and camping trips, as well as engaged in sporting activities, such as hiking, football, rugby, tennis or rowing. Members of the Serbian Relief Fund provided the children with a possibility to spend their summer holidays in the countryside or in nature, courtesy of its wealthier members who would open their houses to the children during

the summer. Robert Seton-Watson and his wife, both distinguished members of the Fund, allowed children to use their summer house, Ayton House near Perth in Scotland, for two months every year.<sup>62</sup> Proper healthcare, good food, healthy lifestyle and physical activity helped the Serbian children to regain their strength and health, which were seriously impaired during 1915 and 1916.

<sup>62</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 6<sup>th</sup> June 1917.

### 3.3 *Finansijski aranžmani*

<sup>64</sup> Prema zvaničnim podacima Srpskog potpornog fonda, od osnivanja do 30. aprila 1917. godine prihodovano je 447.334 funte i 12 šilinga i još 9924 funte, 8 šilinga i 8 penija u posebnom fondu za srpsku siročad. Najveći deo novca prikupljen je zahvaljujući dobrovoljnim priložima, ali su i druge aktivnosti u finansijskom pogledu bile vrlo uspešne, poput „Dana zastave”, koji su organizovani u Londonu i u unutrašnjosti, kada je prikupljeno 62.450 funti. Pogledati: *For Serbia* (London: Serbian Relief Fund, 1917), 9-10.

Srpski potporni fond je još od osnivanja 1914. godine imao stalne i stabilne izvore prihoda, pomoću kojih je podmirivao sve potrebne troškove. Izvori materijalnih sredstava bili su različiti, ali je najveći deo dolazio od dobrovoljnih priloga i donacija britanskih građana. Uz donacije, Srpski potporni fond finansirao se i kamatom na sredstva koja su bila oročena u banci (Banka Londonskog okruga i Vestminstera), prodajom ulaznica za različite priredbe i predavanja, kao i prihodima od prodaje rukotvorina koje su izradili Srbi u izbeglištvu na Korzici.<sup>64</sup> U rashode Srpskog potpornog fonda spadali su troškovi izdrža-

vanja izbeglica u Grčkoj, Francuskoj i severnoj Africi, paketi humanitarne pomoći koji su slati zarobljenicima u nemačkim i austrougarskim logorima, kao i paketi pomoći stanovnicima okupirane Srbije. Deo sredstava trošen je i na podmirivanje osnovnih troškova fonda, poput plaćanja kirije za prostorije, isplaćivanje plata nekim službenicima, oglašavanje i propagandnu aktivnost i slično. Međutim, dolaskom srpskih đaka i studenata, troškovi fonda drastično su porasli, jer je za njih bilo potrebno obezbediti smeštaj, odeću, obuću i druge osnovne stvari, zatim, u pojedinim slučajevima, platiti školovanje

### 3.3 Financial Arrangements

Since its foundation in 1914, the Serbian Relief Fund had constant and stable streams of income and the money was used to settle the expenditures. Sources of income varied but most came from voluntary contributions and donations by the British citizens. Alongside donations, the Serbian Relief Fund was financed by the interest from a deposit account (London County and Westminster Bank), by selling the tickets for different events and lectures and also by selling the handmade artifacts, produced by the Serbs who were stationed in Corsica.<sup>63</sup> Expenditures of

the Serbian Relief Fund comprised costs of supporting the refugees in Greece, France and northern Africa, packets of humanitarian aid sent to prisoners in the German and Austro-Hungarian camps and also to the people of occupied Serbia. Certain amount of money was spent on the basic running costs of the Fund, such as rent for the offices, wages for some of its officials, costs of advertising and propaganda activities and the like. However, once the Serbian youngsters arrived, the expenditures of the Fund went through the roof as it had become necessary to provide

<sup>63</sup> According to the official data of the Serbian Relief Fund, from the day it was founded up to 30<sup>th</sup> April 1917, the Fund earned £447,224.12s. plus the additional £9,924.8s.8d. for the special fund for Serbian orphans. Most of the money was raised by voluntary donations, but other activities proved to be successful, such as “The Flag Days”, organised both in London and in other parts of the country, when £62.450 had been raised. See: *For Serbia* (London: Serbian Relief Fund, 1917), 9-10.

i, na kraju, dati deci makar nekakav džeparac.

Kako je rastao broj srpskih izbeglica u Velikoj Britaniji, javila se potreba da se sve organizacije koje su vodile računa o njima dogovore oko podelje odgovornosti vezanih za njihovo zbrinjavanje. Često se dešavalo da nadležnosti pojedinačnih organizacija nisu bile sasvim jasne, pa nije bio redak slučaj ni da se molbe srpskih izbeglica zagube ili da zbog drugih okolnosti ostanu neuslišene. Iako je ceo poduhvat organizovanja dolaska i obrazovanja srpske dece u Velikoj Britaniji bio ideja Srpskog potpornog fonda, u realizaciji su učestvovali i Srpski Crveni krst u Velikoj Britaniji, srpsko poslanstvo u Londonu i britanski Komitet za ratne izbeglice. Konačno je 1918. godine formalizovan raniji nezvanični dogovor, po kojem je za obrazovanje Srba, kao i za snabdevanje obucom i odecom bio nadležan Srpski potporni fond, za njihovo zdravlje Srpski Crveni krst, dok je za manju finansijsku podršku i eventualno zapošljavanje Srba bio zadužen Komitet za ratne izbeglice.<sup>65</sup>

Troškovi izdržavanja i obrazovanja srpskih đaka nisu bili mali. Prema izveštaju iz 1917. godine, tokom prve

godine brige o srpskoj deci, Srpski potporni fond izdvojio je u tu svrhu 20.584 funte, 14 šilinga i 10 penija.<sup>66</sup> Izdaci vezani za izdržavanja i školovanje dece svakako su bili i veći, ali nije sav finansijski teret padao na Srpski potporni fond. U velikom broju slučajeva, deo troškova snosili su lokalni obrazovni komiteti, bogati dobrotvori ili same obrazovne institucije. To se posebno odnosilo na plaćanje školarina, koje su uglavnom preuzimale na sebe same škole, koledži i univerziteti.<sup>67</sup> Uprkos tome što su troškovi podeljeni, finansijska obaveza Srpskog potpornog fonda bila je velika, posebno pošto su njegovi prihodi tokom 1917. i 1918. godine počeli da opadaju. Detaljnom analizom računovodstva Srpskog potpornog fonda, dolazi se do sledećih cifara: u periodu od 28. aprila 1916. do 30. juna 1916. na obrazovanje je potrošeno 1879 funti, 15 šilinga i 10 penija; od 1. jula 1916. do 30. juna 1917. godine 22.136 funti, 8 šilinga i 4 penija (oko 27.000 funti ukupnih neto troškova, uključujući priloge lokalnih komiteta); od 1. jula 1917. do 30. juna 1918. godine 21.492 funte, 9 šilinga i 5 penija (oko 30.000 funti neto); od 1. jula 1918. do 30. juna 1919. godine 28.243 funte, 19 šilinga i 8 penija (oko 37.000 funti neto); od 1. jula

<sup>65</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Minutes of Meeting, Offices of the War Refugees Committee, 9<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>66</sup> *For Serbia*, 12-13.

<sup>67</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Statement showing distribution of Serbian boys in England, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1916.

accommodation for the students, pay tuition fees in certain cases, provide new clothes, shoes and other basics, and, finally, give the children at least some pocket money.

As the number of Serbian refugees in the United Kingdom increased, it became necessary for all the organisations that cared for them to agree on a division of responsibilities. It was a common occurrence that the remit of individual organisations was not entirely clear, which frequently resulted in requests and pleas of the Serbian refugees to become misplaced or, for various reasons, unanswered. Despite the fact that the whole idea of bringing the Serbian children to Great Britain had been conceived by the Serbian Relief Fund, other organisations, such as the Serbian Red Cross in the United Kingdom, the Serbian Legation in London and the British War Refugees Committee also participated in its implementation. Finally, in 1918, the former unofficial arrangement was formalised. The Serbian Relief Fund was in charge of the education and provision of shoes and clothes, the Serbian Red Cross dealt with the healthcare and the War Refugees Committee responsible for

minor financial support and possible employment of the Serbs who could not be educated.<sup>64</sup>

The cost of supporting and educating the Serbian students was not negligible. According to a report from 1917, during the first year of caring for the young Serbs, the Serbian Relief Fund had to spend £20,584.14s.10d.<sup>65</sup> The actual cost was probably substantially larger, but not the entire financial burden fell upon the Serbian Relief Fund. In a large number of cases, local educational committees took over part of the financial responsibility, as did the educational institutions and rich individual benefactors. This was especially common in the case of tuition fees, which were usually covered by the schools, colleges and universities.<sup>66</sup> Despite the shared expenditures, the financial burden for the Serbian Relief Fund was very heavy, especially as its income began to drop during 1917 and 1918. A detailed overview of the Fund's accountancy gives the following numbers: in the period between 28<sup>th</sup> April 1916 and 30<sup>th</sup> June 1916 £1,789.15s.10d. was spent on education; between 1<sup>st</sup> July 1916 and 30<sup>th</sup> June 1917 a total of £22,136.8s.4d. was spent (around £27,000 net costs, in-

<sup>64</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Minutes of Meeting, Offices of the War Refugees Committee, 9<sup>th</sup> July 1918.

<sup>65</sup> *For Serbia*, 12-13.

<sup>66</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Statement showing distribution of Serbian boys in England, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1916.

<sup>68</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 4.

<sup>69</sup> Herbert Albert Lorens Fišer (1865-1940) bio je britanski istoričar i liberalni političar. U vladi Dejvida Lojda-Džordža bio predsednik Odbora za obrazovanje.

<sup>70</sup> NA, HM Treasury (T), Treasury Board Papers (T1), Memoranda - Grant of financial assistance to the Serbian Relief Fund for the maintenance and education of Serbian youths in the United Kingdom (T 1/12514/12961), Yov. M. Yovanovitch to H. A. L. Fisher, 6<sup>th</sup> March 1918.

<sup>71</sup> Endrju Bonar Lo (1858-1923) bio je konzervativni političar i vođa opozicije pred Prvi svetski rat, a u periodu od 1922. do 1923. i britanski premijer. U vladi Lojda-Džordža obavljao je dužnost ministra finansija.

<sup>72</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, H. A. L. Fisher to A. Bonar Low, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1918.

1919. do 30. juna 1920. godine 22.595 funti, 19 šilinga i 6 penija (oko 25.000 funti neto); od 1. jula 1920. do 30. juna 1921. godine 14.938 funti i 7 šilinga; od 1. jula 1921. do 30. juna 1922. godine 3936 funti, 14 šilinga i 3 penija; od 1. jula 1922. do 30. juna 1923. godine 1060 funti, 17 šilinga i 9 penija i od 1. jula 1923. do 30. juna 1924. godine 397 funti, 10 šilinga i 2 penija.<sup>68</sup>

U želji da obezbede nesmetano finansiranje školovanja srpskih đaka u Velikoj Britaniji, kao i da eventualno dovedu još izbegle dece koja su se u to vreme nalazila u Grčkoj, severnoj Africi i na Korzici, čelnici Srpskog potpornog fonda i srpski poslanik u Londonu zajednički su se obratili za pomoć britanskoj vladi. Prvo je srpski poslanik u Londonu Jovan Jovanović 6. marta 1918. godine pisao Herbertu Fišeru<sup>69</sup>, predsedniku Odbora za obrazovanje u okviru britanske vlade, želeći da ga obavesti da su srpska vlada i srpski narod neizmerno zahvalni Britancima na svemu što čine za srpsku izbeglu decu. Jovanović je takođe izvestio Fišera da se u tom trenutku još između 500 i 600 izbeglih srpskih mladića nalazilo neraspoređeno u Grčkoj, na Korzici i u severnoj Africi i uputio mu molbu da se, ako je to mo-

guće, oni dovedu u Veliku Britaniju na školovanje. Srpski poslanik naveo je „da se srpska vlada nada da će generacija srpskih dečaka i studenata koja se sada školuje u Velikoj Britaniji, kao i oni koji će im se pridružiti, veoma brzo postati predstavnici britanske misli i postati stalna poveznica između dve zemlje”.<sup>70</sup> Jovanović je izrazio i bojazan da će 318 đaka i studenata koji su već bili raspoređeni u Velikoj Britaniji, kao i 11 nastavnika i 3 sveštenika koji su o njima brinuli, uskoro ostati bez sredstava, jer Srpski potporni fond nije mogao da obeća da će nastaviti finansiranje u onom obimu u kojem je to radio prethodnih godina. Herbert Fišer prosledio je pismo ministru finansija Endrjuu Bonaru Lou<sup>71</sup>, uz preporuku da se Jovanovićevim molbama izađe u susret. Fišer je naveo kako su srpski dečaci ostavili veoma pozitivan utisak kod britanskih profesora i ostalog osoblja i kako bi trebalo iskoristiti priliku da se Srbima pomogne i tako ostvari važan uticaj na one koji će u budućnosti predstavljati srpsku elitu.<sup>72</sup> Pošto su bili obavešteni da je dopis srpskog poslanika prosleđen ministru finansija, zvaničnici Srpskog potpornog fonda uputili su Bonaru Lou i sopstveni memorandum, u kojem su podržali

cluding contributions of the local committees); between 1<sup>st</sup> July 1917 and 30<sup>th</sup> June 1918 the cost of education was £21,492.9s.5d. (around £30,000 net); between 1<sup>st</sup> July 1918 and 30<sup>th</sup> June 1919 the Serbian Relief Fund spent £28,243.19s.8d. (around £37,000 net); from 1<sup>st</sup> July 1919 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 1920 the expenditure was £22,595.19s.6d. (around £25,000 net); between 1<sup>st</sup> July 1920 and 30<sup>th</sup> June 1921 £14,938.7s; from 1<sup>st</sup> July 1921 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 1922 £3,936.14s.3d; from 1<sup>st</sup> July 1922 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 1923 £1,060.17s.9d; and between 1<sup>st</sup> July 1923 and 30<sup>th</sup> June 1924 £397.10s.2d.<sup>67</sup>

In its desire to provide an uninterrupted funding for the education of the Serbian children in the United Kingdom, and possibly bring in more children who were stranded in Greece, northern Africa and Corsica, the Serbian Relief Fund, along with the Serbian Minister in London, reached out to the British government for help. Firstly, the Serbian Minister Jovan Jovanović wrote to Herbert Fisher,<sup>68</sup> President of the Board of Education, wishing to inform him that the Serbian government and people immensely appreciated everything the British had done in aid of the Serbian young-

sters. Jovanović also advised Fisher that there was still between 500 and 600 unallocated Serbian boys in Greece, Corsica and northern Africa and asked if it would be possible to send these boys to Great Britain. He stated that the “Serbian Government is hoping that the generation of Serbian boys and students now being educated in Great Britain, will very soon be representatives of British thought and become a permanent link between the two countries”.<sup>69</sup> Jovanović also expressed his concern that 318 students and pupils already stationed in Britain, as well as eleven teachers and three priests, would soon be left without means of support, as the Serbian Relief Fund could not promise to keep funding at the same level as in previous years. Herbert Fisher forwarded the request to Andrew Bonar Low,<sup>70</sup> the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a positive recommendation. Fisher stated that the Serbian boys left an extremely positive impression on their British tutors and other staff and that an opportunity should be seized to help the Serbs and thus establish an important influence on those who would represent the Serbian elite in the future.<sup>71</sup> Having been notified that the Serbian Minister’s

<sup>67</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 4.

<sup>68</sup> Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher (1865–1940) was a British historian and Liberal politician. In Lloyd-George’s Cabinet he worked as President of the Board of Education.

<sup>69</sup> NA, HM Treasury (T), Treasury Board Papers (T1), Memoranda – Grant of financial assistance to the Serbian Relief Fund for the maintenance and education of Serbian youths in the United Kingdom (T 1/12514/12961), Yov. M. Yovanovitch to H. A. L. Fisher, 6<sup>th</sup> March 1918.

<sup>70</sup> Andrew Bonar Low (1858–1923) was a Conservative politician and Leader of the Opposition prior to the First World War, and also the Prime Minister between 1922 and 1923. In the War Cabinet of David Lloyd-George he acted as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, among other distinguished positions.

<sup>71</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, H. A. L. Fisher to A. Bonar Low, 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1918.

<sup>73</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Deputation of the SRF to His Majesty's Government.

<sup>74</sup> Lord Henri Kevendiš-Bentink (1863-1931) bio je vojnik, konzervativni političar i poslanik u britanskom Parlamentu. Tokom Prvog svetskog rata bio je predsednik Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>75</sup> Glin Vilijams (1860-1948), britanski inženjer, biznismen i filantrop., bio je član Fabijanskog društva i jedan od osnivača uglednog političkog časopisa „Nju stejtsmen”.

<sup>76</sup> Robert Vindzor-Klajv (1857-1923), prvi erl od Plimuta, bio je zemljoposjednik, vojnik i konzervativni političar. Obavljao je brojne javne funkcije, a tokom Prvog svetskog rata bio je počasni blagajnik Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>77</sup> Ser Robert Čalmers (1858-1938), prvi baron Čalmers, bio je britanski političar i državni činovnik. Veći deo karijere proveo je baveći se javnim finansijama. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata obavljao je funkciju sekretara Državne blagajne.

Jovanovićevu molbu. Oni su opisali sve patnje kroz koje su prošla srpska deca na vom putu do Krfa, kao i sve napore koje su učinile druge zemlje Antante da se izbegloj deci pomogne. Navodeći kako Francuska više nije u mogućnosti da prihvati i organizuje školovanje za 600 neraspoređenih srpskih đaka, kao i to da su finansijska sredstva Srpskog potpornog fonda vrlo ograničena, čelnici fonda molili su britansku vladu za materijalnu pomoć.<sup>73</sup> Srpski potporni fond procenio je da održavanje i školovanje jednog deteta košta 90 funti na godišnjem nivou i zvaničnici fonda bili su spremni da ustupe celokupnu organizaciju britanskoj vladi na upravu, ukoliko ona usliši njihovu molbu i odobri tražena sredstva. Memorandum su potpisali Henri Bentink<sup>74</sup>, predsednik Srpskog potpornog fonda, Glin Vilijams<sup>75</sup>, potpredsednik, erl od Plimuta<sup>76</sup>, počasni blagajnik fonda, Robert Siton-Votson, počasni sekretar i Gertruda Kington Vajld, predsednica obrazovnog pododbora.

Endrju Bonar Lo, koji je i sam bio počasni potpredsednik Srpskog potpornog fonda, sa simpatijama je primio dopis srpskog poslanika Jovana Jovanovića i čelnika Srpskog potpornog

fonda, a posle konsultacija sa Herbertom Fišerom, predsednikom Odbora za obrazovanje, rešio je da molbu u načelu prihvati. Kao ministar finansija, ovlastio je ser Roberta Čalmersa<sup>77</sup>, sekretara Državne blagajne, da sa predstavnicima fonda ugovori detalje aranžmana. Ser Robert Čalmers susreo se 3. aprila 1918. godine sa leđi Elinorom Grogan<sup>78</sup>, aktivistkinjom fonda i Gvinom Vilijamsom, potpredsednikom, predloživši tom prilikom dva modela finansiranja školovanja srpskih đaka u Velikoj Britaniji. Prema prvom modelu, trebalo je da Državna blagajna, u periodu od tri godine, dodaje po jednu funtu na svaku funtu koju potroši Srpski potporni fond, pri čemu bi najviši dodati iznos bio 25.000 funti godišnje. Prema drugom modelu, koji je već bio primenjen u slučaju belgijskih izbeglica u Velikoj Britaniji, Državna blagajna trebalo je da plati 15 šilinga nedeljno za svakog srpskog đaka koji se nalazi u Velikoj Britaniji.<sup>79</sup> O ponuđenim finansijskim modelima predstavnici fonda konsultovali su se sa Aldžernonom Modsljem, sekretarom Komiteta za ratne izbeglice, uvažavajući njegovo iskustvo u radu sa izbeglicama iz Belgije. Modslj je predložio da Komitet prihvati ponudu od 15 šilinga po učeniku

request was forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the officials of the Serbian Relief Fund sent their own memorandum to Bonar Low, supporting the appeal of the Serbian Minister. They explained all the sufferings endured by the young Serbs on their way to Corfu and described the efforts made by other countries of the Entente to help the Serbian children. Stating that France was no longer able to organise accommodation and education for 600 still unlocated Serbian students, and also declaring that the Fund's own financial means were very limited, the Serbian Relief Fund officials urged the British government to help.<sup>72</sup> The Serbian Relief Fund estimated that the upkeep and education for one child cost approximately £90 per year, and the Fund's management were willing, should the British government grant their request, to turn over the entire organisation to the government. The memorandum was signed by Henry Bentinck,<sup>73</sup> Chairman of the Serbian Relief Fund, Glynne Williams,<sup>74</sup> Vice-chairman, Earl of Plymouth,<sup>75</sup> Honorary Treasurer, Robert Seton-Watson, Honorary Secretary and Gertrude Carrington Wilde, Head of the Education Subcommittee.

Andrew Bonar Low, who himself was an Honorary Vice-chairman of the Serbian Relief Fund, was very sympathetic to the requests made by the Serbian Minister Jovanović and the officials of the Fund and, following consultations with Herbert Fisher, the Chairman of the Board of Education, decided grant them. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he authorised Sir Robert Chalmers,<sup>76</sup> Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, to arrange the details of the scheme with the representatives of the Serbian Relief Fund. Chalmers met with Lady Elinore Grogan,<sup>77</sup> a Fund's activist, and Gwynne Williams, the Vice-chairman, on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1918 proposing two possible models of financing the education of the Serbian students in Great Britain. The first model proposed that the British government should match every pound donated by the Serbian Relief Fund, but not exceeding £25,000 per year, during the period of three years. The second model, already applied in the case of the Belgian refugees in the United Kingdom, proposed that the Treasury should pay up to 15s. per week for every Serbian youngster who resided in Britain.<sup>78</sup> The Fund representatives consulted Algernon Maudslay, the

<sup>72</sup>NA, MH 8/5, Deputation of the SRF to His Majesty's Government.

<sup>73</sup> Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1863–1931) was a soldier, Conservative politician and MP. During the First World War he acted as the Chairman of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>74</sup> Glynne Williams (1860–1948) was a British engineer, businessman and philanthropist. He was a member of the Fabian society and one of the founders of prominent political magazine *The New Statesman*.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Windsor-Clive, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Plymouth (1857–1923) was a landowner, soldier and Conservative politician. He held several distinguished public offices and during the First World War he was an Honorary Treasurer of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>76</sup> Sir Robert Chalmers, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Chalmers (1858–1938) was a British politician and civil servant. Most of his career he spent in public finances. During the First World War he served as the Secretary to the Treasury.

<sup>78</sup> Ledi Elinor Flora Grogan bila je supruga ser Edvarda Grogana, drugog baroneta, i ćerka Redžinalda Bosvorta Smita, pisca i učitelja u školi Harou. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata je bila veoma aktivna u radu Srpskog potpornog fonda, posebno njegovog obrazovnog pododbor.

<sup>79</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, Notes of a conversation between Sir Robert Chalmers and Lady Grogan and Mr. Glynne Williams at the Treasury, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1918.

<sup>80</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Sugestions from Mr. Maudsley, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

<sup>81</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, Henry Bentinck to Sir Robert Chalmers, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>82</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, Andrew Bonar Law to Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>83</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, E. Lyttelton to Unknown, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1918.

<sup>84</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, Report on Mr. Bellows, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1918.

na nedeljnom nivou, jer je smatrao da će ovaj aranžman omogućiti fondu da dovede još Srba u Veliku Britaniju. Prihvatanje tog modela značilo bi da će, u slučaju da ukupan broj đaka i studenata dostigne cifru od jedne hiljade, fond samo od britanske države dobijati 750 funti nedeljno, odnosno preko 39.000 funti godišnje. Zahvaljujući činjenici da je Komitet za ratne izbeglice bio u mogućnosti da za srpske dečake obezbedi hranu po ceni od 5 šilinga nedeljno, fondu bi na nedeljnom nivou ostajalo 10 šilinga po đaku da pokrije sve ostale izdatke.<sup>80</sup>

Članovi Srpskog potpornog fonda proveli su celu nedelju razmišljajući koju ponudu da prihvate, ali su na kraju ipak odlučili da zamole Čalmerisa da im odmah odobri subvenciju od 25.000 funti na godišnjem nivou, bez obzira na to koliko svog novca u tom periodu fond potroši na izdržavanje đaka. Svoju molbu pravdali su teškom finansijskom situacijom i realnom mogućnošću da prestanu sa radom ukoliko ne dobiju državni novac do jula 1918. godine.<sup>81</sup> Endrju Bonar Lo pristao je na uslove koje je izložio Bentink i odobrio godišnju pomoć u visini od 25.000 funti za period od tri godine, uz uslov da celokupan po-

sao organizovanja i izvođenja nastave obavljaju aktivisti Srpskog potpornog fonda.<sup>82</sup> Pomoć je trebalo da bude isplaćivana kvartalno, počev od 1. jula 1918. godine.

Taman kada se činilo da je pitanje materijalnih sredstava za školovanje Srba rešeno i da će Srpski potporni fond dobiti finansijsku injekciju koja će mu omogućiti da neraspoređene srpske đake i studente dovede u Veliku Britaniju, slučaj se zakomplikovao, a isplata ugovorenih sredstava je odložena. Naime, u junu 1918. godine britanskom Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova stigla je anonimna dojava od osobe koja je „bila upućena u poslove sa Srbima”, u kojoj se tvrdilo da treba proveriti pojedince iz Srpskog potpornog fonda jer srpskim dečacima pune glavu pacifizmom i konceptom prigovora savesti. Osumnjičeni su bili Džon Belouz i njegova sestra Hana.<sup>83</sup> Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova tražilo je od Skotland jarđa podatke o Džonu Belouzu i dobilo izveštaj u kojem se navodi da je Belouz od ranije poznat kao kveker i pacifista i da je tokom rada u Srpskom potpornom fondu dolazio u sukob sa srpskim đacima i učiteljima.<sup>84</sup> Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova preporučilo je da se

Secretary of the War Refugees Committee, on the proposed schemes, counting on his experience in dealing with the Belgian refugees. Maudslay suggested the Fund to accept the proposal of 15s. per head per week. He thought that this model would allow the Serbian Relief Fund to bring more refugees to Britain and that if the total number of youngsters in United Kingdom reached 1,000, it would result in £750 per week, or approximately £39,000 a year, being paid by the British government alone. Thanks to the fact that the War Refugees Committee was in a position to supply food for the boys at just 5s. a week, the Fund would be left with 10s. weekly per person for other expenditures.<sup>79</sup>

Officials of the Fund deliberated for an entire week which proposal to accept, but in the end they decided to ask Chalmers to immediately approve the annual subsidy of £25,000, without the condition that the Serbian Relief Fund should match the amount. Their request was justified by the very poor financial situation of the Fund and a real possibility that the Fund may have to cease with the operations if they were not allowed a government grant by July 1918.<sup>80</sup> Bo-

nar Low accepted Bentinck's conditions and approved the annual grant of £25,000 for three years, with the condition that all the work on the ground should be undertaken by the Serbian Relief Fund activists.<sup>81</sup> The aid was to be paid quarterly, starting on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1918.

Just when it seemed that the entire issue was resolved and that the Serbian Relief Fund would get the financial boost that would allow for the remaining unallocated Serbian boys to be brought to Great Britain, the situation got complicated and the arranged payments were suspended. In June 1918, the Home Office got an anonymous tip from someone who was "acquainted with the Serbian affairs", claiming that certain individuals within the Serbian Relief Fund were filling the Serbian youngsters' heads with pacifism and notions of conscientious objection. The suspects were John Bellows and his sister Hannah.<sup>82</sup> The Home Office asked for a report on Bellows from the Scotland Yard. The issued report stated that John Bellows was a known Quaker and pacifist and that there were records of conflicts between him and the Serbian boys and teachers,

<sup>77</sup> Lady Elinor Flora Grogan was the wife of Sir Edward Grogan, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet, and a daughter of Reginald Bosworth Smith, author and tutor at Harrow School. During First World War she worked actively for the Serbian Relief Fund, especially the Educational Subcommittee.

<sup>78</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, Notes of a conversation between Sir Robert Chalmers and Lady Grogan and Mr. Glynne Williams at the Treasury, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1918.

<sup>79</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Suggestions from Mr Maudslay, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

<sup>80</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, Henry Bentinck to Sir Robert Chalmers, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>81</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, Andrew Bonar Law to Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, 18<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>82</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, E. Lyttelton to unknown, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1918.

rukovodiocima Srpskog potpornog fonda nagovesti da bi Belouza valjalo udaljiti sa položaja, što je evidentno imalo efekta, jer je iz Kembridža, gde je radio kao administrator obrazovnog pododbora, Džon Belouz premešten u London, na poziciju u administraciji fonda, dok je njegova sestra Hana Belouz smenjena sa funkcije upravnice srpskog doma u Kembridžu i na njeno mesto je postavljena gospođica Dora Maklagan, ćerka nadbiskupa od Jorka.<sup>85</sup> Zbog peripetije sa Džonom Belouzom kasnila je isplata subvencija i prva dogovorena rata od 6250 funti uplaćena je na račun Srpskog potpornog fonda tek krajem septembra 1918.

Materijalna pomoć britanske vlade bila je neophodna da se srpska đaćka i studentska kolonija u Velikoj Britaniji održi, ali nije bila dovoljna da se na Ostrvo dovede još učenika. Ova pomoć stigla je sa zakašnjenjem, jer je u trenutku kada je model finansiranja počeo uspešno da funkcioniše - rat završen, a velika većina đaka izrazila želju da se vrati u oslobođenu otadžbinu. Ipak, zahvaljujući sredstvima koje je prikupio Srpski potporni fond i novcu koji je donirala britanska vlada, jedan deo studenata uspeo je da završi svoje školovanje u Velikoj Britaniji, a poslednji srpski student vratio se kući 1924. godine, kada je fond i zvanično prestao sa radom.

<sup>85</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Notes on Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916 to 1924, 3-4.

presumably provoked by his political views.<sup>83</sup> The Home Office recommended that it should be suggested to the leadership of the Serbian Relief Fund that it would be wise to remove Bellows from his position, which obviously had some effect, as Bellows was transferred from Cambridge, where he worked as the administrator of the Educational Subcommittee, to London, where he took the position in the Fund's administration. His sister Hannah was dismissed from the position of the director of the Serbian home in Cambridge and the vacancy was filled by Miss Dora Maclagan, a daughter of the former Archbishop of York.<sup>84</sup> Due to the Bellows controversy, the payment of the subsidy to the Serbian Relief Fund was late and the first instalment of £6,250 of the

arranged annual sum was paid in late September 1918.

Material backing of the British government was necessary for the Serbian students' colony in the United Kingdom to survive, but it was not enough to bring more Serbs to Britain. The help was late in coming, because by the time the scheme became operational, the war had ended and most of the Serbian boys expressed a desire to return to their liberated Homeland. However, thanks to the funds raised by the Serbian Relief Fund and the money given by the British government, a number of Serbian students managed to complete their education and the last Serbian student returned home in 1924, when the Fund officially shut down all operations.

<sup>83</sup> NA, T 1/12514/12961, Report on Mr. Bellows, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1918.

<sup>84</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Notes on Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916 to 1924, 3-4.

### *3.4 Srpski đaci i studenti u Engleskoj*

Najveći broj studenata i đaka koji su rat proveli u Velikoj Britaniji bio je stacioniran u Engleskoj, na nekoliko lokacija širom zemlje. Odmah po dolasku u Sautempton, u maju 1916. godine, dečaci su privremeno smešteni u Deptfordu, u okolini Londona, gde su ostali sve dok čelnici Srpskog potpornog fonda nisu obezbedili dugoročne aranžmane za njihov boravak. Od samog početka među rukovodionicima fonda vodila se debata oko toga da li dečaci treba da budu koncentrisani na jednom mestu, na primer u Londonu ili Oksfordu, kao što je predlagao ser Artur Evans, ili ih pak

treba rasporediti u manje grupe širom Engleske. Prva varijanta znatno bi olakšala nadziranje dečaka i pojedinih njihov smeštaj i održavanje, dok bi druga varijanta, uprkos otporu na koji je naišla, omogućila đacima i studentima da bolje upoznaju okolinu u koju su došli, sprečavajući ih da oforme kompaktnu i zatvorenu srpsku grupu, nezainteresovanu za događanja koja su se odvijala oko njih. Podelom na grupe i upućivanjem u različita mesta u Engleskoj omogućeno je takođe da se u tim mestima formiraju lokalne podružnice Srpskog potpornog fonda, koje su bile izuzetno ak-

### *3.4 Serbian Pupils and Students in England*

Most of the students and pupils who had spent the First World War in the United Kingdom were stationed in England, in several locations throughout the country. As soon as they arrived in Southampton in April 1916, they were transferred to Deptford, near London, where they stayed until the representatives of the Serbian Relief Fund would manage to set up long-term arrangements for their stay. In the very beginning, officials of the Serbian Relief Fund argued if the boys should be grouped in one place, such as London or Oxford, as suggested by Sir Arthur Evans, which

would make their accommodation much easier and cheaper, or if they should be scattered in smaller groups across England, which would, despite the boys' protests, allow them to get to know their new surroundings better and prevent them from forming a compact and closed Serbian group, deaf and blind to the events around them. Dividing the boys into smaller groups and sending them to different places in England facilitated creation of the local sections of the Serbian Relief Fund, which were very active and managed to raise significant funds, without which the upkeep of Serbian

tivne i uspevale su da ostvare prilično velike prihode, bez kojih bi izdržavanje srpskih dečaka predstavljalo veoma težak zadatak.

Već u maju 1916. godine grupa od oko 70 dečaka bila je smeštena u Viklif holu u Oksfordu.<sup>86</sup> Istovremeno, javila se mogućnost da Vestimsterski koledž i koledž Česhant u Kembridžu prime i do 150 mladića. Čelnici fonda rado su prihvatili ponudu lokalnog obrazovnog komiteta i ubrzo je najveća grupa srpskih đaka u Engleskoj bila smeštena u Kembridžu.<sup>87</sup> Upravo zbog toga je i administracija obrazovnog pododbora prebačena u Kembridž, a na njegovo čelo postavljen je Džon Belouz. Pošto je do kraja 1916. godine zatvoren pansion za srpsku decu u mestu Šipi Hil, gde su se mladi Srbi izdržavali radeći na farmi, ugovoreno je da se oni prebace u Reding, u grofoviji Berkšir, gde je takođe trebalo da budu smešteni u jednom pansionu i prema uzrastu raspoređeni u srednje škole i na koledže.<sup>88</sup> Isto tako, za najmlađu decu otvoren je i pansion u mestu Čendlers Ford, u grofoviji Hempšir, nedaleko od lučkog grada Sautemptonu.<sup>89</sup>

Tokom 1917. godine bilo je mnogo premeštanja, pre svega zato što su

se te godine stvorile nove prilike za srpske dečake, posebno posle mature koju su polagali, a koja im je omogućila da apliciraju za prijem na koledže i univerzitete. Mnogi dečaci otišli su u Škotsku i u Vels, a mnogi su uspeli da upišu različite škole širom Engleske. Iste godine ustaljen je i sistem hostela, koji se nije značajnije menjao tokom celokupnog boravka Srba u Velikoj Britaniji. Prema zvaničnim dokumentima, srpskih hostela i pansiona u Engleskoj je bilo devet, i to: 1) pansion u Kembridžu, u Vestminsterskom koledžu, kojim je upravljala gospođica Belouz, gde je bilo smešteno ukupno 49 osoba (đaka, nastavnika i pripadnika osoblja); 2) takođe u Kembridžu, u koledžu Česhant, pansionom je upravljala gospođica Maklagan, a u njemu je bilo smešteno 15 osoba; 3) u hostelu u Redingu, u Kelvedonu, kojim je rukovodila gospođica Parkinson, bilo je smešteno 38 osoba; 4) U Oksfordu, u hostelu u Linton roudu, kojim je upravljala gospođica Lea, nalazilo se 40 osoba; 5) U Čendlers Fordu, u Sautvud hostelu, kojim je upravljao gospodin Vejl, bilo je smešteno 25 osoba; 6) U Mejdenu, u hostelu gospođe Torn, bilo je smešteno šestoro dece; 7) u Londonu, u hostelu gospodina Robinsona

<sup>86</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 11<sup>th</sup> May 1916.

<sup>87</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/2/1. R. W. Seton-Watson to Rev. R. W. Grace, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1916.

<sup>88</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1917.

<sup>89</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1916.

boys would have been a difficult task.

As early as May 1916, a group of around 70 Serbian boys was settled in Wycliffe Hall in Oxford.<sup>85</sup> At the same time, a possibility arose that Westminster College and Cheshunt College in Cambridge could accommodate up to 150 youngsters. Officials of the Fund gladly accepted the offer made by the local educational committee and soon after the largest Serbian group in the United Kingdom was settled in Cambridge.<sup>86</sup> This was the reason why the administration of the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund was transferred to Cambridge and John Bellows appointed as its head. By the end of 1916, the Serbian hostel in a small village of Shippea Hill, where the young Serbs had earned their keep by working on a farm, was closed down, and it was arranged that they should be moved to Reading in Berkshire, where they would be accommodated in a guest house and enrolled in age-appropriate educational institutions.<sup>87</sup> Also, the youngest of the Serbian children were housed in a special hostel opened in the Hampshire town of Chandler's Ford, near the port town of Southampton.<sup>88</sup>

During 1917, many relocations had taken place, mainly caused by the new possibilities opening up to the Serbian boys, especially after the matriculation exam they had the opportunity to sit, which enabled them to apply for colleges and universities. Many of the boys went to Scotland and Wales, and many were enrolled in different schools throughout England. In 1917 a system of the Serbian hostels and boarding houses was established and it did not significantly change throughout the entire period of the Serbian boys' residence in Great Britain. According to the official documents, there were nine Serbian hostels and boarding houses in England: 1) in Cambridge, at Westminster College, run by Miss Bellows, accommodating a total of 49 people (boys, teachers and other members of staff); 2) also in Cambridge, in Cheshunt College, run by Miss Maclagan, accommodating fifteen people; 3) in Reading, at a hostel at Kelvedon, run by Miss Parkinson, which accommodated 38 people; 4) in Oxford, at the Linton Road hostel, run by Miss Leah, accommodating 40 people; 5) in Chandler's Ford, at the Southwood hostel, run by Mr Whale, accommodating 25 people; 6) in Maidenhead,

<sup>85</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 11<sup>th</sup> May 1916.

<sup>86</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/2/1. R. W. Seton-Watson to Rev. R. W. Grace, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1916.

<sup>87</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1917.

<sup>88</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1916.

u Norvud roudu, živelo je 30 osoba; 8) u Lidsu, u hostelu gospođe Mozli, živelo je 15 osoba; 9) u Birminghamu, u Srpskoj kući u Seli Ouku, kod gospodina Gejla, bilo je smešteno 24 osoba.<sup>90</sup>

Jedan od važnijih srpskih centara u Velikoj Britaniji bio je Oksford, univerzitetski grad koji se nalazio severozapadno od Londona. Prva grupa srpskih mladića, koja je došla u grad u maju 1916. godine, bila je privremeno smeštena u Viklif holu, teološkom koledžu anglikanske crkve. Zahvaljujući pomoći lokalnog obrazovnog pododboru, Srpski potporni fond ubrzo je pronašao odgovarajući stalni smeštaj za dečake - Sent Endrjus lođž, u ulici Linton.<sup>91</sup> To mesto je ostalo stecište srpskih đaka i studenata u Oksfordu tokom celog Prvog svetskog rata. Grupa smeštena u Oksfordu bila je veoma mešovita - u njoj su se nalazili dečaci uzrasta od 9 do 18 godina, tako da je među njima bilo onih koji je trebalo da pohađaju osnovnu ili srednju školu, ali i onih koji su bili spremni da otpočnu studije na univerzitetu.<sup>92</sup>

Starešina srpske grupe u Oksfordu bio je dr Dragutin Subotić, a prema popisu iz januara 1918. godine, načinjenom za potrebe Ministarstva pro-

svete, on je vodio računa o sledećim dečacima: Vojislavu Živkoviću, Miroslavu Stamenkoviću, Ivanu Milovanoviću, Ostoji Čitakoviću, Blagoju Petakoviću, Branislavu Ristiću, Milanu Popoviću i Ljubiši Ivanoviću, koji su pohađali Oksfordsku srednju školu (*Oxford High School*); zatim, o Jovanu Trifunoviću, Radiću Marinkoviću, Dragoljubu Stojanoviću, Branku Milovanoviću, Radoslavu Milosavljeviću, Vladanu Popoviću i Radovanu Miletiću, koji su pohađali Gradsku tehničku školu (*City Technical School*); o Branislavu Kovandžiću, Aleksandru Kataniću i Ivanu Jevremoviću, koji su pohađali školu Magdalen koledž; o Borivoju Nediću, Gavrilu Jovičiću, Obrenu Vukomanoviću i Dragomiru Rakiću, koji su pohađali školu Sent Edwards; o Milovanu Vidoviću, koji je bio neraspoređen, kao i o Aleksandru Lazareviću, Budimiru Zagorcu i Radoslavu Đorđeviću, koji su pohađali kurs za oficire.<sup>93</sup> Mnogi stariji đaci uspeli su da započnu studije zahvaljujući sopstvenom radu i trudu, ali i pomoći prijatelja sa Oksfordskog univerziteta, koji su omogućili izbeglim Srbima da upišu fakultet bez položenih mature. Srpski mladići studirali su na različitim koledžima Oksfordskog univerziteta, i to: 1) na koledžu Mag-

<sup>90</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Serbian Relief Fund Boys' Colonies in England, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

<sup>91</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1916.

<sup>92</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Sidney Ball, *Serbians in Oxford*.

<sup>93</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 23-25.

in a hostel run by Mrs Thorne, which hosted six children; 7) in London, in a hostel run by Mr Robinson at Norwood Road, accommodating 30 people; 8) in Leeds, at Mrs Mozley's hostel, where fifteen people lived and 9) in Birmingham, in Serbian House in Selly Oak, with Mr Geale, accommodating 24 people.<sup>89</sup>

One of the more important Serbian centres in England was Oxford, a university town situated north-west of London. The first group of Serbian young men, who came to the city in May 1916, were accommodated at Wycliffe Hall, a theological college of the Church of England. Thanks to the support of the local educational sub-committee, the Serbian Relief Fund managed to find a suitable permanent accommodation for the boys - St Andrew's Lodge in Linton Street.<sup>90</sup> The place remained the headquarters of the Serbian students and pupils in Oxford for the entire period of the war. The group settled in Oxford was very heterogeneous - it included the boys aged from 9 to 18, from primary school pupils to young men ready for university studies.<sup>91</sup>

Head of the Serbian group in Oxford was Dr Dragutin Subotić who, ac-

ording to a list made for the Serbian Ministry of Education in January 1918, took care of the following boys: Vojislav Živković, Miroslav Stamenković, Ivan Milovanović, Ostoja Čitaković, Blagoje Petaković, Branislav Ristić, Milan Popović and Ljubiša Ivanović, all attending Oxford High School; Jovan Trifunović, Radič Marinković, Dragoljub Stojanović, Branko Milovanović, Radoslav Milosavljević, Vladan Popović and Radovan Miletić, who attended City Technical School; Branislav Kovandžić, Aleksandar Katanić and Ivan Jevremović, who attended Magdalen College School; Borivoje Nedić, Gavriilo Jovičić, Obren Vukomanović and Dragomir Rakić, who went to St Edward's School; Milovan Vidović, who was unallocated and Aleksandar Lazarević, Budimir Zagorac and Radosav Djordjević, who trained with the Officers' Training Corps.<sup>92</sup> Many of the older students managed to commence the university studies, thanks to their hard work and talent, but also thanks to the help from the friends from Oxford University, who allowed the refugee Serbs to enrol without having passed the Serbian matriculation exam. The following young men studied in different colleges of Oxford University: 1) at Magda-

<sup>89</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Serbian Relief Fund Boys' Colonies in England, 18<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

<sup>90</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1916.

<sup>91</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Sidney Ball, *Serbians in Oxford*.

<sup>92</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 23-25.

<sup>94</sup> Aleksandar Vidaković (1896-1940) bio je novinar, prevodilac i pisac. Pisao je za beogradski dnevni list „Politika”, a radio je i kao saradnik najuglednijih listova iz Velike Britanije i Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Pisac je veoma popularnih udžbenika engleskog jezika.

<sup>95</sup> Gradimir Kozomarić (1898-1941) bio je novinar i propagandista. Pisao je za beogradsko „Vreme”, kao i za brojne britanske novine. Jedno vreme bio je direktor državne novinske agencije „Avala” i šef propagande u kabinetu Milana Stojadinovića. Streljali su ga Nemci u Drugom svetskom ratu, kao simpatizera Velike Britanije.

<sup>96</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 23-25

<sup>97</sup> Irinej Đorđević (1894-1952), srpski bogoslov i doktor teologije, bio je episkop dalmatinski Srpske pravoslavne crkve i veliki zagovornik prijateljstva između Jugoslavije i Velike Britanije.

<sup>98</sup> Justin Popović (1894-1979), sveti Justin, bio je teolog, profesor Univerziteta

dalen - Slobodan Baranac (šumarstvo), Đura Dimitrijević (medicina) i Milorad Đurović (medicina); 2) na koledžu Sent Džons - Stevan Ididović (šumarstvo) i Aleksandar Vidaković<sup>94</sup> (književnost i istorija); 3) na Nju koledžu - Stevan Jovanović (teologija) i Vladimir Gođevac (antropologija); 4) na koledžu Krajst Čerč - Aleksandar Bilić (politička ekonomija) i Momčilo Ristić; 5) na koledžu Džizus Gradimir Kozomarić<sup>95</sup> (politička ekonomija); 6) na koledžu Kvins Vladimir Zečević (šumarstvo); 7) na koledžu Baliol Milivoje Gavrilović (politička ekonomija); 8) na koledžu Merton Dragomir Miličević (politička ekonomija) i 9) na Brejznous koledžu Mihajlo Deretić.<sup>96</sup> Pored grupe studenata o kojoj se starao Srpski potporni fond i lokalni ogranak obrazovnog pododbora fonda, u Oksfordu se nalazila i grupa srpskih bogoslova, o kojima su se brinule različite britanske i srpske verske dobrotvorne organizacije. Grupu srpskih bogoslova činili su: Irinej Đorđević<sup>97</sup>, Justin Popović<sup>98</sup>, Jovan Stojanović, Pavle Jevtić, Jelisije Andrić, Miloje Milošević, Kosta Manojlović<sup>99</sup> (koji je zapravo na Oksfordu studirao muziku), Svetislav Nikić i Dragić Pešić.

Srpska đaćka i studentska kolonija u Oksfordu bila je predmet velike brige lokalnih političara, dostojanstvenika i učenjaka, koji su odmah po dolasku dečaka u Viklif hol formirali Lokalni fond za obrazovanje Srba u Oksfordu. Fond je organizovan na podstrek ser Artura Evansa, arheologa i dugogodišnjeg čuvara muzeja Ašmolean u Oksfordu, ali je glavnu reč vodio Sidni Bol, profesor na koledžu Sent Džons. Zahvaljujući entuzijazmu Sidnija Bola i grupe ljudi koja se okupila u fondu za obrazovanje Srba, poput Pola Binekea<sup>100</sup>, profesora i administratora sa Magdalen koledža, Herberta Tarnera<sup>101</sup>, čuvenog astronoma i direktora opservatorije Redklif u Oksfordu i ser Pola Vinogradova<sup>102</sup>, oksfordskog profesora istorije ruskog porekla, srpskim dečacima je u ovom univerzitetskom mestu obezbeđen veoma udoban smeštaj, organizovani su im intenzivni kursevi engleskog jezika, plaćeni troškovi školovanja i prikupljena sredstva za ostale potrebe. Radi boljeg upoznavanja sa engleskim jezikom i britanskom kulturom, za srpske dečake organizovane su i literarne grupe, gde su se zajednički čitali i analizirali klasici britanske književnosti.<sup>103</sup> Na Oksfordu su ove čitalačke družine nadgledali Frank

len College - Slobodan Baranac (forestry), Djura Dimitrijević (medicine) and Milorad Djurović (medicine); 2) at St John's College - Stevan Idjidović (forestry) and Aleksandar Vidaković<sup>93</sup> (literature and history); at New College - Stevan Jovanović (theology) and Vladimir Godjevac (anthropology); at Christ Church College - Aleksandar Bilić (political economy) and Momčilo Ristić; 5) at Jesus College - Gradimir Kozomarić<sup>94</sup> (political economy); 6) at Queen's College - Vladimir Zečević (forestry); 7) at Balliol College - Milivoje Gavrilović (political economy); 8) at Merton College - Dragomir Miličević (political economy) and 9) at Brasenose College - Mihajlo Deretić.<sup>95</sup> Beside the group cared for by the Serbian Relief Fund and the local branch of the educational subcommittee, a group of young Serbian theologians was also situated there, provided for by different Serbian and British religious charity organisations. The group consisted of Irinej Djordjević,<sup>96</sup> Justin Popović,<sup>97</sup> Jovan Stojanović, Pavle Jevtić, Jelisije Andrić, Miloje Milošević, Kosta Manojlović (who actually studied music),<sup>98</sup> Svetislav Nikić and Dragić Pešić.

The Serbian students' colony in Ox-

ford was a subject of great concern from the local politicians, dignitaries and scholars, who immediately after the boys' arrival organised themselves into the Local Fund for Education of Serbs in Oxford. The initiator was Sir Arthur Evans, an archaeologist and a long-serving Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, but the main protagonist was Sidney Ball, professor at St John's College. Thanks to the enthusiasm of Sidney Ball and the group of people in the local fund, such as Paul Benecke,<sup>99</sup> a professor and administrator at Magdalen College, Herbert Turner,<sup>100</sup> a famous astronomer and director of Radcliffe Observatory, and Sir Paul Vinogradoff,<sup>101</sup> a history professor of Russian descent, the Serbs were provided with a very comfortable accommodation and intensive English courses, their tuition fees were paid and the funds were raised for other purposes. For the purpose of better understanding the English language and British culture, book clubs were organised for the Serbian boys, where they jointly read and analysed the British literary classics.<sup>102</sup> At Oxford, these book clubs were overseen by Frank Brightman<sup>103</sup> and Richar Offor.<sup>104</sup> Officials of the local committee even managed to

<sup>93</sup> Aleksandar Vidaković (1896-1940) was a journalist, translator and author. He wrote for the prominent Belgrade newspapers *Politika* and he also worked as a correspondent for the most notable newspapers from United Kingdom and the United States of America. He was the author of very popular English textbooks.

<sup>94</sup> Gradimir Kozomarić (1898-1941) was a journalist and propaganda expert. He wrote articles for the Yugoslav pro-government newspapers *Vreme* and for various British papers. For a while he was a director of the state news agency *Avala* and a chief propagandist in the cabinet of Milan Stojadinović, Yugoslav Prime Minister. The Nazis shot him during the Second World War as a sympathiser of Great Britain.

<sup>95</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 23-25.

<sup>96</sup> Irinej Djordjević (1894-1952) was a prominent Serbian theologian. He was the Bishop of Dalmatia of the Serbian Orthodox Church and a great promoter of friendship between Yugoslavia and Great Britain.

u Beogradu i monah. Srpska pravoslavna crkva proglasila ga je za svetitelja 2010. godine.

<sup>99</sup> Kosta Manojlović (1890-1949) bio je srpski kompozitor, etnomuzikolog, te osnivač i profesor Muzičke akademije u Beogradu. U Oksford je došao da studira teologiju, ali je odustao od te namere da bi se potpuno posvetio muzici.

<sup>100</sup> Pol Viktor Mendelson Bineke (1868-1944), britanski teolog i klasičar, bio je profesor i administrator na Magdalen koledžu, a tokom Prvog svetskog rata i veoma aktivan član lokalnog komiteta Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>101</sup> Herbert Hol Tarner (1861-1930) bio je britanski astronom, seizmolog i profesor astronomije na Univerzitetu u Oksfordu.

<sup>102</sup> Ser Pol Vinogradov (1854-1925) bio je poznati istoričar i medievista rusko-britanskog porekla. Radio je kao profesor na Univerzitetu u Oksfordu i tokom rata bio jedan od najagilnijih članova lokalnog komiteta za pomoć Srbima.

Brajtman<sup>104</sup> i Ričard Ofor<sup>105</sup>. Čelnici lokalnog fonda uspjeli su čak da izdejtstvuju kod univerzitetskih vlasti da oni srpski đaci koji su imali položenu maturu ne polažu prijemni ispit za upis na koledže, dok su ostali, uprkos tome što prethodno nisu polagali maturu, svejedno mogli upisati studije, ukoliko su bili dovoljno dobri i ispunjavali postavljene uslove.<sup>106</sup> Posebno su na univertizetu bili aktivni bogoslovi, kao i studenti poljoprivrede i šumarstva, koji su imali sreću da im mentor bude ser Vilijam Šlih<sup>107</sup>, jedan od najvećih stručnjaka svog vremena.<sup>108</sup> Lokalni fond doprineo je mnogo u procesu uključivanja srpskih učenika u društveni život grada i univerziteta, ohrabrujući mladiće da se druže sa engleskim vršnjacima. Uz pomoć fonda, srpski mladići osnovali su književno i debatno društvo, kao i fudbalski i veslački klub.<sup>109</sup> Takođe, zahvaljujući podršci Lokalnog fonda za obrazovanje Srba, univerzitetske vlasti učinile su mnogo kako bi srpski mladići mogli da zadovolje svoje duhovne potrebe, što je bilo naročito bitno brojnim mladim bogoslovima među njima. Ne samo da su univerzitetske vlasti pomogle proslavu Vidovdana u leto 1916. godine i praznik Svetog Save u januaru 1917. godine, već je

uprava koledža Sent Džons odobrila i da Srbi koriste kapelu koledža za svoje verske službe tokom celokupnog boravka u Oksfordu.<sup>110</sup>

U junu 1916. godine, u Englesku je iz Francuske prispela i druga grupa od oko 150 srpskih dečaka. Pošto su smeštajni kapaciteti u Oksfordu već bili popunjeni, Srpski potporni fond uređio je da učenici budu stacionirani u Kembridžu, univerzitetskom gradu koji se nalazio severoistočno od Londona. U svrhu njihovog smeštaja, grupa uglednih profesora i naučnika iz Kembridža obezbedila je hostele u koledžima Vestminster i Česhant, s tim što su stariji dečaci bili smešteni u Vestminsteru, a mlađi u Česhantu.<sup>111</sup> Pošto je ova grupa srpskih učenika po broju bila najveća od svih u Engleskoj, sedište administracije obrazovnog pododborra Srpskog potpornog fonda, na čelu sa Džonom Belouzom, premešteno je u Vestminsterski koledž. Slično kao i u Oksfordu, formiran je lokalni komitet za obrazovanje srpskih mladića, čiji su članovi bili brojni ugledni britanski naučnici, profesori i dobrotvori, koji su živeli u Kembridžu i okolini. Na čelu ovog odbora nalazio se ser Albert Sjuard, botaničar i geolog, profesor Univerziteta u Kembridžu.

persuade the university authorities to allow the Serbs who had passed their matriculation exams to enrol in colleges without the entrance exam, while the others also had the opportunity to study if they were good enough and met the required conditions.<sup>105</sup> Theologians were very active at the university, as well as the students of agriculture and forestry, who were lucky enough to be mentored by Sir William Schlich,<sup>106</sup> one of the greatest experts of the time.<sup>107</sup> The local committee had done a lot to integrate the young Serbs into the social life of the city and the university, encouraging the youngsters to socialise with their English peers. With the help of the Fund, the young Serbs established literary and debating societies, as well as football and rowing clubs.<sup>108</sup> Also, the university authorities, with the help from the local education committee, did a great deal to provide the Serbs with the possibility to tend to their spiritual needs, which was particularly important because of the fact that there were a lot of young theologians amongst them. Not only did the university authorities help them celebrate St Vitus Day (Vidovdan) in the summer of 1916 and St Sava Day in January 1917, but

the authorities of St John's College allowed the Serbs to use the college chapel for their religious ceremonies for the duration of their stay.<sup>109</sup>

In June 1916, the second group of about 150 boys came to England from France and because the accommodation capacities in Oxford were already full, the Serbian Relief Fund arranged for them to be stationed in Cambridge, a university town located north-east of London. For the purpose of their accommodation, a group of distinguished professors and scholars from Cambridge secured hostels at Westminster and Cheshunt Colleges, with the older boys staying at Westminster and the younger ones at Cheshunt.<sup>110</sup> Because this was the largest Serbian group in entire United Kingdom, the administration of the Educational Committee of the Serbian Relief Fund was transferred to Westminster College. Similarly to Oxford, a local committee for the education of Serbian boys was formed, with many prominent British scientists, scholars and professors living in Cambridge taking an active role. Head of the committee was Sir Albert Seward, a botanist, geologist and professor of Cambridge University.

<sup>97</sup> Justin Popović (1894–1979), St Justin, was a theologian, professor of the University of Belgrade and a monk. He was canonised by the Serbian Orthodox Church.

<sup>98</sup> Kosta Manojlović (1890–1949) was a Serbian composer, ethnomusicologist and founder and professor of the Musical Academy in Belgrade. He had come to Oxford to study theology but he abandoned his studies and devoted himself solely to music.

<sup>99</sup> Paul Victor Mendelssohn Benecke (1868–1944) was a British theologian and classical scholar. He was a professor and administrator at Magdalen College and during the First World War he was very active in the local committee of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>100</sup> Herbert Hall Turner (1861–1930) was a British astronomer and seismologist. He was a Savilian Professor of Astronomy at the University of Oxford.

<sup>101</sup> Sir Paul Vinogradoff (1854–1925) was a famous Russo-British historian and medievalist. He was a professor at Oxford University and one of the most distinguished

<sup>103</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Meeting of the Education Subcommittee, 26<sup>th</sup> June 1918.

<sup>104</sup> Frank Edvard Brajtmán (1856-1932), kanonik anglikanske crkve, bibliotekar Pjusi hausa u Oksfordu i profesor na Magdalen koledžu, bio je veliki britanski teolog i poznavalac istočnih bogoslužbenih obreda.

<sup>105</sup> Dr Ričard Ofor (1882-1964) bio je istaknuti britanski bibliotekar i arhivista. Od 1901. do 1919. godine radio je u biblioteci Univerzitetskog koledža u Londonu, a od 1919. godine i glavni bibliotekar Univerziteta u Lidsu.

<sup>106</sup> AS, MPs, 7, 56, 1918.

<sup>107</sup> Ser Vilijam Šlih (1840-1925), britanski profesor šumarstva nemačkog porekla, bio je jedan od pionira u ovoj oblasti i osnivač studija šumarstva na Univerzitetu u Oksfordu.

<sup>108</sup> „Serbian Students at Oxford”, *The Times*, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1917.

<sup>109</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Local Fund for the Education of Serbians at Oxford.

Starešina grupe đaka stalno smeštenih u Kembridžu bio je Milan Luković, koji je tokom tri godine vodio računa o skoro 50 dečaka i mladića u ovom univerzitetskom gradu. Kembričku srednju školu Pers pohađali su: Vojislav Nikolić, Dragomir Đurić, Milorad Krstić, Borivoje Stepanović, Đorđe Ginić, Milan Dimitrijević, Sibin Đorđević, Dragomir Joksimović, Aleksandar Kodžić, Vitomir Milovanović, Vitomir Pavlović, Bogosav Aleksić, Milutin Dunđerović, Đorđe Marković, Ljubomir Mitić, Dimitrije Mihajlović, Radoslav Pačić, Dušan Pačić i Dušan Petrović.<sup>112</sup> Oni su bili raspoređeni u različita odeljenja, od prvog do šestog razreda, a za one koji su slabije razumeli engleski jezik organizovana je pripremna nastava. Srpski učenici u Kembričkoj i okružnoj srednjoj školi za dečake (*Cambridge and County School for Boys*) bili su Jovan Ignjatović, Vladimir Popović, Aleksandar Kostić, Aleksandar Sarić, Dušan Stevanović i Vladimir Tasić. Miodrag Tutunović i Radomir Mitić pohađali su višu školu, a Žarko Kalderon i Jovan Krstić školu Lejs. Trinaestorica mladića uspela su da upišu studije na Univerzitetu u Kembridžu i to: 1) Branko Kocić, Milosav Samurović i Savo Slijepčević studije poljoprivre-

de na Školi agrikulture; 2) Vladimir Miselj<sup>113</sup> (politička ekonomija) i Konstantin Luković (istorija) na Triniti koledžu; 3) Milan Trifunović i Ivan Orović (matematika i mehanika) na koledžu Emanuel; 4) Zarija Vukićević (engleski jezik i literatura) na koledžu Džizus; 5) Milutin Janjušević (klasične nauke) na koledžu Pembruk; 6) Mirko Dimitrijević (tehnika) na koledžu Gonvil i Kejs; 7) Jovan Popović (tehnika) na koledžu Dauning; 9) Vojislav Subotić (hemija) na koledžu Krajst i 10) Nikola Perazić (tehnika) na koledžu Sent Džons.<sup>114</sup> Dobrivoje Ninković i Petar Pokorni prolazili su obuku za oficire, a četvorica dečaka - Aleksandar Krstić, Dragoljub Grujić, Spasoje Milanović i Andrija Tepavčević - ostali su neraspoređeni.

Tokom 1917. godine, predstavnici srpskih prosvetnih vlasti u Velikoj Britaniji došli su na ideju da je potrebno organizovati maturski tečaj za one đake koji su u Srbiji završili peti, šesti i sedmi razred gimnazije, kako bi mogli nesmetano da napreduju u svom obrazovanju i da se prijave na britanske koledže i univerzitete. Na konferenciji između predstavnika srpskih prosvetnih vlasti i dvojice engleskih profesora - Sjuarda, sa Univerziteta

Head of the Serbian group in Cambridge was Milan Luković and for three years he took care of around 50 boys and young men who were accommodated in the city. Vojislav Nikolić, Dragomir Djurić, Milorad Krstić, Borivoje Stepanović, Djordje Ginić, Milan Dimitrijević, Sibin Djordjević, Dragomir Joksimović, Aleksandar Kodžić, Vitomir Milovanović, Vitomir Pavlović, Bogosav Aleksić, Milutin Dundžerović, Djordje Marković, Ljubomir Mitić, Dimitrije Mihajlović, Radoslav Pačić, Dušan Pačić and Dušan Petrović went to the Perse School.<sup>111</sup> They were placed in different classes, from the first to the sixth grade, and for those who had trouble understanding English, preparatory classes were organised. Jovan Ignjatović, Vladimir Popović, Aleksandar Kostić, Aleksandar Sarić, Dušan Stevanović and Vladimir Tasić were enrolled in the Cambridge and County High School for Boys. Mi-odrag Tutunović and Radomir Mitić were attending classes at High Grade School and Žarko Kalderon and Jovan Krstić at The Leys School. Thirteen youngsters managed to enrol in the University of Cambridge: 1) Branko Kocić, Milosav Samurović and Savo Slijepčević at The School of Agricul-

ture; 2) Vladimir Miselj,<sup>112</sup> (political economy) and Konstantić Luković (history) at Trinity College; 3) Milan Trifunović and Ivan Orović (mathematics and mechanics) at Emmanuel College; 4) Zarija Vukićević (English language and literature) at Jesus College; 5) Milutin Janjušević (classical studies) at Pembroke College; 6) Mirko Dimitrijević (technics) at Gonville and Caius College; 7) Jovan Popović (technics) at Downing College; Vojislav Subotić (chemistry) at Christ College and 9) Nikola Perazić (technics) at St John's College.<sup>113</sup> Dobrivoje Ninković and Petar Pokorni went through the Officers' Training Corps and four boys - Aleksandar Krstić, Dragoljub Grujić, Spasoje Milanović and Andrija Tepavčević - were left unallocated.

In 1917, an idea was born amongst the representatives of the Serbian educational authorities in the United Kingdom that it was needed to organise a matriculation course for the students who had finished the fifth, sixth and seventh year of secondary or grammar schools in Serbia, in order for them to advance without obstacles and to be able to enrol in the British colleges and universities. At a conference between the representatives of

members of the local committee for education of Serbs.

<sup>112</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Meeting of the Education Sub-Committee, 26<sup>th</sup> June 1918.

<sup>113</sup> Frank Edward Brightman (1856-1932) was a Canon of the Church of England, librarian of the Pusey House in Oxford and professor at Magdalen College. He was a prominent theologian and a great expert on eastern liturgies.

<sup>114</sup> Richard Offor (1882-1964) was a distinguished librarian and archivist. From 1901 to 1919 he worked in a library of University College London, and from 1919 onwards he was the chief librarian of the University of Leeds.

<sup>115</sup> AS, MPs, 7, 56, 1918.

<sup>116</sup> Sir William Schlich (1840-1925) was a British forestry professor of German origin. He was one of the pioneers of forestry and founder of the forestry courses at the University of Oxford.

<sup>117</sup> "Serbian Students at Oxford", *The Times*, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1917.

<sup>110</sup> Malcolm Graham, *Oxford in the Great War* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2015), 110.

<sup>111</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 5.

<sup>112</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 12-14.

<sup>113</sup> Vladimir Miselj (1889-1944), slovenački i jugoslavenski diplomata, bio je istaknuti funkcioner Društva naroda u Ženevi, a tokom Drugog svetskog rata radio je za interese jugoslavenske izbegličke vlade u Londonu.

<sup>114</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 12-14.

<sup>115</sup> Vladimir Vukmirović, „Srpski učenici u Engleskoj”, *Nastavnik*, XXVII (1914-1919), 74.

<sup>116</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Mihailo Đorđević Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih poslova, 7. maj 1918. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

u Kembridžu i Bola, sa Univerziteta u Oksfordu, dogovoreno je da položena srpska matura važi kao prijemni ispit za ova dva renomirana univerziteta. Srpski ministar prosvete Ljubomir Davidović vrlo je rado odobrio ovaj predlog i u koordinaciji sa Džonom Belouzom, administratorom prosvetnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda, određeno je da se maturski tečaj održi na Vestminsterskom koledžu u Kembridžu, od 1. jula do 1. oktobra 1917. godine (po julijanskom kalendaru), a da detaljan program izradi prosvetni inspektor u Londonu, uz konsultacije sa nastavnicima.<sup>115</sup> Maturski tečaj i polaganje maturalnog ispita organizovali su profesori Bogdan Popović i Tihomir Đorđević, u saradnji sa srpskim nastavnicima. Ukupno se za polaganje ispita prijavilo 29 đaka iz svih delova Velike Britanije - jednom nije odobreno da prisustvuje ispitu zbog lošeg zdravstvenog stanja, dvojica su odbijena, a 26 ih je položilo maturalni ispit, zahvaljujući čemu su bili u mogućnosti da se prijave za upis na britanske univerzitete po sopstvenoj želji i izboru. Zbog velikog uspeha maturalnog ispita iz 1917. godine, postavilo se pitanje hoće li se on ubuduće održavati redovno, međutim već 1918. godine polaganje

maturalno je otkazano zbog finansijskih i organizacionih problema. Pomoćnik prosvetnog inspektora u Londonu Mihailo Popović izvestio je ministra prosvete da se za polaganje maturalno 1918. godine prijavilo više od 30 đaka, ali da organizacija nije moguća.<sup>116</sup>

Jedna veća grupa dečaka je tokom rata bila smeštena u Londonu. U jesen 1916. godine, odmah po dolasku u Englesku, 46 dečaka bilo je raspoređeno na nekoliko različitih mesta - u Klapamu, zatim u hostelu na Ficroy skveru i u smeštaju u Endslej gardensu.<sup>117</sup> Do 1918. godine neki od dečaka preselili su se u druge krajeve Velike Britanije, neki su upisali koledže i univerzitete u blizini, pa su bili smešteni po koleškim spavaonicama, a oni koji su ostali u Londonu premešteni su u hostel u Norvud roudu, u južnom Londonu. Tamo je srpska omladina živela podeljena u tri grupe: mlađu mušku, stariju mušku i žensku grupu. Grupa mlađih dečaka, koju je kao starešina predvodio Milan Majzner, brojala je dvadeset i šest imena: Borisav Dačić, Vasilije Stanković, Vukoman Vasić, Vladimir Mutavdžić, Dragoljub Lukić, Dragomir Kačarević, Dragutin Josifović, Živadin Kojić, Živojin Marković, Života Milojković, Ilija Burovac, Jovan

the Serbian educational authorities and professors Seward from Cambridge and Ball from Oxford, it was agreed that the Serbian matriculation would effectively count as a passed entrance exam for the two universities. The Serbian Minister of Education, Ljubomir Davidović, was very pleased to approve the scheme and, in agreement with John Bellows from the Serbian Relief Fund, it was decided that the matriculation course should be held at Westminster College in Cambridge, from 1<sup>st</sup> July to 1<sup>st</sup> October 1917 (according to Julian calendar), and that a detailed programme should be made by the educational inspector in London, in agreement with the Serbian teachers.<sup>114</sup> Matriculation courses and the exam were organised by professors Bogdan Popović and Tihomir Djordjević, in cooperation with the Serbian teachers. A total of 29 students from all over Britain applied for the courses and the exam, one dropped out of the programme due to ill health, two were rejected and 26 passed. Thanks to the matriculation exam, these students were free to apply to British universities of their choice. Due to the success of the 1917 matriculation exam, the question was raised if it should become

a regular annual event, but already in 1918 the matriculation had to be cancelled, due to the financial and organisational issues. Assistant to the educational inspector in London, Mihailo Djordjević, reported to the Ministry of Education that more than 30 students had applied but that the organisation was not possible.<sup>115</sup>

A large group of boys was settled in London. In autumn of 1916, right after their arrival in England, 46 boys were relocated to several different places - in Clapham, in a hostel at Fitzroy Square and in accommodation at Endsleigh Gardens.<sup>116</sup> By 1918, some of the boys had been moved to other parts of the United Kingdom, some were enrolled in colleges and universities nearby and were accommodated in college dormitories, and those who remained in London were transferred to a hostel at Norwood Road in south London. The Serbian boys in the hostel were divided into three groups: younger boys, older boys and a small group of girls. The group of younger boys, whose tutor was Milan Majzner, comprised 26 members: Borisav Dačić, Vasilije Stanković, Vukoman Vasić, Vladimir Mutavdžić, Dragoljub Lukić, Drago-

<sup>108</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Local Fund for the Education of Serbians at Oxford.

<sup>109</sup> Malcolm Graham, *Oxford in the Great War* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2015), 110.

<sup>110</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 5.

<sup>111</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 12-14.

<sup>112</sup> Vladimir Miselj (1889-1944) was a Slovene and Yugoslav diplomat. He was a prominent official of the League of Nations in Geneva and during the Second World War he acted in the interests of the exiled Yugoslav government in London.

<sup>113</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 12-14.

<sup>114</sup> Vladimir Vukmirović, „Srpski učenici u Engleskoj“, *Nastavnik*, XXVII (1914-1919), 74.

<sup>115</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Mihailo Djordjević to Ministry of Education, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1918 (according to Julian calendar).

<sup>117</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Statement showing distribution of Serbian boys in England, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1916.

<sup>118</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 17-18.

<sup>119</sup> *Isto*, 19-20.

<sup>120</sup> Elizabet Etelston, leđi Vigin (1893--1959), bila je britanska plemkinja i dobrotvorka, supruga pukovnika ser Vilijema Henrija Vigena.

<sup>121</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 6; NA, MH 8/4, Meeting of the Education Sub-Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1916.

<sup>122</sup> Sian Roberts, *Great War Britain Birmingham: Remembering 1914-18* (Stroud: The History Press, 2014), 21-22.

Kojović, Ljubomir Jovanović, Milomir Mičić, Nikola Stojanović, Radivoje Vilotić, Stevan Ilić, Tihomir Antonić, Ugrin Matković, Miodrag Dražić, Boško Urošević i Nikola Pavić - pohađali su Strand školu, klasičnu gimnaziju u južnom Londonu; Mile Jevtić, Miloš Mutavdžić i Miodrag Pavlović školovali su se na Tehničkom institutu u Vimbltonu, a Milan Matić studirao je farmaciju na tehničkom institutu u Čelsiju (verovatno je reč o Jugozapadnoj politehničkoj školi, koja je danas deo Kings koledža).<sup>118</sup> O drugoj grupi studenata i učenika u Londonu računao je vodio dr Slavko Šećerov, a nju su činili: studenti medicine na Kings koledžu - Ilija Avramović, Dušan Kostić i Milan Jovanović; studenti Nortemp-ton politehničkog instituta - Dragoljub Kujundžić i Milan Dragojlović; đaci srednje škole Holovej - Dušan Stolić, Petar Todorović, Velimir Jeremić i Vlajko Aranđelović, kao i praktikant na železnici Živojin Vukosavljević, koji je istovremeno pohađao i kurs za železničare na Londonskoj školi ekonomije. Treću đачku grupu pansiona u Norvud roudu činile su tri devojčice - Milica, Olga i Tomanija Pačić, koje su pohađale kurs domaćinstva na ženskom odeljenju Kings koledža u Londonu.<sup>119</sup>

U leto 1916. godine formirana je i kolonija u Birmingemu, drugom gradu po veličini u Britaniji i velikom industrijskom centru srednje Engleske. Najzaslužniji za osnivanje srpskog doma u Birmingemu bili su leđi Vigin<sup>120</sup>, koja je ustupila jednu kuću u naselju Seli Ouk za potrebe srpskih dečaka, kao i Džordž Kadberi, industrijalac i vlasnik kompanije za proizvodnju kakaoa i slatkiša „Kadberi” i njegova supruga Elizabet.<sup>121</sup> Oni su bili članovi Srpskog potpornog fonda od samog početka njegovog rada i tokom rata su izdvojili velike sume novca za pomoć Srbima. Elizabet Kadberi i leđi Vigin obezbedile su veliku kuću u Seli Ouku, predgrađu Birmingema, u kojoj je mala srpska zajednica od oko 25 članova provela ratne godine. Gotovo ceo odbor za pomoć Srbima u Birmingemu činili su prijatelji Kedberijevih, uglavnom i sami pripadnici kvekerske verske zajednice - V. Olbrajt, Dž. Daglas Mejnard i njegova supruga, koji su vodili pansion, kao i Alan Gejl, vođa lokalnih skauta, koji je za srpske dečake i njihovog starešinu organizovao dirljiv doček u Seli Ouku, u maju 1916. godine.<sup>122</sup> Starešina srpskih dečaka u Birmingemu bio je Spasoje Prica, a pod njegovim tutorstvom nalazili su se: Nikola Dimitrijević, Živko

mir Kačarević, Dragutin Josifović, Živadin Kojić, Živojin Marković, Života Milojković, Ilija Burovac, Jovan Kojović, Ljubomir Jovanović, Milomir Mičić, Nikola Stojanović, Radivoje Vilotić, Stevan Ilić, Tihomir Antonić, Ugrin Matković, Miodrag Dražić, Boško Urošević and Nikola Pavić went to Strand Grammar School in south London; Mile Jevtić, Miloš Mutavdžić and Miodrag Pavlović were educated at Wimbledon Technical Institute and Milan Matić studied pharmacology at Chelsea College (probably at the Technical Department of South-Western Polytechnic, today part of King's College).<sup>117</sup> The second group of students was cared for by Dr Slavko Šećerov, and the group comprised the students of medicine at King's College - Ilija Avramović, Dušan Kostić and Milan Jovanović; students of the Northampton Polytechnic Institute Dragoljub Kujundžić and Milan Dragojlović; pupils of Holloway School Dušan Stolić, Petar Todorović, Velimir Jeremić, and Vljako Arandjelović and also a railway trainee Živojin Vukosavljević, who at the same time undertook the railway engineering training at the London School of Economics. The third and the smallest group at Norwood Road hostel was a group of three girls - sis-

ters Milica, Olga and Tomanija Pačić, who attended the housekeeping classes at the women's department of King's College in London.<sup>118</sup>

In the summer of 1916 a colony was formed in Birmingham, the second largest British city and a major industrial centre of England. The creation of a Serbian home in Birmingham was made possible by Lady Wiggin,<sup>119</sup> who gave away a house in the suburb of Selly Oak for the needs of Serbian boys, and George Cadbury, the industrialist and owner of the chocolate and cocoa factory, and his wife Elizabeth.<sup>120</sup> They were members of the Serbian Relief Fund from the very beginning and had donated large sums of money to help the Serbs during the war. Elizabeth Cadbury and Lady Wiggin provided the big house in the Selly Oak suburb of Birmingham, where a Serbian community of about 25 people spent the war years. Almost all the members of the committee for assisting the Serbs in Birmingham were friends of the Cadburys, mostly members of the Society of Friends - W. Albright, J. Douglas Maynard and his wife, who ran the boarding house and Alan Geale, a leader of the local Boy Scouts, who organised a moving

<sup>116</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Statement showing distribution of Serbian boys in England, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1916.

<sup>117</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 17-18.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, 19-20.

<sup>119</sup> Elizabeth Ethelston, Lady Wiggin (1893-1959) was a British aristocrat and benefactor, the wife of Sir William Henry Wiggin.

<sup>120</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 6; NA, MH 8/4, Meeting of the Education Subcommittee, 17<sup>th</sup> May 1916.

Jovanović, Vasa Kelić, Bogosav Petrović i Milisav Vasić, koji su pohađali srednju školu Kings Norton; Nikola Ivković, Ljubomir Milanović, Vojislav Nešić, Momčilo Janković, Mihailo Tomić, Dragojlo Jovanović, Dragoljub Pavlović i Božidar Ristivojević, koji su se školovali u osnovnoj školi Bornvil; Univerzitet u Birminghamu uspeli su da upišu Dragutin Gođevac (hemija), Aleksandar Popović, Aleksandar Pavlović i Sava Radovanović (trgovačke nauke) i Mihailo Spasić (mašinska tehnika); s druge strane, nastavu nisu pohađali Milan Avramović i Miloš Nikolić, koji su se obučavali za rad u fabrici, zatim Sotir Veljković i Ranko Trajković, koji su radili u bašti, kao i Borisav Vuković i Milan Maksimović, koji su bili teže bolesni.<sup>123</sup> Hostel u Birminghamu funkcionisao je na jedan veoma specifičan način, u velikoj meri u skladu sa strogim kvekerskim načelima britanskih dobrotvora. Oni koji nisu mogli da uče, morali su da rade, kako bi pomogli izdržavanje kolonije i usvojili makar praktične veštine koje bi im mogle biti korisne u budućnosti. Osnivač kolonije Džordž Kadberi svakako je želeo da prenese na srpsku decu makar deo protestantskog etosa samopregora, u čemu je verovatno bio uspešan, jer je smatrao da su srp-

ski dečaci i preplatili sve ono što je za njih urađeno u Birminghamu.<sup>124</sup>

U Lidsu, glavnom industrijskom, trgovačkom i obrazovnom centru Jorkšira, bilo je smešteno oko 20 dečaka. U pensionu gospođice Mozli, pod budnim okom starešine Lazara Šuvakovića, nalazili su se: Milosav Simonović, Vladeta Vukićević, Velibor Stojanović, Nikola Stevanović i Milan Anđelković, koji su pohađali klasičnu gimnaziju (*Leeds Grammar School*); Milan Milutinović, Aleksandar Popović i Stojan Popović, učenici Centralne srednje škole; studenti Univerziteta u Lidsu - Radoje Marinković (medicina), Jovan Stojadinović (arhitektura), Božidar Pepić, Živojin Simić i Vladimir Milisavljević (trgovina) i Aleksandar Torbarević, koji je pripremao maturski ispit. Uz studente i đake, u hostelu gospođice Mozli živeli su i stariji momci, koji nisu uspeli da se upišu na fakultet, a zbog godina više nisu mogli pohađati ni srednju školu: Milorad Mitić, Milan Stojanović, Svetislav Milanović i Živojin Srećković. Oni su radili tokom dana, uglavnom u manufakturi, a uveče su pohađali večernju školu.<sup>125</sup>

U leto 1916. godine jedna manja grupa srpskih studenata raspoređena je u

<sup>123</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 4-5.

<sup>124</sup> Chris Upton, „Perspective Young boys who came from Sarajevo to Selly Oak”, *Birmingham Post & Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2001.

<sup>125</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 15-16.

welcome for the Serbian boys and their head in May 1916.<sup>121</sup> The head of the Serbian boys in Birmingham was Spasoje Prica and under his care were the following students: Nikola Dimitrijević, Živko Jovanović, Vasa Kelić, Bogosav Petrović and Milisav Vasić, who attended Kings Norton High School; Nikola Ivković, Ljubomir Milanović, Vojislav Nešić, Momčilo Janković, Mihailo Tomić, Dragoljlo Jovanović, Dragoljub Pavlović and Božidar Ristivojević, who went to Bournville Elementary School; several boys were enrolled in the University of Birmingham – Dragutin Godjevac (chemistry), Aleksandar Popović, Aleksandar Pavlović and Sava Radovanović (commerce) and Mihailo Spasić (machine technics); Milan Avramović and Miloš Nikolić did not attend classes because they were working in a factory, nor did Sotir Veljković and Ranko Trajković, who worked in the garden. Borisav Vuković and Milan Maksimović were seriously ill and spared from all duties.<sup>122</sup> The hostel in Birmingham functioned in a specific way, in accordance with the strict Quaker principles of the British benefactors. Those who were not able to learn had to work in order to assist with

the maintenance of the colony but also in order to learn practical skills and adopt routines that might be useful in the future. The founder of the colony, George Cadbury, wanted to transfer at least a small portion of the protestant ethos of self-sacrifice and hard work to the children and he was by all accounts quite successful, stating himself that the Serbian boys had overpaid everything done for them in Birmingham.<sup>123</sup>

Twenty Serbian boys lived in Leeds, the main industrial, commercial and educational centre of Yorkshire. In Mrs Mozley's boarding house, under the watchful eye of their head Lazar Šuvaković, lived the following youngsters: Milosav Simonović, Vladeta Vukićević, Velibor Stojanović, Nikola Stevanović and Milan Andjelković, who went to Leeds Grammar School; Milan Milutinović, Aleksandar Popović and Stojan Popović, who were educated at Central High School; University of Leeds students Radoje Marinković (medicine), Jovan Stojadinović (architecture), Božidar Pepić, Živojin Simić and Vladimir Milisavljević (commerce); and, finally, Aleksandar Torbarević, who was preparing for the matriculation exam. Alongside students and

<sup>121</sup> Sian Roberts, *Great War Britain Birmingham: Remembering 1914-18* (Stroud: The History Press, 2014), 21-22.

<sup>122</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 4-5.

<sup>123</sup> Chris Upton, "Perspective Young boys who came from Sarajevo to Selly Oak", *Birmingham Post & Mail*, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2001.

Mančesteru, zahvaljujući svešteniku Tomasu Niklinu, koji je uspeo da im obezbedi smeštaj u rezidenciji Hulm hol.<sup>126</sup> Studenti Božidar Čolić, Aleksandar Ćuković, Slobodan Mišković, Veljko Palić i Borivoje Đorđević slušali su predavanja iz mašinske tehnike i elektrotehnike na mančesterskoj Municipalnoj školi tehnologije.<sup>127</sup>

Već u maju 1916. godine omanja grupa dečaka stacionirana je u Mejdenhedu, nedaleko od Londona. O Aleksandru Brzakoviću, Veljku Iliću, Iliji Krstiću, Bošku Laziću, Blagoju Radosavljeviću i Milutinu Stanojloviću starali su se upravnik škole gospodin Torn i njegova supruga, a svi su bili upisani u Okružnu školu za dečake Mejdenhed.<sup>128</sup> Takođe, krajem 1916. godine otvoren je hostel u Čandlers Fordu, u grofoviji Hempšir, nedaleko od mora i luke Sautempton.<sup>129</sup> Ovaj pansion trebalo je da primi decu koja su bila nežnijeg zdravlja, posebno one koji su болоvali od tuberkuloze, jer je lokalna klima bila veoma blaga i pogodovala je oporavku od teških bolesti koje su izmučile mlade Srbe u toku zime 1915. i 1916. godine. Starešina srpske grupe studenata i đaka u Čandlers Fordu bio je Jovan Spasić i on je brinuo o 23 dečaka: Dragoljubu Manojloviću,

Miodragu Milutinoviću i Radomiru Miloševiću, koji su pohađali osnovnu školu; Vladislavu Ivanoviću, Božidaru Mitroviću, Živanu Jovanoviću i Maksimu Petroviću, upisanim u srednju školu u Istleju; Dimitriju Petroviću, Dragiši Simiću i Vojislavu Radukanoviću, učenicima klasične gimnazije; Živadinu Janiću, Iliji Nikoliću, Manojlu Vojinoviću, Spasoju Radoviću i Stanislavu Miloradoviću, učenicima srednje trgovačke škole Tontons u Sautemptonu i Radovanu Blagojeviću, koji je pohađao školu Piter Simond u Vinčesteru. U Čendlers Fordu je bilo i starijih dečaka, među kojima su jedni studirali, a drugi se nisu školovali, već su pokušavali da izuče nekakav zanat. Od starijih, u hostelu su živeli: Bogdan Radojević (farmakologija), Milan Vidojković (tehnika) i Dragoljub Novović (medicina), svi polaznici Univerzitetskog koledža Hartli u Sautemptonu, koji je bio deo Univerziteta u Londonu; Dušan Petrović, koji se nije školovao, jer je bio teže bolestan; Dimitrije Cvetković, koji je radio u automobilskoj radionici u Vinčesteru; Đorđe Krstić, koji je učio stolarski zanat i Miloš Obradović, koji je bio zaposlen u jednoj prodavnici u Sautemptonu.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>126</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 6.

<sup>127</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 21.

<sup>128</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 6; AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 22.

<sup>129</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1916.

<sup>130</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 28-29.

pupils, several older boys who did not meet the university requirements and were too old for secondary school also lodged at Mrs Mozley's - Milorad Mitić, Milan Stojanović, Svetislav Milanović and Živojin Srečković. They were employed in manufacturing during the day and in the evenings they attended evening courses.<sup>124</sup>

In summer of 1916 a small group of Serbian students ended up in Manchester, thanks to Rev Thomas Nicklin, who managed to arrange their accommodations at Hulme Hall.<sup>125</sup> Students Božidar Čolić, Aleksandar Ćuković, Slobodan Mišković, Veljko Palić and Borivoje Djordjević took courses in machine technics and electrotechnics at the Manchester Municipal School of Technology (Victoria University of Manchester).<sup>126</sup>

As early as May 1916, a small group of boys was situated in Maidenhead, just outside London. Aleksandar Brzaković, Veljko Ilić, Ilija Krstić, Boško Lazić, Blagoje Radosavljević and Milutin Stanojlović were taken care of by the local schoolmaster Mr Thorne and his wife and they all were enrolled in Maidenhead County Boys' School.<sup>127</sup> Also, by the end of 1916 a hostel was opened

in Chandler's Ford, in the county of Hampshire, near the English Channel and the port of Southampton.<sup>128</sup> This hostel was established with an intention to accommodate more fragile children, especially the ones who suffered from tuberculosis, because the local climate was very gentle and suited the recovery from the harsh consequences of the diseases which tortured young Serbs in the winter of 1915/16. Head of the Serbian group in Chandler's Ford was Jovan Spasić and he took care of 23 boys: Dragoljub Manojlović, Miodrag Milutinović and Radomir Milošević, who went to primary school; Vladislav Ivanović, Božidar Mitrović, Živan Jovanović and Maksim Petrović, who were enrolled in the Eastleigh High School; Dimitrije Petrović, Dragiša Simić and Vojislav Radukanović who attended grammar school; Živadin Janić, Ilija Nikolić, Manojlo Vojinović, Spasoje Radović and Stanislav Miloradović, who were educated at Taunton's Trade School in Southampton and Radovan Blagojević, who went to Peter Symonds School in Winchester. There were also older boys in Chandler's Ford, some of which were enrolled at colleges and some of which tried to learn a trade. The older boys who lived in the hostel were students of the Hart-

<sup>124</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 15-16.

<sup>125</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 6.

<sup>126</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 21.

<sup>127</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 6; AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 22.

<sup>128</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 13<sup>th</sup> December 1916.

Hostel u Čendlers Fordu radio je do maja 1918. godine, kada je iznenađeno zatvoren. Ledi Grogan, koja je u tom periodu, zbog bolesti gospođe Karington Vajld, obavljala dužnost predsednice obrazovnog pododborra Srpskog potpornog fonda, samo je ukratko izvestila članove fonda da je hostel zatvoren, dotadašnji srpski učitelj smenjen i zamenjen drugim, a da su deca prebačena na druge lokacije.<sup>131</sup> Dokumenti ne daju detaljnije podatke o tome zašto je hostel zatvoren i gde su deca prebačena, mada Siton-Votson pominje da su prebačena u Remsgejt, primorsko mesto u Kentu, istočno od Londona.<sup>132</sup> Jedno pismo koje je Džon Belouz, administrator obrazovnog pododborra, uputio Ralfu Barsdorfu, sekretaru Komiteta za ratne izbeglice, zaduženom za rad sa Srbima, upućuje na moguć razlog raspuštanja hostela. Naime, srpski dečak Bogdan Radojević, koji je studirao farmakologiju na koledžu Hartli, samovoljno je napustio hostel u Čandlers Fordu i preselio se u London, gde je pronašao dobro plaćen posao u apoteci. Međutim, kada su njegove stvari iz hostela prispele u London, Radojević je tvrdio da neki predmeti nedostaju, između ostalih i zlatno penkalo.<sup>133</sup> Po svemu sudeći,

Radojević je smatrao da su za nestanak njegovih stvari odgovorni zaposleni u hostelu i srpski nastavnik, dok su ovi tvrdili da on zapravo nikad nije ni posedovao predmete koji su navodno nestali. Nema sačuvanih podataka o tome kako se ovaj sukob okončao, ali je bez sumnje izazvao veliku uznemirenost srpskih đaka, nastavnika i osoblja Srpskog potpornog fonda. Da li je upravo taj incident bio razlog zbog kojeg je hostel u Čandlers Fordu zatvoren, ne može se pouzdano utvrditi.

Još jedan centar koji je ugostio veliki broj Srba, njih oko tridesetak, bio je Reding u grofoviji Berkšir, gradić nedaleko od Londona, kada se putuje prema zapadu. Hostel u Redingu otvoren je početkom 1917. godine i trebalo je da se u njemu smeste dečaci koji su od dolaska u Veliku Britaniju, pa do kraja 1916. godine živeli na farmi gospodina Čiversa, u mestu Šipi Hil.<sup>134</sup> Od 39 dečaka koji su se nalazili u Šipi Hilu, 35 je prebačeno u Reding, a njih 5 nazad u Francusku, gde su poslani na vojnu obuku. Dok je trajalo preuređenje kuće koju je Srpski potporni fond unajmio za potrebe srpskih dečaka, o njima je vodio računa lokalni ogranak Hrišćanske zajednice mladih ljudi.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>131</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>132</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 8.

<sup>133</sup> NA, MH 8/12, J. Bellows to R. Barsdorf, 20<sup>th</sup> September 1918.

<sup>134</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1917.

<sup>135</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 14<sup>th</sup> February 1917.

ley University College in Southampton (part of the University of London) - Bogdan Radojević (pharmacology), Milan Vidojković (technics), Dragoljub Novović (medicine); Dušan Petrović who did not attend school due to his ill health; Dimitrije Cvetković who was working in a garage in Winchester; Djordje Krstić who was learning carpenters' trade and Miloš Obradović, who was an employee of a general store in Southampton.<sup>129</sup>

The hostel in Chandler's Ford was operational until May 1918 when it was suddenly closed down. Lady Grogan, who at the time acted as the chairman of the Educational Subcommittee due to Mrs Carrington Wilde's illness, briefly informed the Serbian Relief Fund officials that the hostel had closed, the Serbian tutor dismissed and replaced and the children transferred to other locations.<sup>130</sup> Documents do not provide the full picture as to why the hostel closed and where the children were transferred, although Seton-Watson noted that they were moved to Ramsgate, a seaside town in Kent, east of London.<sup>131</sup> A letter written by John Bellows, the administrator of the Educational Subcommittee, to Ralph Barsdorf, an assistant secretary to the War Refugees

Committee, hinted at the possible reason for dissolution of the hostel. One of the Serbian boys, Bogdan Radojević, who studied pharmacology at Hartley University College, had wilfully left the hostel in Chandler's Ford and moved to London, where he managed to find a good position in a pharmacy. However, when his personal belongings arrived to London from the hostel, Radojević claimed that some of his things were missing, including, amongst other things, a gold fountain pen.<sup>132</sup> It seems that Radojević blamed the hostel employees and the Serbian tutor for the disappearance of his possessions, while they claimed that Radojević never owned things that were allegedly missing. There are no further records as to how this incident ended but it had caused, without a doubt, a great discomfort amongst the Serbian students and teachers and the officials of the Serbian Relief Fund. Whether this incident had caused the closure of the Chandler's Ford hostel cannot be definitely confirmed.

Another major centre that hosted a large number of Serbs, around 30, was Reading in the county of Berkshire, not that far from London to the west. A hostel in Reading was opened at the begin-

<sup>129</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 28-29.

<sup>130</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>131</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Some notes of the Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 8.

<sup>132</sup> NA, MH 8/12, J. Bellows to R. Barsdorf, 20<sup>th</sup> September 1918.

Starešina srpske grupe u Redingu bio je Jovan Aleksić i on je brinuo o sledećim mladićima: Gojku Đuroviću, Živoradu Mirkoviću, Jovanu Pavloviću, Nikoli Rančiću, Aleksandru Uroševiću i Miodragu Vojnoviću, koji su pohađali mlađe razrede osnovne škole Džordž Palmer; Stojanu Kostiću, Milisavu Gajiću, Panteliji Markoviću i Čedomiru Vasiljeviću, koji su se školovali na tehničkom odseku iste škole; Miloradu Brisiću, Miljku Lukoviću, Dragošu Radoviću, Dragoljubu Jončiću, Milutinu Jovičiću i Petru Janjuševiću, koji su bili upisani u školu Vilson u Vokingemu; Marku Petkoviću i Tihomiru Stojanoviću, učenicima klasične gimnazije u Redingu i Sretenu Stefanoviću, koji je išao u školu Nju Taun. Veliki broj mladića smeštenih u srpskom domu u Redingu pohađao je kurseve na Univerzitetском koledžu u tom gradu - Nestor Bošković, Trajko Dajić, Radomir Đurić, Radovan Kapor, Radosav Pavlović, Vasilije Popović, Vukašin Ristivojević, Spiro Slijepčević, Milisav Todorović, Ljubomir Namović i Mihajlo Nikolić.<sup>136</sup> Uz njih, u hostelu je živeo i Milovan Samardžić, koji je radio u trgovini, u kompaniji Buls u Redingu.

Među dečacima koji su otputovali u Englesku pojedini su bili isuviše stari

da pohađaju osnovnu i srednju školu, a pritom nisu bili sposobni da se upišu na koledže i fakultete. To je bila posledica činjenice da je odabir dečaka koji su putovali u Veliku Britaniju sproveden u brzini, nedovoljno pažljivo, jer je cilj evakuacije prevashodno bio humanitarne, a ne edukativne prirode. Takođe, neki od dečaka su zbog lošeg vladanja izgubili stipendiju Srpskog potpornog fonda i u takvim situacijama srpsko Ministarstvo prosvete preporučivalo je da im se nađe nekakav posao ili zanat ili, u najgorem slučaju, ukoliko je učinjeni prestup bio baš veliki, da se pošalju nazad u Francusku, gde bi bili predati srpskim vojnim vlastima.<sup>137</sup> Kada je reč o zbrinjavanju ovih mladića, postojalo je nekoliko opcija. Prva mogućnost bila je da se upišu na kurseve za rezervne vojne oficire, u čemu je nekolicina njih i uspela, uglavnom dečaci koji su bili smešteni u Oksfordu i Kembridžu. Druga mogućnost bila je da obavljaju domaće poslove u pansionima u kojima su bili smešteni, poput rada u bašti ili u kuhinji, te da tako doprinesu sopstvenom izdržavanju. Takvih slučajeva bilo je u Birmingemu, Redingu i Čendlers Fordu. Treća opcija bila je da se mladići zaposle u nekoj od lokalnih kompanija, kako bi zaradili no-

<sup>136</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 26-27.

<sup>137</sup> AS, MPs, 11, 70, 1918, Mih. R. Popović Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih poslova, Krf, 22. avgust 1918. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

ning of 1917 and it was supposed to host children which in 1916 were staying at Mr Chivers' farm in Shippea Hill.<sup>133</sup> Out of 39 boys who were initially allocated to Shippea Hill, 35 were moved to Reading and 4 were sent back to France, to complete their military training. While the house acquired for the purpose of arranging the accommodations for the young Serbs was being renovated, they were taken care of by the local branch of the YMCA.<sup>134</sup>

Head of the Serbian colony in Reading was Jovan Aleksić and he took care of the following boys: Gojko Djurović, Živorad Mirković, Jovan Pavlović, Nikola Rančić, Aleksandar Urošević and Miodrag Vojnović, who attended classes at George Palmer School; Stojan Kostić, Milisav Gajić, Pantelija Marković and Čedomir Vasiljević, who took technical course at the same school; Milorad Brisić, Miljko Luković, Dragoš Radović, Dragoljub Jončić, Milutin Jovičić and Petar Janjušević, who studied at Wilson School in Wokingham; Marko Petković and Tihomir Stojanović, who went to the Reading School and Sreten Stefanović, who took classes at New Town School. Many of the boys staying at the Serbian House in Reading took courses at University College Reading

– Nestor Bošković, Trajko Dajić, Radomir Djurić, Radovan Kapor, Radosav Pavlović, Vasilije Popović, Vukašin Ristivojević, Spiro Slijepčević, Milisav Todorović, Ljubomir Naumović and Mihajlo Nikolić.<sup>135</sup> Alongside them, Milovan Samardžić, who worked in commerce, at Bulls Messrs. in Reading, also lived in the hostel.

Some of the boys who made it to United Kingdom were too old to attend classes at primary or secondary level but were not capable of enrolling in colleges and universities. This was due to the fact that the selection of the boys who were to go to Britain had been done hastily and that the main goal of their evacuation was of a humanitarian nature. Also, some of the boys lost their scholarships due to unsatisfactory conduct, and in those cases the Serbian Ministry of Education recommended that some kind of a job or trade should be found for them, or, if their wrongdoings were serious, to be sent back to France, where they were to be handed over to the Serbian military authorities.<sup>136</sup> There were several options available as to how to deal with such boys. The first possibility was for them to enrol in the Officer's Training Corps and quite a few managed to get into these programmes,

<sup>133</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 17<sup>th</sup> January 1917.

<sup>134</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 14<sup>th</sup> February 1917.

<sup>135</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 26-27.

<sup>136</sup> AS, MPs, 11, 70, 1918, Mihailo Popović to Ministry of Education, Corfu, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1918 (according to Julian calendar).

<sup>138</sup> NA, MH 8/5, M. Ćurčin to R. Barsdorf, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>139</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Serbian boys placed by the War Refugees Committee, 18<sup>th</sup> September 1918.

<sup>140</sup> Princ Aleksa Karadorđević (1859-1920) bio je član bočne linije dinastije Karadorđevića. Tokom Prvog svetskog rata putovao je po savezničkim zemljama, agitujući za srpske ratne i političke ciljeve i prikupljajući humanitarnu pomoć.

<sup>141</sup> NA, MH 8/13, „Bradford Motor Firm Entertains Royalty”, *The Motor Trader and Review*, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1917.

<sup>142</sup> NA, MH 8/5, R. Barsdorf to H. Kramrisch, 19<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

<sup>143</sup> Hari Kremriš (1867-1946) bio je britanski trgovac jevrejskog porekla. Posedovao je kompaniju u Bredfordu, u Jorkširu i bio jedan od najuglednijih stanovnika ovog grada. Od 1909. pa sve do smrti 1946. godine obavljao je dužnost srpskog i jugoslovenskog konzula u Bredfordu.

<sup>144</sup> NA, MH 8/13, R. Barsdorf to P. Popovic, 25<sup>th</sup> September 1918.

vac za ostanak u Engleskoj, ali i stekli praktična znanja i veštine koje bi im po povratku u Srbiju bile korisne.<sup>138</sup> U slučajevima kada je srpskim mladićima bilo potrebno pronaći zaposlenje, veliku pomoć srpskoj zajednici pružao je Komitet za ratne izbeglice.

Prema dogovoru postignutom između predstavnika dobrotvornih organizacija koje su brinule o Srbima u Velikoj Britaniji, Komiteta za ratne izbeglice i srpskog poslanika u Londonu Jovana Jovanovića - Komitet za ratne izbeglice bio je zadužen da pronađe posao za dečake koji nisu bili u mogućnosti da se školuju. Ovaj zadatak nije bio nimalo lak, delimično zbog toga što britanske kompanije nisu mogle da zapošljavaju punoletne strance, a delimično i zbog toga što Srbi uglavnom nisu govorili engleski jezik i nisu bili obučeni za rad u industrijskim preduzećima. Ipak, Ralf Barsdorf, pomoćnik sekretara u Komitetu za ratne izbeglice, uložio je ogroman napor i angažovao svoja lična prijateljstva i poznanstva kako bi zaposlio što više mladih Srba. Njemu je pošlo za rukom da samo u 1918. godini pronađe posao za skoro 20 srpskih mladića, i to u fabrikama u Bredfordu, Barnsu i Lečvortu.<sup>139</sup> Tokom boravka u Velikoj

Britaniji 1917. godine, princ Aleksa Karadorđević<sup>140</sup> posetio je kompaniju „Torn-ton” u Bredfordu, koja se bavila proizvodnjom motora i motornih vozila. Tom prilikom, princ je sa predstavnicima uprave kompanije razgovarao o mogućnosti da se neki od srpskih đaka koji su se nalazili u Engleskoj zaposle u ovoj firmi kao praktikanti, kako bi uz rad sticali i tehnička znanja i veštine.<sup>141</sup> Nekoliko starijih srpskih dečaka koji nisu mogli da pronađu posao u Lidsu, bili su loš primer za mlađe srpske dečake sa kojima su zajedno živeli u hostelu u tom gradu, pa je Barsdorf pokušao da im pronađe posao u obližnjem Bredfordu.<sup>142</sup> Predstavnici kompanije „Torn-ton” izašli su mu u susret i Milisav Gajić, Stojan Kostić, Čedomir Vasiljević i Aleksandar Popović dobili su posao u ovom preduzeću. Takođe, srpski konzul u Bredfordu Hari Kremriš<sup>143</sup> upisao je srpske dečake u večernju inženjersku školu na Tehničkom koledžu u Bredfordu, kako bi praktičan rad u fabrici nadogradili teorijskim znanjem.<sup>144</sup> Jednu grupu srpskih mladića Barsdorf je uspeo da zaposli u fabrici „Krin i Lahi” u Lečvortu, koja je proizvodila municiju i oružje. Ovu kompaniju osnovala su dvojica belgijskih biznismena i većina zaposlenih bili su

especially the boys who were situated in Cambridge and Oxford. Other possibility was for them to do domestic work at hostels where they were accommodated, such as gardening or kitchen chores, and thus contribute to the household and their own maintenance. Such cases were noted in Birmingham, Reading and Chandler's Ford. The third possibility was for the boys to find work with a local company, in order to earn money to stay in the United Kingdom, but also to gain practical knowledge and skills which would be useful upon their return to Serbia.<sup>137</sup> In cases where it was necessary to find work for the Serbian youngsters, the War Refugees Committee had been proven to be very helpful to the Serbian community.

According to the agreement made by the representatives of the organisations that took care of the Serbs in Great Britain, the War Refugees Committee and the Serbian Minister in London Jovanović, the War Refugees Committee was obligated to find work for boys who were not in the position to continue their education. This task was not easy, partly because of the fact that the British companies were limited when it came to hiring adult foreign nationals, and partly because of the fact that

some Serbs did not know the language and were not trained for work in the industry. Still, Barsdorf, an assistant secretary in the War Refugees Committee, put an enormous personal effort and engaged his personal friendships and contacts in order to find jobs for as many Serbian youngsters as possible. He managed to employ about twenty Serbs in 1918 alone, in factories in Bradford, Barnes and Letchworth.<sup>138</sup> During his visit to the United Kingdom in 1917, Serbian prince Aleksa Karadjordjević<sup>139</sup> visited Thornton Engineering Co. in Bradford, a company that made engines and motor vehicles and during his visit he discussed with the company's management the possibility of some of the Serbian boys in England being employed by the company, in order to acquire practical engineering knowledge.<sup>140</sup> For few of the older Serbian boys, who were not able to find work in Leeds, and who had become a bad influence on the younger boys with whom they shared lodgings, Barsdorf tried to find work in the nearby Bradford.<sup>141</sup> Representatives of Thornton Engineering Co. accepted Barsdorf's pleas and Milisav Gajić, Stojan Kostić, Čedomir Vasiljević and Aleksandar Popović were hired. Also, the Serbian Consul in Bradford Harry Kramrisch<sup>142</sup>

<sup>137</sup> NA, MH 8/5, M. Ćurčin to R. Barsdorf, 30th May 1918.

<sup>138</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Serbian boys placed by the War Refugees Committee, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1918.

<sup>139</sup> Prince Aleksa Karadjordjević (1859–1920) was a member of the side line of the Karadjordjević dynasty. During the First World War he toured the Allied countries, agitated in favour of the Serbian war and political goals and collected humanitarian aid.

<sup>140</sup> NA, MH 8/13, "Bradford Motor Firm Entertains Royalty", *The Motor Trader and Review*, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1917.

<sup>141</sup> NA, MH 8/5, R. Barsdorf to H. Kramrisch, 19<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

<sup>142</sup> Harry Kramrisch (1867–1946) was a British merchant of Jewish descent, with his company situated in Bradford in Yorkshire. He was amongst the most distinguished people of the city. From 1909 until his death in 1946 he was a Serbian and Yugoslav Consul in Bradford.

izbeglice iz Belgije, tako da se u fabrici našlo mesta i za nekolicinu srpskih sapatnika - Veljka Stojiljkovića, Milorada Miloševića, Borislava Stanimirovića, Božidara Pop-Tošića i Dušana Jovanovića.<sup>145</sup> Jedna veća grupa od osam srpskih mladića zaposlila se u fabrici aviona „Beverli”, u Barnsu, takođe zahvaljujući intervenciji Komiteta za ratne izbeglice, pošto je i ova kompanija bila u belgijskom vlasništvu.

Međutim, boravak i rad srpskih mladića u većini pomenutih fabrika nije bilo prijatno iskustvo, kako za same mladiće, tako ni za uprave kompanija. Nekoliko je bilo faktora zbog kojih je dolazilo do nesporazuma i konfrontacija: 1) srpski mladići više nisu živeli u hostelima, pod kontrolom svojih starešina, već privatno, kod stanodavaca, usled čega su se mnogo razuzdanije i slobodnije ponašali; 2) u sredinama u kojima su se mladi Srbi našli, nije bilo nikog ko bi kontrolisao kako žive i rade, te da li ispunjavaju sve svoje obaveze. Hari Kremriš povremeno je obilazio mladiće u Bredfordu, ali su grupe u Lečvortu i

Barnsu bile van svakog nadzora; 3) u osnovi nesporazuma bila je neusaglašenost oko toga šta je zapravo bio zadatak srpskih mladića: oni su rad u fabrici shvatali pre svega kao deo svog obrazovanja, dok su fabričke uprave smatrale da treba da rade ono što im poslodavac naloži; 4) rad u fabrici je bio fizički težak i naporan i srpski dečaci na to nisu bili navikli; 5) mladi Srbi nisu dobro poznavali engleski jezik, što je dovodilo do brojnih nesporazuma. Kada se sve uzme u obzir, Ralf Barsdorf je imao pune ruke posla preuzevši na sebe zadatak da posreduje između poslodavaca i mladih srpskih radnika, koji nisu bili previše zadovoljni uslovima rada i perspektivom za učenje i napredovanje. Ipak, mladići su cenili iskustvo koje su stekli i bili zahvalni Barsdorfu, posebno što se trudio da im izađe u susret kad god je to bilo moguće. Do kraja 1918. godine, svi Srbi koji su preko Komiteta za ratne izbeglice bili zaposleni u britanskim fabrikama i preduzećima - napustili su svoja radna mesta i većina ih se vrlo brzo vratila u Srbiju.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> NA, MH 8/5, R. Barsdorf to Dr. P. Vujevic, 10<sup>th</sup> June 1918.

<sup>146</sup> Barsdorf to D. Stoshovitch, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1918.

enrolled boys in evening engineering school at the Technical College, in order for them to upgrade the practical work with theoretical knowledge.<sup>143</sup> Barsdorf managed to find employment for another group of Serbian youths at Kryn & Lahy Ltd. in Letchworth, a company that produced guns and ammunition. This company was founded by two Belgian businessmen, so there was room for few Serbian fellow refugees – Veljko Stojilković, Milorad Milošević, Borislav Stanimirović, Božidar Pop-Tošić and Dušan Jovanović.<sup>144</sup> Another larger group numbering eight Serbs worked at Beverley Works at Barnes, a company that produced airplane parts, once again thanks to the War Refugees Committee and the fact that the company was Belgian-owned.

However, the stay and work in the mentioned factories was not a pleasant experience for most of the Serbian boys or the companies' management. There were several factors that contributed to the frequent misunderstandings and confrontations: 1) Serbian boys were no longer staying in hostels, under the surveillance of their heads, but in private accommodation, which resulted in their much freer and wilder behaviour; 2) In the new surroundings there

was nobody to control how they lived and worked and whether they fulfilled their duties. Harry Kramrisch occasionally visited the youngsters in Bradford, but the groups in Letchworth and Barnes were out of control; 3) There were misunderstandings regarding what the boys were actually supposed to be doing, because they understood the factory work primarily as a part of their education and training, while the company managements thought that they were supposed to do what they were told; 4) Factory work was very hard and physically exhausting and the Serbian boys were not used to that; 5) Poor language skills contributed to many misunderstandings. Considering all, Ralph Barsdorf had his hands full mediating between the employers and the Serbian youngsters, who were often dissatisfied with the working conditions and prospects of learning. Still, they appreciated the experience gained and were genuinely grateful to Barsdorf, especially because he tried to meet the Serbian needs, whenever possible. By the end of 1918, all the Serbs who were employed in the British factories via the War Refugees Committee had to leave their positions and most of them returned to Serbia.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>143</sup> NA, MH 8/13, R. Barsdorf to P. Popovic, 25<sup>th</sup> September 1918.

<sup>144</sup> NA, MH 8/5, R. Barsdorf to Dr. P. Vujevic, 10<sup>th</sup> June 1918.

<sup>145</sup> NA, MH 8/5, R. Barsdorf to D. Stoshovitch, 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1918.

### 3.5 Srpski đaci i studenti u Škotskoj

<sup>147</sup> „Serbian Boys in Scotland”, *The Educational News*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916, 407.

<sup>148</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Notes on Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916 to 1924, 6.

<sup>149</sup> Ser Robert Kirk Inčes bio je vrhovni sudija (*Lord Provost*) grada Edinburga u periodu između 1912. i 1916. godine.

<sup>150</sup> „Serbian Boys in Edinburgh”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1916, 2.

Odmah po dolasku u Veliku Britaniju i inicijalnom smeštanju srpskih dečaka u Oksford i Kembridž, javila se ideja da jedan deo njih bude poslat u Škotsku, u tamošnje škole i na koledže, kako bi iskusili i upili čuvenu škotsku „atmosferu štedljivosti i radišnosti”.<sup>147</sup> Ser Edvard Perot, liberalni poslanik iz Edinburga, zainteresovao se za „dobre, čvrste i inteligentne” srpske dečake i organizovao u Škotskoj prvi dobrotvorni fond, čiji je cilj bio da se nekolicina dečaka dovede u Edinburg i da im se omogući školovanje u tom gradu. Perot je sa zvaničnicima Srpskog potpornog fonda dogovorio da jedna grupa dečaka već u leto 1916.

godine dođe u škotsku prestonicu, gde će biti smešteni i pohađati nastavu u školi Džordž Heriot.<sup>148</sup> Grupa od deset srpskih đaka stigla je u Edinburg u avgustu 1916. godine, gde su ih svečano dočekali predstavnici gradskih i prosvetnih vlasti. Vrhovni sudija Edinburga, ser Robert Inčes<sup>149</sup>, priredio je prijem za srpske dečake u Gradskoj kući i pozeleo im dobrodošlicu u Škotsku.<sup>150</sup> Srpska grupa u Edinburgu vremenom je rasla i čak postala dovoljno brojna da se u školi formira posebno srpsko odeljenje. U periodu između 1916. i 1919. godine ukupno je 27 dečaka prošlo kroz ovu obrazovnu instituciju: Đorđe Aleksić,

### 3.5 Serbian Students and Pupils in Scotland

Immediately after reaching the United Kingdom and the initial accommodation at Oxford and Cambridge, an idea was born that some of the children should be sent to Scotland, to Scottish schools and colleges, in order to absorb the famous Scottish “atmosphere of thrift and industry”.<sup>146</sup> Sir Edward Parrott, a Liberal MP from Edinburgh, took interest in “good, firm and intelligent” Serbian boys and organised the first charity fund in Scotland, with a goal to bring at least a few boys to Edinburgh and to make possible for them to acquire the education in the city. Parrott arranged with the Serbian Relief Fund

for one group to be sent to Edinburgh during the summer of 1916, where they would be accommodated and educated at George Heriot’s School.<sup>147</sup> A group comprising ten Serbian boys reached Edinburgh in August 1916, where they were festively greeted by the city and educational authorities. Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir Robert Inches,<sup>148</sup> organised a reception at the Town Hall, where he welcomed the boys.<sup>149</sup> The Serbian colony in Edinburgh gradually grew and eventually got big enough for a special Serbian class to be formed in the school. In the period between 1916 and 1919, a total of 27 boys were

<sup>146</sup> “Serbian Boys in Scotland”, *The Educational News*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916, 407.

<sup>147</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Notes on Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 6.

<sup>148</sup> Sir Robert Kirk Inches was the Lord Provost of Edinburgh in the period between 1912 and 1916.

<sup>149</sup> “Serbian Boys in Edinburgh”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 9<sup>th</sup> September 1916, 2.

<sup>151</sup> Louise Miller, „Serbian Herioters”, <http://www.george-heriots.com/former-pupils/ww1-commemorations/serbian-herioters>

<sup>152</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 9-10.

<sup>153</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1917.

<sup>154</sup> Ser Džejs Tagart (1849-1929) bio je vrhovni sudija Aberdina za vreme Prvog svetskog rata i jedan od najbitnijih ljudi u organizaciji dolaska i boravka srpske dece u tom gradu.

<sup>155</sup> Eni Pirson, vikontesa Kaudri (1860-1932) bila je britanska plemkinja i dobrotorka, supruga Vitmana Dikinsona Pirsona, prvog vikonta Kaudrija. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bila je veoma aktivna u radu Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>156</sup> Džejs Gilroj (1859-1931) bio je škotski učenjak, specijalista za hebrejski jezik i profesor na Kings koledžu u Aberdinu. Tokom rata se istakao kao član lokalnog odbora za pomoć Srbima.

Petar Deretić, Danilo Đokić, Milan Đurić, Dimitrije Dulkanović, Stanko Ilić, Živko Ilić, Živojin Kovačević, Gavriilo Lazović, Milorad Maletić, Svetomir Marjanović, Miodrag Martić, Petar Milisavljević, Božidar Molero-  
vić, Đorđe Nikolić, Dušan Obradović, Đorđe Osmanbegović, Petar Pantelić, Danilo Pavlović, Miodrag Pavlović, Mihailo Radovanović, Aleksandar Savić, Konstantin Stanković, Milivoje Stefanović, Toma Tomić, Miodrag Tutunović i Nikola Vasić.<sup>151</sup> Starešina srpske grupe u Edinburgu bio je sveštenik Dušan Marković. Nisu svi ovi dečaci ostali u školi Džordž Heriot do kraja svog boravka u Škotskoj – mlađi, poput Miodraga Martića i Nikole Vasića, prebačeni su u obližnju osnovnu školu Loriston; Živojin Kovačević, Milorad Petrović i Konstantin Stanković upisali su pripremni kurs za koledž, a Božidar Molerović studije tehnike na Univerzitetu u Edinburgu.<sup>152</sup>

Krajem 1916. i početkom 1917. godine, predsednica obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda Gertruda Karington Vajld posetila je Škotsku na poziv humanitarnih komiteta koji su formirani u nekoliko škotskih gradova. Tom prilikom ona je sa domaćinima razgovarala o sudbini srpskih

mладиća, njihovom povlačenju preko Albanije i teškom životu na Krfu i u Francuskoj. Poseta gospođe Karington Vajld Škotskoj bila je veoma uspešna, jer je dogovoreno da se srpski dečaci u najskorije vreme pošalju u škotske gradove Aberdin, Dandi i Glazgov, gde će kompletnu brigu o njihovom obrazovanju, smeštaju i ishrani preuzeti lokalni dobrotvorni odbori. Očekivano je da će put Škotske krenuti oko 65 srpskih dečaka.<sup>153</sup>

U Aberdinu je u oktobru 1916. godine organizovan sastanak između gospođe Karington Vajld i eminentnih ljudi iz tog grada, koje su predvodili vrhovni sudija ser Džejs Tagart<sup>154</sup>, leđi Kaudri<sup>155</sup>, profesor Džejs Gilroj<sup>156</sup> i drugi. Na sastanku u Gradskoj kući, kojem je prisustvovalo preko stotinu najuglednijih građana Aberdina, formiran je lokalni odbor za pomoć Srbima i odlučeno je da određeni broj srpskih dečaka dođe u grad, te da im se obezbedi smeštaj, ishrana i nesmetano pohađanje nastave. Dr Morland Simpson<sup>157</sup>, rektor klasične gimnazije u Aberdinu, predložio je upravo ovu instituciju kao najpogodniju da ugosti najveći deo dečaka.<sup>158</sup> U novembru 1916. vrhovni sudija Aberdina Tagart, koji je istovremeno bio i predse-

associated with this educational institution: Djordje Aleksić, Petar Deretić, Danilo Djokić, Milan Djurić, Dimitrije Dulkanović, Stanko Ilić, Živko Ilić, Živojin Kovačević, Gavrilo Lazović, Milorad Maletić, Svetomir Marjanović, Miodrag Martić, Petar Milisavljević, Božidar Molerović, Djordje Nikolić, Dušan Obradović, Djordje Osmanbegović, Petar Pantelić, Danilo Pavlović, Miodrag Pavlović, Mihailo Radovanović, Aleksandar Savić, Konstantin Stanković, Milivoje Stefanović, Toma Tomić, Miodrag Tutunović and Nikola Vasić.<sup>150</sup> The head of the Serbian group in Edinburgh was priest Dušan Marković. Not all the boys remained in George Heriot's School throughout their stay in Scotland - the younger ones, like Miodrag Martić and Nikola Vasić, were moved to the nearby Lauriston Primary School; Živojin Kovačević, Milorad Petrović and Konstantin Stanković were enrolled in a college preparatory course and Božidar Molerović studied technics at the University of Edinburgh.<sup>151</sup>

At the end of 1916 and the beginning of 1917, the Chair of the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund, Gertrude Carrington Wilde visited Scotland, following the invitation

of the charity committees founded in several Scottish cities, where she discussed the fate of the Serbian youngsters, their retreat across Albania and their miserable life in Corfu and France. Mrs Carrington Wilde's visit to Scotland proved to be very fruitful, as she had managed to arrange for the Serbian children to be sent to Aberdeen, Dundee and Glasgow, where the complete care for their education, accommodation and provision would be taken over by the local charity committees. It was expected that around 65 boys would be dispatched to Scotland.<sup>152</sup>

In October 1916, a meeting was arranged in Aberdeen between Mrs Carrington Wilde and several of the prominent civic figures of the city, led by Lord Provost James Taggart,<sup>153</sup> Lady Cowdray,<sup>154</sup> Professor James Gilroy<sup>155</sup> and others. The meeting had taken place in the Town Hall and about 100 most notable residents attended, and they decided to create a local committee for aiding the Serbs and to invite a number of Serbian youngsters to the city, where they would be provided with accommodation, food and education. Dr Morland Simpson,<sup>156</sup> Rector of the Aberdeen Grammar School, suggested that his

<sup>150</sup> Louise Miller, "Serbian Herioters", <http://www.george-heriots.com/former-pupils/ww1-commemorations/serbian-herioters>

<sup>151</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 9-10.

<sup>152</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1917.

<sup>153</sup> Sir James Taggart (1849-1929) was the Lord Provost of Aberdeen during the First World War and he was one of the most important actors in the organisation of the arrival of the Serbian boys in Aberdeen during the war.

<sup>154</sup> Annie Pearson, Viscountess Cowdray (1860-1932) was a British noblewoman and benefactor, the wife of Weetman Dickinson Pearson, 1st Viscount Cowdray. During the First World War she was very active in the organisation of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>155</sup> James Gilroy (1859-1931) was a Scottish scholar and an expert in Hebrew. He was a professor at King's College in Aberdeen. He was a distinguished member of the local committee for aiding Serbs.

<sup>157</sup> Henri Fajf Morland Simpson (1859-1920) bio je starinar, pisac i upravnik Aberdinske klasične gimnazije (*Aberdeen Grammar School*). Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata angažovao se u lokalnom komitetu za pomoć Srbima.

<sup>158</sup> „Education of Serbian Refugees - Assistance to be Given by Aberdeen - School Board's Assurance”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>159</sup> „Education of Serbian Boys - Ten Invited to Aberdeen”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 4.

<sup>160</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 3.

<sup>161</sup> „Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 31<sup>st</sup> December 1917, 4.

<sup>162</sup> Džordž Bonar (1870-1938) bio je bogati trgovac iz Dandija, vlasnik kompanije „Lou i Bonar”. Širom Škotske bio je poznat po humanitarnom radu, posebno po

vajući lokalnog komiteta za pomoć, odlučio je da grad i zvanično pozove deset srpskih mladića. Određeno je da se godišnje izdvoji oko 300 funti za održavanje srpske kolonije, s obzirom na to da školarinu srpski đaci nisu plaćali.<sup>159</sup> Srpsku grupu u Aberdinu kao starešina je predvodio Mihajlo Đorđević, a činili su je sledeći dečaci: Luka Šuković, Dragoslav Ašić, Dragiša Janković, Branislav Jotić, Aleksandar Todorović, Nikola Milenković, Miodrag Jovanović, Miodrag Milivojević, Borivoje Veljić i Dragoslav Miletić.<sup>160</sup> Svi učenici su pohađali nastavu u klasičnoj gimnaziji (*Grammar School*), dok su za starije pojedince organizovani i specijalni kursevi na Tehničkom koledžu Robert Gordons.<sup>161</sup> Dečaci su ostali u Aberdinu do juna 1919. godine, kada su, po završetku školske godine, otputovali za Srbiju.

Posle sastanka između Gertrude Karrington Vajld i uglednih žitelja Dandija, lokalni trgovac jutom Džordž Bonar<sup>162</sup> ponudio je da finansira grupu srpskih mladića koji bi u Dandiju pohađali trgovačku školu.<sup>163</sup> Dogovor je postignut veoma brzo i već je krajem januara 1917. godine pripremljen hostel koji je trebalo da ugosti oko 20 srpskih mladića. Istovremeno,

gradske prosvetne vlasti odlučile su da srpski đaci u Dandiju neće plaćati školarinu.<sup>164</sup> Prva grupa od deset učenika stigla je na istok Škotske 20. januara 1917. godine, a svečani doček organizovao je lokalni odbor za pomoć Srbima, na čelu sa ser Vilijemom Donom<sup>165</sup>, vrhovnim sudijom Dandija.<sup>166</sup> Dečaci su bili smešteni u hostelu u Fernbreu, a brigu o njima vodila je domaćica pansiona, gospođica Beg. Prilikom ulaska dečaka u hostel, organizovana je mala svečanost, kojoj su prisustvovali članovi odbora za pomoć Srbima, gde je vrhovni sudija Don poželeo srpskim mladićima dobrodošlicu u Dandi, a oni su tom prilikom za prisutne otpevali nekoliko srpskih narodnih pesama.<sup>167</sup> Starešina srpske učeničke kolonije u Dandiju bio je Milorad Vanlić, a činili su je: Dragoljub Nikolić, Milenko Vasić, Milorad Jevđović, Branislav Kovačević, Moša Albahari, Mihajlo Vandelović, Stojan Bralović, Dušan Simonović, Jovan Lazić, Radomir Đorđević, Mihajlo Ložičković, Nikola Nikolić, Milan Jovanović i Velimir Nikolić, koji su pohađali Akademiju Haris; zatim, Božidar Brkić, Boško Deretić, Dušan Božjaković, Miodrag Dimitrijević, Vladimir Orović, Božidar Stevović, Božidar Filipović, Milenko Matić i Aleksandar

institution would be best suited to accommodate the majority of the boys.<sup>157</sup> In November 1916, Lord Provost Taggart, who was also the Chairman of the local aid committee, decided to officially invite ten boys to Aberdeen. It was decided that approximately £300 per year would cover the costs of the Serbian colony, as the tuition fees would not be charged.<sup>158</sup> The head of the Serbian group in Aberdeen was Mihajlo Djordjević and the group comprised the following boys: Luka Šuković, Dragoslav Ašić, Dragiša Janković, Branislav Jotić, Aleksandar Todorović, Nikola Milenković, Miodrag Jovanović, Miodrag Milivojević, Borivoje Veljić and Dragoslav Miletić.<sup>159</sup> All the boys attended classes at Aberdeen Grammar School, and for the older boys special courses were arranged at Robert Gordon's Technical College.<sup>160</sup> The boys stayed in Aberdeen until June 1919, when they, after the end of the school year, all returned to Serbia.

Following the meeting between Mrs Carrington Wilde and the Dundee elite, a local jute merchant, George Bonar,<sup>161</sup> offered to finance the group of the Serbian youngsters who would study commerce in Dundee.<sup>162</sup> The

whole matter was quickly arranged and by the end of January, a hostel in the city was ready to accommodate twenty Serbian boys. At the same time, the city's educational authorities had decided to free the Serbs from paying the tuition fees.<sup>163</sup> The first group of ten boys arrived to the east of Scotland on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1917, and the official welcome was organised by the local aid committee, headed by Sir William Don,<sup>164</sup> Lord Provost.<sup>165</sup> The boys were settled in a hostel at Fernbrae, under the care of Miss Begg. A small celebration was organised when the boys arrived to the hostel and was attended by the members of the local aid committee, where Lord Provost Don welcomed the Serbs and the Serbs thanked their hosts by singing several Serbian folk songs.<sup>166</sup> The head of the Serbian students' colony in Dundee was Milorad Vanlić and he took care of the following boys: Dragoljub Nikolić, Milenko Vasić, Milorad Jevdjović, Branislav Kovačević, Moša Albahari, Mihajlo Vandjelović, Stojan Bralović, Dušan Simonović, Jovan Lazić, Radomir Djordjević, Mihajlo Ložičković, Nikola Nikolić, Milan Jovanović, and Velimir Nikolić, who attended classes at Harris Academy; Božidar Brkić, Boško

<sup>156</sup> Henry Fife Morland Simpson (1859–1920) was an antiquarian and Rector of the Aberdeen Grammar School. During the First World War he was very active in the local committee for aiding Serbs.

<sup>157</sup> "Education of Serbian Refugees - Assistance to be Given by Aberdeen - School Board's Assurance", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>158</sup> "Education of Serbian Boys - Ten Invited to Aberdeen", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 4.

<sup>159</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 3.

<sup>160</sup> "Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 31<sup>st</sup> December 1917, 4.

<sup>161</sup> George Bonar (1870–1938) was a rich merchant from Dundee, the owner of the Low & Bonar, Ltd. He was well-known throughout Scotland for his charity work, especially for his readiness to support young men who wanted to acquire commercial education.

<sup>162</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1916.

tome što je stipendirao mlade koji su hteli da se školuju za trgovce.

<sup>163</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1916.

<sup>164</sup> „Free Education for Serbian Boys in Dundee”, *The Courier*, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1917, 6.

<sup>165</sup> Ser Vilijem Don (1861-1926) bio je vrhovni sudija Dandija za vreme Prvog svetskog rata i istaknuti član lokalnog odbora koji je pomagao srpske dečake.

<sup>166</sup> „Serbian Boys Arrive in Dundee”, *The Courier*, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1917, 6.

<sup>167</sup> „Serbian Boys” Hostel Opened in Dundee”, *The Courier*, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1917, 4.

<sup>168</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 7-8.

<sup>169</sup> „Dundee’s Help to Serbian Boys”, *The Evening Telegraph*, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1919, 4.

<sup>170</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 14<sup>th</sup> February 1917.

Stamenković, koji su se obrazovali u Srednjoj školi Dandija, kao i Miodrag Mišić i Branislav Radosavljević, koji su radili u trgovini.<sup>167</sup> Srpski dečaci ostali su u Dandiju sve do juna 1919. godine, kada su se neki od njih vratili u Srbiju, a neki nastavili školovanje u drugim britanskim gradovima. Na oproštajnoj svečanosti prilikom zatvaranja hostela u Fernbreu, Džordž Bonar, koji je i bio najzaslužniji za dolazak dečaka u Dandi, izjavio je da ga ispunjava neizmernim ponosom činjenica da je Dandi za srpske dečake učinio više od svih drugih britanskih gradova, kao i to na kakav su način Srbi uzvratili za dobrotu škotskih domaćina.<sup>169</sup>

Početkom 1917. godine oformljen je i komitet uglednih građana u Glazgovu, koji je trebalo da organizaciju dolazak i školovanje za jedan broj izbeglih srpskih mladića u tom škotskom

gradu.<sup>170</sup> Na čelu lokalnog odbora za pomoć srpskoj deci nalazila se ledi Danlop<sup>171</sup>, supruga ser Tomasa Danlopa, vrhovnog sudije Glazgova. Starešina srpske grupe u Glazgovu Vladimir Vukmirović brinuo je o dvadesetak srpskih mladića: o Svetoliku Avramoviću, Aleksandru Deliniju, Dušanu Mitiću, Slavku Đorđeviću i Aleksandru Saviću, koji su pohađali srednju školu Hilhed; zatim, o Božidaruru Boroviću, Branislavu Vukoviću, Dragoslavu Ivkoviću, Aleksandru Petroviću, Krsti Baliću i Dragoslavu Krstiću, koji su bili učenici škole Alan Glens; o Branku Diniću, Veljku Drinjakoviću, Milutinu Vukićeviću i Petru Meštoviću, koji su studirali tehničke nauke na Univerzitetu u Glazgovu; i, konačno, o Jovanu Bogdanoviću, Vladimiru Iliću i Antoniju Pelivanoviću, koji su, rađeći u industriji, sticali praktično znanje u oblasti elektroinženjerstva.<sup>172</sup>

Deretić, Dušan Božjaković, Miodrag Dimitrijević, Vladimir Orović, Božidar Stevović, Božidar Filipović, Milenko Matić and Aleksandar Stamenković, who went to High School of Dundee and Miodrag Mišić and Branislav Radosavljević, who worked in commerce.<sup>167</sup> The Serbian boys remained in Dundee until June 1919, when some of them returned to Serbia and some continued their education in other British cities. At a farewell ceremony, when the Fernbrae hostel was officially closed down, George Bonar, the man most responsible for the arrival of the Serbian boys to Dundee, said he was immensely proud that Dundee had done more for the Serbs than any other city in Britain and that he was also proud of the manner in which the Serbs responded to the kindness of their Scottish hosts.<sup>168</sup>

In the beginning of 1917, a local committee of dignitaries was formed in Glasgow, which was supposed to

prepare the arrival and organisation of the education for a number of Serbian boy refugees.<sup>169</sup> At the head of the local committee for aiding the Serbian children was Lady Dunlop,<sup>170</sup> the wife of Sir Thomas Dunlop, Lord Provost of Glasgow. The head of the Serbian group in Glasgow was Vladimir Vukmirović, and he cared for the following boys: Svetolik Avramović, Aleksandar Delini, Dušan Mitić, Slavko Djordjević and Aleksandar Savić, who went to Hillhead High School; Božidar Borović, Branislav Vuković, Dragoslav Ivković, Aleksandar Petrović, Krsta Balić and Dragoslav Krstić, who attended classes at Allan Glen's School; Branko Dinić, Veljko Drinjaković, Milutin Vukićević and Petar Meštrović, who took technical courses at the University of Glasgow and Jovan Bogdanović, Vladimir Ilić and Antonije Pelivanović, who acquired practical knowledge in electrical engineering by working in the industry.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>163</sup> "Free Education for Serbian Boys in Dundee", *The Courier*, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1917, 6.

<sup>164</sup> Sir William Don (1861–1926) was Lord Provost of Dundee during the First World War and a distinguished member of the local committee for aiding Serbs.

<sup>165</sup> "Serbian Boys Arrive in Dundee", *The Courier*, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1917, 6.

<sup>166</sup> "Serbian Boys" Hostel Opened in Dundee", *The Courier*, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1917, 4.

<sup>167</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 7–8.

<sup>168</sup> "Dundee's Help to Serbian Boys", *The Evening Telegraph*, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1919, 4.

<sup>169</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 14<sup>th</sup> February 1917.

<sup>170</sup> Margaret Mitchell, Lady Dunlop (1857–1952) was the wife of the Scottish businessman and politician Sir Thomas Dunlop. During the First World War, Lady Dunlop was engaged in numerous

<sup>171</sup> Margaret Mičel, leđi Danlop (1857-1952), bila je supruđa škotskog biznismena i političara ser Tomasa Danlopa, vrhovnog sudije Glazgova. Tokom rata leđi Danlop istakla se brojnim humanitarnim akcijama, a bila je i predsednica lokalnog komiteta za pomoć Srbima.

<sup>172</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj, 6.

<sup>173</sup> Čarls Tompson (1851-1938) bio je izuzetno uvažen žitelj Kardifa, poslovan čovek i lokalni političar. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata rukovodio je lokalnim ogrankom Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>174</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Notes on Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916 to 1924, 4.

<sup>175</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1917.

<sup>176</sup> Ernst Hauard Grifits (1851-1932), bio je britanski fizičar, član Kraljevskog društva, kao i rektor Univerziteta u Kardifu.

<sup>177</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 5/3/2, Harry S. Reichel

### 3.6 Srpski đaci i studenti u Velsu

Prva kolonija srpskih đaka i studenata u Velsu formirana je znatno kasnije nego u ostalim delovima Velike Britanije i za njeno stvaranje najzaslužniji je bio Čarls Tompson<sup>173</sup>, biznismen i političar iz Kardifa.<sup>174</sup> On je sredinom 1917. godine preuzeo brigu o nekoćicini srpskih mladića koji su upisani u lokalne škole i na Univerzitet u Kardifu. Prosvetni odbor Srpskog potpornog fonda prihvatio je u julu 1917. godine finansijsku obavezu da izdržava 12 studenata koji su se školovali na Univerzitetu u Kardifu, što je na godišnjem nivou podrazumevalo ukupan iznosu od 1300 funti.<sup>175</sup>

Srpski studenti u Kardifu, po svemu sudeći, pokazali su se veoma dobro, te je direktor Univerzitetskog koledža južnog Velsa i Monmotšira u Kardifu, Ernest Grifits<sup>176</sup>, u korespondenciji sa drugim velškim prijateljima Srbije hvalio njihovu predanost i intelektualne kapacitete.<sup>177</sup>

U želji da Vels prihvati veći broj srpskih mladića, posebno onih koji su srednje škole i gimnazije završavali u Engleskoj i Škotskoj, major Dejvid Dejvis, član Srpskog potpornog fonda, aktivirao se oko ispitivanja mogućnosti da srpski mladići u većini upišu koledže i univerzitete u Velsu. S tim u

### 3.6 Serbian Students and Pupils in Wales

The first Serbian colony in Wales was formed much later than the colonies in other parts of the United Kingdom and the man most credited for its establishment was Charles Thompson,<sup>172</sup> a businessman and politician from Cardiff.<sup>173</sup> In the mid-1917 he took upon himself the responsibility to support several of the Serbian youngsters who were studying at local schools and Cardiff University. In July 1917, the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund accepted the obligation to financially help twelve students, who were studying at Cardiff University with

a figure of £1,300 per annum.<sup>174</sup> By all accounts, the Serbian students in Cardiff proved themselves worthy of trust and support and the Principal of the University of Wales Ernest Griffiths,<sup>175</sup> in correspondence with other Welsh friends of Serbia, hailed their commitment and intellectual capabilities.<sup>176</sup>

In his wish for Wales to accept as many Serbs as possible, especially young Serbs who were finishing secondary and grammar schools in England and Scotland, Major David Davis, a member of the Serbian Relief Fund, dedicated himself to enquiring about

humanitarian actions and she also acted as a chair of the local committee for aiding Serbs.

<sup>171</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 6.

<sup>172</sup> Charles Thompson (1851-1938) was a distinguished resident of Cardiff, businessman and a local politician. During the First World War, he headed local branch of the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>173</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, Notes on Serbian boys and students colonies in Great Britain, 1916-1924, 4.

<sup>174</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/8, Meeting of the Executive Committee, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1917.

<sup>175</sup> Ernest Howard Griffiths (1851-1932) was a British physicist and member of the Royal Society and Principal of the University of Wales in Cardiff.

<sup>176</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 5/3/2, Harry S. Reichel to Major Davies, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1917.

to Major Davies, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1917.

<sup>178</sup> Lojd Tajrel-Kenjon, četvrti baron Kenjon (1864-1927), bio je britanski plemić i konzervativni političar. Od 1910. godine bio je kancelar Velškog Univerziteta i predsednik Univerzitetskog koledža severnog Velsa.

<sup>179</sup> Tomas Frensis Roberts (1860-1919) bio je profesor klasičnih nauka i direktor Univerzitetskog koledža Velsa u Aberistvitu.

<sup>180</sup> Ser Henri Rudolf Rajhel (1856-1931) bio je velški pedagog i političar, direktor Univerzitetskog koledža severnog Velsa u Bangoru.

<sup>181</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Spisak đaka i profesora koji se nalaze u Engleskoj.

<sup>182</sup> Sidney Ball, „Serbians at British Schools”, *The Times*, Educational Supplement, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1918; SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 2-3. Dvojica Srba u Aberistvitu završila su studije poljoprivrede, a trojica studije umetnosti.

<sup>183</sup> *List of Boys and Students Educated in Great Britain*, 3-20.

vezi kontaktirao je barona Kenjona<sup>178</sup>, Tomasa Frensisa Roberta<sup>179</sup> i ser Henrija Rajhela<sup>180</sup>, najvažnije osobe za organizaciju univerzitetskog života u Velsu. Dejvis je predlagao da grupa od oko 50 srpskih mladića, koja se nalazila u Engleskoj, bude prebačena na velške univerzitete, a da će sredstva za taj poduhvat obezbediti Srpski potporni fond i njegove lokalne podružnice, kao i lokalni dobrotvori. Sve univerzitetske starešine složile su se s idejom da treba prihvatiti srpsku decu, ali i da je broj od 50 studenata prilično velik. Starešine univerziteta izrazile su bojazan da se tako velika grupa mladića neće uklopiti u univerzitetski život, odnosno, da će mladići formirati zatvorenu skupinu i izbegavati kontakt sa okolinom. Pošto je major Dejvis, usled drugih poslovnih obaveza, bio sprečen da se u potpunosti posveti pitanju srpskih studenata, njegovu inicijativu tokom 1918. godine nastavili su Kenjon, Roberts i Rajhel. Oni su ipak postupili po sopstvenom nahođenju i obezbedili školovanje na velškim univerzitetima i u školama za manji broj srpskih

izbeglica. Po podacima srpskog Ministarstva prosvete, u Kardifu se tokom 1918. godine školovalo ukupno 9 Srba, i to: Milan Pantić, Josif Lazarević i Jovan Janković, koji su pohađali srednju školu; Borivoje Rajković, Miloje Rubežanin i Božidar Janković bili su polaznici tehničkog kursa na Univerzitetu u Kardifu, kao i Dragutin Avramović, Živojin Misojčić i Milutin Radojković, učenici dnevne tehničke škole).<sup>181</sup> Istovremeno, Univerzitetski koledž u Bangoru pohađalo je troje Srba, a Univerzitetski koledž u Aberistvitu njih petoro.<sup>182</sup> Podaci Srpskog potpornog fonda s kraja 1918. godine delimično se razlikuju - pominju se imena dvojice Srba koji su se školovali u Bangoru - Radovan Blagojević i Živojin Simić, a čak njih 11 u Aberistvitu - Dragoljub Manojlović, Borivoje Nedić, Vojislav Radukanović, Dragomir Rakić, Milan Sokolović, Ostoja Čitaković, Petar Todorović, Aleksandar Torbarević, Obren Vukomanović, Ljubomir Jovanović i Živan Jovanović.<sup>183</sup> Teško je utvrditi koji je od ovih dvaju spiskova ispravan.

the possibilities for a larger number of Serbian youths to enrol in Welsh colleges and universities. With this in mind, he contacted Baron Kenyon,<sup>177</sup> Thomas Francis Roberts<sup>178</sup> and Sir Henry Reichel,<sup>179</sup> the most important people in the university life of Wales. Davies proposed that a group of about 50 Serbian youngsters who were situated in England be transferred to the Welsh universities and that the money needed for this endeavour would be provided by the Serbian Relief Fund and local branches of the aid committees and local benefactors. All the university elders agreed that the Serbian boys should be welcomed but noted that the number of about 50 boys was probably too large. University officials were concerned that such a large group would not integrate into the university life, because it would form a closed group that would avoid contacts with the environment. Other obligations prevented Major Davies from fully devoting his energy to the question of the Serbian students, and his initiative was continued in 1918 by Kenyon, Roberts and Reichel, who, at their own discretion, organised edu-

cation at the Welsh universities for a smaller number of Serbian refugees. According to the data of the Serbian Ministry of Education, nine Serbs were educated in Cardiff – Milan Pantić, Josif Lazarević and Jovan Janković went to secondary school; Borivoje Rajković, Miloje Rubežanin and Božidar Janković attended a technical course at the university and Dragutin Avramović, Živojin Misojčić and Milutin Radojković daily technical school.<sup>180</sup> At the same time, three Serbs were studying at the University College of Northern Wales in Bangor and five Serbs at University College of Wales in Aberystwyth.<sup>181</sup> The information of the Serbian Relief Fund from the end of 1918 differs a bit – two of the Serbs who were educated in Bangor are listed by name: Radovan Blagojević and Živojin Simić; and even eleven at Aberystwyth – Dragoljub Manojlović, Borivoje Nedić, Vojislav Radukanović, Dragomir Rakić, Milan Sokolović, Ostoja Čitaković, Petar Todorović, Aleksandar Torbarević, Obren Vukomanović, Ljubomir Jovanović and Živan Jovanović.<sup>182</sup> It is difficult to determine which of the lists is correct.

<sup>177</sup> Lloyd Tyrell-Kenyon, 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Kenyon (1864–1927) was a British nobleman and Conservative politician. From 1910 he acted as the Chancellor of the University of Wales and Chairman of the University College of Northern Wales.

<sup>178</sup> Thomas Francis Roberts (1860–1919) was a professor of the classical studies and Principal of the University College of Wales in Aberystwyth.

<sup>179</sup> Sir Henry Rudolf Reichel (1856–1931) was a Welsh pedagogue and politician, Principal of the University College of Northern Wales in Bangor.

<sup>180</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, List of students and professors who are situated in England, 11.

<sup>181</sup> Sidney Ball, “Serbians at British Schools”, *The Times*, Educational Supplement, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1918; SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 2–3. Two of the Serbs in Aberystwyth finished agriculture studies and two art studies.

<sup>182</sup> *List of Boys and Students Educated in Great Britain*, 3–20.

### 3.7 Srpsko sirotište u Faveršamu

Srpska vlada i njeni organi u izbeglištvu su otežano funkcionisali. Usled nedostatka kadrova, koji su ili ostali u okupiranoj Srbiji ili bili raspoređeni u Francuskoj i Velikoj Britaniji, kao i usled činjenice da su srpski izbegli đaci raspoređeni na raznim stranama - na Krfu, po severnoj Africi, širom Grčke i Makedonije - rad prosvetnih organa bio je ometen objektivnim poteškoćama. Srpske prosvetne vlasti uspele su da organizuju kakvu-takvu nastavu u Africi, ustanovile su gimnaziju na Krfu, pomogle rad srpske gimnazije u Solunu, organizovale maturalni tečaj u tom gradu i izmestile Bitoljsku gimnaziju u grčki grad Vo-

los.<sup>184</sup> Osnovne škole su, međutim, gotovo isključivo funkcionisale zahvaljujući entuzijazmu izbeglih učitelja i neredovnoj pomoći srpskih i savezničkih vojnih vlasti. Rad srpskih škola pomagao je i Srpski potporni fond. Početkom 1917. godine pri Srpsko-engleskoj bolnici u Soroviću otvoreno je sirotište i u okviru njega škola, gde su aktivisti Srpskog potpornog fonda dovodili decu koja su se sa roditeljima povukla preko Albanije, kao i siročad iz okoline Bitolja i oslobođenih srpskih krajeva.<sup>185</sup> Jedan od najaktivnijih članova fonda, koji je neumorno obilazio sela u okolini Bitolja i dovodio srpsku siročad u britansko sirotište,

<sup>184</sup> *Nastavnik*, XXVII (1914-1919), str. 69-113.

<sup>185</sup> AS, MPs, DS, 3, 112, 1917, Komandantu Srpsko-Engleske Bolnice br. 2 za Ministarstvo prosvete i crk. poslova.

### 3.7 Serbian Orphanage in Faversham

The Serbian government and its institutions had encountered many difficulties while functioning in exile. Due to the lack of staff, who were either left behind in the occupied Serbia or were allocated in France and Great Britain, and also due to the fact that the Serbian refugee children were scattered in Corfu, Northern Africa, Greece and Macedonia, the operations of the educational authorities were undermined by objective circumstances. The Serbian educational authorities managed to organise some sort of schooling in Africa, established a Serbian grammar school in Corfu, helped the work of

Serbian grammar school in Thessaloniki, organised a matriculation course in the same city and relocated Bitolj (Monastir) grammar school to the Greek town of Volos.<sup>183</sup> The primary schools, however, functioned solely thanks to the enthusiasm of the exiled teachers and an irregular assistance from the Serbian and Allied military authorities. The Serbian Relief Fund also helped the work of the Serbian schools in exile. In the beginning of 1917, at the Serbian-British hospital in Sorović (Amyntaio), an orphanage and a school were established, where the Serbian Relief Fund activists brought children who had

<sup>183</sup> *Nastavnik*, XXVII (1914-1919), 69-113.

<sup>186</sup> O Lujju Kanu se veoma malo zna i teško je pronaći više podataka koji bi osvetlili njegovu ličnost. Srbima u Makedoniji bio je poznat kao kapetan britanske vojske, iako se u nekim dokumentima pominje i kao putopisac i novinar. Pre Prvog svetskog rata bio je aktivista Makedonskog potpornog fonda, a za vreme rata je intenzivno radio na pomoći Srbima u regionu. Takođe, sastavio je jedan srpsko-ingleski rečnik, koji je doživeo više izdanja.

<sup>187</sup> Dimitrije Jevtović-Polimac, *Na rekama mačedonskim* (Solun: Srpska knjižara M. Ristivojevića, 1917), 7-12.

<sup>188</sup> Ana Rut Fraj (1878-1962) bila je britanska spisateljica i mirovna aktivistkinja. Za vreme prvog svetskog rata angažovala se u Srpskom potpornom fondu, na poslovima organizacije pomoći srpskoj izbegličkoj deci.

bio je Luj Kan<sup>186</sup>, koji je zahvaljujući svom humanitarnom radu stekao veliki ugled kod Srba. Dimitrije Jevtović-Polimac, srpski vojnik i pesnik, u predgovoru svoje zbirke pesama koju je posvetio večitom prijateljstvu između srpskog i britanskog naroda, o Lujju Kanu je napisao: „Kad sretnete, idući kroz neko pusto i razrušeno srpsko selo, ili kroz neku mračnu planinu, kroz usamljene provalije i klisure; kad sretnete jednog plemenitog Engleza, rastom omanjeg ali duhom i plemenitim delima velikog, blagog, veselog, vazda nasmejanog i vrlo simpatičnog, uz koga skaću gomile rasturane i napuštene siročadi, a on im deli čokolade i sve moguće slatkiše; trči, skače, igra se i veseli sa mališanima, znajte, gospodo, to je: Gospodin Luj Kan, najveći prijatelj srpske siročadi. Skinite kapu, pozdravite ga i poklonite se tome velikom čoveku današnjeg vremena”.<sup>187</sup>

Poučen višegodišnjim iskustvom u organizovanju brige za srpsku siročad u Makedoniji, Luj Kan je uvideo da bi najbolje rešenje za decu bilo da se pošalju u Veliku Britaniju, gde bi bila smeštena na jednom mestu, uz stalnu brigu britanskih negovatelja i srpskih učitelja koji su se nalazili na ostrvu.

Međutim, finansijske poteškoće u koje je Srpski potporni fond zapao tokom leta 1918. godine, onemogućile su ovu organizaciju da preduzme konkretne mere u pogledu realizacije Kanovih predloga, iako su u načelu podržali projekat. Ipak, zahvaljujući ličnim kontaktima i vezama pojedinaца iz Srpskog potpornog fonda, još jedna britanska humanitarna organizacija zainteresovala se da pomogne - posredi je Savet nacionalnog bratstva. Ova organizacija okupljala je britanske filantropе koji su pripadali manjim protestantskim verskim zajednicama i nekonformističkim crkvama, poput metodista, kongregacionalista i kvekerа i upravo se ona ponudila da pomogne finansiranje srpskog sirotišta u Velikoj Britaniji. Do kontakta između Srpskog potpornog fonda i Saveta nacionalnog bratstva verovatno je došlo zahvaljujući ličnim vezama pojedinaca koji su bili angažovani u fondu, a i sami su pripadali nekonformističkim crkvama, poput Džona Belouza i Rut Fraj,<sup>188</sup> izuzetno cenjenih članova kvekerske zajednice. Savet nacionalnog bratstva je i ranije pomagao srpsku stvar u Velikoj Britaniji, organizujući humanitarne priredbe i predavanja, a prihodi prikupljeni na tim manifestacijama bili

managed to escape Serbia in 1915 and also orphans from around Bitolj and the liberated Serbian lands.<sup>184</sup> One of the most active members of the Fund, who tirelessly searched the villages around Bitolj for orphans and brought them to the orphanage, was called Louis Cahen.<sup>185</sup> He was immensely respected by local Serbs because of his humanitarian work. Dimitrije Jevtović-Polimac, a Serbian soldier and poet, in a foreword to his collection of poems dedicated to the eternal friendship between the Serbian and British peoples, wrote: “When you meet, walking through a deserted and destroyed Serbian village, or through a dark mountain or a lonely gorge, one noble Englishman, small in height but great in spirit and noble deeds, mild, cheerful, always with a smile on his face and very likable, with a bunch of abandoned orphans jumping around him, and him giving them chocolate and other sweets; running, jumping, playing and cheering with the young ones – you should know, gentlemen, that is: Mr Louis Cahen, the greatest friend to the destitute little Serbs. Take off your hat, greet him and bow to the great man of our time.”<sup>186</sup>

Vastly experienced in organising care for orphans in Macedonia, Louis Ca-

hen considered that the best solution for the problem would be to send the children to Great Britain, where they would be accommodated in a single place, with a constant care provided by the British caregivers and Serbian teachers who had already been living on the island. However, the financial difficulties that the Serbian Relief Fund was facing during the summer of 1918 prevented the Fund from taking concrete actions, although they generally supported the project. Still, thanks to the personal contacts and connections of the certain individuals within the Serbian Relief Fund, another British charity organisation became interested in helping the project. The National Brotherhood Council, an organisation comprising British philanthropists who had belonged to smaller protestant denominations and non-conformist religious communities, such as the Methodists, Congregationalists or Quakers, offered to finance a Serbian orphanage in Great Britain. The contact between the Serbian Relief Fund and the National Brotherhood Council was probably established thanks to the personal contacts of the individuals who were active members of the Serbian Relief Fund and members of non-conformist religious communities themselves, such as

<sup>184</sup> AS, MPs, DS, 3, 112, 1917, Commander of Serbian-British hospital no. 2 for the Ministry of Education.

<sup>185</sup> There is very few information on Louis Cahen that could help us shed more light on his personality. The Serbs in Macedonia knew him as a captain of the British Army, although some documents refer to him as a journalist and adventurer. Before the First World War he was an activist of the Macedonian Relief Committee and during the war he actively worked on helping the Serbs in the region. Also, he published a Serbian-English dictionary, printed in several editions.

<sup>186</sup> Dimitrije Jevtović-Polimac, *Na rekama mačedonskim* (Thessaloniki: Srpska knjižara M. Ristivojevića, 1917), 7-12.

<sup>187</sup> Anna Ruth Fry (1878-1962) was a British author and peace activist. During the First World War she was engaged with the Serbian Relief Fund, organising help for the Serbian children.

<sup>188</sup> *Annual Report of the Executive to the National Brotherhood Council* (London: National Brotherhood Council, 1916), 17-19.

<sup>189</sup> *Annual Report of the Executive to the National Brotherhood Council* (London, 1916), 17–19.

<sup>190</sup> Jordan Stajić (1868–1949) bio je srpski hirurg i načelnik saniteta Vrhovne komande srpske vojske.

<sup>191</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 86, 1918, Dragomir Ilić Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih poslova, 1. maj 1918. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

<sup>192</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 86, 1918, Poslanik Jovanović za ministra prosvete, 30. maj 1918. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

<sup>193</sup> Miloš Trifunović (1871–1957) bio je radikalni političar i narodni poslanik. Zauzimao je brojne ministarske pozicije, a za vreme Drugog svetskog rata jedno vreme bio je i predsednik jugoslovenske vlade u Londonu. Između 1917. i 1918. godine obavljao je dužnost ministra prosvete i crkvenih dela.

<sup>194</sup> Loius Cahen, „The Jouney from Serbia to England”, *Little Children of Serbia - Story of Serbian Orphan Children* (London: National Brotherhood Council, 1918), 10.

<sup>195</sup> Dobrivoje Stošović (1894–1957) bio je srpski ekonomista, novinar i političar. U vladi Milana Stojadinovića obavljao je dužnost ministra prosvete. Za vreme Prvog svetskog

su upućeni za pomoć Srbima.<sup>189</sup> Otac Nikolaj Velimirović, koji je bio veoma zainteresovan za protestantske verske zajednice, uspostavio je lični kontakt sa najbitnijim ljudima Saveta i održavao prijateljstvo sa njima tokom trajanja Prvog svetskog rata.

Prve korake vezane za potencijalno prebacivanje dela srpske siročadi iz Makedonije u Veliku Britaniju napravio je načelnik srpskog vojnog saniteta, pukovnik dr Jordan Stajić<sup>190</sup>, koji je o toj mogućnosti razgovarao sa predstavnicima Srpskog potpornog fonda u Solunu, u maju 1918. godine. Takođe, pukovnik Stajić o tome je obavestio i Dragomira Ilića, srpskog prosvetnog inspektora u Solunu, koji je odmah pisao ministru prosvete na Krf.<sup>191</sup> U načelu, trebalo je izabrati do dvesta srpske dece, i dečaka i devojčica, starosti između 7 i 14 godina, koji su ostali bez roditelja ili o kojima roditelji nisu mogli adekvatno da brinu. Deca bi, zajedno sa tri ili četiri nastavnika, u dve ture bila prebačena u Veliku Britaniju, gde bi Savet nacionalnog bratstva za njih organizovao smeštaj i izdržavanje.<sup>192</sup> Ministar Trifunović<sup>193</sup> pristao je na ponudu, naredivši prosvetnim vlastima u Solunu da organizuju selekciju dece, kao i

da se pobrinu kod policijskih i vojnih vlasti da nastavnici koji je trebalo da prate decu pribave sve potrebne dozvole i dokumenta. Za nekoliko nedelja posao je bio završen - Luj Kan i srpske prosvetne vlasti su u Solunu okupili 97 dečaka i devojčica iz Soluna, Vodene, Sorovića i Florine.<sup>194</sup> Odlučeno je da decu u Englesku prate Dragomir Ilić - gimnazijski profesor i delegat Ministarstva prosvete, Nikola Zavišić - suplent, Danica Nikolić - učiteljica i Dobrivoje Stošović<sup>195</sup> - privremeni učitelj, koji je istovremeno bio i tumač za engleski jezik.<sup>196</sup> Deca su od Soluna do Velike Britanije putovala britanskom vojnom lađom, a za put su ih odelom, cipelama, ćebadima i biskvitima opremili Srpski potporni fond, Britanski Crveni krst i lokalna sekcija Hrišćanske zajednice mladih ljudi.<sup>197</sup> Srpske vlasti obezbedile su 250 franaka gotovog novca za nepredviđene slučajeve.

Srpska deca bila su smeštena u varoši Faveršam u Kentu, 60-ak kilometara od Londona, nedaleko od morske obale. Vila koja im je bila stavljena na raspolaganje zvala se „Maunt” i u njoj je do leta 1918. godine bila smeštena bolnica za britanske ranjene vojnike.<sup>198</sup> Briga o smeštaju, boravku

John Bellows or Ruth Fry,<sup>187</sup> who were well-respected Quakers. The National Brotherhood Council had already done a lot to help the Serbian cause in the United Kingdom, organising charity events and lectures, with profits being given to aid the Serbs.<sup>188</sup> Father Nikolaj Velimirović, who was very much interested in protestant communities, established personal contact with the leaders of the Council and maintained a close friendship with them throughout the war.

Initial contacts about the possible transfer of some of the Serbian orphans from Macedonia to Great Britain were made through Dr Jordan Stajić,<sup>189</sup> the Chief of the Serbian Medical Corps, who had discussed the possibility with the Serbian Relief Fund representatives in Thessaloniki in May 1918. Colonel Stajić notified Dragomir Ilić, the Serbian educational inspector in Thessaloniki, about the possibility, and he immediately wrote to the Minister of Education in Corfu.<sup>190</sup> The general idea was to select approximately 200 Serbian children, boys and girls between 7 and 14 years of age, who were left without parents or whose parents could not adequately care for them, who would then be transferred to Great Britain in two contingents,

alongside three or four Serbian teachers, and the National Brotherhood Council would arrange accommodation and support for them.<sup>191</sup> The Minister of Education Trifunović<sup>192</sup> accepted the offer and ordered the educational authorities in Thessaloniki to organise the selection of the children and make sure that the teachers delegated to escort the children had all the necessary papers from the police and military authorities. The job was completed in few weeks, Louis Cahen and the Serbian educational authorities in Thessaloniki rounded up 97 boys and girls from Thessaloniki, Voden (Edessa), Sorović (Amyntaio) and Florina.<sup>193</sup> It was decided that the children would be accompanied by Dragomir Ilić, a secondary school teacher and inspector of the Ministry of Education, Nikola Zavišić, a probationary professor, Danica Nikolić, a teacher, and Dobrivoje Stošović,<sup>194</sup> a temporary teacher who also acted as the interpreter for English language.<sup>195</sup> The children travelled from Thessaloniki to Great Britain on a British war ship, equipped with clothes, shoes, blankets and biscuits by the Serbian Relief Fund, British Red Cross and local section of the YMCA.<sup>196</sup> The Serbian authorities provided them with 250 francs in cash for emergency costs.

<sup>189</sup> Jordan Stajić (1868–1949) was a Serbian surgeon and the Chief of Medical Corps of the Serbian Army.

<sup>190</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 86, 1918, Dragomir Ilić to Ministry of Education, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1918. (according to Julian calendar).

<sup>191</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 86, 1918, Minister Jovanović for the Minister of Education, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1918. (according to Julian calendar).

<sup>192</sup> Miloš Trifunović (1871–1957) was a Serbian radical politician and MP. He held various governmental positions and during the Second World War he was for a while Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Government in exile in London. Between 1917 and 1918 he was the Minister of Education.

<sup>193</sup> Louis Cahen, “The Journey from Serbia to England”, *Little Children of Serbia - Story of Serbian Orphan Children* (London: National Brotherhood Council, 1918), 10.

<sup>194</sup> Dobrivoje Stošović (1894–1957) was a Serbian economist, journalist and politician. In the government of Milan Stojadinović he acted as the Minister of Education. During the First World War he was a translator for the group of Serbian children who were sent to United

rata bio je prevodilac grupi srpskih đaka koji su 1918. godine poslani na školovanje u Veliku Britaniju, a kasnije je bio i prevodilac u srpskom poslanstvu u Londonu.

<sup>196</sup> AS, MPs, DS, 6, 410, 1918, Delegat Ministarstva prosvete u Solunu Ministru prosvete i crkvenih poslova, 16. avgust 1918. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

<sup>197</sup> Cahen, *n. d.*, 10.

<sup>198</sup> W. Hosdon Smith, „The National Children's Home, Takes care of the Serbian Children at Faversham”, *Little Children of Serbia - Story of Serbian Orphan Children* (London: National Brotherhood Council, 1918), 12.

<sup>199</sup> Vilijem Hodson Smit (1855-1942), bio je metodistički sveštenik, predsednik konferencije Metodističke crkve i dugogodišnji direktor organizacije Nacionalni dom i sirotište za decu.

<sup>200</sup> AJ, 80, F 75, VII/19, „War Victims”, *The Westminster Gazette*, 5<sup>th</sup> October 1918.

<sup>201</sup> *The Whitstable Times and Tankerton Press*, 26<sup>th</sup> July 1919, 4.

<sup>202</sup> „Children's Home, Faversham, Kent”, <http://childrenshomes.org.uk/FavershamNCH/>

i ishrani dece poverena je britanskoj humanitarnoj organizaciji Nacionalni dom i sirotište za decu, koja je osnovana 1869. godine i imala je velikog iskustva u upravljanju dečjim domovima. Nacionalni dom i sirotište za decu razvio je sistem po kojem su se o deci brinuli tzv. „otac” i „majka” doma, najčešće metodistički sveštenik i njegova supruga. Starešine srpskog doma u Faveršamu bili su sveštenik Vilijem Hodson Smit<sup>199</sup> i njegova supruga. Finansijsku podršku, u visini od 25 funti godišnje po detetu, domu su pružali članovi Saveta nacionalnog bratstva.

Srpsku decu, koja su u Faveršam stigla početkom oktobra 1918, dočekali su sveštenik Hodson Smit sa suprugom, Vilijam Vord, međunarodni sekretar Saveta nacionalnog bratstva, zatim članovi saveta iz Kenta - dr Sidni Aleksander, gradonačelnik Faveršama i ser Čarls Vejkfild, bivši gradonačelnik Londona, koji je bio počasni blagajnik doma. Luj Kan, kao vođa srpske grupe, zahvalio se u ime dečaka i devojčica, izrazivši

nadu da će život u Engleskoj pomoći deci da zaborave strahote kroz koje su prošli, ali i da će usvojiti znanja i veštine koje će im pomoći da obnove svoju domovinu kada ona jednog dana bude oslobođena.<sup>200</sup> Deca su vreme u Faveršamu provodila u učenju i igri, a deo svog slobodnog vremena posvetila su upoznavanju britanskih običaja, kao i učestvovanju u lokalnim priredbama i svetkovinama. U julu 1919. godine, srpska deca učestvovala su u velikoj proslavi u Faveršamu, koja je slavila mir i pobedu savezničkih trupa u ratu. Tokom celog dana organizovane su brojne priredbe i predstave, a srpska deca su se tom prilikom družila sa vršnjacima iz Faveršama i iz Londona, učestvovala u sportskim aktivnostima i igrama i, na kraju, uživala u čaju i kolačima koji su posluženi najmlađima.<sup>201</sup> Srpska deca ostala su u Faveršamu do avgusta 1921. godine, a posle njihovog odlaska, vilu je nastavilo da koristi udruženje Nacionalni dom i sirotište za decu, sve dok nije zatvoren početkom 30-ih godina.<sup>202</sup>

The Serbian children were settled in a small town of Faversham in Kent, some 40 miles from London, near the coastline. A mansion named The Mount was allocated for their accommodation and until the summer of 1918 it was used as a hospital for the wounded and sick British soldiers.<sup>197</sup> Charity organisation the National Children's Home and Orphanage, founded in 1869 and boasting a vast experience in management of children's homes, was entrusted with provision of accommodation and food for the children. The National Children's Home and Orphanage developed a system where "the father" and "the mother" of the house, usually a priest and his wife, would care for the children. Heads of the Serbian house in Faversham were Rev William Hodson Smith<sup>198</sup> and his wife. The financial backing for the home was provided by all the members of the National Brotherhood Council, in the amount of £25 per child a year.

The Serbian children who arrived in Faversham at the beginning of October 1918 were greeted by Rev Hodson Smith and his wife, William Ward, the international secretary of the National Brotherhood Council, members of the organisation from Kent, Dr Sidney Alexander, Mayor of Faversham, and Sir

Charles Wakefield, former Lord Mayor of London, who acted as the Honorary Treasurer to the home. Louis Cahen, the leader of the Serbian group, thanked the gathered dignitaries in the name of the Serbian children and expressed hope that life in England would help the children to forget the horrors they had gone through and to adopt knowledge and skills necessary to rebuild their Homeland, once it was liberated.<sup>199</sup> The children spent their time in Faversham learning and playing, and a part of their free time was dedicated to learning local British customs and participating in local events and festivities. In July 1919, the Serbian children were involved in a huge festival in Faversham, which celebrated the end of the war and the victory of the Allies. There were events and plays all day long and the Serbian children mingled with the local children and children from London, participated in sporting activities and games and, finally, enjoyed tea and cakes.<sup>200</sup> The Serbian children remained in Faversham until August 1921, after which the National Children's Home and Orphanage continued to use the villa as an orphanage for English children, until it was closed at the beginning of the 1930s.<sup>201</sup>

Kingdom in 1918 and later an interpreter with the Serbian Legation in London.

<sup>195</sup> AS, MPs, DS, 6, 410, 1918, Delegate of the Ministry of Education in Thessaloniki to Minister of Education, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1918. (according to Julian calendar).

<sup>196</sup> Cahen, "The Journey...", 10.

<sup>197</sup> W. Hosdon Smith, "The National Children's Home, Takes care of the Serbian Children at Faversham", *Little Children of Serbia - Story of Serbian Orphan Children* (London: National Brotherhood Council, 1918), 12.

<sup>198</sup> William Hodson Smith (1855-1942) was a Methodist priest, President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference and for many years Principal of the National Children's Home and Orphanage.

<sup>199</sup> AJ, 80, F 75, VII/19, "War Victims", *The Westminster Gazette*, 5<sup>th</sup> October 1918.

<sup>200</sup> *The Whitstable Times and Tankerton Press*, 26<sup>th</sup> July 1919, 4.

<sup>201</sup> "Children's Home, Faversham, Kent", <http://childrenshomes.org.uk/FavershamNCH/>



Čarls de Grac, britanski diplomata

Charles des Graz, British diplomat

(Haagsche Golfclub)



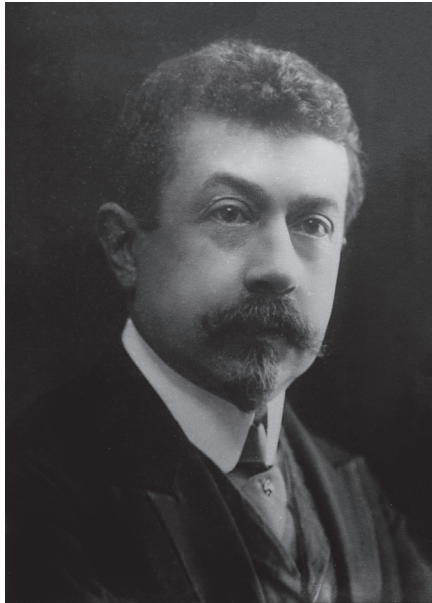
Robert Bosankvet, arheolog  
i humanitarni radnik

Robert Carr Bosanquet,  
archeologist and humanitarian



Dr Meri Bler, lekarka

Dr Mary Alice Blair, doctor  
(Q 108188, Imperial War Museum)



Pol Penleve, francuski ministar  
prosvete

Paul Painlevé, French Minister  
for Public Instruction

(George Grantham Bain collection at  
the United States Library of Congress)



Milorad Vanlič, pedagog

Milorad Vanlič, pedagogue



Sidni Bol, profesor Sent Džons  
koledža u Oksfordu

Sidney Ball, Professor at St John's  
College, Oxford



Henri Noel Brejlsford, novinar i  
politički aktivista

H. N. Brailsford, journalist and  
political activist



Trpezarija Karington hausa u Deptfordu

Dining room at Carrington House, Deptford



Kupatilo Karington hausa u Deptfordu  
Lavatory at Carrington House, Deptford



Ser Albert Sjuard, botaničar i geolog

Sir Albert Charles Seward, botanist and geologist



Aldžernon Modсли, sekretar  
Komiteta za ratne izbeglice

Algernon Maudslay, Secretary  
of the War Refugees Committee



Jovan Jovanović Pižon,  
srpski poslanik u Londonu

Jovan Jovanović, Serbian  
Minister in London



Tihomir Đorđević, etnolog i  
kulturni istoričar

Tihomir Djordjević, ethnologist  
and cultural historian



Gospođa Jovanović, predstavnica Srpskog  
Crvenog krsta u Velikoj Britaniji

Mrs Jovanović, representative of the Serbian  
Red Cross in Great Britain



Ejton haus u Pertširu

Ayton House, Perthshire



Dr Vojislav Subotić, lekar

Dr Vojislav Subotić, physician



Herbert Fišer, istoričar i prosvetni radnik

H. A. L. Fisher, historian and educator

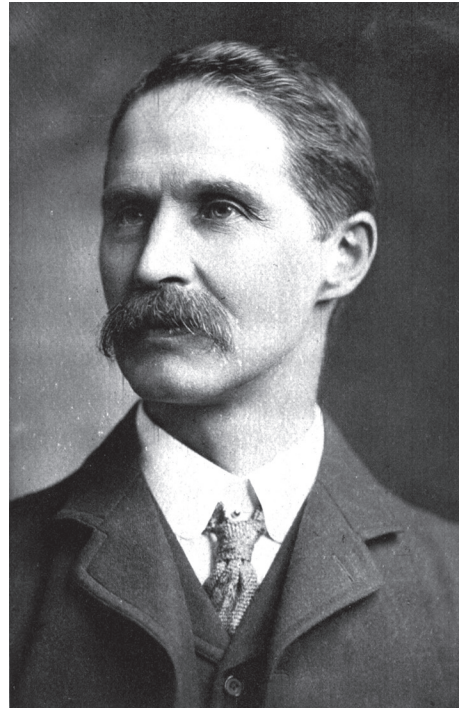
(United States Library of Congress's  
Prints and Photographs division)



Henri Kevendiš-Bentink, predsednik  
Srpskog potpornog fonda

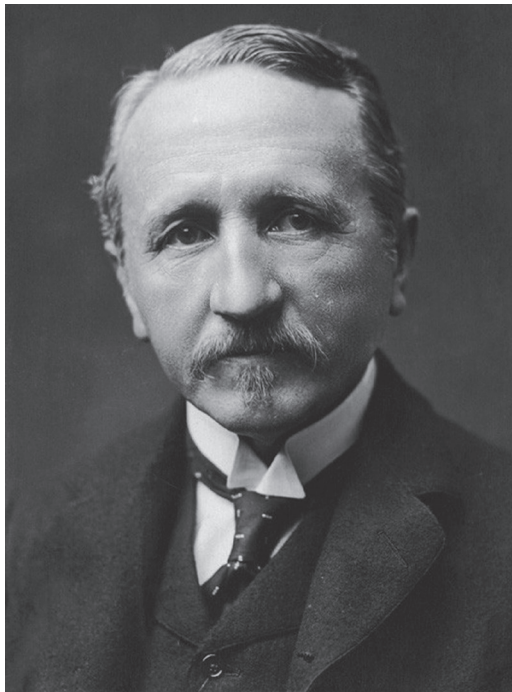
Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck,  
Chairman of the Serbian Relief Fund

(National Portrait Gallery, London)



Endrju Bonar Lo, konzervativni  
političar i državnik

Andrew Bonar Low, Conservative  
politician and statesman



Robert Vindsor-Klajv, prvi erl od Plimuta

Robert Windsor-Clive, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Plymouth

(Fotografija / Photo by Walter Stoneman,  
National Portrait Gallery, London)



Ser Robert Čalmers,  
sekretar Državne blagajne

Sir Robert Chalmers, Permanent  
Secretary to the Treasury

(Bibliothèque nationale de France)



Srpski đaci i studenti u Oksfordu

Serbian pupils and students in Oxford



Irinej Đorđević, episkop dalmatinski Srpske pravoslavne crkve

Irinej Djordjević, Bishop of Dalmatia of the Serbian Orthodox Church



Justin Popović, Sveti Justin ćelijski

Justin Popović, St Justin of Ćelije



Ser Pol Vinogradov, istoričar

Sir Paul Vinogradoff, historian

(United States Library of Congress's  
Prints and Photographs division)



Herbert Turner, astronom i seizmolog

H. H. Turner, astronomer and seismologist

(Royal Astronomical Society)



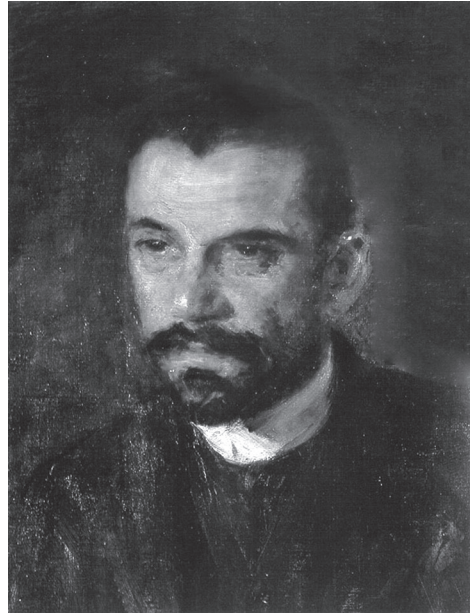
Česhant koledž u Kembridžu

Cheshunt College, Cambridge



Vladimir Miselj, jugoslovenski  
diplomata

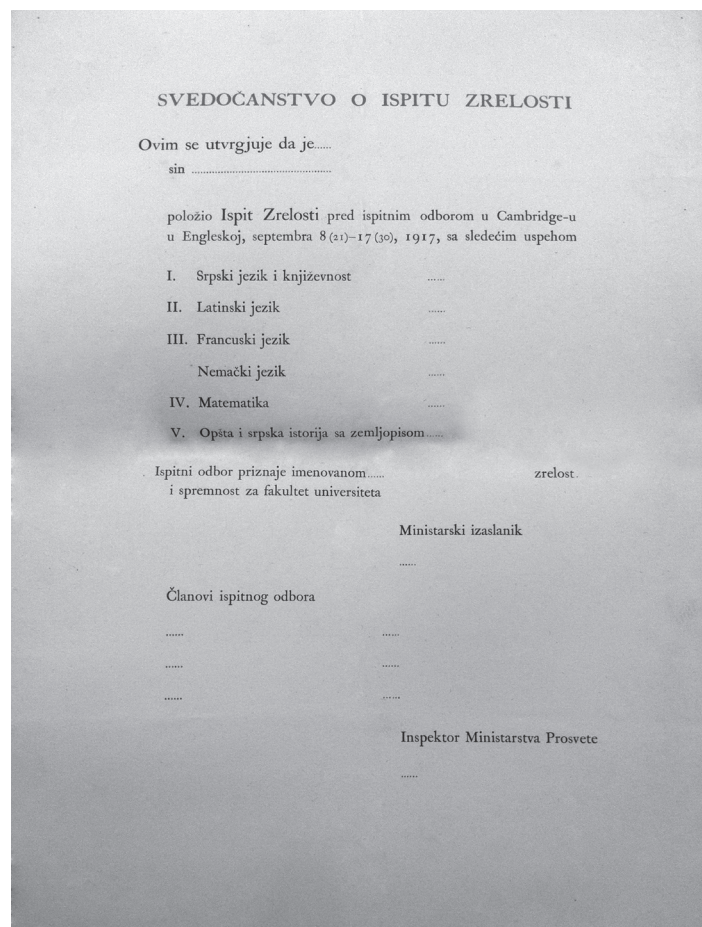
Vladimir Miselj, Yugoslav diplomat



Bogdan Popović, književni kritičar

Bogdan Popović, literary critic

(Naslikao / Painting by Rista Vukanović)



Svedočanstvo o ispitu zrelosti, Kembridž 1917.

Matriculation certificate, Cambridge 1917

(Arhiv Jugoslavije / Archives of Yugoslavia)

## SERBIAN BOYS AT A LONDON SCHOOL.

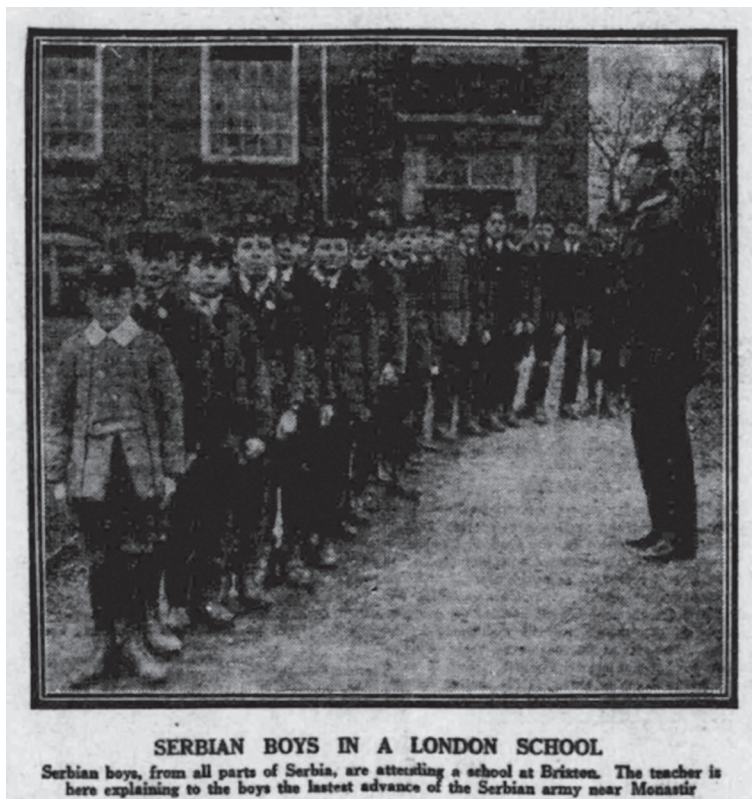


A number of Serbian boys are being educated free at the London County Council Strand School, Brixton, under a master of their own nationality.

Srpski đaci u školi Strand u Londonu

Serbian boys at Strand school in London

(Daily Mirror)



Srpski đaci u Londonu

Serbian pupils in London

(Nottingham Evening Post)



Srpski dečaci ispred hostela u Norvud roudu u Londonu

Serbian boys in front of hostel in Norwood Road in London

(Narodna biblioteka Srbije / National Library of Serbia)



Džordž Kadberi, industrijalac i filantrop

George Cadbury, industrialist and philanthropist

(Wellcome Library, London)



Srpski dečaci u hostelu Seli Ouk u Birmingemu

Serbian boys in Selly Oak hostel in Birmingham

(Evening Dispatch)



Srpski dečaci u Birmingemu

Serbian boys in Birmingham

(Birmingham Gazette)



Grupa dečaka u Seli Ouku u Birminghamu

Group of boys in Selly Oak, Birmingham

(The Birmingham Daily Mail)



Srpski dečaci-izbeglice školovani u Birmingemu

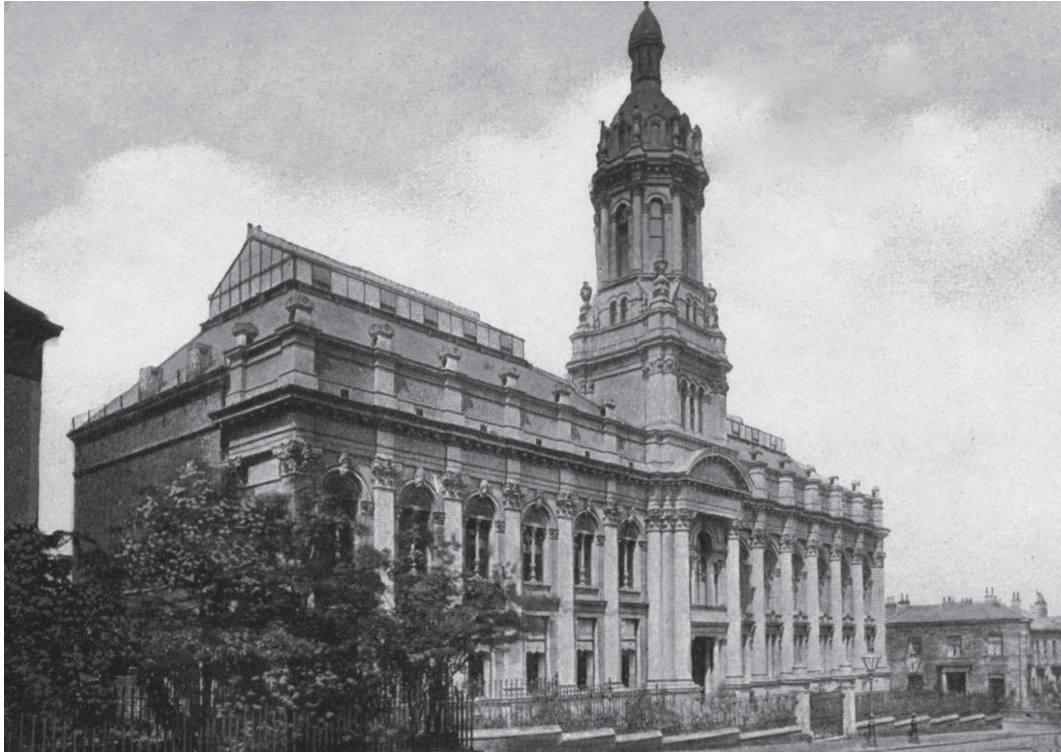
Serbian boy refugees educated in Birmingham

(The Daily Sketch)



Zgrada u Aldviču u Londonu, sedište Komiteta za ratne izbeglice

War Refugees Committee HQ in Aldwych, London



Tehnički koledž u Bredfordu, kojeg su pohađali srpski mladići

Technical College in Bradford, enrolled by the Serbian youngsters



Princ Aleksa Karađorđević sa suprugom u Velikoj Britaniji

Prince Aleksa Karadjordjević with his wife in Great Britain



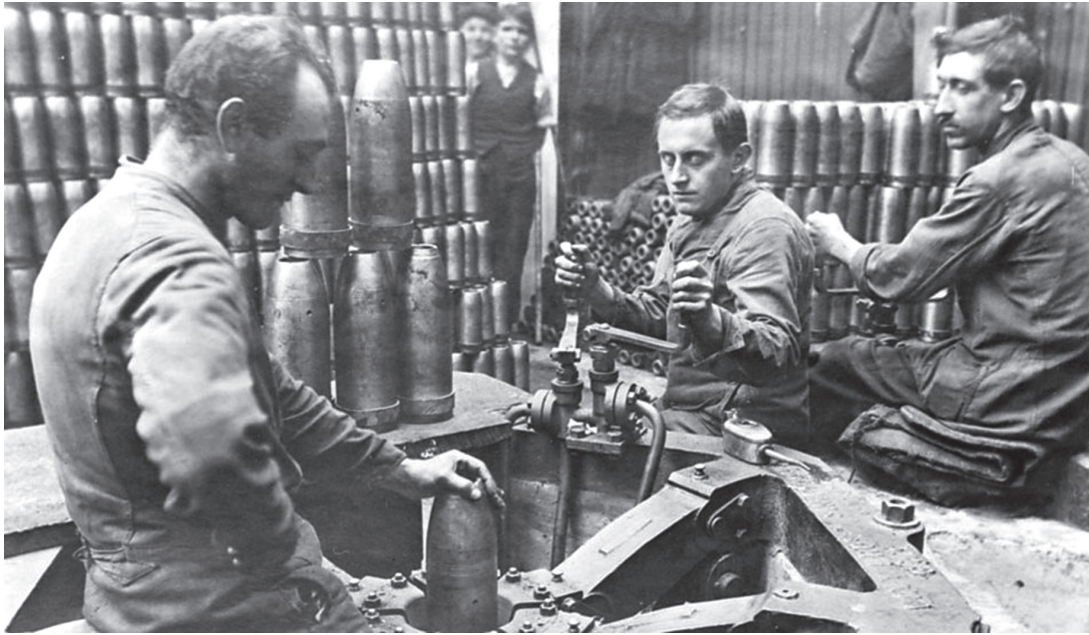
Hari Kremriš, srpski konzul u Bredfordu

Harry Kramrisch, Serbian consul in Bradford



Zgrada kompanije „Krin i Lahi” u Lečvortu

Kryn & Lahy building in Letchworth



Fabrika municije u Lečvortu

Munitions factory in Letchworth



Srpski dečaci u školi Džordž Heriot

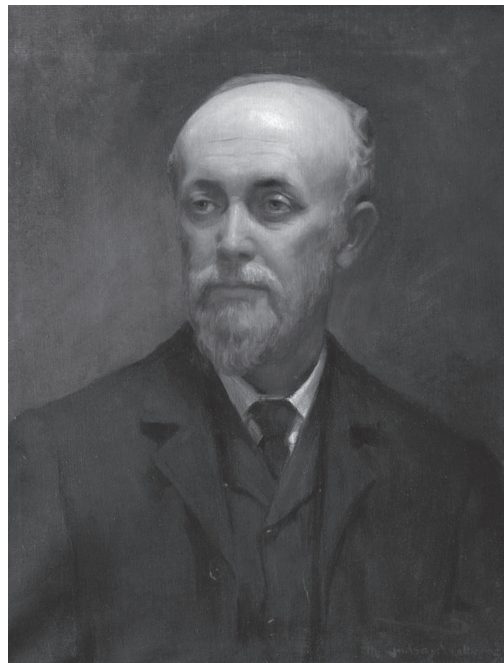
Serbian boys in George Heriot's school

(<http://www.george-heriots.com>)



Ser Edvard Perot, političar  
i dobrotvor koji je brinuo o  
Srbima u Edinburgu

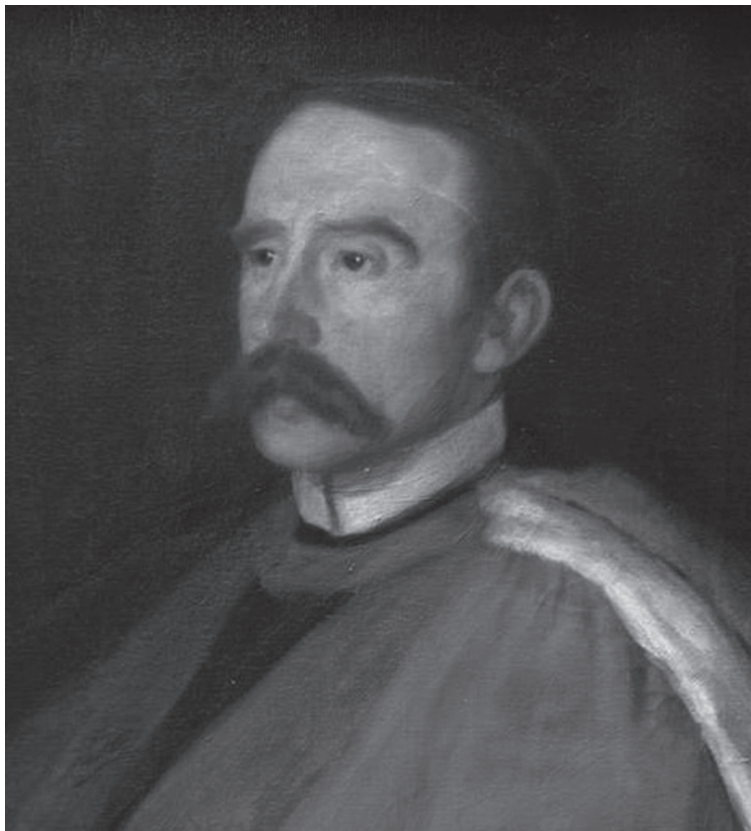
Sir Edward Parrott, politician  
and benefactor who took care  
of the Serbs in Edinburgh



Ernest Grifits, rektor Univerzitetskog koledža  
južnog Velsa i Monmotšira u Kardifu

Ernest Howard Griffiths, Principal of the  
University College of South Wales and  
Monmouthshire in Cardiff

(Naslikala / Painted by Margaret Lindsay Williams,  
Sidney Sussex College, University of Cambridge)



Tomas Roberts, principal Univerzitetskog koledža Velsa u Aberistvitu

Thomas Francis Roberts, Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

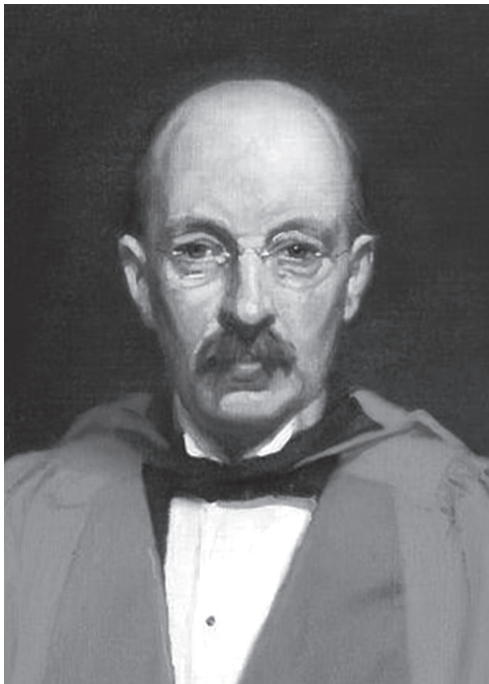
(Naslikao / Painted by Buddig Anwylini Pughe, The National Library of Wales)



Baron Lojd Tajrel-Kenjon, kancelar Velškog Univerziteta u Kardifu

Lloyd Tyrell-Kenyon, 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Kenyon, Pro-Chancellor of the University of Wales

(The Lafayette Negative Collection, V&A Museum)



Ser Henri Rajhel, principal Univerzitetskog  
koledža severnog Velsa u Bangoru

Sir Henry Rudolf Reichel, Principal of the  
University College of North Wales in Bangor

(Naslikao / Painted by William Nicholson,  
Bangor University)



Rut Fraj, spisateljica i mirovna  
aktivistkinja

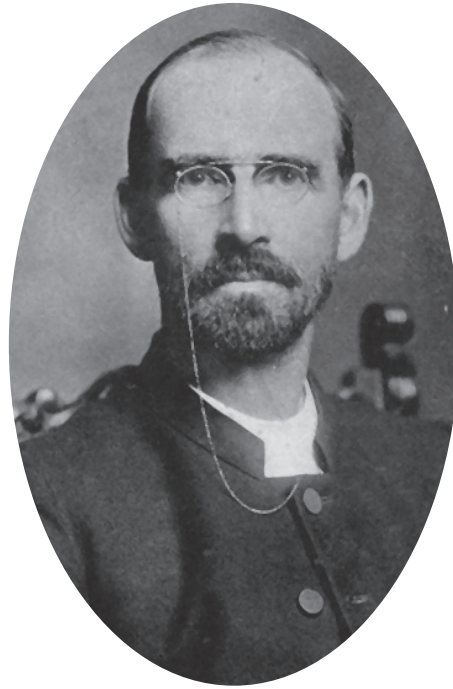
Ruth Fry, author and peace activist

(A. Ruth Fry Papers, Swarthmore College  
Peace Collection)



Miloš Trifunović, srpski  
ministar prosvete

Miloš Trifunović,  
Serbian Minister of  
Education



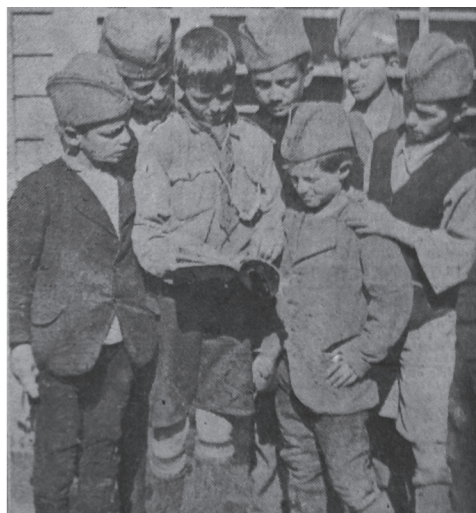
Vilijem Hodson Smit, upravnik  
sirotišta u Faveršamu

William Hodson Smith, Principal  
of the Faversham orphanage



Srpska siročad koja su pristigla u Britaniju 1918. godine

Serbian orphans arriving in Britain in 1918



Srpska siročad u Faveršamu / Serbian orphans in Faversham

(The Daily Mirror)



Siročad pre polaska u Britaniju

Orphans prior their departure to Britain



Srpska deca u Faveršamu, ispred zdanja „Maunt”

Serbian children in Faversham, in front of the Mount



Osoblje i dobrovoljci koji su pomagali rad sirotišta

Staff and volunteers who helped the work of the orphanage



1 Adžemović Kosta

3 Andrijašević Ljubomir

4 Apčević Dušan

5 Atanasijević Nikola

6 Atanasković Janko

7 Belčević Svetislav

8 Dimitrijević Ilija

9 Dimitrijević Stavra

10 Dovniković Atanasije

12 Filčević Venijamin

13 Gavrić Momčilo

14 Djokić Miodrag



15 Djordjević Hranislav

16 Djordjević Jovan

17 Gligorijević Vasilije

18 Ignjatović Aleksandar

19 Ilić Taško

20 Ilić Jordan

21 Ivanović Boško

22 Ivanović Mihailo

25 Kostić Aleksandar

26 Kostić Djordje

27 Kuzmanović Djordje

28 Kuzmanović Nikola



29 Lekić Velibor

30 Levi Bora

31 Levi Sima

32 Marković Stavra

33 Mikić Luka

34 Milenković Dušan

35 Miljević Krsta

36 Micković Veljko

37 Načević Mile

38 Nartić Virgilije

39 Naumović Kosta

40 Nikačević Dragoljub



41 Panić Mihailo

42 Pašić Gligorije

43 Pavlović Lazar

44 Petrović Rista

45 Petrović Sotir

46 Popović Krsta

47 Popović Spasoje

48 Popović Vasa

49 Ristić Djordje

50 Ristić Kosta

51 Ristić Lazar

52 Šopović Rista



53 Simonović Panta

54 Stevanović Aleksandar

55 Stefanović Aleksandar

56 Stefanović Miodrag

57 Stojanović Gligorije

58 Stošević Trajan

59 Temeljković Mihailo

60 Todorović Blagoje

61 Todosić Dušan

63 Cvetković Todor

64 Uzunović Petar

65 Vandjelović Rista



66 Veljković Todor

67 Vidaković Daroslav

68 Vidaković Slobodan

69 Janić Petar

70 Jotović Borivoje

71 Jovanović Djordje

72 Ahilović Dušanka

73 Aleksić Persida

74 Atanasijević Olga

75 Delimirović Stanka

76 Dešić Nadežda

77 Dešić Natalija



78 Dimitrijević Darinka

79 Dimitrijević Margarita

80 Dimitrijević Marija

81 Ferfelović Levka

82 Djordjević Atina

83 Djordjević Slavka

84 Djuković Evdokija

85 Hadži-Tašković Marija

86 Ilić Kostadinka

87 Kolarević Angelina

88 Pašić Mitra

89 Pašić Petrija



90 Pešić Angelina



91 Počepović Jelena



92 Popović Aspazija



93 Ristić Dorotea



94 Ristić Jelena



95 Šimatović Julijana



96 Cvetković Evgenija



97 Vidaković Veroslava

## **4.0 ŽIVOT STUDENATA I ĐAKA U VELIKOJ BRITANIJ**

## **4.0 LIFE OF STUDENTS AND PUPILS IN GREAT BRITAIN**

## 4.1 Na putu za ostrvo

U proleće 1916. godine, nakon uspešnih pregovora između srpske vlade i Srpskog potpornog fonda u Londonu, odlučeno je da se 300 srpskih đaka-izbeglica uputi na školovanje u Veliku Britaniju. Srpska vlada je u datim okolnostima pridavala veliki značaj pitanju izbegle školske omladine, ulažući veliki napor kako bi obezbedila nastavak njenog obrazovanja. Mnogi stariji đaci stručnih škola, gimnazija i studenti nalazili su se na frontu. Ogroman broj omladinaca koji su ostavili svoje živote u povlačenju preko Crne Gore i Albanije, kao i u borbama na Solunskom frontu, naterao je pojedince iz srpske vlasti da razmisle o poštediti najmlađih

generacija. Došlo se do zaključka da je najbolje što veći broj njih uputiti na školovanje u savezničke zemlje, kako bi se obezbedio fakultetski obrazovan činovnički sloj, koji će biti neophodan u oslobođenoj i uvećanoj Srbiji. To je u svom pismu Nikoli Pašiću napomenuo i ministar prosvete Ljubomir Davidović.<sup>1</sup> Davidović, prvak Samostalne radikalne stranke, bio je najglasniji zagovornik stava da one mladiće koji su još uvek u životu treba udaljiti sa fronta i poslati da nastave školovanje. Pogibija njegovog sina Miodraga, prilikom zauzimanja Kajmakčalana u septembru 1916. godine, još ga je više učvrstila u tom uverenju.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reljić, „Arhivska građa...”, 277.

<sup>2</sup> Radoje Knežević, „Život i rad”, *Spomenica Ljubomira Davidovića: 1940-2000* (Beograd: S. Mašić, 2001), 14.

## *4.1 On the Way to the Island*

In the spring of 1916, following successful negotiations between the Serbian government and the Serbian Relief Fund in London, it was decided that 300 Serbian refugee students should be sent to study in Britain. Under the circumstances, the Serbian government attached an immense importance to the issue of the refugees of school age and made great efforts to ensure the continuation of their education. A large number of older pupils of vocational schools, grammar school and university students was at the front. A huge number of young people, who had lost their lives during the retreat through

Montenegro and Albania and in the battles at the Salonica front, forced certain individuals in the Serbian government to consider sparing the youngest generations. It was concluded that as large a number of them as possible should be sent to be educated in the Allied countries in order to provide a university-educated bureaucratic class which would be necessary in a liberated and enlarged Serbia, as Ljubomir Davidović, the Minister of Education, had pointed out to Nikola Pašić in a letter.<sup>1</sup> Ljubomir Davidović, the champion of the Independent Radical Party, was the most vocal proponent of the view

<sup>1</sup>Reljić, "Arhivska grada...", 277.

Srpski dečaci koji su bili odabrani da nastave školovanje u Velikoj Britaniji nalazili su se neraspoređeni, u srpskim izbegličkim kolonijama na Krfu, Korzici i u Marselju.<sup>3</sup> Dugo i neizvesno putovanje srpskih izbeglica, preko Korzike, Marselja, Pariza i Avra do Velike Britanije, ostavilo je veoma snažan utisak na njih. Detaljan i zanimljiv opis putovanja jedne grupe izbeglica zabeležio je Branko Kocić, koji je bio učesnik tog dramatičnog događaja. Pošto je kao četrnaestogodišnjak proglašen nesposobnim za vojnu službu, određeno mu je da nastavi sa školovanjem. Kada je sa ostrva Vido, nadomak obale Krfa, ukrcao na francusku pomoćnu krstaricu „Savoja” (*La Savoie*), prvi put je došao u duži kontakt sa Englezima i njihovim dobroćinstvom, ne znajući da će ga sudbina odvesti upravo u Veliku Britaniju. Kocić nije zabeležio ime engleskog humanitarca koji je brinuo o srpskim izbeglicama, ali ga je nazivao „Samaritaninom” i detaljno opisao šta je sve taj čovek učinio za njih: „Kupanje, dezinfekcija, čisto odelo i preobuka – moja celokupna imovina sem nešto para i beležnika otišla je na moje oči kroz okruglo prozorče u more, ali ja sam sad pod okriljem Engleza i oni su mi dali sve što mi treba”.<sup>4</sup> Najosnovni-

je je bilo obezbediti perobuku: „Malo smo čudno izgledali. Komadi odela nisu baš bili po modi, niti se slagali po boji ili čak ni po upotrebi. Bilo je čakšira za jahanje sa žaketima i belih kaputa sa crnim pantalonama. Ja sam dosta pristojno izgledao [...], samo su mi cipele bile čudne. Možda zbog glomaznog zavoja na nozi ja sam dobio cipele Robinzona Kruoa – da, one plitke teške kondure sa velikim metalnim šnalama. Ali one su bile veoma praktične”.<sup>5</sup>

Polazeći sa Krfa, brod sa srpskim izbeglicama uputio se prema Mesini na Siciliji. Tokom tog putovanja, Srbi su imali priliku da još bolje upoznaju britanski način života i običaje, od kojih Kocić posebno ističe britansku ljubav prema sportu. Srpskim dečacima svakako je bilo najzanimljivije da posmatraju trke čamac osmeraca i druga sportska nadmetanja.<sup>6</sup> Od Mesine, „Savoja“ je nastavila put ka Francuskoj, ali umesto prvobitno planiranog iskrcavanja u Marselju, srpske izbeglice prebačene su na obližnje ostrvo Friul (*Frioul*), gde su morale da provedu dve nedelje u karantinu. Na njihovo razočarenje, ni nakon isteka karantina ekspedicija nije krenula prema Marselju, već pre-

<sup>3</sup> Reljić, „Školovanje...”, 102.

<sup>4</sup> Kocić, *n. d.*, 21-23.

<sup>5</sup> *Isto.*

<sup>6</sup> *Isto.*

that those young men who were still alive should be kept away from the battlefield and sent to continue their education. The death of his son Miodrag during the conquest of Kaymakchalan in September 1916 had strengthened his intent even more.<sup>2</sup>

The Serbian boys who had been selected to continue their studies in the United Kingdom were unallocated in the Serbian refugee colonies in Corfu, Corsica and Marseilles.<sup>3</sup> The long and uncertain journey of the Serbian refugees, via Corsica, Marseilles, Paris and Le Havre, to Great Britain, had left a very strong impression. A detailed and interesting description of the journey of a group of Serbian refugees was recorded by Branko Kocić, a participant of that dramatic event. Having been declared unfit for military service as a fourteen-year-old, he was chosen to continue his education. When he boarded the French auxiliary cruiser *La Savoie* from the island of Vido, near the coast of Corfu, where he first came into a prolonged contact with the English and their charity, he did not know that the fate would take him to Britain. While Kocić failed to record the name of the English aid worker who had cared for the Serbian refugees, calling him instead “the Sa-

maritan”, he gave a detailed account of what he had done for them: “Bathing, disinfection, clean clothes and a change of clothes - all of my earthly belongings save some money and notebooks flew out of a porthole into the sea before my very eyes, but I am now in the care of the English and they have given me everything I need”.<sup>4</sup> The most immediate task was to provide them with a change of clothes: “We were looking somewhat odd. The items of clothing were not very fashionable or colour-coordinated or even had the same use. There were riding trousers with blazers and white coats with black trousers. I looked fairly decent [...], but my shoes were strange. Maybe because of a bulky bandage on my leg, I was given Robinson Crusoe’s shoes - yes, those heavy low top rubber shoes with a large metal buckle. But they were very practical”.<sup>5</sup>

Having left Corfu, the cruiser with the Serbian refugees headed to Messina in Sicily. During the journey, the Serbs had an opportunity to get acquainted even more with the British way of life and customs, the Brits’ love of sport impressing Kocić the most. For them, the boys, of course, it was the most interesting by far to watch the eight boat races and other sporting events.<sup>6</sup> From Messi-

<sup>2</sup> Radoje Knežević, “Život i rad”, *Spomenica Ljubomira Davidovića: 1940-2000* (Belgrade: S.

<sup>3</sup> Reljić, “Školovanje...”, 102.

<sup>4</sup> Kocić, *op. cit.*, 21-23.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

ma Korzici. Među srpskim dečacima javila se bojazan da se zapravo vraćaju za Solun, te da će ponovo biti stavljeni na raspolaganje vojnim vlastima. Ipak, njihovom strahu i neizvesnosti brzo je došao kraj, kada su se iskrkali u Ajačiju, na Korzici, jednoj od najlepših luka u Sredozemlju, gde je već bila smeštena velika kolonija srpskih izbeglica, pod patronatom Srpskog potpornog fonda i britanskih medicinskih misija.

Boravak na Korzici delovao je veoma povoljno na srpske izbeglice. Lepo vreme, priroda, gostoprimstvo domaćeg stanovništva i britanska pažnja učinili su da Kocić svoj boravak u Ajačiju smatra „naknadom za sve pretrpljene užase povlačenja”.<sup>7</sup> „Za tren oka već smo imali futbalske timove, sokolske čete, hor i pozorište [...] i najzad opet Englezi, pravo rečeno, Engleskinje. Engleska bolnica kraj mora u Ajačiju bila je centar oko kojeg smo mi mlađi živeli. Svi smo bili bolesnici više ili manje, i tako smo svi dolazili u bolnicu. Još nekoliko novih engleskih reči, još bolje rublje i odela a plemenite reči i postupanje osvojiše nas. Posetiti bolesnog druga u bolnici značilo je porciju pudinga za gosta, ako je bilo podne ili čaj, ako je bilo po podne.”<sup>8</sup>

Kocićev boravak na Korzici završen je kada je doneta odluka da se nova grupa od 150 dečaka mlađih od 15 godina pošalje na školovanje u Veliku Britaniju. Brodom „Balkan” (*Le Balkan*) prebačeni su u Marselju, gde su proveli dva dana pod britanskim starateljstvom, a britanske sestre brinule su o srpskim dečacima kao o svojoj deci. Kocić piše da ni najbolji hotel u Marselju, po njihovom mišljenju, nije bio dovoljno dobar za srpske izbeglice. Trudili su se da im ispune svaki trenutak putovanja i učine ga što prijatnijim, tako da su se tokom svog kratkog boravka u Marselju srpski dečaci preko dana kupali u moru, a uveče išli u bioskop.<sup>9</sup> Iz Marselja su brzim vozom otputovali u Pariz, gde su proveli tri dana. Zahvaljujući dobroj organizaciji britanskih staratelja, za kratko vreme su upoznali Pariz bolje nego neki njihovi sunarodnici koji su već meseci ma boravili u njemu. Nakon Pariza, prebačeni su u Avr, gde su se ukrkali na brod po imenu „Vera”, koji ih je prevezao do Velike Britanije.

Prva grupa srpskih dečaka stigla je u Veliku Britaniju 25. aprila 1916. godine. U Sautemptonu se iskrcalo 145 srpskih dečaka u pratnji Džona Belouza – istaknutog člana kvekerske za-

<sup>7</sup> Isto.

<sup>8</sup> Isto.

<sup>9</sup> Isto.

na, *La Savoie* continued its journey to France, but instead of leaving the Serbian refugees in Marseilles, as everyone had thought at first, they disembarked on the nearby Frioul archipelago, where they had to spend two weeks in quarantine. After the quarantine, again to the disappointment of the Serbian refugees, the expedition did not head for Marseilles, but to Corsica. The Serbian boys began to fear that they were returning to Thessaloniki, and that they would, once again, be made available to the military authorities. However, their disappointment quickly dissipated when they disembarked at Ajaccio in Corsica, one of the most beautiful ports in the Mediterranean, where a large colony of Serbian refugees had already been established under the patronage of the Serbian Relief Fund and the British medical missions.

The respite in Corsica had a very beneficial effect on Serbian refugees. Nice weather, nature, hospitality of the local residents and the attention of the British led Kocić to consider his stay at Ajaccio as “a compensation for all horrors endured during the retreat”<sup>7</sup>. “In the blink of an eye, we had football teams, Sokol troops, a choir and the theatre [...] and finally the English again, in

truth, the Englishwomen. The English hospital by the sea in Ajaccio was the centre around which we, the young, lived. We were all more or less ill and so we’d all come to the hospital. A few new English words, even better underwear and suits, while the noble words and actions won us over. To visit a sick friend in the hospital meant a serving of pudding for the visitor, if it was noon, and a cup of tea if it was afternoon”.<sup>8</sup>

Kocić’s stay in Corsica ended following a decision that a new group of 150 boys under the age of 15 years should be sent to Britain to continue their education. They were transferred to Marseilles by the ship *Le Balkan* where they stayed for two days in the British care. The British nurses who took care of the Serbian boys looked after them as if they had been their own children. Kocić noted that even the best hotel in Marseilles, in their view, would not have been good enough for the Serbian refugees. The nurses tried to fill every moment of their journey and make it more comfortable so that during their short stay in Marseilles, the Serbian boys went swimming in the sea during the day and to the theatre in the evening.<sup>9</sup> From Marseilles they travelled by fast train to Paris, where they spent three

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

jednice i jednog od glavnih aktivista Srpskog potpornog fonda na Jadranu, kao i pet srpskih učitelja - Milana Majznera, Dragutina Subotića, Slavka Šečerova, Milorada Vanlića i Milana Lukovića.<sup>10</sup> Isprva su bili smešteni u Karington hausu u Deptfordu, predgrađu Londona, ali je Srpski potporni fond veoma brzo omogućio njihovo raspoređivanje širom Velike Britanije.<sup>11</sup> Početkom juna pristigla je i druga grupa srpskih izbeglica, sačinjena od 152 dečaka, koji su u početku bili smešteni u Vestminsteru i koledžu Česhant u Kembridžu.<sup>12</sup> Najmlađi srpski dečaci koji su došli u Veliku Britaniju imali su šest godina, a samo 20 od oko 300 njih bili su stariji od 17 godina, te su svi proglašeni nesposobnima za vojnu službu - kako od srpskih, tako i od francuskih vlasti.<sup>13</sup> Sa drugom grupom doputovao je i Branko Kocić, koji nam je opisao svečani doček, priređen zahvaljujući gradskim vlasti Sautemptonu: „Iz jedne male uske ulice trebali smo da skrenemo desno širokim bulevarom kada nas iznenada dočeka nama potpuno neočekivana buka stotine glasova, pretežno dečijih. Tada naravno nismo mogli ni znati kako zvuči englesko Hip, hip, Hura! Mi stariji bili smo poslednji, pa nam je izgledalo kao večnost dok smo

i mi ušli u glavnu ulicu i čuli i videli šta se to dešava. S leva je park i duž ograde gomile školske dece sa zastavama u rukama pozdravljale su nas sa Hura - a Lord Mer<sup>14</sup> sa zlatnim lancem oko vrata u grupi sa ostalom gospodom stajao je na ulazu u park i tu nas pozdravio.”<sup>15</sup> Međutim, među izbeglicama niko nije mogao odgovoriti na gradonačelnikov pozdrav, jer nije bilo srpskih zvaničnika ili učitelja, a niko od đaka nije poznavao engleski jezik dovoljno dobro. Srpski dečaci otpozdravili su domaćinima kako su jedino umeli - pevanjem „Marseljeze” i popularne engleske pesme *It's a long way to Tipperary*, koju su naučili tokom svog putovanja do Velike Britanije.<sup>16</sup>

U Sautemptonu je, posle svečanog prijema, za srpske dečake najpre organizovan ručak u jednoj školi, pa obilazak grada, a potom su bili na čaju kod jedne engleske dame, čije ime, nažalost, Kocić nikada nije saznao.<sup>17</sup> Nakon kratkog boravka u Sautemptonu, srpski đaci su se vozom uputili prema Oksfordu, gde su univerzitetske vlasti za njihov privremeni smeštaj ustupile Srpskom potpornom fondu Viklif hol. Putovanje britanskom železnicom od Sautemptonu do Oksforda ostavilo

<sup>10</sup> „Srpčad u Engleskoj”, *Srpski glasnik*, 11. jun 1916, 2.

<sup>11</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Letter to SRF, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1916.

<sup>12</sup> *For Serbia*, 14.

<sup>13</sup> *Isto*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Kocić je mislio na gradonačelnika (Lord Mayor), prim. aut.

<sup>15</sup> Kocić, *n. d.*, 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>17</sup> *Isto*.

days. Thanks to a good organisation of their British guardians, during that short time they saw more of Paris than some of their compatriots who had already spent months there. After Paris they traveled to Le Havre, where they boarded the ship named *Vera*, which took them to the United Kingdom.

The first group of Serbian boys arrived in the United Kingdom on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1916. One hundred and forty-five Serbian boys, accompanied by John Bellows, a prominent member of the Quaker community and one of the main activists of the Serbian Relief Fund in the Adriatic, and five Serbian teachers – Milan Majzner, Dragutin Subotić, Slavko Šećerov, Milorad Vanlić and, Milan Luković disembarked at Southampton.<sup>10</sup> Originally, they were accommodated at Carrington House in Deptford, a suburb of London, but the Serbian Relief Fund quickly arranged their placement across the United Kingdom.<sup>11</sup> Another group of Serbian refugees comprising 152 boys arrived in early June and was initially housed at Westminster and Cheshunt Colleges in Cambridge.<sup>12</sup> The youngest Serbian boys who came to Britain were six years old and only twenty out of about 300 were older than seventeen, all of which had been declared unfit for military ser-

vice both by the Serbian and the French authorities.<sup>13</sup> Branko Kocić arrived with the second group and described the official welcome given by the Southampton city authorities: “From a small narrow street we should have taken a right turn into a broad boulevard when we were suddenly greeted with a completely unexpected noise of hundreds of voices, mostly children’s. Back then, of course, we could not have known how the English “Hip, Hip, Hooray!” sounded. We, the older boys, were last, so it seemed like an eternity until we entered the main street and heard and saw what was going on. A park was on our left and all along the railings throngs of schoolchildren with flags in their hands greeted us with “Hooray” – while Lord Mer<sup>14</sup> with a gold chain around his neck, together with other gentlemen, stood at the entrance to the park and greeted us there”.<sup>15</sup> However, there was no one amongst the Serbian refugees to answer the Mayor’s welcome as no Serbian officials or teachers had been present and none of the Serbian students spoke English well enough. So they responded the only way they knew how – by singing *La Marseillaise* and the popular English song *It’s a Long Way to Tipperary*, which the Serbian boys had learned during their journey to Great Britain.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> “Srpčad u Engleskoj”, *Srpski glasnik*, 11<sup>th</sup> June 1916, 2.

<sup>11</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Letter to SRF, 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1916.

<sup>12</sup> *For Serbia*, 14.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Kocić was referring to the mayor (Lord Mayor), author’s comment.

<sup>15</sup> Kocić, *op. cit.*, 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

je veliki utisak na sve njih. Svoje impresije i jednu anegdotu o tome zabeležio je i Kocić: „Voz nas je nosio ka krajnjem cilju, Oksfordu. Vagoni sasvim drugojači, udobnost prve i treće klase sasvim ista - druge klase u opšte nema - a naše najveće čuđenje izazvala su imena stanica. Prva posle Sauthamptona bila je „Boveril“; druga, treća, pa i četvrta isto tako „Boveril“. Neiskusna deca, mi smo tek posle pete stanice i kada je padao mrak uvideli da je „Boveril“ strategijski upadljivo postavljena reklama, a ne ime stanice.”<sup>18</sup> Sećanja na dolazak srpskih dečaka u Oksford zabeležio je Webster Rajt Iton<sup>19</sup>, Amerikanac koji je 1915. godine boravio u Skoplju kao član medicinske misije ledi Pedžet. Posle sloma srpske vojske i okupacije zemlje od strane Centralnih sila, pao

je u bugarsko zarobljeništvo, u kojem je proveo pet meseci. Nakon oslobađanja boravio je u Londonu, te se odmah po dolasku srpskih đaka u Oksford dobrovoljno prijavi da ih uči engleski jezik. U pismu koje je uputio „Srpskom glasniku“, objavljenom 10. novembra 1916. godine u Solunu, zapisao je: „Nikad neću zaboraviti dolazak prve grupe u Oksford. Išli su od stanice u redu dva po dva. Svaki je nosio svoj prtljag ili zavežljaj. Izgledali su kao dugačka povorka blelih premorenih izbeglića. Svaki mladić izgledao je živ primer ratnih patnji. No kada su čuli da su na kraju svojih dugih patnji, i da će najzad dobiti mira i nege, oni su se okupili oko velikih drveta pred zgradom, i otpevali nacionalnu himnu sa takvim oduševljenjem, koje ja ni pre ni posle nisam osetio.”<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Isto.

<sup>19</sup> Webster Rajt Iton (1892-1958) bio je američki publicista i humanitarac, koji je jedan deo Prvog svetskog rata proveo radeći u humanitarnim misijama u Srbiji.

<sup>20</sup> „Srpski đaci u Engleskoj“, *Srpski glasnik*, 10. novembar 1916. godine, (po julijanskom kalendaru), 1.

In Southampton, after the welcoming ceremony, the Serbian boys had lunch at a school, a tour of the city and, in the end, tea with an English lady, whose name, unfortunately, Kocić had never learned.<sup>17</sup> After a short stay in Southampton, the Serbian refugees were sent by train to Oxford, where the university authorities conceded Wycliffe Hall to the Serbian Relief Fund as a temporary accommodation for the Serbian students. Journey by the British rail from Southampton to Oxford left a big impression on all of them. Kocić recorded his impressions and an anecdote from that journey: “The train was carrying us towards our final destination, Oxford. The carriages are quite different, the comfort in first and third class is quite the same - there is no second class - but we were most surprised by the station names. The first stop after Southampton was *Bovril*; the second, the third, and the fourth as well, *Bovril*. As inexperienced youngsters, we have only realised after the fifth stop and as it grew dark that *Bovril* was a strategically conspicuously placed advertising, rather than the name of the station”.<sup>18</sup>

Memories of the arrival of Serbian boys in Oxford were recorded by Webster Wright Eaton,<sup>19</sup> an American who had worked in Skopje as a member of Lady Paget’s medical mission in 1915. After the collapse of the Serbian army and the occupation of the country by the Central Powers, he was captured in Bulgaria and imprisoned for five months. After his release, he went to London and, immediately after the arrival of the Serbian students to Oxford, volunteered to teach them English. In a letter to *Srpski glasnik* (*Serbian Gazette*) published on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1916 in Thessaloniki, he wrote: “I will never forget the arrival of the first group to Oxford. They walked from the station in a double file line. Each was carrying their suitcase or bundle. They looked like a long procession of pale, exhausted refugees. Every young man looked like a living example of war hardships. But when they heard that their long sufferings were finally over, and that they would finally have peace and care, they gathered around the big trees in front of the building and sang the national anthem with an enthusiasm that I have never felt before or after.”<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Webster Wright Eaton (1892–1958) was an American author and humanitarian. He spent part of the First World War working in humanitarian missions in Serbia.

<sup>20</sup> „Srpski đaci u Engleskoj”, *Srpski glasnik*, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1916 (according to Julian calendar).

## 4.2 Učenje jezika

Odluka obrazovnog pododбора Srpskog potpornog fonda bila je da decu, po dolasku u Veliku Britaniju, rasporede u većim grupama na engleske koledže, kao i da unajme učitelje engleskog jezika.<sup>21</sup> Sve dok nisu savladali jezik, srpski nastavnici predavali su im predavali predmeta, pa je tako u Viklif holu srpski profesor držao đacima nastavu srpskog jezika, geografije, engleske istorije, matematike i prirodnih nauka.<sup>22</sup> Pre podne su učili jezik sa domaćim učiteljima, a posle podne ponavljali naučene lekcije sa srpskim učiteljima i starateljima. Jedan od učitelja srpskih dečaka bio je već pomenuti Vebster Iton Rajt. Od

njega se očekivalo da grupu od 40 starijih srpskih đaka, koji su došli u Veliku Britaniju krajem aprila 1916. godine, do oktobra iste godine podučiti engleskom jeziku i da ih osposobi da neometano pohađaju nastavu na engleskim univerzitetima. Iton Rajt je imao veoma težak zadatak, pošto on, kao i većina drugih predavača koji su srpske dečake učili engleskom jeziku, nije bio profesionalni nastavnik, već dobrovoljac. Takođe, među njegovim učenicima većina gotovo uopšte nije govorila engleski jezik dok je samo nekolicina njih znala tek po koju englesku reč. U početku je napredak bio veoma spor, ali nakon što je deo

<sup>21</sup> Trgovčević, „Školovanje...”, 159.

<sup>22</sup> *Isto.*

## 4.2 *Learning the language*

The Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund had decided that, upon their arrival, the children should be accommodated in larger groups at bigger British universities and that English language tutors should be hired.<sup>21</sup> Until the boys had mastered the language, the Serbian teachers taught most subjects. Thus in Wycliffe Hall, a Serbian professor taught Serbian language, geography, English history, mathematics and sciences.<sup>22</sup> In the mornings, they would have language classes with the local teachers and in the afternoons they would repeat the morning les-

sons with their Serbian teachers and guardians. One of the teachers tutoring the Serbian boys was the already mentioned Webster Wright Eaton. He had been tasked with teaching English to a group of 40 older Serbian students, who had arrived to the United Kingdom in late April 1916, until October of the same year, thus enabling them to fully participate in the classes at the English universities. Eaton had a very difficult task, since he was not a professional teacher, but a volunteer, like the majority of the teachers who were tutoring the Serbian students in English, exacer-

<sup>21</sup> Trgovčević, “Školovanje...”, 159.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

srpskih dečaka razmešten po drugim mestima u Velikoj Britaniji, a broj učenika u razredu smanjen na samo 16, rad mu je bio olakšan, a rezultati uskoro приметni. Iton Rajt je držao srpskim đacima između 12 i 14 časova engleskog jezika nedeljno. On u svom pismu hvali njihovu marljivost i sposobnost učenja: „Oni su bili legli na posao. O tome nema sumnje. Oni ništa nisu zaboravljali. Ja sam se čudio brzini njihovog učenja. Nikad ne bi zaboravljali ono što im se jedan put objasni. Po mome mišljenju ovi su mladići bili briljantni đaci.”<sup>23</sup> Do početka septembra svi su dobro govorili engleski jezik i na njemu su mogli čitati i pisati. Poslednji mesec učenja jezika sa svojim engleskim učiteljem srpski đaci proveli su čitajući lakšu literaturu i pišući pismene zadatke, u čemu su se, takođe, jako dobro pokazali. Webster Iton Rajt sa ponosom je isticao da su svi njegovi đaci uspešno nastavili školovanje na univerzitetima širom Velike Britanije.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> „Srpski đaci u Engleskoj”, *Srpski glasnik*, 10. novembar 1916, 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>25</sup> „Serbian Boys in Leeds School”, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1916, 3.

Slikovitu predstavu o načinu na koji su srpski đaci učili engleski jezik donosi nam jedan članak iz britanskih novina, koji se bavi obrazovanjem belgijskih i srpskih izbeglica u Lidsu. U poređenju sa Belgijancima, koji su

u svim razredima škole učili francuski i dobro ga, Srbi su bili u zaostatku, jer osim toga što nisu poznavali engleski, nisu govorili nijedan drugi strani jezik uz pomoć kojeg bi se mogli sporazumevati sa svojim nastavnicima i domaćinima. Zbog toga su devetorica srpskih đaka uzrasta od 12 do 17 godina, koji su boravili u Lidsu, učili engleski tako što im je nastavnik pokazivao facijalne ekspresije, delove tela ili predmete iz okruženja i izgovarao engleske reči za njih. Đaci su zatim ponavljali te reči, minimum tri puta ili onoliko puta koliko im je bilo potrebno da ih pravilno izgovore. Na taj način uspevali su da nauče i do 100 novih reči dnevno. Međutim, edukovanje srpskih đaka nastavljalo se i posle nastave, kada su njihovih vršnjaci Englezi bili zaduženi da ih vode u obilazak grada i da ih uče novim pojmovima, koje su mogli da opaze na ulicama Lidsa. Kako bi srpski dečaci upotpunili svoje znanje engleskog jezika i naučili što više novih reči, školska uprava napravila je posle nekog vremena dogovor sa nekoliko prodavnica u gradu, gde su đaci mogli da odlaze i pitaju prodavce za imena pojedinih artikala.<sup>25</sup> Da su srpski dečaci brzo učili engleski jezik govori i sledeća anegdota, zabeležena u

bated by the fact that the majority of his students spoke no English at all with only a few exceptions who had but a few words of the language. At the beginning their progress was extremely slow, but after his class was divided due to the departure of a number of students to other British cities, and reduced to only sixteen students, his work was facilitated and soon the progress was noticeable. Eaton taught between twelve and fourteen classes of English per week. In a letter, he praised the diligence of the Serbian students and their ability to learn: "They took to learning. No doubt about that. They would forget nothing. I was amazed at the speed with which they learned things. They would never forget what was once explained. In my opinion, these young men were brilliant students".<sup>23</sup> By the beginning of September they all spoke good English, and were also reading and writing. The last month was spent in reading simpler literature and writing assignments, in which they also excelled. Webster Wright Eaton was proud to point out that all of his students continued their education successfully at universities across the United Kingdom.<sup>24</sup>

A vivid image of the manner in which the Serbian students learned English language is brought by an article from the British newspaper, which deals with the education of the Belgian and Serbian refugees in Leeds. Compared to the Belgians who all spoke French, a language taught in all grades in Britain, the Serbs were at a disadvantage, as not only did they not speak any English, but they also knew no other languages that would help them communicate with their tutors and hosts. Due to this fact, nine Serbian students aged 12 to 17 years who resided in Leeds learned English through their teacher's demonstration of facial expressions, body parts or objects from their surroundings followed by their names in English. The Serbian students would then repeat the word at least three times, or as many times as they needed to achieve the correct pronunciation. In this way, they were able to learn up to one hundred new words a day. However, their education would be continued even after classes, when their English peers would take them sightseeing and teach them new concepts encountered on the streets of Leeds. After some time, the school administration made an agreement

<sup>23</sup> "Srpski đaci u Engleskoj", *Srpski glasnik*, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

istom listu. Naime, jedan srpski dečak upitan je da sa srpskog na engleski prevede rečenicu „Dao je svoj život na frontu” (*He gave up his life on the battlefield*). Uz malu pomoć rečnika, on je svom nastavniku rekao: „Rastao se sa dušom na ratnom poprištu” (*He relinquished his vitality on the bellicose meadow*).<sup>26</sup>

Srpski đaci uspešno su učili engleski jezik i u drugim gradovima, tako da je uprava Berkširskog doma za srpske dečake u Redingu aprila 1917. godine apelovala na čitaoce lokalnih novina da doniraju sredstva ili knjige, kako bi se formirala kolekcija klasičnih engleskih autora u toj instituciji. U apelu se ističe da dečaci veoma dobro napreduju u učenju jezika i da bi im bilo od velike pomoći ako bi imali malu biblioteku sa delima britanskih pesnika, istoričara, esejista i romanopisaca. Pošto se radilo o dečacima i mladim momcima, takođe je bilo napomenu- to da su primerene i knjige o pusto-

lovinama i fantastičnim svetovima, poput dela pisaca kao što su Robert Majkl Balantajn, Robert Luis Stiven- son, Vilijam Kingston i Džordž Alfred Henti.<sup>27</sup>

Sačuvano je mnogo svedočanstava o tome da su srpski dečaci prilično efi- kasno i lako učili engleski jezik. Đaci iz grupe koja je bila smeštena u Aber- dinu, na severu Škotske, veoma su brzo i bez poteškoća naučili da čitaju i pišu. Posle samo sedam nedelja pro- vedenih u intenzivnom učenju jezika, pisali su vrlo smisljena i razumljiva pi- sma, od kojih su mnoga bila upućena ledi Kaudri. U svojim pismima deča- ci iz Aberdina mahom su joj se za- hvaljivali na raznovrsnom programu koji je za njih organizovala prilikom proslave Vidovdana 1916. godine. Je- dan od dečaka napisao je da oni žele da nauče engleski jezik i običaje kako bi, kada Srbija bude imala izlaz na more, uspostavili trgovačke veze sa Britanijom.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> „A Translation”, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 19<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 6.

<sup>27</sup> „The Berkshire Home for Serbian Boys”, *Reading Mercury*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1917, 3.

<sup>28</sup> „Education of Serbian Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

with a number of city shops whereby the Serbian boys would be allowed to go into those shops and ask the vendors for the names of items thus enhancing their vocabulary and knowledge of the English language.<sup>25</sup> The fact that Serbian boys quickly learned English is evidenced by an anecdote recorded in a newspaper. A Serbian boy was asked to translate the following sentence from Serbian into English: “He gave up his life on the battlefield”. With a little help from a dictionary, he came up with: “He relinquished his vitality on the bellicose meadow”.<sup>26</sup>

Serbian students were successful in their pursuit of mastering English in other British cities as well, so that the officials of the Berkshire Home for Serbian Boys in Reading in April 1917 appealed to the readers of the local newspaper to donate money or books in order to compile a collection of classic English authors in this institution. The appeal emphasised that the boys were making an excellent progress in learning the language and that it would be very helpful if they had a small library comprising works

by the British poets, historians, essayists and novelists. Also, since the target group consisted of boys and young men, it was deemed appropriate that they should get acquainted with such books about adventures and imaginary worlds as written by Robert Michael Ballantyne, Robert Louis Stevenson, William Kingston and George Alfred Henty.<sup>27</sup>

A large number of testimonies detailing the speed and ease with which the Serbian boys mastered English language was preserved. The boys from a group accommodated in Aberdeen in the north of Scotland, learned very quickly to read and write. They wrote fairly comprehensive and clear letters after only seven weeks of intensive lessons. The boys from Aberdeen have written numerous letters to Lady Cowdray, thanking her for a varied programme she had organised for them during the celebration of St Vitus Day in 1916. One of the boys wrote her that they wanted to learn English language and customs so that, once Serbia had access to the sea, they could establish trade with Britain.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> “Serbian Boys in Leeds School”, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>26</sup> “A Translation”, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 19<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 6.

<sup>27</sup> “The Berkshire Home for Serbian Boys”, *Reading Mercury*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1917, 3.

<sup>28</sup> “Education of Serbian Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

### 4.3 Razmeštaj širom Velike Britanije

Pošto su srpski dečaci savladali engleski jezik u dovoljnoj meri da mogu da nastave školovanje, Srpski potporni fond doneo je odluku da se prema uzrastu i stepenu obrazovanja rasporede po školama širom Engleske, Škotske i Velsa. Ovu odluku srpski dečaci dočekali su s neodobranjem, jer se kod njih posle velikih muka i stradanja koje su zajedno prošli, javilo jako osećanje zajedništva i drugarstva: „Zar mi prošli celu Albaniju zajedno pa sad da se rastavimo?”<sup>29</sup> Stav srpskih đaka i studenata uticao je na stav obrazovnog pododbora, koji je odlučio da se đaci rasporede

u posebne hostele, kako bi i dalje bili na okupu.<sup>30</sup> U svakom gradu gde su bili smešteni srpski đaci, formirani su lokalni komiteti i oni su, u ime grada i školskih ustanova koje su primile đake, preuzeli odgovornost za njihovo obrazovanje i smeštaj. Hosteli u kojima su boravili srpski đaci imali su svoje upravnike, Britance, kao i pažljivo odabrano osoblje, a u slučajevima kada je broj dečaka bio veći, sa njima je boravio i srpski staratelj.

Plan Srpskog potpornog fonda bio je da se u Oksfordu i Kembridžu zadrži po četrdesetak dečaka, kako bi se posebno obučili za profesore engleskog

<sup>29</sup> Citirano prema: Trgovčević, „Školovanje...”, 158.

<sup>30</sup> *For Serbia*, 18.

### 4.3 Accommodation throughout Britain

Once the Serbian boys had mastered English sufficiently well to be able to continue their education, the Serbian Relief Fund made a decision that, according to their age and level of education, they should be sent to appropriate schools throughout England, Scotland and Wales. This decision was met with a great disapproval from the Serbian boys, who after many perils and suffering endured together developed a strong feeling of togetherness and camaraderie: “We have walked the length and breadth of Albania together, should we be separated now?”<sup>29</sup> The sentiment shared by the Serbian pupils and students

influenced the attitude of the Educational Subcommittee, who decided that the Serbian students should be placed in special hostels which would allow them to stay together.<sup>30</sup> In every city where the Serbian boys resided, local committees were formed to, on behalf of the city and host educational institutions, take responsibility for the boys’ education and accommodation. The hostels housing Serbian students were managed by a British administrator and carefully selected staff, and where the number of the Serbian boys was higher, a Serbian guardian was also in residence.

<sup>29</sup> Quoted in Trgovčević, “Školovanje...”, 158.

<sup>30</sup> *For Serbia*, 18.

jezika. U Oksfordu je formiran lokalni obrazovni odbor, za čijeg je predsednika izabran Sidni Bol, prodekan za nastavu Koledža Sent Džons.<sup>31</sup> Od srpskih dečaka koji su boravili u Viklif holu, osmorica su primljena na Univerzitet u Oksfordu, svaki od njih na drugi koledž.<sup>32</sup> U Kembridžu je veliki broj srpskih dečaka bio smešten u Česhantskom koledžu, dok su drugi boravili u Sent Anselm hausu, gde su brigu o njima vodili administrator Džon Belouz i njegova sestra Hana Belouz.<sup>33</sup> U hostelu u Lidsu bilo je 16 srpskih dečaka, koji su, zahvaljujući gospodinu i gospođi Mozli, imali savršene uslove za život.<sup>34</sup> Jedna grupa od 25 dečaka boravila je u hostelu u Seli Ouku, u Birmingemu, osmorica u Mejdenhedu, a 12 ih je bilo smešteno u Londonu, od kojih su šestorica starijih pohađali nastavu na Univerzitetu u Londonu. Velika kolonija od 35 srpskih dečaka nalazila se u Redingu, a pored toga, bili su još razmešteni u Ličfildu, Istliju, Mančesteru, Redliju, Sautemptonu, Vidonu i Vinčesteru - u Engleskoj, kao i u Bangoru i Kardifu - u Velsu.<sup>35</sup>

Neposredno po dolasku srpskih dečaka u Veliku Britaniju, ser Edvard Perot, liberalni poslanik u britan-

skom parlamentu i ugledni građanin Edinburga, preuzeo je brigu o deseterici njih, koliko ih je isprva bilo smešteno u tom škotskom gradu. Kasnije je otvoren i drugi hostel za petnaesticu novoprispelih dečaka.<sup>36</sup> Svi oni su pohađali školu Džordž Heriot. U Dandiju je lokalni trgovac Džordž Bonar ustupio jedno od svojih imanja lokalnom komitetu Srpskog potpornog fonda. Zajedno sa vrhovnim sudijom Dandija i grupom sugrađana, Bonar je preuzeo sve troškove izdržavanja 28 srpskih đaka, koji su se obučavali za trgovce. U Glazgovu je svoj privremeni dom našlo 16 srpskih dečaka, u hostelu koji se nalazio pod nadzorom predsednice lokalnog komiteta ledi Danlop, supruge vrhovnog sudije Glazgova ser Tomasa Danlopa.<sup>37</sup>

Praksa obrazovnog pododбора Srpskog potpornog fonda bila je da se srpski đaci-izbeglice raspoređuju u hostele, gde su živeli sami, pod nadzorom lokalnog člana komiteta i srpskog člana, ako je zajednica bila veća. Dečaci su bili izdvojeni od svojih britanskih vršnjaka i obično nisu imali mnogo dodira sa njima. Ipak, lokalni komitet u Aberdinu doneo je odluku da 10 srpskih đaka, koji je trebalo da stignu u taj grad na školovanje, smesti

<sup>31</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Local Fund for the Education of Serbians at Oxford.

<sup>32</sup> *For Serbia*, 18-19.

<sup>33</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>34</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>35</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>36</sup> Edward Parrott, *The Children's Story of the War*, vol. VI (London - Edinburgh - New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1917), 342.

<sup>37</sup> *For Serbia*, 19.

The plan of the Serbian Relief Fund was to permanently retain forty boys both at Oxford and Cambridge, so they could be trained as English language teachers. At Oxford, a local educational committee was established and Sidney Ball, Vice-Dean of St John's College<sup>31</sup> was elected chair. Out of the Serbian boys who stayed at Wycliffe Hall, eight were admitted to Oxford University, each to a different college.<sup>32</sup> At Cambridge, a large number of Serbian boys was accommodated at Cheshunt College, while others stayed at St Anselm's House, under the direct care of administrator John Bellows and his sister Hannah Bellows.<sup>33</sup> In Leeds, thanks to Mr and Mrs Mosley, sixteen Serbian boys staying at a hostel enjoyed perfect living conditions.<sup>34</sup> A group of 25 boys was housed at a hostel in Selly Oak in Birmingham, while eight boys stayed in Maidenhead, twelve in London, the older six attending the University of London. A large colony of 35 Serbian boys was located in Reading, while the remainder of Serbian boys was also accommodated in Litchfield, Eastleigh, Manchester, Reedley, Southampton, Weedon and Winchester in England and in Bangor and Cardiff in Wales.<sup>35</sup>

Immediately after the arrival of the Serbian boys in Britain, Sir Edward Parrott, a Liberal MP in the British Parliament and a prominent citizen of Edinburgh, took care of ten boys who were accommodated in the Scottish city. Later, a hostel was opened to house fifteen new arrivals.<sup>36</sup> All of them attended George Heriot's School. In Dundee, George Bonar, a local trader, gave one of his properties to the local committee of the Serbian Relief Fund and together with the Chief Justice of Dundee and a group of fellow citizens, took over all the expenses for 28 students who were being trained as merchants. Sixteen Serbian boys found a temporary home in Glasgow, in a hostel supervised by the president of the local committee, Lady Dunlop, the wife of Lord Provost of Glasgow, Sir Thomas Dunlop.<sup>37</sup>

The practice of the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund was to accommodate the Serbian student-refugees in hostels, where they lived alone under the care of a local committee member, and a Serbian staff member in cases of a larger community, but separated from their British peers and without much con-

<sup>31</sup> NA, MH 8/4, Local Fund for the Education of Serbians at Oxford.

<sup>32</sup> *For Serbia*, 19.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>36</sup> Edward Parrott, *The Children's Story of the War*, vol. VI (London - Edinburgh - New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1917), 342.

<sup>37</sup> *For Serbia*, 19.

u privatne domove, kako bi se što bolje upoznali sa britanskom kulturom, idealima i načinom života.<sup>38</sup> Centralni komitet odobrio je ovaj zahtev, tako da je aberdinski komitet 28. oktobra 1916. godine objavio javni apel za pronalaženje domova srpskim dečacima tokom trajanja rata. U apelu stoji da su dečaci koji dolaze u Aberdin pretrpeli sve nedaće i tegobe istorijskog povlačenja preko Albanije, da su mnogo propatili, kao i druge izbeglice u Velikoj Britaniji, ali da su jaki, zdravi i od „dobrog tipa”, starosti između 14 i 16 godina i pravoslavne vere. Srpski potporni fond ponudio se da opremi dečake neophodnim stvarima i obezbedi novčana sredstva

za njihovo izdržavanje, a troškove školovanja trebalo je da snose lokalne školske vlasti. Kao veoma bitno isticalo se da su srpski dečaci već boravili u Velikoj Britaniji nekoliko meseci, te da su za to vreme prilično dobro savladali jezik, tako da nije trebalo da bude problema u komunikaciji između njih i njihovih domaćina.<sup>39</sup> Gospođa Polgrin<sup>40</sup>, sekretarka lokalnog komiteta, koja je provela dva meseca radeći sa srpskim izbeglicama u Kembridžu, ali i boravila nekoliko meseci u Srbiji na samom početku rata, stavila se na raspolaganje potencijalnim udomiteljima, kako bi im pružila sve neophodne informacije i odgovorila na sva njihova pitanja.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> „Homes for Serbian Boys in Aberdeen”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 28<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>40</sup> Gvendolin Alis Polgrin (1882–1928) boravila je u Srbiji kao rentgenski tehničar u Britanskoj poljskoj bolnici.

<sup>41</sup> „Homes for Serbian Boys in Aberdeen”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 28<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

tact with them. The local committee of Aberdeen decided that ten Serbian students, who were to be placed in their city to be educated, should be accommodated in private homes in order to get better acquainted with the British culture, ideals and way of life.<sup>38</sup> The central committee granted this request, and on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1916, the Aberdeen committee made a public appeal to find homes for the Serbian boys during the war. The appeal stated that the Serbian boys who were to come to Aberdeen had endured all the hardships and pains of the historic retreat through Albania, that they had suffered a lot, like other refugees in the United Kingdom, but that they were strong and healthy and of a “good kind”, aged between 14 and 16 years and that they were of the Orthodox faith. The Serbian Relief Fund had offered to equip

boys with the necessary resources and items and to provide funds for their upkeep while the cost of their education was to be borne by the local educational authorities. It was pointed out that the Serbian boys had been residing in Great Britain for several months during which time they had mastered the language well enough so that there should not be any problems in communication between them and their prospective hosts.<sup>39</sup> Mrs Polgreen<sup>40</sup>, the secretary of the local committee, who had previously spent two months working with the Serbian refugees in Cambridge and had stayed in Serbia for several months at the beginning of the war, made herself available to all potential hosts in order to provide them with all the necessary information and answer all of their potential questions.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> “Homes for Serbian Boys in Aberdeen”, *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 28<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Gwendoline Alice Polgreen (1882–1928) worked as an X-ray technician in a British field hospital in Serbia.

<sup>41</sup> “Homes for Serbian Boys in Aberdeen”, *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 28<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

## 4.4 Akcije za pomoć Srbima

<sup>42</sup> Elis Meri Tebet bila je pripadnica Bolnice škotskih žena, raspoređena u bolnici u Ostrovu. Nesebično je pomagala srpske ranjenike i izbeglice i lično je prikupila novac za otvaranje Zubne stanice pri Rekonvalescentnom odeljenju u Vodeni. Odlikovana je Ordenom Svetog Save.

Širom Velike Britanije, i pre dolaska srpskih izbeglica, organizovane su brojne manifestacije na kojima je iskazivana podrška i prikupljana pomoć za Srbiju. Cilj ovih dešavanja bio je da se britanska javnost bolje upozna sa srpskom kulturom, kao i da se pridobije za „srpsku stvar”. Prispevši u Veliku Britaniju, aktivno učešće u ovim događajima uzeli su i srpski dečaci, koji su na mnogim manifestacijama nastupali pevajući srpske narodne pesme i igrajući nacionalne plesove u tradicionalnoj srpskoj nošnji. U britanskoj javnosti naročitu pažnju izazvale su izložbe rukotvorina srpskih izbeglica i ranje-

nika, koje su bile organizovane u više gradova Velike Britanije. Prva takva izložba održana je u julu 1916. godine u Gradskoj kući u Batu, gradu na jugozapadu Engleske. Većina eksponata načinjena je na Korzici, gde je Srpski potporni fond napravio radionice kako bi srpske izbeglice na ovaj način mogle da obezbede sebi zaradu i ličnu nezavisnost. Jedan od najzanimljivijih eksponata na izložbi bio je ručni razboj, kakav su koristile srpske žene prilikom izrade ovih predmeta. Poseban deo izložbe u Batu činio je mali sto posvećen predmetima koje je sakupila gospođica Tebet<sup>42</sup>, jedna od člani-

## *4.4 Actions for Serbian Relief*

Across Great Britain, even before the arrival of Serbian refugees, numerous events in support of Serbia had been organised. Their goal was to better acquaint the British public with Serbian culture and to win it over for the “Serbian cause”. Having arrived to Great Britain, the Serbian boys took active part in these events, singing national songs and performing national dances in traditional Serbian costumes. A special attention of the British public was caught by the exhibitions of handicrafts by the Serbian refugees and wounded soldiers organised in several British cities. The first such

exhibition was organised at the Civic Centre in Bath in south-west England in July 1916. Most of the exhibits were made by the Serbian refugees in Corsica where the Serbian Relief Fund had created workshops so that the refugees could generate some personal income and achieve a degree of independence. One of the most interesting pieces at the exhibition was a hand-loom, used by the Serbian women in creation of these handicrafts. A special part of the Bath exhibition comprised a small table dedicated to the objects collected by Ms Tebbutt<sup>42</sup>, a member of the Scottish Women’s Hospi-

<sup>42</sup> Alice Mary Tebbutt was a member of the Scottish Women’s Hospital and was delegated to a hospital in Ostrovo. She unselfishly helped the Serbian wounded and refugees and personally raised funds for a dental ambulance at the convalescence dispensary in Voden. She was a recipient of the Order of St Sava.

<sup>43</sup> „Serbian Exhibition in Bath”, *The Bath Chronicle*, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1916, 17.

<sup>44</sup> En de Ver Čemberlen (1883-1967) bila je supruga britanskog političara i državnika Nevila Čemberlena. Bavila se humanitarnim radom, a tokom Prvog svetskog rata organizovala je akcije prikupljanja pomoći za srpske i belgijske izbeglice u Birminghamu.

<sup>45</sup> „Serbian Exhibition in Birmingham”, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 2.

<sup>46</sup> AJ, 80, F75, VII/19, „For Serbia”, *The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 16<sup>th</sup> October 1918.

<sup>47</sup> O Vivijen Edwards nije moguće pronaći mnogo podataka. Poznato je da je kao bolničarka boravila u Srbiji, da je dobro govorila srpski jezik i da je, po povratku u Veliku Britaniju, držala predavanja o onome što se tokom 1914. i 1915. godine događalo u Srbiji. Takođe, recitovala je i pevala srpske narodne pesme, i to vrlo dobro, jer je bila školovani sopran. Prihode sa tih priredbi uplaćivala je na račun Srpskog potpornog fonda.

<sup>48</sup> „Work of the Serbians in Exile”, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 4<sup>th</sup> December 1916, 5.

ca Bolnice škotskih žena, i donela ih kući posle nezaboravnog povlačenja pred neprijateljskim napadom.<sup>43</sup>

Sličnu izložbu ručnih radova srpskih izbeglica sa Korzike, u zgradi Udruženja umetnika u Birminghamu, otvorila je 7. novembra 1916. godine En Čemberlen,<sup>44</sup> supruga Nevila Čemberlena, koji je u to vreme bio gradonačelnik ovog britanskog industrijskog centra. Ceremoniji otvaranja prisustvovali su srpski dečaci koji su bili smešteni u Birminghamu i tom prilikom otpevali srpsku nacionalnu himnu.<sup>45</sup> Izložba i prodaja rukotvorina srpskih izbeglica sa Korzike i ranjenika sa Krfa i iz Bizerte održana je i 16. oktobra 1918. godine u hotelu Midland Adelfi u Liverpoolu, a sav prihod bio je namenjen Srpskom potpornom fondu.<sup>46</sup> U decembru 1916. godine, u Likovnoj galeriji u Lidsu organizovana je višednevna izložba radova srpskih izbeglica. U sklopu ove manifestacije, gospođica Vivijen Edwards<sup>47</sup>, koja je provela neko vreme u Srbiji kao bolničarka, recitovala je srpske pesme.<sup>48</sup>

U Univerzitetском koledžu u Redingu, 30. novembra 1916. godine, Vivijen Edwards održala je predavanje sa temom „Balade i narodne pesme Srbije i Južnih Slovena”. Ona je tom

prilikom ukratko govorila i o srpskoj nacionalnoj istoriji, ilustrujući priču puštanjem slajdova koji su prikazivali slike iz svakodnevnog života ljudi u Srbiji. Takođe, recitovala je i pevala pesme na srpskom jeziku, za koje je publici objasnila da se umnogome razlikuju od britanskih, jer često imaju neočekivan završetak i prožete su melanholijom. U sklopu ove manifestacije bila je organizovana i prodaja ručnih radova srpskih izbeglica sa Korzike, a prihodi su bili namenjeni Srpskom potpornom fondu. Brošure i razglednice prodavali su mladići obučeni u srpsku narodnu nošnju.<sup>49</sup> Gospođica Vivijen Edwards održala je slično predavanje i 17. oktobra 1917. godine u Midland institutu u Birminghamu i tada je otpevala nekoliko srpskih balada. Tokom izvođenja srpske nacionalne himne pridružili su joj se i dečaci koji su bili smešteni u Srpskoj kući u Seli Ouku, a sav prihod sa ove manifestacije dat je u fond za njihovo izdržavanje.<sup>50</sup> Mnogi britanski učenjaci materijalno su pomagali srpske izbeglice u Velikoj Britaniji pišući o srpskoj kulturi, istoriji i narodnim običajima. Robert Siton-Votson sigurno je bio najpoznatiji među njima ali nije bio i jedini. Primera radi, u maju 1917. godine u Londonu je iz-

tal, which she had brought home following the memorable retreat under the enemy attack.<sup>43</sup>

A similar exhibition of handicrafts made by the Serbian refugees in Corsica was opened on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1916 at the Royal Birmingham Society of Artists by Anne Chamberlain<sup>44</sup>, the wife of Neville Chamberlain who was, at the time the mayor of this British industrial centre. The Serbian boys who had been settled in Birmingham attended the opening ceremony and sang the national anthem.<sup>45</sup> An exhibition and sale of handicrafts produced by the Serbian refugees in Corsica, Corfu and Bizerte was held on 16<sup>th</sup> October 1918 in Midland Adelphi Hotel in Liverpool with the proceeds going to the Serbian Relief Fund.<sup>46</sup> Another exhibition of the Serbian refugees' handicraft was held in December 1916 at the Arts Gallery in Leeds. The exhibition lasted for several days and Ms Vivien Edwards<sup>47</sup>, who had spent some time in Serbia as a nurse, recited Serbian poems.<sup>48</sup>

Ms Edwards gave a lecture entitled "Ballads and Folk Songs of Serbia and South Slavs" at University Col-

lege Reading on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1916. She gave a brief overview of the Serbian national history accompanied with illustrated slides depicting the everyday life of the Serbian people. She also recited poems and sang songs in Serbian, explaining to the audience that they were much different from the British ones they often had an unexpected ending and were imbued with melancholy. During this event, another sale of the handicrafts made by the Serbian refugees from Corsica was held, with the proceeds again going to the Serbian Relief Fund. Brochures and postcards were sold by young men dressed in traditional Serbian costumes.<sup>49</sup> Ms Vivien Edwards held a similar lecture at the Midlands Institute in Birmingham on 17<sup>th</sup> October 1917, where she sang several Serbian folk ballads. The boys from the Serbian House in Selly Oak joined her in singing the Serbian national anthem, and all the proceeds went to the Fund for the boys' support.<sup>50</sup> Many British scholars were helping the Serbian refugees in Britain by writing about Serbian culture, history and folk customs. Robert Seton-Watson,

<sup>43</sup> "Serbian Exhibition in Bath", *The Bath Chronicle*, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1916, 17.

<sup>44</sup> Anne de Vere Chamberlain (1883-1967) was the wife of the British politician Neville Chamberlain. She was involved in aid work and during the First World War she helped raise funds for the Serbian and Belgian refugees in Birmingham.

<sup>45</sup> "Serbian Exhibition in Birmingham", *Birmingham Daily Post*, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 2.

<sup>46</sup> AJ, 80, F75, VII/19, "For Serbia", *The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, 16<sup>th</sup> October 1918.

<sup>47</sup> We could find scarce information on Vivien Edwards, just that she was a medic in Serbia, that she spoke fluent Serbian and that she held lectures on her experience in Serbia during 1914 and 1915 after her return to Great Britain. Also, she sang Serbian folk songs, and she was good at it since she was a soprano. The money that would be raised during these performances was transferred to the Serbian Relief Fund.

<sup>49</sup> „The Serbian Relief Fund”, *Reading Mercury*, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1916, 3.

<sup>50</sup> „Ballads of Serbia”, *Evening Dispatch*, 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1917, 3; „Ballads of Serbia”, *Birmingham Gazette*, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 5.

<sup>51</sup> „Serbian Folk Songs”, *Reading Mercury*, 26<sup>th</sup> May 1917, 10.

<sup>52</sup> Branko Momčilović, *Iz istorije jugoslovensko-britanskih kulturnih veza od 1650. godine do II svetskog rata* (Novi Sad: Institut za strane jezike i književnosti, 1990), 175-201.

<sup>53</sup> „Liverpool Tripple Flag Day”, *The Liverpool Echo*, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1915, 8.

<sup>54</sup> „Serbian Day”, *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 29<sup>th</sup> May 1915, 2.

<sup>55</sup> „Serbian Flag Day in Strling”, *The Stirling Observer*, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1916, 5.

data zbirka „Srpske narodne pesme, bajke i poslovice“, koju je sastavio Maksimilijan A. Muge, čiji je cilj bio da probudi simpatije britanske javnosti prema „maloj hrabroj Srbiji“. Knjiga je koštala 3 šilinga i 2 penija, a autor je polovinu prihoda od njene prodaje namenio Berkširskom domu za srpske dečake.<sup>51</sup> Sličnih literarnih primera ima mnogo, a posebno obrađivane bile su teme iz srpske istorije, narodne tradicije i književnosti, ali i događaji iz ratne 1914. i 1915. godine.<sup>52</sup>

Jedan od uobičajenih načina da se sakupe sredstva za pomoć izbeglima i stradalima u ratu bilo je priređivanje „Dana zastave“, kada se određenom britanskom gradu predstavljala neka saveznička zemlja, njena vojska, običaji i narodna kultura, a u okviru ovih manifestacija organizovane su različite priredbe i dobrotvorne akcije. Za Srbiju su se ovi „Dani zastave“ održavali u nekoliko navrata širom zemlje. U avgustu 1915. godine u Liverpulu je organizovan „Dan tri zastave“ (*Triple flag day*), kada su se prikupljala sredstva za pomoć savezničkim zemljama Francuskoj, Rusiji i Srbiji. Manifestacija je obuhvatala više događaja, a najznačajniji je bio javni skup održan u Šekspirovom pozorištu u Liver-

pulu, na kojem se, između ostalih, prisutnima obratio i srpski počasni konzul u tom gradu, Džon Klensi. Odlukom predsednika Fudbalskog kluba Liverpool, na stadionu Enfield odigran je trening-meč između dva tima ovog kluba, koji je bio otvoren za javnost, a sav prihod sa meča namenjen je francuskom, ruskom i srpskom potpornom fondu.<sup>53</sup> Maja 1915. godine u Hartlipulu je održana manifestacija „Srpski dan“. Na lokalnom fudbalskom igralištu Viktorija park organizovana je prodaja srpskih zastavica, koju nije pokvarilo ni veoma loše vreme, tako da se tih dana na ulicama Hartlipula nije mogla sresti osoba koja nije nosila „obeležje hrabre, male nacije“.<sup>54</sup>

Krajem januara 1916. godine organizovan je „Dan zastave“ u Stirlingu, u centralnoj Škotskoj, na kojem je za postradale Srbe prikupljeno 70 funti, 13 šilinga i 7 penija.<sup>55</sup> U avgustu iste godine, na Kasl Graundu u Tamvortu, gradu severoistočno od Birmingema, održan je zanimljiv događaj u korist dečjeg ogranka Srpskog potpornog fonda, a organizovala ga je gospođica Češajer, koja je kao član britanskih medicinskih misija boravila u Srbiji i zajedno sa srpskom vojskom prežive-

though not the only one, was probably the most famous. For example, an anthology entitled “Serbian Folk Songs, Fairy Tales and Proverbs” compiled by Maximilian A. Muegge was published in London in 1917 with an aim of provoking sympathy towards “gallant little Serbia”. The book was priced at 3s.2d, and a half of the proceeds from the book sales was given to the Berkshire home for Serbian boys by the author.<sup>51</sup> There is a number of similar literary undertakings with a special focus being put on the themes from Serbian history, folk tradition and literature, as well as the events of 1914 and 1915.<sup>52</sup>

A very popular way to raise funds for the refugees and war victims was the organisation of the “Flag Days”, where an Allied country, its army, traditions and folk culture were presented in a specific British locality, with accompanying exhibitions and fund raising activities. Several “Flag days” for Serbia had been organised across Great Britain. In August 1915 a “Triple Flag Day” was organised in Liverpool to help raise funds for the Allied France, Russia and Serbia. It comprised numer-

ous events, with a public gathering at the Shakespeare Theatre in Liverpool where, amongst other speakers, John Clancy, the honorary consul of Serbia in Liverpool, addressed the audience, being the most important one. In accordance with a decision of the president of Liverpool FC, a training match between two Liverpool clubs held at Anfield was open to public and the proceeds went to the French, Russian and Serbian Relief Funds.<sup>53</sup> A “Serbian Day” was held in Hartlepool in May 1915. A sale of the Serbian flags at the local Victoria Park football field was not spoiled even by the very poor weather, so it was almost impossible to see anyone on the streets of Hartlepool not wearing “the emblem of the gallant little race”.<sup>54</sup>

At the end of January 1916 a “Flag Day” was held in Stirling in central Scotland, where the amount of £70.13s.7d was raised for the Serbian victims.<sup>55</sup> In August 1916 an interesting event in support of the Serbian Relief Fund was held at Castle Ground, Tamworth, a town north-east of Birmingham, with Ms Cheshire, who had spent some

<sup>48</sup> “Work of the Serbians in Exile”, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 4<sup>th</sup> December 1916, 5.

<sup>49</sup> The Serbian Relief Fund, *Reading Mercury*, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1916, 3.

<sup>50</sup> “Ballads of Serbia”, *Evening Dispatch*, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 3; “Ballads of Serbia”, *Birmingham Gazette*, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 5.

<sup>51</sup> “Serbian Folk Songs”, *Reading Mercury*, 26<sup>th</sup> May 1917, 10.

<sup>52</sup> Branko Momčilović, *Iz istorije jugoslovensko-britanskih kulturnih veza od 1650. godine do II svetskog rata* (Novi Sad: Institut za strane jezike i književnosti, 1990), 175-201.

<sup>53</sup> “Liverpool Triple Flag Day”, *The Liverpool Echo*, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1915, 8.

<sup>54</sup> “Serbian Day”, *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 29<sup>th</sup> May 1915, 2.

<sup>55</sup> “Serbian Flag Day in Stirling”, *The Stirling Observer*, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1916, 5.

<sup>56</sup> Ana Krištić (1885-1977) bila je britanska spisateljica i novinarka srpskog porekla. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata volontirala je kao bolničarka u Srbiji, a posle sloma i okupacije Srbije bila je angažovana na humanitarnom i propagandnom radu u Velikoj Britaniji i Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.

<sup>57</sup> Vojislav Janjić (1890-1944) bio je srpski bogoslov i konzervativni političar, a bavio se, takođe, istorijom srpske crkve i srpskom liturgijskom muzikom. Bio je prvi ministar vera u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

<sup>58</sup> „Tamworth”, *The Herald*, 26<sup>th</sup> August 1916, 5.

<sup>59</sup> „Serbian Boys Flag Day in Edinburgh”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 27<sup>th</sup> July 1917, 1.

<sup>60</sup> „Serbian Boys in Edinburgh”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1918, 4.

<sup>61</sup> „Serbian Boys Flag Day”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 20<sup>th</sup> July 1917, 2.

<sup>62</sup> „Serbian Boys in Edinburgh”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1918, 4.

la povlačenje preko Albanije. Manifestaciju je zvanično otvorio jedan oficir srpske vojske. Tokom popodneva bio je priređen bogat program, koji je uključivao srpske i belgijske nacionalne plesove, u izvedbi srpskih i belgijskih dečaka-izbeglica, kao i koncert u kojem su učestvovali gospođica Krištić<sup>56</sup> i gospodin Vojislav Janjić<sup>57</sup>, srpski bogoslov.<sup>58</sup>

U Edinburgu, glavnom gradu Škotske, „Dan zastave” održan je dva puta, 28. jula 1917. godine<sup>59</sup> i 20. jula 1918. godine,<sup>60</sup> a sav prihod namenjen je za izdržavanje 27 srpskih đaka koji su se školovali u tom gradu.<sup>61</sup> Stanovnici i šira javnost Edinburga bili su veoma naklonjeni srpskim dečacima i Srbiji uopšte, ističući često njenu sličnost sa Škotskom: „Dve nacije imaju mnogo toga zajedničkog. Srbi i Škoti su narodi uzvišenih ideala koji su morali da se bore za slobodu. Srpski dečaci su tokom svog boravka pokazali vrline - odvažnost, istrajnost i marljivost - koje se najviše vrednuju u Škotskoj. Srpski narod će uvek pamtit Škotsku kao zemlju koja im je u trenucima najveće nevolje pružila praktičnu pomoć i saosećanje.”<sup>62</sup> Posebna čast ukazana je srpskim učenicima kada je juna 1917. godine feldmaršal Džon Frenč,

glavnokomandujući britanskih snaga u zemlji, izvršio smotru jedinica koje su u tom trenutku bile stacionirane u Edinburgu i okolini. Smotra je održana ispred zgrade Škotske kraljevske akademije, a među učesnicima svečane parade, pored pripadnika regularne vojske, dobrovoljačkih jedinica i kadetskih korpusa, bili su i srpski dečaci koji su se školovali u Edinburgu.<sup>63</sup> Prilikom da pokažu zahvalnost i pozitivno mišljenje o svojim domaćinima, srpski dečaci dobili su oktobra iste godine, kada je u poseti škotskoj prestonici i školi Džordž Heriot bio ruski ambasador u Londonu, Konstantin Nabokov. U obraćanju srpskim studentima Nabokov je izrazio želju da oni tokom svog boravka u Velikoj Britaniji nauče dosta o britanskom načinu života, istakavši da im to može biti od presudne važnosti kada se vrate u svoju zemlju, za šta se nada da će biti u skorijoj budućnosti. Jedan od srpskih studenata odgovorio mu je na odličnom engleskom: „Želim da vam kažem koliko smo mi zahvalni britanskom narodu za sve što je uradio za nas. Mi svi volimo Škotsku i ovaj prelepi grad Edinburg”.<sup>64</sup>

U korist Srpskog Crvenog krsta, u mestu Bridž of Ern u Pertširu, u Škot-

time in Serbia with the British medical missions and retreated with the Serbian army across Albania, as an organiser. The event was opened by a Serbian army officer. Serbian and Belgian folk dances, performed by the Serbian and Belgian refugee children, and a concert performed by Ms Kristić<sup>56</sup> and Mr Vojislav Janjić<sup>57</sup>, a renowned Serbian singer, were the centrepieces of the colourful programme during the day.<sup>58</sup>

In Scotland's capital, Edinburgh, a "Flag Day" was held twice, on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1917<sup>59</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> July 1918<sup>60</sup>, with the proceeds going to the support of 27 Serbian boys attending local schools.<sup>61</sup> Edinburgh's citizens and wider public were very sympathetic towards the Serbian boys and Serbia in general, frequently emphasising its similarities with Scotland: "The two races have much in common. The Serbians and the Scots are people of high ideals who have had to fight for freedom. During their stay Serbian boys have shown virtues - quickness, industry and conduct - that are in highest regard in Scotland. Scotland will for ever be remembered by the Serbian people as the nation which has shown

them practical help and sympathy in their time of need".<sup>62</sup> A special honour was given to the Serbian students when in June 1917 Field Marshal John French, Commander in Chief of the Home Forces, held a review of troops in the Edinburgh area. The review took place in front of the Royal Scottish Academy building. The Serbian boys attending schools in the city were amongst the troops under review, together with the regular army, volunteers and cadet corps.<sup>63</sup> The Serbian boys were given a chance to express their gratitude and positive opinion of their hosts in October of the same year, when the Russian Ambassador Konstantin Nabokov came to visit Edinburgh and George Heriot's School. In his address to the students, he wished them to learn a great deal about the British way of life during their stay there, emphasising that the knowledge may turn put out be of the utmost importance upon their return to their homeland. He also wished them a speedy return home. One of the Serbian students replied in perfect English: "I wish to tell you how grateful we are to the British people for all they have done to us. We all

<sup>56</sup> Ana Krisitić (1885-1977) was a British writer and journalist of Serbian origin. During the First World War she volunteered as a medic in Serbia, and after the collapse and occupation she was engaged in humanitarian and propaganda work in Great Britain and the United States of America.

<sup>57</sup> Vojislav Janjić (1890-1944) was a Serbian theologian and conservative politician. He was a Minister of Religious Affairs in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Also, he was a historian of the Serbian church and the Serbian liturgical music.

<sup>58</sup> "Tamworth", *The Herald*, 26<sup>th</sup> August 1916, 5.

<sup>59</sup> "Serbian Boys Flag Day in Edinburgh", *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 27<sup>th</sup> July 1917, 1.

<sup>60</sup> "Serbian Boys in Edinburgh", *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 12<sup>th</sup> July 1918, 4.

<sup>61</sup> "Serbian Boys Flag Day", *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 20<sup>th</sup> July 1917, 2.

<sup>62</sup> "Serbian Boys in Edinburgh", *The Edinburgh Evening News*,

skoj, održana je 27. jula 1918. godine manifestacija čiji se program sastojao od gorštačkih i drugih škotskih narodnih plesova, u izvođenju ženske plesne trupe, kao i srpskih nacionalnih pesama i plesova, koje su izveli srpski dečaci u „živopisnim srpskim narodnim nošnjama”. Manifestacija je obuhvatala i sportska takmičenja, poput nadmetanja u igri bacanja karika, a i u okviru programa nastupao je i vojni orkestar Kraljevskih škotskih strelaca.<sup>65</sup>

U tri grada zapadnog Jorkšira - Hali-faksu, Bredfordu i Hadersfildu, oktobra 1917. godine organizovane su velike demonstracije za pomoć Srbiji, a okupljenima su se obratili i knez Aleksa Karađorđević i njegova supruga, koji su tada boravili u Velikoj Britaniji. Sredstva prikupljena tokom demonstracija bila su namenjena Srpskom potpornom fondu, kako bi se obezbedile osnovne životne potreštine za srpske izbeglice na Krfu, Korzici i u Marselju, za preko 64.000 srpskih ratnih zarobljenika u Nemačkoj i Austrougarskoj, kao i više od 330 srpskih dečaka na školovanju u Velikoj Britaniji. Prikupljane su donacije u novcu, odeći i obući, ali i ortopedska pomagala za srpske ranjenike.<sup>66</sup>

Značajnu sumu novca za rad Srpskog potpornog fonda donirali su industrijalci i trgovci iz Bredforda, bogatog grada na severu Engleske, na dobrotvornoj večeri organizovanoj u oktobru 1917. godine u Sent Džordž holu. Tom prilikom mogli su se čuti govori o strašnoj sudbini koja je zadesila srpski narod ali i o potencijalnim posleratnim ekonomskim vezama između oslobođene i proširene Srbije i Velike Britanije.<sup>67</sup> Još jedna manifestacija u korist Srpskog potpornog fonda u održana je 23. oktobra 1917. godine u Šipliju, predgrađu Bredforda. Na skupu su, između ostalih, govorili i Čedomilj Mijatović, bivši srpski poslanik u Londonu, gospođa Karington Vajld, predstavnica Srpskog potpornog fonda, gospođa Evelina Haverfild<sup>68</sup>, članica britanskih medicinskih misija u Srbiji i gospodin Hari Kremriš, srpski konzul u Bredfordu. U svom obraćanju, Čedomilj Mijatović naglasio je da je srpski narod veoma počastvovan što mu se ukazala prilika da bude saveznik britanskom narodu. Gospođa Karington Vajld govorila je o radu Srpskog potpornog fonda, dok je Evelina Haverfild prenela svoja iskustva tokom povlačenja preko Albanije, ističući veliku hrabrost srpskih vojnika. Na kraju skupa hor srpskih dečaka

<sup>63</sup> „Imposing Review at Edinburgh”, *The Post Sunday Special*, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1917, 2.

<sup>64</sup> „Russian Minister in Edinburgh”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 3.

<sup>65</sup> „Public Notices”, *Perthshire Advertiser*, 24<sup>th</sup> of July 1918, 1; „Imposing Review at Edinburgh”, *The Post Sunday Special*, 24<sup>th</sup> June 1917, 2.

<sup>66</sup> „Great Demonstrations in Aid of Serbia”, *The Yorkshire Post*, 16<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 3.

<sup>67</sup> AJ, 80, F75, *Yorkshire Observer*, 19<sup>th</sup> October 1917.

<sup>68</sup> Evelina Haverfild (1867–1920), sifražetkinja i istaknuta aktivistkinja pokreta za prava žena, za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bila je bolničarka u Srbiji. Posle rata vratila se u Srbiju, gde je radila na zbrinjavanju srpske siročadi.

like Scotland and this beautiful city of Edinburgh”.<sup>64</sup>

Another event was held in aid of the Serbian Red Cross at the Bridge of Earn in Perthshire, Scotland on 27<sup>th</sup> July 1918, with a programme comprising Highland and other Scottish folk dances, performed by a women’s dancing company, and Serbian songs and dances, performed by the Serbian boys in “picturesque Serbian dresses”. The event also included sports competitions, such as ring tossing, and a performance by the Royal Scots Fusiliers orchestra.<sup>65</sup>

Large demonstrations in support of relief for Serbia were held in October 1917 in three cities of West Yorkshire - Halifax, Bradford and Huddersfield, where Prince Aleksa Karadjordjević and his wife, who were visiting Great Britain at that time, delivered speeches. The raised funds were given to the Serbian Relief Fund for provision of the basic necessities for the refugees in Corfu, Corsica and Marseilles, as well as for over 64,000 Serbian POWs in Germany and Austria-Hungary and over 330 Serbian boys in British schools. Donations in cash, clothes

and shoes, orthopaedic appliances for the wounded were all accepted.<sup>66</sup> Considerable sums of money were donated by the industrialists and traders from Bradford, a wealthy town in northern England, at a charity dinner at St George Hall in October 1917. On the occasion, one could have heard speeches about the cruel faith that had befallen the Serbian people and also about the potential economic connection between the liberated and expanded Serbia and Great Britain after the war.<sup>67</sup> Another event in aid of the Serbian Relief Fund was held in Shipley in Bradford Borough on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1917. There, the speeches were given by Čedomilj Mijatović, a former Serbian Minister in London, Mrs Carrington Wilde of the Serbian Relief Fund, Mrs Evelina Haverfield<sup>68</sup>, a member of the British medical mission to Serbia and Mr Harry Kramrisch, the Serbian consul in Bradford. In his address, Čedomilj Mijatović said that the Serbian people were extremely honoured to have been given a chance to become Britain’s ally. Mrs Carrington-Wilde spoke of the Serbian Relief Fund’s work while Evelina Haverfield spoke of

12<sup>th</sup> July 1918, 4.

<sup>63</sup> “Imposing Review at Edinburgh”, *The Post Sunday Special*, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1917, 2.

<sup>64</sup> “Russian Minister in Edinburgh”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 3.

<sup>65</sup> “Public Notices”, *Perthshire Advertiser*, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1918, 1; “Imposing Review at Edinburgh”, *The Post Sunday Special*, 24<sup>th</sup> June 1917, 2.

<sup>66</sup> “Great Demonstrations in Aid of Serbia”, *The Yorkshire Post*, 16<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 3.

<sup>67</sup> *AJ*, 80, F75, *Yorkshire Observer*, 19<sup>th</sup> October 1917.

<sup>68</sup> Evelina Haverfield (1867-1920) was a suffragette and renowned activist of the women’s rights movement. During the First World War she was a medic in Serbia. After the war she returned to Serbia to care for the Serbian orphans.

otpevao je nacionalnu himnu i nekoliko srpskih narodnih pesama.<sup>69</sup> „Dan zastave” održan je i u Šefildu, 29. juna 1918. godine, sa ciljem da se pomogne Srpskom Crvenom krstu, a sakupljena sredstva bila su namenjena ratnim zarobljenicima, izbeglicama i ranjenicima. Sedište manifestacije bilo je u hotelu Grand, gde su izložene lutke obučene u srpske narodne nošnje, različite knjige, razglednice sa motivima istorijskog povlačenja preko Albanije, kao i jastučić za čiode, koji je poslala supruga kneza Alekse Karađorđevića, Darija. U okviru iste smotre, nedelju dana ranije, organizovan je matine na gradskom hipodromu, u okviru koga je održan i veliki koncert. Tom prilikom obezbeđena je materijalna pomoć u visini 750 funti.<sup>70</sup>

U cilju prikupljanja sredstava za Srpski Crveni krst, decembra 1917. godine, dr Milan Ćurčin, visoki službenik srpskog poslanstva u Londonu i književnik, održao je u Grafton galeriji u Londonu predavanje na temu „Britanske žene u Srbiji”. Tokom svog izlaganja o radu preko 3000 britanskih žena - doktorki, medicinskih sestara i pripadnica bolničkog i pomoćnog osoblja u Srbiji, Ćurčin je naročito istakao njihovu odlučnost

da pomognu svima kojima je pomoć bila potrebna, kao i požrtvovanost da ostanu uz ranjenike čak i kada su njihovi sopstveni životi bili ugroženi. Predavanje je bilo praćeno prikazivanjem slajdova sa fotografijama snimljenim tokom povlačenja preko Albanije, a nakon toga, posetioci su mogli da uživaju u srpskim narodnim plesovima, koje su izvodile britanske studenkinje sa Bergman-Osterberg koledža za fizičku kulturu iz Dartforda i srpski dečaci na školovanju u Velikoj Britaniji.<sup>71</sup> „Dan zastave” održan je i u Njukaslu 5. oktobra 1918 godine. Prilikom najave ovog događaja, počasni sekretar Srpskog potpornog fonda Robert Siton-Votson izjavio je da „ulog nije ništa manji nego budućnost čitave nacije. Najmanje četvrtina populacije je izgubljena i mnogo hiljada Srba duguje svoje živote pomoći koju je pravovremeno prikupio britanski narod”.<sup>72</sup>

U kembričkim novinama objavljen je 10. avgusta 1918. godine apel Srpskog potpornog fonda, u kojem je od školskih ustanova u Velikoj Britaniji traženo da 1. septembra organizuju specijalan događaj „Subota za Srbiju”, a cilj manifestacije bio je da se britanski učenici upoznaju sa položajem dece-

<sup>69</sup> AJ, 80, F75, *Yorkshire Observer*, 24<sup>th</sup> October 1917.

<sup>70</sup> „For Serbia's Red Cross”, *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star*, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1918, 4.

<sup>71</sup> AJ, 80, F75, *The Morning Post*, 21<sup>st</sup> December 1917.

<sup>72</sup> AJ, 80, F75, *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, 4<sup>th</sup> October 1918.

her experiences during the retreat across Albania, praising the great courage of the Serbian soldiers. At the end of the event, a choir of the Serbian boys sang the national anthem and several folk songs.<sup>69</sup> Another “Flag Day” was held in Sheffield on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1918 with an aim of raising funds for the Serbian Red Cross intended for the Serbian POWs, refugees and wounded soldiers. It was held at the Grand Hotel and comprised an exhibition of dolls dressed in traditional Serbian costumes, various books, postcards with motifs of the historic retreat across Albania and a pin cushion sent by Daria, the wife of Prince Aleksa Karadjordjević. Within the same event, a week earlier, a matinee and a concert were held at the city horse race course. Some £750 was raised.<sup>70</sup>

A lecture on “British Women in Serbia” delivered by Dr Milan Ćurčin, a Serbian poet and diplomat in London, was held at the Grafton Gallery in London in December 1917 with an aim of raising funds for the Serbian Red Cross. Ćurčin gave an account of the experiences of some 3,000 British women - doctors,

nurses and members of the medical and auxiliary staff in Serbia, underlining their resolve to help all those that would have needed it and their refusal to abandon the sick and wounded even at their own peril. The lecture was accompanied by photographic slides taken during the retreat across Albania. After the lecture, the visitors could enjoy the Serbian folk dances performed by the British girls from the Bergman-Österberg Physical Education College in Dartford and the Serbian boys educated in Great Britain.<sup>71</sup> A “Flag Day” was held in Newcastle on 5<sup>th</sup> October 1918. While announcing the event, the Honorary Secretary of the Serbian Relief Fund Robert Seton-Watson said that “at stake is nothing less than the future of a whole race. At least a quarter of the entire population had perished, and many thousands of Serbians owed their lives to the timely relief rendered by the British people”.<sup>72</sup>

On 10<sup>th</sup> August 1918 an appeal of the Serbian Relief Fund was published in Cambridge newspapers asking the British educational institutions to organise a special “Saturday for Serbia” event on 1<sup>st</sup> September, with

<sup>69</sup> AJ, 80, F75, *Yorkshire Observer*, 24<sup>th</sup> October 1917.

<sup>70</sup> “For Serbia’s Red Cross”, *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star*, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1918, 4.

<sup>71</sup> AJ, 80, F75, *The Morning Post*, 21<sup>st</sup> December 1917.

<sup>72</sup> AJ, 80, F75, *The Newcastle Daily Journal*, 4<sup>th</sup> October 1918.

izbeglica iz Srbije. Predviđeno je da se sačini spisak svih škola, odeljenja i učeničkih grupa koje budu učestovale u ovom događaju i skupile više od 1 funte priloga, kao i da se taj spisak preda Nj. v. kralju Srbije Petru I. Za tu priliku štampani su pamfleti koji je trebalo da pomognu nastavnicima da govore o srpskim izbeglicama na odgovarajući način, kako bi izazvali saosećenje kod britanskih dečaka i devojčica.<sup>73</sup>

Veliki srpski praznik u Velikoj Britaniji bio je „Kosovski dan”, odnosno organizovana proslava Vidovdana, kada su Britanci odavali sve počasti svom malom savezniku. Na inicijativu članova britanskih misija u Srbiji, koje je predvodila leđi Pedžet, po njihovom povratku u Veliku Britaniju 1916. godine osnovan je Odbor za proslavu kosovskog dana, a za predsednicu je izabrana Elsi Inglis. Zahvaljujući ljudima koji su bili angažovani u ovom odboru bili, u naredne tri godine širom Velike Britanije obeležavan je Vidovdan, kao dan sećanja na Kosovsku bitku, ali i na sve Srbe koji su tokom istorije pali za slobodu svog naroda i otadžbine. U Katedrali Svetog Pavla u Londonu, 7. jula 1916. godine, u sklopu proslave Vidovdana, održana je ve-

lika komemorativna služba za srpske i britanske vojnike, mornare, lekare i medicinske sestre koji su poginuli prilikom ratnih dejstava u Srbiji. Po menu su prisustvovali francuski i ruski ambasadori, srpski, grčki i rumunski poslanici, predsedavajući Donjeg doma britanskog parlamenta, gospođa Askvit<sup>74</sup> – supruga britanskog premijera, gradonačelnik Londona, 200 medicinskih sestara koje su služile u Srbiji, zatim predstavnici organizacija Bolnice škotskih žena, Britanskog Crvenog krsta i Unije britanskih bolnica u Srbiji, kao i 300 srpskih dečaka-izbeglica koji su u tom trenutku bili smeštani u Oksfordu i Kembridžu.<sup>75</sup> Ostatak dana dečaci su proveli sa leđi Kaudri, koja ih je vodila u obilazak botaničke bašte i zoološkog vrta,<sup>76</sup> a nakon toga i na čaj kod gradonačelnika Londona, gde su dobili na poklon primerke Šekspirovih dela.<sup>77</sup>

Na manifestaciji povodom proslave Kosovskog dana u Birmingemu, koja je održana 1916. godine u Midland institutu, okupljenima su se obratili gospodin Vojislav Antonijević<sup>78</sup>, prvi sekretar srpskog poslanstva u Londonu i dr Pavle Popović, član obrazovnog pododбора Srpskog potpornog fonda, koji su se zahvalili Velikoj Bri-

<sup>73</sup> „A Sunday for Serbia”, *Cambridge Daily News*, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1918, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Ema Alis Margaret Askvit, grofica od Oksforda i Askvita (1864–1945), poznatija kao Margo Askvit, bila je britanska publicistkinja i supruga predsednika vlade Herberta Henrija Askvita.

<sup>75</sup> „Died for Serbia”, *The Manchester Evening News*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916, 5.

<sup>76</sup> *For Serbia*, 15.

<sup>77</sup> „Education of Serbian Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Vojislav Antonijević (1885–1946) bio je srpski novinar i diplomata. Tokom Prvog svetskog rata službovao je u Londonu i Rimu.

the aim to inform the British school children about the state of the refugee children from Serbia. A full list of school, classes and student groups that would participate and raise at least £1 in donations was to be made and sent to His Majesty King Peter of Serbia. Leaflets had been printed out so that the teachers could relate the story of the Serbian refugees in such a way so as to elicit compassion from the British boys and girls.<sup>73</sup>

An important Serbian holiday in Great Britain was the so-called “Kosovo Day”, i.e. an organised celebration of St Vitus Day when the British would honour its ally. At the initiative of the members of British missions to Serbia, led by Lady Paget, following their return to Great Britain in 1916, a Board for the organisation of the Kosovo Day was established. Elsie Inglis was elected chairwoman of the Board. Thanks to the members of the Board during the next three years St Vitus day was celebrated in Great Britain as a day of remembrance of the Kosovo battle (1389) but also of the all Serbs that had died for the freedom of their people and their country. A

great commemorative service for the Serbian and British soldiers, sailors, doctors and nurses that had died during the war on Serbian soil, was held within the St Vitus Day celebration at St Paul’s Cathedral in London on 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916. French and Russian Ambassadors, Greek and Romanian Ministers, the Speaker of the Parliament, the wife of the British Prime Minister Mrs Asquith<sup>74</sup>, the Mayor of London, 200 nurses that had served in Serbia, representatives of the Scottish Women’s Hospital, British Red Cross, Union of British Hospitals in Serbia and some 300 Serbian refugee boys housed in Oxford and Cambridge were all in attendance.<sup>75</sup> The children spent the remainder of the day with Mrs Cowdray who took them to the Botanical Garden and the Zoo<sup>76</sup> and then were served tea at the Mayor of London’s where they were presented with Shakespeare’s books.<sup>77</sup>

At the 1916 Kosovo Day celebration in Birmingham’s Midlands Institute, guests were addressed by Mr Antonijević<sup>78</sup>, the First Secretary of the Serbian Legation in London and Dr Pavle Popović, a member of

<sup>73</sup> “A Sunday for Serbia”, *Cambridge Daily News*, 10<sup>th</sup> August 1918, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Emma Alice Margaret Asquith, Countess of Oxford and Asquith (1864–1945), better known as Margot Asquith, was a British publicist and the wife of the Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith.

<sup>75</sup> “Died for Serbia”, *The Manchester Evening News*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916, 5.

<sup>76</sup> *For Serbia*, 15.

<sup>77</sup> “Education of Serbian Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Vojislav Antonijević (1885–1946) was Serbian journalist and a diplomat. During the First World War he held posts in London and Rome.

taniji za svu pruženu pomoć. Skupu se obratila i leđi Pedžet, supruga ser Ralfa Pedžeta, bivšeg britanskog poslanika u Beogradu, istakavši u svom govoru hrabrost pripadnika i pripadnica medicinskog osoblja iz Birmingema, koji su dobrovoljno služili u medicinskoj misiji koju je ona predvodila u Srbiji.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> „Serbian Boys in Birmingham”, *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, 29th June 1916, 4.

the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund, who had thanked Great Britain for all the help. Lady Paget, the wife of a former Minister to Belgrade Sir Ralph Paget also spoke at that occasion, praising the courage of the medical staff from Birmingham that had volunteered in her medical mission in Serbia.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> "Serbian Boys in Birmingham", *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1916, 4.

## *4.5 Radna služba, javni radovi i praktičan rad u britanskim kompanijama*

Sastavni deo života srpskih dečaka u Velikoj Britaniji predstavljalo je učešće u javnim radovima od nacionalnog značaja. Usled angažovanja velikog broja radno sposobnih muškaraca na frontu, javila se potreba za radnom snagom, tako da je britanska vlada od samog početka rata bila primorana da na domaćem frontu angažuje sve slojeve stanovništva. Žene iz radničke klase su, osim neizostavne brige o deci i domaćinstvu, bile angažovane i u industrijskoj proizvodnji, dok je omladina - srednjoškolci i studenti - bila uposlena u poljoprivredi. Značaj ove vrste radova rastao je kako

je rat odmicao, jer je sve više vojno sposobnih muškaraca napuštalo svoje poslove da bi se priključili oružanim snagama, dobrovoljno ili putem regrutacije posle 1916. godine. Pored toga, dejstvo nemačkih podmornica otežalo je snabdevanje Velike Britanije različitim namirnicama, najviše žitaricama, tako da se ona mnogo više nego ranije oslanjala na domaću proizvodnju hrane i bilo je neophodno da se svi poljoprivredni radovi, naročito žetva, brzo i efikasno završe.

Učešće na javnim radovima, tokom raspusta, imalo je za srpsku omladinu višestruki značaj i korist. Prvo, radeći

## *4.5 Labour Service, Public Works and Practical Work in British Companies*

An integral part of the Serbian boys' lives in Great Britain was the participation in public works of national importance. The engagement of a large numbers of able-bodied men at the frontline had provoked a need for additional workforce and forced the British government to draw from all strata of the society for the home front. Working class women, alongside taking care of the children and households, were employed in industrial production, while the youth - secondary school pupil and students - were employed in agriculture. The importance of these jobs grew as the war continued, since more and

more men had left their jobs to join the armed forces, either voluntarily or by draft after 1916. Besides, the effects of German submarine warfare had made the supply of Great Britain with various goods, mostly cereals and other foods more difficult, so the country had to rely much more on the home-grown produce then before and ensure a timely completion of all agricultural operations, particularly harvest.

Participation of the Serbian youth in public works, during school breaks, had multifold importance and benefit. Firstly, by working on British

na britanskim farmama i u šumarskim kampovima, stekli su praktično znanje iz tih oblasti, kao i uvid u najsavremenije poljoprivredne metode koje su se primenjivale u Velikoj Britaniji, a koje su po završetku rata preneli u Srbiju. Zatim, fizička aktivnost i boravak na otvorenom pogodovali su njihovom oporavku i doprinosili poboljšanju zdravlja, značajno ugroženog svim nedaćama koje su preživeli tokom povlačenja sa srpskom vojskom. Takođe, budući da su srpski dečaci, izuzev u Aberdinu, živeli u specijalnim domovima, uređenim samo za njih, rad i druženje sa drugom decom na farmama i u šumarskim kampovima omogućili su im da se bolje upoznaju sa britanskom kulturom, načinom života i igrama njihovih vršnjaka. Možda i najvažnije bilo je to što su srpski dečaci javni rad doživljavali kao način da se oduže Velikoj Britaniji i njenom narodu za sve što su učinili za njih, o čemu svedoče i reči jednog dečaka, čiji je otac poginuo tokom povlačenja preko Albanije: „Mi se trudimo da damo sve od sebe za Englesku”.<sup>80</sup> On je zajedno sa drugim srpskim dečacima bio angažovan u branju jabuka u voćnjaci- ma u Kembridžu.

Trideset britanskih dečaka iz Koledža Čeltenhem i dvadeset dečaka iz Srbije koji su pohađali različite obrazovne ustanove u Oksfordu, proveli su letnji raspust 1917. godine u poljoprivrednom kampu u Kalneu, u Viltširu.<sup>81</sup> Tri nedelje zajedničkog rada na farmi omogućilo je da se srpski i britanski dečaci bolje upoznaju i međusobno zbliže.<sup>82</sup> Srpski dečaci su i naredne godine bili angažovani da rade na britanskim njivama, tokom letnjeg raspusta, od sredine juna do oktobra.<sup>83</sup> Njihova pomoć bila je dragocena, pošto je žetva u Engleskoj 1918. godine bila najbogatija u poslednjih 50 godina, još od daleke 1868. godine.<sup>84</sup> Na jugu Engleske čak je i nekoliko hiljada vojnika bilo pušteno na odsustvo, kako bi pomogli da se poljoprivredni radovi završe na vreme. Međutim, njihova pomoć nije bila dovoljna, tako da su za potrebe žetve angažovani i učenici, studenti, studentkinje, kadeti, skauti, belgijske i srpske izbeglice, nemački ratni zarobljenici, radnici u trgovinama posle radnog vremena i mnogi drugi.<sup>85</sup>

I u Škotskoj je 1918. godina bila veoma plodna, tako da je organizovano šest kampova za učenike iz Aberdina, koji su pomagali u žetvi u Tarifu, Badeno-

<sup>80</sup> „Serbians Doing Thier Bit for England”, *Sunday Pictorial*, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1916, 9.

<sup>81</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1917, 3.

<sup>82</sup> *Gloucester Journal*, 20<sup>th</sup> of October 1917, 5; „Adresses by Sir Edward Boyle and Mrs. Carrington Wilde”, *The Cheltenham Looker-On*, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 8.

<sup>83</sup> „Serbian Boys on English Farms”, *The Lancashire Daily Post*, 17<sup>th</sup> June 1918, 4.

<sup>84</sup> „Bountiful Harvest”, *Gloucestershire Echo*, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1918, 1.

<sup>85</sup> „Soldiers for Harvest”, *Whitby Gazette*, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1918, 5.

farms and in forest camps, they gained the practical knowledge in these jobs and an insight into the latest agricultural techniques in practice in Great Britain that would be transferred to Serbia after the war. Physical activity and being outdoors benefited their rehabilitation and contributed to their overall health which had been severely compromised by the hardships suffered during the retreat with the army. Also, as the Serbian boys, except for those in Aberdeen, lived in special boarding schools prepared just for them, work and socialising with other children at farms and in forest camps allowed them to become better acquainted with the British culture, way of life and games played by their peers. Possibly the most important factor was that public works allowed the Serbs to repay Great Britain and its people for all they had done for them, and words of a Serbian boy whose father had been killed during the retreat across Albania testify to that: “We are trying to do our best for England”.<sup>80</sup> He was employed, together with other boys, as an apple picker in the Cambridge apple orchards.

Thirty British boys from Cheltenham

College and twenty Serbian boys educated at various schools in Oxford, spent the summer break of 1917 at an agricultural camp in Calne, Wiltshire.<sup>81</sup> Three weeks of joint labour at the farm allowed the British and Serbian boys to get to know one another and become close.<sup>82</sup> Serbian boys were again sent to work on British farms during the summer break of 1918, from mid-June to October.<sup>83</sup> Their help was invaluable, as the harvest of 1918 turned out to be the best in previous fifty years, since 1868.<sup>84</sup> In southern England, several thousand soldiers had been sent home to help finish the agricultural works associated with the harvest on time. However, their help was not enough, so pupils, students, both boys and girls, cadets, scouts, Belgian and Serbian refugees, German POWs, workers in stores and many others were employed after the business hours.<sup>85</sup>

Scotland had a very fruitful 1918 as well, and six camps were established to accommodate the students from Aberdeen who helped with the harvest in Turriff, Badenoch, Maud, Newmachar and Echt in Aberdeenshire, and in Fordoun in Kincardineshire. Each camp numbered 60 to 70 boys,

<sup>80</sup> “Serbians Doing Thier Bit for England”, *Sunday Pictorial*, 20th August 1916, 9.

<sup>81</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 1st September 1917, 3.

<sup>82</sup> *Gloucester Journal*, 20th October 1917, 5; “Addresses by Sir Edward Boyle and Mrs Carrington Wilde”, *The Cheltenham Looker-On*, 20th October 1917, 8.

<sup>83</sup> “Serbian Boys on English Farms”, *The Lancashire Daily Post*, 17th June 1918, 4.

<sup>84</sup> “Bountiful Harvest”, *Gloucestershire Echo*, 20th August 1918, 1.

<sup>85</sup> “Soldiers for Harvest”, *Whitby Gazette*, 16th August 1918, 5.

<sup>86</sup> Miodrag Ibrovac (1885–1973) bio je istoričar književnosti i profesor francuskog jezika na Filološkom fakultetu u Beogradu, kao i član Srpske kraljevske akademije. Za vreme Prvog svetskog rata radio je za srpske prosvetne vlasti u Francuskoj.

<sup>87</sup> „Serbian Ministers Visit to Aberdeen - Harvest Camp Inspected”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1918, 2.

<sup>88</sup> „Educating Serbian Boys”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1916, 4.

<sup>89</sup> „Serbian Boys as Farm Students”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1918, 5.

<sup>90</sup> Vilijem Kevendiš-Bentink (1857–1943), šesti vojvoda od Portlanda, bio je britanski plemić, vojnik i konzervativni političar. Obavljao je brojne upravne i administrativne funkcije, kako na državnom tako i na lokalnom nivou. Bio je i brat Henrija Kevendiša-Bentinka, predsednika Srpskog potpornog fonda.

hu, Modu, Njumaharu i Ehtu - u Aberdinširu i u Fordunu - u Kinkardinširu. U svakom kampu bilo je između 60 i 70 dečaka, a u kampu u Ehtu formirana je posebna grupa koju su činili dečaci iz Srbije, pod komandom gospodina Robertsona. Tokom obilaska dečaka koji su se školovali u Velikoj Britaniji, delegacija srpskih zvaničnika posetila je i kamp u Ehtu, a među delegatima su bili ministar prosvete Miloš Trifunović, dr Pavle Popović, predstavnik Prosvetnog saveta u Londonu, profesor Bogdan Popović, profesor Miodrag Ibrovac<sup>86</sup>, sekretar ministra i profesor Mihailo Popović, kao i gospođa Karington Vajld, predsednica obrazovnog pododbora Srpskog potpornog fonda. Gradonačelnik Ehta, gospodin Smiti, primio je ovu delegaciju, istakavši tom prilikom radnu sposobnost i marljivost srpskih dečaka.<sup>87</sup>

Želeći da pomognu srpskim dečacima da steknu adekvatna znanja i veštine iz moderne poljoprivredne proizvodne, britanski domaćini su, pored praktičnog rada, organizovali za njih i edukaciju i teorijsku obuku. Neposredno posle dolaska izbeglica u Veliku Britaniju, obrazovni podbor Srpskog potpornog fonda uputio

je molbu Poljoprivrednom koledžu u Aberdinu da primi na studije grupu srpskih dečaka. Na sastanku održanom 1. juna 1916. godine uprava koledža utvrdila je da dečaci ne mogu biti primljeni zbog nedostatka mesta, ali je doneta odluka da nastavno osoblje koledža, bez naknade, podučava srpske mladiće, ako ih prime i smešte neke druge školske institucije u gradu. Rešeno je da se pokrene obrazovni kurs iz poljoprivrede, koji će pohađati dečaci između 15 i 18 godina starosti. Kurs nije bio ograničen samo na Srbe, već su mogli biti primljeni i drugi polaznici, koji su pokazali interesovanje kod školskih vlasti.<sup>88</sup> Zahvaljujući Poljoprivrednom koledžu, dvojici srpskih dečaka iz Aberdina omogućeno je 1918. godine da pohađaju praktičnu nastavu na imanju Džona Bama u Miltimberu. Odlukom uprava koledža i univerziteta, srpski studenti pohađali su kurs bez naknade troškova.<sup>89</sup>

Veoma značajan plan za pomoć u obnovi srpske poljoprivrede u periodu posle rata, sproveo je 1918. godine Saveznički poljoprivredni potporni fond (*Agricultural Relief of the Allies Fund*), kojim je predsedavao vojvoda od Portlanda<sup>90</sup>. Fond je preuzeo na sebe

and a separate group comprising the Serbian boys, under the supervision of Mr Robertson, was formed at the camp in Echt. A delegation of the Serbian officials, with the Minister of Education Miloš Trifunović, Dr Pavle Popović from the Education Board in London, Professor Bogdan Popović, Professor Miodrag Ibrovac<sup>86</sup> a Secretary to the Ministry, Professor Mihailo Popović as well as Mrs Carrington Wilde, Head of the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund, visited the Echt camp. Mr Smithy, the Mayor of Echt met with the Serbian delegation and praised the working abilities and diligence of the Serbian boys.<sup>87</sup>

In an effort to help the Serbian boys acquire adequate knowledge and skills of modern agricultural production, their British hosts had organised education and theoretical lessons in addition to the practical work. Immediately following the arrival of the Serbian refugees in Great Britain, the Educational Subcommittee of the Serbian Relief Fund asked the College of Agriculture in Aberdeen to accept a group of Serbian students. At a meeting held on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1916, the College Board had decided they could not

accept the Serbian students due to a lack of space, but a decision was made that college professors would teach those students for free if some other educational institution in the city would accept them. It was decided to start an educational course in agronomy which would be attended by boys aged between 15 to 18 years. The course was not limited to the Serbs only and would accepted any students who had registered their interest with the school authorities.<sup>88</sup> Thanks to the College of Agriculture, two Serbian boys were sent in 1918 for practical lessons to John Bum's farm in Milltimber. A decision of the College Board allowed the Serbian students to attend the course for free.<sup>89</sup>

A very important plan aimed at helping the restoration of the Serbian agriculture after the war was devised by the Agricultural Relief of the Allies Fund, under the presidency of the Duke of Portland.<sup>90</sup> The Fund took upon itself to organise practical and theoretical courses for the interested Serbian students - primarily for the boys from farming families - and to provide for them during those courses. During the summer, the boys had practical education on farms with the

<sup>86</sup> Miodrag Ibrovac (1885-1973) was a literary historian, professor of French language at the University of Belgrade's Philological Faculty, and member of the Serbian Royal Academy. During the First World War he worked with the Serbian educational authorities in France.

<sup>87</sup> "Serbian Ministers Visit to Aberdeen - Harvest Camp Inspected", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1918, 2.

<sup>88</sup> "Educating Serbian Boys", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1916, 4.

<sup>89</sup> "Serbian Boys as Farm Students", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1918, 5.

<sup>90</sup> William Cavendish-Bentinck, 6th Duke of Portland (1857-1943) was a British aristocrat, soldier and a conservative politician. He held numerous governing and administrative functions at the state and local levels. He was a brother of Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, Chairman of the Serbian Relief Fund.

obavezu da organizuje praktičnu i teorijsku nastavu poljoprivrede za zainteresovane srpske učenike - prevažno za dečake seljačkog porekla - i da obezbedi sredstva za njihovo izdržavanje dok kurs bude trajao. Dečaci su tokom leta imali praktičnu nastavu na farmama vodećih britanskih agronoma, a u toku zime pohađali su kurseve u organizaciji poljoprivrednih koledža, koji su velikodušno pristali da sarađuju sa fondom. Želja članova komiteta bila je da srpske izbeglice ovladaju britanskim agronomskim metodama, kako bi posle rata mogle predvoditi obnovu uništene srpske poljoprivrede.<sup>91</sup> Agronomski kursevi organizovani su u Kembridžu, Oksfordu i Redingu, u poljoprivrednim koledžima škotskih univerziteta, ali i na prestižnom poljoprivrednom koledžu Harper Adams u grofoviji Šropšir, koji je važio za najbolju poljoprivrednu obrazovnu ustanovu u zemlji.<sup>92</sup>

Avgusta 1917. godine, u šumama severno od Aberdina i Disajda postojala su četiri kampa za đake iz Škotske, čiji je cilj bio angažovanje omladine u šumarskim poslovima, seči stabala i gruboj obradi drvne građe. Rad u kampovima predstavljao je deo plana da se stariji dečaci u srednjim škola-

ma obuče šumarstvu i sprovodio se pod nadzorom britanskog Ministarstva poljoprivrede. Tokom leta 1917. godine, od sredine juna do sredine septembra, više od 1000 dečaka bilo je angažovano na istom ili sličnom zadatku u kampovima širom zemlje.<sup>93</sup> Trideset đaka iz Srbije, koji su pohađali školu Džordž Heriot, zajedno sa drugim đacima iz Edinburga (ukupno oko 200 njih) pridružili su se radovima u kampu u šumi Remoar avgusta 1917. godine. Edinburški kontigent zamenio je dečake iz Glazgova, koji su bili na istom zadatku i u kampu su boravili oko mesec dana. Većina srpskih dečaka tokom leta je već učestvovala u seči šume i veoma su brzo prihvatili način života u šumskim kampovima, doživljavajući ih kao priliku za koristan fizički rad.<sup>94</sup> Šuma Remoar, koja se prostirala na 300 jutara (121,5 hektara), nalazila se severno od Benkoria, u Disajdu. U kampu su se okupili dečaci između 14 i 17 godina starosti, koji su brzo učili i naporno radili, 7 i po sati dnevno, obrađujući za to vreme u proseku oko 1300 stabala. Život u kampu bio je striktno kontrolisan i propisana su stroga pravila. Dan je počinjao ustajanjem u 6.30, zatim je sledila inspekcija opreme i alata u 7.00, doručak u 7.15 i odlazak na

<sup>91</sup> „Serbians Study British Farming”, *The Western Times*, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1918, 8; „Serbians Study British Farming”, *The Midland Daily Telegraph*, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1918, 1; „Scientific Agriculture for Serbian Boys”, *Cambridge Daily News*, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1918, 3.

<sup>92</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1924, 3.

<sup>93</sup> „Edinburgh Boys for Forestry Works”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1917, 4.

<sup>94</sup> „Serbian Boys in Edinburgh in Kilts”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 25<sup>th</sup> July 1917, 4.

leading British agronomists and during the winter they took classes with the leading British agricultural colleges that had generously accepted the cooperation with the Fund. The wish of the committee members was to teach the Serbian refugees the British agronomy methods, in order for them to lead the restoration of the destroyed Serbian agriculture after the war.<sup>91</sup> Agronomy courses were organised in Cambridge, Oxford, Reading, in agricultural colleges of the Scottish universities and also at the prestigious Harper Adams Agricultural College in Shropshire, which was regarded as the best agricultural educational establishment in the country.<sup>92</sup>

In August 1917, in the forests north of Aberdeen and Deeside there were four camps for the students from Scotland, established with an aim of engaging the youth in forestry, tree-felling and crude timber processing. Camp work was a part of the plan to train the older secondary school boys in forestry and under the supervision of the British Ministry of Agriculture. During the summer of 1917, from mid-June to mid-September more than 1,000 boys were engaged in the same or similar tasks in camps around the

country.<sup>93</sup> Thirty students from Serbia that attended George Heriot's School, together with other students from Edinburgh, 200 in total, joined the camp at the Raemoir forest in August 1917. The Edinburgh contingent replaced the boys from Glasgow who had been in the camp on the same assignment during the previous month. Most of the Serbian boys took part in tree-felling and adapted quickly to the camp way of life perceiving it as an opportunity for productive physical work.<sup>94</sup> The Raemoir forest, sprawling at 300 acres (121.5 hectares) was located north of Banchory in Deeside. Boys aged 14 to 17 studied and worked hard, 7.5 hours per day, processing an average of 1,300 trees a day. The camp life was strictly controlled and operated under a firm set of rules. Day began at 6.30am with a wakeup call, followed by the inspection of tools and equipment at 7am and breakfast at 7.15am and the work started at 8am. A joint lunch eaten in the forest took place at 12.30pm and comprised sandwiches, with an afternoon snack served at 5pm after the return to the camp. The boys had free time until 9pm which they usually used for playing, walking and cycling. Dinner was served at 9pm

<sup>91</sup> "Serbians Study British Farming", *The Western Times*, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1918, 8; "Serbians Study British Farming", *The Midland Daily Telegraph*, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1918, 1; "Scientific Agriculture for Serbian Boys", *Cambridge Daily News*, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1918, 3.

<sup>92</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924, 3.

<sup>93</sup> "Edinburgh Boys for Forestry Works", *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1917, 4.

<sup>94</sup> "Serbian Boys in Edinburgh in Kilts", *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 25<sup>th</sup> July 1917, 4.

rad u 8.00 časova. Zajednički ručak u šumi organizovan je u 12.30, a sastojao se od sendviča koje su dečaci nosili; povratak u kamp bio je predviđen za 17.00, kada je servirana i popodnevna užina. Dečaci su posle toga imali slobodno vreme do 21.00, koje su obično koristili za igru, šetnju i vožnju biciklom. U 21.00 se služila večera i posle molitve u 22.00 odlazilo se na spavanje. Spavaonice u kampu Remoar zapravo su bile preuređena perionica veša Remoar hausa, dok je nekoliko dečaka boravilo u šatorima ili privatnim apartmanima u okolini.

U kampu u šumi Vreton, severno od Aberdina, radilo je šezdesetak dečaka iz škole Hilhed u Glazgovu, koji su bili smešteni na imanju farme Vreton. U ovom kampu nalazila su se i petorica srpskih dečaka-izbeglica, pridošlih iz Dandija. U jednom delu šume u kojem je radilo 36 dečaka, obarano je i obrađivano u proseku 400 stabala dnevno, tako da je od

otvaranja kampa 16. jula do 17. avgusta 1917. godine ukupno obrađeno 5223 stabla. Srpski dečaci pokazali su se kao vredni radnici - jaki i aktivni u seči i veoma spretni i umešni prilikom obrade drveta.<sup>95</sup> Osim uobičajene rasonode koju su imali, za britanske i srpske dečake u kampu Vreton, često su bili organizovani izleti. Na primer, Donald Munro, na čijem su imanju radili, subotom ih je vodio u obilaske zamka Balmoral, koji pripada britanskoj kraljevskoj porodici, kao i obližnjeg gradića Balater, koji je i danas popularno izletišta, poznato po termalnim izvorima.<sup>96</sup> Po sličnom principu i po gotovo istom programu radila je grupa srpskih dečaka sa Oksforda, studenata šumarstva na različitim koledžima tog univerzitetskog grada. Tokom leta 1917. godine, imali su praktičnu nastavu u šumi Din u Glosterširu, pod nadzorom profesora ser Vilijama Šliha, vodećeg britanskog stručnjaka u oblasti šumarstva tog vremena.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> „Schoolboys as Foresters”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 13<sup>th</sup> August 1917, 2.

<sup>96</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>97</sup> „Serbians at an Agricultural Camp”, *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, 31<sup>st</sup> August 1917, 5; „Serbian Students at Oxford”, *The Times*, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1917.

and, following the evening prayers, the bedtime was at 10pm. Most boys slept in a dormitory converted from the Raemoir House laundry room, while some slept in tents or in private accommodation nearby.

Some 60 boys from Glasgow's Hillhead School worked in the camp in the Wretton forest, north of Aberdeen and were settled at the Wretton Farm Estate. Five Serbian boys that were settled in Dundee worked at the Wretton camp. In one part of the forest 36 boys managed to process 400 trees daily on average, 5,223 in total from the camp's opening on 16<sup>th</sup> July until 17<sup>th</sup> August 1917. The Serbian boys were good workers - strong and active in the tree-felling and skilled and handy in the tree-processing.<sup>95</sup>

Alongside the usual pastimes, the boys of the Wretton camp, including the Serbian boys, often had organised tours. For example, Donald Munroe, the owner of the estate where the boys worked took them to see the Balmoral Castle, owned privately by the British Royal family, and to the nearby town of Ballater, still popular picnic ground with thermal springs.<sup>96</sup> A group of Serbian boys from Oxford, all students of forest engineering at various colleges in that town, worked according to the same programme. During the summer of 1917 they had practical education at the Dean forest in Gloucestershire under the supervision of Professor Sir William Schlich, the foremost British forestry expert of his time.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> "Schoolboys as Foresters", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 13<sup>th</sup> August 1917, 2.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> "Serbians at an Agricultural Camp", *The Birmingham Daily Mail*, 31<sup>st</sup> August 1917, 5; "Serbian Students at Oxford", *The Times*, 15<sup>th</sup> November 1917.

## 4.6 Sport i fizička aktivnost

<sup>98</sup> Dragan Milićević, „Pre dvadeset godina”, *Danica*, br. 2 (1940), 9.

<sup>99</sup> Dragan Milićević (1891-1942) bio je srpski ekonomista, a u međuratnom periodu sekretar Industrijske komore Beograda. Kao istaknutog anglofila, nemačke okupacione vlasti streljale su ga tokom Drugog svetskog rata.

<sup>100</sup> Dragan Milićević, „Oksford i Kembridž”, *Britanija*, br. 3 (1940), 21.

Pošto su se smestili u razne gradove širom Velike Britanije i počeli da pohađaju nastavu, srpski đaci upoznali su se i sa brojnim vannastavnim aktivnostima karakterističnim za britanski školski život, od kojih im se svakako najviše dopao sport. Srbi su se bavili fudbalom, atletikom, boksom, ali su se oprobali i u sportovima koji su im do tada bili manje poznati, kao što su ragbi, kriket, veslanje i mnogi drugi. Već po samom dolasku u Veliku Britaniju, srpskim studentima u Oksfordu i Kembridžu je uz neophodnu odeću i obuću podeljena i oprema za različite sportove. Tako su mladići iz Srbije do-

bili i rekvizite za tenis, fudbal, kriket, hokej, veslanje, plivanje i razne druge sportove.<sup>98</sup> Dragan Milićević<sup>99</sup>, koji je rat proveo studirajući na Oksfordu, zabeležio je kako: „Svi [koledži] imaju svoja sportska igrališta, za tenis, hoki, fudbal i svoje drvene kućice „bardžes“ na reci za veslačke timove”.<sup>100</sup> Međutim, kako je u Srbiji pre rata sport bio veoma slabo razvijen, većina srpskih studenata i đaka nikada se ranije nije bavila njime. Ipak, školske vlasti podsticale su ih da se bave sportom, tako da su Srbi ubrzo postali aktivni učesnici sportskog života na svim univerzitetima i školama koje su pohađali.

## 4.6 Sport and Physical Activity

Having been settled in various cities across Great Britain and having started attending classes, the Serbian students met with the host of extracurricular activities characteristic of the British school life, with sports being the favourite ones. The Serbs had already played football, athletics and boxed, and now they had an opportunity to try out sports they knew little about, such as rugby, cricket, rowing and others. At Oxford and Cambridge, the Serbian students were issued sports equipment with their regular clothing right after they had arrived to Great Britain. Thus the young boys from Serbia got kits for tennis, foot-

ball, cricket, hockey, rowing, swimming and other sports.<sup>98</sup> Dragan Milićević<sup>99</sup>, who spent the war in Great Britain studying at Oxford, wrote that “all [colleges] have their own playing grounds, for tennis, hockey, football and their wooden river “barges” for their rowing teams”.<sup>100</sup> However, as sport had been poorly developed in the pre-war Serbia, most of the Serbian students and pupils have never played any sports. Still, they were supported by the school authorities to take up sports, so the Serbs quickly became active participants in sports life of all universities and schools they had attended.

<sup>98</sup> Dragan Milićević, “Pre dvadeset godina”, *Danica*, no. 2 (1940), 9.

<sup>99</sup> Dragan Milićević (1891–1942) was Serbian economist, secretary of the Industrial Chamber of Belgrade in interwar period. As a distinguished Anglophile he was killed by the Nazis during the Second World War.

<sup>100</sup> Dragan Milićević, “Oksford i Kembriđž”, *Britanija*, no. 3 (1940), 21.

<sup>101</sup> „Serbian Boys” Christmas”, *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1917, 4.

<sup>102</sup> Nikola Simić - Pop (1897-1969) bio je srpski fudbaler i fudbalski trener. Prvi svetski rat proveo je u Francuskoj, osim jednog kraćeg perioda kada je studirao teologiju na Oksfordu.

<sup>103</sup> Srbislav Todorović, *Fudbal u Srbiji 1896-1918* (Beograd: SOFK Zvezdara, 1996), 72.

<sup>104</sup> Dejan Zec, Filip Baljkas i Miloš Paunović, *Srpsko-britanski sportski kontakti u vreme Prvog svetskog rata* (Beograd: Centar za sportsko nasleđe Jugoistočne Evrope, 2015), 162-169.

Među srpskim dečacima-izbeglicama koji su se tokom rata školovali u Velikoj Britaniji najpopularniji sport bio je fudbal. Glavni razlog za to predstavlja činjenica da je od svih sportova u predratnoj Srbiji fudbal bio najpoznatiji i najrasprostranjeniji i dečaci su imali prilike da ga gledaju, a neki čak i igraju. I britanski domaćini znali su za veliku ljubav srpskih dečaka prema fudbalu, tako da je u Kembridžu, prilikom proslave Božića 1916. godine, organizovan fudbalski meč između srpskog tima i domaće ekipe „Roms Old Boys”. Premda su pružili energičan i dobar otpor, posle samo nekoliko meseci provedenih u Velikoj Britaniji srpski dečaci nisu bili dorasli engleskim fudbalerima, tako da su poraženi rezultatom 4:1.<sup>101</sup> Zanimanje Srba za fudbal ubrzo je dovelo do toga da su neki od njih postali redovni članovi fudbalskih timova svojih univerziteta i koledža. Najznačajniji srpski fudbaler, koji je ostavio traga i u Velikoj Britaniji, bio je Nikola Simić Pop<sup>102</sup>, predratni igrač beogradskog „BSK”-a, a posle rata jugoslovenski reprezentativac i selektor jugoslovenske fudbalske reprezentacije. On je tokom 1916. godine, pre nego što je otišao u Francusku, proveo nekoliko meseci u Oksfordu, gde je za to kratko

vreme izborio mesto u prvoj postavi fudbalskog tima oksfordskog Novog koledža.<sup>103</sup> Tokom rata u Velikoj Britaniji je boravio i Borivoje Marković, sportski novinar i član uprave beogradskog fudbalskog kluba „Soko”. Igrajući fudbal za univerzitetski tim, Marković je doživeo brojne zanimljivosti, koje je kao anegdote često prenosio svojim čitaocima. Po povratku u oslobođenu domovinu, on je bio jedan od najvećih zagovornika uvođenja profesionalizma u jugoslovenski sport, po uzoru na Veliku Britaniju. Pored Simića i Markovića, fudbalom su se bavili i drugi srpski đaci, među kojima su bili i Arsen Gazivoda, Dušan Spasojević, Vojislav Živković, Sava Radovanović i Milorad Jevđović.<sup>104</sup>

Osim fudbala, veliku popularnost među srpskim dečacima, naročito onima koji su pohađali školu Džordž Heriot u Edinburgu, stekao jevremskom i ragbi. U početku, Srbima se ovaj sport nije dopao, jer im se činilo da je igra veoma gruba. Tek kada se jedan od srpskih mladića odvažio da se oproba u ragbiju, te preneo svoje pozitivne utiske o igri, i ostali đaci ove edinburške škole su odlučili su se na isti korak. Srpskim dečacima ragbi se svideo odmah posle prve odigrane

Football was the most popular sport amongst the Serbian children refugees educated in Great Britain. The main reason for that was that football was most widely known and practiced in the pre-war Serbia, so the Serbian boys had a chance to watch it and some of them even to play it. The British hosts knew about the great affection that the Serbian boys had for football, so a football match was organised in Cambridge at Christmas 1916 between the Serbs and the home team, Romsey Old Boys. The Serbs gave an energetic and solid resistance but after only a few months in Great Britain they were no match for the English footballers and they lost 4:1.<sup>101</sup> The Serbian interest in football quickly led some of the boys to become regular members of their university and college teams. The most important Serbian footballer that made a mark in Great Britain was Nikola Simić Pop<sup>102</sup>, who played for Belgrade's BSK football club and was a member and a manager of the national team after the war. Before he went to France in 1916, he had spent several months at Oxford, and for that short period of time he became a member of the first team of New College.<sup>103</sup> Borivoje Marković, a sports journalist and the

member of the board of Soko football club also spent time in Britain during the war. Playing for the university team, he had experienced a number of anecdotes that he later related to his readers. Having returned to Serbia, he was one of the most prominent advocates of professionalization of the Yugoslav sports, looking at Great Britain as an example. Besides Simić and Marković, other Serbian students played football, like Arsen Gazivoda, Dušan Spasojević, Vojislav Živković, Sava Radovanović and Milorad Jevđjović.<sup>104</sup>

Beside football, rugby became very popular amongst the Serbian boys, especially those who attended George Heriot's School in Edinburgh. At first, however, they did not like it since they thought that it was too rough. After one of the boys had dared to try rugby and gave very positive impressions on the game, the others decided to follow suit. The Serbian boys fell in love with rugby after the very first game and soon all of them had started attending school team's practice. Živko Ilić, a participant in the events, recorded the start of the Serbian rugby at George Heriot's School: "They took us to the playing

<sup>101</sup> "Serbian Boys' Christmas", *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1917, 4.

<sup>102</sup> Nikola Simić (1897-1969) was a Serbian football player and coach. He spent the First World War in France, part from a short period of time when he studied theology at Oxford.

<sup>103</sup> Srbslav Todorović, *Fudbal u Srbiji 1896-1918* (Beograd: SOFK Zvezdara, 1996), 72.

<sup>104</sup> Dejan Zec, Filip Baljkas and Miloš Paunović, *Srpsko-britanski sportski kontakti u vreme Prvog svetskog rata* (Beograd: Centar za sportsko nasleđe Jugoistočne Evrope, 2015), 162-169.

utakmice i ubrzo su svi počeli da odlaze na treninge školskog tima. Svedočenje o počecima srpskog ragbija u školi Džordž Heriot zabeležio je Živko Ilić, i sam učesnik tih događaja: „Tamo su nas već prvih dana izveli na sportsko igralište. Nijedan od nas nije do tada ni dotakao loptu i mi smo se stidljivo ustručavali da se uključimo u grupe koje su trenirale tada najpopularniji sport u Britaniji, ragbi. Međutim, već posle prvih treninga postali smo najrevnosniji i najtačniji. Profesor Hardi je uskoro imao muke sa nama jer nije mogao da nas otera sa igrališta.”<sup>105</sup>

Školske vlasti prepoznale su potencijal srpskih mladića, tako da su njih trojica – Toma Tomić, Danilo Pavlović i Dimitrije Dulkanović – bili odabrani da se priključe prvom školskom ragbi timu, dok su ostali nastavili da treniraju odvojeno, formirajući na taj način srpski ragbi tim.<sup>106</sup> Srpski đaci već do kraja 1916. godine učestvovali u raznim školskim takmičenjima u ragbiju, najpre na području Edinburga, a potom i širom Škotske. Prvi značajniji rezultat postigli su samo nekoliko meseci po dolasku u Veliku Britaniju, decembra 1916. godine, kada su izborili nerešen rezultat u susretu sa eki-

pom edinburške Kraljevske srednje škole.<sup>107</sup> Takođe, srpski đaci koji su se školovali u drugim gradovima Škotske, po ugledu na svoje sunarodnike iz Edinburga, počeli su da se zanimaju za ragbi i da odlaze na treninge školskih timova.<sup>108</sup>

Srpski ragbi tim škole Džordž Heriot ostvario je najveći uspeh tokom 1918. godine, kada je, uoči finala školskog dobrotvornog turnira grada Edinburga, odigrao revijalnu utakmicu protiv ekipe đaka iz britanskih Dominionona koji su se školovali u Škotskoj.<sup>109</sup> Tim srpskih đaka predstavljen je kao ragbi reprezentacija Srbije i za tu priliku dobili su nove dresove – crvene majice, plave šortseve i bele čarape na kojima je bila srpska trobojka. Pred oko 30.000 gledalaca, 11. aprila 1918. godine srpski đaci su, predvođeni trenerom Hardijem uspeli da pobede tim đaka iz britanskih Dominionona, u kojem su igrali jedan Južnoafrikanac, jedan Novozelčanin, dva Kanadana i tri Indusa. Dečake su tokom meča bodrili drugovi koji su nastupili za reprezentaciju škole. Živko Ilić je o toj utakmici zabeležio: „Kada je počela igra videlo se da je protivnik daleko bolji nego što smo mislili. Međutim mi smo igrali kao jedan, dodavali smo

<sup>105</sup> Živko Ilić, „Igrali smo ragbi”, *Sport*, 28. septembar 1953.

<sup>106</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>107</sup> „Royal High School v. Serbians”, *Scholar Regia*, December 1916, 38.

<sup>108</sup> Ilić, *n. d.*

<sup>109</sup> „The Seven-a-Side School Tournament”, *The Watsonian*, April 1918, 93; „School Seven-a-Sides at Inverleith for Red Cross”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 8<sup>th</sup> March 1918.

field in the very first days. None of us had touched the ball before and we were shy to be a part of groups that trained the then most popular sports in Britain, rugby. However, after just few practices we were most diligent and most punctuate of all. Professor Hardy soon had trouble with us since he could not keep us off the field.”<sup>105</sup>

The school authorities soon recognised the potential of the Serbian boys and three of them - Toma Tomić, Danilo Pavlović and Dimitrije Dulkanović were selected to join the first team and the rest have continued to train separately, forming in the process a Serbian rugby team.<sup>106</sup> The Serbian students were advancing very quickly so by the end of 1916 they had already participated in school rugby competitions, first in Edinburgh and then all over Scotland. The first important result was achieved just a few months after their arrival to Great Britain, in December 1916 when they reached a draw against the Edinburgh’s Royal High School team.<sup>107</sup> Also, looking up to their compatriots from Edinburgh, the Serbian students in other Scottish towns became interested in rugby and started to attend practices of their school teams.<sup>108</sup>

The greatest success of the Serbian rugby team of George Heriot’s School happened in 1918 when a friendly game against the team of boys from the Dominion countries who were studying in Scotland was played before the finals of the Edinburgh school charity tournament.<sup>109</sup> The team of the Serbian boys was labelled as a Serbian national team and got new uniforms - red shirts, blue shorts and white socks with the Serbian tricolour flag. In front of some 30,000 spectators on 11<sup>th</sup> April, the Serbian boys led by their coach Hardy and cheered by their compatriots that were a part of official school team, managed to defeat the British Dominions’ team that comprised a South African, a New Zealander, two Canadians and three Hindus. Živko Ilić wrote of the game: “When the game started it was obvious that the opponent was much better than we thought. However, we played like one, passed the ball without hesitation and were relentless. We won 8:3. That was the first game in Great Britain at which the Serbian youth represented its distant and enslaved county and won a victory.”<sup>110</sup>

In a letter published in the local newspapers in March 1919, the Serbian

<sup>105</sup> Živko Ilić, “Igrali smo ragbi”, *Sport*, 28. septembar 1953.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> “Royal High School v. Serbians”, *Schola Regia*, December 1916, 38.

<sup>108</sup> Ilić, *op. cit.*

<sup>109</sup> “The Seven-a-Side School Tournament”, *The Watsonian*, April 1918, 93; “School Seven-a-Sides at Inverleith for Red Cross”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 8<sup>th</sup> March 1918.

bez oklevanja i bili neumorni. Pobili smo sa 8:3. To je bila prva utakmica na tlu Velike Britanije u kojoj je srpska omladina reprezentirala svoju daleku porobljenu domovinu i izvojevala pobjedu.”<sup>110</sup>

U pismu od marta 1919. godine, objavljenom u lokalnim edinburškim novinama, srpski dečaci koji su pohađali školu u Džordž Heriot, po povratku u Srbiju, zahvalili su se svojim škotskim domaćinima, profesorima i đacima na svemu što su za njih učinili tokom tri godine boravka u Edinburgu. Naravno, istakli su svog trenera ragbija gospodina Hardija, koji je pokazao interesovanje za njih i naučio ih različitim finesama igre, kao i gospodina Kolta, koji je mnogo pomogao u organizaciji srpskog ragbi tima. Dečaci su mu tom prilikom izrekli specijalnu zahvalnost, ističući da će njegovo ime biti ubeleženo u istoriji srpskog ragbija kao predsednika Srpskog ragbi kluba u Edinburgu, prvog ragbi tima koji su Srbi ikada imali.<sup>111</sup> U istom pismu đaci su obećali da će po povratku u Srbiju širiti ragbi među svojim zemljacima i izrazili da će se jednog dana vratiti u Škotsku sa srpskom ragbi reprezentacijom. Sličnog mišljenja bio je i jedan britanski novinar, koji

je, prateći uspehe srpskih ragbista, izneo pretpostavku da će zahvaljujući srpskim studentima iz Edinburga ova igra „uhvatiti korena” u Srbiji i da će „ragbi savez Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva verovatnije poslati ragbi tim mnogo pre u Beograd nego u Berlin”.<sup>112</sup>

Osim u fudbalu i ragbiju, srpski đaci i studenti oprobali su se i u: veslanju, atletici, boksu, kriketu i drugim sportovima. U novinskoj reportaži o srpskim učenicima u Birminghamu zabeleženo je da su oni igrali staromodnu igru raunders u dvorištu srpske kuće u Seli Ouku.<sup>113</sup> Raunders je igra sa palicom i loptom, slična bejzbolu, veoma popularna među britanskom i irskom školskom decom. I u drugim gradovima u kojima su srpski dečaci bili smešteni brinulo se o njihovoj fizičkoj aktivnosti. Tako su nadležni za srpski hostel u Redingu, gde je boravilo 36 srpskih dečaka, isticali značaj rekreacije svojih štićenika i tražili sredstva kako bi im se obezbedila potrebna oprema za igre u zatvorenom prostoru, poput kriketa, kuglanja i drugih.<sup>114</sup> Polaznici kursa veronauke pri Kongregacionalnoj crkvi u Viktorija Roudu priredili su proslavu na kojoj su kao specijalni gosti prisustvovali srpski studenti sa Vestminsterskog

<sup>110</sup> Ilić, n. d.

<sup>111</sup> AJ, 80, F 75, VII/19, „Serbian Boys in Edinburgh”, *The Scotsman*, 13<sup>th</sup> March 1919.

<sup>112</sup> „Rugby in Serbia?”, *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1918, 3.

<sup>113</sup> „Serbian Boys in Birmingham - Experiences of a Lad of Eleven”, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21<sup>st</sup> June 1916, 3.

<sup>114</sup> „The Berkshire Home for Serbian Boys”, *Reading Mercury*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1917, 3.

boys educated at George Heriot's School, upon their return to Serbian, thanked their Scottish hosts, professors and fellow students for all they had done for them during their three-year stay in Edinburgh. They have specially mentioned their coach, Mr Hardy, who took great interest in them and taught them various tricks of the game. Special thanks were given to Mr Colt, who helped immensely in establishing the Serbian rugby team, noting that his name would go down in the Serbian rugby history as the president of the Serbian Ruby Club in Edinburgh, the first rugby team that the Serbs ever had.<sup>111</sup> In the same letter the Serbian students had promised to spread rugby amongst their compatriots and expressed their hope to come back to Scotland with the Serbian national team. The sentiment was shared by a British journalist, who followed the successes of the Serbian rugby, predicting that, thanks to the Serbian students in Edinburgh, the game would pick up steam in Serbia and that "the Rugby Unions of the United Kingdom are likely to send a Rugby team to Belgrade very much sooner than to Berlin".<sup>112</sup>

Alongside football and rugby, the Ser-

bian students tried out other sports as well: rowing, athletics, boxing, cricket and others. A news story about the Serbian students in Birmingham noted that they had played the old-fashioned game of rounders in the backyard of the Serbian house in Sally Oak.<sup>113</sup> Rounders is a bat-and-ball game, similar to baseball and very popular with the British and Irish school children. Physical activity of the Serbian children was encouraged in other cities where they were settled as well. The authorities of a hostel in Reading that housed 36 Serbian boys also gave importance to their recreation, looking for funding to secure kits for indoor sports, bowling, cricket and so on.<sup>114</sup> Within the ceremony organised by the theology students at the Congregational Church at Victoria Road with the Serbian students from Westminster College, Cambridge in special attendance, several sporting competitions in football and cricket, with the Serbian students as participants, were also organised.<sup>115</sup> One of the students who had left testimonies of the Serbs playing cricket was Stevan Idjidović from the village of Jarak in Srem. As a fifteen-year-old student at Zemun Grammar School he swam the Sava River in 1914 and volun-

<sup>110</sup> Ilić, *op. cit.*

<sup>111</sup> AJ, 80, F 75, VII/19, "Serbian Boys in Edinburgh", *The Scotsman*, 13<sup>th</sup> March 1919.

<sup>112</sup> "Rugby in Serbia?", *The Yorkshire Evening Post*, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1918, 3.

<sup>113</sup> "Serbian Boys in Birmingham - Experiences of a Lad of Eleven", *Birmingham Daily Post*, 21<sup>st</sup> June 1916, 3.

<sup>114</sup> "The Berkshire Home for Serbian Boys", *Reading Mercury*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1917, 3.

<sup>115</sup> "Serbian Boys Entertained", *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916, 4.

<sup>115</sup> „Serbian Boys Entertained”, *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916, 4.

<sup>116</sup> Stevan Idjidovic Stevens, *The Snows of Serbia - The Child Soldier in the Great War* (Createspace, 2012), 193.

<sup>117</sup> Ididović Stevens, n. d, 201.

<sup>118</sup> „Serbian Boy Athlete”, *Evening Express*, 24<sup>th</sup> September 1917, 2.

<sup>119</sup> „Inter-City Contest - Glasgow Defeats Edinburgh”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1917.

<sup>120</sup> „Sport of all Sorts”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

<sup>121</sup> Robert Bejden-Pauel (1857-1941), prvi baron Bejden-Pauel, bio je britanski oficir i osnivač pokreta skauta.

koledža u Kembridžu. U sklopu te proslave organizovana su i sportska takmičenja u fudbalu ali i kriketu, u kojima su učestvovali i Srbi.<sup>115</sup> Jedan od srpskih studenata koji je zabeležio da su se Srbi bavili kriketom bio je Stevan Ididović iz sela Jarak u Sremu. On je kao petnaestogodišnjak, učenik Zemunske gimnazije, preplivao Savu 1914. godine i dobrovoljno se priključio srpskoj vojsci, da bi se posle povlačenja preko Albanije našao u Oksfordu, gde je nastavio školovanje. Opisujući vreme provedeno u Oksfordu, Ididović navodi da su se Srbi, osim kriketom, bavili i dugim sportovima: „Nije sve bio težak rad. Bilo je takođe i vremena za igru: plivanje, fudbal, tenis, a ponekad i za vožnju kanuom i veslanje na reci Černvel”.<sup>116</sup> Od svih sportova Ididović je najviše zavoleo veslanje, tako da je učestvovao u trkama četvoroseda i osmoseda u Oksfordu, braneći boje koledža Sent Džons.<sup>117</sup> Srbi su neretko trenirali i atletiku, a najznačajnije rezultate postigao je Luka Šuković u disciplini bacanja tega, preteći moderne discipline bacanja kladiva. On je postao tema lokalne štampe kada je pobedio na otvorenom prvenstvu Klasične gimnazije u Aberdinu 22. septembra 1917. godine, sa rezultatom od 8 me-

tara i 61 santimetar.<sup>118</sup> Srpski dečaci zanimali su se i za boks. Jedan od njih, Đorđe Aleksić, učenik škole Džordž Heriot, naročito se istakao svojom veštinom i u decembru 1917. godine, kao član reprezentacije Edinburga, učestvovao je u međugradskom boksmecu između Edinburga i Glazgova.<sup>119</sup> Vrhunac svoje bokserverske karijere u Škotskoj Aleksić je dostigao u proleće 1918. godine, kada se, kao šestnaestogodišnjak, borio sa lokalnim šampionima u pero-lakoj kategoriji.<sup>120</sup>

Pred početak Prvog svetskog rata u Velikoj Britaniji sve veći značaj, kao novi pedagoški sistem vaspitanja dece, dobija Asocijacija dečakih skauta (*The Boy Scouts Association*) - organizacija u okviru koje su se deca sama vaspitavala. Osnivač skautizma kao metode vaspitanja bio je Englez, lord Robert Bejden-Pauel<sup>121</sup>, oficir i učesnik u Burskom ratu. Njega su još u mladosti interesovali problemi vaspitanja omladine i sudbina gradske dece, koja su, kada nema škole, usled izostanka korisnih i zdravih vidova zabave, propadala moralno i fizički. Tokom Burskog rata, prilikom opsade jednog grada, on je rasporedio dečake u pomoćne službe, došavši još tada na ideju o stvaranju organi-

teered for the Serbian army. After the retreat across Albania he found himself in Oxford where he continued his education. Writing about his time in Oxford Idjidović noted that the Serbs played other sports besides cricket: “It was not all hard work. There was also time for games: swimming, football, tennis, sometimes for canoeing and rowing on the Cherwell River”.<sup>116</sup> Of all the sports Idjidović liked rowing the most, and he was a member of St John’s College quads and eights team in their races.<sup>117</sup> The Serbs took a big interest in athletics with the best results achieved by Luka Šuković in the weight throw, a precursor to the hammer throw. He made the local press when he won the open championship of Aberdeen’s Grammar School on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1917, with a result of 8.61 meters.<sup>118</sup> The Serbian boys also took interest in boxing. One of them, Djordje Aleksić, a student at George Heriot’s School became known for his technical skills, and in December 1917 he took part in the inter-city boxing match between Edinburgh and Glasgow as the Edinburgh team member.<sup>119</sup> He reached the peak of his career in the spring of 1918 when, as a sixteen-year-old, took on the local featherweight champions.<sup>120</sup>

The Boy Scouts Association started to gain importance as a new pedagogical approach to education of children in Great Britain before the war, as an organisation within which the children took care of themselves. The founder of scout movement was an Englishman, Robert Baden-Powell<sup>121</sup>, an officer and a participant of the Boer War. In his younger days, he had been interested in the problems of the youth education and the position of inner city children who, when not in school, were left to decay morally and physically in the absence of a useful and healthy pastime. During one of the sieges in the Boer War, he had organised local boys in auxiliary services which led to the idea of creating a self-governing organisation for boys which would allow them to grow healthier, happier and more able through a joint life and work in nature. After the Boer War, he arrived to Great Britain to develop his work. In 1907 he organised the first camping outing for boys on the Brownsea Island. By the beginning of the First World War, the organisation had become very popular and the scout companies existed in many cities in Great Britain. After their arrival to Great Britain, a part of the Serbian

<sup>116</sup> Stevan Idjidovic Stevens, *The Snows of Serbia - The Child Soldier in the Great War* (Createspace, 2012), 193.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.* 201.

<sup>118</sup> “Serbian Boy Athlete”, *Evening Express*, 24<sup>th</sup> September 1917, 2.

<sup>119</sup> “Inter-City Contest – Glasgow Defeats Edinburgh”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1917.

<sup>120</sup> “Sport of all Sorts”, *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1918.

<sup>121</sup> Robert Baden-Powell, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Baden-Powell (1857–1941), was a British officer and a founder of the Scout movement.

zacije, koju bi dečaci sami sačinjavali i vodili, te u kojoj bi zajedničkim životom u prirodi, kroz rado, igru i zabavu postali zdraviji, veseliji i sposobniji za život. Po okončanju Burskog rata, Bejden-Pauel dolazi u Veliku Britaniju i počinje sa svojim radom. Godine 1907. Priredio je prvo logorovanje za dečake na ostrvu Braunsi. Do početka Prvog svetskog rata organizacija je postala veoma popularna, tako da su skautske čete bile osnovane u mnogim britanskim gradovima. Došavši u Veliku Britaniju, i deo srpskih dečaka priključio se radu skautske organizacije. Dečaci koji su pohađali Klasičnu gimnaziju u Aberdinu obrazovali su posebnu patrolu u sklopu školske čete,<sup>122</sup> dok su u Birminghamu 23 dečaka, prepoznatljiva po tome što su nosili engleska odela i srpske šajkače, učili skautizam od svog nadzornika Alana Gejla, u hostelu u Seli Ouku.<sup>123</sup> Takođe, i srpski dečaci u Edinburgu bili su članovi skautskih udruženja u tom gradu.<sup>124</sup>

Skauti su bili jedna od prvih omladinskih organizacija koje su pružile praktičnu pomoć državi tokom rata. Po izbijanju Prvog svetskog rata, Bejden-Pauel je, kao oficir, ponudio svoje usluge Ministarstvu odbrane, ali nije

primljen u službu. Lord Kičener rekao je da on može da obezbedi dosta sposobnih divizionih generala ali da ne može da nađe nikog drugog sposobnog da organizuje neprocenljiv rad skauta. Osnovni zadatak skauta u vreme rata bilo je nadgledanje obale, a za uspešno obavljen posao organizacija je dobila pohvale i izraze zahvalnosti Admiraliteta.<sup>125</sup> Skauti su motrili na ušća reka, luke i druge značajne građevine u obalskim područjima, kao što su stanice obalske straže. Takođe, oni su obezbeđivali i telefonske i telegrafске linije, železničke stanice, pruge, mostove, rezervoare sa vodom, skladišta hrane i sve druge lokacije koje su mogle da budu od značaja za odbranu zemlje. Krajem 1917. godine, skauti su počeli da pomažu i tokom vazdušnih napada, naročito u oglašavanju prekida opasnosti. Veoma bitan zadatak koji je skautska organizacija preuzela na sebe bio je pomaganje britanskim poljoprivrednicima. Usled blokade Ostrva, uzrokovane aktivnošću nemačkih podmornica, domaći uzgoj hrane postao je veoma značajan za naciju, a pošto je većina ljudi bila na frontu, skauti su imali veliku ulogu u prikupljanju useva.

<sup>122</sup> „Aberdeen Boy Scouts”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1918, 4.

<sup>123</sup> „The Care of Serbian Boys in Birmingham”, *Birmingham Gazette*, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1917, 3.

<sup>124</sup> *George Heriot’s School Roll of Honour 1914–1919* (Edinburgh: The War Memorial Committee, 1921), 23.

<sup>125</sup> „Aberdeen Boy Scouts”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1918, 4.

boys joined the scout organisation. The Serbian boys from Aberdeen Grammar School formed a patrol within the school's scout company<sup>122</sup> and 23 boys from Birmingham, recognisable by the fact that they wore British suits and Serbian caps known as "šajkača", were trained in scouting by their headmaster at the Sally Oak hostel, Alan Geale.<sup>123</sup> Also, the Serbian boys in Edinburgh were members of the scout companies in the city.<sup>124</sup>

The scouts were one of the first youth organisations that gave practical help to the country during the war. Baden-Powell had offered his services as an officer to the War Office but he was not commissioned. Lord Kitchener said that he "he could lay his hand on several competent divisional generals but could find no one who could carry on the invaluable work of the Boy Scouts". The main task of the scouts was patrolling the coastline, and for the successful mission they were cited by the Admiralty.<sup>125</sup> The scouts monitored the river mouths, harbours and other important facilities such as the coast guard stations. They ensured the safety of telephone and telegraph lines, railway stations, rails, bridges, water tanks, food storages and all

other locations with a critical importance to the defence of the realm. At the end of 1917 the scouts began to assist in defence against air raids, especially in signalling the end of danger. An important task was the provision of help to the British farmers. The blockade enforced by the German submarines led to the growth of a national importance of domestic farming, and since a lot of men were at the frontlines, the scouts had a large role in crop harvesting.

The boys in scout companies used to work as curriers, carrying messages. The mandatory part of their training was first aid so they were also employed as hospital aids. The scouts were engaged in various roles in fire-fighting and in police stations. In conjunction with the Young Men's Christian Association, the scouts were involved in soldiers' convalescence after their withdrawal from the front, helping them to forget the horrors of war.<sup>126</sup>

The Minister of Education Miloš Trifunović had expressed his satisfaction to the Serbian boys in Aberdeen for their enrolment in the scout organisation as it had promoted the virtues needed for the renewal of Serbia

<sup>122</sup> "Aberdeen Boy Scouts", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1918, 4.

<sup>123</sup> "The Care of Serbian Boys in Birmingham", *Birmingham Gazette*, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1917, 3.

<sup>124</sup> *George Heriot's School Roll of Honour 1914-1919* (Edinburgh: The War Memorial Committee, 1921), 23.

<sup>125</sup> "Aberdeen Boy Scouts", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 1<sup>st</sup> May 1918, 4.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

Dečaci u skautskim četama služili su i kao kuriri, tj. prenosioci poruka. Obavezan deo obuke skauta bilo je pružanje prve pomoći, tako da su oni radili i kao pomoćnici u bolnicama. Skauti su, takođe, raspoređivani pri vatrogasnim i policijskim stanicama, gde su asistirali na različite načine. U saradnji sa Hrišćanskom zajednicom mladih ljudi, skauti su bili angažovani i na oporavku vojnika po povratku sa fronta, pomažući im da zaborave užase rata.<sup>126</sup>

Prilikom posete srpskim dečacima

u Aberdinu, ministar prosvete Miloš Trifunović izrazio je zadovoljstvo što su se upisali u skautsku organizaciju, jer ona promovise vrline koje će biti neophodne za ponovnu izgradnju Srbije posle rata.<sup>127</sup> Po okončanju rata, skautizam je počeo da se širi i van granica Velike Britanije. Tada datira i pojava skautizma u Srbiji (gde su se skauti zvali „malim četnicima”), a presudnu ulogu u njegovom širenju nesumnjivo su odigrali srpski đaci-izbeglice koji su tokom boravka u Velikoj Britaniji bili članovi skautskih družina.

<sup>126</sup> *Isto.*

<sup>127</sup> „Serbian Ministers Visit to Aberdeen - Harvest Camp Inspected”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1917, 2.

after the war.<sup>127</sup> The scout movement spread outside Great Britain after the war. That is when we can trace the beginnings of the scout movement in Serbia (where they were called “little chetniks”) with an undoubtedly large role played by the Serbian refugee children who had been members of the scout companies during their stay in Great Britain.

<sup>127</sup> “Serbian Ministers Visit to Aberdeen – Harvest Camp Inspected”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 17<sup>th</sup> September 1917, 2.

## 4.7 Crtice iz života srpske dece u Velikoj Britaniji

Boravak srpskih dečaka u Velikoj Britaniji nije podrazumevao samo rad i učenje – veliki deo slobodnog vremena oni su provodili u igri, zabavi i sportu. Veoma često bili su i gosti u brojnim britanskim institucijama i udruženjima, čiji su domaćini pokušavali da ih odobrovolje, organizujući im različit zabavni sadržaj. Još na Korzici, gde su britanske bolničarke i sestre iz Srpskog potpornog fonda vodile brigu o izbeglim srpskim dečacima, organizovana je zabava u okviru koje je izvedena jedna popularna britanska pozorišna predstava.<sup>128</sup> Tridesetorica srpskih dečaka koji su pohađali Vestminsterski koledž u Kembridžu

bili su počasni gosti godišnje proslave Kongregacionalne crkve u Viktorija roudu, koja je u julu 1916. Godine održana na igralištu za kriket Koledža Sent Džons. Dečake su tom prilikom toplo pozdravili toplo pozdravljeni kako britanski nastavnici, tako i učenički, sa kojima su se brzo upustili u igru. Organizovane su uobičajene igre – kriket i fudbal, a za mlađe učenike bile su obezbeđene ljuđaške kao i magarac koji je vukao kolica, u kojima su oni mogli da se voze. U 18 časova počeo je sportski program, a Srbi su uzeli učešća u nekoliko disciplina. Poslužen je čaj za oko 360 gostiju, posle čega su dečaci iz Srbije opevali svoju

<sup>128</sup> „Still Running”, *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1916, 2. U pitanju je bila popularna predstava „Čarlijeva tetka” (*Charlie's Aunt*), koju je potpuno po sećanju pripremio dečak po imenu Momčilo Dostanić, sin jednog skopskog glumca.

## 4.7 Excerpts from the Lives of Serbian Children in Great Britain

Living in Great Britain was not all work and studying for the Serbian boys. They would spend a good portion of their time in games, fun and sports. They were often guests in various British institutions and associations would try and cheer them up by providing various entertaining events. The British medics and nurses from the Serbian Relief Fund have organised a stage play for the Serbian refugees in Corsica.<sup>128</sup> Thirty Serbian boys from Westminster College in Cambridge were honorary guests of the annual ceremony of the Congregational Church at Victoria Road which was held at the cricket grounds

of St John's College in July 1916. They were warmly greeted by the teachers and the British students with whom they quickly started playing. Cricket and football were the usual games played, and swings and the cart with a donkey were provided for the younger children. Sport programmes begun at 6pm with the Serbs taking part in several events. Tea was served for some 360 guests and afterwards the boys from Serbia sang their national anthem, in English, as well as *the Marseillaise*.<sup>129</sup>

The Serbian boys in Scotland were often guests of numerous distinguished

<sup>128</sup> "Still Running", *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 1<sup>st</sup> December 1916, 2. The play in question was the popular "Charlie's Aunt", prepared fully from memory by Momčilo Dostanić, a son of an actor from Skoplje.

<sup>129</sup> "Serbian Boys Entertained", *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916, 4.

nacionalnu himnu na engleskom jeziku i „Marseljezu”.<sup>129</sup>

Srpski dečaci u Škotskoj veoma često su bili gosti brojnih uglednih ličnosti, koje su za njih organizovale zabave i prijeme. Tako su krajem novembra 1917. godine deseterica dečaka iz Aberdina, u pratnji svojih staratelja, gostovali kod vrhovnog sudije Tagarta i njegove supruge, u Ešli Lodžu. Posle čaja, dečaci su proveli nekoliko prijatnih sati uživajući u bezbrižnoj igri.<sup>130</sup> U januaru 1917. godine, ser Robert Inčes, bivši gradonačelnik Edinburga, ugostio je srpske đake iz škole Džordž Heriot. Tokom prijema servirani su čaj i kolači, a priređen je i veoma zanimljiv muzički program.<sup>131</sup>

Vikont Kaudri<sup>132</sup> ustupio je tokom zimskih praznika 1917. godine svoju prelepu kuću u Pedokharstu, u Saseksu, dvadeseterici srpskih studenata sa Oksforda i Kembridža. Iako su bili na raspustu, oni su svakodnevno nastavili da rade sa tutorom, ali su i uživali u svim prednostima veleplepnog zdanja koje im je dato na korišćenje. U slobodno vreme, jedna od glavnih razbribriga srpskih dečaka bilo je kuglanje u zimskoj bašti.<sup>133</sup>

Srpski dečaci koji su bili smešteni u

Kembridžu proveli su veoma prijatan Božić 1916. godine, zahvaljujući organizaciji lokalnog obrazovnog pododbora, ali i velikodušnosti svojih školskih drugova Britanaca, koji su donacijama obezbedili sredstva za proslavu. Proslava Božića trajala je puna četiri dana, tokom kojih je srpskim dečacima priređen bogat i zanimljiv zabavni program. Glavni događaj bila je svečana večera održana 25. decembra u Triniti koledžu. Velečasni Džon Peri pozdravio je goste, a upravnik Dauning koledža, ser Albert Sjuard, u ime srpskih dečaka zahvalio se upravi koledža na gostoprimstvu. Na večeri se služila čuretina i puding od šljiva. Sutradan, 26. decembra, pre podne je održana fudbalska utakmica između ekipe „Roms Old Bojs” i tima sastavljenog od srpskih dečaka, na igralištu škole Lejs. Ekipe iz Romsija pobedila je rezultatom 4:1, posle dobre utakmice i velikog otpora srpske ekipe. Istog popodneva, dečaci su prisustvovali zabavi koju su za njih organizovali članovi obrazovnog pododbora, u prostorijama fotografskog kluba. Uz neizostavni čaj, srpskim dečacima priređen je i nezaboravni zabavni program, u okviru kojeg su, uz zvuke gramofona, učestvovali u igrama „muzičkih stolica” i „ćorave

<sup>129</sup> „Serbian Boys Entertained”, *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 7<sup>th</sup> July 1916, 4.

<sup>130</sup> „Serbian Boys in Aberdeen”, *The Evening Telegraph and Post*, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 2.

<sup>131</sup> „Edinburgh’s ex-Lord Provost Entertained Serbian Boys to Tea and Music”, *Daily Record*, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1917, 6.

<sup>132</sup> Vitman Dikinson Pirson, prvi vikont Kaudri (1856–1927), bio je britanski industrijalac, naftaš i liberalni političar. Zajedno sa suprugom bio je izuzetno aktivan u humanitarnom radu za vreme Prvog svetskog rata.

<sup>133</sup> „Lord Cowdray to Host Serbian Students”, *Daily Mirror*, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1917, 12.

individuals, who threw parties and receptions for them. At the end of November 1917, ten Serbian boys from Aberdeen and their guardians were guests of the Lord Provost Taggart and his wife at Ashley Lodge. After tea, that boys spent several hours in carefree play.<sup>130</sup> Sir Robert Inches, a former Lord Provost of Edinburgh, organised a party in January 1917 for the Serbian boys at George Heriot's School. Tea and cookies were followed by an interesting musical programme.<sup>131</sup>

Viscount Cowdray<sup>132</sup> gave his magnificent home in Paddockhurst, Sussex, during the winter holidays of 1917 to twenty Serbian students from Oxford and Cambridge. Even though they were on a winter break the students kept working with their tutors but also enjoyed the lavish estate given to them. One of the main pastimes of the Serbian boys was bowling in the winter garden.<sup>133</sup>

The Serbian boys at Cambridge spent a pleasant Christmas of 1916 with the help of the local Educational Subcommittee and their British classmates who financed a party with their own money. The celebration lasted for

four days with a rich and colourful programme. The main event was a formal dinner on 25<sup>th</sup> December at Trinity College. Rev John Perry welcomed the guests and the Master of the Downing College Sir Albert Seward thanked the college authorities on behalf of the Serbian boys for their hospitality. Turkey and plum pudding were served for dinner. The next day, 26<sup>th</sup> December, a morning football game was played between Romsey Old Boys and the Serbian boys' team at the Lace School playground. The Romsey team won with 4:1 after a good game and solid resistance of the Serbian team. The boys spent the afternoon at a party organised by the members of the Educational Subcommittee at the premises of the photography club. With the customary tea, the boys were treated to an unforgettable entertainment programme, including a game of musical chairs and the blind man's bluff played to the sound of the gramophone music, followed by humoristic slides from projectors and magic tricks that amazed them.<sup>134</sup>

The Serbian boys that were settled in Aberdeen were at first divided into two groups, one had classes in the

<sup>130</sup> "Serbian Boys in Aberdeen", *The Evening Telegraph and Post*, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 2.

<sup>131</sup> "Edinburgh's ex-Lord Provost Entertained Serbian Boys to Tea and Music", *Daily Record*, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1917, 6.

<sup>132</sup> Weetman Dickinson Pearson, 1st Viscount Cowdray (1856-1927) was a leading industrialist, oil businessman and liberal politician. Together with his wife he was very active in humanitarian work during the First World War.

<sup>133</sup> "Lord Cowdray to Host Serbian Students", *Daily Mirror*, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1917, 12.

<sup>134</sup> "Serbian Boys Christmas", *Cambridge Daily News*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1917, 4; "Serbian Boys Christmas", *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1917, 4.

bake". Uz sve to, bilo je organizovano i prikazivanje humorističkih slika putem projektoru, nakon čega su usledili mađioničarski trikovi, koji su sve oduševili.<sup>134</sup>

Srpski dečaci raspoređeni u Aberdinu isprva su bili podeljeni u dve grupe – jedna je pohađala nastavu u klasičnoj gimnaziji, a drugu su činili stariji dečaci, koji su pohađali tehnički kurs na lokalnom koledžu. Međutim, već u martu 1917. godine, direktor Tehničkog koledža Robert Gordon, sa žaljenjem je obavestio članove lokalnog pododбора Srpskog potpornog fonda da zbog smanjenja broja osoblja, usled rata, više nije u mogućnosti da obezbedi učitelje za srpske dečake koji su imali predavanja na toj instituciji. Tada je odlučeno da oni budu prebačeni u klasičnu gimnaziju (*Grammar School*).<sup>135</sup> Svi dečaci iz Srbije, bez obzira na godine, u početku su činili jedno odeljenje, radi lakšeg prilagođavanja i učenja jezika, a već naredne školske godine raspoređeni su u odgovarajuće razrede, sa svojim britanskim vršnjacima. Profesor Gilroj, član komiteta u Aberdinu, na sastanku održanom 22. juna 1917. godine, izvestio je ostale članove da je ponašanje dečaka bilo veoma dobro – kako u školi, tako i u

porodicama u kojima su bili smešteni. Takođe, dečaci su generalno bili zdravi, pre svega zahvaljujući porodicama koje su ih primile u svoje domove i izvanredno brinule o njima.<sup>136</sup> Uprkos početnom zaostatku zbog nepoznavanja jezika, njihov napredak je bio primetan i izveštaji nastavnika veoma ohrabrujući. Tako su juna 1917, prilikom dodeljivanja nagrada povodom kraja školske godine, i dvojica srpskih dečaka primila pohvalnicu od školski vlasti.<sup>137</sup> Za vreme raspusta i uskršnjih praznika, dečaci su uživali gostoprimstvo ledi Kaudri, u zamku Duneht u Aberdinširu, a prilikom boravka na imanju vikonta i ledi Kaudri, bili su i po nekoliko sati dnevno angažovani u radu na otvorenom, što im je bilo od velike koristi.<sup>138</sup>

Srpski dečaci imali su prilike da tokom svog boravka u Aberdinu prisustvuju jednom neobičnom događaju, makar za lokalnu škotsku populaciju. U tom gradu je 15. maja 1919. godine bilo održano prvo venčanje po pravoslavnom crkvenom obredu. Mladenci su bili oficir srpske vojske i kapetan mitraljeskog odeljenja Milorad Radović<sup>139</sup> i Agnes Findli, britanska medicinska sestra, koja je provela tri godine na frontu uz srpsku vojsku. Oni su

<sup>134</sup> „Serbian Boys Christmas”, *Cambridge Daily News*, 2<sup>nd</sup> of January 1917, 4; „Serbian Boys Christmass”, *The Cambridge Independent Press*, 5<sup>th</sup> January 1917, 4.

<sup>135</sup> „Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees”, *Evening Express*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4.

<sup>136</sup> „Lady Cowdray’s Kindness”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1917, 2.

<sup>137</sup> „Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees”, *Evening Express*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4.

<sup>138</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>139</sup> Milorad Radović (1888–1970) bio je divizijski general, kraljev adutant, vojni ataše u Londonu, komandant Zetske vojne oblasti i od 1941. godine šef Vojnog kabineta predsednika vlade Dušana Simovića.

Grammar School and the other had technical courses at the local college. However, as early as March 1917, the director of the Technical College Mr Robert Gordon regrettably had to inform the members of the local sub-committee of the Serbian Relief Fund that due to staff reduction, caused by the war, he was not able to provide the teachers for the Serbian boys that had attended the institution. It was then decided to transfer them to the Grammar School.<sup>135</sup> All the boys from Serbia attended the same class, regardless of their age, so they could adjust more easily and learn the language. During the next school year they were placed in the age-appropriate classes with the British children. Professor Gilroy, an Aberdeen committee member, informed other members at the meeting held on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1917 that the behaviour of the children was very good, both in school and at their foster homes. Also, the boys were generally in good health thanks the foster families who took them in and took an extraordinarily good care of them.<sup>136</sup> Even though they lagged behind due to the language issues, their progress was visible and the teachers' reports were very encouraging. Two of the boys received commendations

from the school authorities at the end of the school year in June 1917.<sup>137</sup> During the breaks and Easter holidays, the boys enjoyed the hospitality of Lady Cowdray at Dunecht House. While staying at the manor, the boys were engaged in outdoor labour for a few hours a day which was quite beneficial to them.<sup>138</sup>

During their stay in Aberdeen, the boys had an opportunity to attend an unusual event, at least for the local Scots. On 19<sup>th</sup> May 1919, the first Orthodox Christian wedding took place in Aberdeen. Milorad Radović<sup>139</sup>, a Serbian officer, captain of the machine gun platoon, and Agnes Findley, a nurse who had spent three years with the Serbian army, were the groom and the bride. They had met in 1917 and decided to come to Scotland to get married in the bride's home town. The ceremony was held at St Andrew's Cathedral. Due to the fact that it was the first Orthodox wedding and the romantic story behind it, it had attracted quite an interest of the public. The groom had no less than six war decorations, five Serbian earned in the First Balkan War and the First World War and an Italian one, while the bride, all in white, wore the

<sup>135</sup> "Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees", *Evening Express*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4.

<sup>136</sup> "Lady Cowdray's Kindness", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1917, 2.

<sup>137</sup> "Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees", *Evening Express*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> Milorad Radović (1888-1970), Divisional General, King's Adjutant, Military Attaché to London, commander of the Zeta Military District and from 1941 the Chief of Military Cabinet to the President of the Council of Ministers, Dušan Simović.

se upoznali 1917. godine i, nakon što se rat završio, odlučili su da dođu u Škotsku, kako bi se venčali u mladinom rodnom gradu. Ceremonija je obavljena u Katedrali Svetog Andrije. Zbog romantične priče koja je spojila dvoje mladenaca i činjenice da je to bilo prvo pravoslavno venčanje u Aberdinu, ono je izazvalo veliko interesovanje u javnosti. Mladoženja je na grudima imao čak šest odlikovanja – pet srpskih, koja je zaslužio u Prvom svetskom ratu i balkanskim ratovima, kao i jedno italijansko, dok je mlada, sva u belom, kao ukras nosila orden koji je dobila za primernu službu od starešinstva Bolnica škotskih žena.<sup>140</sup> Mladoženjinu pratnju činili su profesor Đorđević iz Bitolja i Miodrag Milivojević, jedan od srpskih dečaka koji je tokom rata pohađao klasičnu gimnaziju u Aberdinu. Ceremoniju je održao otac Dušan Marković iz Edinburga, na crkvenoslovenskom jeziku. Odsustvo hora i muzike, koji su karakteristični za zapadne crkvene obrede, kao i „prelepa simbolika i živopisni detalji”, impresionirali su sve prisutne – mladine prijatelje i rodbinu, ali građane Aberdina, koji su došli da vide ovu neobičnu ceremoniju. Među zvanicama su bili i profesor Džejms Gilroj, član gradskog odbora

koji je brinuo o srpskim dečacima u Aberdinu, kao i velečasni Henri Erskin Hil,<sup>141</sup> starešina Katedrale Svetog Andrije.<sup>142</sup> On je tokom rata pokazivao naročitu brigu za sudbinu srpskih dečaka, koji su prisustvovali njegovim propovedima svake subote, zbog čega ga je Nj. v. Petar I, kralj Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, odlikovao Ordenom Svetog Save V stepena, u maju 1919. godine.<sup>143</sup>

U januaru 1917. godine otvoren je hostel za srpske dečake u Dandiju. Ukupno 23 dečaka smeštena su u ovaj hostel i bilo je predviđeno da svi oni, kada savladaju engleski u dovoljnoj meri, budu obučavani za trgovce. Sklopljen je dogovor sa srpskim vlastima da se dečaci, dok su na obuci, ne pozivaju za vojnu službu. Vrhovni sudija Dandija i predsednik lokalnog odbora zaduženog za obrazovanje srpskih izbeglica izjavio je da članovi odbora razumeju dužnost dečaka prema Srbiji, ali je osnovni cilj da oni steknu i ponesu kući sa sobom odgovarajuće znanje i obrazovanje, zahvaljujući kome će želeti da nastave svoje poslovne kontakte sa gradom i po povratku u domovinu. Vrhovni sudija Don smatrao je da otvaranje hostela predstavlja i ispunjavanje bri-

<sup>140</sup> „Serbian Wedding in Aberdeen”, *The Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1919, 1.

<sup>141</sup> Henri Erskin Hil (1864–1939) bio je anglikanski sveštenik i publicista. Služio je u škotskim gradovima Glazgovu, Aberdinu i Edinburgu, kao i u Herefordu u Engleskoj.

<sup>142</sup> „Picturesque Serbian Wedding in Aberdeen”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1919, 3.

<sup>143</sup> „Serbian Order for Provost Erskine Hill”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 10<sup>th</sup> May 1919, 4.

medal awarded for her distinguished service by the Scottish Women's Hospital.<sup>140</sup> The groom was escorted by professor Djordjević from Bitolj and Miodrag Milivojević, one of the Serbian boys at the Grammar School in Aberdeen. Father Dušan Marković performed the ceremony in the old Church-Slavonic. The absence of a choir and music in the ceremony, otherwise typical for the western church weddings, and "the gorgeous symbols and vivid details" impressed all the present guests, friends and family of the bride but also the citizens of Aberdeen that came to see the ceremony. Professor James Gilroy, a member of the committee that took care of Serbian boys in Aberdeen and Rev Henry Erskine Hill,<sup>141</sup> Rector of St Andrew's Cathedral, were amongst the guests.<sup>142</sup> During the war, Rev Erskine Hill had shown a special interest in the fate of the Serbian boys, who were attending his masses each Saturday, which is why HM King Peter I of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes awarded him the Order of St Sava V Class in May 1919.<sup>143</sup>

In January 1917, a hostel for the Serbian boys was opened in Dundee. Twenty three boys were housed there and

were supposed to be trained as merchants after they had learned the language. A deal was made with the Serbian authorities that the boys would not be drafted in the army while they were at school. The Lord Provost of Dundee and the president of the local board for the education of the Serbian refugees stated that they recognised the duty of the boys towards Serbia but that the goal was that the children should take home with them such knowledge and education that they would wish to maintain commercial connections with the city. According to the Lord Provost Don, the opening of the hostel demonstrated the fulfilment of the British national needs, as he had thought that once Serbia was freed the boys schooled in Dundee could become a trade branch of the city and the whole British Empire. Talking to the Serbian boys at the hostel opening ceremony, the Lord Provost William Don said that he hoped that the boys would bring with them many nice memories of Dundee. Speaking on behalf of the boys, Božidar Ostojić, the oldest of the group, replied that they had not only enjoyed the Scottish hospitality, kindness and friendship but that the locals took great interest in their fu-

<sup>140</sup> "Serbian Wedding in Aberdeen", *The Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1919, 1.

<sup>141</sup> Henry Erskine Hill (1864-1939) was an Anglican priest and publicist. He served in Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and in Hereford in England.

<sup>142</sup> "Picturesque Serbian Wedding in Aberdeen", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 16<sup>th</sup> May 1919, 3.

<sup>143</sup> "Serbian Order for Provost Erskine Hill", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 10<sup>th</sup> May 1919, 4.

tanskih nacionalnih potreba, jer će dečaci obučavani u Dandiju, kada se Srbija oslobodi, delovati kao trgovačka ispostava grada i celog Britanskog carstva u toj zemlji. Obraćajući se srpskim dečacima na svečanoj ceremoniji otvaranja hostela, ser Vilijam Don izjavio je da se nada da će oni poneti sa sobom u Srbiju mnoga lepa sećanja na Dandi. Odgovarajući u ime dečaka, Božidar Ostojić, najstariji dečak u hostelu, rekao je da ne samo da su uživali u škotskom gostoprimstvu, dobroti i prijateljstvu, već da se škotski narod zainteresovao i za njihovu budućnost, potrudivši se da im obezbedi školovanje, kako bi posle rata mogli da doprinesu obnovi i razvoju svoje domovine. Svečanom otvaranju hostela prisustvovalo je preko 140 zvanica, a tokom ceremonije serviran je čaj i održan veoma lep program koji se sastojao od srpske muzike i plesa – što je uključivalo i izvođenje srpske himne i čuvenog kola koje su odigrali srpski učenici. Gospođica Beg, upravnica srpskog hostela u Dandiju, bila je veoma naklonjena dečacima, ali ih je učila i da budu štedljivi i marljivi, tako da su sami morali da obavljaju deo kućnih poslova.<sup>144</sup>

Elsi Inglis, osnivačica Bolnice škot-

skih žena, bila je među najvećim dobrotvorima srpskog naroda u Prvom svetskom ratu, ali je zbog sopstvene teške bolesti morala da napusti dobrotvorni rad i da se vrati u Veliku Britaniju, gde je i preminula nedugo po dolasku. Sahrana doktorke Elsi Inglis obavljena je na groblju Din u Edinburgu, 29. novembra 1917. godine, uz vojne počasti, što je i bilo primereno za osobu koja je posvetila život pomaganju savezničkim vojnicima. Pomenu, koji je održan u edinburškoj Katedrali Svetog Egidija, prisustvovali su general ser Džon Spenser Juart<sup>145</sup>, glavno-komandujući trupa u Škotskoj, ser Alfred Juing<sup>146</sup>, upravnik Edinburškog univerziteta i članovi gradskog veća Edinburga. Srbija je, kako bi izrazila svoju duboku zahvalnost pokojnoj Elsi Inglis i tugu zbog njene smrti, poslala u Edinburg veliku delegaciju, predvođenu srpskim poslanikom u Londonu Jovanom Jovanovićem, koji je predstavljao kralja i prestolonaslednika. Među delegatima bili su još i članovi srpskih lekarskih službi i organizacija, zatim dr Siton-Votson, ispred Srpskog potpornog fonda, kao i 25 srpskih dečaka koji su u tom trenutku pohađali školu Džordž Heriot u Edinburgu. Sahrani su prisustvovali i predstavnici srpske vojske, koji su

<sup>144</sup> „Serbian Boys Hostel Opened at Dundee”, *The Dundee Courier*, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1917, 4.

<sup>145</sup> Ser Džon Spenser Juart (1861-1930), general-pukovnik, za vreme Prvog svetskog rata bio je glavno-komandujući oficir britanskih trupa u Škotskoj.

<sup>146</sup> Ser Džejms Alfred Juing (1855-1935) bio je škotski fizičar i inženjer. Predavao je na Trinity koledžu i Kings koledžu u Kembriđu, a od 1916. godine obavljao je dužnost principala Univerziteta u Edinburgu.

<sup>147</sup> „Striking Funeral Scenes in Edinburgh”, *Daily Record and Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> November 1917, 4.

ture and made effort to provide them with education that would allow them to contribute to reconstruction and progress of their homeland. During the opening ceremony, with 140 people in attendance, tea was served with a musical programme featuring Serbian songs and dances - including the Serbian anthem and the famous Serbian “kolo” performed by the Serbian students. Ms Begg, the warden of the Serbian hostel in Dundee, was very devoted to the boys but she had taught them to be frugal and industrious, so the boys had to do some household chores.<sup>134</sup>

Elsie Inglis, the founder of the Scottish Women’s Hospital and one of the most prominent benefactors of the Serbian nation in the First World War, had to leave her charity work due to a severe illness and to return to Great Britain. She died almost immediately after her return. She was buried at the Dean Cemetery in Edinburgh on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1917 with military honours, quite deserving of someone who had dedicated her life to helping the Allied soldiers. The commemoration was held at St Giles’ Cathedral in Edinburgh with Sir John Spencer Ewart<sup>145</sup>, General Officer Command-

ing Scottish Command, and Sir Alfred Ewing<sup>146</sup>, Principal of the University of Edinburgh and city councilmen in attendance. To show its sorrow and gratitude to the late Elsie Inglis, Serbia had sent a large delegation led by the Minister in London Jovan Jovanović, who represented the King and the Government, with delegates from the Serbian medical associations and organisations, Dr Seton-Watson as a representative of the Serbian Relief Fund and 25 Serbian boys from George Heriot’s School in Edinburgh. Representatives of the Serbian army were present and they served as pallbearers,<sup>147</sup> and amongst the numerous wreaths there was one ordered personally by Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjević.<sup>148</sup>

Six months after the death of Elsie Inglis, Prince Djordje Karadjordjević<sup>149</sup> visited Edinburgh and presented her bust, the work of sculptor Ivan Meštrović, to the Royal Scottish Academy. In that way, Serbia had once again showed its gratitude and admiration for the late benefactor and also other British medical workers who had selflessly put their lives at risk to help the Serbian people. The Serbian boys attending the Edinburgh

<sup>144</sup> “Serbian Boys Hostel Opened at Dundee”, *The Dundee Courier*, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1917, 4.

<sup>145</sup> Sir John Spencer Ewart (1861-1930), Lieutenant General. During the First World War he was the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief Scottish Command.

<sup>146</sup> Sir James Alfred Ewing (1855-1935) was a Scottish physicist and engineer. He lectured at Trinity College and King’s College, Cambridge. From 1916 he was a Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

<sup>147</sup> “Striking Funeral Scenes in Edinburgh”, *Daily Record and Mail*, 30<sup>th</sup> November 1917, 4.

<sup>148</sup> “Funeral of Dr Elsie Inglis”, *Evening Telegraph and Post*, 29<sup>th</sup> November 1917, 1.

nosili sanduk do grobnog mesta,<sup>147</sup> a među brojnim vencima nalazio se i venac koji je lično naručio prestolonaslednik Aleksandar Karađorđević.<sup>148</sup>

Šest meseci nakon smrti Elsi Inglis, princ Đorđe Karađorđević<sup>149</sup> posetio je Edinburg i Škotskoj kraljevskoj akademiji poklonio njenu bistu, rad vajara Ivana Meštrovića. Na taj način Srbija je još jednom pokazala svoju zahvalnost i divljenje prema pokojnoj dobrotvorki ali i drugim britanskim medicinskim radnicima koji su nesebično izlagali svoje živote opasnosti da bi pomogli srpskom narodu. Na svečanoj ceremoniji predaje biste, održanoj u holu Škotske kraljevske akademije, učestvovali su i srpski dečaci na školovanju u Edinburgu. Oni su zajedno sa nekoliko pripadnica Bolnice škotskih žena, koje su sa Elsi Inglis boravile u Srbiji, činili počasnju gardu. Prilikom otkrivanja biste, princ Đorđe je rekao da ona: „predstavlja istaknutu ćerku Škotske i velikog prijatelja i dobročinitelja Srbije”. On je zatražio da Škoti prihvate bistu kao izraz zahvalnosti srpskog naroda i da je čuvaju kao залог budućeg bliskog prijateljstva između dveju nacija. Nakon svečane ceremonije, princ

Đorđe i njegova pratnja posetili su groblje Din, gde su odali poštu Elsi Inglis, polažući cveće na njen grob.<sup>150</sup>

Ipak, i pored svih napora srpskih prosvetnih vlasti, predstavnika Srpskog potpornog fonda, lokalnih prosvetnih pododbora, kao i srpskih i britanskih učitelja i vaspitača – u životu srpskih mladića u emigraciji bilo je i neprijatnih stvari. One su, pre svega, nastajale kao posledica njihove mlađalačke prirode, ali i činjenice da su se nalazili daleko od doma, a samim tim i od roditelja, koji su za njih predstavljali glavni autoritet. Odmah po dolasku u Veliku Britaniju, smestivši se uglavnom u pansione i hostele gde im je sve bilo obezbeđeno, neki od mladića molili su svoje starije da im se odobri manja svota novca za džeparac. Zvaničan dopis upućen je gospodinu Modsliju iz Komiteta za ratne izbeglice, u kojem je predloženo da se dečacima odobri nedeljni džeparac u iznosu od 3 šilinga i 6 penija.<sup>151</sup> Smatralo se da je to dovoljno da oni sebi priušte sitnice koje su im bile potrebne. Po svemu sudeći, Komitet za ratne izbeglice prihvatio je ovaj predlog, jer se u korespondenciji između te institucije i srpskog poslanstva u Londonu pominje da je komitet

<sup>148</sup> „Funeral of Dr Elsie Inglis”, *Evening Telegraph and Post*, 29<sup>th</sup> November 1917, 1.

<sup>149</sup> Princ Đorđe Karađorđević (1887–1972) bio je najstariji sin kralja Petra I, ali je prinuđen da abdicira 1909. godine u korist mlađeg brata Aleksandra.

<sup>150</sup> „Fine Tribute by Prince George of Serbia”, *Daily Record and Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> May 1918, 3.

<sup>151</sup> NA, MH 8/4, A. H. Robbins to A. Maudsley, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1916.

schools also attended the bust presentation ceremony in the hall of the Royal Scottish Academy. They have formed the honorary guard with several present members of the Scottish Women's Hospital who had served in Serbia with Elsie Inglis. Prince Djordje said at the ceremony that she had "represented a prominent daughter of Scotland and a great friend and benefactor of Serbia." He asked the Scots to accept the bust as a token of gratitude of the Serbian nation and to keep it as a pledge of the future close friendship between the two nations. After the ceremony Prince Djordje and his entourage visited the Dean Cemetery where they have paid a tribute to Elsie Inglis, laying flowers on her grave.<sup>150</sup>

However, regardless of the efforts of the Serbian educational administration, the representatives of the Serbian Relief Fund, the local education subcommittees and the Serbian and British teachers and tutors, there were some unpleasant occurrences in the lives of the exiled Serbian boys. They mostly stemmed from their youthful natures and the fact that they had been removed far from their homes, and the authority

of their parents. Immediately following their arrival in Great Britain and settling in various hostels and boarding houses, some of the boys asked their teachers and group heads for a small allowance. The request was put before Mr Maudslay from the War Refugees Committee asking that the boys were given an allowance of 3s.6d.<sup>151</sup> It was considered to be sufficient for the boys to buy some treats. Apparently, the Committee had accepted this request since the ensuing correspondence between the War Refugees Committee and the Serbian Legation in London mentions that the Committee had paid the Serbian boys in Glasgow the pocket money as per the previous agreement.<sup>152</sup> Some of the boys were using the confusion between the multitude of authorities and organisations that had helped the Serbs so would ask for assistance at different addresses and would mostly get it. Harry Kramrisch, the Serbian consul in Bradford, reported to Ralf Barsdorf that the Serbian boys residing in that city had managed to obtain allowance from both the War Refugees Committee and the Serbian Red Cross in London and that the sum of 10s. that they received was too high for their needs.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Prince Djordje Karadjordjević (1887-1972) was the eldest son of King Peter I. He was forced to abdicate in 1909 on behalf of his brother Aleksandar.

<sup>150</sup> "Fine Tribute by Prince George of Serbia", *Daily Record and Mail*, 28<sup>th</sup> May 1918, 3.

<sup>151</sup> NA, MH 8/4, A. H. Robbins to A. Maudslay, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1916.

<sup>152</sup> NA, MH 8/5, R. Barsdorf to M. Ćurčin, 28<sup>th</sup> December 1916.

<sup>153</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Harry Kramrisch to Ralph Barsdorf, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1918.

<sup>152</sup> NA, MH 8/5, R. Barsdorf to M. Curcin, 28<sup>th</sup> December 1916.

<sup>153</sup> NA, MH 8/13, Harry Kramrisch to Ralph Barsdorf, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1918.

<sup>154</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Inspektor Ministarstva prosvete za Englesku Ministarstvu prosvete i crkvenih poslova, 4. jul 1918. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

<sup>155</sup> *Isto*.

<sup>156</sup> Sreten Žujović - Crni (1899–1976) bio je komunistički aktivista u međuratnom periodu, istaknuti partizanski borac i komandant u Drugom svetskom ratu i funkcioner posleratne komunističke vlasti.

<sup>157</sup> AS, MPs, U9, 1916, Milan Majzner Dragomiru Obradoviću, 17. jul 1916. (po julijanskom kalendaru).

isplaćivao dečacima u Glazgovu džeparac, prema ranijem dogovoru.<sup>152</sup> Dešavalo se, međutim, da su neki od dečaka pokušali da iskoriste određenu konfuziju koja je postojala u pogledu nadležnosti različitih organizacija zaduženih za pomoć Srbima, pa su tražili materijalna sredstva na različitim stranama i neretko uspevali da ih dobiju. Tako je Hari Kremriš, srpski konzul u Bredfordu, izveštavao Ralfa Barsdorfa da su srpski dečaci koji su se nalazili u tom gradu uspešno izmogli džeparac i od Komiteta za ratne izbeglice i od Srpskog Crvenog krsta u Londonu, obezbedivši tako sebi 10 šilinga nedeljno, što je bilo previše za njihove potrebe.<sup>153</sup>

Pojedini dečaci koji su imali žive roditelje ili rodbinu u izbeglištvu u Solunu, na Krfu ili u Francuskoj, dobijali su povremeno novčane poklone, ponekad i veoma velike sume novca (čak i do 100 franaka). Srpske vlasti gledale su na ovo sa velikim negodovanjem, smatrajući da dečacima nije potrebno toliko novca, budući da im je sve u Velikoj Britaniji bilo obezbeđeno, pa čak i nedeljni džeparac.<sup>154</sup> Inspektor Ministarstva prosvete Pavle Popović navodi da su dečaci toliko dobijeni novac - želeli da troše na stvari

koje su im inače u Velikoj Britaniji bile zabranjene. Bilo je slučajeva da su dečaci kupovali duvan, alkohol i slične stvari, te da su čak noću bežali iz svojih hostela kako bi se provodili. Ministarstvo prosvete smatralo je da su ovakvi postupci nedopustivi, ne samo iz pedagoških razloga, već i zbog toga što su sramotili dečake pred britanskim domaćinima, „koji su naše đake primili kao svoju decu”.<sup>155</sup> Dešavali su se čak i teški incidenti, pa je tako, odlukom Srpskog potpornog fonda, uskraćena stipendija dvojici srpskih mladića, Sretenu Žujoviću<sup>156</sup> i Živojenu Jovanoviću, jer su „uprkos ranijim savetima, opomenama i kaznama, opštiti sa javnim uličnim ženskinjem, bez dozvole napustili zavod i sa njima ostali do 11 sati noću i tek tada se vratili u zavod”.<sup>157</sup> Dečaci su predati srpskom poslanstvu u Londonu, koje ih je uputilo u Francusku, gde su dalje izručeni srpskim vojnim vlastima.

Dečaci u Velikoj Britaniji nisu imali mnogo ličnih stvari - odeću i obuću za put na Ostrvo dobijali su od Srpskog potpornog fonda i drugih humanitarnih organizacija. Knjige, školski pribor, školske uniforme, kao i oprema za sportske aktivnosti uglavnom su obezbeđivane donacijama ili

Some of the boys with living parents or relatives in exile in Thessaloniki, Corfu or France would occasionally receive money, sometimes even quite large amounts (up to 100 francs). The Serbian authorities frowned upon this practice, thinking that the boys did not need the money as they were well provided for in Great Britain, including the weekly allowance.<sup>154</sup> The Ministry's inspector Pavle Popović writes that the boys wanted to spend that extra money on things that were generally forbidden in Great Britain. There were cases when the boys bought tobacco, alcohol and the like and had even snuck out from their hostels to go out at night. These acts were intolerable, according to the Ministry's opinion, and not only due to the pedagogical reasons but also because they had shamed the boys in front of their British hosts "who had accepted our children as their own".<sup>155</sup> There were some serious incidents, such as when the Serbian Relief Fund withdrew funding for two Serbian boys, Sreten Žujović<sup>156</sup> and Živojin Jovanović because they had "contrary to previous warnings, admonitions and punishments, courted the public street women, left the boarding house without permis-

sion and stayed with them until 11 at night and have only then returned to the boarding house".<sup>157</sup> The two boys were transferred to London, to the care of the Legation, from where they were sent to France and handed over to the Serbian military authorities.

The boys did not have many personal belongings - clothes and shoes for the journey to Britain were provided by the Serbian Relief Fund and other humanitarian organisations. Books, school accessories, school uniforms and sports kits were primarily provided through donations or gifts, but those things were not the personal property of the boys but of schools and colleges that had taken them in. Just a few boys had managed to bring some personal items, keepsakes or other valuable items. Such objects were jealously guarded. Also, they could not afford to buy much from the pocket money they received, perhaps some candy or some writing and studying materials - usually a fountain pen, if they could save up some money. When they moved, they carried their personal items with them, usually clothes that they had received as a gift. Some preserved documents testify about their belongings. While

<sup>154</sup> AS, MPs, 4, 70, 1918, Inspector of the Ministry of Education for Great Britain to the Ministry of Education, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1918. (according to Julian calendar).

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> Sreten Žujović Crni (1899–1976) was a communist activist in the interwar period, partisan soldier and commander in the Second World War and an official of the post-war communist state.

<sup>157</sup> AS, MPs, U9, 1916, Milan Majzner to Dragomir Obradović, 17<sup>th</sup> July 1916. (according to Julian calendar).

poklonima, ali te stvari nisu bile lično vlasništvo dečaka, već su pripadale školama i koledžima koji su ih primali. Tek poneki mladić uspevaio je da iz Srbije ponese nekakav lični predmet, uspomenu ili kakvu drugu dragocenu stvar i takve predmete dečaci su obično ljubomorno čuvali. Takođe, od džeparca koji su dobijali, nisu mogli sebi da kupe ništa naročito, eventualno poneki slatkiš ili nešto od pribora za rad i učenje - najčešće nalivpero, ukoliko bi uspeli da uštede dovoljno novca. Kada bi se selili,

sa sobom su nosili svoje lične stvari, uglavnom odevne predmete koje su dobili na poklon. Sačuvani su dokumenti koji svedoče čime su srpska deca raspolagala. Napuštajući hostel u Redingu u maju 1918. godine, srpski dečaci poneli su sa sobom zavežljaje koji su sadržali: jedno novo odelo, jedno iznošeno odelo, dva para donjeg veša, čarape, šest okovratnika, šest maramica, jedan par cipela, pidžamu, slamnati šešir i eventualno kaput.<sup>158</sup> Osim toga, dečaci nisu imali ništa.

<sup>158</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Mrs. Carrington Wilde to Mr. Barsdorf, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

leaving the hostel in Reading in May 1918, the Serbian boys took bundles with one new suit, one worn suit, two pairs of underwear, socks, six collars, six handkerchiefs, a pair of shoes, pyjamas, a straw hat and possibly a coat.<sup>158</sup> They really had nothing beside that.

<sup>158</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Mrs Carrington Wilde to Mr Barsdorf, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

## 4.8 Britanci o Srbima

U svim izveštajima o radu Srpskog potpornog fonda navodi se da su pojedinci i ustanove koje su imale kontakta sa srpskim učenicima, odnosno oni koji su bili zaduženi za njihovo obrazovanje, bez izuzetka, o dečacima govorili u superlativu, hvaleći njihovu inteligenciju, vrednoću i istrajnost. U svim školama koje su pohađali širom Velike Britanije, srpski učenici zaslužili su veliko poštovanje svojih nastavnika i oni koji su ih poznavali mogli su uveriti sve ostale da je pomoć koja je im je bila upućena, primljena na najbolji mogući način i da je donela dobre rezultate.<sup>159</sup> Naročito se isticala njihova poslušnost i dobro ponaša-

nje, o čemu svedoče reči Amerikanca Vebstera Itona Rajta, koji je bio učitelj engleskog jezika srpskim dečacima u Oksfordu: „I dugo su oni bili 'primeri kao u knjizi', i nama se svima činilo da nikada nismo videli tako poslušnu i uljudnu decu. Oni su uvek doslovce činili ono što im se naređivalo. Nikada nisu podizali ni najmanju larmu. Docije kada su se odomaćili, postali su prirodni, i mi smo se uverili da su to pravi dečaci, a ne preobučeni anđeli”.<sup>160</sup> Ledi Kaudri tvrdila je za srpske dečake da imaju atraktivne ličnosti, da su veoma poštenu, iskreni i direktni, kao i da su bili veoma zahvalni na svemu što je učinjeno za njih.<sup>161</sup> Slič-

<sup>159</sup> „The Berkshire Home for Serbian Boys”, *Reading Mercury*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1917, 3.

<sup>160</sup> „Srpski đaci u Engleskoj”, *Srpski glasnik*, br. 301, 10. novembar 1916, 1.

<sup>161</sup> „Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4.

## 4.8 *The British on the Serbs*

All the reports of the Serbian Relief Fund state that the individuals and institutions in contact with the Serbian students, i.e. those who were entrusted with their education, without exception, spoke of the boys in superlative terms, praising their intelligence, diligence and perseverance. They had earned a great respect of their teachers in all the schools they had attended, and those who knew them could convince anyone that the help those children had been given was received in a best possible way and produced good results.<sup>159</sup> Their docility and good behaviour was frequently mentioned, as their American teacher of

English language, Webster Wright Eaton wrote at Oxford: “For a long time they were “as exemplary as by the book” and all of us thought that we have never seen such acquiescent and polite children. They have always done exactly what they have been asked to do. They have never raised the slightest noise. Later, when they felt more at home, they became more natural and we could see that they are true boys and not some angels in disguise”.<sup>160</sup> Lady Cowdray claimed that Serbian boys had attractive personalities, were very honest, truthful and direct and were thankful for all that had been done for them.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>159</sup> “The Berkshire Home for Serbian Boys”, *Reading Mercury*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1917, 3.

<sup>160</sup> “Srpski daci u Engleskoj”, *Srpski glasnik*, no. 301, 10<sup>th</sup> November 1916, 1.

<sup>161</sup> “Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4.

no je mislio i Džejms Tagart, vrhovni sudija Aberdina, koji je bio i predsjednik lokalnog odbora za obrazovanje Srba, ističući da će dobročinstvo koje su Britanci pružili Srbima nesumnjivo doneti velike plodove u budućnosti: „Pružanjem gostoprinstva ovim dečacima, mi ne samo da pokazujemo da cenimo žrtvovanje herojskog naroda, i tako otplaćujemo, u maloj meri, dug koji prema njima imamo, već imamo i odličnu priliku koja nam se ukazala da utičemo na oblikovanje života i način razmišljanja ovih dečaka koji će možda biti predvodnici industrije i vođe nacionalne politike buduće uvećane Srbije.”<sup>162</sup> Na sastanku lokalnog obrazovnog pododбора Srpskog potpornog fonda u Aberdinu, 9. juna 1916. godine, Džordž Eslmont<sup>163</sup>, liberalni poslanik u britanskom parlamentu i jedan od članova pododбора, izjavio je da je, prema njegovom iskustvu, glavni razlog uspeha Velike Britanije kao trgovačke sile to što je ukazivala bezuslovno gostoprinstvo ljudima koji su dolazili iz drugih zemalja. Na istom sastanku, profesor Bejl rekao je da se dosta moglo čuti o ekonomskim prednostima pomoći srpskim dečacima, ukazavši pritom da je mnogo značajnije postaviti makar osnove duhovne komunikacije iz-

među dveju nacija i da će upravo obrazovanje srpskih dečaka omogućiti uspostavljanje poverljivih veza i unije između Velike Britanije i Srbije.<sup>164</sup>

Osim profesora i staratelja, srpski dečaci stekli su i simpatije svojih britanskih školskih drugova. Na sastanku uprave Srpskog potpornog fonda oktobra 1917. godine, podnet je izveštaj nastavnog osoblja Koledža Čeltenham, koji je govorio o zbližavanju srpskih i britanskih dečaka i njihovom prijateljstvu nastalom tokom zajednički provedenog letnjeg raspusta u jednom poljoprivrednom kampu.<sup>165</sup> U izveštaju je istaknuto da su srpski dečaci veoma cenili društvo britanskih vršnjaka, koji su, sa druge strane, u karakteru i držanju Srba našli mnogo toga dostojnog divljenja.<sup>166</sup> I britanski inspektor koji je nadgledao obrazovanje srpskih dečaka, primetio je da su Srbi dobro primljeni od svojih vršnjaka, tako da je u izveštaju ministarstvu napisao: „Srpski dečaci koji su došli iz različitih klasa u Srbiji, poslani su u izuzetne škole gde se oni slobodno mešaju sa engleskim dečacima, pošto su podstaknuti da to čine. Prevladan je nedostatak obrazovanja zbog teškoća Srbije, a neophodno učenje engleskog jezika, [...] prouzokovalo

<sup>162</sup> „Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4; „Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees”, *Evening Express*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4.

<sup>163</sup> Džordž Birni Elsmont (1860–1917) bio je liberalni škotski političar, poslanik u britanskom parlamentu.

<sup>164</sup> „Education of Serbian Refugees”, *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>165</sup> „The Serbian Relief Fund”, *The Cheltenham Looker-On*, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 8.

<sup>166</sup> „Cheltenham Notes”, *Gloucester Journal*, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 5.

Aberdeen's Chief Justice James Taggart, who was a president of the local education board for the Serbs, was of the similar opinion when he said how the charity that the British gave to the Serbs would reap reward in the future: "In extending hospitality to these boys, we not only show our appreciation of the sacrifices made by a heroic people, and thus repay in some slight measure the debt we owe them, but we have also a splendid opportunity presented to us of exercising an untold influence in moulding the lives and shaping the thoughts of those boys who may be the leaders of industry and the guides of national policy in the Greater Serbia that is to be".<sup>162</sup> At the meeting of the local sub-committee of the Serbian Relief Fund in Aberdeen on 9<sup>th</sup> June 1916, George Esslemont<sup>163</sup>, a liberal MP and one of the board members, said that in his experience the main reason for the Great Britain's success as a merchant nation was the fact that it had unreservedly welcomed people that came from other countries. At the same meeting, Professor Bale said that a lot had been heard of the economic benefits from the help given to the Serbian boys but that it was more important to establish at least a foundation

of spiritual communication between the two nations and that the education of the Serbian boys would lead to the establishment of confidential relationships and union between Great Britain and Serbia.<sup>164</sup>

Beside the professors and guardians, the Serbian boys were well liked by their British classmates. At a meeting of the board of Serbian Relief Fund held in October 1917 a report from Cheltenham College was read that described the closeness of the Serbian and British students and the friendship that had begun during the summer spent in an agricultural camp.<sup>165</sup> The report emphasised that the Serbian boys highly regarded the company of their British peers, who had, for their part, found many things to admire in the character and demeanour of the Serbs.<sup>166</sup> The British inspector who oversaw the education of the Serbian boys noted that the Serbs were well received by their classmates and wrote in his report that "the Serbian boys that came from different classes in Serbia, were sent to excellent schools where they freely mixed with the English boys since they were encouraged to do so. A lack of education due to the Serbian plight has

<sup>162</sup> "Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4; "Relief Fund for Serbian Boy Refugees", *Evening Express*, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1918, 4.

<sup>163</sup> George Birnie Esslemont (1860–1917) was a liberal Scots politician and Member of the British Parliament.

<sup>164</sup> "Education of Serbian Refugees", *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1916, 3.

<sup>165</sup> "The Serbian Relief Fund", *The Cheltenham Looker-On*, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 8.

<sup>166</sup> "Cheltenham Notes", *Gloucester Journal*, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1917, 5.

je da su mnogi dečaci u početku bili raspoređeni sa engleskim dečacima mlađim od njih po uzrastu, ali Srbi su brzo napredovali i pridružili se dečacima njihovog sopstvenog uzrasta u kriketu, fudbalu i drugim igrama. Izgleda, bez sumnje, da su oni stekli popularnost. Mnogi od njih su proveli praznike sa školskim drugovima.”<sup>167</sup>

Britanski đaci i studenti, svesni patnji i stradanja kroz koje su prošli njihovi srpski vršnjaci, trudili su se da im boravak u Velikoj Britaniji učine što prijatnijim. Često su pozivali Srbe na čaj i druženje, organizovali sportska takmičenja i zabave u njihovu čast, pa čak i skupljali novčana sredstva u korist Srpskog potpornog fonda. Napori Britanaca nisu ostali neprimećeni kod srpskih izbeglica, tako da je Stevan Iđidović u vezi sa time zabeležio sledeće: „Svakoga dana smo bili podsećani koliko se naši novi engleski prijatelji trude kako bismo se osećali kao kod kuće”.<sup>168</sup> Slično mišljenje o svojim britanskim drugovima imali su i srpski đaci iz Edinbur-

ga, koji su u javnom pismu povodom svog odlaska iz Škotske napisali: „Mi ćemo uvek pamtit i učenike Džordž Heriot škole sa kojima smo proveli većinu vremena tokom praznika. Bili smo sa njima u različitim kampovima, gde smo se upoznali i sa dečacima iz Kraljevske srednje škole i Džordž Votson koledža. Moramo reći da ćemo celih života pamtit i dane provedene među našim škotskim prijateljima.”<sup>169</sup> Britansku druželjubivost najbolje je opisao Dragan Milićević, sećajući se dana kada je diplomirao na Oksfordu: „Sa svih strana uzvici: ‘Hallo! Congrats!... Well done, Serbia.’ Sa svih strana topao i snažan stisak ruke, celom šakom, sa osmehom zadovoljstva iskrenog i potpunog. Kod nas se misli da u Englezi hladan narod! Koliko zablude u tome! Valja ih poznati. Nema veće dece po srdačnosti i istrajnom prijateljstvu od njih kada vas poznađu i kada se sa njima zbližite...”<sup>170</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Ljubinka Trgovčević, „Dva dokumenta o školovanju srpske omladine 1917. godine“, *Istorijski glasnik*, br. 1-2, (1983), 105.

<sup>168</sup> Iđidović Stevens, *n. d.*, 193.

<sup>169</sup> AJ, 80, F75, VII/19, „Serbian Boys in Edinburgh“, *The Scotsman*, 13<sup>th</sup> March 1919.

<sup>170</sup> Milićević, „Pre dvadeset godina”, 9-11.

been overcome, and the necessary study of English language [...] caused that many of the boys were grouped with younger English boys, but the Serbs progressed quickly and joined their own peers in cricket, football and other games. It looks, without a doubt, that they became popular. Many of them have spent holidays with their classmates.”<sup>167</sup>

The British pupils and students, aware of the suffering that their Serbian peers had been through, tried to make their stay in Great Britain as pleasant as possible. They have often invited the Serbs for tea and company, organised sport competitions and threw parties in their honour, even raised money for the Serbian Relief Fund. The British efforts were not left unnoticed, so Stevan Idjidović noted that “every day we were reminded how much our new British friends tried to make us feel at home”.<sup>168</sup> The Serbian boys from Edinburgh were of a similar opinion when they wrote an

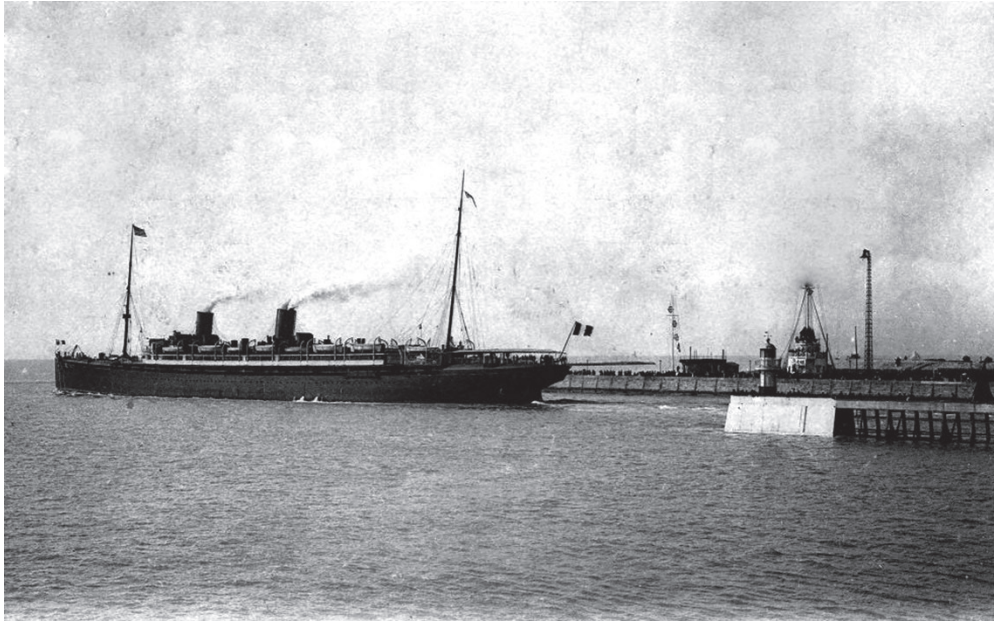
open letter on the occasion of their return to Serbia, saying that “we will always remember students of the George Heriot’s School with whom we spent most of our time during holidays. We were together in different camps, where we met the boys from the Royal High School and George Watson College. We must say that we will remember days spent among our Scottish friends for the rest of our lives.”<sup>169</sup> The British friendliness was best described by Dragan Milićević, when remembering the day of his graduation at Oxford: “From all sides come chants: ‘Hello! Congrats!... Well done, Serbia’. From all sides a warm and firm handshake, with whole hand, with the smile of true and full joy. At home it is thought that the British are a chilly nation! How misguided is that! One should get to know them. There are no greater children in cordial and enduring friendliness but them once they get to know you and you become close...”<sup>170</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Ljubinka Trgovčević, “Dva dokumenta o školovanju srpske omladine 1917. godine”, *Istorijski glasnik*, br. 1-2, (1983), 105.

<sup>168</sup> Idjidović Stevens, *op. cit.*, 193.

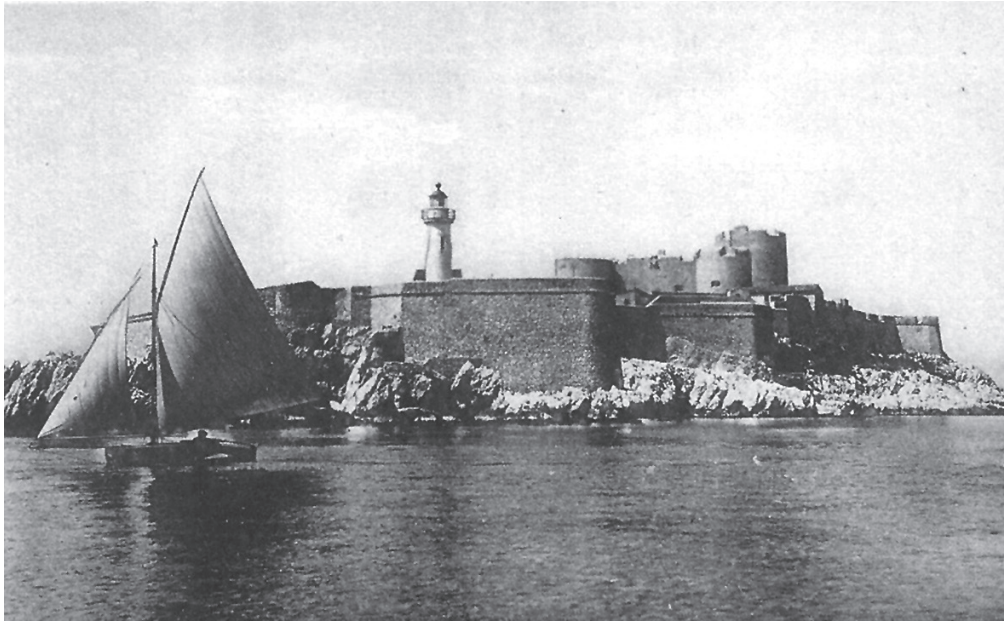
<sup>169</sup> AJ, 80, F75, VII/19, “Serbian Boys in Edinburgh”, *The Scotsman*, 13<sup>th</sup> March 1919.

<sup>170</sup> Milićević, “Pre dvadeset godina”, 9-11.



Brod „Savoja”, koji je prebacio srpsku decu od Krfa do Marselja

*La Savoie*, ship used for transporting Serbian children from Corfu to Marseilles



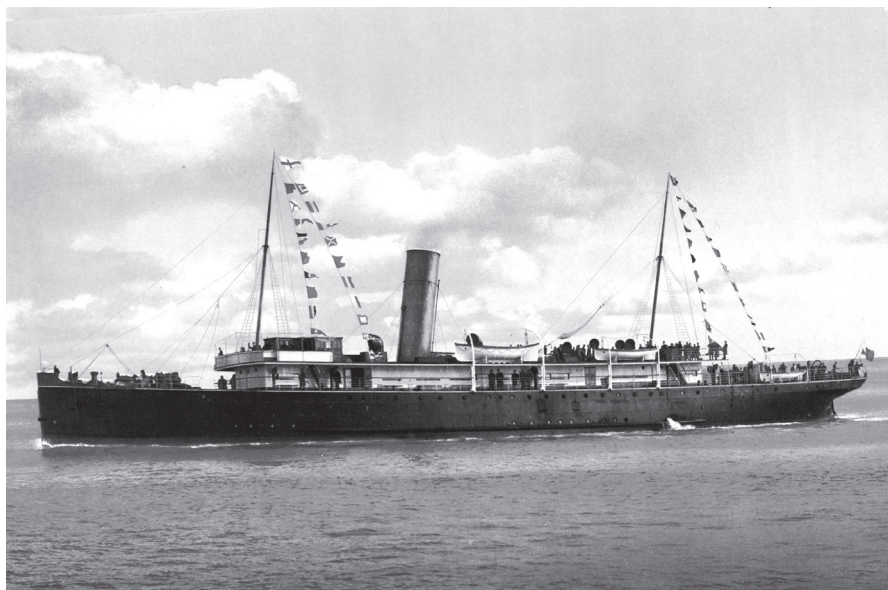
Friul nedaleko od Marselja

Frioul, near Marseilles



Brod „Balkan”, koji je služio za transport srpske dece između Korzike i Marselja

*Le Balkan*, ship used for transporting Serbian children from Corsica to Marseilles



Britanski brod „Vera”, koji je saobraćao između Avra i Sautemptona

British vessel *Vera*, on regular route from Le Havre to Southampton



Elis Meri Tebet, pripadnica Bolnice  
škotskih žena

Alice Mary Tebbutt, member of the  
Scottish Women's Hospitals

(Q 111229, Imperial War Museum)



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Birmingema Nevila Čemberlena

Ann de Vere Chamberlain, wife of Neville  
Chamberlain, Lord Mayor of Birmingham

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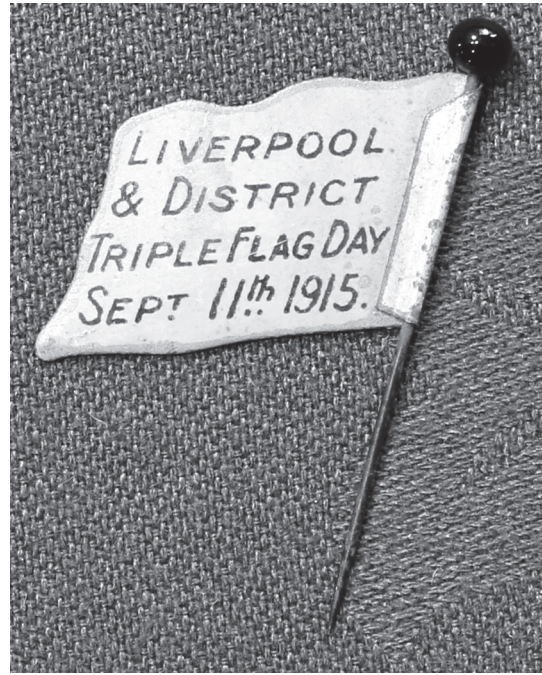
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Muzički komad inspirisan Srbijom, koji je kompozitor  
Džon Hit posvetio Vivijen Edvards

Musical piece inspired by Serbia, dedicated to Vivien  
Edwards by the composer John R. Heath

(IMSLP / Petrucci Music Library)



Značka sa obeležavanja „Dana tri zastave”

Pin commemorating *Triple flag day*



Ana Krišćić, novinarka i spisateljica

Annie Christitch, journalist and author

(United States Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)



Poster za „Dan zastave”

Poster for *Flag day*

(Edinburgh City Archives)



Poster za „Dan Zastave” 1917.  
godine u Edinburgu

Poster for 1917 Edinburgh *Flag day*

(Edinburgh City Archives)



Vilijem Kevendiš-Bentink, šesti vojvoda od Portlanda

William Cavendish-Bentinck, 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Portland

(Fotografija / Photo by Elliott & Fry)



Srpski dečaci na poljoprivrednim radovima

Serbian boys doing agricultural work

(The Graphic)



Remoar haus u Aberdinširu

Raemoir House, Aberdeenshire



Ser Vilijem Šlih, profesor  
šumarstva na Oksfordu

Sir William Schlich, Professor of  
forestry at Oxford University

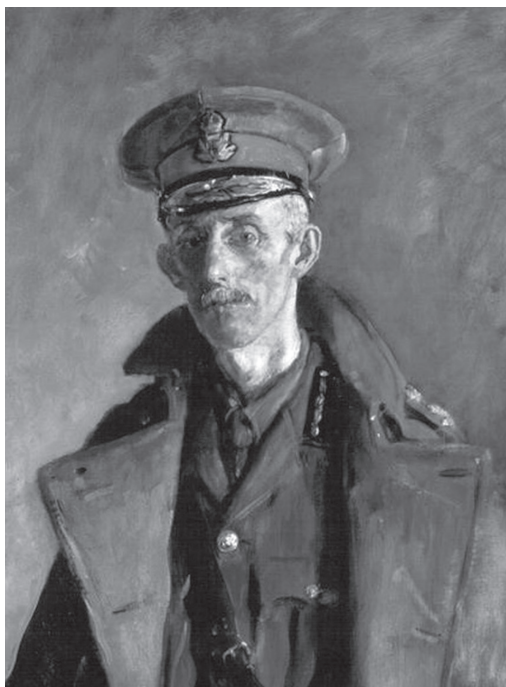
(Carl Alwin Schenck Papers, Special  
Collections Research Center at NCSU  
Libraries)



Nikola Simić Pop, čuveni srpski fudbaler  
koji je 1916. godine studirao na Oksfordu

Nikola Simić Pop, famous Serbian  
footballer who spent 1916 studying at  
Oxford

(Kolekcija Sribislava Todorovića / Sribislav  
Todorović Collection)



Džejms Tagart, vrhovni sudija Aberdina  
James Taggart, Lord Provost of Aberdeen

(Naslikao / Painting by Ambrose McEvoy,  
Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museums)



Robert Inčes, vrhovni sudija Edinburga  
Robert Inches, Lord Provost of Edinburgh

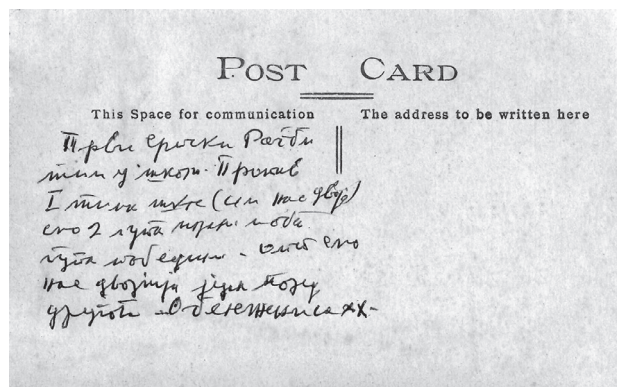
(Naslikao / Painting by George Fiddes Watt, City  
of Edinburgh Council)

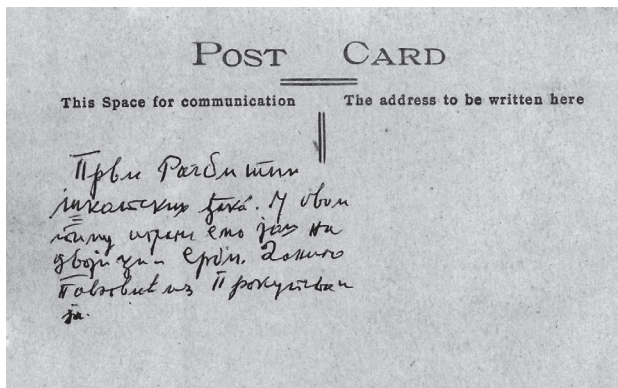


Srpski ragbi tim u školi  
Džordž Heriot u Edinburgu

Serbian rugby team of the  
George Heriot's School in  
Edinburgh

(<http://www.george-heriots.com>)





Ragbi tim škole Džordž  
Heriot u Edinburgu

Rugby team of the  
George Heriot's School in  
Edinburgh

(<http://www.george-heriots.com>)



Eni Pirson, vikontesa Kaudri

Annie Pearson, Viscountess Cowdray

(Naslikao / Painting by John MacDonald Aiken,  
Colchester Town Hall)



Vitman Pirson, prvi vikont Kaudri

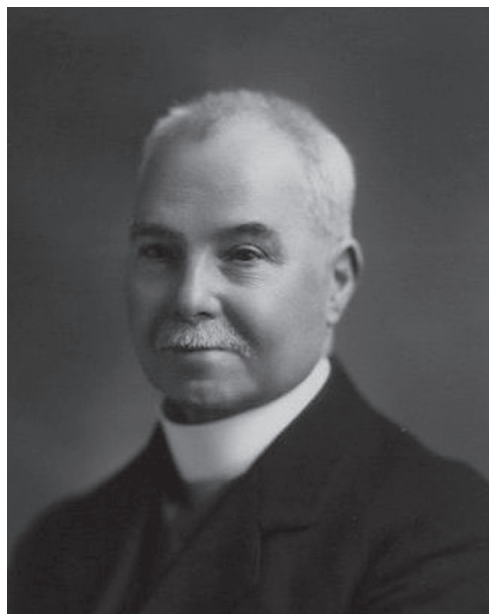
Weetman Pearson, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Cowdray



Milorad Radović, srpski oficir koji se 1919. godine u Aberdinu venčao lokalnom devojkom

Milorad Radović, Serbian officer who married local girl in Aberdeen in 1919

(Naslikao / Painted by Henry Lamb, Art.IWM ART LD 3893, Imperial War Museum)



Džejms Gilroj, profesor Kings koledža u Aberdinu

James Gilroy, Professor at King's College, Aberdeen

(<https://ttutm.wordpress.com>)



Ser Robert Inčes prima srpske mladiće  
 Sir Robert Inches receives Serbian boys  
 (Daily Record)



Zamak Duneht u Aberdinširu, gde su dečaci provodili raspust  
 Dunecht House in Aberdeenshire, where boys spent their hollidays



At luncheon, Viscountess Cowdray is seated at the head of the table. Lord Cowdray, the new chief of the air services, has given over his beautiful house at Paddockhurst, Sussex, for the vacation, to twenty Serbian students from Oxford and Cambridge Universities. They are working under a tutor, but those fit for military service will soon be joining the army.

### LORD COWDRAY HOST TO SERBIAN STUDENTS.



In the skittle alley in the winter garden. Nearly all of them are cadets.

Novinski izveštaj o boravku srpskih dečaka kod vikonta Kaudrija  
Newspaper report on Serbian boys' stay with Viscount Cowdray  
(Daily Mirror)



Princ Đorđe Karađorđević

Prince Djordje Karadjordjević

(Chocolat Guérin-Boutron card)



Dimitrije Dulkanović i Milorad Maletić iz  
Edinburga, u škotskoj nošnji

Dimitrije Dulkanović and Milorad Maletić  
from Edinburgh wearing Scottish costumes

(The Edinburgh Evening News)



Ser Vilijem Don, vrhovni sudija Dandija  
Sir William Don, Lord Provost of Dundee

(Naslikao / Painting by George Henry, Dundee  
Art Galleries and Museums Collection)

A SOLEMN SALUTE.



Three hundred Serbian youths and children have been sent to Oxford to be educated. Two Serbian boys give two wounded soldiers a solemn salute.

Srpski dečaci pozdravljaju britanske oficire

Serbian boys saluting the British officers

(Sheffield Independent)



Grupa srpskih studenata u Velikoj Britaniji

Group of Serbian students in Great Britain

(Ustupila / Courtesy of Vesna Biljan Lončarić)

No. 26. University of Glasgow. No. Fee, £1 1s. Am.  
 SESSION 1917-18

MATRICULATION ALBUM.

Name in Full, Veljko Andra Drinjaković  
(Initials not sufficient. — Add any University Degree already obtained)

Age at last Birthday, 25 — born 11<sup>th</sup> August 1892

Birthplace—(Town or Parish, and County; } Tschatschak — Serbia  
(if not in Scotland, write the Country also), }

Father's Christian Name, Andra

Father's Occupation, Priest

Is Father Alive? Yes — Prisoner of War in Austria

Faculty—Arts; Science (Pure, Engin., etc.); Medicine; Law; Theology, Science Engineering

Classes for this Session, viz.: Nat. Phyl. Mats. Phyl. Lab. Chemistry, Eng. Drawing

Year of attendance at this University, i.e., First or Second, etc., First

Previous Faculty or Faculties of Study, if any, geod. and building const. Academic  
Belgrade — Serbia

Present Address, 1 Athole Gardens — W — Glasgow

Home Address, Tschatschak Serbia

Maturski dosije studenta Univerziteta u Glazgovu Veljka Drinjakovića

Matriculation record of Veljko Drinjaković, student of the University of Glasgow

(The University of Glasgow Story Project)

## SERBIAN BOYS AT THE ZOO.



Some Serbian boys, who were present at the St. Paul's service yesterday, were afterwards taken to the Zoo. Feeding the hippo.— (*Daily Mirror* photograph.)

Srpski mladići u poseti londonskom zoološkom vrtu

Serbian youngsters visiting the London Zoo

(Daily Mirror)

## 5.0 ZAKLJUČAK

Prvi svetski rat je u svakom pogledu predstavljao prekretnicu u odnosima između Srba i Britanaca. Kontakti dvaju naroda koji su do tada bili opterećeni nastojanjima i željama jedne male balkanske države za samostalnošću, proširenjem i napretkom, što je dovodilo do turbulencija u regionu, kao i geopolitičkim i ekonomskim pozicijama Velike Britanije kao velike i dominantne svetske sile, čija politika nije uvek išla u prilog Srbiji – iz korena su se izmenili. Srbija i Velika Britanija postale su saveznice, zemlje povezane zajedničkim interesom i željom da se svet ustroji prema njihovim potrebama i idejama. Ratne okolnosti do-

vele su do toga da se dva naroda bolje upoznaju - britanske vojne i diplomatske misije na početku rata trudile su se da nagovore Bugarsku da se ne meša u sukob, pokušale da pomognu organizaciju srpske vojske u odbrani zemlje od agresije i, kada je došlo do sloma i povlačenja, da pruže podršku prilikom evakuacije srpske vojske i izbeglica i njihovog elementarnog preživljavanja. Pripadnici britanskih sanitetskih misija u Srbiji, lekari, medicinske sestre i pomoćno osoblje, uložili su natčovečanski napor da se ublaže posledice krvavih sukoba i užasnih epidemija zaraznih bolesti. Britanski političari, naučnici, pisci i

## 5.0 CONCLUSION

The First World War represented, in every way, a turning point in relations between the Serbs and the British. The contacts, which up to that point have been burdened by the efforts and wishes of a small Balkan country to achieve independence, expansion and progress, inciting disturbances in the region, and by geopolitical and economic prominence of Great Britain as a major and dominant world power, whose policies, consequently, had not always been in Serbia's favour, changed dramatically. Great Britain and Serbia became allies, countries bound by a common interest and a joint desire to reshape the world

according to their needs and ideas. Wartime circumstances led the two nations to become better acquainted - at the beginning of the war, British military and diplomatic missions had tried to keep Bulgaria out of the conflict, attempted to aid organisation of the Serbian army in defence against the aggression and, upon the defeat and withdrawal, to assist the evacuation and ensure a basic survival of the Serbian army and refugees. Members of the British medical missions in Serbia, physicians, nurses and auxiliary staff, invested superhuman efforts to ease the consequences of bloody battles and horrible epidemics of in-

javni radnici aktivno su promovisali srpske političke ciljeve, kako u samoj Velikoj Britaniji, tako i širom Evrope i sveta, nastojeći pritom da upoznaju Britance sa srpskom kulturom, istorijom i umetnošću. Britanski vojnici koji su bili stacionirani na Solunskom frontu delili su sa srpskim saborcima dobro i zlo u rovovima, logorima i poljskim bolnicama, ali i u zabavama i pijankama u pozadini fronta. Sve ovo dovelo je do toga da Velika Britanija za Srbe više nije bila udaljena imperija, hladna i proračunata, koja je isključivo vodila računa o sopstvenim interesima, već država koja je bila spremna da pomogne pravednu borbu jednog naroda za opstanak. Takođe, ni Srbi u očima Britanaca više nisu bili isključivo balkanski buntovnici i izazivači nevolja, već jedan mali narod spreman da skupo plati svoju slobodu i sve pozitivne tekovine sopstvenog istorijskog razvoja. Ipak, možda i najznačajniji zalog za budućnost odnosa između dvaju naroda bio je odlazak jednog broja srpskih dečaka u Veliku Britaniju, njihovo školovanje u britanskim školama, koledžima i fakultetima, kao i briga o njihovoj dobrobiti koju su ispoljili Britanci okupljeni u dobrotvornim organizacijama, ali i obični ljudi, ganuti njihovom sudbinom.

Prema zvaničnim podacima Srpskog potpornog fonda, od 1916. do 1924. godine, ova organizacija vodila je računa o 370 srpskih studenata i đaka, koji su bili smešteni širom Velike Britanije i pohađali britanske osnovne i srednje škole, koledže i univerzitete (238 dečaka u školama, 13 u tehničkim školama, 44 na različitim koledžima, 50 na univerzitetima, 4 na kursovima za oficire i još 21 dečak koji je radio u privredi).<sup>1</sup> Oko 100 dečaka i devojčica, uglavnom bez roditeljskog staranja, bili su smešteni u sirotištu u Faveršamu, u organizaciji Saveta nacionalnog bratstva. Takođe, Komitet za ratne izbeglice, nezavisno od ostalih dobrotvornih organizacija, pomagao je oko 70 srpskih mladića i devojaka koji su se od užasa rata sklonili u Veliku Britaniju.<sup>2</sup> Uz pojedince o kojima su računa vodili Srpski Crveni krst u Velikoj Britaniji, srpsko poslanstvo u Londonu i druge dobrotvorne organizacije, ukupan broj srpskih omladina- ca koji su deo rata proveli na Ostrvu iznosio je oko 500, što je činilo gotovo 10% ukupne omladinske izbegličke populacije. Ako se ova cifra poredi sa brojem studenata i đaka koji su rat proveli u Francuskoj, ona se može učiniti neznatnom. Međutim, ako se poredi sa brojem srpskih studenata i

<sup>1</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924, 4.

<sup>2</sup> NA, MH 8/13, List of Serbian refugees who have been aided by the War Refugees Committee, from 1916-1924.

fectious diseases. British politicians, scientists, authors and other public figures actively promoted Serbian political goals, not only in the United Kingdom but also in Europe and worldwide, and introduced Serbian culture, history and art to the British. British soldiers, based at the Salonica front, shared the good and the bad with their Serbian counterparts in the trenches, camps, field hospitals and also at parties and binges away from the frontline. All of this led the Serbs to stop perceiving Great Britain as a distant Empire, cold and calculated, exclusively motivated by its own interests, instead seeing a nation ready to aid another's righteous battle for survival, and, in turn, alter the perception of the Serbs in British eyes from Balkan rebels and troublemakers to a small nation prepared to pay the highest price for its freedom and all positive achievements of its historical development. However, the arrival of a number of Serbian boys to Great Britain and their subsequent education in British schools, colleges and universities, as well as the care for their well-being shown not only by the British involved in charity organisations, but also by the ordinary people moved by their fate, may have

been the most important pledge for the future of the relations between the two nations.

According to the official data of the Serbian Relief Fund, between 1916 and 1924, when the Fund officially ceased with operations, this organisation took care of 370 Serbian students and pupils, placed throughout the United Kingdom and educated in British primary and secondary schools, colleges and universities (238 boys went to various primary and secondary schools, 13 went to vocational schools, 44 attended various colleges, 50 were enrolled at different universities, 4 trained with the Officers' Training Corps and 21 were working in different companies).<sup>1</sup> About 100 boys and girls, mostly orphaned, were accommodated in a children's home in Faversham, in the organisation of the National Brotherhood Council. Also, the War Refugees Committee, independently from other charity organisations, helped around 70 Serbian boys and girls who sought shelter from the horrors of war in Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> Alongside the individuals taken care of by the Serbian Red Cross in Great Britain, the Serbian Legation in London and other char-

<sup>1</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 30<sup>th</sup> January 1924, 4.

<sup>2</sup> NA, MH 8/13, List of Serbian refugees who have been aided by the War Refugees Committee, from 1916-1924.

đaka koji su pre Prvog svetskog rata imali prilike da se školuju u Britaniji, onda ova brojka deluje impozantno i svedoči o zaista ogromnom napretku.

U jednom pismu pomoćniku sekretara britanskog Komiteta za ratne izbeglice, Milan Ćurčin, sekretar srpskog poslanstva u Londonu, efektno je sažeo koji je bio cilj organizacije dolaska srpske dece u Britaniju: „Naš glavni cilj pri dovođenju srpske omladine ovde u Veliku Britaniju je bio da ih spasimo što više za budućnost naše zemlje i da ih obrazujemo, ukoliko obećavaju, ili da ih obučimo za trgovinu i druge poslove”.<sup>3</sup> *Briga o budućnosti zemlje* nije bila samo stilska figura koju je pesnik Ćurčin poželeo da upotrebi u pismu, već izraz jedne užasavajuće istine - da su generacije mladih Srba, hiljade i hiljade ljudi, bile pokošene ratom, bolestima i teškoćama života u izgnanstvu, te da je briga za ono malo preživelih mladića i devojaka, kao i za njihovo što kvalitetnije obrazovanje, zapravo bila prvoklasno društveno i političko pitanje, ali i problem od čijeg će adekvatnog rešenjaja umnogome zavisi sam opstanak srpske države u budućnosti. Onih 5000 mladića i devojaka koji su uspeli da se domognu Grčke, Italije,

Francuske, Švajcarske i Velike Britanije - predstavljali su nacionalno blago i na njihova nejaka pleća pao je sav teret očekivanja nacije. Oni su morali da steknu neophodna znanja i veštine da ponovo uzdignu svoju otadžbinu, koja se našla na ivici propasti.

U Velikoj Britaniji ova deca naišla su na topao doček. Zadržuje energičnost sa kojom su predstavnici humanitarnih organizacija pristupili teškom zadatku organizacije transporta, smeštaja, snabdevanja i edukacije mladih Srba. Prema zvaničnim podacima, preko 700 ljudi bilo je angažovano u različitim akcijama Srpskog potpornog fonda, akcijama čiji je cilj bio da se pomogne Srbima, kako prikupljanjem pomoći, novčane i materijalne, tako i slanjem paketa srpskim zarobljenicima i izbeglicama, zatim organizovanjem medicinske nege na frontu i u izbegličkim kolonijama, kao i brigom o dobrobiti najmlađih.<sup>4</sup> Samo je mali broj aktivista Srpskog potpornog fonda bio plaćen, velika većina je u tim akcijama volontirala. Fond je tokom svog delovanja, od 1914. do 1924. godine, kada je i zvanično prestao sa radom, a sva preostala sredstva prebačena specijalnom fondu za obrazovanje srpske omladine

<sup>3</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Dr. M. Ćurčin to Mr. Barsdorf, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>4</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, The Serbian Relief Fund, 2.

ity organisations, a total number of Serbian youths who had spent a part of the First World War in the United Kingdom was around 500, almost 10% of the entire Serbian refugee youth population. Should this figure be compared with the number of students and pupils who had spent the war in France, it would appear insignificant. However, should it be compared with a total number of Serbian students and pupils who had had the opportunity to be educated in Great Britain before the war, it represents a truly huge increase.

In a letter to an assistant secretary of the British War Refugees Committee, the Secretary of the Serbian Legation in London, Milan Ćurčin, effectively summed up the goal of organising the arrival of Serbian children to Britain: “Our chief aim in bringing Serbian youths over to Great Britain was to save as many as we could for the future in our country and to educate them here, if they were promising, or to train them in commerce and other trades”.<sup>3</sup> The concern for the future of the nation was not just a figure of speech, which Ćurčin, as a poet, might have felt an urge to use, but an expression of a terrify-

ing truth - the generations of young Serbs, thousands and thousands of people, were decimated by war, diseases and hardships of exile, and the care for the few surviving boys and girls, and concern for their education, were, in fact, social and political issues of the highest priority, the resolution of which would determine the very survival of the Serbian state in years to come. Those 5,000 boys and girls who had managed to escape to Greece, Italy, France, Switzerland and the United Kingdom represented a national treasure and the heavy burden of the nation’s expectations fell upon their weak shoulders. They were the ones who had to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to raise their Homeland from the brink of destruction.

In Great Britain, these children were warmly welcomed. The energy that the representatives of charity organisations had put into the heavy task of organising transport, accommodation, supply and education of young Serbs is awe-inspiring. According to the official data, more than 700 people were engaged in different campaigns of the Serbian Relief Fund, the campaigns which had a goal to help

<sup>3</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Dr. M. Ćurčin to Mr. Barsdorf, 30<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

<sup>4</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/4/1, The Serbian Relief Fund, 2.

u Velikoj Britaniji, za pomoć Srbima prikupio i potrošio skoro 1 milion funti, od toga više od 140.000 funti samo na potrebe obrazovanja.<sup>5</sup> Još više od količine prikupljenog novca fascinira društvena, politička i ideološka struktura članova dobrotvornih organizacija - među njima su bili predstavnici svih britanskih političkih partija i sledbenici najrazličitijih ideologija - od simpatizera krajnje levice, poput Henrija Noela Brejlsforda, do zakletih konzervativaca i imperijalista, poput Vilijema Džojnson-Hiksa; od anglikanskih sveštenika i teologa, do pripadnika kvekerske verske zajednice; od članova najstarijih i najistaknutijih plemićkih porodica, preko preduzetnika koji su sami stvorili svoje bogatstvo, do industrijskih radnika, itd. Među članovima i aktivistima Srpskog potpornog fonda i ostalih humanitarnih organizacija zapravo su se našli predstavnici svih slojeva britanskog društva s početka 20. veka.

Odnos koji se razvio između srpskih studenata, đaka, te njihovih srpskih nastavnika i starešina, s jedne strane, i njihovih britanskih domaćina, nastavnika, profesora, dobrotvora i činovnika zaduženih za staranje o njima - bio je odnos uzajamnog po-

štovanja i divljenja. U pismu srpskom poslaniku u Londonu Jovanu Jovanoviću, Ralf Barsdorf je zabeležio: „Pošto je došlo vreme kada će Komitet za ratne izbeglice prestati s radom, usled čega ja više neću biti u mogućnosti da nastavim sa naporima da pomognem vašim zemljacima, želim da vam napišem nekoliko redova i da vas obavestim o tome koliko sam uživao u svom poslu. Tokom četiri i po godine dolazio sam u dodir sa svim savezničkim narodima, i mogu da vas uverim da nijedan narod nije pokazao takvu zahvalnost i sposobnost učenja kao pripadnici vaše rase”.<sup>6</sup> Jovanović je kasnije pisao, sećajući se britanskih akcija za pomoć Srbima: „To je bio, u krupnim potezima, napor Engleske za vreme rata, koji su ljudi i žene, iz svih redova društvenih činili lično za naše ujedinjenje i oslobođenje, za naše vojnike, za naše ranjenike, za naše izbeglice, za naše internirane, za naše pod okupacijom. Napor Engleza bio je veliki, istoriski primer veličine jednog velikoga naroda, jednog kulturnog sveta”.<sup>7</sup> No, i pored zvaničnih izjava Barsdorfa i Jovanovića, koje se donekle možda mogu uzeti s rezervom, sačuvano je i mnogo autentičnih svedočenja koja nisu bila namenjena očima javnosti, posebno u pismima

<sup>5</sup>SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 4.

<sup>6</sup>NA, MH 8/5, Ralph Barsdorf to Mr. Yovanovitch, 31<sup>st</sup> December 1918.

<sup>7</sup>Jovanović, *Engleska za Srbiju*, 16.

the Serbs, from collecting donations, financial and material, to sending care packages to the Serbian prisoners and refugees, to the organisation of medical care at the frontline and in refugee colonies and the care for the well-being of the youngest.<sup>4</sup> Only a handful of the Serbian Relief Fund activists were paid, most of them were volunteers. During its existence between 1914 and 1924, when the organisation was officially disbanded and all the remaining money transferred to the special fund for education of the Serbian youths in the United Kingdom, the Fund managed to raise and spend around £1,000,000, more than £140,000 of that amount having been allocated to the education alone.<sup>5</sup> Even more fascinating than the figure raised was the social, ideological and social structure of the members of the charity organisations - it comprised the representatives of all British political parties and supporters of most varied ideologies, from the far-left sympathisers like Henry Noel Brailsford to the right-wing Conservatives and imperialists, such as William Joynson-Hicks; from Anglican priests and theologians to members of the Quaker community; from members of the oldest and most prominent

aristocratic families to self-made businessmen and representatives of the working classes, etc. The cross section of members and activists of the Serbian Relief Fund and other charity organisations, in fact, represented the cross section of the British society as a whole at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The relationship which had developed between the Serbian students and pupils and their Serbian teachers and supervisors on one side, and their British hosts, teachers, professors, benefactors and civil servants tasked with their care, was a relationship of mutual respect and admiration. In a letter to the Serbian Minister in London, Jovan Jovanović, Ralph Barsdorf wrote: “As the time has come when the War Refugees Committee will end its career and I shall, therefore, no longer be in a position to continue my endeavours to help your fellow-countrymen, I am writing you a few lines to let you know how greatly I have enjoyed my work in this respect. I have dealt here with all the Allied nationalities for four and a half years, and I can assure you that no nation has shown such gratitude and such aptitude to learn as the mem-

<sup>5</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Serbian Education Committee, 4.

<sup>6</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Ralf Barsdorf to Mr. Yovanovitch, 31<sup>st</sup> December 1918.

<sup>7</sup> Jovanović, *Engleska za Srbiju*, 16.

koja su srpski studenti i đaci pisali svojim britanskim domaćinima. Tako Blaža Kovačević u privatnom pismu Barsdorfu piše: „Uopšte mi je teško da pojmim kako bih se snašao bez vas i vaša lična naklonost je prirasla mom srcu. Osećam kako vam se ne mogu dovoljno zahvaliti”.<sup>8</sup> Srbi nisu štedeli reči hvale za ljude koji su ih primili i ugostili ljubazno i toplo, u čijim su kućama i pansionima živeli, gde su se osećali „skoro kao u domovima svojih očeva u Srbiji”.<sup>9</sup>

Značaj boravka i školovanja mladih Srba u Velikoj Britaniji najviše se ogledao u tome što su upijali britansku kulturu i razumevali jedan način života koji im je ranije bio stran, te što su tu kulturu i pogled na svet kasnije širili među svojim zemljacima. Većina srpskih dečaka bila je pak premlada da u potpunosti iskoristi nebrojene mogućnosti za sticanje znanja i veština, koje im je pružala Velika Britanija - dečaci su mahom pohađali osnovne i srednje škole, i to uglavnom nastavu koju su organizovali srpski učitelji; ipak, i tu je uticaj britanske kulture bio velik. Preko jezika koji su savladali, oni su se upoznali sa britanskom književnošću, istorijom i političkom misli. Stariji dečaci i mladići, koji su

imali prilike da uče na koledžima i univerzitetima, kasnije su bili nosioci ideje o prijateljstvu dvaju naroda. Zahvaljujući obrazovanju koje su u Britaniji dobili, mnogi od njih postali su veoma ugledni i uticajni članovi jugoslovenskog međuratnog društva: od srpskih bogoslova koji su se školovali ili predavali na Oksfordu trojica su postali episkopi Srpske pravoslavne crkve, a dvojica su danas svetitelji; mnogi od njih stasali su u izuzetno cenejene novinare, izveštače i prevodioce, pa i propagandiste koji su radili za jugoslovenske vlasti; među njima je bilo mnogo ljudi koji su kasnije postali profesori univerziteta, narodni poslanici, ministri i politički lideri; izuzetan je broj inženjera, ekonomista, trgovaca i lekara, koji su svoja znanja stekli u Velikoj Britaniji, a kasnije ih širili u domovini. Velika većina Srba školovanih u Britaniji ostala je verna prijateljstvu dvaju naroda i političkom savezništvu između dveju zemalja, a svoje anglofilske uverenje skupo su platili u periodu Drugog svetskog rata.

Nema prigodnijeg načina da se ova studija zaključi od reči ser Artura Evansa, objavljenih u listu „Manchester Gardijan” u aprilu 1917. godine:

<sup>8</sup> NA, MH 8/5, B. Kovachevitch to R. Barsdorf, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1918.

<sup>9</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Mihailo Yankovitch to R. Barsdorf, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1918.

bers of your race”.<sup>6</sup> Jovanović later wrote, recalling the British endeavours to help the Serbs: “This was, in big actions, a war-time effort of England, personally undertaken by men and women of all social classes for our unification and liberation, for our soldiers, for our wounded, for our refugees, for our prisoners, for our loved ones who had to live under the occupation. The effort of the English was a great historical example of the greatness of a great nation, a civilised nation”.<sup>7</sup> Barsdorf and Jovanović’s words aside, as they may be taken with a pinch of salt, many authentic testimonies have survived, the testimonies which were not intended for the general public, especially in letters written by the Serbian students and pupils to their British hosts. Blaža Kovačević, a Serbian boy, in a private letter to Barsdorf wrote: “I cannot comprehend how I would manage without you, and your absolute personal affection went to my heart. I feel I cannot thank you enough”.<sup>8</sup> The Serbs were also full of praise for the people in whose houses and hostels they had been living, who had accepted them and welcomed them warmly, and where they had felt “almost as in their fathers’ home in Serbia”.<sup>9</sup>

The significance of the Serbian youngsters’ stay and education in Great Britain was reflected mostly in the fact they had absorbed British culture and learned to understand a previously unfamiliar way of life, and later disseminate that culture and world view amongst their countrymen. Most of the Serbian boys were too young to fully benefit from the fantastic possibilities to acquire knowledge and skills provided by Great Britain – most of them went to primary and secondary schools, and most of their classes were taught by the Serbian teachers; however, even in those situations the influence of the British culture was immense. The newly-acquired language allowed them to familiarise themselves with British literature, history and political thought. Older boys and young adults who had had the opportunity to be educated at colleges and universities later became the promoters of the idea of the friendship between the two nations. Thanks to their British education, many of them had become distinguished members of the Yugoslav interwar society: out of Serbian theologians who were educated or taught at Oxford, three became Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church and

<sup>8</sup> NA, MH 8/5, B. Kovachevitch to R. Barsdorf, 20<sup>th</sup> October 1918.

<sup>9</sup> NA, MH 8/5, Mihailo Yankovitch to R. Barsdorf, 17<sup>th</sup> August 1918.

„Ali, ono što je daleko bitnije od svih materijalnih dobrobiti, koje će doći kao posledica upoznavanja sa modernim naučnim metodama, jeste intimni kontakt mladih Srba prisutnih među nama sa engleskim životom i mišlju, koji može imati mnogo veću vrednost. On će dovesti do uzajamnog razumevanja i pomoći će da se premosti postojeća provalija između naroda koji su tako različiti u svojim istorijskim tradicijama. Taj će kontakt nesumnjivo ostaviti trajan utisak na rasu koja je, uz svoju prirodnu rešenost i borbeni duh, obdarena izuzetnim osećajem za poetski idealizam”.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Sir Arthur Evans, „The Serbian Boys in England”, *Manchester Guardian*, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1917.

two are saints today; many became prominent journalists, reporters and translators, even propagandists who worked for the Yugoslav authorities; many of them became university professors, MPs, government ministers and political leaders; the number of engineers, economists, businessmen and physicians who were educated in the United Kingdom and later disseminated their expertise is staggering. A vast majority of the Serbs who were educated in the United Kingdom remained loyal to the friendship between the two nations and the political alliance between the two countries and many of them paid dearly for their convictions during the Second World War.

There is no more appropriate way to conclude this study than with the words of Sir Arthur Evans, published in *Manchester Guardian* in April 1917: “But, over and above such material benefits as may accrue from instruction in modern scientific methods, the intimate contact with English life and thought due to the presence of the young Serbians among us may be deemed to possess a still higher value. It will tend to mutual understanding and help to bridge over the existing gap between peoples singularly divergent in their historical traditions. It cannot fail to have a permanent effect on a race which, in addition to its native grit, is gifted in an exceptional degree with poetic idealism”.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> SSEES, UCL, SEW 7/14, Sir Arthur Evans, “The Serbian Boys in England”, *Manchester Guardian*, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1917.



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