

ADMINISTRATION OF RELIEF ABROAD

A Series of Occasional Papers

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS IN FRANCE, 1917-1919

By RUFUS M. JONES

Together with PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN ADMINISTERING
RELIEF ABROAD, *by* CLARENCE E. PICKETT



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RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

FOREWORD

This pamphlet is the fifth of a projected series of Occasional Papers, under the editorship of Donald S. Howard, assistant director of the Charity Organization Department. It is intended to offer those interested in planning or administering relief abroad a digest of pertinent material prepared under auspices other than our own and not readily available. Some of the texts included in this series have never been published, some are out of print; since they are inaccessible to many readers, it has not been felt necessary to designate the exact pages quoted.

Restrictions upon the use of paper in the present emergency make it necessary sharply to limit the length of these Occasional Papers. The material has therefore been cut severely. Except for certain headings and insertions enclosed in brackets, the wording of the text is that of the original author. Only omissions *within* paragraphs are shown by dots. In order to give a consecutive, though curtailed account, the order of the paragraphs has sometimes been rearranged.

The Russell Sage Foundation is deeply indebted to the Macmillan Company, to Dr. Rufus M. Jones, and to Dr. Clarence E. Pickett for the co-operation without which publication of this pamphlet would have been impossible.

JOANNA C. COLCORD, *Director*
Charity Organization Department

August, 1943

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THE DEFINITE plan as it finally took shape and was adopted by the Paris Executive Committee [of the English Friends], and was later accepted by the War Victims Committee [also of the English Friends] and by the American Service Committee, was as follows:

1. It is understood that American Friends will work under the auspices of the American Red Cross Commission, who will be asked to assign to the Friends' Unit in France workers selected by the American Friends' Service Committee for this purpose from amongst men holding conscientious objections to all war, and women in sympathy with such views. The Friends' Field Committee to be the judge as to the number of such workers which it can usefully employ, subject to the approval of the London Committee.
2. The American Red Cross Commission shall be invited to appoint one of their number to attend meetings of the Friends' Field Committee in France.
3. American and English Friends in France shall unite their work in one organization which shall be called — "*Mission de la Société des Amis*."²
4. The American Friends' Service Committee shall be invited to send out two responsible Friends, a man and a woman, who shall be ultimately responsible to them and to the American Red Cross Commission for the welfare and conduct of American Friends sent to France. These two Friends shall be members of the French Field Committee.
5. The work in France shall be directed by the French Field Committee, and by the Friends' Service Committee in America exercised through their representatives on the Field Committee. We suggest that the London Committee might invite a representative of the American Committee to join their number.
6. The details of co-operation shall be reconsidered, if it is desired, after some months' work.
7. We strongly urge our American Friends to adopt the gray uniform which is now so well known to the authorities and to the people amongst whom we work, and which is so definitely associated with the non-military character of our work. It is also felt that a marked distinction of uniform will seriously prejudice the unity of our organization.

Besides giving the incoming band of workers [of the American Friends] . . . [a] royal welcome which touched everybody's heart, the tried and true English workers gave them the following written message of good-will [in part]:

It may be that some of you will be discouraged at finding yourselves located, for a time at any rate, in a district which shows no signs of the great struggle, and

¹ Excerpts from *A Service of Love in War Time: American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917-1919*. By Rufus M. Jones. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920. 284 pp. Reprinted by permission of the Macmillan Co. and of Rufus M. Jones, present holder of the copyright.

Dr. Jones, professor of philosophy at Haverford College, is chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, which he has headed ever since it was first organized.

² Editor's note: Throughout this pamphlet this unit is referred to simply as "the mission."

that you will long to be placed in more direct contact with those whose sufferings are more evident. It may be your lot to do work which is in itself monotonous and uninteresting, as indeed has been the case with many of us who have preceded you. We hope that you may see, as we have seen, that it matters little what our particular work may be, so long as we help forward the cause of international good fellowship, and the ideal of constructive service which we all have at heart. The dullness of the work is part of the sacrifice which is entailed in the service we wish to render and in the witness we would make to our faith.

In the districts devastated by the war you may be disheartened by the immense mass of suffering and the smallness of the help it is possible to give. There is nothing we have felt more acutely ourselves during our three years out here. But along with this feeling of helplessness we have learnt something of the opposite. At a time when people are thinking in continents, in millions of lives and hundreds of millions of money, we have lived in small villages among humble people, doing unsensational though interesting work; we have come to see that personal sympathy and genuine understanding are all the more welcome at a time when individual personality is generally unconsidered.

We hope and believe that you will share with us the love we feel for the peasants of France. Their civilization and their view of life is very different from ours, still more different perhaps from yours. It is a civilization which has great respect for symbols, which is full of small reverences and what may appear almost foolish sensibilities. But these reverences and sensibilities, when understood, are the keys that open to us the innate gladness and good fellowship of the French people. . . .

ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL

The plan of union enabled us from the beginning of our foreign service to have the benefit of the long experience of the English workers, to enter into a group that had already "found itself" and to start on a far higher level than could have been possible if we had undertaken to launch a wholly new venture. The Red Cross officials saw the unusual advantages of association with the English work as clearly as we did and they were eager to promote the union. From our point of view the association with the American Red Cross was clearly essential to the working success of the plan. One of the gravest difficulties of relief work in France was the difficulty of securing permits to go to the devastated areas or in fact to go anywhere. Our difficulties in this matter were naturally increased by the fact that our workers were known to be in the main conscientious objectors to war.

After visiting the [squads of workers called in France] *équipes* and living for some time with the groups of workers in the winter of 1918-1919, I wrote the following impression of the success of the experiment of joining forces together.

At first the amalgamation was not easy: both groups were Anglo-Saxon and they were both in the main composed of Friends, but at the same time both groups had marked traits of difference. Habits of thought, forms and accents of speech, typical difference in native humor, characteristic preferences for kinds of food, and many other contrasts, separated the men, in spite of the fact that they

were merged together on paper and by their common aim. The English workers were older, maturer, and settled in their more or less fixed ways of work and life. Our men were often hardly more than boys. They were full of zest and enthusiasm. They were ready for any amount of work, but they were *American*, first, last and all the time. Their national characteristics could not be mistaken. They were used to their own Western ways, fresh, breezy, unconventional, and they could not change much more easily than the leopard could change his spots, or the Ethiopian his skin. Speaking frankly, there were many frictions, and there were the usual difficulties which attend international marriages! . . .

Time has gone by, the workers have lived together, toiled together, suffered together, laughed and wept together and they have become a united group. Each has learned from the other. There has grown up a fine spirit of give and take. . . .

At first the work of direction and management was largely in the hands of English workers, especially the executive positions, the headship of departments and the leadership in the local *équipes*. This was, of course, wholly as it should have been. As our workers gained in skill and insight and revealed their gifts and qualities, they gradually won important positions of headship and direction, and they have in the later period had their full share in the management of the mission. It is in every way a joint work and a "conjunct" undertaking. . . .

What was to be our uppermost aim in our service? Was it to be first and foremost a service of love to suffering France, an expedition of relief for a part of the world which had been brought to awful desolation; or was it to be primarily an opportunity for conscientiously-minded Friends to find an alternative form of service which would relieve them from the forced obligation of war? Were we to consider further the way in which this service would inspire and unify the Society of Friends and arouse it to its proper sense of mission in the world-crisis, or were we rather to think only of what we could do and give to relieve misery, without consideration of the reward of reaction upon Friends themselves? In selecting men should we have in view the work to be done abroad or the effect to be accomplished upon the person himself and more especially upon the wider circle to which he belonged at home? These questions could not be kept out of sight and they were as difficult to answer honestly as were the other questions of conscience referred to above. It was our settled policy and purpose in all sincerity to select men with clear reference to the service which they were to render abroad. That was always in the focus of our minds as we toiled over the heaps of letters and papers that poured in upon us. We concluded that only in one way could this piece of work be great and good, or in the end produce any lasting effect, and that was by the selection of the best group of men that was available to us to do the work. In that spirit the selection was made. We kept learning wisdom in the process of the work, gradually we discovered the defects and inadequacies of our methods, and little by little our system of selection grew into better shape. It succeeded, however, even in the first stages, in securing a remarkable band of a hundred men for France.

The work with the German prisoners was a strange and interesting experi-

ence, both for our workers and for the prisoners themselves. They worked for us on their honor and so without guard. We agreed that if ever one of them escaped we would immediately return the entire group to the French authorities and cease to use them further. The prisoners were told this fact that if any one took advantage of the larger freedom which we gave them the work with us would come to an end. They promised to "play fair" and to keep the terms, and they usually kept their word. We fed them and gave them good food. So much did they appreciate the dinners they got that they preferred to work on holidays when they might have rested, since if they worked they knew they would get a good dinner. They became much attached to the members of the mission with whom they worked and the whole effect of the arrangement was excellent. As the mission did not feel that it was quite right to use without pay the labor of men who were not free to volunteer but were held against their will it was decided to seek out in Germany the families of all the prisoners who had worked for us and to make these families a present large enough to cover our estimate of the value of the labor which we received, which has been done.

The central office of our American Unit was in the Paris headquarters of the American Red Cross. . . . The Paris problems were always complicated. Every *équipe* of workers had its peculiar nest of difficulties. The chief of each *équipe* was elected by the workers who belonged to it, and within limits the little group was self-governing. But many of its problems were sure to filter in to Paris. Besides our American headquarters the united [American and British Friends] mission had another central headquarters which was at 53 Rue de Rivoli. . . . Many of the *équipe* problems were naturally dealt with at 53 Rue de Rivoli and many came to the American chief. There were many chances for friction and misunderstanding in the somewhat more than double-headed plan of management. But, as a matter of actual fact and practice, it worked well. It worked well just because the persons who were charged with the management were of the broad, understanding type, untrammelled by red tape and narrow officialism, and ready to *see* what was the best way to handle each individual case as it arose. Sometimes 53 Rue de Rivoli would take a matter of adjustment in hand and sometimes it would be done by the American office, and whenever one of the two leaders worked out the solution, the staff of the other office regarded it as though done by itself. Once more, and that, too, in matters where efficiency was a prime requisite the Friendly method of doing things worked well and brought excellent results.

Besides the division of the workers in the mission [de la Société des Amis] into a multitude of local self-governing *équipes* the forces were also divided into differentiated departments, each with its department head. At first the main interest had been medical and then secondly relief for suffering refu-

gees, but by the time we Americans entered the mission reconstruction of villages had become a very prominent feature. In the period of joint work the departments of the Service were (1) Medical, (2) Building, (3) Works, (4) Manufacturing, (5) Agriculture and (6) Relief.

The work of the department was arranged by its monthly meeting of delegates. Most of the work, as it developed, came as a direct result of the initiative of the workers themselves, as represented by their delegates at the monthly meetings. This system gave the members of each *équipe* freedom and a sense of responsibility, which brought out their full efficiency, enthusiasm, and esprit de corps.

We were materially assisted in our later work by the interest and kindness of army officers. It had always been difficult to get a sufficient supply of motor cars and trucks for our service. In the spring of 1919 the officers in charge of the liquidation of army supplies in France gave us a free loan of all the cars and trucks we needed to finish up our work. There were nearly forty cars of various types in the loan. We were thus supplied with them free of all cost so long as we needed them for the mission. This generous assistance at once raised the efficiency of all our undertakings and enabled us to widen the sphere of activity.

There were some forty villages in the area originally assigned to us but the size of the area continually expanded as we worked. As soon as a village near the border of the area was "reconstructed" the Maire of the adjoining village across the border was pretty sure to urge the heads of the mission to take charge of *his* village and then the next one beyond would come. In this way the work extended far beyond our early expectation of its limits.

HEALTH AND CHILD CARE

The health condition of the civilian population in the devastated areas of France was appalling and became ever more serious as year by year the tragedy accumulated. . . . Every wrecked village had its long tale of woes. Underfeeding brought, as it always does, its terrible toll of ills which were vastly increased because the local doctor was no longer there to help. It was natural and right, therefore, that Friends should provide, from the first days of their work of relief, for the medical and surgical care of the civilians left in the wake of the great tornado of war.

The most impressive single center in the hospital system . . . was the Maternity Hospital at Châlons-sur-Marne. This had been established in the awful days of chaos immediately after the first Battle of the Marne. No other form of relief seemed at this time more urgent than that of providing a quiet retreat and skillful helpers for expectant mothers whose homes had been crushed like an eggshell and who were in many instances shelterless and deso-

late. . . . Many a child came into the world in this place of "nativity" at Châlons amid the din of explosives and was greeted with noises which drowned its cries of surprise and wonder. In the late summer of 1918 the danger from shells became too great to be endured longer. It appeared necessary to "evacuate" and go to a safer retreat. Already eight hundred babies had been born there. The institution had grown to considerable size. Besides the building occupied by the "Maternity" there was a separate home for the nurses. Three houses adjoining one another and not far distant from the hospital were used as a crèche for the little ones. There was much to move besides the mothers and babies, but the motor lorries effected the evacuation without mishap. The new home selected for the hospital was at Méry about forty miles from Châlons, and four cars full were moved the first day. One baby was born the first evening at Méry, out of range of the guns and noise.

As soon as the danger from shells had passed the return to Châlons was undertaken with much joy and the procession of lorries carried mothers and babies back to the old headquarters. Here expectant mothers continued to come through the winter following the armistice and at the time of my visit in January, 1919, about eleven hundred babies had been born in the "Maternity," their mothers had found care, skill and love for their emergency and scores of little orphans had been carefully tended in the adjoining crèche.

The "Maternity" has since been endowed by Friends, put under the care of an international committee and made, we hope, a permanent blessing for this section of the Marne Valley. There were two clinics for children connected with the medical center at Châlons, one at St. Remy and the other at Vitry.

A remarkable medical mission of a different type had its center at Samoëns in the Haute Savoie, near the Italian and Swiss border, close to Chamonix. Here in the Hotel Bellevue and its Annex Friends maintained a beautiful convalescent home for broken refugees and *rapatriées*, i.e., for women and children. They were taken from crowded quarters in Paris or from the mass of *rapatriées* at Evian in a debilitated condition, unable to recover health, strength or spirits. In the glorious air of this Alpine home, with the best of care and in an atmosphere of love they underwent a great transformation. The place did not have the air of an institution at all, it was of the nature of a big family. Every one — housekeeper, nurses and teachers — all knew all the patients and all lived in happy fellowship. The girl refugees arrived there haggard, pale, hunted-looking and very quickly were transformed into rosy, happy-looking persons. No one asked about the tragedies of the past and the refugees themselves seldom referred to their experiences; they let the dead past lie buried and turned toward life once more. The changes in health and spirit were so striking that it seemed almost like a center of miracles.

The most extensive hospital work, however, was carried on by the mission in the Marne district and later in "the Verdun area."

The hospital reached its highest capacity about the time of the armistice when it had a hundred beds and about seventy-five patients. The total number of operations performed was about twelve hundred. Out of this number less than twenty died. These operations covered a very wide range of ills.

In the near neighborhood of Sermaize there were two interesting medical centers, one at Charmont where was situated a home for elderly women . . . and a station at Givry-en-Argonne where a trained nurse was stationed with a good dispensary. At Bar-le-Duc an important medical center was maintained in connection with the relief station situated there. About seven miles from Sermaize, in the Château of Bettancourt, a large and successful hospital was maintained mainly for women and children. . . . Dr. Marianna Taylor of our American group took charge of this hospital in November, 1918, and continued her excellent services at Bettancourt until the hospital closed in May, 1919. During this period Dr. Taylor attended to the medical cases in twenty outlying villages, which she usually visited by motorcycle. Dr. Jesse Packer, who had been Dr. Babbitt's assistant at the Château Hospital, became his successor as head of the new hospital which took its place, the Château being reoccupied by its owner in January, 1919. This new hospital was at Brizeaux. . . . It was opened in the barracks which had formerly been used for a hospital by the American Army. Much of the furnishings and materials which had been employed at the Château was moved in lorries by members of the mission to the new site, while . . . the electric light system, transported from Sermaize [was reinstalled].

By middle summer the hospital moved once more further north, this time to the central town of the area, Clermont-en-Argonne. The hospital was now installed in the spacious structure which had long served as a hospital for the region and which had formerly been maintained by Roman Catholic Sisters. The war had forced them away. During the period of American occupation and while the fighting was going forward in the Argonne this ancient hospital had been used as headquarters of the American Army. It was left, after the advance and transfer of the Army, in a decidedly "fallen" state. The rooms had been hastily stripped and they were strewn with rubbish and accumulated débris. The building was overrun with rats, as were all buildings of the region, but the possibilities of the place were at once obvious and the surroundings were by nature very beautiful. The workers in the mission, already accustomed to do impossible tasks, undertook to cleanse this Augean stable and to make it pure, clean, beautiful and fit for the troops of patients who were sure to come to it. They did their work well. No sign remained of the former desolation. The rats were eliminated. An atmosphere of home was soon to be given to the place and once more as in the past it was to become the scene of gentle, loving ministrations. The lorries again moved the furnishings which had served the Château and Brizeaux and with some new ma-

terial and supplies the Clermont Hospital was well equipped. It was intended from the beginning to have this a permanent hospital. The Committee proposed to fit it out so that it could serve the entire area under our reconstruction, until our medical work was no longer needed and then they planned that it should be turned over with all the installed equipment to the Sisters. This has since been done.

An extensive amount of dental work was also carried on, especially during 1919. The long period of neglect had reduced the health of both old and young to a serious condition, entailing much suffering. Dr. Matteson, an English dentist, did an immense service in this field, going out in his car over a wide area and helping thousands of persons. Dr. Maris and Dr. Dorland of the American Unit brought relief and comfort to a large number of people. Dr. Maris treated five hundred members of the mission, over eight hundred French people and about two hundred German prisoners. No less was the value of the work which was supplied for the improvement of eyes. Spectacles and eyeglasses had often been lost or broken in the crisis of evacuation and many were without the ability to read. Our opticians carried on, again, during the year of 1919, a very important work in this line, which had been begun, as most good things had been, by the English Friends. Dr. Wild and Mr. Hoeppner held clinics and fitted glasses to a large number of patients who found great joy in recovering once more their power to read.

A Children's Hospital was also established at Bettancourt, in a château loaned by the Countess Morrillot. Here sick or nerve-shattered children were received for care and treatment, as well as a number of others whose families were "sticking to their homes" in dangerous places. "An illustration of the conditions which made this home and hospital necessary is that of a little girl who was brought there by her mother with the remark that she could not keep her at home because she could not make her keep her gas-mask on."

The taking of children away from bombarded districts and placing them in safe and healthy country places was an early concern to the Friends' Relief. The largest single piece of work of this kind was the taking of the children away from Rheims and vicinity, almost continuously under bombardment, where the 7,000 remaining inhabitants of the former 120,000, were dodging about from cellar to cellar. The gratitude and relief of the parents were very great, and the eagerness of the poor little nervous children to go into safety and to play once more — an almost forgotten art — was pathetic. Not only play did the children long for, but lessons. In many cases they had had no school since the beginning of the war. Here was another chance for Friends to serve.

HOUSE BUILDING

When the great drives of the war smote down through the quiet, happy

towns and villages of the Marne, the Meuse, the Aisne, the Somme and many another section of northern France . . . [an] exodus followed. There was a wild rush for the precious things of the household and such a procession as only war can produce streamed south from every hamlet. Carts drawn by donkey, dog or cow carried children, bedding and the few things saved in the frightened hurry. There were pitiable separations. Invalids were left behind, too ill to go. Tragedies were enacted which wrote themselves ineffaceably on the tablets of human hearts. At first, as soon as it became safe to do so, the refugees crept back to live in the cellars or amid the ruins of their beloved villages, but the experiment proved costly. The cellar life and the terrible exposures to weather produced a great amount of tuberculosis and kindred diseases. Gradually the authorities forbade the refugees to return to their villages until they had suitable homes to live in. This situation gave us our *call*.

It is not only the homing instinct and old associations that bring the peasants back to the sites of their ruined homes; they have a way of burying their money in the ground — all their little savings — and come to hunt for it. A pathetic sight.

This is a picture of a typical French village as it appeared to the young reconstruction worker in 1917. He saw before him the ruins of a strange, and to him, picturesque life, chiefly symbolized by broken ancient houses, and his work appeared plain before him, to rebuild the broken houses, or make substitutes. The background of the village life, as it had been in normal times, was usually unknown to him, and his thought was rather of restoration than of reconstruction. Yet reconstruction of a very thorough order was and is necessary. The French villages were not designed upon a plan so good that the new houses could be simply placed upon the sites of the old and all would be well. On the contrary, house was placed alongside house, as closely as possible, with no idea of allowing for the free circulation of the sweet country air, or for the sense of liberty and peace that space around a house can give.

This over-crowding of the villages was a relic of the days when it had been necessary to live close together for mutual protection.

The need had long been past, but the natural conservatism of the peasantry clung to the old tradition of what a village should be like.

[According to a member of the Friends' Unit:]

These two factors, the overcrowded, ill-planned, unsanitary farm villages, and the *morcellement*, are to-day the out-standing difficulties of the agricultural development of the country.

The French peasant has not kept up with the progress of other countries. He still clings to the old methods of his fathers. His lands are unsuited to growing large crops. He does not understand the machinery he is using and he knows little about scientific farming. His houses and barns are old-fashioned and cramped. And above all he does not understand the spirit of co-operation.

The recognition of these factors broadened the conception of what Friends' reconstruction workers should be about. Not only first-aid in providing shelter for the homeless, and re-starting cultivation, but also, in good time, help in more progressive and modern farm, house, and village planning, sanitation, scientific farming and the use of machinery, and the principles and practice of co-operation.

In Sermaize, one hundred and three of the portable wooden houses — *maisons démontables* — of which the parts were made in England and shipped over to be put together where required — had been erected by the [English] Friends' Relief. Each house was surrounded by a garden, now well under cultivation. No civilian who had fled from his home when the Germans came was permitted to return to his village unless he had a place to stay. The first thing to do, therefore, was to provide a hut or temporary place to live in for the people who were sheltering in neighboring cities, but were eager to get back to their land. When the American Commission visited this district, they found Friends engaged on five villages northeast of Ham, which had been assigned them by the Minister of the Interior, and starting at Tuguy by building a hut for the mayor so that he could return. He was a large landowner, and could give employment to many of his townspeople as soon as huts and tools were provided for them. At Villers-St. Christophe, another of the five villages, the mayor had already returned, and was working hard for the re-establishment of the village. In this place the Germans had been in occupation for quite a while, and before their departure had cleared out all the civilian population, and kept them in a strange village, imprisoned in a few houses, while they wrecked Villers-St. Christophe. The first to work her way back was a young woman, who at once took hold of what would ordinarily have been the mayor's work, and managed things so well for the two months until the aged mayor's return that the *Sous-Préfet* of the Department had already sent materials for building and had erected a large hut to provide shelter for any villagers that might come back.

We soon found that it was much better to build the portable houses in France than to buy them here and transport them, and we substituted the purchase of saw mill and planing mill machinery for the ready-made houses.

The house-building work was well under way before the American Unit arrived but we were able to give it great expansion by bringing on the scene a large group of efficient house-builders. The first factory — the one in operation when we came in — was at Dôle, in the Jura. . . . When the war broke upon them the people of the town were building a large impressive school-building, the solid stone walls of which were one story high, when all the men were suddenly called to mobilize. These walls were roofed over by the English Friends and here a house-building factory was constructed. Barracks were put in an open field about a mile from the factory for the living quarters

of the workers, and here about fifty men settled in to make portable houses after a well-chosen design. The lumber was supplied by the government and came in by trains from the forests of Alpine foothills not far away. The houses were generally of three rooms, though as they were built in sections they could be either larger or smaller as need dictated. They were made of planed matched boards and were double with an air space between the outer and inner boards. The floors, too, were matched with tongue and groove. The roofs were built to take tile covering, the latter being supplied from the region where the house was to be set up. They were well supplied with windows and doors and when they were constructed they were stained a pretty brown to fit the roof-tiles.

While the men were training at Haverford [Pa.], J. Henry Scattergood and some of the English workers planned another factory at Ornans, in the department of Doubs. They found and got the rent of an automobile factory on the banks of the Loue which rushes through the town. They also took over an absinthe factory to serve as living quarters for the workers. A large part of the mill machinery was bought in America. . . . After heart-breaking delays . . . the machinery finally arrived and was installed. . . . A factory for doors and windows was also provided across the stream from the larger mill.

Each factory was under a directing head who was elected by the workers themselves and approved by the Paris executive. The body of workers in their living quarters were under the care and oversight of the *chef d'équipe*, who, again, was elected by the men. They were far from the exciting world of Paris or the war-zones and sometimes the work and the life must have seemed dull and routine, but they had gone over to express their faith and love and most of them accepted the conditions in loyal spirit and worked with all their might. They had plenty to eat, though it was plain and plainly served, but the fellowship and comradeship gave a very fine flavor to the life.

Sometimes it was difficult to deliver the houses from the factories without long delays in the railroad transit, owing to the ease with which freight cars can be shunted off on side tracks, and forgotten. To avoid this contingency, so distressing when the workers in the war-zones were eagerly waiting for them to arrive, men were occasionally asked to volunteer to take the trip on top of the load of houses from the factory to the point of destination. There were always plenty of men keen and ready for this freight-expedition which had neither Pullman nor dining-car facilities! But when a member of the mission was on the load the car was not shunted to a side track.

The work in the factories was pushed along at the best available speed, sometimes with night shift of workers, but even so the houses could not be turned out fast enough to supply the demand of the returning refugees or of the building department. To meet the emergency, arising after the signing of the

armistice, the reconstruction department of the French government promised the mission a supply of two thousand portable houses to supplement our own output. Only a part of this number was actually received and that, too, after a long wait, but the assistance to our work was very valuable. This arrangement enabled the mission to close down the factory at Ornans (and later at Dôle) and turn in the men of these two *équipes* to help in the work of the zones where the actual reconstruction was going forward.

The new men as they arrived from America were pretty generally sent first to Dôle or Ornans to have an apprentice period at manufacturing houses unless they had outstanding gifts and qualifications which plainly marked them out for a special piece of work just then waiting to be done. . . . Dôle and Ornans always had a somewhat shifting population of workers.

The building department had a wholly different task and a very different life. The workers in this department went out often to the very frontiers of civilian life. They were quartered not seldom in the midst of débris and in a silent, deserted world where havoc had worked its full measure of desolation. Sometimes they repaired broken roofs and made half-destroyed houses habitable, sometimes they found no houses complete enough to warrant repairs. Their main work was the construction of demountable houses, furnished to them by the manufacturing department and the transport department. The parts of the houses came in on motor trucks from the nearest railway center and the builders "did the rest."

Few of the men were trained builders — indeed, the majority were college bred for some more mental profession.

The severe winter of 1917 was hard on the building work. The sections of the *maisons démontables* became warped by the cold before they could be erected, ice and snow had to be cleared away from the scene of labor in the discouraging gray morning before work could start; we read of the wash-house floor being covered with ice to greet early bathers, and icicles forming on unwary moustaches that poked out from sleeping-bags.

In many villages it was not felt to be desirable to put the new houses on the sites of the old ones, since the owners usually preferred to leave the ruins undisturbed until their indemnity had been settled. Indemnities were always in their minds, and they believed, probably rightly, that great heaps of ruin would make a much stronger appeal upon the indemnity officials than would a pretty new cottage! In cases where the houses were not desired on the old spot, an attractive location was selected near the former village and a new *cité* was built, consisting usually of a main street with rows of houses on either side, not far separated from each other. The number of houses to be built was generally determined by the mayor of the village if he could be found. He would make lists of existing families, or parts of families large enough to occupy a house. The curé of the local church also had intimate

knowledge of the little community and could assist, as he almost always did, in the plans for reconstruction.

The foundations of the cottages were carefully laid and then when the loads of house-parts arrived — which they did not always do at the expected date! — the men worked like beavers putting them up. They became great experts at this job. Sometimes a group of them raced with another near-by group to see which could get its house done first. But hurry did not mean faulty work. The houses were built “on honor” and every part of every one had to be right. Labor hours were not shortened to the modern scale nor was the speed of work the sort one has learned to expect from laborers. Where volunteers labor under the incentive of love there is sure to be drive and energy.

One of the most beautiful features of this construction work was the transforming effect which it had upon the village people to whom the relief came. Leland Hadley has given a glimpse of this in one of his home letters. Writing from Grunzy, he says:

The French people have lost a lot of their grouch since our bunch arrived on the scene. You can't look anywhere without seeing some of us and we're always singing, laughing, yelling from house to house and having a good time while working. Naturally enough it has loosened the natives up considerably. But the best thing to see is the way the children have relaxed since school has started again after being closed for three years. They come out of school in the evenings . . . and actually play, pulling each other in carts, etc. When we first came nothing like that was ever seen.

EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND SELF-HELP

Schools had not existed in these regions since the war first broke over their heads. The mission assisted the returned people in starting a school in every village as soon as the children got back to use it, and these schools were furnished with necessary school-supplies out of the co-operative stores. Over ninety schools thus received supplies of pens, paper, crayons and other needed material. All school libraries had been annihilated. We proceeded to put a small library in every school in our area. Besides this an excellent library of one thousand volumes was bought for Clermont, to be used both in the town and throughout the canton.

To rebuild the school and provide a teacher was one of the first tasks undertaken by the Friends in Grunzy, a specimen village.

One of the great services of the mission of relief was that of teaching the women and girls, both in the villages and in the refugee groups, to make embroidery as a means of financial self-assistance. This soon became an extensive business in all the relief centers. There were two main types of work in which they were instructed, (1) the white embroidery and (2) the colored

work. Some preferred to work at one type and some at the other. The workers in the mission supplied the embroidery cloth at a small price and also the thread and the wool, and they taught the art to the women. The women quickly became experts and turned out large quantities for sale. The sales were handled by the workers in charge and though the prices asked were not low, the work sold as rapidly as it could be made. The women took the raw material to their homes and therefore could look after their little children, if they had any, and make a good living from the sales of their handiwork. It also kept their minds from their sorrows and enabled them in some sense to stand the hard world in which they found themselves. Besides this somewhat fine and delicate work, the relief centers also furnished other types of material for more common forms of needlework. There were, too, other ways provided by which the women could earn money for their support or at least could assist toward it. These centers were extremely busy places, especially in the morning when the women came for their material and their designs. Here once more the point of contact was close between the helpers and those helped and interesting links of friendship were formed.

RELIEF

It is a wonderful thing in war-time, even from the military point of view, to have some people on hand who have the time and the strength and the will to do the ordinary things upon which life depends. However valiantly the soldiers may drive the invader from the country, and so claim to defend the lives of the civilian population (i.e., nowadays, the old men, women and children), they may return to find them dying of starvation in the spoiled and devastated crop-lands, or mentally deranged by the long despairing struggle for mere life against overwhelming odds.

The need for relief in general was of course manifest everywhere, but there were certain specific types of relief which made an especial appeal to the members of the mission. There were many old women who were left with no one to care for them and who were often too feeble or ill or broken to care for themselves. These were gathered as far as possible into central "homes" where they received the care and attention which they needed. There were, too, hosts of orphan children in all sections of our areas. Their cases always made a peculiar appeal and they received a due share of the time and energy of the relief workers. They were gathered also at various centers and given good care and the best available substitute for home.

Then there was the immediate care of throngs of refugees, both those who were swept out of the shelled sectors and those who came back through Switzerland from behind the German lines. The former were assembled . . . in constructed *cités* where they had good homes of their own while the others

were quartered as comfortably as possible in the departments of France which were unthreatened and where they were supplied with a small financial allowance for their needs of life. . . . Great quantities of sewed and knitted garments which were made in our local centers in all parts of America where there were Friends eventually reached the storehouses of Bar-le-Duc and Châlons and other similar towns and here they were distributed by the trained relief workers. They visited the groups of refugees, or, as the case might be, the little scattered families which were endeavoring to maintain a kind of life amid the débris of the peasant villages and supplied them with clothes which they could put on in place of their tatters. Perhaps nothing was ever done which gave more real comfort to these long-suffering people than to put them into warm clothes. Life was unendurably bleak and their poor shelters were very cold in winter, so that warm, whole clothes came as a great blessing. With the clothes came, too, what they needed hardly less — love, affection and friendly sympathy.

One of the most telling forms of help which the mission supplied consisted of building and managing canteens and hostels for the refugees who returned to their ruined villages. They were thus provided with a place to eat and sleep while they were getting life started again in homes which were not ready for their inmates. The co-operative stores sold them glass to repair their windows in cases where the old houses were not beyond recovery, and here, too, in these stores, they could get cement, paint and whitewash for the inside walls. Wall paper also could be had and curtains for those who wanted to have the house look as it used to do. Nails . . . we had in plenty and these were indispensable to all returning exiles.

As soon as the refugees were able to get back to their new homes, the relief workers helped them to get furniture for their houses, cooking dishes and utensils and other indispensable things for home life. In some centers besides doing ordinary sewing, the women were taught to make mattresses, pillows and that curious contrivance which the French call *duvet* — a thick feather-quilt too short to cover the entire bed but very warm for the limited area that is covered!

Something which may seem in itself slight among so much important work, and yet which displays the spirit of the Friends' Mission supremely, was the celebration of Christmas which was undertaken by all the *équipes*, as near as possible to the 25th of December. For three years no Christmas celebration had been held in any of the war-zone villages, and the younger children had hardly any memory of it as a festive season. In fact, any sort of parties or rejoicing was foreign to their gray little war-ridden lives. In the Christmas parties held by the Friends, the wonderful, never-to-be-recaptured rapture of childhood was given to these little ones who had so far been denied their rightful heritage. And the grown-up folks shared in their joy.

Joy, in the midst of sorrow, misery and desolation—it was no small contribution to France to bring it into being even in a few scattered villages.

AGRICULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

The agricultural work was of many varieties according to the character and needs of the region in question. The central aim of course was to put the devastated land back into cultivation, to rescue the neglected areas from their small forest of weeds and to repair the havoc of trenches, shell holes and barbed wire entanglements.

The most important thing to produce was breadstuffs, and our farming squads therefore always endeavored to get as much land into wheat as possible. They were well supplied with tractors, with "gang-plows" and with modern harrows for tractor service. With this equipment it was possible to prepare large areas of the soil and to put in a greater quantity of wheat than the peasants could have dreamed of doing by their more ancient methods. They were temperamentally very conservative and wedded to their own ways of farming, but they were quite willing to have our workers plow in the American way so long as the wheat was actually sowed and garnered. They often came out in large numbers—women, children and old men—to see the tractor carrying its fine row of plows through their soil.

The reaping at harvest time was another great agricultural event and this was for the most part done with modern reapers on a large scale.

The problem of re-stocking the farms with live-stock, and so increasing the food supply, was one that was harder to solve. It was in fact impossible to obtain many of the larger animals. But the food-value of the humble rabbit is not to be despised, neither is the creature expensive or difficult to keep. . . . Thousands of rabbits, therefore, were distributed by the Friends' Unit in the districts of the Meuse and the Marne, and later, by the help of incubators, thousands of less-appealing chickens, besides some few goats, and several hundred sheep. Professional butchers were scarce, but hunger is a great hardener of hearts.

Two or three bee-specialists among the members of the unit also worked hard to build up a stock of bees for distribution, to add to the resources of the more or less sugarless French. One of the interesting centers for the culture of bees was at Evres. . . .

There were milk farms for providing pure milk for the children of the district. One of the interesting experiments carried on by the mission was the maintenance of a large milk and poultry farm and center for loaning agricultural implements.

The motor-plow at Sermaize, for instance, once having proved its wonder-

ful advantages, was in tremendous demand for miles around. The peasants were unwilling to see, but once having seen, "seeing was believing." In those districts, and later in the other sections, the peasants were converted, and became eager for modern machinery in defiance of the shades of their fathers.

Meanwhile, much of the old machinery, though broken, was not broken past repair if missing parts could be obtained. As the quickest and cheapest way of helping the peasants to set to work again the Friends established repair shops for machinery in different centers. In their efforts to get missing parts from the large firms in Paris they were seized with a bright idea, and became agents for several of these firms in the district of the Meuse. This enabled them to supply necessary parts at reasonable prices to the farmers.

Besides this, the French Army, when they found what work Friends were doing in repairing agricultural implements, put at their disposal two large groups of salvaged broken machinery, from which they were often able to obtain necessary parts for the repair of almost obsolete machines. In one month, 360 machines were repaired for neighboring farmers, and so the visible forms of hope and self-respect placed in their hands.

While building, repairing and plowing were going on at some centers others were concentrating on threshing. The condition of the land varied a good deal according to its relation with the former war-front. Portions that had been immediately behind the French lines were more or less under cultivation, and had a harvest that had been wearily and unskilfully reaped and stacked by the boys, women and old men available. Portions that had been immediately behind the German lines were often barren and covered with weeds, except in some places where the Germans had planted crops for their own use, and had been forced to leave them behind for the French.

Traveling Quaker threshers lived with the peasants as they threshed the grain of each village community. They often slept in the same room with the peasant and his entire family. They were thus unable to have their windows open to the fresh air, for as Mark Twain once humorously remarked, the reason the air is so pure in France is that the peasants always sleep with their windows shut! This close and intimate life with the people gave the workers a great place in the hearts of the villagers and opened to them a rare chance to serve in a multitude of ways, not possible for those who administered relief in bulk and from office-centers.

FROM "DUMPS" TO CO-OPERATION

But one largely unforeseen difficulty, to those unfamiliar with the intimate habits and customs of the French, was the absence of the co-operative spirit among the people themselves. In a crisis, people are more apt to be ruled by their usual habits of thought and feeling than to develop new ones purposely

for the occasion. The French peasant had carried individualism to an extreme for generations. Every cultivator and small farmer, however small his aggregate holdings might be, aimed to be entirely self-sufficing, with all requisite machinery, buildings and equipment, in spite of the obvious waste of this method. And the women, old men, and boys who returned to start the cultivation of the land again while their men were at the war, had no thoughts of co-operation in their minds. Each family thought of struggling with its own plot, with whatever tools it might individually own or obtain, neither seeking nor offering help among fellows in misfortune.

But *les Amis* and stern necessity taught them differently; showed them differently. Not easily, or without effort, but with much patience and persuasion they got the peasants to work together, lending help with large pieces of work, co-operating in the use of machinery. This was so obviously essential with the small amount of machinery and labor to go round that it was more possible than it would have been under ordinary conditions to get the peasants to co-operate, and the French Government, realizing that the shortage of both these essentials would last for some time after the war, most wisely encouraged the formation of permanent co-operative societies, or communal committees among the farmers.

In May of 1918, when the dark had not begun to be broken with streamers of light, a member of the mission wrote: "The Verdun work makes a deep appeal to all of us. We have been invited to undertake not a piece of mere relief work, but the reconstruction of the social fabric of many villages. There will be a wide scope for building, relief, agriculture and medical work, while the organization of co-operative concerns, agricultural and industrial, in conjunction with the peasants, the workers and the French authorities, will open up a new sphere of activity to our workers."

The Verdun project took on a fresh promise. The November executive meeting in Paris was largely occupied with a consideration of plans for the "invasion" of the northern area. The "concrete" houses were still a vital subject and plans were developing for the formation of co-operative stores to save the peasants from the "gold rushes" of selfish profiteers. T. Edmund Harvey, with his usual insight said: "To spread the spirit of co-operation and leave behind us co-operative institutions that will be more than ephemeral, will be time well spent."

In early January the work in the "Verdun area" was vigorously begun and the ten thousand refugees who were eager to return were looking to us in hope that home was once more to be real for them. The large farm with its extensive buildings which constituted the estate known as Grange-le-Compte was taken as headquarters of the mission and fitted up to house a large working force. Barracks had been left there by the American Army which contributed materially to our welfare. It was conveniently located in reference

to the area of work and from this center after March of 1919, the mission was managed and the lines of activity radiated out West, North and East, like the ribs of a fan.

Even before Grange was ready with its central offices, little *équipes* of workers had been established in the ruined villages of the area. . . . During the spring of 1919 the region [the Verdun area] was in the hands of the American Army. . . . At five depots there were piled enormous "dumps" of material and supplies. This material covered many acres at each "dump" and consisted of lumber, bar-iron and steel, farm and road implements of every sort, miles upon miles of barbed wire and an almost indescribable mélange of all material which might be useful in a modern war. . . . While Charles J. Rhoads and J. Henry Scattergood and I were making a tour of the "area" in January we visited the head military official of the district, situated at Dombasle, and asked him to consider the possibility of letting us have the "dumps" for our French work of relief. He was very favorable to the idea and at once opened communication with the officers who had charge of their disposal. . . . There were many hitches and delays, much cabling, telegraphing, writing, and personal visiting, but finally an offer was made by the officials who had the matter in hand and after serious consideration it was accepted. We thus came into possession of a vast amount of reconstruction material, adapted for the needs of the work. There was, however, at the same time a great deal more which we could not use ourselves. With rare ability and quick action the capable men who had arranged the purchase proceeded to dispose of the extensive surplus. The railroads of the section agreed to carry it for us free of freight charges and the department of the French Government in charge of German prisoners let us have groups of them to sort and load the dump material. Sales, by agreement, could be made only within an area of fifty kilometers, but as it was offered at very low values, it sold rapidly, and was well disposed of. We had already established a large capital fund to be used for financing the system of co-operative stores already referred to. This capital fund had been furnished by large contributions from the London and Philadelphia offices. Into this fund the money from the sale of the "dumps" was put to be used over again in purchases for the co-operative business, and all that has accrued in this way will finally be put into permanent improvements for the benefit of the French people in the war zones. This sale of the "dumps" and the system of co-operative stores proved to be one of the greatest of all our forms of assistance. It gave the returning refugees an opportunity to furnish their houses and to stock their farms at the lowest possible cost. It was supposed that the great stock of barbed wire in the "dumps" would be like "coals to Newcastle" since the whole world of the war-zone was one great entanglement of barbed wire. But it was quickly discovered that this old rusty wire was useless. It could not be taken down from the en-

tanglements and put up again where it was wanted without a great waste of time, nor could it be cut up and melted at advantage. In fact it was worse than worthless. The only thing to be done with it was to cut it up and bury it where the process of rust would some day eat it up. The result was that our barbed wire sold almost as well as though the armies had not left so much of it strung over the fields.

The good temper, the persistent effort, the unpaid work of the boys did not pass unnoticed. And the village prospered through the material help in their crops; they learned to work together for mutual aid; they opened their hearts to a thought of something worth while for them outside their village, even outside their own country; they renewed their faith in each other; and through these whom they learned to call "The Friends," they ceased to pray to a God of Vengeance and saw Him as He truly is, Father of Loving Helpfulness.

Co-operative stores, managed by the department of purchase and sales, did an immense business. During the six months from June to December the sales of farm supplies alone amounted to 560,786 francs and contained such items as the following: 18,000 chickens, 6,000 rabbits (which came too fast to be counted accurately), 460 goats, 698 sheep, 229 pigs, 87 cattle, 41 horses, and 626 bee colonies, with 360 more to be delivered.

The total sales in the co-operative stores for the seven months ending in July, 1919, amounted to more than 800,000 francs.

On the signing of the armistice, the Friends' work spread out through the country west of Verdun and plowing, harrowing, and sowing were done for many villages in that region. In some cases this work was done before the return of the inhabitants, and at Brabant, the curé, at the first service in his church since 1914, gave thanks to God and the "Société des Amis" for the plowed fields that greeted the inhabitants on their return.

There were at this time 720 acres plowed by Friends, which would not have been done at all had they not done it.

The soil of this whole Verdun region was poor even before the devastation came to it. The trenches and shell holes left it seven times worse than in its former estate. But it was "home" to a great number of peasants and they loved it with such a passion that no other land could take its place for them. One reason why this area especially appealed to our mission was that the rich and easy areas could take care of themselves. Sooner or later recovery and reconstruction were sure to come where the returns from the land were abundant. But unless help came early nothing could save the sterner regions which skirted the Argonne and lay in the storm belt of trench warfare. . . . After the middle of the summer [of 1919] the work naturally tapered off. The people were back in their villages, they had homes to live in, their harvests were gathered, their communities established and life was in some sense

reorganized. . . . The problems [confronting the mission] still remained complex and difficult, for in some respects it is a harder task to direct a closing operation than to steer an opening one. The drive and enthusiasm of the forward-looking group are maintained with great difficulty when the winding up process is underway. To see old workers and companions withdrawing to go home works subtly on the mind of those who stay behind to finish the slowly contracting job. It must be said, however, that the spirit of the mission in France has remained to the end. . . . According to the latest reports, relief in some form or degree has been given by Friends to 1,666 French villages and over 46,000 families have been assisted. The mission has planted 25,000 trees, mostly fruit trees, in "the Verdun area," five trees per family, and many communal trees.

Of the group still on the field, more than half are eager to go, when their work in France is done — and it will practically close in six or eight weeks — to one of the new fields of labor and relief which have already opened in Serbia, Poland, Vienna and Germany. A spirit of service, an international outlook, a deep sympathy for all who suffer have come to most of the workers in the French field.

PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN ADMINISTERING RELIEF ABROAD¹

IT is safe to assume that all of us who are here would like to have the relief and reconstruction undertaking carried out in a way that would build toward a permanent peace. We want, if possible, to prevent the recurrence of violence. This goal, however, is not arrived at without careful consideration. Relief can be administered in such a way that it breeds violence.

The first prerequisite, if we are to administer relief under this assumption, is that it shall be entirely non-political. It is popular to speak of food as a weapon, but we must not forget that food used as a weapon is a double-edged sword. It has great dangers. I realize that under present conditions the policy of all governments is to care for and feed those who are politically favorable to the current regime. Especially where governments have been set up which are tools of the Axis, there will be a strong temptation, if American relief is available, to make relief a reward for those who have opposed the Axis regime and to withhold it as a punishment for those who favored the Axis. It seems to me, however, that those who are responsible for the distribution

¹ Excerpts from an address by Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary of American Friends Service Committee, delivered before the School of Training in International Administration of Columbia University, November 19, 1942. Reprinted with permission of the School and of Dr. Pickett.

of food should keep in mind that a stable, co-operative and satisfied people is the goal we seek. If this is to happen, those who enter from the outside with food and clothing must be able to look upon people as people and not as political units. The political administration of relief is almost predestined to have a devastating effect upon internal morale.

One saw this in the troubled days of the Spanish Civil War. There were many people in this country who were anxious to support Loyalist Spain. There were others, especially devoted Catholics, who were interested in the success of the Franco cause. When the American Friends Service Committee went into Spain, we insisted that we must keep our attention upon children who needed food, irrespective of the political affiliation of their parents. Of course, the great volume of need was on the Loyalist side. There were also many people in Franco-conquered territory who, although they were living under the Franco regime, were Loyalist in sympathy. Not infrequently we found ourselves providing food for children in Franco territory who had, until the territory was conquered, been Loyalist sympathizers and probably still were. There were also needy children of adherents of the Franco cause. It was an extremely difficult position. We persistently refused, however, to withhold relief or to administer it on a basis of the political preference of the recipients.

If the United States is to be responsible for the administration of relief in any country, its reputation with the people of that country and its contribution to the political and economic stability of that country will depend partly upon its impartial administration of relief.

The agreements under which Quaker relief work has been done are comparatively simple. Basically, they center on finding the people most in need and getting the food to them in the most direct way. There have been times when we have been forced to withdraw relief temporarily because of political interference. There have been cases where attempts have been made to exploit relief, to sell it for high profits, etc. The threat of removing relief and the actual practice of temporarily withholding it are extremely potent when people are hungry. Sometimes that weapon, however, does have to be used, not as a means of political favoritism, but as a means to prevent irregularity and dishonesty. However, it is usually true that the people will rise to and support a method of administration based on complete integrity.

One of the greatest tests of this principle was in Russia following the last war at the time of the Bolshevik revolution. Communism was feared by Americans. The indiscriminate giving of relief might tend to stabilize the new regime and to make any kind of opposing political group ineffective. It is not unlikely that some of the present Russian mistrust of the United States is because of those early negotiations concerning relief. There was a period when the United States was definitely concerned to determine what kind of

government Russia had. Even within that period, however, the American Friends Service Committee was assigned the Province of Samara and was left at liberty to administer relief there without political interference of any kind. That undertaking did not remove all suspicion on the part of the Russians of the motives of the United States. There is ample evidence today even, concerning the administration of relief, that we are not fully trusted. There is great need for more clear demonstration in Russia of a willingness to help without a desire for political domination. It may be stated as a general principle that if one can carry relief to a people and not come away with a sense that one has dominated or told them what kind of a system they should use, one has made a contribution to their stability and co-operativeness.

One of the greatest temptations at the conclusion of this war will be to use the weapon of food to determine forms of government. The probable widespread disintegration of the present political machinery may, let us admit, make it almost essential that we should take some initiative in finding the dependable and stable persons who can exercise political control within their own countries. It may be necessary to insist that a politically stable regime shall be created before relief is attempted. That, however, if based on the necessity of order and not on political preference, seems to me to be justified. Our great danger will be the argument that we must build up and maintain the morale of the people who are our friends and withhold from those who are former enemies. Let us never forget that one of our chief jobs in the post-war period is to turn enemies into friends and we shall not do that by withholding food from the hungry. We shall make little contribution to a permanent peace if in our own policy of distribution of relief we descend to the level of the practices of those who are politically today our enemies.

I should like also to point out the danger that is inherent in the relief relationships. Whenever one group gives to another group that must receive relief on a large scale, the situation is abnormal and fraught with danger. The psychological reaction of a proud and intelligent people is to resent the necessity of having to receive relief. It is always a psychological problem when one group holds the power of life and death over another. It might be a very good thing for those of us who are anticipating the distribution of relief if we ourselves should for a time be put in the position of recipients of relief. I have often wondered what might happen if, in the turn of events, Germany should give relief on a large scale to citizens of the United States. How would we feel? And especially, how would we feel if this happened at the conclusion of a great war?

In addition to the non-political administration of relief, I should like to suggest the value of creating patterns of living and economic practices which leave a genuine contribution to the people relieved. As an illustration, after the last war, we did relief work in Vienna. There was almost no milk avail-

able for children, and even before the war the supply had been limited and the method of distribution primitive. As a temporary expedient, we sent thousands of children to England, where they were kept in private homes while a milk supply was being established in Vienna. Cows were bought from Switzerland and a modern dairy industry, administered under up-to-date scientific practices was established. While the capital for the purchase of the cows and the initiative in the international transaction had to be [supplied] by the relief organization, the people of Vienna themselves were largely responsible for carrying on the dairy, once it was established. They became participants in the idea. The result was that the way in which milk relief was brought left a permanent contribution to the quality and quantity of the milk supply of Vienna.

The same was true in housing. Soldiers returning from the war had great difficulty in finding any place to live. Some of the foreign relief agencies worked out a scheme for the construction of 300 small houses. They used the young architects of Vienna who had been giving thought to housing, but had no facilities with which to work. I visited those first 300 houses and must say that they looked like a very inadequate and simple beginning. They did, however, meet an immediate need, but because Viennese architects were used and their ingenuity stimulated by the outside agencies, mistakes made in the beginning only challenged the Viennese themselves to do better. They took over and developed new ideas and in the long run Vienna became the center for important and significant ideas in urban housing.

While I have had no contact with Mr. Hitler, it has been said to us that he has a particular dislike for Quakers because they remind him of the days of German humiliation. It is not possible to prevent this attitude altogether, but it can be prevented from developing with most people if special effort is made to take the nationals of the country which is being fed into confidence in developing the plans for feeding and if, at every turn, due respect is given for their own sensitiveness and personal dignity.

One of the best ways to breed the next war would be to have a high-hat relationship between donor and recipient. One of the best ways to build toward the co-operative world which we seek is to begin that co-operative practice when the relief stage comes.

This leads to another factor closely related to the one I have just been discussing, namely the pride and sensitiveness of people. I have recently talked with representatives of nations now occupied by the Germans who represent the technical planning, in relation to relief and reconstruction, of these various governments. One thing that one senses in contact with these representatives is that they are afraid of the power and the aggressiveness of Americans. They are afraid that we will override their institutions and disregard their national pride. It is obvious that they fear that their part in reconstruction

will be overlooked. They are here representing their governments to plan for relief and reconstruction. They have to maintain their standing with their people by being effective in that field. It seems to me extremely important in planning for a relief administration that representatives of this character particularly shall be taken into full consideration. As one Dutch minister has said, "We, who have endured concentration camps for our convictions, will not suffer indignities during the relief and reconstruction period merely for the crust of bread." Happily, our State Department has now already announced a proposed charter for the establishment of a United Nations relief and reconstruction administration.

In all of this the personal element looms large. The identification of the recipient of relief and the giver of relief is significant. I suppose no one has left so deep an impression on society as a relief dispenser as has St. Francis of Assisi. He identified himself with the suffering of those whom he served. He who had possessions and position gave up everything and completely identified himself with persons of poverty and suffering. He even lived among the lepers. He, who loved cleanliness, slept in filth and found himself contaminated by lice in order to identify himself with the suffering. While such practices are not likely to be accepted and perhaps are not necessary today by the administrators of relief, a strong sense of identification and a real concern for fellowship with those who are victims are essential if we are to build a healthy relationship out of the dispensation of relief.

The real strength of Mr. Gandhi is not his brilliance, but is the fact that the villagers feel he is one of them. This psychological principle cannot be ignored without the loss of the finest fruits of relief and reconstruction.

It will not be easy to find persons in the communities to be served whom one can trust. Integrity and leadership are rare. There will be the temptation to meet people with suspicion and to maintain order by physical control. Realizing that such control probably cannot be entirely dispensed with, the long-time success of relief and reconstruction programs will be determined largely by the speed with which we are able to develop a basis of confidence and trust with worthy persons in the countries being served. And I doubt not that if we are able to achieve this faith we shall tend to increase the amount of integrity and dependability rather than to decrease it. I hope we can approach even the occupied countries and Germany itself with a confidence that there are large numbers of persons of integrity, dependability and capacity who will be full co-operators in this adventure of rebuilding a world now so rapidly being destroyed. If that world is to be rebuilt, we can do little but start the process. The permanent rebuilding will be done by men who are discovered and relieved in those countries themselves.

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