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REBUILDING EUROPE



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REBUILDING EUROPE

*The Student Chapter in Post-War
Reconstruction*

BY

RUTH ROUSE

FORMERLY TRAVELLING SECRETARY OF THE WORLD'S
STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION

WITH A FOREWORD BY

Dr. JOHN R. MOTT

LONDON

STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

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TO
ALL THOSE STUDENTS, PROFESSORS, AND THEIR FRIENDS,
WHOSE GENEROUS AND UNTIRING HELP HAS
MADE POSSIBLE THE WORK OF
EUROPEAN STUDENT RELIEF,
IN AFFECTIONATE AND GRATEFUL FELLOWSHIP,
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS book is not a history of European Student Relief. It is a story told in pictures; an attempt to throw on the screen a few episodes in a great adventure. To some, pictures have little meaning unless seen in their historical setting. All those should seek illumination on our picture record in the chronological statement given in the Appendix. Students of the history of the movement, or those who wish to pursue the tale as it unfolds in the future, can obtain further literature or copies of *Vox Studentium*, the international student magazine issued by European Student Relief, by applying to the Headquarters, 16 Boulevard des Philosophes, Geneva.

The basic principle of European Student Relief is, and has always been, co-operation, and our Headquarters at Geneva have steadily set a high standard in co-operative effort. In nothing has this been more manifest than in the scrupulous care with which Geneva has shared vital information with every section of the field. The writing of this book would have been impossible apart from the news service supplied us weekly and almost daily from Geneva over a period of four and a half years. For this constant supply of news, as well as for invaluable

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

counsel, documentation and correction during the writing of the book, I would record my deep gratitude to my friend and fellow worker, Conrad Hoffmann, and to all his colleagues in the Geneva Office.

RUTH ROUSE.

Wimbleton, May 1925.

FOREWORD

AMONG all of the multitude of works of beneficence which have done so much to relieve the suffering, gloom, pessimism, and bitterness of the recent fateful years, there has been no enterprise which has been attended with more immediate encouraging results, or which shines out with greater promise for the coming day, than the fascinating co-operative undertaking of the students of the world known as European Student Relief. Whether we consider the vastness of the area and the depth of the need to which this ministry extended, or the literally world-wide range of unselfish co-operation enlisted, or the marked creative and inventive ability manifested in the great variety and adaptation of ways and means employed, or the efficiency and economy of administration both in the gathering of resources of money and of kind and in their distribution, or the spirit generated and communicated in every part of the effort, the conduct and achievement of this high endeavour have been truly notable. However, that which distinguishes this campaign of practical helpfulness and of international goodwill has been the insight and wisdom manifested in concentrating the unselfish energies of the students of so many lands

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upon the relief of their comrades in the universities, colleges, and higher schools throughout the zones of the world's deepest need.

Great results have been achieved in the effort to accomplish the objects which have been directly in view from the very beginning, that is, the meeting of crying and pressing physical needs and economic necessities, and the preservation from decadence of the imperilled intellectual life of so many centres of learning and influence. In the judgment of many, however, even greater have been the indirect results or by-products. It would be difficult to over-state the tremendous importance of the ministry to the spirit of an entire generation of studying youth—a generation on whom have settled greater weights of responsibility than on any generation of students the world has ever known. The preservation of their highest ideals, the safeguarding of the springs of their faith and spiritual vitality, and the maintenance of their confidence in the integrity and unselfishness of their comrades of other lands constitute assets that, though imponderable, are simply priceless.

This great outpouring of practical sympathy, friendliness and love affords a fresh and an appealing apologetic to a most critical and inquiring generation. Not only a great common suffering, but likewise a great common sacrifice to meet that suffering, have served to unify and weld an enduring comradeship and fellowship of the largest potentialities.

All will readily recognise the many benefits which such an undertaking has brought to the students on

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whose behalf this great ministry has been carried on; but many may have overlooked the inestimable values which have come to the students who have been permitted to render this service. Discerning observers have recognised the growing need in the universities and colleges of the lands outside the fields of devastation and suffering of some task vast enough to appeal to the imagination of students, difficult and exacting enough to call out their latent energies, absorbing enough to save them from themselves, tragic enough to startle them from their indifference and love of ease and from growing habits of softness, luxury, and extravagance, and overwhelming enough to draw them closely together in unselfish effort and to deepen their knowledge of God. To an encouraging degree this need has been met, and this outlet has been afforded in the pathway of carrying out the programme of European Student Relief.

It is most fortunate that Miss Rouse has consented to write the story of this campaign of friendship. It was to her that the vision of the need and of the opportunity first came, and, what is more important, she was obedient to the vision. More than any other person she has spanned in her planning and action the entire undertaking. She has been influentially related to every stage of the evolution of its policy. Her many years of service in the World's Student Christian Federation, the body which from the beginning has been officially responsible for European Student Relief, made possible the prompt and adequate mobilising of the forces of the student world. She has, therefore, brought to the prepara-

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tion of this record intimate knowledge of all the fields and forces concerned, and a power of comprehension and sympathy and a prophetic insight which have enabled her to communicate through these interesting and inspiring pages a sense of the far-reaching significance of this remarkable ministry. What will yet prove to be at once the most far-reaching and highly multiplying product of European Student Relief is the weaving of countless strands of friendship between the hearts of those who tomorrow are to furnish so largely the leadership of the nations and races of mankind. Through all this wonderful international generosity, activity and service on the part of the students of all lands, a training ground has been afforded for preparing a generation to deal more helpfully and successfully than their predecessors with the great and innumerable issues involved in counteracting the startling development of divisive forces in the field of industrial, international, and inter-racial relations.

JOHN R. MOTT.

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CHAPTER I

HALF THE STUDENT WORLD IN RUINS

Post-War Europe and the Universities

A NEW poster* on the College notice-board. Crowds of students round it. What is this figure which arrests their gaze? A youth in ragged working clothes, books under his arm, strides forward with uplifted face; behind him lies the shell-destroyed town, a shattered church and ruined homes, beneath his feet a rusty tangle of barbed wire and splintered wood; his eyes are dark with sorrow for the destruction behind him, but on he marches, hands clenched and teeth set, as one who sees before him a task to fulfil. Beneath is the legend: "Struggling on! Is it nothing to you if he fails?"¹

Over just such ruins and in just such wise did John, Hans, Jani, Ivan and Jean march back to the universities after the war.

What a world of wretchedness lay around them in the year 1920! Appalling misery in the broad belt lying between the Baltic and the Black Sea—

¹ The poster described was issued in the autumn of 1920 by the Student Friendship Fund of the United States when appealing to the American Universities and Colleges on behalf of European students. It is reproduced on the cover of this volume.

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misery greater in extent and intensity than the modern world had ever before witnessed. In the new Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Montenegro, Albania, Serbia—to say nothing of Russia to the east and Armenia to the south—food and clothing were insufficient to make life itself tolerable; disease, bereavement and suffering were present in practically every household. From this belt of suffering, typhus and cholera were sweeping westward, threatening the world: the Horsemen of famine and death rode side by side with pestilence: millions perished of starvation or under-nourishment all over Europe: the tasks of the new era were faced by peoples incredibly weakened by disease and want.

Europe must be rebuilt. Where was the material? Two broad belts of complete destruction traversed the Continent—the eastern area of devastation from the Gulf of Finland to the Sea of Marmora, the western from the Dutch border to Switzerland; at least \$190,000,000,000 (£40,000,000,000) had been expended by the nations on destruction; thousands of cities and villages and millions of homes were razed to the ground; factories were destroyed, mines flooded and ruined, forests and orchards cut down, the raw material for reconstruction gone. Rebuilding there must be, but where were the builders? Of the young and strong, ten million were in their graves; at least twenty million had been wounded; millions more of the fathers and mothers of the next generation were unfit from want or disease; the oncoming race is permanently enfeebled by under-nourishment.

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Disease, famine and destruction have always been the fruits of war, though never on such a scale, but this war brought a new confusion—complete economic disorganisation and wild currency conditions, the cause of which not even finance experts and economists can fathom, much less proclaim a cure. All inducement to economy, national or individual, was gone: money was mad and might sink to a quarter of its value in a single day. The one fatal folly was to save. No longer did men bid their wives make their hard-earned money go as far as possible. Instead they said: "Take my pay and, for God's sake, get rid of it at once."

All these factors of horror and misery were found throughout Central and South-eastern Europe. Common to every country were death, pestilence, famine and economic confusion. Millions of homeless refugees were moving to and fro amongst the nations. Europe was one vast unity of suffering, and to many it seemed that the world confronted one great problem: Europe in ruins—can she be rebuilt?

"The *one* great problem." If this indeed were true and the problem *were* one, the world's brains and the world's goodwill might find a way out, but to rebuild Europe means not one, but scores of separate reconstruction problems. Warring groups of builders are scrambling for the same scant material to build their national edifices; they are like men who after an earthquake rebuild their city, each putting up his house where and how he will, without co-operation, without thought for the needs of the future and without care for beauty or order.

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Look at the strange new map of Europe! Leave aside the west and the neutral lands, and consider the rebuilding of Central and South-eastern Europe. In that area, you have first of all *five* completely new states, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Czechoslovakia. It is not rebuilding that these need, but building from the very foundation. Next, three states, Rumania, Greece, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, with territory so greatly enlarged, embracing elements of national life so completely new, that they too must begin their building from the bottom upwards. Then—a far more complicated problem—*five* states, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, so reduced in area and population that their old experience goes but little way towards the problem of their reconstruction. Of these, Germany, Austria and Hungary represent two great and ancient cultures, whose loss would be the world's disaster: they must refashion the framework which can enshrine their national life and gifts. Overshadowing them all, stands the veiled mystery of the East, Soviet Russia, entering into no combination, an element ever to be reckoned with, an unknown factor disturbing every calculation.

All these lands, as regards things material, were one in misery and suffering, but each, as regards mental and spiritual factors, was and is a separate problem. Post-war divisions are clearer and stronger than those in our childhood's atlas: the United States of Europe are not yet on the map. Instead, Europe is still a series of armed camps, a new race for armaments has begun, the great brains of science

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are subsidised by governments to explore fresh means of destruction. The end of the Great War has not ended war. Since the Armistice, Poland and Russia have invaded each other, Spain has had heavy losses in Morocco, the Greek defeat by Turkey has changed the face of the Near East: wars between Sweden and Finland, Albania and Serbia, Italy and Yugo-Slavia, Italy and Greece have been only just averted: rumours of war have caused mobilisation again and again: revolutions and attempted and counter-revolutions, have shaken Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hungary, Italy, Greece and Turkey. Large areas in Germany have been under occupation since the Armistice and there have been fresh occupations: plebiscite areas or undecided questions in Upper Silesia, Vilno, Memel, Teschen, Schleswig, Burgenland, Odenburg, Fiume, Danzig, the Saar and the Dodecanese have kept large populations in the war atmosphere.

All these factors have involved frontier settlements and race and religious questions; minorities of all sorts demand their own schools, their own languages and freedom in the practice of their own religion. Majorities and minorities have changed places, and long experience as the under-dog has proved no preparation for a gracious interpretation of the rôle of upper-dog. Anti-Semitism is more rampant far than before the war, and in countries where the Jew has for long led an undisturbed existence, to-day there is open talk of massacres. In addition to general scarcity and economic confusion, the redistribution of areas and the creation of new states under the Peace Treaties have planted

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customs barriers across trade-routes open for centuries, and have cut off nations from their natural sources of food supply and raw material. All this and much else has fed the flames of racial and national bitterness, till their lurid light is reflected from every angle of European affairs. Nations new and old are separated as never before by hatred and bad blood.

The world addressed itself promptly to the task of salvage and reconstruction in Europe. Congresses of all kinds considered how to rebuild her. London, Paris, Cannes, Genoa, Brussels, and Washington have all put forward different schemes, attacking the problem from different angles—reduction of armaments, settlement of reparations, inter-allied debts, or security. Councils of Ambassadors and conferences of finance experts have all had advice to give.

Governments made relief their own responsibility. Italy and the Argentine Republic voted large sums for relief of suffering in Austria: by June 1920 the British Government had allocated nearly fourteen million pounds for relief and reconstruction in Europe and the Near East: the United States Government placed one hundred million dollars at Herbert Hoover's disposal for distribution through the American Relief Administration in Central Europe. The League of Nations has made solid contributions to reconstruction. It repatriated nearly three million prisoners of war, drew a sanitary cordon from the Baltic to the Black Sea and stopped the westward advance of typhus, cholera and plague, has stabilised the currency of

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Hungary and Austria and has helped Greece to absorb over a million refugees.

National and international Relief Missions have operated on an unheard-of scale, Red Cross Societies, Save the Children, the Friends, the Imperial War Relief Fund, the Near East Relief, the American Relief Administration, the Australian Commonwealth Fund for Stricken Europe, and others.

Reconstruction was in every mind and mouth and much advance was made, but looking back, it seems as if one key to the world's problem was strangely neglected. To rebuild Europe, or indeed anything else, the first requisite is trained builders and a due supply of skilled labour to come. Relief Missions with all their ardour seemed to miss this point: they specialised on babies, children, officers, widows, the middle-class or the aged: soon the weakness of stratified relief began to show itself. The Save the Children Fund discovered the futility of saving a nation of infant orphans, and began to save the adult: other relief agencies declared it useless to save the masses, if you leave them leaderless. The cry of "Save the Children" was merged in a call to save the adults; the dominant note became a cry for leadership and a call to save the saviours. These saviours, the future leaders of the nations, were for the most part massed in definite places, organised in distinct groups and capable of group action. The key to the salvation of the nations lay so obviously in the universities, the nurseries of future leadership: strange that till 1920 there was no corporate effort to save students.

The new lands were demanding trained men from

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every faculty. *Teachers* were the first necessity—in pre-war Poland and Russia eighty per cent. of the people were illiterate—*Doctors, Nurses, and Sanitary experts* were needed to repel the onslaught of the raging epidemics, and bring a famine-weakened, tuberculous generation back to health, *Engineers and Architects* to build railroads, bridges, roads and houses, *Lawyers* for administration, *Economists* for finance, *Agricultural experts* to settle the returning refugees on the land. Where could such leaders be obtained unless from well-organised and well-equipped universities? The old lands needed all these elements to replace the slain, and specialists to guide the nation as she sought new paths. True, compared with the new lands, they needed fewer leaders in each department, but in their more complicated situations, they were even more dependent on the right kind of leadership. Reconstruction is a harder task than construction, and the moan of every old land in the grip of post-war lethargy was “Why have we no strong men?” The new strong young blood to be infused into the exhausted leadership of these old lands must come from one chief source, the universities. The rebuilding of every State in Europe, new or old, was dependent on one thing, the reintegration of the life of their universities.

In every country of Central Europe, students, men and women, were pouring back into the universities from the armies or from war work. In the new lands, thousands of young men and women found themselves for the first time in their country's history with the opportunity of advanced

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study in their own languages and in their own national universities. In all lands, students found titanic tasks expected of them: they were eager to prepare for their task of saving their country. But in what condition did they find themselves?

They were homeless. In five years countless houses had been destroyed, but scarcely a house built. The housing problem still fills the press of every land in Europe. Students sleeping in railway stations or on a staircase, envied those who had a corner in a crowded garret and were glad when a kindly navvy left a sewer open where they might shelter at night.

They were starving. A refugee student in Switzerland was found to have eaten just ten meals in a whole month; thousands thought a cup of cocoa and slice of bread enough to see them through the day; and one meal a day was a normal thing.

They were naked or not much better. Three men in freezing cold, had one pair of shoes and two great-coats between them: one went to lectures, one stayed in bed, the other studied in the second great-coat. “No underclothes, no overcoats, no socks, no blankets, nothing but an old uniform” is the refrain of every report.

They were diseased and enfeebled. The chorus of testimony repeats a hundred times: “Fifty per cent. tuberculous, no baths, no soap, stomach troubles from bad teeth, universal under-nourishment.” Worn out with their war experiences, students could not even devote their remaining strength to their studies. Eighty per cent. at least of the students in Central Europe must earn as well

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as study. Many were unfit for hard manual labour, even when they could obtain it; their work was unorganised and badly paid, and life became one long struggle to earn enough to keep body and soul together and retain some time and strength for mental effort.

Not merely the fate of the individual student was at stake, but the life of the university itself as an intellectual and spiritual force. On the one hand, professors and men of learning were starved both physically and mentally, for since 1914 the universities of Central Europe and Russia had been completely cut off from the books and discoveries published in other lands, and the professors could give no fresh progressive lead to their pupils. On the other hand, the student was sorely tempted to quit the weary struggle for higher education in favour of more remunerative occupation. The university was in danger either of becoming the preserve of the sons and daughters of the profiteer, or of accepting such Government support for its students as would mean the surrender of academic freedom to some form of political domination.

We have portrayed no nightmare imaginations; just such things as these were the cold, bare realities of ordinary, everyday university existence throughout Central and South-eastern Europe. What hope of rebuilding Europe when the future leaders and their training grounds were in such case? Moreover the worst is yet to tell. As with nations, so with their students, their bitterest sufferings are in the region of the spirit, not the body or even the mind. The danger zone of Europe is the hearts of the

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students: the burning devotion of her students is each nation's hope, but the patriotism of her future leaders passes easily into a Chauvinist nationalism. Bitterer in many lands than all their physical suffering is their sense of isolation. "Does everyone hate us? Does everyone despise us? Does no one care to know our side of the case?" Burning with a sense of wrong, brooding over each national or racial slight and injustice, seeing no hope but in another war, and in that hope nursing hatred, such are even now many of the future leaders of the nations. Others are less bitter but more despairing: these see no hope in war and at the same time no sign in the nations of the love that alone can avert it.

What of the Other Half, the students in more fortunate lands? There too, in 1920, the men from the trenches and the women from their war work were pouring back to the universities. Most were absorbed in their own struggle. Families impoverished by the war could no longer send their sons and daughters to college. Life was a struggle to get through the university, followed by desperate competition for a livelihood in face of widespread unemployment. Many, sick of war, plunged into all kinds of amusement to woo forgetfulness. There were those who still harboured a grudge against the ex-enemy, but ignorance and indifference, rather than prejudice, was the prevailing condition. Pre-occupied with themselves and with the upbuilding of their own nations, their eyes never turned to the condition of students elsewhere.

A gloomy outlook! Is there no break in the clouds? Does not that youth striding forward

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over the ruins of his world descry in the distance another student hastening towards him with the outstretched hand of friendship? Is there no chance of winning these battalions of future leaders to turn their forces into a joint crusade against want and misery and a joint effort to rebuild not Europe only but the world? Yes, there are gleams of hope. Student life to-day is marked by *generation consciousness*. Older people on both sides of the war have made a mess of it and the world—no hope from them: youth must help youth to build a new world. Timidly in many lands post-war students were looking over barriers, anxious to meet the man with whom they had fought and to explore his mind, hoping that perchance he and they might work things out together, but not knowing how to reach him.

Was there a bridge-builder? There was at least one group which for a quarter of a century past had steadily proclaimed that the hope of the world lay in international friendship and the international action of students. The World's Student Christian Federation, born in 1895 and now including 300,000 students from forty different nations, North, South, East and West, had always preached the solidarity of the student world, had conceived of the universities as "Strategic Points in the World's Conquest," and had aimed at uniting students for world tasks in the name of Jesus Christ. Of the few international student societies in existence before the war this fellowship alone had survived the shock of battle. Other international student societies, destined to play an important part amongst the universities of

HALF THE STUDENT WORLD IN RUINS

the world, were only just born. No national organisation had left the ranks of the Federation, though it included movements in almost all the belligerent countries. Could the Federation perhaps salvage the wreck of European university life and save the future builders of Europe? Could it sound a call loud enough to rouse the whole student world to the fact that half of it was in danger of perishing of hunger, and cold? It could at least try. This book is the story of the attempt and its results.

CHAPTER II

THE OTHER HALF WAKES TO ACTION

A Study in European Student Relief Origins

INDIA in time of famine, the ruins of Adana, French towns under air-raid bombardment, devastated war areas, San Francisco after the earthquake, prisoners-of-war camps, internment camps, refugee camps—I have seen them all, but Vienna as I saw it February 1920 remains burnt in my memory as a yet nearer thing to Hell.

We spent a month there, two of us, the author of this book, then a travelling secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, and Eleanora Iredale, soon to lead the relief effort of British students. Each day brought us realisation of some new aspect of hopeless misery. Vienna, in 1913 the queen city, the intellectual, artistic and commercial centre of Middle Europe, was revealed as the unwieldy capital of a small and anomalous State in a process of pitiless disintegration. The formation of the new States from the territory of the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had planted political frontiers and tariff barriers between the new Austria and her sources of supply: with Galicia went the oil wells, and Poland exported no oil to Austria: with Bohemia and Moravia departed to Czecho-

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slovakia large grain and potato fields, practically the entire sugar supply and the chief coal mines: Hungary kept her rich wheat plain, Italy took copper and quicksilver, iron and coal mines, and Yugo-Slavia cattle stock.

Austria, with a population of six millions, was left in possession of a top-heavy capital city of two million inhabitants, much beautiful but agriculturally unprofitable mountain scenery, and a few luxury manufactures. Cut off from all their former sources of food supply and raw material, the entire population of the cities and many of the country people were dependent for their very life on the charity of foreigners. Vienna was in the hands of missions, Military, Reparations, Political and Relief Missions of all kinds and nationalities. No Austrians but a few profiteers could buy sufficient food in the open market: the whole adult population was fed in a system of kitchens magnificently organised by a Viennese Committee, and supplied by grants of food from the Government and the various missions: any hitch in transport threatened the very life of the city; a dock strike in Holland hung up the relief trains, and was declared off only just in time to save Vienna. Practically every face showed the curious grey hue of famine, boys of seventeen looked like children of ten, mutilated men begged in the street, disease of all sorts found an easy prey, and at the moment of our visit, Spanish influenza was sweeping the city.

All this was on the surface; beneath lay deeper suffering, that profound conviction that there was no way out, which made the real horror of the

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situation. Vienna was a wreck slowly but inevitably sinking. What of her students? Quickly it dawned on us that in a city where each relief mission was centring on a special task, students were the only class for whom nothing was done. First, an Englishman in the Military Mission told me of crowds of women students who came to him, begging for a job in his office to save them from starvation or worse. Next came the shock of hearing that amongst the members of the Student Christian Movement within a few weeks, one had shot himself, unable to endure suffering any longer, another, utterly exhausted by woodcutting in the near-by forests and dragging in logs for sale, had gone to bed on Christmas Eve, and was found four days later dead from sheer weakness and inanition.

At length came a woman student to tell me, at my special request, something of women student conditions. She impressed on me again and again, "I'm much better off than most, I live at home." Her *easier* life meant housework at home, six hours a day in an office, fitting in lectures and study where possible, and when that was over, finding food to buy and cooking it, no new clothes since before the war, the old ones so neatly mended and gracefully worn as at first to hide their worn-out state. She had no gloves, so did not manage to hide the ugly sores on her hands: I wormed it out of her that the doctor had prescribed ointment, but that to buy it would have meant the price of several meals. Despair, suicide, one meal a day or less, no underclothing, no overcoats, broken shoes in the winter slush, sleeping in restaurants or lavatories,



BREAKFAST IN TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL, VIENNA, WHERE 1,200 STUDENTS RECEIVED A CUP OF COCOA AND A SLICE OF BREAD DAILY.

See p. 50.



CLOTHING DEPARTMENT IN VIENNA.

See pp. 25 and 44.

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all these things the commonplace of life among the 15,000 men and women in the universities and colleges of Vienna, 1,400 of whom were women : and over it all, hanging like a pall, the feeling that nobody cared.

"They would care if they knew, and know they shall." A broadcasting station was ready for our use. As a World's Student Christian Federation secretary, I knew that each of the forty national movements in touch with us was a receiving station by means of which the cry of need could be retransmitted to more than two hundred thousand members, and through them to hundreds of thousands more. An S.O.S. call must be sent without delay. A never-to-be-forgotten group of the presidents of the women students' societies in Vienna University met in my room to supply data for our appeal and to draw up a memorandum on the economic position of women students. In a wonderful way this gathering foreshadowed the international and student fellowship of which it was the precursor. The five women in that chilly room had never come together before and frankly owned that they hated to meet. They represented the German National Student Society, two Jewish associations, the Socialist Union and the Catholic Student Society, and were the heirs of age-long racial, political and religious antipathies. They had one point of union and one only—the grim fact that, allowing nothing for clothes, baths or medicines, Kr. 500 (\$2.25 ; 10 shillings) was a woman student's monthly existence minimum, that their members almost without exception must earn as well as study,

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and that none could possibly earn more than Kr. 300 a month.

I crossed the Rubicon, pledged the students of happier lands to send help, and asked what help was needed most. Their practical suggestions were fertile, but they did not come at once. Comradeship was the thing they welcomed first—"We must take it; we cannot do otherwise, and we would rather take it from comrades." Then a truly prophetic word—"Our turn will come when we are on our feet again: then we will invite invalid students to our Austrian health resorts and nurse them back to health." The last European Student Relief report shows Swiss Francs 13,000 (\$2,280 = £520) contributed by Austria for German students, and tells of invalid German students invited there in the summer of 1924.¹

Would the Other Half of the student world respond?

Our highest hopes had risen to a Swiss Francs

¹ A real difficulty in our effort to make vivid to forty-two nations what each one has contributed is the fact that European Student Relief has dealt with twenty-seven different currencies. An explanation of the system adopted in financial statements may therefore be helpful. Where the Geneva Headquarters of European Student Relief are concerned, amounts of money received or expended are given in Swiss francs and are translated into American dollars and pounds sterling. Where any one country is concerned, amounts of money are stated in the currency of the country and translated into their value in dollars or pounds. Where such explanation seems unnecessary, the amount is given in the currency of the country alone. The rate of exchange, as between Berne, New York, and London used in the financial statements in the text of the book will be \$1.00 = Swiss Francs 5.70; £1 = Swiss Francs 24.65.

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57,000 (\$10,000; £2,200) plan for the summer. Night after night we lay awake, wondering what the response would be or whether indeed there would be a response at all. Students the world over rebuked our want of faith. Before the autumn, Austria's ex-enemies, her allies and the neutral lands had joined hands to raise for her universities nearly £7,000 in money and goods.

First came a letter from Holland. The Student Christian Movement there was faced with a large deficit: a money gift seemed impossible, but in answer to our S.O.S. they promptly turned an enterprising undergraduate loose on the mercantile community for ten days. This youth combines the strong points of a burglar and a diplomat. At Whitsuntide he was able to attach five trucks to a Red Cross train for Vienna, containing sugar, fish, potatoes, soap, cocoa, flour and cereals, cheese, condensed milk, bales of cloth, lard and oil; in all, \$15,000 (£3,000) worth of goods: 2,000 guilders given by Dutch students paid the transport. His method was simple—he believes in direct action—by strategy or sheer cheek get into the presence of the chief Director and you will get whatever you want. The biggest sugar concern yielded him ten tons of sugar, cloth merchants gave him cloth and tailors made it up for him free, the Fishmongers' Union decreed that every member should give him a barrel of herrings and every farmer round his home town laid a sack or two of potatoes at his feet. One Dutch student had raised more than we had hoped for from the whole world.

Good news from Britain followed quickly. A

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great asset both in Austria and at home was the presence in the Friends' Mission in Vienna of the late Agnes Murray, daughter of Professor Gilbert Murray. Her urgent appeal to her parents to rouse Oxford on behalf of Viennese professors and students was the starting-point of the Oxford Committee for the Help of Universities of Central Europe. Soon the British Student Christian Movement wrote to us their intention to give vigorous backing to the Universities' Committee which was quickly formed under the Imperial War Relief Fund. A lightning campaign was launched in a few universities and colleges, and the summer term, in spite of all its handicaps, brought in over £2,000.

Surprise after surprise came pouring in, and always joyful ones. Austrian students were their ex-enemies, but that made no difference to the Italians, nor did the desperate economic conditions of Italy. The Italian Student Christian Movement proposed a joint effort to other student unions. Twelve responded, including the Catholic, the Anticlerical, the Socialist, Scientific, Athletic, and Musical Societies, and by means of garden parties and concerts they raised 5,000 lire, which they divided between Dalmatia and Vienna. We had never dreamed of large help from South Africa: but the Movement there published our appeal in Dutch and English as soon as received and by October collected £1,400. India responded by the very first mail and by autumn raised £150. The German Student Christian Movement, out of the depths of their own poverty, sent Mk. 1,100.

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French women students sent Fr. 1,000 and boxes of clothing, soap and books.

It was no surprise to us when a cable from America brought us \$2,000, and a second, later on, another \$5,000. The cable came from Dr. Mott, the General Secretary of the Federation (trust him to see and seize an opportunity like this for service!); and the leaders of the American Student Christian Movement, campaign-weary though they were, girded their loins for fresh action in the fall.

The Other Half was roused and awake. The forward move of the forces of student friendship had begun.

Meantime in Vienna, we Federation workers were busy preparing a scheme of co-operation with the Friends' Mission on behalf of Austrian students. The Friends guaranteed \$4,500 (£1,000), lent several workers, first and foremost Donald Grant, and all their machinery of transport and book-keeping. The Federation produced the money and supplies brought in by our S.O.S., and secured Mrs. Warner and other workers. The University authorities gave the use of offices, store-rooms, buffets and buffet equipment in the University buildings. Donald Grant contributed a varied experience of Student Christian Movement work in Scotland and reconstruction work with the Friends in France and Austria; Mrs. Warner, whose husband had been killed in France, brought to Tommy's ex-enemies a rich knowledge of the needs and ways of masculine youth, acquired by four years' Y.M.C.A. work with the British Army. This combination operated

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successfully until the autumn, when the whole work, under the leadership of Donald Grant, was taken over by the European Student Relief of the World's Student Christian Federation.

How they set to work to feed the Viennese student let Mrs. Warner relate.

SCENE I.

Place. Offices of the Student Relief in Vienna University.

Time. 9.30 a.m. Six days a week, 1920.

A long queue of men and women students stands patiently outside a closed door, on which appears a notice stating that applications for a daily breakfast, costing 50 hellers (half a farthing), would be received, and requesting each applicant to bring certain state and university papers. Ten o'clock: the door opens to the first four; each finds himself at a table, faced by a Relief Worker.

Relief Worker (reading papers presented by a woman student)—“Tell me a little about yourself.” St.—“My father is a watchmaker: I have six brothers and sisters, two earning a little; the two youngest are tubercular. Our home was devastated in 1915, when the Russians advanced into Poland, and we fled to Vienna.” R.W.—“Do you earn anything?” St.—“I give lessons, but pupils are hard to find.” R.W.—“What will you do when you have finished?” St.—“Go back to Poland and teach.”

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The next is a man, obviously very ill.

St.—“My parents live in a small town, where my father is a bank clerk. I have two little sisters. I was a student before the war, and I came back to my medical course. I share a garret with another student.” R.W.—“What do you live on?” St.—“I work in a restaurant kitchen from six till eleven p.m., and I have a disablement pension of Kr. 100 (40 cent.; 2s.) per month. I have an Army certificate stating that I am sixty per cent. unfit, suffering from tuberculosis in both lungs, due to exposure in the Pripet Marshes.” R.W.—“See our doctor, and bring back his report.”

So it goes on. To help the relief workers, committees of students have already been formed, representative of all sections in the University, faculties, religions, political parties and races, thus guarding against any partiality. After heartbreaking eliminations, the list of nominations is posted up and breakfast cards are issued, good for thirty days. The list contains about twelve hundred names and is the centre of anxious crowds for several days.

SCENE II.

Place. A buffet, looking on to the University Quadrangle.

Time. Any morning between 7.30 and 9.30.

The buffet is filled with men and women students, sitting in groups of four round small

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white tables, talking, and sometimes laughing, but real laughter is rarely heard. A fierce-looking youth, with hair *en brosse*, sits just inside the door, punching breakfast tickets and collecting fifty hellers each from the incomers, before these proceed to the counter where two women medical students preside over cups of rich cocoa and large slices of white bread. A big notice on the wall tactfully announces that the breakfasts are provided by fellow-students all over the world as a token of sympathy and fellowship.

The room contains a heterogeneous crowd—Germans, Austrians, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Slavs, Serbs, Bulgars, Turks, Christians, Jews, Agnostics, Bolsheviks, Monarchists, Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists. Physical need is the one factor that unites them! This relief, administered by the representatives of fellow students, awakens a feeling that they are in some Utopia, where prejudice and party differences have no place, and where kindness and cheer are the order of the hour.

EPILOGUE.

Extract from a woman student's letter.

DEAR GNAEDIGE FRAU,

I am writing to you during an Anatomy lecture, because I must tell you that this is the first morning I have been at the breakfasts, and it is also the first morning for over a year that I have not felt ill and faint by twelve

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o'clock. I wish I could write and thank all the students of other countries who have contributed to help me and my friends in the University. They will never know how grateful . . .

Let us now watch clothing distributions, once more through Mrs. Warner's eyes :

June 23rd, 1920.

"The 'Norwegian clothing' is my great joy. Norway sent us some big cases of second-hand clothes, boots and hats. We stored the cases in the University basement, and when we hear of a particularly needy student, I take him there to choose a garment. We have thirty precious pairs of boots for the neediest of 12,000 students! It is almost painful to see their excitement when actually allowed to choose a good suit or overcoat, and to try on several pairs of boots and finally leave hugging a parcel of clothes. No looking-glass, of course, but glass doors do nearly as well, and usually I have to make up their minds what they look best in. Among the boots there are five very good brown pairs; I thought they would be chosen first—but no! I asked one man why he preferred a rather worn black pair to the beautiful brown ones, and he said he was afraid to look like a profiteer! Poor boy! A suit is, in most cases, no use without a shirt too; the old uniforms are tightly buttoned up to their chins. And I had to learn that

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they very often hesitated to try on boots, because they have no socks at all.

"The sale to women students was huge fun! In a nice large hall, the Herr Regierungsrat had had long rows of tables arranged as counters. Great bales of excellent strong serge, black, navy, green and dull red, were on sale, and a splendid assortment of blouses of varied sizes and colours; you could buy either two blouses, or a summer dress length of pretty pink cotton or one blouse and a loose flannel dress. One hundred and eighteen students were admitted out of 124 who applied. Each one bought all she could; the total cost was Kr. 150-200 (80 c.; 4s.). It was pathetic to see what a gorgeous surprise the whole sale was. They never dreamed of anything half so wonderful."

These feeding and clothing operations are typical of later student relief in eighteen other countries. It was on Vienna we tried our 'prentice hand. By the end of the term the work had spread to all the colleges in Vienna and to Graz and Innsbruck Universities and the Leoben School of Mines.

The Vienna workers early grasped the importance of self-help. To guard against the danger of student pauperisation and of encouraging parents to pay their sons' and daughters' fees and hope Relief would feed them, the Student Committees very soon passed a resolution, copied later in land after land, that no first-year student should receive relief. Practically every student in Austria was at that time as an individual doing wage-earning work, but the first co-operative self-help effort was a

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wood-cutting camp arranged in the Wiener Wald that summer.

"The notion was that students might earn money and health for themselves by felling trees to supply the Vienna hospitals with cheap fuel in the coalless winter ahead. A Baron conveniently ordered by the Government to clear his forest, and grow corn, provided the ground. Next, the War Office turned up trumps and tents and crockery and pots and pans, including a field kitchen captured from the Russians. The food came through the young pirate in Holland. Behold the camp equipped; would the students play up? Some folk said 'No,' but not a bit of it: *lots* applied, the only trouble being that even a very lenient medical exam. meant forty per cent. rejected as completely unfit.

"About 150 tons of wood were cut and stacked by forty students in five weeks; not bad, considering the weather, their medical unfitness and short hours. The energetic earned Kr. 200 a week, and a few Hercules Kr. 400, and some voluntarily did overtime. The Foresters, who superintended operations, were altogether satisfied with the work done, though these very Foresters originally threatened to strike, if 'miserable students from the city were introduced into *their* forests,' and only the prompt action of the British Reparations Committee, in commandeering a bit of the forest, saved the situation.

"So the hospitals are 150 tons of wood to

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the good this winter, and the Vienna public will eat the bread the Baron will grow on his cleared ground! And the students have put by a reserve of strength and money against the cruel winter coming, and, better still, have learnt to work with their hands, and like it! The Scheme is a perfect Omnibus of Varied Welfare!"

A struggle on the race question was inevitable and was precipitated early. Women students had sunk their differences in the cause of relief and brought in the dawn of student fellowship; but the men took longer to convince. One quarter of the students in Vienna were alien refugees from Poland, the Ukraine, Rumania and Hungary—the large majority were Jews from Galicia, loathed by the German Austrian alike for their race and their desperate poverty. "Impartial administration" was our slogan. It soon led us into battle. The day before our breakfasts opened, the students belonging to the *Deutsch National* (German National) party wrecked the Jewish student Mensa, a clarion call for subsequent disorders. Mrs. Warner describes our first breakfast:—

"At our breakfast all was peace till about 9 a.m., when a small band of stick-bearing *Deutsch National* students came into the buffet (I was in sole charge) shouting and being aggressive. In my calmest manner I walked up to them with a large smile and my sixteen words of German (three of which

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are not polite), I explained it was no use their acting like this—I didn't know who was Jew and who Gentile and didn't wish to—either we worked for all or none—if they turned anybody out, I should also go with the food. All the aggressors were very polite, except one. I told his companions kindly to help him and themselves out. Then followed a scene with a bleeding-headed boy who was brought to us for first aid. Outside the University, thousands of Germans held the entrance against thousands of Jews, with soldiers to preserve equality. This morning the University was closed by police. Only a back door open for Staff, our cardholders and Examination candidates. Breakfast was orderly and pleasant, with both Jew and Gentile present. There have been many arrests and some severe casualties. Ours is the only normal proceeding in the University. The newspapers gave our work a vote of complete confidence for impartiality."

Their demonstrations were overcome by our demonstration. Later on, our best helper among the German Austrian students was the leader of the attack that morning. The victory in the first of many such skirmishes was with Goodwill. Student relief in Austria was carried on for four years. A review of its history shows that the final victory all along the line lay with student fellowship. Listen to testimony from Hofrat Dr. Friedrich Hertz, of the State Department, Vienna, a well-known publicist and economist.

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May 1921.

"The student relief work organised by the World's Student Christian Federation is of much more permanent importance than mere charity. Thousands of hopeful young people are being saved from extreme misery which otherwise would break their mental and moral energy. If they should succumb, it would mean the disappearance of forces indispensable for reconstruction. It would lead to a tremendous breakdown of culture in Austria which would react on other countries. The work is a wonderful manifestation of a truly Christian spirit for bringing about reconciliation and brotherly co-operation. In Austria, most of the students are imbued with a narrow-minded nationalism, though this was never much directed against other nations, but mainly against their compatriots of other races. During the war the students were, of course, taught a great many prejudices against the other side, and the Peace Treaty was only too apt to foster hatred against their enemies. If, nevertheless, such feelings have never become predominant among our students this is due to the admirable example given by our organisation. I sincerely believe that it will bring about a very far-reaching change in many students who have hitherto followed the path of hatred and violence instead of goodwill and peace."

CHAPTER III

THE LAUNCHING OF EUROPEAN STUDENT RELIEF

Four Years of Storm

THE tale of Austrian need and half the student world's response is but a curtain-raiser introducing the drama of student relief. The raising of the curtain revealed student need quite as urgent throughout the Baltic States, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Russia, the Balkans, Asia Minor and Turkey. The World's Student Christian Federation had broadcasted an S.O.S. for one country and begun the salvage of one wreck. The logic of its history and genius compelled it to attack a larger problem. In 1920, the Federation was the only world-wide student society in existence; it was pledged by its constitution to "further those efforts on behalf of the welfare of students in body, mind and spirit, which are in harmony with the Christian purpose": its student organisations in forty different nations provided at once the means of mobilising the goodwill of many different nations and creeds, and some basis of operation ready to hand in every famine-stricken country: for years its national movements had been carrying on relief work amongst refugee and otherwise destitute students, and it had amongst its leaders men and

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women of proved experience in relief and reconstruction.

The Federation General Committee met in St. Beatenberg, Switzerland, August 1920: a Commission on Student Relief reported after careful and personal investigation all over Europe (in Budapest alone 3,000 students answered a questionnaire), and a mandate was given to the Federation by the representatives of the Student Christian Movements of thirty-nine different nations "to summon students the world over to strenuous united effort on behalf of the vast number of students in Central Europe who to-day are homeless, sick, almost without clothes and practically starving."

The Federation appointed a special Committee to promote this effort, christened it *European Student Relief*, laid down the principles of work to be followed, declared Sw. Fr. 57,000,000 (\$1,000,000; £220,000) to be the minimum sum which could meet the coming year's need, budgeted carefully for a year's work in nineteen different countries, determined on Headquarters in Geneva, and called Conrad Hoffmann to be the General Executive Secretary of the whole scheme. Two or three weeks later it had selected Field Representatives for the main fields of operation and had planned with the students of many of the more fortunate lands to launch campaigns on behalf of student relief as early as possible in the autumn.

The Beatenberg minutes of European Student Relief, re-read after four years, show remarkable foresight as to the principles on which relief work should be conducted:—

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"Principles we shall follow in Relief."

1. Every relief scheme we launch will be as far as possible on sound economic lines, no student being helped without most careful examination of his financial and other needs; self-help will be, in every possible way, encouraged and pauperisation avoided; students will be brought into productive work for the benefit of their country.

2. We hope to co-operate with existing agencies both in raising money and in administration on the field, and to avoid over-lapping. Our aim is, by careful correlation of effort, to secure the maximum relief for the maximum number of students in so far as we may do so (a) without endangering the principle of self-help, (b) without losing sight of the importance of developing human personal contacts.

3. In every field where we raise money, in every field where we administer relief, we shall try to work in accordance with the national spirit and methods, and as far as possible to make use of indigenous workers and agencies.

4. Relief will be administered impartially without regard to race, nationality, or creed, or any other criterion than proven need."

(Extract from the first Bulletin of European Student Relief, October 1920.)

Every one of these principles has proved again and again a guide through many pitfalls and difficulties in country after country.

Mingled with all this wisdom is what seems, in

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the light of subsequent events, a curious blindness as to the real scope of the enterprise on which the Federation had embarked. With naïve dogmatism, the minutes assure the world that relief will close down in July 1921: "Our aim is to meet a purely temporary emergency." In autumn 1921, in 1922, and again in 1923, "positively the last appeal was presented." Each year, however, this "temporary, strictly emergency work" revealed its far from temporary implications and consequences, till to-day it stands revealed as a four-act drama. Throughout the academic years 1920-1924 not for a moment could European Student Relief slacken its attempt to salvage a student world shaken by the earthquake of war, followed by the dire succession of tidal wave, fire, pestilence, and famine.

First *the Year of Beginnings*. By January 1921, Geneva is working at top speed, and student relief operations have begun in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Turkey and Asia Minor and are in full swing in Austria. In Germany, the E.S.R. by March takes over the daily feeding of 20,000 students. The sudden demobilisation of the armies of Poland sends a horde of starving, homeless students into her six universities, while the defeat of the counter-revolutionary armies in Russia and other post-war catastrophes add 20,000 destitute refugees to the student population of Central Europe.

The tackling of this huge task is only made possible by the co-operation of the American Relief Administration, which in April 1921 assumes, till the end of the academic year, the student feeding in

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the Baltic States, Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, using for this purpose the American student contribution towards the E.S.R. and more besides. European Student Relief carries on clothing, housing and intellectual relief operations in all areas, and student feeding in Germany, Turkey and Asia Minor. By July, through this joint effort, 67,460 students are receiving a daily meal.

Next *the Year of Famine, 1921-1922*. In Central Europe the need is as acute as ever; suddenly the closed door of Russia is flung open by famine; Geneva launches its Russian venture, and by the end of the year is feeding 16,000 Russian students.

The Year of the Sword follows the Year of Famine. The autumn of 1922 opens with the Greek *debâcle* in Asia Minor. Every Christian student is either a prisoner of war, dead, lost or in exile. The E.S.R. starts rescue work in Salonica and in Athens. Meantime, the first great landslide of the German mark reduces the German student world to ruin. The Ruhr invasion intensifies the crisis by increasing disorganisation and unemployment and bitterness of spirit. With the German mark crash the currencies of surrounding nations. The plight of the refugees is worse than ever; on their behalf, the E.S.R. enters three new fields—Greece, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia. Russian conditions demand increased relief till the E.S.R. is feeding 31,000 Russian students daily.

At last there are signs of fairer weather. Still, even *the Year of Returning Calm* begins like its predecessor with two mighty disasters. In September 1923, the earthquake in Japan destroys

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Tokyo and Yokohama and wipes out university buildings, student quarters and libraries. European Student Relief enters Japan by sending money for the purchase of books. In Germany the mark descends to unheard-of depths, and only the prompt action of E.S.R. in raising for Germany five times her budget quota saves certain universities from closing down. Nevertheless, by the end of the year the crisis in Central Europe is past. Only in Russia and amongst Russian student refugees does the E.S.R. continue emergency work. At last the Geneva Office draws breath and reviews four stormy years. A Report, in July 1924, summarises the results of European Student Relief to date.

In terms of Finance and Material Aid :

Swiss Francs 10,755,600 (\$1,900,000; £437,200) has been raised; 42 countries have joined in this relief effort through some action of their student bodies; 19 of these countries have received relief; 25,000,000 meals have been given.

In terms of manhood and womanhood and the future leadership of the nations what has been accomplished by European Student Relief the following chapters will reveal.

CHAPTER IV

THE FRIENDLY HAND

The Student Friendship Picture Gallery.

UNLESS indeed Sumerian tablets or Maya monuments produce fresh evidence, European Student Relief has proved the Preacher wrong. There *is* a new thing under the sun. Where before in the world's history have the students of every land united their forces in a joint crusade against Want?

Study the solid facts, set forth, signed and audited in our accounts (pp. 216-19). The University world of *forty-two* countries, *thirty-seven* figuring as giving countries and nineteen as receiving countries, between October 1st, 1920 and June 30th, 1924, has raised and disbursed Sw. Fr. 10,755,600 (\$1,900,000; £437,200).

Money is a token. Look onwards and see gold, silver and copper transmuted into cocoa, shoes, shirts, beans, coal, roof repairs, clothing repairs, sweaters, potatoes, underlinen, "wood, ointment, oil, fine flour and wheat, cattle and sheep, horses and chariots [or shall we say frozen meat and transport?] and the bodies and souls of men."

Look backwards also. Money represents more than the things it buys, it is a sacrament: it betokens its source and all the cost of mining and minting.

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The source of European Student Relief funds was finely symbolised by the Student Friendship Fund of the United States in their campaign poster for the year 1922-1923, a "Friendly Hand" outstretched from a sheaf of the nations' flags bound together in a mass of mingled colour—the yellow of gold, the white of sincerity, the green of hope, the blue of aspiration and the red of sacrifice. The records in Geneva are one great picture-gallery of various phases of what John R. Mott calls "this extensive and perfectly marvellous sacrificial service." We can show you, alas, but one or two examples out of hundreds representing each National or International School.

THE SCHOOL OF HEROISM AND SACRIFICE

Scene: The Restaurant of the Foyer International, Boulevard St. Michel, Paris.

Time: Autumn 1920. Women students of many nationalities, not a few of them refugees, and all poor, hastening in and out to lunch.

At the desk sits a Polish girl, earning her way as cashier. She heard an appeal for Vienna students the day before and has lain awake all night wondering what she can do to help. Over a money-box, she has posted a notice: "*We* can eat: in Vienna, they cannot." Fr. 67 were in the box before lunch was over; and soon the Foyer sent Fr. 1,000 to Vienna, with the greeting:—

"DEAR FELLOW-STUDENTS OF VIENNA,

"Knowing under what heroic and unhappy conditions you are carrying on your

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studies, we, women-students of the Foyer International of Paris—French, Americans, Serbs, Swiss, Poles, Russians, English—feel it a duty and an honour to stretch out to you the hand of sisters. United in a spirit of international solidarity, we turn to you, sure of finding in your thought an echo of ours. We believe in the rôle which University women may play in the destiny of each country, and thereby in that of the world; we wish ardently you may enjoy those material conditions indispensable to liberty of work, thought, and action."

Student relief work has always appealed to mixed communities of foreign students. The Student Movement House in London, with its 1,200 members, half of them foreigners and almost all struggling for an education, raised in one year £1,000. Foreign students in Germany combined in an effort to relieve their German fellow-students, and the Munich group despatched an American, a Dutchman and a Englishman on a money-raising tour in the Spanish universities, resulting in 40,000 pesetas (\$7,200; £1,600).

Scene: The Shanghai Young Women's Christian Association Building.

Time: November 1920. Famine raging in China, 20,000,000 sufferers.

A Chinese woman student returned from seeing European conditions, presents the E.S.R. appeal to the Chinese National Student Y.W.C.A. committee, composed of both Chinese and foreign women. The foreign women reject as fantastic the

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idea of a Chinese contribution. "Are not Chinese girls already going without meat and even bread in the schools for famine relief in China?" The Chinese are unanimously for it, and a gift is sent with a letter, "Brethren, we make known unto you how that in much proof of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality." No! that's an old letter telling of a relief campaign in South-eastern Europe for famine-stricken Asia. *This* is the letter Asia sent to South-east Europe:

"Students of China are greatly indebted to other countries. The sum we can send will perhaps be very small indeed, but it expresses the interest and sympathy we feel for students in other lands. We appreciate keenly belonging to the World Movement."

A letter to Mrs. S. K. Datta, the patron saint of student relief in India.

"*A Country Mission School in Bengal*

"*May, 1922.*

"I send you Rupees 33 (\$11; £2 9s.) for the E.S.R. from the Boys' and Girls' Boarding Schools here. The girls gave up the balance of their outings fund, and the boys gave R. 3 they had made by their gardens: they are children of very poor village folk, and have no money to give. They've already contributed to Russian Relief."

The East has given generously. The latest

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oriental contribution comes from the Dutch East Indies—Sw. Fr. 4,500 (\$800; £180).

Time: The dinner hour in Indiana Central College, U.S.A.

Place: The Dining Hall, empty, with tables bare.

The 175 students are *en masse* in the College Chapel hearing about student relief, and praying for the students of the world. As almost all are working their way through college and are already supporting a missionary in the Philippines, their response to the E.S.R. appeal is to go without dinner every other day for ten days—their collective sacrifice of five dinners produces \$200.00.

The students of the United States have in four years raised nearly Sw. Fr. 6,978,000 (\$1,224,000; £285,000) for European Student Relief. Subtracting the American Relief Administration gifts in 1921, this is close on one-half of the whole sum raised by the students of the world; including the A.R.A. feeding, to which students contributed largely, it is very nearly two-thirds of the whole. This vast accomplishment represents in large part just such sacrifices as that of Indiana Central College, not the gifts of millionaires or corporations. Certain of these have made substantial and welcome contributions, but the bulk of the huge gift betokens new clothes *not* bought, football matches *not* seen, car fares saved, eating of "Austrian breakfasts," *i.e.*, a cup of cocoa and a slice of bread, and money hard-earned by tens of thousands of American students.

It is questionable, however, whether, even with all

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this, the most real sacrifice of America for student relief is seen in such incidents. A yet more heroic rôle was played by the leaders of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., who, in summer 1924, faced the question of launching their *eighth successive* Student Friendship Appeal to the American Colleges. In 1916-1917, the Student Friendship Fund was already a familiar sound in American student ears. That year, they gave \$182,000 for the work amongst prisoners of war on both sides, carried on by the Y.M.C.A. In 1917-1919, they gave \$1,295,000 for the same great effort to save millions of young men from despair and demoralisation and for the Y.M.C.A. work in their own Army and Navy. By 1920, it required a high grade of courage to revive the Student Friendship Fund, this time on behalf of starving European students, yet they did it, and with fertile imagination devised each year and sometimes twice a year a fresh campaign with original methods.

In 1920, Herbert Hoover, in the midst of his nation-wide campaign for American Relief Administration child feeding in Europe, joined forces with the American Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in broadcasting an appeal to college men and women for \$1,000,000 to save "one hundred thousand of your fellow-students in Europe." Every class of educational institution was canvassed—Universities, Colleges, Normal Schools, High Schools and Private Schools. The first year's gift was a response to sheer need. In the fall of 1921, the appeal was to save the intellectual life of Europe—"the Light must not Fail." That year, the Student Y.M.C.A. and

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Y.W.C.A. operated directly, and through eight regional organisations pushed the Student Friendship Fund in eight great divisions of the United States. In 1922, the "Friendly Hand" poster aimed to awaken in the American student the consciousness that he belonged to a world-wide student fellowship of service. This year, the American Student Pilgrimages of Friendship to Europe were launched, and the special feature of the appeal was personal testimony from those who had seen the need for themselves. Next year, growing international friendship fostered a desire to break down barriers between the nations. The Student Friendship campaign was merged in a campaign for education in world brotherhood, and an endeavour to discover and combat the causes of war.

Few who have not visited America can realise the difficulty of money-raising campaigns in so vast a country, three thousand miles wide and twelve times the size of pre-war Germany, or the number of speakers required to bring a message to more than a thousand universities and colleges. The speakers must be both numerous and strong, if they are to rouse 600,000 students, remote in spirit from the rest of the world, largely preoccupied with university and national interests and sixty per cent. of them busy earning their way through college.

Let it not be forgotten that the very men and women who planned these campaigns were also raising the budget for the regular work of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in America, and appealing to colleges which were already giving with the characteristic liberality of the American student

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to other forms of social and religious work. The American women's colleges during this period raised a huge sum in support of Women's Christian Colleges in the East. Never once have those leaders pleaded that *their* bit was done, but with keen insight into the need and opportunity for service, they have pressed home successive appeals to generation after generation of students. It is a record of incomparable courage and determination.

THE GALLERY OF IMAGINATION AND RESOURCE

Pictures which tell a story are out of fashion to-day, but in our gallery are some very fine examples and quite up to date in style.

Scene: The streets of Delft, Holland; motor trucks tearing round the city, four to six tall young men in each, students from the famous engineering school. At each house, they dash in and out to add an overcoat or a few collars to the ever-growing heap of sweaters, trousers, skirts, jumpers, boots, hats, which loads the truck. A day of fun for the men! The share of the women students was less amusing. They spent a solid week in brushing and cleaning clothing and matching shoes. The whole effort resulted in sixty-five bales of clothing dispatched to some student relief field and a few hundred guilders from housewives with no clothes to spare. The coming of these raiders had been announced by circular, every citizen knew his last winter suit was required of him and that he must stand and deliver.

Raids like these produced Sw. Fr. 612,000 (\$108,000; £25,000) worth of Dutch clothing

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between February 1921 and December 1924, good quality stuff too; the casual stranger must wonder why well-clothed Dutchmen seem to swarm in every university of Central Europe. Switzerland, too, scored a huge success with White Rag Raids, when every citizeness willing to contribute hung a white streamer from her window. In America a special appeal to men in Y.M.C.A. hostels resulted in 5,000 complete suits sent to Russia for students, each with a return post-card attached with the donor's name and address, thus creating a personal link between American and Russian.

Between their clothing raids and their money gifts, the National Student Relief Committee in Holland, in which practically the whole student body of 9,000 men and women co-operated, raised over Sw. Fr. 100 (\$18; £4) per head, per student. Holland holds the record for *per capita* giving; no other country is anywhere near her; she stands third on the list in actual amount. Her overhead expenditure has been less than two per cent.

Scene: The streets of Tokyo, Japan.

Girls in the pleated-skirt costume of the Japanese woman student are offering lilies of the valley for sale at the doors of hotels and gently explaining to foreign visitors the case of the starving European student. Some bought, but few knew anything of European Student Relief, till past came a group of husky American boys, the University of California baseball team on tour in Japan. "Sure—we know all about it: the Student Friendship Fund got after us back home in Berkeley." They bought a

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lot. The notion of this graceful raid was picked up by these Japanese women students from the *Student Service Bulletin*, where they read of the wild masked band of Maoris, Cowboys, Pierrettes and Contadine from the London colleges who stormed Piccadilly and the Strand one evening and cleared the theatres and restaurants of £400 for the Universities' Relief Committee.

Scene : A frosty, starlit night in the Middle West of America.

A crowd of white-robed girls and gowned men singing Christmas carols around a pine tree on the Campus of Kansas University. Under the pine tree the Altar of Friendship stands, as yet unlit. The tree is a blaze of candlelight, and a candle shines too in thousands of windows in the little 'varsity city. They are all Friendship Candles, tied with the 'Varsity colours, sold by the Kansas University students for the relief of European students. The great moment comes when the Chancellor of the University receives the \$1,500 gift thus raised, and lights the Friendship Candles on the Altar : the crowd moves off to serenade the windows where the Friendship Candles burn. This imaginative ceremony has become the Christmas tradition at Kansas University ; its beautiful symbolism shines across ocean as well as campus. The first gift went largely to Hungary. On the walls of the University hangs a picture painted for Kansas University by a Hungarian, in which the candle-lit Christmas tree glowing against the background of the United States map shines on the bowed head of a Magyar student in his cold, dark garret.

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Scene : Auckland, New Zealand.

"A certain liveliness" around the twenty-two extinct volcanoes which adorn the city. Has one of them broken out? No! but a "work day" has been proclaimed by the powers that guide the destinies of European Student Relief in New Zealand. Weeks of discussion, sneers, smiles, notices everywhere, harassed committee-men and then—scrubbing, whitewashing a fowlhouse, digging out logs and stumps, planting cabbages and darning by students in dungarees and gym.-suits, football jerseys and aprons—a crowd of homes turned inside out and upside down. Dirty work, but All-Black becomes the New Zealander! None complained, all paid, some overpaid. Result: over £70 in Auckland, and £520 dispatched to Geneva from the four university centres of the Dominion.

Scene : The lounge, Suvretta House, St. Moritz, Switzerland, after dinner. An international crowd. Girls handing round a leaflet setting forth the following appeal.

Over the Hills—Not Far Away.

Good snow; many degrees of frost
mean

For You

At the best of all Winter Sports
Centres:
Blue skies; snow just right for
skiing.

A huge appetite and four square
meals a day.

For the Student

In all University Centres in
Central Europe:
Grey skies; raw cold; univer-
sity without heat, light or
water.

A huge appetite, and the day's
work on one cup of cocoa and
a slice of bread.

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Too hot in winter sports kit in that blazing sun.	Shivering in his old uniform, no socks, bad boots, no underclothes, no overcoat.
Work out of sight, out of mind.	Work sixteen hours, study plus manual labour.
Home at dusk to roaring logs and central heating, dinner, dancing, and so to bed.	From ice-cold classroom through icy streets to ice-cold bed.
That "perfectly fit" feeling of courage and cheer.	That "down and out" feeling that leads to despair and suicide.

An Englishman representing the Universities Committee of the Imperial War Relief Fund rises and briefly sets forth student relief as the key to the salvage of Europe. Guests, restive at first, become all ears. Results: £700 from French, Germans, Russians, Dutch, Americans and British, plus a large gift of cotton cloth from an English manufacturer and 1,000 cigars from a German. French and Germans are seen discussing the situation together. Most remarkable of all, M. Bon, the large-hearted proprietor, asks that it be done again another year!

THE GALLERY OF PERSONAL GIFTS

If you care for "genre" pictures, here are some little gems from every national school.

A refugee Armenian boy's cherished stamp collection sent in from Smyrna; Czech Kr. 90 from two Czech women students, themselves recently helped by E.S.R., for some Armenian refugee students in Athens; Kr. 1,000 from Crown Prince Olaf of Norway, a freshman at the University of Kristiania (we beg pardon—Oslo); \$3.00 from a negro charwoman in Toronto University, pressed



GENEVA RESIDENTS DESPATCHING RESULTS OF CLOTHING RAID.
See p. 45.



ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP SHIP AT HAMBURG.

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into the hand of a Federation secretary for "those poor students in Europe"; an Irish girl's gold bangle, her only piece of jewellery, dropped into the E.S.R. collecting plate; a diamond tiara, her wedding gift, sold by an English graduate to open the first relief mensa in Budapest; yet another tiara worth \$6,000 (£1,300), the gift of a Hungarian Archduke; an Indian girl in a mission boarding-school doing coolie-work for a whole term to earn a rupee or so for student relief; a refund of the several weeks' hotel bill presented to an E.S.R. worker as a parting gift by the German hotel proprietor, "because of your work for German students"; \$Mex. 700 (£70) from the Chinese Minister of Transport; £22 from a South African boy at the Stellenbosch High School, who organised a football match with a small admission fee (the whole school, 250 boys, raised £200 in June 1923); a samovar, secured by a group of Russian refugee students in Prague, and raffled to send money to starving students in Russia; a collection made by students at a boxing match in Buenos Ayres; two Parsee students in London organising a Loan Art Exhibition on behalf of European Student Relief and spending several vacations visiting relief centres or raising money: an appeal inserted by their father in a newspaper in Bombay, their home city; and hundreds of other fine examples.

THE GALLERY OF STILL LIFE

Some people detest pictures of crockery and dead fish. The E.S.R. loves to look at dead fish, especially sardines done in oils, and has a magnificent

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collection of Still Life. We can assure you that the field finds the following examples quite to modern taste.

Cocoa, 213 tons, given by British manufacturers through the Universities Committee. Said an Austrian engineering student calmly to the author at the cocoa breakfast in the Technical School, Vienna: "This cup of cocoa and bread are so nourishing, one can work on them till bed-time," and hundreds of other students literally did so. In the deepest financial depression, Geneva could at least always reckon on English Cocoa Companies sending "another five tons of cocoa per Miss Iredale," not to speak of jam, bacon, bolts of cloth, tons and tons of biscuits and over 2,000 tons of clothing. The Dutch food pirate has a serious rival in Miss Iredale.

Crates, barrels and bales piled high on a Hamburg quay, the steamer *Hansa* in the background. This is the American Student Friendship Ship, dispatched to Germany on Thanksgiving Day 1923, with 300 tons of flour, meat, fat and corned beef for the German Student Wirtschaftshilfe. A smaller cargo followed later. It arrived on Christmas Eve, and by New Year the contents were in sixty university storerooms. To celebrate the occasion the Hamburg American line, which had given free transport, gave a dinner in Berlin, where the President and Prime Minister were present, and Ex-Chancellor Cuno, in the name of the German people, thanked Conrad Hoffmann, as representing the American students, for their self-sacrificing work on behalf of the German universities.

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Piles of warm winter clothing in the picturesque lounge of the Shakespeare Hut, London. Hundreds of members of the Indian Student Club, before quitting London fogs for their own sunny strands, give their warm winter suits for European students. The Universities' Committee has learnt to reckon on their generous help—they combine with the Russian Student Union to organise Russian Concerts on the Shakespeare Hut stage, for refugee students.

THE SCHOOL OF MEMORY DRAWING

Some of the best European Student Relief pictures are painted from memory.

South Africa, with only 3,000 university students, gave over Sw. Fr. 40 (\$7.00; £1 10s.) per head, despite a period of appalling economic depression, when the fruit crops failed. Much money came from schoolboys and girls. When the launching of European Student Relief was decided on at Beatenberg in 1920, it was not without opposition from hard-headed men: a block of the new countries, the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand, demurred, feared pauperisation, "doubted the need." South Africa was the exception. She alone of these happy new lands could turn the eye of memory to schools and colleges, struggling through the privations and difficulties of post-war reconstruction. Marguerite Kriel, who roused South Africa on behalf of European students, lost her college years through the war of 1899-1901. The other new lands were open to conviction: they went, saw for themselves and did nobly, but South Africa, with the smallest number of students, began first, and

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amongst these new countries still holds a *per capita* record.

Serbian students know the lot of refugees in France, Switzerland and Britain, where their nation was in exile, 1915-1919. Burnt in their memories are mountain marches and concentration camps, danger, cold, starvation and disease, but memory also holds for them the generous help of the French and British Governments with scholarships, Serbian Student Hostels, Clubs and Restaurants opened for them by Student Movements, and a welcome and many friendships in Western schools, universities and homes. They do not forget: life in Yugo-Slavia is an uphill struggle even yet, but its Government and universities have in their turn welcomed 2,000 Russian student refugees, and the students have raised Sw. Fr. 12,216 for them and for student relief work in Irkutsk and Astrakhan.

But Serbian students can forget as well as remember and can do a friendly turn to their ex-enemies. Recently a party of thirty Austrian students undertook a pilgrimage through the Balkans, to Constantinople. Dr. Milan Nenaditch, the Serbian E.S.R. representative in Belgrade, secured free visas for all of them and reduced railway fares through Yugo-Slavia, and Serbian students and professors arranged a special reception of welcome for the Austrian delegation in Belgrade. The contacts made produced a movement of reciprocal friendship, especially for scientific work, and a month later a delegation of Serbian professors and students started for a visit to Vienna.

CHAPTER V

AN INTERNATIONAL AWAKENING

Student Education through World Intercourse

AFTER an hour spent in ranging through the crowded picture gallery of European Student Relief what is your main impression? Close your eyes, forget the details and see what stands out. A great gift to the starving from the student world united, but surely also a still greater thing received by those who gave. The reaction on the giving nations proves a thousand times over that it is more blessed to give than receive.

“Who gives himself with his alms, feeds three:
Himself, his hungering neighbour, and Me.”

The student giver has without question fed himself and has received at least one gift of inestimable value: *a vast international education.*

Reflect on the educational meaning of the fact that in the first year of European Student Relief, campaigns on its behalf were launched and carried through in the universities of no less than twenty-three different lands, each organised largely by undergraduates and each involving education, publicity and the raising of money and gifts in kind: that, already in the summer of 1920, university

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men and women from the ends of the earth, American, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, South African, Indian and Japanese student leaders, visited Central Europe, and formed links of understanding friendship with their fellow-students; and again, that in the same year nearly one hundred European Student Relief representatives and voluntary workers from at least twenty different nationalities were sent into relief areas of Europe. There they remained for periods varying from three months to four years, giving that living demonstration of student friendship from other lands, which proved the strongest factor of all in bringing about international understanding. Small wonder that to-day the students in Buenos Aires, Argentina, know more of Saratov, Brno and Zagreb than they did of Rio four years ago. Far New Zealand specialised on relief to most distant Tomsk and has obtained at least a glimpse of the Russian problem both in Siberia and amongst the refugees. Students in Java can tell you the racial divisions in the universities of Latvia and Estonia. Negro students in South Africa can give you points on the university situation in Prussia. The gifts of China, Japan and India to Austria and Germany have put the Orient on the map for the students of Central Europe. Mastering the distinction between a low-valuta and a high-valuta country and the details of student self-help organisations in Serbia or Estonia gives a rich training in economics. To make an effective relief appeal involves ability to distinguish without fail between the *Baltics* and the *Balkans* and to pronounce and spell with assurance, Czechoslovakia

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and Yugo-Slavia, a kind of geography not always learned at school. Frontier questions and appeals from minorities mean speedy additions to the students' knowledge of modern history.

It is due to the student relief appeal, and to that alone, that in certain countries the universities have for the first time become conscious of the solidarity of student life. Charles Hurrey on his tours as a Federation secretary presented student relief in Peru, Chile, the Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil, Cuba, Jamaica, Spain, Portugal and Egypt with resultant gifts. South America has given in all Sw. Fr. 59,515 (\$10,442; £2,415). No one of those countries had ever before taken part in a joint student enterprise with other nations. New Zealand, Australia, China and Jamaica, all declare that their fellowship in the student relief movement has meant far more to them than their gifts can mean to needy lands. An Indian woman writes :—

“The appeal is one that calls very strongly to Indian students. It is an opportunity to show a tangible expression of their sense of brotherhood. Young India must have a share in the sufferings of the world, that we may realise that we are a part of the whole. Our students must feel that, though we are so taken up with our national development, we have international relationships too that bring us privileges as well as responsibility. We do not know enough about other lands.”

Much of this education is incidental, but from the beginning certain countries, notably the United

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States, have seen in the appeal of European Student Relief a heaven-sent means of international education. If the American undergraduate is international in outlook to-day—and he is so increasingly—he owes it largely to the education in world fellowship given him by the Student Friendship Fund. Conference after conference of students in America, while sending greetings through their Student Friendship Fund to the students of Europe, have made it clear that they “desire to strengthen the bonds of friendship and brotherhood with students in Europe and to increase the spiritual solidarity of students everywhere.” To quote other American groups :—

“We recommend to the Student Friendship Fund that it parallel propaganda and education for securing funds with an equally vigorous attempt to enlist students in an earnest search for the causes of this protracted emergency; the aim being to develop an enlightened opinion as to constructive measures for the fundamental reconstruction of European society.

“We recommend that the Council of Christian Associations, through its World Education Committee, produce a new type of permanent education work so that the assuming of financial obligation may be the natural result of deep concern for international causes.”

The international education of students in America has not been mere theory. Students have been turned into the laboratory to experiment for themselves. In three successive years, a Pilgrimage of

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Friendship from America to Europe has sent scores of American students during their summer vacations through the universities of Central Europe. These pilgrimages have generated so much knowledge and good-will on both sides of the Atlantic that the American Student Movement has been encouraged to attempt the far more difficult American tasks in the Pacific area, and to send pilgrimages to those special countries with which America has causes of friction. The pilgrimage to Japan and the pilgrimage to Mexico have already taken place, with benefit to strained relations.

The students in the giving countries have received not only an international education, *but also an experience of the richness of international fellowship*, an experience not merely intellectual but spiritual. If the E.S.R. has saved a hundred thousand students from hunger, it has saved a hundred thousand more from national selfishness and international ignorance and prejudice. An American student writes to Conrad Hoffmann after one of the pilgrimages :—

“I can’t even now state what it has all meant to me. I wish there were some way to let our American students, with all their enthusiasm and fine ability and resource, have a look into the heart of the people of Europe, such as we had. It would make all the difference in the attitude of the next generation towards world affairs. Regardless of the chance I had of seeing Europe for the first time, to see you fellows and the spirit in which you serve was worth the trip. It was the greatest

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Stricken Europe was the result. It was inaugurated by the wife of the Governor-General in the most cosmopolitan meeting ever held in Melbourne Town Hall. Roman Catholics, Jews and Protestants united, the Employers' Federation and the Trades' Hall Council stood together in the appeal. The Fund co-ordinated all effort for the various relief societies, and in eighteen months produced no less than £250,000 for the Imperial War Relief Fund, the Save the Children, Red Cross, Friends and other relief societies. This co-operative effort has linked together the most diverse elements in a whole continent for a piece of humane international service. No separate appeal was made for student relief, but incidentally Geneva received from the Australian Fund money and gifts in kind to the amount of Sw. Fr. 88,117 (\$15,500; £3,600), including thirty tons of beef and fifty-two tons of flour for students in Russia.

In Holland, the student relief enterprise united the whole student body. On the National Committee for Student Relief all sections of the student world were represented, the old student corps as well as the younger organisations, the Roman Catholics as well as the Jews, the Student Christian Movement as well as the confessional and liberal organisations—a remarkable victory, so they say, over the separatist tendencies of the Dutch character.

In Great Britain also, the appeal to students was made in combination with a nation-wide effort. Money was raised for European Student Relief for three years by the Universities' Committee of the

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Imperial War Relief Fund. The universities' appeal so educated the British public in the strategic importance of work for students that the Imperial War Relief Fund gave large grants to student relief. National education has been a very distinct result of the student relief appeal, and we can trace out an interesting development of relief motive in the British people. In 1920-21 the Universities' Committee¹ raised nearly £32,465 in money and kind; but in that year money was easy and starving Austria made a special appeal. Next year, after the boom of 1920, a period of depression set in throughout the business world. "We are confronted," said Lloyd George in October 1921, "with the worst period of unemployment Britain has seen for probably a hundred years." Nevertheless the Universities Committee was able to raise £34,683, mostly for famine-stricken students in Russia. The business depression and unemployment continued, yet in 1922-23 there was raised £29,223, this time almost exclusively for Germany, and again in 1923-24, £22,208 for Germany and for refugees.

This continued giving towards Britain's enemies was due partly to a belief that unemployment and distress at home depended on economic conditions in Central Europe, but also to a growing sense of international solidarity. To this the universities' appeal has undoubtedly contributed. In 1922, Mr. C. P. Blacker, a young Oxford graduate, led a pilgrimage of British students through Central

¹ Of these various sums, by far the larger part was allocated for distribution by European Student Relief.

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Europe. The result was a remarkably able pamphlet from his pen, "Central European Universities after the War," which so impressed a leading London banker with the soundness of its economic information and suggestions that he presented a copy of it to every member of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. An appeal in the *Manchester Guardian* brought in £5,000 for German students and professors. Special appeals to graduates, to literary men, to doctors, and through Anglican and Free Church pulpits, spread international education through wide circles of the people and lifted them out of selfish considerations into a new sense of common humanity with all nations.

The stone dropped into the world's ocean at Vienna in 1920 has sent ripples to its farthest shore.

CHAPTER VI

THE POWER-HOUSE

How the Work was Done

IN a war-stricken and divided world, it requires a mighty cause to bring the leaders of the nations to agreement on any given point. Student relief has proved big enough to do it: it appeals to great human instincts and therefore to great men and women. Study the list of those who have appealed for it by word and pen, those who have worked on its behalf, those who have sung and played for it. You find there *statesmen*—(of what varied parties and interests!)—Masaryk and Benes; Rathenau, Ebert and Michaelis; Horthy and the Archduke Joseph; Herriot (the French ex-Premier studied E.S.R. work while in Russia, and backed our appeal in Lyons during his mayoralty); Woodrow Wilson, Harding, Hughes and Hoover (the whole range of American statesmanship); Chengting Wang, Dr. Inazo Nitobe and General Smuts; *financiers*—Hugo Stinnes, Frank Vanderlip, Warburgs, Barings and Barclays; *in the arts*—Chaliapin, John Galsworthy, Clausen, Rothenstein, Augustus John, A. C. Benson, Albert Sammons and Pavlova; *in the combined realms of statesmanship and social reform*—Lord Bryce, Lord Cecil, Dr. Nansen and Jane

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Addams; *in the religious world*—Deissmann and Anton Lang, Archbishop Söderblom of Uppsala, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sherwood Eddy, David Cairns, William Temple, Dean Inge and Dr. Garvie. The tale of the men of learning and science and the leaders of the League of Nations who believe in the European Student Relief belongs elsewhere.

What is it which has won the confidence of these leaders of the modern world? Chiefly, we think, the character and methods of the men and women through whom the Student Friendly Hand has operated both at Headquarters and in the fields. Geneva is the power-house of student relief. Some think organisation dull: but the Geneva plant both uses and generates man-power, and even to those whose boy passion for seeing wheels go round is dead, this chapter will speak in terms of life.

The Headquarters opened Autumn 1920, with Conrad Hoffmann as Executive General Secretary, Lewis Dunn as his Associate; and Louis Hess, the Swiss, as Finance Comptroller. The two first had wide experience in relief administration through four years of service in the American Y.M.C.A. work for prisoners of war. Conrad Hoffmann brought from the prison camps to student relief a unique experience, for he was the only American citizen allowed to remain at large in Germany and to carry on his work after the United States entered the war. From March 1917 to the Armistice, he directed a lonely work of friendly service there which has given him invaluable links in a score of lands. In the course of four years' work, there

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have been associated with him in the Geneva Office a truly international force: Swiss, Russian, German, English, Scotch, American, Dutch and Danish workers have all lent a hand.

A strong Field Representative was next secured for each relief area. Policy as regards foreign workers was guided by the principle "In every field we shall try to work in accordance with the national spirit and as far as possible to make use of indigenous workers and agencies." In remorseless pursuit of this ideal, Field Representatives and their foreign helpers were withdrawn as soon as ever responsibility could be undertaken by some indigenous student body. By autumn 1924 Russia alone retained foreign representatives. Every other field had become autonomous in administration, and Conrad Hoffmann and Donald Grant are now supervising the whole work from Geneva.

The men and women at the helm of European Student Relief have had hard problems to solve. Let us study a few of these.

Problem I. Financial

This problem is set to the Geneva staff each September in their annual mathematics examination.

- Given.* (a) The opening of universities in the relieved areas in September;
(b) A giving constituency in universities at the ends of the earth which cannot start campaigns before October, and which produce money at earliest in December;

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- (c) An empty treasury at Geneva and orders from the Federation never to contract debts.

Question. How deal with nineteen fields clamouring to open student feeding, and with the Field Representative, who demonstrates clearly that he can save you sixty per cent. if you will only let him have money at once to buy food and fuel before prices go up?

“Starving or not starving postpone opening till the money comes in.” No such obvious solution! Usually we opened promptly on something like the scale intended. Shall we let Chancellors of the Exchequers into our secrets? International finance operates in a round world; the Southern Hemisphere puts on campaigns when the North is in vacation. Geneva sends cables of appeal to the January Student Summer Conferences in Australia and New Zealand, with excellent results during their winter season, June to August. Another secret—universities have an innocent way of holding up their contributions till “we can send in something really worth while”: hence large sums frequently come in too late for the current academic year. Like the Snark, who got up so late that

“He would frequently breakfast at afternoon tea,
And dine on the following day,”

students in the relieved lands often consume spring contributions the following autumn.

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Geneva's motto (we do not commend it) was “*No money, no holidays*”; the summer vacations usually saw them launch some money-raising scheme to save an autumn bankruptcy. In summer 1922, they put through an exhibit at Oberammergau. Anton Lang appealed on behalf of the E.S.R., and hundreds of people, touched by the vision of the World's Greatest Love, saw something of that Love's reflection in student relief and helped. That same summer when the colleges were closed, came Harold Gibson's S.O.S. cable from Moscow:—

“Hundreds of students without boots and clothes—winter approaching, collect and dispatch immediately every possible garment and inch of material—desperately urgent.”

The London office kept open, and on the most hopelessly holiday week in the year rushed an appeal into scores of newspapers and hundreds of pulpits in England, Scotland and Wales: it brought in fifty tons of clothing, which were off to Russia early in September.

Geneva never contracted money debts, but despite all their ingenuity and self-sacrifice they could not escape heart-breaking tasks. After the first six months of work, seeing that half the year had gone, and that of the Sw. Fr. 5,700,000 (\$1,000,000; £220,000) budgeted, not more than a fifth had come in, it was Geneva's grim duty to tell the Field Representatives that there must be a four-fifths cut in their allocations all round. Six months later Geneva faced another crisis.

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Russia opened suddenly and Geneva presented an ultimatum to the contributing student world :—

“The Russian universities are open with 150,000 students. Every student is half starved. We could begin work to-morrow but for one thing—we have not the money. £60,000 is needed for Russia alone. Russia cannot be relieved at the expense of those to whom we are already pledged.”

Britain and America responded in a gallant effort. Within two months, student relief representatives had entered Russia, but those two months were for Geneva a time of grinding anxiety lest the student world should let slip the day of opportunity.

Problem II

Given. The natural desire of each country to earmark for the most recent or most picturesque appeal and the universal distaste for the drab necessities of overhead.

Question. How finance unpopular but deserving causes?

“No man can serve two masters,” but Geneva had to serve *forty-two*, and combine efficiency of administration with their demands that their freedom and even their fancies should be respected. When the American Relief Administration in 1921 made its generous and life-saving offer to undertake all student feeding in Austria, Hungary, Poland and the Baltics, it was Geneva’s delicate task to

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persuade the lands which had been feeding Austrian students for a year past and had appealed and planned accordingly, to transfer their gifts to other areas. Add to such difficulties, the ever-shifting cyclones and anti-cyclones in European weather, and ask yourself what you would do when Veneguay, having carefully budgeted and appealed for the starving Bessageorgian refugee students in Marzig, displayed distinct annoyance on discovering later that her beneficiaries had disappeared to some less expensive land.

Talking of exchange, all honour to our Comptroller, who operated in twenty-seven currencies and kept his head and our books, while dollars shot to astronomic heights, and marks to the depths of the pit, when valutas swayed up and down like the waves of the sea, and delay of an hour in despatch of money to the fields might mean large sums lost or gained. Finance experts have paid tribute to Geneva’s administration: “This work is the most promising in its results of any undertaking in human welfare . . . the intelligence of the work which is being done is almost beyond challenge,” is the verdict of Frank Vanderlip, the well-known American banker and author of *What Next in Europe?* after examining our work minutely, both in Geneva and the field. The actual overhead cost of the E.S.R. 1920-24 was between seven and eight per cent., astonishingly low, considering that relief was administered in nineteen different countries, and always with a purpose in the matter of staff “not to lose sight of the importance of developing human personal contacts.”

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Problem III. Publicity and Liaison Work

With this the writer wrestled personally till December 1922, when it was taken over by Robert Best, holder of a Journalist Fellowship from the Columbia University, who generously put his services at the disposal of Geneva. Between us, we produced forty-two pamphlets and nineteen numbers of the *Student Service Bulletin*.

The task was no easy one. How appeal at once to the countries which respond best to a shower of snappy leaflets, and those which prefer a single exhaustive treatise? We urged each country to produce its own publicity and supplied them with material to make up in national taste. How appeal at one and the same time to the man who fears you are bolstering up Bolshevism in Russia, and the man who is convinced you are supporting reaction in Hungary; to those who refuse to help ex-enemies and those who will not help anyone else; to the woman who gives only to feed the starving, and the educational enthusiast, who "likes to give bright boys a chance to go to college"; to people whose whole motive is religious and to those who see religious propaganda behind each pair of socks?

What an eagle look-out must be kept for innumerable possibilities of misunderstanding! Do you receive daily complaints that all the officers and Field Representatives are members of the ever-aggressive and interpenetrating Anglo-Saxon race? Then publish frequent evidence of the international make-up of the staff, and find means to convey without offence that, in so far as the charge is true,

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the fault lies with the non-Anglo-Saxon countries, which, in spite of repeated appeals, would *not* produce representatives of their own. Do you see in the daily papers that the leaders of the American Relief Administration and of the All British Russian Famine Relief have declared that famine in Russia is over? At once circulate authoritative evidence to show that the need amongst Russian students is unfortunately by no means at an end.

Other problems of efficient liaison work are those of staff. How keep in effective touch with forty-two countries at once? With only one secretary free to travel, how can he deal with a crisis in Constantinople on February 4, and address a mass meeting of students in Trondhjem on February 5? How get the year's work in Europe opened up promptly and efficiently in September when America declares that the fate of her fall campaign depends on her keeping Conrad Hoffmann in the universities there till December?

Problem IV. Co-operation

Co-operation was a cardinal principle in Geneva's charter. "*We hope to co-operate with existing agencies both in raising money and in administration on the field and to avoid overlapping. Our aim is, by careful correlation of effort, to secure the maximum relief for the maximum number of students.*"

With certain bodies, co-operation has presented few problems and many joys. The Friends co-operated with the Federation in starting the work in Austria and began the student feeding in Germany, handing it over to European Student Relief

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when it was ready to take it on. Co-operation with the American Relief Administration, both in Central Europe and Russia, has brought immense gain, through their marvellously efficient system of distribution and transport and their long-experienced workers. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have helped with the loan of workers and other facilities all along the line. Red Cross societies of many nations, have given stores of clothing and blankets; the Save the Children Fund has provided storage room and other help. Such co-operation lies in the very nature of these societies and their ideals.

More remarkable is the list of societies with a distinctly denominational or national character which have entrusted to us, without conditions, large sums of money for administration: the Joint Distribution Board (the American Jewish Relief organisation) and various other American foundations, the Pan Baptist Union, the Imperial War Relief Fund of Great Britain and the Australian Commonwealth Fund.

Student international organisations have provided the most delicate problems in co-operation with which Geneva has had to deal, notably the *Confédération Internationale des Étudiants* and *Pax Romana*, the Roman Catholic student international. These societies, though founded only since the war and younger by a quarter of a century than the World's Student Christian Federation, have rightly felt impelled to take a share in student relief, even before they had overcome their initial problems of organisation. Exchange of plans and delegates at conferences and committees have led

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to happy relations with both, and in the case of the Confederation to definite schemes of co-operation. It was the Confederation which in pursuance of a scheme of co-operation with European Student Relief originally sent into Russia Dr. Hermod Lannung of Denmark, one of the strongest representatives who ever operated under the E.S.R. The Confederation has been represented in Geneva at different times by J. J. Schokking of Holland, Eric Carstens of Denmark, and is at present represented by M. Habicht of Switzerland.

Geneva's story is a great one: but possibly the Field Representatives performed yet more difficult tasks. They were flung into unfamiliar countries, and always into disordered and complicated situations, Sloughs of Despond, Cretan Labyrinths: nothing was simple but their orders from Headquarters: get to work, and at once produce a complete student relief organisation in working order on approved E.S.R. principles. Some few, assigned to the larger fields—Olaf Pedersen in Poland, or Margaret Quayle in Czechoslovakia—were fortunate enough to have no other task: in smaller fields, the burden was shouldered by heroes already doing a full man's job or several women's—American Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. secretaries, like Ruth Rule in Riga and Huntley Dupré in Prague and many others, College Professors like Ralph Harlow in Smyrna, Student Movement Secretaries like Alexander Nikitin in Bulgaria or Suzanne de Dietrich in France. What do we not owe to such men and women and the institutions that gave us

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freely of their time and strength? Their work is in every sense priceless.

What was a Field Representative's job? What was it *not*? They acquired strange tongues, made bricks without straw, cups out of milk tins and first-class local administrators out of boys who did not know a cheque from an invoice. They cut down trees, ran Loan-Banks, lectured on the literature of their native land, organised training conferences, promoted concert tours, set up printing presses, "wandered" with the Wandervögel, and played the rôle of Thomas Cook. They were, of course, interpreters and couriers to Student Pilgrimages and to hundreds of casual visitors. They bought railway and opera tickets, made out tour schedules, met trains, and took visitors out to meals. An exhausting and time-consuming business, but all those visitors saw something of E.S.R. work, and round the corner lay great rewards. An American millionaire in hopeless difficulties with the Customs on the border of Yugo-Slavia was rescued by one of our workers, and conducted across Hungary. Belief in European Student Relief efficiency became a foundation article in that American's creed and very practically he showed it.

His rescue was but a minor incident in that great E.S.R. Odyssey, when in October 1921 the Field Representatives in Turkey, Hungary and Czechoslovakia combined to help in the transport of 1500 Russian refugee students from Constantinople to Prague across Hungary. The Russian students were on their way from Constantinople just at the time that ex-king Karl left Switzerland for Hungary. As

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the result of the Karl Putsch, the Czechs and Serbians were mobilised on the Hungarian frontiers, and the Hungarian authorities were in the last mood to give facilities to Slav students desirous of crossing their territory. But the E.S.R. magicians waved their wands; the Hungarian consuls visaed the Russian passports, the Hungarian Government provided railway cars, albeit the cars containing their explosive cargo of Russians were closed and sealed, and made the transit under police escort: No Man's Land on either frontier was crossed under the white flag: at last the Russians were safe in Prague, having suffered nothing worse than three weeks delay at Belgrade, and a shortage of bread and water on their caged journey across Hungary.

Field Representatives sent reports to Geneva, put up posters in mensas explaining the international character of the student gifts, kept in touch with contributing countries, and saw to it that the students in Brestovič or Vlnograd did not thank the School of Tropical Agriculture in Kamshatka for the gifts of the Naval Academy of Timbuctoo. They had to be statesmen and diplomats *and* Christians. They operated in Monarchies, Republics, Plebiscite Areas, Occupied Areas and Free Cities. They dealt with governments, some Red and some White, but nearly always blue and very often green. From all alike, they obtained free transport and importation of goods, free passports and visas, and often barracks, kitchens, cooking utensils, crockery and a hundred other aids to the reduction of overhead. They held their own with Excellencies, Magnificences, Presidents of

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Republics, Banks, Railway and Steamship systems and Chambers of Commerce, Ambassadors, Heads of Military and Reparations Missions, as well as with those still more august personages, the undergraduate presidents of National Student Unions.

Of course they had their faults; a very usual and lovable weakness amongst them was their passionate attachment to the land of their adoption and belief in the superiority of its students in intellect and independence. This was all to the good in the country concerned, but fostered the persistent illusion of each nation that "other lands hold out their hands for charity and cry aloud: we weep in silence"; a familiar formula, responsible for murderous impulses on the part of students proud of their self-help activities in the lands thus traduced and for little short of civil war between Field Representatives.

But there's another side! Our Canadian representative in Poland, Captain Chambers, British Army officer, Polish linguist and strong pro-Pole, when speaking in Canadian and American Universities, valiantly defended the appeal for student feeding in Germany, sometimes in the face of considerable opposition: Dr. Reinhold Schairer, the German head of the Wirtschaftshilfe, at the very height of Germany's most desperate economic crisis, time and again raised his voice at Committees to plead for the continuance of student relief in Russia.

No Field Representative carried these loads alone: there early developed a system of volun-

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tary workers, who came from three months to a year, often entirely at their own charges and never as salaried workers. Eighteen different nationalities contributed 127 of these workers: such an international staff proved a prime factor in breaking down internal racial, religious and social difficulties. Poland had at one time a Danish Field Representative, with Canadian, American, French, Swedish and English helpers: there were successions of Rhodes Scholars from Oxford, American, Australasian and Canadian: in Warsaw, a French woman doctor from Paris and a Swedish woman polyglot from Uppsala: in Berlin, the Japanese, who specialised on raising money from Japanese tourists: American, British and South African women specialists on women's problems who did so much to win the confidence and co-operation of Polish, Austrian and German women students: in Hungary, the Australian anthropologist and the woman History Research scholar from Dublin: in Vienna, the fiery artist with that unartist-like aptitude for business (*he* was Scotch) and the German, Dutch, Scotch and English girls, who backed up Donald Grant in Austria.

Never did work bring such quick returns. All these have their reward in the love and personal friendship of hundreds of students: they want no other, and will tell you it is far more than they deserve. Yet the E.S.R. is glad, on their behalf and its own, of certain public honours which have fallen to their lot—the university honours given them by ancient seats of learning: Donald Grant, for instance, is an Honorary Member of the Uni-

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versity of Graz, the University of Innsbruck and the Commercial High School in Vienna, while the University of Vienna has conferred on him its Gold Medal, a very rare distinction. But more significant of their real work than any public testimonials, are the beautiful illuminated addresses of thanks, which are the proudest possession of homes at the ends of the earth, and the files at Geneva, crammed with letters from various fields begging that their Field Representative may be allowed to remain with them "just a little longer."

All those fellow-workers, Field Representatives, Geneva Secretaries and helpers have laid stones in the building of European Student Relief, and their names are written on her memorial tablets. But with them toiled ten thousand workmen, whose names are found on no roll of honour: the men and women of every country, who stood by the E.S.R. from the first, students and professors, whose self-sacrificing work alone made possible the national accomplishments we have yet to tell—the boys who washed and waited, the girls who sewed and repaired, the women students who rose at 3 a.m. daily to sweep out the relief rooms; the students, who dealt out clothes, kept accounts and records, served on committees, and did every other unappetising job. Again and again, though almost starving themselves and giving many hours weekly to relief, these students would refuse any help for themselves.

In the beautiful City Park in Budapest you will find a statue of a monk. It is Anonymus, "notary to the most glorious King Bela"; he wrote the

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ancient history of the Magyars, but History knows not his name. He sits with bent head, his deep monkish hood concealing his features. Anonymus is a fitting picture of these unknown men and women who to-day in their own flesh and blood are writing the student chapter in post-war reconstruction. To all such, with love and honour, this book is dedicated.

CHAPTER VII

CONSTRUCTION

The Saving of a Young State

"ARE there not too many students?" "Is not European Student Relief creating an intellectual proletariat?" Familiar echoes from every meeting ever held on behalf of student relief. Healthy criticism is good, but be it known that "too few students," not "too many," was the original danger in certain lands where student relief has done the soundest constructive service. Such lands were the new states, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and Poland. In all these, the first necessity for the reconstruction of national life was a large increase of educated leadership. Poland affords a striking example.

Before the war there was a strong Polish nationality, but no Polish State. Germany, Austria and Russia each held a part of the former Poland. Suddenly there appeared on the map, the new Poland, a country of close on 150,000 square miles and over 27,000,000 inhabitants, a people reunited in a day after 150 years of separation. Our first post-war visit to Poland, March 1920, left us with an overwhelming impression of the wonder of resurrected Poland. After eighteen months of reunited national life the Poles were seemingly as



STUDENT BARRACKS IN WARSAW, PROVIDED BY EUROPEAN STUDENT RELIEF.
See p. 53.



CAPÉ WHERE SEVENTY UKRAINIAN STUDENTS WERE QUARTERED AT PRAGUE.
See pp. 134-5.

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one as if the three divisions had never been. One symbol of Polish unity we saw hourly as we motored over the far-flung battlefields. During the war, Poles had perforce fought in three armies. In the war cemeteries, the Russians and Germans are buried apart, but the Poles out of every army are buried together.

Unity and patriotism are great assets to a people, but to build a modern state, other factors are needed. Consider a few of the New Poland's problems. Poland was a devastated country. The battling German, Austrian and Russian armies had swayed backwards and forwards over her, bringing havoc and destitution. Destruction in the devastated area of France was worse, of course, but was not co-extensive with the country, as it was in Poland. Disease followed the armies, cholera and typhus epidemics swept large areas.

Every State Department must be built up from the beginning—Education, Justice, Army, Transport and Communications, Health, Foreign Affairs, Finance—everything. Officials had been Russians and Germans and Austrians, and Poland started without trained administrators. She had inherited three currencies, all variously depreciated and depreciating: even since she unified her system, the Polish currency has had a wild career, and has plunged to the depths with the successive descents of the German mark.

Race, minority and frontier questions have agitated her continuously and her troubles with German, Ukrainian and Russian racial minorities were complicated by the fact that she was a Roman Catholic

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power, dealing with large Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox populations and a quite considerable Protestant group. But the Jewish question puts all others in the shade. Over one-third of the world's Jews are found in the New Poland, and four and a half millions of her population is Jewish. The Pole regards the Jew as an insidious enemy both politically and economically, and, whatever its basis, the existence of this opinion constitutes a national danger. You may see it as you walk the streets. Shop after shop is labelled, "A Christian shop. Only Christians admitted."

Versailles left undefined or plebiscite areas between Poland and her German, Czech, Lithuanian and Ukrainian neighbours, each frontier dispute giving rise to economic trouble and intense racial bitterness on both sides. The Armistice brought no cessation of fighting to Poland; she was continuously involved in war with Soviet Russia until late 1920; early in 1920, Polish armies reached Kiev, and in August, Bolshevik armies were within nine miles of Warsaw. The signing of the Treaty of Riga brought a fresh succession of difficulties—how to reabsorb the demobilised armies, and deal with the hordes of refugees that began to pour in. In autumn, 1921, Poland was receiving the backwash of the German invasion of Russia in 1915—nearly 2,000,000 Poles driven into Russia, and only now allowed to return. They were in utter destitution, while on top of them came crowding in 1,000,000 desperate Russian refugees fleeing from famine.

Very clearly the key to the situation was in the universities: Poland must have enough educated

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leaders to start the wheels of national life and keep them rolling. She had urgent need of doctors—in Polish Galicia, where typhus was raging, *there was only one doctor to every 150,000 of the population.* She needed trained nurses and teachers of hygiene—typhus is a dirt disease, to be hunted with care and soap. She needed engineers to make her railways, roads, bridges, and develop her mines—chemists and electricians—~~law~~ students to train for administration, agricultural students to explore the riches of her soil and get her refugees back on the land—sociologists and economists. Above all she needed teachers. Before the war, 80 per cent. of the people were illiterate. In 1919, the American Y.M.C.A. organised schools in the Polish army; when peace was signed with Russia there was scarcely a soldier who could not read. They would study in the front-line trenches and dug-outs, when the snow was two feet deep on the ground. Such a people deserves a first-class national school system, but it was all to make, for in pre-war times, except in Austrian Poland, instruction in Polish was not permitted.

To build up a Polish educational system was no light task. The Russian University in Warsaw was always boycotted by the Poles. Polish students in the Austrian section would attend the universities of Krakow and Lemberg (Lwow), but otherwise they studied abroad, preferably in French-speaking lands. Lwow suffered in the war, the Warsaw equipment was removed by the Russians in 1915, only Krakow remained untouched. By 1920, the Polish Government had opened Universities and Higher Schools in Warsaw, Poznan (Posen) and

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Vilno, and an Agricultural School in Bromberg while a private Catholic University had been started at Lublin. There are now 36,000 students in these institutions, of whom over a quarter are women.

Polish students have always been a strong national asset. They have, of course, *les défauts de leurs qualités*: their patriotism is apt to run to Chauvinism. For ten decades they have been accustomed to be in any revolution going, and have found it hard to grasp that the patriotic duty of this generation of students is to eschew party agitation, leave politics to their elders, and settle down to their studies. But it must never be forgotten that it was they who, throughout the period of dismemberment, kept alive the national spirit. From the eighteenth century onwards successive generations of students, maintained secret societies with high national and ethical aims: students, especially women students, taught the peasants the history and poetry of their land. Polish women-students are fervent patriots. Not a few fought in the Women's Legion. In Krakow, they petitioned after the war that no woman should be allowed to enter the university who had not done some form of war service.

By starting these new universities and supporting the ancient foundations, the Polish Government showed its belief in students as the saviours of the country, but the case of these saviours was hard. Demobilisation did not take place in Poland till two years after the Armistice. It precipitated a crisis; the European Student Relief summons to enter Poland was a cable received in Geneva, December 1920, from Warsaw:—

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"Twelve hundred demobilised students houseless—sleeping in railway stations and streets. They have no underwear, few clothes, no money. Imperative help be sent immediately."

Few clothes is less than the bare truth. One day came an S.O.S. from a group of demobilised students, whose uniforms had been taken from them, and who were marooned naked in their tents till help came! A relief worker's diary in 1921 contains this extract:—

"Terribly cold. Bought a lot of sweaters cheap. Enjoyed giving sweaters to fifteen men without overcoats. Some had only a cotton shirt under a thin army blouse. T., a medical, keeps himself weaving baskets at Mk. 30 per diem (10 c.: 5d.). One pair of trousers, boots in holes and soles quite through. Offered to have them mended, if he came and borrowed a pair of mine, but he hasn't turned up." (A week later.) "Came across T., and took him to my digs for a sweater. Got those boots off him at last. As I suspected, he would not come because he has no socks, and has had none these three freezing months."

As for housing, Conrad Hoffmann, with all his experience in prison camps during the war, stated deliberately: "In none of them did I see housing conditions worse than in some student hostels in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia." Of Poland, a worker declared that in other lands the students'

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ambition was to get out of barracks into hostels, in Poland, to get out of the streets into barracks. For women, the sordid misery and danger of their homeless condition was appalling. Women students were sleeping in the railway waiting-rooms amongst rows of demobilised soldiers on the floor: if a friendly soul intervened to offer them a bed, it was often a prostitute. What wonder that some of these women committed suicide. Here is a story, labelled *Not a case of exceptional need* :—

“X. is a medical student. She gets up at 6 o'clock; lectures 6.30 to 2 o'clock. Then one hour's break, when, if very quick, she can get to the students' kitchen. Practical Work from 3 to 8. At 8, if she has money, she sups at the students' kitchen. She sleeps on the sofa in the dining-room of a family, and cannot go to bed until they have finished with the room. To earn board and fees, she does night nursing in a hospital every other night, when she gets two eggs, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of bread and tea. The night when not nursing, she sleeps a few hours in some friend's room until the dining-room is free. Her study must be done at night and she has nowhere to do it.”

Even for the clothed and sheltered, study was no easy matter. In Krakow, the students in the Technical College were without a pair of compasses, while, in Warsaw, there was one microscope to 1,673 medical students, practically no text-books or histology and pathology slides, and a great shortage of test-tubes. Under Germany and

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Russia, no teaching in Polish had been permitted: in consequence, almost no scientific literature existed in the Polish language and text-books of all kinds had to be secured from abroad in foreign languages.

Clearly the European Student Relief task involved, first of all, emergency relief to save the builders of Poland, then, the fostering of sound constructive schemes of self-help, which should as soon as possible make these builders independent of foreign aid. The E.S.R. was fortunate from the beginning in its workers and in the wonderful co-operation secured from various societies. The first two Field Representatives, both Canadians, W. J. Rose and Captain Chambers of the Y.M.C.A., are lovers of Poland and speak fluent Polish—not hard for them to establish contacts. The British Friends had already aided students by helping to equip student hostels and kitchens, and from them came to the E.S.R. its medical officer, Dr. Haigh, afterwards League of Nations Medical Representative in Russia. The American Y.M.C.A. lent workers, their finance comptroller's help, and many other facilities; while, through their foyers and sports, they provided the non-relief social element, which did so much to complete the healing work of primary relief. From April 1921 for a year, the American Relief Administration took over the supplying of food to the student *mensas*.

European Student Relief itself, between January 1921 and June 1922, expended \$80,000 (£17,000) in Poland; this meant amongst other things that each month it supplied 23,000 cocoa and bread breakfasts and 3,600 other meals and provided 256

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invalid students with special rations. During the whole eighteen months 19,322 articles of clothing, including 1,330 overcoats, 1,992 suits, 4,160 pairs of stockings and socks and 2,100 pairs of shoes, were supplied to 11,412 students: 4,064 books were supplied to libraries, and 4,296 to individuals or groups. Best of all, 1,442 students were provided with housing, 400 in the Koszary Blocha in Warsaw, a huge barracks given by the Government and made over into student quarters by the E.S.R., hundreds more in hostels secured and equipped in Vilno.

Every bit of this emergency relief work was in a most real sense constructive: it saved the physical and mental health of a builder of Poland, and helped to turn him out to do his full duty as a citizen.

But there were aspects of student relief still more constructive, for example, service to student health. Six years of military service, followed by hard study under starvation conditions, left the young intelligentsia of Poland a prey to epidemic disease, cholera and typhus and the white scourge, tuberculosis. The Student Relief Health Department, first under Dr. Haigh's skilled guidance, and later under Dr. Dora Rivière of France, worked out a scheme for the medical assistance of students, in which the Medical Faculty, the Student Co-operative, the European Student Relief, the Municipality and the Student Sick Benefit Society co-operated in securing a health examination of students, medicines, special nourishment, and in the case of tuberculous students treatment at Zakopane in the Student Sanatorium, which had previously been established by the Polish student organisation. Cleanliness

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is the one way to avoid typhus, and a special feature was provision of free soap and securing of cheap bath tickets from the municipality. The builder of New Poland had at least a chance of *mens sana in corpore sano*.

More constructive still were the self-help activities to be described later,¹ which had all the advantage of the natural bent of the nation. With the hatred of charity which marks the Polish character, and the eagerness of the Pole to be independent of foreign aid, it is not surprising that by July 1924, the Polish student body, through its representatives, declared itself in need of no further help. The builders of the New Poland have been saved for their task and their keen minds have seized the essential significance of the constructive work accomplished. They have often voiced their gratitude, but never more beautifully than in a farewell address from the President of the Lwow Student Society to Mrs. Mortimer Earle of European Student Relief, and Mr. Gwynne of the American Relief Administration:—

“You came to us just when the Polish student returned from the war where he had fulfilled with glory his duty to his resurrected country, and won his citizenship. He returned, not knowing where he should lay his head, nor how he should live. It was then that, from a far-off land, the American Relief Administration arrived, stretching out to us a hand with a cup of milk and a piece of bread. Hundreds

¹ See pp. 107-8.

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of students were nourished and tided over those hard times of preparation for better conditions by the noble help of America. She kept them at their studies and gave them back to our country, trained for useful citizenship.

"Somewhat later European Student Relief began her work in this town. She started a magazine for clothing, renovated the students' dormitories and the Polytechnic kitchens, and created a Home for Women Students, a place full of joy and freedom, enabling our academic sisters to fulfil their plans for scientific and social work, and develop a future Polish womanhood. We are grateful above all for the way in which she helped us—so straightforwardly and heartily, so simply and modestly, so that we felt every moment that it was the help of our own comrades, only more fortunate than we, because their countries had never been trod by the foot of war. She did not underestimate that great thing—the value of co-operating with people rather than dispensing things over their heads. There remains for her, besides our gratitude, a real affection.

"The spiritual benefits we have experienced are greater than the material welfare, for by this latter man does not live alone. To both organisations we are above all thankful that their action awakened the Christian idea of goodwill among men. I said 'awakened,' for we are of a generation which had to see with young eyes the majesty of human beings stamped upon and shamefully debased by the

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foot of war. In the words of our Polish poet :—

"Can it be that out of this fearful storm
Which devastates the world,
Not only ruins will appear,
Not only burnt-out ashes,
But in this struggle of giants
Evil will at last be conquered?
And, instead of it, will God
Reside in the human temple?"

And with the Poles so speak from their hearts thousands of sensitive and patriotic students, in Czechoslovakia, the Baltic and the Balkan States, who have welcomed the helping hand of students from other lands in their task of building the life of these new countries.

CHAPTER VIII

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The Saving of an Old Culture

"WHAT memories we have of our own student days, that time of fullest liberty and freedom from care. Still do the old songs ring in our ears !

'Where *are* they, who from joy's high-road
Ne'er turned their feet, but onward strode ?
Empty their purse, yet wine and mirth
Had crowned those lads the Lords of earth.'

OR

'The Philistines' heart to us unbent,
They saw in the student what freedom meant.'

"The old order has passed away. That time is gone for ever. 'Old Heidelberg, the glorious,' is in its grave. The ugly fact must be faced."

EX-CHANCELLOR MICHAELIS.

"University days were an important part of life in Germany : students had spent a long time at school, where they were forced to endure many restrictions. All the greater their joy when given full freedom of life ; the boundless realm of knowledge was theirs to choose from as they would. Often parents

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had saved for years to relieve their student son from all material cares. Life lay before him full of hope as he entered the free, merry atmosphere of university life. University years were the crowning point of a life-time, looked back to with delight. At the University a festal splendour was brought into the German's otherwise earnest and laborious life."

PROFESSOR RUDOLF EUCKEN.

Thus do two great Germans depict the typical German student of pre-war days. A glorious time had Fritz, the corps student of 1914, with his colours, his mensur, his kneipen. He was a good student too, and was preparing a thesis with the germ of something of a discovery in it, but he was free from material cares. Even had he wished to work with his hands, university regulations discouraged or even forbade it. His horizon was bounded by his nation and his class : he was a pleasant, sociable fellow, but without were *Ausländer*, *Juden* und *Sozialdemokraten*. He died at the front in 1915. In 1924, it is his younger brother Max who is writing his thesis. Could the two meet, Fritz would fail to recognise him as a student. Max is a good student too, but his hands are rough and scarred, he spends his vacation in a factory or coal mine, his holiday pals are miners, he is that new thing, a Work-Student ; his point of view would seem to Fritz so curious ; last spring, instead of buying a new suit, he went to an international camp, where he met Frenchmen, Englishmen, negroes, and Jews, with whom he discussed international and

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interracial questions in the same free way that he discusses economics and politics with the miners. Truly an economic and social gulf between Fritz and Max! How did Max travel from Old Heidelberg to New?

First came the Work-mandate of Hunger. In 1920, Max, recently demobilised, eager to take his share in the rebuilding of Germany, found himself in the university world with 80,000 others. Not for him corps colours: he had his old field-grey uniform and a broken pair of boots: he was threatened with tuberculosis from exposure in the trenches: no help for him from home—no money for food. University regulations might forbid manual work; Professors might tell him it was *infra dig.*; the stern school of war had taught him the "Root, Hog, or Die" philosophy, and it was a choice between work and starvation for him and his generation; one quarter of the German students were living on half the existence minimum or less: in Berlin 1,400 students were without a roof over their heads, sleeping in the streets, in sewers, in railway waiting-rooms, while forty per cent. of them were doing wage-earning work as waiters, coal heavers, conductors, navvies, night watchmen, printers, builders, or what not. Jobs were scarce, ten applicants for every place: in Frankfurt, the student seeking work found himself competing with 20,000 unemployed. Max was fifty per cent. unfit, and his struggle to earn affected the quality of his mental output, while his day's earnings would scarcely buy his food. One thing cheered him up—the dinner at the student mensa was strangely

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good and cheap—a mystery, till he picked up in the mensa a little leaflet called *Studentengemeinschaft*, explaining a fellowship of students in forty lands, whereby the students who had, shared with those who hadn't; the Europäische Studenthilfe it was called. Perhaps, after all, the Ausländer was not all bad.

Step two in the evolution of Max was the coming to Germany in December 1920 of Henry Israel, Field Representative of the E.S.R., a German-speaking American, with expert knowledge of co-operatives. His quick mind soon grasped the cardinal points in the German student situation. Just for the moment the crisis was met, for since October the British and American Friends had been carrying on student feeding on a large scale, till at length they were making cheap or free meals possible for 17,000 men and women in thirty-two universities. But the E.S.R. stood pledged to take over this feeding in March from the Friends' Mission, and the Ides of March approached swiftly and surely. Long-continued feeding on this generous and magnificent scale was obviously impossible. If German culture were to be saved, the German students must do it themselves. The salvage of German university life depended on the development of a complete system of student self-help such as would render student life independent and self-supporting.

By April 1921 the E.S.R. had taken over from the Quakers entire responsibility for all but one of the student feeding stations. In the meantime Henry Israel had proceeded to rally every possible ally to

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the self-help ideal. From the first he had magnificent support. Ex-Chancellor Michaelis, Germany's greatest food control expert, was chairman of the new scheme, and backed it with the weight of his unique experience and deep convictions. The German Student Christian Movement contributed to the new movement the machinery of their *Studentendienst* (student service), a war organisation, through which they had developed an efficient system of co-operative buying and distribution. Most significant of all was the birth of the *Wirtschaftshilfe* in February, the Economic Self-Help department of the newly organised Deutsche Studentenschaft, to which body every German student automatically belongs. Thus the German student world started on the road to independence, equipped with an organ directed to self-help, machinery for buying and distribution and the best expert advice and service their land could give.

The day of decision soon dawned. At Erlangen, July 1921, the Deutsche Studentenschaft held its first conference. There Max was brought face to face with a momentous choice: *Werkstudent oder Bettelstudent?* Work student or pauper? Which will you be? Excellenz Michaelis and Dr. Reinhold Schairer, the managing director of the *Wirtschaftshilfe*, challenged the German student world. The university life of Germany, the pride and glory of the Fatherland, is at stake. Unless the student community becomes a self-supporting student state, one of three disasters will befall Germany—either the universities will become the preserve of the very rich—life in them a luxury for the sons and



GERMAN STUDENTS GATHERING POTATOES



See Chap. VIII.

GERMAN STUDENTS IN POTASSIUM MINE.

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daughters of the hated *Schieber* (profiteer); or students must remain permanently the recipients of foreign aid—perish the thought; or State support on a wide scale will condemn students to some form of political subjection, and rob the universities of academic freedom. How grave is this danger experience in Russia has already shown. Max and his fellow-students did not hesitate. The idea of the student state caught their imagination. To a man they voted that every student should strive to learn a trade and if possible exercise it during at least a year of his academic course, and that every student should earn his year's support at the university by work during the summer vacation.

The Erlangen resolutions were a turning point in German academic history, but all knew, as they took these decisions, that their fate hung by a thread. The Damocles sword of the Trades' Union hung over the head of the student state idea. In not a few lands student proposals to enter the labour market have met with determined opposition from the Unions; co-operative self-help schemes have again and again been wrecked on the Union shoal, and here were German students proposing to enter the ranks of labour in a body. However, Trades' Union leaders were invited to Erlangen, and German labour, to its everlasting credit, met the effort of the *Wirtschaftshilfe* with a reasoned welcome:—

“Even though we think that the students are still against us politically, in the after-war crisis Germany needs every bit of trained brain

H

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power that can be brought together. Russia killed the old professors off, but we value their scientific knowledge above their political opinion. And since the students are suffering so much and are now within one or two years of their goal, even though there are so many unemployed in Germany, we are willing to put 20,000 students into the trades. In this way all parts of our people will get to know each other, and opportunity and desire for university education may become universal."

Twenty months later at Tübingen, the *Wirtschaftshilfe* held its second conference. Herr Knoll, the Federation Secretary of the German General Trades' Union, was again there, facilitating many a discussion by some timely suggestion from his long experience. His judgment on the student labour experiment was conclusive: "The Work Student is a social achievement which we may greet whole-heartedly, the factor which will bridge the chasm between workers and students. Even after understanding is reached, differences of political opinion will continue, but the Work Student will bring fair play into political life."

The Trades' Union door was open, and the students at once fell to building up the student state. That very summer, 17,000 students spent the vacation on farms, in factories or mines, or on canal construction: the next summer, the number rose to 60,000. Think of it—at least three-quarters of the German student body spending the three months' vacation as navvies, miners, or farm

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labourers, hewing coal, blasting rocks, or wielding the pick and shovel or the spade. Max went up with a number of fellow-students to Spitzbergen to work in the coal-mines there. A reporter saw a group of them reading Goethe together in their off hours. The work was hard, but the Norwegians paid well and Max earned his support for one winter's study.

But the main co-operative service of the *Wirtschaftshilfe* was done in term time, through the establishment of a co-operative economic unit in fifty-six universities and technical high schools. Max needs winter work as well as summer; the *Employment Bureau* finds him a part-time job. He does so many hours a week in the *Typewriting Department*. He knows a fair amount of English and picked up Norwegian in Spitzbergen, so the *Interpreting and Translation Office* gives him work translating Norwegian finance documents for German firms, and acting as interpreter to English business men on tour. Some of his friends earn their way in the *Printing Office and Bookbindery*, where text-books, pamphlets and catalogues, etc., are turned out both for the university and business firms; a *Soda-Water Factory*, run by student labour, employs a large number, and students do all the waiting and washing up in the *Student Mensas*. The majority of the students eat in these mensas, where good plain food is served sixty per cent. cheaper than in the restaurants. The *Wirtschaftshilfe* has a *Central Buying Agency*, whereby food-stuffs and other materials are bought in bulk for local centres, so when Max wants a collar or a pair

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of shoes, a pencil or a mathematical instrument, he can buy these at half price in the *Student Co-operative Store*. Books he cannot afford to buy, but the *Exchange Library* supplies him with the necessary text-books on loan. The *Lodging Register* finds him a room with three other men, and sees to it that the landlady does not charge an exorbitant rent: and when tuberculosis is threatening again, he goes to the *Health Clinic and Dispensary* for advice gratis. Last term the doctor said there was no need for Davos, to which advanced cases are sent to a student sanatorium, and simply ordered him to drop his typewriting, and work instead in the *Student Garden*, which supplies fresh vegetables cheap for the student mensas.

Max is now near the end of his course; the *Wirtschaftshilfe* jealously guards the last year or six months before the final examinations for uninterrupted intellectual work. He has paid a fixed sum each term into the *Student Loan Bank, Darlehnskasse*, and will now receive a loan setting him free for six months' clear study without financial worry.

This *Wirtschaftshilfe* is truly a national institution. It has been made possible not alone by student work and Trade Union help, but also by the close co-operation of German industrial and banking circles, whose leading personalities are represented on its Executive Council. Mine owners have provided coal free of charge for student canteens, chinaware for 20,000 students comes from ceramic plants, typewriter manufacturers have supplied one hundred machines free to the Typewriting Department, textile industries contribute

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clothing and underwear, the Banks have given credits to the *Darlehnskasse* and have guaranteed various student enterprises, while the Government has made considerable grants—in 1924 to the amount of 2,700,000 Gold marks (\$750,000; £160,000). No section of the German people stands aloof. The peasants in Wurttemberg one year gave 67,000 eggs to the *Tübingen Co-operative*, besides the total potato supply required by the kitchens. The students have responded by giving concerts and popular lectures in the villages. The work of the *Wirtschaftshilfe* is a mighty united effort of the whole people to secure leaders to rebuild their national life, and is proving a unifying force in the life of Germany.

Without help from abroad, however, and apart from student friendship support, German culture was doomed. The German students, proud and independent, looked this fact in the face, and feeling, like the Austrian students, "We had rather take it from comrades," welcomed the friendly aid of students in other lands. The first work of European Student Relief was to promote, strengthen and counsel the newly-formed *Wirtschaftshilfe*; till it got under way, the self-help of German students was individual and therefore wasteful: co-operative self-help through the *Wirtschaftshilfe* was scientific and economical. The machine once in going order, the further help of the E.S.R. consisted in greasing the wheels, wherever they were going heavily. It advanced money to buy food and fuel before prices went up, supplied one local unit with an electro-

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typing press for the duplicating of lectures, another with new steam kettles for the kitchen, provided working clothes and rooming quarters for a thousand students when they were entering a new brown coal-mine field, helped with funds for supervision and for Self-Help Training Conferences and in a hundred other ways.

So well did the *Wirtschaftshilfe* function that in April 1922, the Germans confidently looked forward to taking their share in student relief in Russia. Vain hope. The downfall of the German mark was at hand and the main service of European Student Relief—the repeated rescue of the *Wirtschaftshilfe* from shipwreck—was yet to come. In July 1922, the mark was 400 to the American dollar, in August 1,000, in September 2,000, in October 3,000, on November 1st, 4,358, and by November 9th, 9,000. Put into terms of *Max*, this means that our friend, having earned by three months' vacation work what he fully believed would carry him through the academic year, found in October that his summer earnings were already halved in purchasing value, and in November, that what he still retained was reduced by nine-tenths. December saw his last mark gone, even before the occupation of the Ruhr completed the ruin of German student hopes. Hundreds of factories where students had found vacation employment were closed down for lack of raw material from the Ruhr, thousands of students left the universities, and the rest faced the nightmare of an Easter vacation without work. In autumn 1923, a similar grim situation faced the students of Germany. The *Wirtschaftshilfe* had

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no coal to open its kitchens, and the mark descended to fantastic depths with mad velocity. The author was in Berlin one day when the mark between breakfast and supper dropped to one-quarter its value; the foreigner changed only enough money to buy the next meal, and the price of tramway tickets went up during a single car-ride.

In both these crises, nothing saved the situation but the prompt action of students in other lands on the appeal of Geneva. Supplies of food and fuel were hurried in, budget calculations were flung to the winds, and in 1923-24, Germany received five times what had been assigned her. Britain, Holland, Sweden, South Africa and Finland all made special efforts, and Thanksgiving Day, 1923, saw the dispatch of the first Friendship Ship from the students of the U.S.A. to the students of Germany (cf. p. 50). The *Wirtschaftshilfe* never stopped functioning, and the wreck of the German student state was twice averted.

Great as has been such help, the biggest result of student relief in Germany has been the stimulus given by foreign student help to home effort. To avert the tragedy of the shrinkage of hard-earned summer savings, European Student Relief obtained permission from the Government to do what was otherwise illegal; students were permitted to use the E.S.R. as a bank, to convert their savings into foreign currency and so to protect themselves against the devaluation of the mark. With no loss to its own treasury, the E.S.R. bought from the students such marks as it needed for its own work, and arranged moreover for an exchange of

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currency between students and foreign tourists in Germany.

The co-operation of students of other lands warded off an otherwise inevitable crash and saved the German student state. That was in 1923. In the spring of 1925, as this book goes to press, comes the wonderful news that the Wirtschaftshilfe in Germany is planning in 1926 to pay into the coffers of European Student Relief Sw. Fr. 57,000 (\$10,000; £2200) as a first instalment of the refund they hope to make of the money expended on the relief of German students during the past four years.

CHAPTER IX

FOUNDATION-LAYING

Reconstruction through Student Co-operative Self-Help

THE weaving of self-help into the fabric of European student life is a great positive accomplishment and is, up to date, the outstanding achievement of European Student Relief. True, the first aim of this student friendship movement was rescue, the relief of primary emergency need, but rescue, however spectacular, is a negative result. Emergency relief is a palliative, necessary, of course, just as the holding of the thumb on the severed artery is necessary till the surgeon arrives. Co-operative self-help is the surgeon of European student life after the colossal accident of war.

Nothing like it has ever been seen before. True, student self-help is no new idea; summer vacation work on farms has been the tradition of Scottish student life for centuries: fifty to sixty per cent. of American and Canadian students earn their way, in whole or part, through college; in 1920, the University of Latvia was closed from ten to four daily, because eighty per cent. of the body was working during those hours. Even student co-operatives are not entirely new: the Bratnia Pomoc, or Brotherly Help in Poland, antedated

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European Student Relief. The Student Co-operative in Zagreb, Yugo-Slavia, has just celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, but in no country, till the last four years has co-operative student effort come to dominate every side of university life.

Germany is not alone in this matter. She provides the best illustration of self-help achievement, for, starting further back than other nations, she has gone a longer distance. Prejudice amongst professors and other leaders against students engaging in manual labour was even stronger than elsewhere, yet it is just in Germany that all classes of society have united to make possible the co-operative self-help of the future rebuilders of the nation. But in other countries, as far as students are concerned, there has been the same spirit of independence, the same hatred of mere charity, expressing itself by the same methods and producing the same revolutionary results, for what we see is indeed a revolution. And what a revolution!

It is a thoroughgoing revolution, co-extensive with the university life of Central Europe.

Take Hungary, a country where students had never dreamed of working with their hands, yet from the first, self-help enterprises interested *Mefhosz*, the student body corresponding to the Deutsche Studentenschaft. In co-operation with the E.S.R. Representative, a special relief committee was formed, representing forty-three student societies in Budapest and the provinces. By 1923, there were in operation under student management and with partial student labour a student cinema, shoe and watch repair

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shops, a shoe-making business (the student *Centrum* shoe is popular all over Budapest), men's and women's hat shops, weaving looms, electrical repairs, a printing office, bookbinding, woodwork, fine art leather and needlework shops. The Student Co-operative Store has three branches in Budapest, and one in each of the other four university cities. Its turnover is \$171,600 (£40,000) per annum; eight per cent. net profit is used for capitalisation and ten per cent. for reduction of price to student buyers. The Student Self-Help printing plant up to date has printed and published sixty-one books, of which 51,500 copies have been issued and sold to students at an average reduction of forty-three per cent. They printed the first book on veterinary diseases ever published in Hungary, a large two-volume book profusely illustrated.

Look at Poland. Here in promoting co-operative self-help European Student Relief had the advantage of the natural bent of the nation. Polish students have specialised in co-operatives, and already, before relief got to work, co-operatives had been organised in each university, under the national student co-operative—*Bratnia Pomoc* (Brotherly Help). Independence marks the Polish student character. Practically every student was doing wage-earning work at least five hours a day. As regards clothing relief, the students, in spite of their bitter need, insisted nothing should be given away. Each student gave an I.O.U. for what he could not pay and eighty per cent. were redeemed within three months. The most effective way of securing for the Polish student the complete independence he

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desired was by greasing the wheels of the various enterprises of Bratnia Pomoc—book exchanges, printing presses, a bakery, shoe and clothing repair shops, etc.

"In 1921 some students in the Polytechnic at Warsaw started a small factory in a cellar, where they made various chemical products, shoe polish, soap and ink, with student labour. In time other branches were added, bookbinding, a carpenter's shop, etc., and the affair became a student co-operative. In 1922, the Government requested tenders for 30,000 kilo of shoe polish for the army. The Warsaw Student Co-operative tender was accepted, but they needed 20,000,000 Mks. for raw material and wages. The E.S.R. lent them the equivalent sum in dollars. In two months the contract was fulfilled, the loan repaid, and a profit of 9,000,000 Mks. made by the Student Co-operative. With this they installed a new boiler and rebuilt their shops. Soon they secured a large contract order from the Warsaw magistracy for toilet soap; their soap became recognised as the best in Poland, and they now supply soap to all the State Hospitals."

Austria early began self-help, but was slow in co-operative developments, perhaps because, in the earlier stages, such a very large proportion, at least eighty per cent., of the students were doing individual wage-earning work. It has made rapid progress since the establishment of a National Student Self-Help organisation. Graz and Leoben, however,

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had begun local self-help activities earlier. The Leoben students themselves mined practically all the coal used to heat the university buildings. Both groups have a student-built union and hostel. In Vienna, shoe repair shops with student employees have been established, as well as an efficient printing plant. The latter has grown so rapidly that two shifts of students are necessary to handle the many orders.

It is an economic revolution. It provides the one conclusive answer to the charge so constantly brought against student relief of pauperising the intellectual classes. A student with a handicraft is free from fear of starvation to-day and knows that after graduation, should his profession be overcrowded, he can fall back on his trade. Such an organisation as the Wirtschaftshilfe frees the present generation of students and all generations to come from political or economic dependence. Professors and students united in the Wirtschaftshilfe can defend truth and academic freedom against political pressure, whether from governments or industrial magnates or labour combinations. More than once in time of national crisis have national student leaders appealed to European Student Relief to defend them from some form of political domination by supporting their co-operatives.

Again constructive self-help furnishes the only possible solution on economic lines for the difficult problem of the support, present and future, of the 20,000 refugee students in Europe to-day. Other students may have something to fall back upon.

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These exiles have nothing. Co-operative self-help is their only refuge from degradation and despair. Already, before the day of European Student Relief, the World's Student Christian Federation was experimenting with refugee student co-operatives in Switzerland. These were later on helped by the E.S.R.

"Dr. Edouard Keller started an excellent co-operative kitchen at Zürich. Thirty refugee students are helped. Some can pay and some cannot, but the charges are only eighty francs for two daily meals per month, half what it would cost elsewhere. This kitchen is a splendid example of fellowship among seven or eight nationalities. At Berne, a hundred Russians have a co-operative kitchen. It has wrought almost a revolution in their outlook on life. The restaurant is their home. Before they had none. Great is the pride with which they welcome guests, and excellent the meals they prepare. Rent included, their charge is less than seventy francs per month per person for two meals daily."

Wherever student relief has touched the life of the refugee, from Dorpat to Athens, from Warsaw to Paris, there some form of self-help appears. The multiplying power of money investment in such undertakings is well shown in the story of the Russian Student Co-operative in Prague.

"This society opened its first shop in April 1923, in a tiny shack made of packing-box

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boards, with a capital of 3,000 Czech Krs. (\$100.00; £22), lent by the European Student Relief. Since then two further loans of Cz. Krs. 10,000 and 20,000 have been advanced. At present, two years after opening the first shop, all loans are repaid, seven stores are being operated, a reserve working fund of Cz. Krs. 35,000 is on hand, and a monthly turnover of Cz. Krs. 100,000 (over \$3,000; £660) is now assured. A further gain from these shops is employment for the Russian students themselves. During the two years the Co-operative has paid in salaries to students the equivalent of \$4,000 (£880)."

It is an educational revolution. The Work-student's verdict on his new life is that it gives him character as well as knowledge; he learns the realities of life through the work of his hands.

"Labour ennobles! There is nothing more elevating than the knowledge that you can dominate matter. I shall never forget the first time I helped to work a miner's drill. Three of us pressing the violently vibrating machine drill against the working face, changing the blunted drills three and four times before the hole was made. Then the charging with explosive, the lighting of the fuse, and then the thunder of the explosion, re-echoing through the most distant mine galleries, and the tremendous crash. Such is the work of the man deep down in the bowels of the earth getting coal. The work requires all your faculties.

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It is a whole man's work and a touchstone for every quality—energy, carefulness, resolution. It ennobles and makes you self-reliant, capable of judgment and conscious of the dignity of labour."

It is a social revolution. Within the university, co-operative self-help organisation has swept away the former distinctions between the corps student and the non-corps man and has bound together rich and poor, the first-year and the fourth-year students into a living fellowship. The spirit of this fellowship is shown in an address by the officers of the Wirtschaftshilfe to younger students :—

"So far as possible help yourself; no one shall deprive you of your greatest treasure or heritage—your need. Germany requires men—they thrive and grow strong in the battle against adversity. We students, who are at the head of our self-help enterprises to-day, have fought our battle to victory, we are now on the look-out to bring help to you at such time when you threaten to collapse. Poverty is merciless and annihilates whoever falls victim to it. The task of the Student Self-Help Committees is to lighten the battle that the fighter may come out victorious. Our colleague who has exerted himself to the maximum, he is the one we wish to help, and we trust he will permit us. The spirit which should prevail is that of recognition of the friend who has himself gone through the battle, and who,

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therefore, has appreciation for the burdens of the present-day need and poverty."

Outside the university, the student entry into the labour world abolishes unhealthy distinctions between class and class, teaches young men and women from different circles to know each other, and bands them together in effort for the social redemption of the whole community and nation. A thousand letters from our German friend Max and the men of his generation attest their profound and joyful belief in the far-reaching social and national results of the self-help movement. Let them speak :—

"To-day hate and envy are strong in our people, because we do not know and understand each other. We need to go amongst working men, that they may get to know us and we them, so that we can say what we think to each other. If this is the earnest desire it is easy to become friends with workmen. Every Work-student knows this from experience.

"In the factory, with its men and machines, we get at essentials. This apparently soulless whole of men and machines resolves itself into little separate working communities. Two of us are set on a particular piece of work and so become comrades. That is a discovery. After two months working together, my co-worker suddenly said to me, quite naturally, 'Comrade Max'—nothing more. . . . Just as during the war men were brought together through bearing a common burden, so in the factory

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there is fellowship in work and common suffering. You should see us breakfasting together, and then going home talking and laughing. The barriers have fallen slowly but surely. I have the same clothing as they, am as poor as they, and have the same strenuous time. Friendship has sprung up of itself because we are swimming together in the same stream of life. . . . New youth is flowing through my veins; a new humanity is springing up, just as it used to spring up, but was then converted into ununderstandable, stiff, mummy-like men, called 'die Gebildeten.' . . . But here, on the foundation of the sharing of a common life, is being built up a living community of those who, poor and destitute, seek protection in fellowship.

"The hard work the student does benefits the nation at large. If to-day you go through any mines, you will be surprised at the mutual understanding between worker and student. During two years as a miner, I encountered not a single fellow worker who was permanently antagonistic. On the contrary, the miners offered hearty comradeship to those who came to work as inexperienced men. They would point out all dangers. Mining makes for comradeship and mutual help, and if your working mate recognises that you from the university are doing your level best to emulate him, his comradeship does not change."

Such comradeship enables the student to play the

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part of a bridge-builder. Again and again a Work-student, from his knowledge of both sides, has been able to mediate between employer and employed and so to avert catastrophe.

It is helping to revolutionise international relationships. The international effect of co-operative student self-help work is nearly as marked as its social and economic significance. It is student self-help which has converted the New World of younger nations to a belief in the value of student relief in the Old. A marked obstacle to world student fellowship was the rooted idea of the students of North America and Australasia that students in Central Europe were glad enough to accept their gifts but unwilling to do a hand's turn to help themselves. Hunger had thrust the European student first into labour, and then into co-operative self-help: but the grotesque notion of Canada and New Zealand that he would rather starve than work still persisted, and neither printed nor spoken testimony availed to uproot it. The students of California or New South Wales trust no evidence but that of their own eyes, but when once Pilgrimages, Relief Conferences and personal visits had opened those eyes to the actual facts, they realised at last, that the new countries contain nothing to parallel co-operative self-help as practised to-day by Old World students.

An extraordinary development in understanding was the result on both sides. Students who gave, studied the economic conditions in the relieved countries. Students who received, gained increasing

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knowledge concerning the severe economic conditions prevailing in the relieving countries, and thus was wrought out a powerful sense of comradeship in a common sacrificial task. Many things have been in dispute at the European Student Relief international conferences. On one thing the delegates have invariably been unanimous, namely on the imperative necessity and the international value of co-operative self-help. Their convictions are summed up by a German student leader :—

“ The urgency of economic interdependence forges iron bands around the peoples of the world and in defiance of all differences compels to co-operative service. European Student Relief has gained for itself undying merit in the dissemination of this consciousness. In co-operation with like-minded students of other countries, we German students hope to help our own country and at the same time do our share towards the recovery of the world.”

The President of the Student Economic Co-operative in Austria, quite recently gave an American journalist the Austrian student verdict on the result of self-help activity on the international ideals of the student body.

July, 1924.

“ Our Economic Co-operative was founded under the auspices of European Student Relief and strongly supported by it. Without its great aid our Co-operative would never have

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existed, but now standing on its own feet it looks with confidence into the future. The co-operation between the two organisations was the very best from the beginning. Even now, when we are independent and European Student Relief has given up its seat in Austria, we still see in the latter our best friend, to whom we may always apply for advice and aid if need commands. The students of German-Austria joyfully co-operate with the world-wide organisation of student relief, towards attainment of its great ideals.”

The relieved countries are now repaying their debt to more fortunate lands by extending to them the idea of co-operative self-help activity. In Rumania, a national Student Self-Help Committee is now definitely organised. A leading newspaper has raised 4,500,000 lei (\$25,000; £5,500) and has thrown open its columns for an aggressive educational campaign for student self-help and the work-student idea. The Committee includes Government ministers, leading business men and the most prominent educators and representative students. French student leaders are petitioning Geneva to start a comprehensive scheme of co-operative self-help for the large Russian student refugee community in the French universities, with the possibility of extending the plan to needy French students. Indians are hoping that their country may profit by the great idea and an Indian student leader has asked that a six months' tour may be arranged for him in Europe,

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that he may study the whole subject in relation to Indian students. The Rector of the Turkish University in Constantinople has asked Geneva to send a representative next autumn to give a series of lectures in the university on student self-help. In Germany, the Gymnasia and other middle schools are beginning to plan co-operative self-help organisations, and in Leipzig, Tübingen and Darmstadt, there are already the germs of Middle School Economic Co-operatives.

The path of student co-operative self-help has become a high road. It surmounts first the barrier between student and student, next the wall between class and class, until, the lesson of interdependence within the nation once learnt, the road sweeps on across national boundaries and divisions till it becomes a great highway of international co-operation and goodwill.

CHAPTER X

RECONCILIATION

Breaking down the Walls of Partition

"AREN'T you saving students to fly at each other's throats? Is not European Student Relief merely helping to raise up the protagonists of the next great war?"

In sixty different lands it has been our privilege to study student conditions and thought. A university is false to its very name if it is not a place of all-embracing understanding and therefore of goodwill, but pre-war experience taught us that universities in Europe, as elsewhere, were very far from being a reconciling force in the world. In many cases they were strongholds of a Chauvinist nationalism, breeding grounds of national prejudices, distrusts and phobias. The war and post-war developments have merely tended to strengthen these characteristics. European Student Relief, operating in an area where every cause of international and interracial irritation was raised to the nth power, was faced from the first with the choice between working along lines of race and religious sectionalism or fighting for its principle of "*impartial administration without regard to race, nation-*

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ality or creed or any other criterion than proven need."
In the name of student fellowship it maintained its principle, and from the dull grey seed of impartiality has sprung a golden harvest of goodwill.

One chapter only of the fascinating story can be written. Hungary is chosen, not because Magyar students alone amongst the nations have chosen the path of goodwill, but because Hungary in the matter of international relations, like Germany in the matter of self-help, starting from a position of peculiar difficulty, has made a striking advance.

Hungary is a country fiercely and justly proud of its history: the Magyars regard themselves as the saviours of European civilisation from the Turk, and have a burning patriotism and race consciousness.

"Aime ta patrie O Magyar
D'un amour, fier, jaloux, beau."

They are a race of musicians and poets. Despite the barrier of their difficult language, Hungarian education stands high, and the Hungarian universities have produced scientists whose discoveries have meant much to the world.

In pre-war times, national and racial questions were always to the fore. A grudging partnership with Austria in the Monarchy produced dislike of the German language and all things Germanic. One preliminary question was always asked of the foreign visitor: "Do you understand that Hungary does not belong to Austria?" To a statement that the last stopping place had been Vienna, the instant reaction was "Don't believe anything they say

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about us there!" Hungary had minority troubles North, South, East and West with Slovaks, Croats, Carpathian Ruthenians, Rumanians, Saxons and Slovenes; each race cherished its own bitterness against the ruling Magyar. These minorities being for the most part Slav, the Hungarians hated Russia, the great Slav power, and were always disposed to support Austrian policy against the Slavic Serbs, so closely related to the Croats, that uncomfortable element in the body politic of Hungary. The Semitic question was always troublesome, and specially so in the University of Budapest, where the student population was roughly one-third Catholic, one-third Protestant and one-third Jewish.

Hungary's post-war experiences have intensified every race question a hundredfold. Under the Peace Treaties, Hungary was reduced to one-third its former dimensions and population. Transylvania, with its forests, wealth, university and ancient Magyar traditions, was transferred to Rumania, and Hungary filled with Transylvanian refugee teachers and functionaries. To Czechoslovakia there passed much Northern territory, and with it valuable sugar-beet land and mineral resources. The Northern frontier is now within thirty miles of Budapest, which could thus be shelled by modern artillery from foreign soil. Yugo-Slavia was given Hungary's port, Fiume, with its valuable hinterland, rich cattle-grazing country, and certain rights in coal mines. Even with Austria there was strain over the Burgenland border question. Fresh distrust of the Jews resulted from the Bolshevik regime under Bela Kun, since many of the Bol-

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shevist leaders were Jewish. All this intensified national feeling, and in 1920-21, the country was plastered with Anti-Treaty propaganda. On every vacant space, the *Nem Nem Soba* (No, No, Never) poster proclaimed its message of irredentism. The poster showed a blood-red map of Hungary with its lost sections detached, and beneath the *Nem Nem Soba* legend.

Into this scarcely peaceful atmosphere came in January 1921, a certain serene and gentle American magician, Ray Legate. Terrible conditions existed amongst the 20,000 students in Budapest, Debreczen, and other university centres, especially amongst the 6,000 who were refugees from transferred territory. Actual hunger was less than in Austria, for Hungary retains her wheatfields. Food was to be had, though at starvation prices, but clothing and housing conditions were appalling. Extracts from early cables and letters are illuminating:—

“We must clothe 5,000 men immediately with warm underwear, sweaters, socks and 2,000 pairs of shoes.” “We are letting these poor devils freeze—here it is snowing every day, cold and wet.” “In three days fifteen women visited all the women’s hostels: they found 300 girls in a literally indescribable state of destitution, 400 other suffering. In many cases their shoes are in pieces and they have no underwear. Many have worn out the feet of their stockings, but still wear the legs to conceal the bare skin above their boots.”

Many students were sleeping in the parks. The

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refugee students were living in railway trucks, or barracks.

“One group were in a factory. Families are in one part, blind ex-soldiers in another, and in one room fifty technical students. They must walk to the Polytechnic, one hour and a half distant. Cots in two rows crowded together. Bed linen practically unknown. A few tables with drawings and designs in process. No heat: a dozen men studying in bed to keep warm. Windows mostly covered with burlap and old bedding to keep out cold: the very day of our visit, the fellows had refused a good supply of wood, because between them they couldn’t raise the money necessary.

“Out of twenty-one men’s hostels visited, only six report a bathroom: with the invariable comment, ‘owing to lack of coal, not used.’ ‘Coal vacations’ in universities and schools occurred several times.”

Actual emergency relief work proceeded along the usual lines, and was specially strong on student self-help and Government co-operation. Mr. Legate worked in the closest co-operation with Mefhosz, the national student organisation, corresponding to the Deutsche Studentenschaft. Government confidence was speedily established. By August 1921, the Government was supplying relief in the proportion of *five* crowns to every *one* contributed by the E.S.R., the Education Department had taken over full responsibility for student housing, laboratory equipment, all feeding,

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and a direct contribution of two to four million crowns for foreign books and periodicals. European Student Relief retained only clothing, feeding of under-nourished students, the promotion of self-help activities and systematised intellectual relief.

But, without question, the most outstanding and characteristic student relief developments in Hungary have been in the improvement of international and interracial relationships. There was no blinking the special point of difficulty. The universities were full of the *Nem Nem Soha* spirit; one-quarter of the students were refugees from Koloszar (Cluj) and Poszony (Bratislava) Universities, transferred respectively to Rumania and Czechoslovakia; they were living under impossible conditions, and burning with a sense of grievance. As for the Jews, ever since the war, anti-Semitic demonstrations and riots have tended to break out in the universities; there have been movements to exclude Jewish students altogether, and a strict numerus clausus is enforced.

The issue was joined at once. One of the earliest appeals for student relief for Hungary came from a student, who arrived in London with a long list of "Christian student societies" in Hungary, which, "being a *Christian* organisation, European Student Relief must help." Knowledge gained on the spot in Hungary revealed at once that these societies were *Christian* in one sense only—they excluded Jews. The principle of impartial distribution was expounded to a bewildered and unconvinced student. Later, a proposal by Mr. Legate in Budapest that a representative of the Jewish student

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organisation should be put on the Student Relief Committee met with *No, No, Never* opposition. The invitation to the first E.S.R. International Conference which was to be held in Turnov, Czechoslovakia, was refused by one student organisation. "The students of Czechoslovakia are flushed with victory, hopeful, optimistic, radiant. We are defeated, discouraged, despondent. It is utterly impossible for us to go into their country. We simply have not the human strength to do it." Mefhosz, however, took a wider view and accepted the invitation, but, even so, cabled at the last moment to Geneva—"Can European Student Relief ensure the safety of the Hungarian delegates in Czechoslovakia from being seized by the police?" and refused to start till reassured.

But *something worked*. In 1923, it was Mefhosz itself which invited the E.S.R. International Conference to Parad, Hungary, got the Government to co-operate, with free visas, reduced railway passes and a royal reception. Here the Magyar students not merely met, but entertained and banqueted Rumanians, Czechs, Yugo-Slavs, Russians, Turks and Jews, and moreover put themselves on record as having done so. A special feature of the Parad Conference was the film taken by the Student Cinema Company, and widely exhibited all over Hungary. It showed Magyar students in games, processions and conference with Slavs and Semites. The same summer, the Hungarian Student Christian Association in Cluj, Rumania, a remnant of the Magyar student body in Koloszar University, attended the summer conference of the Student

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Christian Movement in Rumania, and consented to become a constituent part of that movement, the one Hungarian Association amongst several Rumanian.

What has wrought the change? Certainly not that political difficulties and grievances have disappeared. Hungary has been kept in an almost continuous state of agitation, by such occurrences as the two Karl incursions, with consequent mobilisation on the frontiers of neighbouring states, as well as by minority and sequestration questions in transferred territories. Certainly not that the Magyar student is less patriotic and devoted or less ready to defend his country's cause—in short, less essentially a Magyar.

The cause lies deep. It is in the response of the Hungarian student heart to a noble, if difficult and in many ways unpalatable, ideal. Hungarian students have seen the spirit of European Student Relief at work, and they have seen that it is good. From the beginning of student relief it has demonstrated to them the richness of life that comes through international contact. Ray Legate is an American, but he has never had an American colleague. From the first he maintained that the best work could be done by an international staff—his foreign co-workers were Irish, English, Australian and Afrikaner, a practical demonstration to the Hungarian that there existed a world-wide student fellowship and that help came from many nations, who had fought them in battle. Still more potent was his genius for co-operation and friendship. From the first he thrust responsibility

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on Mefhosz, hid himself behind an array of competent Hungarian student friends, and was ready to withdraw long before they were willing to let him go.

Trust begets trust, and the Magyar students, trusting Ray Legate, soon ventured themselves on the international bridge he was steadily building. Contact once established, confidence in the good faith of men of other nations and races began to follow. The same student who came to London with the list of "Christian" societies, was the very man who, on his return some months later, overbore all opposition to the appointment of a Jewish student on the Relief Committee. Still later, as Chairman of a Committee on the International Student Outlook at the Turnov Conference, he pushed for a strong resolution on the importance of good international relationships. Questioned by his fellow-students as to the cause of his volteface, he attributed it to contact with World's Student Christian Federation ideals in the Student Movement House in London. "There I met Rumanians. We did not shake hands, but we talked and then we talked again. I found out that after all they are human beings and they discovered I am not such a bad fellow." The sequel to the struggle on behalf of the Jews is interesting. The Jewish students in Budapest wrote :—

"With heartfelt thanks we note that the World's Student Christian Federation wishes to extend its noble work of assistance to Jewish university youth. In view of the fact that

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Hungarian youth of the Jewish religion are at present helped by the Joint Distribution Committee of America, supported exclusively by Jews, we beg you to distribute our share of the gifts at your disposal to our needy Christian colleagues."

Impartial as regards race, European Student Relief was equally impartial as regards religion: in Hungary it helped Roman Catholics, Reformed, Lutherans, Unitarians, Greek Catholics, Greek Orthodox and Jews alike, and this too awoke friendly understanding. One of the letters which interprets most beautifully the reconciling force of the work came from the Catholic Women Student Union, "Szent-Margit."

"The war and the following years were a temptation to weaken our faith in brotherhood. Everything beautiful, noble and good seemed to be lost. In our isolation, tortured by physical needs, it was hard not to ask a sign of Christian love, and to exist without any cheer of humanity and understanding.

"Our tightly-fastened hands drove us to very despair, when your hands reached us and brought faith, love and hope. Liberated from part of our sufferings and dark thoughts, we accepted with increased appreciation your help. You not only met our material needs in an unexpected generous way, but gave back our belief in a big human community, which, like you, will lead us all to a union of mankind, in the way pointed out by Christ. Jesus Christ



THE BRAD LINE OUTSIDE THE STUDENTSKY DOMOV, PRAGUE, IN WINTER.

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was born again in our hearts—and you were the men who brought the message to us.

“We profoundly hope that the time will soon come when we can show you our thankfulness, not only by mere words, but by activity and facts.”

Magyar students have seen practical proofs that co-operation, friendship and love can produce greater results than hatred and force. Not a few of the refugee students from Transylvania, though in terrible destitution, were the children of well-to-do parents. They were cut off from all means of receiving letters or money from home. The British Minister in Hungary and Mr. Legate together negotiated an arrangement with the Hungarian and Rumanian Governments, by which money and letters might pass between refugee students and their parents, thus relieving infinite suffering and anxiety and lifting a burden off student relief finance.

In 1922, a large group of Magyar students visited Germany. Mefhosz, not European Student Relief, was responsible for this tour, but Mr. Legate had given some help in the matter of securing passports and visas. This gave rise, incidentally, to a storm in the Berlin diplomatic teacup. The first night the Hungarians were entertained at the opera, General Ludendorff, who chanced to be present, addressed them as his “comrades in arms.” The E.S.R. Representative in Berlin was, at that time, an Englishman; next morning he was on the carpet at the British Embassy, as the French Ambassador

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was demanding explanations of the British, as to why the E.S.R. was encouraging those Magyar-German militarist demonstrations. Very different was the Hungarian verdict on the student relief share in this tour, as shown in letters addressed to Mr. Legate by the presidents of Mefhosz :—

“On our return to Budapest we wish to express to you again our deepest gratitude for many kindnesses shown the Hungarian Student Exchange project in connection with our return trip. When we observed how you succeeded in a brief five minutes to secure for us the visas to pass through Czechoslovakia free of charge from a Government which we know is antagonistic to us, we appreciated the imposing international connections of the World's Student Christian Federation.

“In connection with this exchange we have seen the importance of reciprocal understanding among the peoples of Europe, and in the name of the entire Hungarian student body we promise that we too will not neglect to hasten to the aid of students of other countries with the same spirit of love and consideration which was shown us through your kind assistance. *We have learned to comprehend that with peaceful means, such as you utilise, one can accomplish far more than with force, and we have been coming to the firm conviction that we too must utilise and work with these instruments of peace.*”

Do these examples seem but slight? Perhaps—but if slight, they are nevertheless significant. Remember

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that you are seeing snapshots from but one country out of forty-two, and that in many lands such pictures have been taken. Wherever Hungary has made an advance, it has been to meet an advance on the other side. Already you can see the reconciling force of European Student Relief affecting governments. What students think to-day, governments will think to-morrow. A few years ago in a certain country, distracted by race and minority problems, three students, able and distinguished, and friends throughout their school and university years, were planning their future. “I shall be Minister of Justice,” said A. “I’ll leave it to you,” said B, “I’ll be Finance Minister.” Said C, “You’ll have me in the Cabinet as Minister of Foreign Affairs.” Boys’ talk, but all three have been Presidents of the National Student Union of their land and carry weight in public affairs even now, despite their youth. Already such men and women have confuted the theory that students are incurably Chauvinist: later on, when they control Government policy, they may give the lie to the idea that war between nations is eternally inevitable. Meantime, they pursue their mission of friendship.

Hungarian students may not be ahead of other lands in international goodwill, but they certainly surpass very many of us in their gracious and graceful manner of expressing their heartfelt convictions. The farewell message of the Hungarian leader to the delegates at the Parad Student Relief conference voiced the heart and mind of the students of many other nations concerning the international duty of students to-day :—

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"You have thanked us. It is we who must thank you. You have brought us so much and shown us so much that we had nearly forgotten. You have shown us that Christian love and human kindness still are facts in the world. We thank you for that.

"It is still dark in Europe. We must light many fires like Turnov and Parad, and not let them go out. We must nurse them in our hearts, carry them back to our own people, and then watch for the morning light."

CHAPTER XI

WRECKAGE OR SALVAGE

The Problem of the Refugee

"You want to see the most significant piece of social work in Prague? All right. I'll take you to the Studentsky Domov," said a European Student Relief worker to a group of foreign students early in 1922. "That's the Domov, that long two-storey building with two wings. It was given by American students last year, through the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., to the students of Czechoslovakia—there's a men's wing and a women's wing, reading-rooms, bathrooms, a dispensary, an assembly hall, and downstairs, kitchens and huge cafeteria, largely run by student labour, and a restaurant seating 350 at once. There are about 30,000 students in Czechoslovakia, and of those 24,000 are in Prague." "What's that immense queue, four abreast, waiting shivering in the snow?" asked a British student. "That's the bread line: the men and women with cheap tickets, waiting to get into the cafeteria; they'll get a good meal, but it's their only one in most cases. No, they're not Czechs, most of them. Last year the Czech students did need E.S.R. help, but Czechoslovakia, alone amongst the new states, is making ends meet, and Czechoslovakia was the

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first country to give the E.S.R. the joyful news that the native students were on their feet. These are refugee students: look at their old uniforms, their Russian student blouses. They are a museum of Slavic ethnology. Just look—Russians, White Russians, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, Bessarabians, Lusatian Sorbs and Podkarpathian Rus——” “But who in the world——?” “Sorry, no time to explain now, but all Slavs, anyway.

“There are nearly 2,500 Russian students in Prague, most of them from Denikin’s or Wrangel’s army. Early in 1921 they found themselves in ghastly destitution in Poland or Constantinople. The Czech Government, with extraordinary generosity, promised support and facilities for study to 2,000. Do you see this man? He walked all the way from Constantinople to Prague, he was so keen to study. That other white, thin boy is the nephew of a famous Russian general, and in the army since he was fifteen, till he came here eighteen months ago. He hasn’t heard a word from his people since then, and doesn’t know whether they’re alive. He’s beaten all the Czech students in electrical technology, but the doctor says he can’t survive, unless he gets better nourishment. They live in such terrible dens. You see, Prague has twice the population it had before the war, and the housing problem is ghastly; last year many of the Czech students were sleeping in telephone booths or on benches in the park: one of the toughest jobs the E.S.R. tackled here was equipping barracks for students.

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“Besides the Russians, there are in Czechoslovakia nearly 2,000 Ukrainian refugee students in even harder case, for the Government has done much less for them; they are men with a nationality, but without a nation. Talk to them and they’ll educate you on the Ukraina of the future, and what they are training themselves to do for her. As you go round Europe you will meet two or three thousand more of these Ukrainian students, some from Poland and others from the Federation of Soviet Republics. Then there are in Prague 3,000 Yugo-Slavs and a lot of Bulgarians, not refugees; they are here because of the deficiencies of university education in their homelands.

“That building in the corner is a special E.S.R. self-help concern. Come in and see the refugee students, shoemaking, tailoring, doing laundry work, and making charming toys: That boy there cleaned and polished shoes all last week: when he got his pay he said, ‘I must run and buy tickets for the mensa: I can pay for them myself, and get off the feeding list.’ Czech students gave the refugees a fine lead in self-help. Last year, when the housing problem was so desperate, an E.S.R. worker suggested students should build their own houses. The idea caught on like wild fire, President Masaryk gave Kr. 4,000,000 from his seventieth birthday present from the nation, the Municipality gave the land, the Red Cross supplied equipment, and the students gave the labour. With their own hands they built the *Letna Colony*, nine beautiful and attractive wooden hostels to hold 750 students. Only those may live in them who have worked so

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many hours on them, but 3,000 took part, the men building, the women cooking for the builders and doing light carpentry, while whole classes of boys from the Middle Schools spent days at a time hauling cinders. Students had never before been known to do manual work; and on Saturdays and Sundays hundreds of citizens poured out to Letna and gladly paid an entrance fee to see this blazing novelty. We'll go and see it this afternoon. Czech students are immensely proud of it. But they've rivals now. The Mining students in Leoben, Austria, have built themselves a hostel and the Yugo-Slavs have built a charming 'colony' in Zagreb.

"Meantime come inside! This is the Assembly Hall, cram-full. No! not for a lecture. Each chair's a man's study: they've no other place to work. There are more nations represented here: Germans—there are 5,000 German students in Prague, citizens of Czechoslovakia—Magyars, Jews, besides assorted Slavs as per the bread line. Nowhere in the world to-day are students of so many different nations flung together in such close proximity as in the Domov. Some have feared explosions. There's intense political tension between Czechs, Germans and Magyars. It was with fear and trembling that the experiment was tried of putting eighteen different nationalities on the Student Relief Committee and other committees whose activities centred in the Domov, but after ten months, Edith May, the E.S.R. representative at that time, declared:—

"The progress is astonishing. In a mass meeting called by the students to review the

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work of the year, suggestion was made that various members of political parties speak at the Domov this coming year. Several students protested, and a German begged in the most heartfelt style that the newly-won peace and friendliness among students be not disturbed by political discussions. The students of Studentsky Domov had outgrown the political enmities of yesterday and had bound themselves together on a broader foundation. His speech was applauded to the echo by all nationalities. Students here are thinking for themselves along lines of friendship rather than hate.

"No! The Domov is the gift of the American Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., not of European Student Relief. The E.S.R. contribution to the refugees in Czechoslovakia has gone into cheapening meals, providing clothing, equipping barracks and into constructive self-help. But, of course, the loan of quarters and other facilities in the Domov have been of inestimable help. Without the beautiful dispensary presented to the Domov by the American Methodist Mission, European Student Relief could never have carried out its searching investigations into the health of students, on which certain forms of relief were based. The social and spiritual atmosphere of the Domov finishes the salvage work Student Relief begins, and turns desperate and broken boys and girls into men and women of hope and strength."

A trip round the Studentsky Domov has introduced us to the problems of the refugee. It is

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by far the most difficult task to which the student relief has set its hand. Their number is so great, their future is so uncertain. In 1920, European Student Relief took over a problem with which the World's Student Christian Federation had long been dealing, the relief of the students, mostly Russian and Polish, who were stranded in France and Switzerland by the outbreak of war. The task was compassable, though difficult, but no sooner had the E.S.R. started to function, than hordes of refugees began to move over the map of Europe, and amongst them thousands of students. Wave upon wave they came, driven forward by war, revolution, counter-revolution, famine, change of governments, transfer of territory, and the refugee student population of Europe outside Russia soon rose to 20,000, scattered from Riga to Constantinople, from Vilno to Paris. On the waves spread to Asia Minor, Palestine, Egypt, Tunis and Algeria, or eastward to China, Manchuria and by way of Hawaii to America. Russians and Ukrainians were the majority, but Hungary had 6,000 Magyars from transferred territory, Vienna had thousands of Galician Jews. The Soviets conquered the new republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan. The Georgian and Azerbaijan students, sent abroad by their governments to England, France and Germany, were left stranded and destitute. In France literally thousands of Chinese students, sent there with the hope that they could earn their way while studying, were in a desperate condition without any means of subsistence.

Hard as is the struggle of the student in his

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own land, the case of the refugee student is far harder. They have nearly always suffered greatly through years of fighting, imprisonment, epidemics and starvation. They are nervously exhausted, a prey to disease, especially tuberculosis, and often unfit either for hard study or hard manual labour. Time is *not* on their side. Native students, as things settle down, see their prospects brighten. The refugee sees his grow darker. He meets hostility. Often when at length he secures a little badly paid work, it is only to lose it through a boycott against the foreigner. Even where help has been given, as the years pass on, difficulties arise. Yugo-Slavia and Czechoslovakia helped Russian refugees generously, believing that in a year or two they could return to Russia. But these Governments must protect their own people, and to-day Russian medical students in Yugo-Slavia must sign a paper that they will not seek professional employment in that country. The refugee has nothing and no one to fall back upon, no home, no clothes, no money. Most tragic of all, nobody wants him. He is a prey to despair: suicides are frequent. If not helped to conquer his circumstances he often degenerates and becomes a danger.

European Student Relief has been the refugee's friend at every turn; it got him out of prisoner of war camps in Poland, sent books and extra food to him in internment camps in Rumania and Tunis, secured his entrance into universities when fees or other regulations have been raised against him, and moved him to cheaper areas. It has helped him to self-help, taught him a trade, sup-

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ported him in large numbers in those Y.M.C.A. Trade Schools in Germany and Bulgaria, which were of such immense value, secured him employment, provided a roof over his head and clothes on his back, repatriated him where possible, mended his teeth, his clothes and his shoes, and sent him to a sanatorium. Perhaps the greatest triumph was the mighty effort which secured permission for Russian refugees studying in Germany to earn money during the summer by working in the devastated area in France.

A constant element of difficulty is the shifting of the refugee population in pursuit of facilities for study and cheap living. Before the war Switzerland was the refugee's resort; in Geneva no less than 82 per cent. of the students were non-Swiss. Switzerland became one of the most expensive lands in Europe, and in 1920-21 the refugee tide flowed to low-valuta lands like Germany and Austria, or to Czechoslovakia and Yugo-Slavia, where Governments were generous. Germany and Czechoslovakia became appallingly expensive, and by 1924 the current was reversed and set strongly towards France, where the Government is now giving nearly Fr. 1,000,000 annually in subsidies to Russian students.

Everywhere the presence of the refugee's friend is the difference between heaven and hell, but nowhere more so than in Yugo-Slavia. By 1922, there were nearly 2,000 Russian refugee students in the universities of Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Skoplje. Ray Legate, who superintended our work in the Balkans as well as in Hungary,

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sets before us the refugee transformation scene in these universities :—

"I have never seen human beings living in such misery. They were the most unhappy human mortals I ever met outside of prison-camps. Despite physical sufferings there was no semblance of organisation about them, no self-help and no spirit for co-operation. The words 'home' and 'homeland' brought to them a flood of memories which for sheer horror would startle a Dante. The press was painting in lurid pictures the famine where their comrades and kin were dying. All in all, a most hopeless body, so much so that it would probably have been useless for E.S.R. to attempt relief had it not been that the friendship of the Yugo-Slavs had taken definite form. Excellent Serbian Committees were organised to help them, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes granted a stipendium of 400 dinars a month to about 1,200 of them. The extraordinary generosity of this on the part of a poor Government can only be realised when it is understood that the Government was already helping 40,000 other Russian refugees. Even with the stipend, the condition of the refugees was gloomy; the existence-minimum for a student was 1,200 dinars a month, so all refugee students must earn two-thirds of their living. They were herded together in damp cellars and ruined barracks.

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"As for their health, fifty per cent. are tuberculous. Their teeth are appalling. Out of 76 refugee students in one centre, the physician reports that 52 require dental treatment—246 teeth to plug, 113 to remove and 11 to treat. Teeth are as bad relatively amongst the whole 2,000. My! how their black snags haunt my memory. Happily, a shipment of dental supplies and instruments is *en route*, a gift from British students. When we think of diseases caused by decayed teeth, we appreciate the importance of dental repair, but even work so vital could not be undertaken hitherto, because of the dire necessity of housing, clothing and feeding.

"To-day, through joint effort on the part of the Government, the local Relief Committee and fellow students all over the world, the situation is utterly changed. There is a well-organised Russian Student Society in each university, effectively promoting self-help enterprises for better lodging, feeding, clothing and supplies, and employment bureaux for part-time work during term and for summer employment, largely in making roads. In Belgrade, there are now four hostels for men and four for women. As to clothing, two years ago about all they had was ragged army uniforms; to-day all are dressed in civilian clothes. True it is all secondhand, but most is quite decent. They are making splendid progress in their studies and win more than half the prizes of the university. This year three out of the

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ten Honours Students were men helped by the E.S.R. All refugee students who receive the Government subsidy voluntarily pay seven dinars a month to a fund to aid their less fortunate colleagues.

"Best of all is the new spirit—joy, friendliness and goodwill, and gratitude. I could hardly believe my eyes and ears. On every hand students saying to me, 'Remember the first time you came to us, and now see!'

"In Zagreb, they took me to see their Club—study-hall-dining-room-theatre. Last time I was here, in the basement of this old building, were coal bins, the rooms under ground had never been floored. We furnished the lumber and the whitewash. The students went to work. The rooms were floored, the walls whitewashed and wired for electric lights. No windows, only five small ventilators opening through the sidewalk. Now this is the dining-room, and twice a day the students stand in queue, waiting for their turn to eat. About 200 refugees get their meals each day. After the meal it is a study hall until the next meal. In the evening it is reception room, game room, library, study hall, dance hall and theatre. The walls are covered with wrapping paper, on which the artist students have drawn pictures of Russian scenery and life.

"In Belgrade I attended their first Grand Ball, from 8.30 p.m. to 6 a.m. Grand it certainly was, though I saw no diamonds or pearls. There were no flowers except what

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the girls had made from paper. The music was furnished by a student playing the piano; refreshments consisted of brown bread, apples and cocoa, thanks to our English friends. The ballroom was our newest restaurant, and though it was raining, the men took the girls home on foot. As I left, seventeen men waded through the sloppy streets to say good-bye and wish me a Merry Christmas. 'Please thank everyone who has helped us. We are all so happy; we live in another world now!' "



WORK STUDENTS IN ESTONIA STUDYING DURING REST-HOUR.



RUSSIAN REFUGEE STUDENTS AS BUILDERS.

See Chap. XI.

CHAPTER XII

THE SUPER-REFUGEE PROBLEM

Whole Nations on the Move

EUROPEAN Student Relief is a misnomer. The true meaning of E.S.R. is Everywhere Student Relief. Since its beginning its work has been extended into four continents. It has given books to Russian students in internment camps in North Africa and relief to native students suffering through drought in South Africa. In America, the Student Friendship Fund has set aside large sums for refugees in the United States, while as for Asia, we have relieved students in Siberia, in Tomsk and Irkutsk, and have sent books to the university libraries of Japan. From the very first moment of our existence we were helping students in Asia Minor.

Rebuilding Europe is a colossal task, yet imagination can compass the rebuilding of a ruin. But the Near East is not a ruin, it is chaos. Can one rebuild chaos? In Europe, we have been dealing with the nation and the refugee. In the Near East, we are dealing with the refugee nation. In Europe, the task of relief and reconstruction is to deal with the results of war for four and a half years, in the Near East, with the aftermath of war

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for fourteen years. From 1909 onwards to 1923, through the Turko-Italian war, the Montenegrin trouble, the two Balkan Wars, the Great War, the war between Turkey and Greece, the roar of cannon was scarcely ever stilled. In Europe, the horrors of deportations were bad enough, but in the Near East, the recurring deportations denote wholesale massacre, the slaughter of men and the carrying off of women into a captivity worse than death. Race antagonism poisons the life of Europe, but in the Near East it has pursued its deadly work, not for centuries but for millenniums. Moslem versus Christian, Jew versus Arab, Greek and Armenian versus Turk—age-long race and religious strife is there entrenched,

There is a bright spot in Near East darkness. For decades, educational movements have been bringing in the dawn. A solid factor for enlightenment throughout the Turkish Empire were the colleges and schools of the divers nationalities and churches, Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian, and, of course, the new universities of liberated Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia. Then there is the romance of the American colleges, Robert College and the Women's College in Constantinople, the International College at Smyrna, the American University at Beyrout, and a host of colleges and schools in the interior. Bulgaria owed its freedom and its progressive forces to graduates of Robert College, only one example of streams of light shed abroad by these imaginative gifts of the American people. Of late, national Turkish institutions, the Ottoman University in Constantinople and others, have

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testified to an educational awakening amongst the Turks, both men and women.

The Great War had made confusion worse confounded in Asia Minor, and wise men saw in such institutions as the above the only chance of the creation of such leadership as could bring order out of the Near East chaos. No sooner had the idea been mooted of relief from the students of other lands, than Near East professors and Presidents of Colleges unmasked their batteries of appeal and cabled for ten times their allotted share of the student relief budget. Typical is a letter from Smyrna, January, 1921.

"The students of Asia Minor have given up all thought of education. Their homes are in ruins, their families lie dead, their fellow students have been massacred by thousands. Our colleges have been uprooted in some places, and only black and ruined walls remain. From one of our finest colleges over two hundred students were massacred and thirteen of the faculty, some after fearful torture. There is hardly a student in Asia Minor, especially among the Armenians and Greeks, who has not lost dear ones and home and often health from war, prison, massacre and starvation.

"Never in history has the Near East needed an adequate trained leadership as to-day. The only hope of solution of the baffling problem of this land lies essentially in the kind of leadership we are seeking to produce; in these colleges (*i.e.* the American) all nationalities sit side by

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side in the classrooms and play together in the same teams. Lack of funds is keeping away the very finest young men and women. This is still the danger spot of the world. Only a good crop of righteous men and women can smother the evil."

The problem was essentially a refugee problem, with all the features of that problem so familiar in Europe. On the top of this mass of misery in late 1920 came in the flood of Russian student refugees. The counter-revolutionary armies of Koltchak, Denikin and Wrangel had been defeated: the remnants of Wrangel's army poured into the Balkans and Turkey, fleeing from Soviet Russia. Their ghastly situation is depicted by Henry Louis Henriod, just then in Constantinople as a Federation secretary:—

"Russian refugees, mostly in uniform, at every step: the wounded dragging along, selling newspapers, boot-laces; rows of Russian women, Mongols, Tartars and Europeans, selling jewels, clothes, anything for a bit of food. There they stand all day long, feet in mud, pierced by glacial wind, resigned, silent, amongst them 2,000 to 3,000 students. Fortunately few women students, as their situation is the most tragic of all. Recently a health officer found several Russian women students in houses of prostitution. An infernal situation."

European Student Relief mobilised every possible resource on behalf of Russians, Greeks, Armenians and Turks, and selected for help the neediest

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refugee students in representative Turkish, Armenian and Greek colleges and in the American institutions. Here, as in Europe, the E.S.R. helped without regard to creed or race, and Christian, Moslem and Jew, oppressor and oppressed, conquered and conqueror, all alike entered the student fellowship of giving and receiving. Yes, giving as well as receiving, for Near East students out of the depths of their poverty and need have given. In 1920, students in the International Collège, Smyrna, collected 110 Turkish pounds for Chinese famine relief, as well as gathering stamps to be sold for students in Europe, while in 1923, in Constantinople and Beyrout, money was raised by both Turkish and Christian students for relief in Russia and Germany.

Gloomy indeed was the situation in the Near East in 1920-22, but there was at least a hope of reconstruction and a little light in the darkness. Then came a blackness engulfing all. In September 1922, an edifice of civilisation which had endured for 3,000 years fell crash upon crash. The *débâcle* of the Greek armies, the advance of the Turk, the burning of Smyrna, the sudden order to all Christians to quit Turkish soil, sent a million refugees trekking along the shores of the Ægean to Salonica, or scrambling for transport on the Smyrna quays, and perishing of hunger, cold and epidemics, in the island camps, or crushing into Athens. Then came the peace negotiations and the wholesale exchange of populations.

Nothing like this in the history of the world; in a few short weeks, the Greek colonies, founded

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centuries before the Christian era along the shores of Asia Minor, wiped out; the Christian communities founded by St. Paul and St. John gone; the last traces destroyed of the life of that world as we have known it in classical literature, the Old Testament and the New Testament. The famous exile stories of the world, the Jewish exile to Babylon, even the huge movement of refugee populations during the Great War, pale into insignificance beside this deportation of whole peoples, never to return. The story of their sufferings by forced march, by starvation, cold and disease is told elsewhere—you have seen them at the cinema, moving on and on, old men, women and children. There is a great story still to be written of the wonderful mobilisation of rescue effort in the Near East by the relief organisations of America, Britain and other lands. In that story the outstanding chapter will concern the League of Nations action under Dr. Nansen, and the mighty united effort, by which the pluck and determination of the Greek Government combined with the resources of the League have succeeded in settling over a million people on the land, thus adding one-sixth to the population of Greece. This tale can deal only with the tragic crash of student life and hope and the share of European Student Relief in saving a remnant.

The Christian student life of Asia Minor was literally wiped out, and with it the greater part of Near East education. Within a day or two of the burning of Smyrna, every Christian student and professor was either dead, or on his way to the

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interior, "deported" as of military age, or a refugee in Athens, or the islands. Of the sheer Dantesque horror of what these men and women passed through, only their actual stories can give even a faint notion. We have hundreds.

X. Y., an Armenian, was a "professional refugee," in the language of relief societies, a man uprooted time after time by war, famine, deportation and massacre. Think of the unutterable misery conveyed by this cold phrase.

"He is nineteen years old and a college sophomore. He speaks Turkish, Armenian, Arabic, English, French, and German. During the Armenian deportation in 1916 his whole family were taken. His father was killed, before the eyes of his mother, four brothers, two sisters and himself, by flogging and by being dragged behind a wagon with a rope round his neck. As a result of what she had witnessed his mother committed suicide by throwing herself into the Euphrates. Later, all the brothers and sisters died of starvation in the Arabian desert. For fifteen days X. Y. escaped by hiding among the dead, taking their clothes to keep himself warm and eating raw animal flesh to keep from starving. Fortunately he fell into the hands of Arabs who took him as a slave, in which capacity he served for four years. Hearing that the English had taken over Syria, he escaped from the Arabs and, by hiding during the day and fleeing at night, he arrived at Haleb, Syria. From there he

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went to Cilicia. There the Protestant Church took him in and sent him to St. Paul's College, Tarsus. Two years later he went to the International College at Smyrna. During the great crisis there, he was able to escape to the girls' college and from there through the terrified people to the quay. Here he dodged the Turkish soldiers, threw off his clothes and, though fired at in the water, swam to a boat on which he escaped to Athens.

V. was a Greek girl of seventeen studying in Smyrna.

"When the awful smoke of burning Smyrna was everywhere and people could not hide themselves any further in the houses, we got out of our house, my mother, sister and myself and followed the other crowds. We sheltered in the Greek cemetery for many days. There the scene was awful. The soldiers and civilians were robbing, beating and dishonouring the girls. Many times I was beaten and robbed. At last, under custody of ten armed soldiers, they took me away. On the way they asked me to give them money. I told them I had no more left. They started beating me in such a way that I lost consciousness. When I came to after five hours I found myself naked with no clothes on me at all, exposed to the cold. I then hid for two days in the ruins, when at last my sister begged a French officer to embark us on a French boat to Mytilene, having lost our morality and our health."

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In they came by the hundred, these men and women, students belonging to the Federation and student relief fellowship, suddenly cast on the world. The large majority of the refugees were women and children. In Athens alone from one American college in Smyrna were 150 girls. Bitter cold had already set in. They had nothing but the minimum of summer clothing required to cover them—all else had been stolen—nothing beyond, not even a comb. The Greek girls, once they were decently clothed, had a chance of getting jobs, but many were Armenians, who could not even speak Greek, and these student girls were but a tiny fraction of an immense mass of destitute unemployed and unemployable women.

Already in Athens and Constantinople the European Student Relief had been giving special relief to Russian and other refugees. The news of the Smyrna disaster had scarcely reached Geneva when cables began to beg and offer help on behalf of stranded students. The first task was to gather the students into Athens from the concentration camps in Salonica, Mytilene and Crete. A fine spirit some of them had shown there, helping to organise relief and getting up games for the children. Several thousand were soon concentrated in Athens; a motley crew of Greeks, Turks, Syrians, Armenians, Russians and Persians.

European Student Relief worked through the American Y.M.C.A., which lodged the men first in a garage and later in army tents in the open-air cinema of the university. The Y.W.C.A. provided shelter for the girls and clothed them against the

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winter cold. All were given one meal a day till employment could be found for them. Their future was carefully studied. Those near the end of their course were given opportunity to complete it. A. was a brilliant graduate of the Evangelical School in Smyrna, the oldest Greek school in Asia Minor. An American woman student studying in England, though far from wealthy, sent a generous subscription which was used to send A. to complete his studies in Berlin. Certain American colleges opened their doors, each adopting a few Near East refugees, and their lucky guests were despatched from Greece.

Very hard was the case of the Armenians who could not speak Greek, and of the Russian refugee students already in Greece before the disaster, who were thrown out of their hard-won employment when the Greek refugees came in. The Y.W.C.A. did much for the Armenian girls in teaching them trades and getting them employment. The main body of Greek refugee students were, after all, in their motherland, and after a hard struggle found a footing and a life work in Greece.

European Student Relief, as usual, has done its work through self-help organisation, and the Greek Student Refugee Union was soon formed. It insists on two hours' self-supporting work daily and good academic record from all students receiving relief. It has secured free registration from the university authorities for 375 refugee students, part support from the Government for 300 students, a special grant for fifty particularly needy students and permission for all such to sit their examinations

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free of cost. It has persuaded the Ministry of Relief to give 120,000 drachmas (\$2000; £444) to purchase text-books for refugee students.

It is interesting to read the verdict of an Athenian Greek student on their work:—

“The refugee students who one and a half years ago were like the debris of a shipwreck scattered on a rocky shore make up now the most active groups which command the respect of the Athens community and of the Government. In every case the Greek Student Refugee Union is recognised by all official authorities as the most trustworthy student organisation. The members of its administrative council are giving much time to looking after the interests of their colleagues, though their time is so taken up with study and with work for their own maintenance.”

The black night is passing away: once more it is the student who is helping to bring in the dawn.

Refugee Student Relief work has been likened by many to pouring water into a bag with holes. On the face of it the task seems hopeless. A man without a country; a man without a future; what meaning can his life have? What share has he in rebuilding the world? The salvage of the refugee is without question the hardest task of European Student Relief, but once saved and restored to hope and work, the refugee is a factor of great significance in reconstruction.

Where repatriation is possible, or where, as in

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the case of Greece and Hungary, he is a refugee in his motherland, he provides the finest of leadership for his country. Refugee students from Belgium and Serbia who were relieved and helped through the World's Student Christian Federation during the War in France, Switzerland and Britain, are many of them occupying positions of the highest importance in their own land. Even during the time of his exile, the refugee can do a work of constructive service for the land that shelters him and for the world. Where refugees of many nations are gathered together, as in the Studentsky Domov in Prague, the Foyer International in Paris or the Student Movement House in London, such a group provides a laboratory of international relationships wherein experiments of all kinds in international goodwill can be carried on by native and foreign students together. Rightly handled, the refugee student has been a great factor in quickening the development of international fellowship amongst students.

His share in this quickening of international goodwill is active as well as passive. From Serbia, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria has come the testimony of the students of those lands that the presence of Russian students in their midst has meant the quickening of the spiritual life of the native students. In 1920, a former secretary of the Russian Student Christian Movement was found in destitution in Constantinople selling bread on the Galata Bridge. He was helped on to his feet again, and to-day he is the chief Christian leader amongst both Russian and Bulgarian students in Bulgaria, a man with

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a message for students in many lands. From far-off Hawaii comes a letter declaring that nothing has stirred the spiritual life of the cosmopolitan student body of that island—Hawaiians, Americans, Japanese, Portuguese, Chinese, Mexicans—so much as visits from Russian refugee students passing through on their way from China to America.

The refugee diaspora of modern Europe is assuredly not without purpose. In the first century of the Christian era the Jewish diaspora in the Near East produced Paul of Tarsus and a message of life to both Asia and Europe. The twentieth century diaspora from the Near East and Russia may produce men who in like manner will bring light and life to the world.

CHAPTER XIII

WHY SAVE RUSSIAN STUDENTS?

The Great Adventure

THE great adventure of European Student Relief must now be told. Russia is its largest investment, perhaps its highest success, perhaps its worst failure, in any case its greatest enigma. From the first, the E.S.R. contemplated work in Russia, but in 1920 it stood before a closed door. The universities of Russia were cut off; and as the students of other lands gazed towards Russia they saw only the face of the Soviet Sphinx. Suddenly, in summer 1921, the veil began to part, drawn aside by the gaunt hand of Famine. The harvest failed, thirty million people were in the throes of hunger, and at least half a million, in spite of all relief effort, actually died of starvation, to take no account of those who died of disease and under-nourishment. Dr. Nansen, as High Commissioner of the International Committee for the Relief of Russia, made his appeal to the Governments through the League of Nations and sent a direct and urgent plea to European Student Relief for "your help to rescue the Russian youth decimated by famine." In January 1922, student relief entered Russia: it remained there till April 1925.

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Student relief operated in Russia in two sections, a division determined not by the wish of the students in any country, but by the peculiar circumstances of the United States of America. The American Relief Administration decided to continue in Russia the noble work it had done in Europe. It seemed clear that an arrangement by which all contributions raised in America should go through this channel and be administered by Americans would result in wider co-operation and the raising of far larger sums than would otherwise be possible in the United States. An American section of European Student Relief in Russia thus became a necessity, and to lead it there went to Russia some of the choicest Student Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association workers. Their group was led by Mr. E. C. Colton and by Miss Marcia Dunham, who had already done yeoman service as the E.S.R. Field Representative in the Baltic States. The Nansen Mission headed up all relief organisations other than American and, under its wing, worked the international section of European Student Relief, administering the funds raised in all countries other than the United States. The two sections worked in the closest harmony and divided the field between them, the Americans working in the west in the large cities of Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and Ekaterinoslav, the International Section working in the east in the smaller provincial universities.

They found behind the veil twenty universities with 160,000 students functioning in the area covered by Soviet republics, the pre-war number

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both of universities and students doubled, and eight universities, Samara, Saratov, Kazan, Rostov, Simferopol, Ekaterinoslav, Odessa and Astrakhan, in the actual famine area. Just such conditions of misery prevailed everywhere amongst students as we have described elsewhere, only by all testimony many times worse. The average lot of the students in Central Europe was one meal a day. One meal a day was not an uncommon pre-war condition amongst Russian students; now, like the rest of the populace, they were eating roots, leaves, grass and even sometimes blue clay. The soberest relief workers testify that cases of cannibalism were found again and again amongst the starving populace.

"We saw many houses where the people had all died, and there will be very many more of these. They have eaten all the cats and dogs, have pounded up their bones to mix with the grass for bread, and there are a good many cases of cannibalism. In a village I visited the Famine Committee combat this by removing the bodies as quickly as possible, and if anything is being cooked, looking into the pots to see whether what is there is human. Parents have killed and eaten their children. We are used to dead bodies lying in the streets. There were twenty in one by our house a few days ago. I don't mind them so much—their agony is over."

As for clothing, many students faced the bitter cold of a northern Russian winter barefoot and in unspeakable rags. Out of 3,600 students examined



FIVE HOSTELS BUILT FOR THEMSELVES BY STUDENTS OF ZAGREB, YUGO-SLAVIA.

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in Odessa, 17 per cent. had one set of underclothing or less, 6 per cent. had no overcoat, 52 per cent. were in desperate need of new shoes, 30 per cent. had gone through the winter without heat in their rooms. The clothing simply was not there. The item for clothes has disappeared from the budget of professors and students for years. In autumn 1921, thousands of students in Moscow faced the opening of the new college year without living quarters. Two girls were found living in a fowl-house, ten foot by seven, in which they could not stand upright. They had seized it and cleaned it up after its late inhabitants; a man had taken over a goat-house; a professor was living and studying under a staircase. Health conditions were and are appalling. The doctors in charge of the student clinic at Kharkov claimed that after careful examination, 43 per cent. of the students had tuberculosis. At Kiev 12 per cent. showed open tuberculosis, and out of 1,833 students personally examined 47 per cent. were found to have some contagious illness or disease requiring long, special and systematic treatment, and only 20 per cent. were in fair health.

As for facilities for study, there was almost complete absence of the primary necessities—ink, pencils, paper, pens. "That is what we write on," said a professor from Russia, pointing to a ragged scrap of brown wrapping paper. Certain universities well equipped with scientific instruments such as microscopes, were paralysed both in teaching and experiment because of the complete absence of some small necessity such as covering glasses for

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slides or litmus paper. A student who had finished his course at the Agricultural School two years before had received no diploma because he had not completed some experiment in a chemical laboratory involving only two weeks' work. His turn had not yet come round. Lack of fuel meant paralysis of laboratory work, through the absence of heat, light and water.

Even to-day in Leningrad, so short of modern books are the libraries that "it is no uncommon thing to see a line of students half a block long outside the public library, waiting to get in for the first chance at some badly needed volume. Students wanting books must often wait two months. In the great library of the university, 20,000 applicants for books were refused last year; in the Mining Institute, the library hours were changed till the evening, as so many students were cutting their morning lectures to wait in queues for text-books. Clubs of thirty students are formed to buy and share one book."

The Government were making at least a determined effort for education. They were conscious of Russia's need for builders; epidemic conditions demanded doctors; the paralysis of transport called for engineers; the railways—always insufficient for Russia's demands—had only 14 per cent. of their pre-war rolling-stock and trains, and 50 per cent. of that was in the hands of the American Relief Administration for the transport of supplies. One cause of the famine was the breakdown of the Russian agricultural system. Russian agriculture was carried on by antiquated methods with worn-

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out tools, and a new race of educated agriculturists was imperative.

Into this land of famine and misery the student relief was launched. Russia represents *the greatest investment* made by the world student fellowship on behalf of any country. Between March 1922 and July 1924, European Student Relief expended in Russia Sw. Frs. 3,550,025, (\$623,000; £145,000). Of this sum Sw. Frs. 2,647,603 came from America, and Sw. Frs. 875,422 from other countries. Holland specialised on Kazan, New Zealand on Tomsk. More workers from more nations have gone to Russia than to any other country. In addition to the American staff of six men and three women, Holland, England, Scotland, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Hungary and Switzerland sent twelve workers in all. Student relief remained longer in Russia than in any other land. America has been there for three and a half years, the International Section was there for more than two. At least ten million meals have been served to students in seventeen centres. At the height of the feeding operations a meal was being served daily to 31,000 students, *i.e.* one out of every five. Hundreds of tons of clothing were distributed. To deal with the appalling health conditions, five free dispensaries have been maintained for students and professors, where in all 291,000 treatments and prescriptions were given.

The largest proportional service has been given to professors, for whose relief an American donor has given two sums totalling \$200,000. The

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American Section has given economic help—fuel, food, clothing and medical aid to at least one-third of the registered university professors and their dependents.

Such mighty efforts as these were only possible through co-operation. The Nansen Mission, the Save the Children Fund, the Swedish and Belgian Red Cross, the Imperial War Relief workers in Russia each lent a hand in various ways to the International Section, and the work of the Americans had all the benefit of American Relief Administration's most efficient machinery and facilities, as well as large A.R.A. gifts of medical supplies and hospital equipment. The Soviet Government by agreement helped with free transport on railways during the first eighteen months, and with kitchen buildings and their equipment and local staff.

Russia was not only the largest investment of student relief, but also its *greatest adventure*. No other country has so called forth heroism, resource and endurance, in no other country have the workers run the same risks to health and personal freedom. Think of the difficulties of administering a field which stretched from Leningrad to Odessa, 1,000 miles, and from Kiev to Irkutsk and Astrakhan, 2,500 miles. It embraced work in seventeen centres, including five in the Ukraine. But the adventure was carried through, though it took all they had to do it—the previous relief experience of the Americans holding on with dogged pluck year after year, the dash and resource of the English Harold Gibson carrying the work as far as Tomsk, the heroism of the

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Swedish woman married to a Russian, who lost her husband in the revolution, and determined to live for his country, the fine courage of Dr. Lannung, the Dane, who began his career in Russia with typhus, the astonishing ingenuity and resource of lonely boys dealing with situations which would have tested an explorer or a diplomat. What tales could be told of mushroom raids by the student body to keep the kitchens going when supplies had not arrived and of wonderful barter business to secure fresh vegetables and to produce a balanced ration of 1,100 calories.

The strain on the workers from other lands was tremendous. It was not produced by the difficulty of transport and so forth, inherent in the Russian system, nor even by organisation troubles created by the irregularities of the lovable Russian student with his loose notions of time and value. The essential strain resulted from the atmosphere in which their work had to be done. They were face to face with a Government frankly determined to proletarianise the universities and increasingly successful in suppressing the elements among both professors and students unfavourable to their religious and political views. This they did by successive so-called cleansings of the universities, more or less effective. In addition the workers had to bear up against repeated efforts to secure relief for one particular section. On this point they could not yield. What was at stake was the principle of impartiality of distribution, on which European Student Relief has always laid such great stress, and, in all other countries, successfully. Struggle

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was inevitable when the two parties concerned were on the one hand authorities determined to make the university subserve their political and religious aims, and on the other an organisation equally determined to secure that all students alike should receive help on the ground of need and for no other reason. The Communist Party could not regard with enthusiasm the service and achievements of an organisation which, to use the phrase of a Party leader, was not able "to give 100 per cent. recognition to the existing student machinery."

Russia remains *an enigma*. It is hard indeed to form a final judgment as to the results of the Russian work. Certain things are clear: student relief has saved a multitude of men and women for the rebuilding of their country. The Russian student has always been worth saving and worth serving. He has a passion for knowledge. Take the medical student who says:—

"My choice of the Medical Faculty was determined by the poor sanitary conditions of my country. In my search for work I have offered my services to hundreds of citizens in their places of business for only a piece of bread. From one of these, when he noticed my weakened condition, I received the answer, 'Forsake Science.' *But never shall I forsake that which has been the chief object of my life, and for which I nearly lost it; I shall die therefore within the walls of the University with the knowledge that I die in a Sanctuary.*"

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This is the true Russian spirit. The Russian has a passion for service and sacrifice. It shows itself just now in his devotion to the rebuilding of Russia. In 1921 the Pædagogical Faculty at Samara University was to be closed. Many of the students were receiving a food allowance from the Government or from the Swedish Red Cross. For four months 1,618 students sold instead of eating their rations and gave the money to keep their Faculty open. This took place during the severest time of famine in one of the worst districts. In Ekaterinoslav, when first offered assistance, the students of the Mining Institute said, "Our students are in need, but we are not dying in the streets as we were several months ago. If you know of cities where students suffer more than here, reduce the gift to us and give it to them." At Kharkov, since relief funds would not permit the feeding of all really needy students, four hundred paired off in twos to share the one meal a day.

Certain foreign relief agencies have by preference employed students as relief workers, finding amongst them a high standard of honesty and devotion. The enormous health investigation and preventive medical work done with the help of the E.S.R. for students in the universities, notably in the magnificent student-run clinics in Kharkov and Kiev, could never have been done apart from many hours work each week given freely by the advanced medical students and doctors. In Moscow the medical students were organised in groups to care for the refugees coming in from the famine and epidemic areas. Many of these future doctors

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succumbed to typhus and cholera while thus working for their fellow countrymen.

Just such students European Student Relief has saved, literally by the thousand, from death by starvation, cold or epidemic disease, a gift of incalculable value for the rebuilding of Russia. But here comes the question: how many of these capable and self-sacrificing students will be permitted to take part in the rebuilding of their country? There is no blinking the fact that numbers of such students are discriminated against for party considerations, and that some of those, whom student relief has saved, have been forced to leave the university within a few months of graduation and thus not only injured in their career, but deprived of the chance of serving their country.

It is such facts as these, and not a conviction that the need was over, which induced some countries to decide in 1923 that they ought no longer to raise money for Russian Student Relief. It is the same facts which caused the E.S.R. at length, and very regretfully, to close down general student feeding, since impartial distribution had become practically impossible.

In the autumn of 1924 the American Section was still operating in Russia, carrying on a limited though still generous programme, supported almost entirely by American money, but the work was limited to medical help, including kitchens for invalid students, and to intellectual help, including the supply of books and instruments to students and the desperately needed material relief for professors and their families, made possible by the

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special gifts from America. On April 2nd, 1925, a letter was received by the head of the American Section of E.S.R. from the Chairman of the Foreign Relief Commission of the Soviet Government:—

“Your offers of relief to the scientific workers and students of the Union of Soviet Republics, after consideration by the interested institutions, have been, unfortunately, recognised as unacceptable.

I take this opportunity to express to the American section of E.S.R. gratitude for the work of relief which it has carried on.”

The few remaining American student relief workers at once left Russia.

This is one phase of the enigma. Having saved some of those who might best rebuild Russia, will they be allowed to do their work?

The second great question concerns relationships with other lands. In the nineteen countries in which the E.S.R. has sown relief, there has sprung up a harvest of understanding and goodwill towards other nations. How far is this the case in Russia? Certainly there were communicated to thousands of professors and students, over and beyond physical help, incalculably large resources of fresh morale. Each E.S.R. kitchen has meant windows kept open, west, south and east, looking towards the students who have made the kitchen possible. As Ivan and Katinka entered the student kitchen each day for their one precious meal, a placard with the following message greeted them:—

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"European Student Relief unites the efforts of the students of the educational institutions and universities of thirty-four different countries of North America, South America, Western Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia in giving help to colleagues in need in Europe as well as Russia.

"Christians, Jews and persons not belonging to any religion have made possible the organisation of student kitchens. In this way they wish to express to their colleagues their feelings of sympathy and goodwill, and also to demonstrate the sentiment of friendship which in the whole world unites student youth."

The tides of gratitude rose as high here as elsewhere. The heart of Russia has spoken through innumerable utterances such as these:—

"The pain and suffering of the last years withered our soul and weakened our brain and body. The energy for mental work is gone away. The struggle for life now in Russia is very hard, and many, many of our colleagues are gone for ever to the best World. But we do not capitulate. We are going, deadly tired, forward to the sun of free science and art. Feelings of sympathy and thanks warm our hearts. We shall never forget the transatlantic friends who give us support in so difficult a moment. Also great is our hope. Now is coming the happy day, when we can add something to the treasures of mankind's culture."

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"Russian feudal monarchy kept away all Russia from western European civilisation, and this bad polity left away all Tartars more than any others. The last revolutions of Russia made free Tartars and the way to civilisation were opened. Tartarian youngs did all they could to get education and to go to the universities, and very many Tartarian youngs are studying in Kazan. But to our unhappiness the calamity which overcovered Russia put us to very difficult position to keep on in the universities and all of us are obliged to pass our time mostly for searching pieces of bread in order not to die from hunger. But all our tryings because of the general calamity can't give any good result, and therefore we are seeking the people who come from far away attending their helping hands to Russians specially to youngs."

"I beg you to convey to our friends my assurance that their participation in the vicissitudes of the fate of Russian scholars has always deeply touched me and many of my friends. Their heartfelt sympathy has been a source of moral warmth which has been no less protection against the snow storms of life than are the loads of heating wood which you provide so generously to fight against our February frosts."

Every such tribute means a link between the student forces of Russia and those of other lands. The windows that have been kept open look both ways, and students all over the world gaze into Russia

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through those windows with friendly eyes, eager to learn more of her student life. Not students only, but professors and learned men look to European Student Relief as giving them unique knowledge of certain sides of Russian science. The *British Medical Journal* has recently published a series of articles on health conditions in Russia to-day. The author, Dr. Horsley Gantt, obtained all his facts from the medical work of the E.S.R.

Intellectual relief has reformed the link between scholar and scholar. Suddenly Ivan and Katinka find their libraries supplied with new foreign text-books from abroad, or full of Russian text-books printed on the precious paper given by Swedish students. Rostov professors carried on experiment with instruments provided by a \$700 gift from a Japanese professor. Russian students and professors do not forget the friends who have supplied them with the tools of the mind. Such intellectual help keeps open the channel of goodwill. True the intellectual exchange is but partial, for only books on science and technology and kindred subjects can enter Russia freely, but Light is always Light.

Yes, the harvest of goodwill from the seed of relief has certainly appeared in Russia, but just as certainly the prevailing conditions have prevented certain developments of international goodwill that the European Student Relief has rejoiced over elsewhere. Co-operative self-help, such as has been developed in Germany, Poland and other lands, is impossible in Russia. Self-help organisations there, with one or two brilliant exceptions, are so completely

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in the hands of one party that they do not contribute to academic freedom, the proud fruit of co-operative self-help elsewhere. Students of Russia have been denied the international fellowship so richly provided by intercourse between the different national self-help organisations. In other ways, too, they have been cut off from the fellowship which has come to other students through the European Student Relief; for example, no student from Russia has so far attended a E.S.R. International Conference.

This tale of Russia is different from the story of other lands. Student relief has taken a great risk and made an act of faith. In the spirit of its student fellowship, it entered Russia, and it has extended or limited its work in accordance with its settled principles. No one of the workers who have been inside Russia will dogmatise as to the result. The riddle of the Russian Sphinx is not solved, but of this much we may be sure, that, when the full story of the European Student Relief work in Russia can be told, the results in every realm, physical, intellectual and spiritual, will be found far more commensurate with the effort put forth than the present record can convey. The seed of unselfish service rendered in the spirit of Christ cannot but bear fruit.

CHAPTER XIV

HUMANITY AND THE HUMANITIES

The Relief of Intellectual Famine

"STUDENTS are the seed, and universities the seed-bed of the new intellectual harvest that shall feed, renew and make grow the knowledge and the moral forces of mankind.

"In a little village of Japan there is a humble tomb where thousands of peasants go on pilgrimage to pay respect to one who, in a famine year, some 200 years ago, preferred to starve himself to death rather than consume the grain intended for seed. His corpse was found clinging to a bag of rice with instructions for its use.

"I associate this story with the effort of European Student Relief. Those who endorse its work and come to the rescue of students are dealing with living organisms, with seeds which have definite years of vitality. The work must be done before it is too late to aid in keeping up the light of knowledge which is dangerously flickering."

So speaks the East in the person of Dr. Inazo Nitobe, Under Secretary General, Secretariat of the

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League of Nations, and Member of the Commission on Intellectual Co-operation.

Now hear the West :—

"The conditions in European universities make it imperative that we undertake at the earliest possible moment to meet their needs. There are over 100,000 students and professors, who in the whole upset of economic equilibrium are suffering greatly, and *unless we can bring them adequate food, fuel, clothing and housing facilities, we shall see a decadence in the intellectual fibre of Europe. We have a strong obligation toward these universities for the great services they have rendered in the past in adding to our store of knowledge.* To allow these institutions to disintegrate would be a disaster not only to their own nations, but to the whole civilised world."

So wrote Herbert Hoover in November 1920, to American students on behalf of European universities. Thus do two strong men from the ends of the earth sum up that philosophy of the relationship of humanity to the humanities, which is the basis of all relief of intellectual famine. "The seed must be saved." To sow the seed of learning's harvest has ever been the proud task of the universities, but the Great War left them heavily depleted both in seed and sowers.

In 1919-20 the universities were crammed with students, but sadly lacking in every other element of academic life. As for professors, many of the most brilliant were gone : Lammasch, the Austrian

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authority on International Law, Troeltsch, the great German theologian, Eugene Trubetskoy, the Russian philosopher, these are but a few of those who died by war or post-war hardship: a thousand lecturers and *privat dozenten* perished by the sword, leaving distinguished work unfinished: the hundred thousand student names on the memorial tablets of European universities mean masterpieces of literature and art, or discoveries in science the world will never see.

Of the old universities, some, like Louvain, had seen their world-famous libraries or laboratories destroyed; others, like that of Dorpat, had their equipment removed; still others, like Kolozsvár, retained their equipment, but had lost their students to the ranks of refugees. Such old universities and the new ones called into being by the necessities of new countries mean a long list of institutions whose academic life must be built up from the very foundation: Riga, Tartu (Dorpat), Kovno, Vilno, Lublin, Poznań, Warsaw, Ljubljana, Skopje, Rostov Don, Simferopol and others. All universities started the new era with deteriorated or defective equipment or with none at all. The universities in the Central Powers, Poland, the Baltic States and Russia were without the books or periodicals published since August 1914 in the Allied world. As late as 1922 we searched the Seminar of Economics Library at Dresden for American or British periodicals, and found not a single one.

Students must make bricks without straw, and prepare for their examinations minus paper, ink, pens, pencils, drawing-boards, logarithm tables,

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test-tubes or dissecting aprons. To possess a book became an unattainable dream. In Prague, 250 Russian refugees shared one medical book; they met to hear it read aloud. Professors must lecture, teach, inspire, minus all fresh material and knowledge and without specimens for demonstration. Dissection was sometimes taught by blackboard diagram only. In the University of Riga, the sole source of young leadership for the new Republic of Latvia, in 1920 there were 4,500 students and eleven faculties, five entirely new. The laboratories of Chemistry were partly closed, for lack of means, the Anatomical Section could not buy formaline to preserve bodies, the Medical Faculty had no clinics, and the Agricultural, Philological and Philosophical Faculties no auxiliary institutions.

Strong men who endured with wonderful fortitude privations for themselves broke down where the children of their brain were threatened with extinction. "Sir, come down ere my child die," is the appeal of men whose discoveries have healed and enlightened the world. Universities, the lighthouses of learning, which have always shared their treasures with the universities of other lands and opened their doors freely to foreign students, faced the extinction of their own flame. Such a university was Vienna. In 1921, Donald Grant writes of the plight of Austrian learning:—

"Research in the English Department stopped for lack of books; in Meteorology, because instruments cannot be renewed: Egyptological excavations at Gizeh, Archæo-

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logical excavations in Ephesus, Asia Minor, Geographical, Geological and Botanical research in Adria, all stopped for lack of funds: Weltstein's 'Phylogeny of the Plant Kingdom' and his Report of the results of the Botanical Expedition in Brazil, Dopsche's researches in Economic and Social History, none of these can be published, because the price of paper has risen seventy times. The Radium Institute in Vienna, which generously lent the larger part of the radium for the experiments of Ramsay and Rutherford, can scarcely carry on. For library and apparatus it has a normal endowment of Kr. 2,000. For telephone service alone Kr. 1,480 must be paid to-day.

"Dr. Rudolph Poesch, Professor of Anthropology, died March 1921, leaving unfinished a great work on Bushmen, the result of four years' travel in Australia, the South Seas and South Africa, and the compilation of the results of research in the prisoners of war camps in Germany and Austria, where he measured over 10,000 Russians, South Europeans, North Africans, Indians and East Asiatics, collecting unique material, which can never now be given to the world."

Russia provided even more heartrending conditions. The very man who thus described Austria's plight, writing from Russia a few months later, declares that the poverty of the Austrian laboratories cannot be compared with the destitution of Russia, and our Field Representative writes:—

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"There is an absolute famine in all books and laboratory supplies. Every university I have been in, the professors, though hungry and with scarcely any clothes, have said: We can manage with what food and clothing we have [I am absolutely certain they cannot!], but help us do our work; get us some scientific journals, some recent books and some laboratory equipment! They have nothing; everything is of value. The Chemical Society recently sent out some British scientific journals. When I told some professors of their arrival, their eagerness to see them was like the eagerness of the children in the famine areas to get bread."

In spite of all, these professors have done constructive thinking and valuable research; we have in our hands a Catalogue of at least a thousand scientific works produced in Russia since the outbreak of war.

"Professors of one university completed some valuable mathematical work and it was essential that it should be published. They could not even get any paper, but at last the Government gave sufficient to produce an edition of fifty copies. Having got the paper, they found to their dismay that not only would the cost of printing be more than the total of their pooled resources, but that it was impossible to obtain the necessary mathematical type. At last they found an old lithograph stone. They got the machine into working order, set

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the letter type, and undismayed by the endless labour involved, one of their number, with exquisite care and surprising skill, wrote on the stone page after page of mathematical formulæ until the whole was finished."

The world would indeed have lost, if such men had been left to starve. The call was heard: Oxford, Cambridge and other British universities sent help to Vienna professors. Scandinavian and Dutch universities poured in supplies. The American Relief Administration and other American Funds spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on the relief of professors; governments and universities, *e.g.*, the Sorbonne, sent large gifts of books; the Universities Library of Britain in four years has sent nearly 100,000 books and periodicals to ten European countries. A new phase began when, in September 1921, the League of Nations, by a resolution of the Second Assembly, founded the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation "to examine into international questions regarding intellectual co-operation." Bergson, Einstein, Bannerjea of Calcutta, Gilbert Murray, and Madame Bonnevie of Oslo, are members of this committee; it has published a series of brochures on intellectual conditions in various lands and has done very much to co-ordinate the efforts of various institutions and societies for intellectual relief. The position of learning in Europe to-day, though still critical, is no longer desperate. Humanity is salvaging the wreck of the humanities.

What has been the share of the student relief fellowship in all this? Its largest direct service to

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intellectual relief has been given in Russia. The huge work done for professors by the American Section has already been described. The International Section gave considerable supplies of books and laboratory equipment, besides distributing 400 suits of clothing from the Belgian Red Cross to professors in Rostov and Novocherkask, and helping to administer the Nansen food parcels for professors. Though many of these efforts have been initiated apart from European Student Relief, it has again and again been called in to help in their administration. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has called "attention to the results obtained in the field of intellectual mutual existence by International Student Associations, especially by the European Student Relief branch of the World's Student Christian Federation," and has urged its twelve affiliated National Committees to get into touch with the said E.S.R.

In 1920 every Hungarian institution of higher learning was broadcasting its own particular appeal throughout the learned world, with appalling results in confusion, irritation, waste and overlapping. The Government of Hungary issued stringent regulations that appeals from universities and learned societies were not to be sent abroad except through the E.S.R. Field Representative, and that he was to be the sole agent for the distribution of the gifts sent in in answer to such appeals.

In a hundred ways the Jack-of-all-trades at Geneva has relieved intellectual famine. It secured a gift from Sweden of forty tons of paper for printing text-books in Russia, procured hectographing

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machines for multiplying university lectures in Estonia in default of books, helped to establish university presses run by students, in Poland, Austria, Germany and Hungary. It has even utilised the odder results of its clothing raids to supply the professor with the boiled shirt, so necessary for his attendance at official functions, and the music student with the opera cloak essential to her appearance on the concert platform.

To students the main benefit has been the supply of books and instruments at rates within the student purse. How such help was administered and what it means, is shown by a letter from Poland dated 1921 :—

“Serious are the difficulties under which the universities are labouring because of the lack of the most elementary resources. Recently I made a trip to Berlin, carrying with me lists of desiderata. We have definite assurance from the Polish Foreign Office that all such supplies can be imported free. The matter was more difficult in Berlin, but permission to export was obtained by the E.S.R. Office there.

“To appreciate what this means to the intellectual life of Poland you should have been in our Office at the time the first shipment of scalpels, forceps, and compasses arrived; you should have seen the joy with which the Rector of a University and the Dean of a Medical Faculty, and others equally distinguished, handled and fondled those simple supplies: wooden triangles with angles of 90, 60, and 30;

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protractors marked with half degrees; compass sets and boxwood rules. In no case could such instruments be obtained on the open market for much less than double the price we charge; moreover, in most cases, they could not have been obtained at all; they are simply not in existence in Poland.”

In October 1924, comes news from Prague about the meaning of such work to refugee students :—

“We received from Geneva \$1,000 and a special gift of £50 from New Zealand students. This we have expended on our libraries for Russian refugee students, paying rent and buying 253 volumes for Prague, 369 for Brno and 158 for Pribram, all selected by Committees of professors and students working together. The library in Brno is the only one available to the 700 Russian students. In Prague, the Russian library served 41,851 people during the year. All books have book-plates showing by whom they were given. The effect created by the New Zealand gift is surprisingly great. New Zealand seems so far off that men here have been deeply touched by this very material evidence of the brotherhood of students throughout the world. Nothing could have helped more beneficially or roused more sincere gratitude.”

Thus has the self-denial of students and professors the world over saved the seed of intellectual life. The seed saved has now been sown, and already

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there are signs of the harvest to come. America gave with generosity to maintain Pirquet's Children's Clinic in Vienna. Pirquet, the Austrian, gave full research facilities and every help to the English bacteriologist, Dr. Harriet Chick, for investigations concerning the cause of rickets, both infantile and adult. Their discoveries are bringing healing to the slums of great cities all over the world, a fine illustration of the fruit of the co-operation of several countries in intellectual relief. Student relief cannot as yet show such striking results, but the beginnings of harvest are there.

Few could follow the reasonings of Simon Niewiaski, a Polish student, as he contended for his Doctorate in Physical Science at Geneva University, on the theme "*Contribution à l'étude de la Peroxydation de l'Oxyde d'Azote et de la Recuperation des Gaz Nitreux.*" But the dedication of his thesis is easily understood:—

"Homage à l'activité de la Fédération Universelle des Associations Chrétiennes d'Etudiants, de l'Entr'aide Universitaire Européenne et de son représentant en Suisse, M. Henri Johannot."

He never would have lived to take his degree, had not M. Johannot stepped in to save him.

"The Proceedings of the Royal Society, Great Britain, in 1922, contain a paper by a distinguished professor, who pays tribute to the collaboration in experiment of Messrs. X. and Y. in the University of Tartu, Estonia. X., an assistant in his research laboratory,

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was at that time living by sharpening knives and razor-blades and eating E.S.R. dinners. He has since become professor at a university in another new state. Y. was still an undergraduate, a Russian refugee student, also helped by the E.S.R. Both are devoting themselves to scientific research which may have an important bearing on the future development of mankind."

The seed saved and sown is bringing in a spiritual harvest quite as significant as the intellectual. Lord Cecil in 1922, addressing the Congress of the Universities of the British Empire, urged them to continue

"The great work done in past ages by the universities in keeping alive by the interchange of learning the idea of the essential unity of mankind. There is no such thing as national learning; world learning is the only thing worth considering. When Einstein comes we do not inquire whether he is German, Austrian or Swiss. We only know him as one of the greatest leaders of scientific and philosophic thought. Learning is one of the great unifying forces of the world."

European Student Relief had had a share in revealing the reality and world-wide extent of this fellowship in the pursuit of knowledge. Letters of appeal signed by men of science, records of hard work on Student Relief Committees, contain the names of many luminaries in the present-day

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firmament of learning. Einstein expounded the Theory of Relativity for the first time in England at King's College, London, and the proceeds of the crowded gathering went to the Universities' Relief Committee: Madame Curie backed the appeal in France for student relief in Poland: the Committee in Vienna which administered the Oxford University gifts in 1920 contained the names of Clement Pirquet, Auer Welsbach and Sigmund Freud: J. M. Keynes, Sir William Beveridge and other economists back the E.S.R. effort as essentially sound: Ernest Rutherford, William Bragg, J. J. Thomson and a score of other men of learning signed the Letter of Appeal to Graduate Members of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland: in the United States, Paul E. Monroe, Professor of Education at Columbia University, Stephen Duggan of the International Institute of Education, President Farrand of Cornell, President Hibben of Princeton, President McCracken of Vassar, President Pendleton of Wellesley have given their whole-hearted backing to the Student Friendship Fund.

From Germany comes a letter written by Ernst Troeltsch, shortly before his death; it contains a plea to European Student Relief, in view of the desperate conditions in Germany before Christmas 1923.

"Your work answers to the spirit of the Xmas Evangel: I send you doubly hearty wishes for the festival of Christendom. I desire to associate with this the request that you will resume your noble enterprise for our students. The essential unity of the Christian

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peoples and our common interest in science makes me venture to send you this request, although one does not delight to take upon oneself the part of the pleader, but poverty and love break iron."

The letter is counter-signed by Adolf Deissmann, von Dobschutz and Rudolf Eucken.

Propagandists made great play with the Manifestoes of University professors on both sides of the Great War. The hatred and misunderstanding of those documents are surely cancelled by the love and fellowship revealed in these olive-crowned Manifestoes of Relief. This work is of eternal value. One of the last letters written by Lord Bryce, scholar, statesman and seer, was addressed to a meeting in Cambridge University on behalf of European Student Relief. He told them that "such help will be prized and remembered. It will continue to have a moral value when the need for material succour has passed away."

Even now we see his prophecy fulfilled. Austrian learning has already written her gratitude to America across the skies. Vienna University, in recognition of Hoover's services to Austria and to Austrian professors, has named the little planet 932, discovered in Vienna, Hooveria. Rarely is it given to man to "paint with brushes of comet's hair"; the E.S.R. records are not written in the stars, but on the fleshy tablets of ten thousand hearts that have known the joy of fellowship renewed.

CHAPTER XV

EUROPEAN STUDENT RELIEF DISCOVERS ITSELF

A Trio of Student Conferences

So far the history of European Student Relief. If it had ended here, the story would have been still worth the telling—a vast material need, a strenuous emergency effort to meet it, producing certain definite material and intellectual results in the student world.

From the beginning, however, there were those who saw more in student relief than mere emergency rescue. European Student Relief had not run a year when Conrad Hoffmann raised the question of whether a conference of both giving and receiving students would not produce results as yet undreamt of. Geneva is a real G.H.Q., for, while handling a mass of detail, Conrad Hoffmann and his helpers have never lost sight of the essential and have always seen the wood rather than the trees. The future has been ever in their minds. Moreover, students all over the world began to demand a sight of the men and women who had helped them, or whom they had helped. A group of Rhodes scholars, some of whom had done vacation work for the European Student Relief, asked to be allowed to call together an international con-

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ference of students. German students pressed for an international conference of national student economic organisations resembling their own *Wirtschaftshilfe*.

Proposals for a European Student Relief conference were drawn up and sent to the leaders in every country in any way concerned in student relief. Difficulties of every kind were suggested by older leaders. The seniors saw lions in every path: some begged that for the sake of certain countries the word *international* might be omitted from the conference prospectus: Germans and Poles, united for once, objected strenuously to the suggestion that the conference should be held in Czechoslovakia. The students, however, when consulted, were almost unanimous in their approval.

The spirit of the E.S.R. is a spirit of adventure, but it showed even more than its usual willingness for risk, when it flung into *Turnov*, a little Czech town in the Bohemian forest, every explosive element on which it could lay hands. Eighty-three students, men and women, from thirty nationalities, relieved and relieving, were tumbled together. They represented every political, racial and religious complication which was agitating post-war Europe, and in addition a few non-European colour and race questions were thrown in; Hungarians rubbing elbows with Czechs, Rumanians and Yugo Slavs; Czechs, Germans and Poles side by side; Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Latvians, Estonians, Bulgarians, Austrians, Serbians, Italians, French, Belgians and Germans; not to speak of Americans, Japanese, British, Indians, Canadians, South Africans,

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Australasians, Scandinavians, Dutch and Swiss. Religions were almost as various as nations: Catholic, Protestant, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Mohammedan and Jew and those without religion.

The crowd was anything but a group of pacifists. Leaders not merely of national, but even of nationalist student groups were present. The chairmen of the national student bodies of Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and of the representative body of Russian immigrant students in Europe were there, as well as prominent leaders of the Deutsche Studentenschaft. Not content with bringing such combustible elements into juxtaposition, Geneva adopted the unheard-of course of initiating a conference without the faintest trace of programme and of leaving the entire arrangements to the student delegates. If the E.S.R. student conference was to find a common voice, that voice must be a student voice, uninfluenced by older opinion. Everything was left to the students—the election of officers, the time-table, the sports, the appointment of commissions, and so forth. It is perhaps the greatest honour that has ever fallen to Conrad Hoffmann's lot that they unanimously appointed him chairman.

The mixing process began at once and was radical enough. Delegates were for the most part complete strangers, and the large majority were ex-enemies, one of the other. The men were dumped in the class-rooms of the Sokol House (Gymnasium Club), there to sleep, if they could, in serried rows. Athletic sports continued the mixing process, led by an American Y.M.C.A.

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Physical Director, and Harold Abraham, of Cambridge, Olympic Games Hundred Yards Champion. What could you do when you found yourself sharing a sack of straw with a man whose language you had taken an oath never to speak, or partner in a three-legged race with one of a nationality which your vow forbade you to touch? All distinctions had disappeared by the time the folk-song evening and the "stunt" night arrived.

Without distinction of nationality or race the conference was divided into Commissions on Student Economic Organisation, Self-help, Russian Student Relief, the Relation of Student Relief to International Fellowship and World Peace and so forth. Work on these commissions kept the delegates hard at it, exploring each other's minds and experience, while the Exhibition, where each nation, under its own flag, showed charts, pictures and specimens of its achievements in self-help, contributed to international illumination.

The result was a revelation. For nearly two years the E.S.R. had been pouring a new element into the waters of student life. At Turnov, of a sudden, there was crystallisation in the form of a world-wide student fellowship. Turnov did not create this fellowship: it merely revealed what had been gradually wrought out by two years of solid work by the students of forty-two lands. Together, by co-operation and sacrifice, they had raised nearly six million Swiss francs, had saved from despair, disease and deterioration at least 75,000 students in fifteen lands and one hundred and twenty universities, and, best of all, had made an

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epoch-making discovery—co-operative self-help, the only solution of student economic problems.

Now came the revelation—"We are one; there is no distinction between relieving and relieved countries. All have been moved by the same spirit to deeds of comradeship and sacrifice. It is *together* that we have accomplished a common work, though we knew it not. It is *together*—and this time consciously—that we face our new and heavier task—the saving of the students of Russia." Every nation present put itself on record as determined to do its utmost to meet the awful need of Russian students. Think what this meant from men and women two-thirds of whom came from lands where conditions of little less than famine severity still prevailed.

The new sense of comradeship revealed itself in a hundred ways. The Slavs helped to sing each other's folk-songs, though the group included Czechs, Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians and Serbians. The Russian Relief Commission's appeal for united action was signed by a Russian chairman and a Polish secretary. Miracles these. What the old and wise had declared impossible and contrary to human nature, a peculiarly human lot of students were doing with conviction. The Japanese delegate gave expression to their joyful new sense of unity in the words of an old Japanese poem:—

"Several are the pathways from the foot of the mountains
To the summit where all meet and enjoy together the crystal
moon."

Victory for the idea of international fellowship was, however, not lightly won. There were not



THIRTY-THREE NATIONS AT EUROPEAN STUDENT RELIEF CONFERENCE, PARÁD, HUNGARY.

See pp. 195-8.

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wanting the sceptical and pessimistic. The discussion on European Student Relief and its relationship to international fellowship and world peace was introduced by a man convinced that :—

“International fellowship and world peace are impossible as far as students are concerned. Students of all people are the strongest in their national sentiment, the most full of prejudice against other nations. The E.S.R. should confine itself to giving purely material aid and strive to save the intellectual life of Europe so that men of learning may produce the full intellectual fruit of each land, even though, as these men of learning think out their national problems, they will probably emphasise hate of other lands.”

This man was a neutral. He was answered by the Chairman of the National Student organisation in Austria :—

“The Conference was called together to discuss economic and material matters, but we all realise that it has and must have back of it a spiritual background. War is possible only because we do not understand each other. Without changing our ideals we cannot hope to understand one another. Had we understood one another we might have prevented war. What use to save ten to twenty thousand students if in twenty or thirty years we go to war again and kill those whom we have saved? The presumed task of this conference is economic. Its real task is moral.”

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The appeal which finally carried the day was that of a Rhodes Scholar and ex-service man from Australia :—

“The world is languishing to-day for the want of a friendly gesture. Up to now the power of the mailed fist has held sway in Europe. We bring you, by means of the E.S.R., the power of the open hand. Take courage at this sign. Let our motto be: *Student arms around the world and hands across the sea.*”

The attitude of Turnov towards international questions was finally crystallised in a resolution which has proved to be the Magna Carta of student international goodwill and understanding :—

“This Conference realises the contribution which the European Student Relief has made towards the ideal of international understanding. It therefore recommends that its relief work be carried on in exactly the same spirit as heretofore. Moreover, feeling the importance of universal student relief, it urges the E.S.R. to look forward to taking up the task of a world student relief, and to put before the whole student world the claim of international responsibility.”

Henceforth no longer was student relief the work of students in certain lands for their less fortunate brothers and sisters, it was a world student movement. From this time on “Ut Omnes Unum Sint” became consciously as well as formally its

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motto. Before Turnov, international brotherhood had been, at most, a far-off doubtful ideal: at Turnov, it was a real and searching experience—since Turnov it has become for many a truth, for which life must be laid down.

A dramatic moment quickened the awakened sense of world fellowship, when at the last meeting a cable arrived from Peking, where, twelve thousand miles away, in China, the World's Student Christian Federation Conference was meeting. Eight hundred student representatives of thirty nations, the Oriental lands being largely represented, had deliberated the same questions and had come to identically the same conclusions as the students at Turnov. The cable announced their decision to continue European Student Relief, to make a mighty effort to save students in Russia and the Russian refugees and to promote by every possible means the further development of co-operative self-help.

“Tasks in hours of insight willed
Can be in hours of gloom fulfilled.”

Student representatives of many lands united at Turnov had taken on themselves heavier tasks, both material and spiritual, than they knew. The next E.S.R. Conference was welcomed by the Hungarian student body at Parad, July 1923. Before it assembled there had taken place two mighty disasters to student life—the first landslide of the German mark and the Greek *débâcle* in Asia Minor—each bringing to European Student Relief huge responsibilities in addition to those already assumed in Russia. The Parad Conference confirmed the

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international position taken up at Turnov, this time without serious opposition. But though theoretical opposition was absent, the real difficulties to international fellowship were far more clearly manifest than at Turnov. At Turnov there had been but one breeze of strife; Parad was a succession of storms. The night before the Conference began the Secretary of the Hungarian Mefhosz challenged two Magyar students who had failed in courtesy to their Rumanian guests and nearly had to fight two duels. The German delegation at first refused to remain with the Conference because they would have to meet the French. The Commission on Minorities was a scene of constant demonstration on the part of the Jews against the *numerus clausus* and of anti-Semitic counter demonstration. The Ukrainians used expressions in their report which enraged the Poles. The Turkish delegate declared her faith and nation insulted by the Greek.

It was well that the storms arose and that students from the thirty-three nations represented had to face the real difficulties. All this made the more significant the confirming of the Turnov Magna Carta, and the events of the first and last meetings. The leader of the German delegation opened the first meeting by a bitter attack on the French policy in the Ruhr. It was faithfully translated into French by the French delegate. As the last evening meeting drew to a close, that Frenchman made a quiet but passionate appeal:—

“We have seen here that, on the other side of the great iron wall raised now between our

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nations, there are men and women like ourselves who try as we do to bring some happiness and fellowship into the world. Let us never forget that. We cannot rely upon older people to bring in a better fellowship, but we young men and women can do it if we only dare. Let us dare.”

The German leader stood up to speak: “I have little to say. I can only express my deepest thankfulness to——” he stepped towards the Frenchman and grasped his hand. It was like clear shining after rain. “Now I know what the knights of the Round Table felt when they saw the Holy Grail,” said the South African girl, while the Russian refugee leader declared, “When it was said, ‘We can if we dare,’ I was sceptical, but next minute they had done it.”

There was other progress at Parad. The commissions faced the realities of student life, however disagreeable, and dealt fairly and squarely with concrete situations—the pressing difficulties of refugees and immigrants, the rights of minorities—the last a supremely delicate question, considering that almost every race group there either was, or had been, a minority under the rule of some other nation represented in the room. Reality was imparted to the discussions by a sympathetic recognition of the difficulties in giving lands, struggling as these were with almost universal economic depression. The conference was welded together by the sense of common sacrifice.

Very significant was the proposal of Doctor Mikecz of Hungary, President of the Mefhosz,

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that the resolutions passed at Parad should be submitted to the assemblies of all national student bodies for their ratification or criticism. This was actually done by Hungary, and is a clear indication of the place which European Student Relief has come to occupy in the student world. Significant, too, was the demand that the voice of this new student fellowship should have a regular means of expression and the request that the E.S.R. should publish an international student paper. Ever since Parad, *Vox Studentium*, edited by Donald Grant, has provided the student world with "an open forum" for the expression of student opinion. *Vox* has taken the place of Student Relief publicity. The E.S.R. no longer writes about the student world. It has its own voice and writes about itself as it will.

The third Conference of the E.S.R. was on German soil, at beautiful Schloss Elmau in the Bavarian Alps, July 1924. Just as the Czech and Hungarian Governments had done, so the German authorities gave formal expression of welcome to the world student fellowship and all possible privileges as regards transportation and passports.

The Conference was as mixed as ever, but it faced a new situation. At length the longed-for improvement in student economic conditions had come. Land after land was able to announce that they needed no further help; the emergency student relief task was over; Russia and the refugees alone still required aid: the pressure of famine conditions was removed. Not so, however,

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the pressure of the student world for the continuance of European Student Relief. There was a clear demand for further developments of co-operation and fellowship and a clear conviction that the E.S.R. provided the atmosphere and spirit in which alone such developments could take place. A strong wish was expressed that European Student Relief should change its name to something which more clearly indicated its world sphere and purpose.¹ The final resolution confirmed the Turnov and Parad motions on international questions:—

"The Conference feels that the time is passing when the collection of money to the same extent as heretofore will be needed, but it expresses the desire that the organisation shall continue in some form to express the ideal of international comradeship and mutual responsibility of students in their cultural tasks which it has previously expressed in material relief."

The phrase "cultural co-operation" involves an effort to relieve spiritual as well as intellectual needs. A note timidly sounded before was this time heard more clearly. One feature of the Elmau programme was a series of addresses from different national standpoints, German, Slav,

¹ This wish was fulfilled when in May, 1925, the General Committee decided that from henceforth the name European Student Relief should be changed to *International Student Service*. In French, it will be called as heretofore, *l'Entr'aide Universitaire*, in German, *Weltstudentenwerk*.

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English, Indian, American and Hungarian on *The Ideal of the University*. The ideals as set forth differed in many ways, but all demanded from the universities emphasis on service as the motive of education and a training for service through character building. The Germans and Russians went further, and made clear that true education was impossible apart from religion, while the Findings on *The Ideal of the University* declared that "no education is complete which does not allow opportunity for the fullest development of man's spiritual nature and capacities." The student fellowship is not ashamed to admit that it is seeking a Weltanschauung, a fundamental philosophy of life, in harmony with which it can work out its destiny.

Interesting sidelights on the Elmau Conference were given by the Conference of the Deutsche Studentenschaft, the whole body of German students from Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria, which was held immediately afterwards at Innsbruck. A German professor proposed a motion condemning European Student Relief and left in anger because the Conference refused to ratify it. He said he knew nothing about the E.S.R. and had never met one of its leaders, but one thing he did know, it had introduced into Germany a dangerous magazine, *Vox Studentium*, subversive of true German national ideals amongst students. A remarkable series of resolutions on university reform passed by this same student conference at Innsbruck makes clear that German national student ideals are not so far apart from those of the Elmau Conference:—

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"There is no longer any unified ideal of culture amongst us. It has been destroyed by materialism, scepticism and undue specialisation. Students to-day face this crisis with full understanding. They know that they cannot escape the ordeal. They must go through it unflinching to the end, for it is in essence a religious crisis. Christian theology, philosophy, natural science and art all confirm this reading of the situation: they all have their contribution to make. Out of this compelling search for the Absolute emerges our new attitude to life, in the light of which all the various questionings about the meaning of life have, for us, content, direction and value. The whole student body is unanimous in the conviction that our fellowship is challenged to a great moral achievement, of which the foundations must be: purity of mind and body, together with self-discipline and a sense of responsibility; service of our people as a social obligation; the spirit of sacrifice and the true courage of heroism, as our duty to the Fatherland for the sake of Mankind."

The fourth Conference of European Student Relief is yet to come. It will be held in Switzerland, August 1925. If prophecy may be ventured, the Swiss Conference will be still more definite in its facing of vital questions. By demand from many student quarters the fourth Conference will again consider the Ideal of the University, this time definitely in connection with international

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relationships, and will endeavour to discover "the fundamentals essential to overcome the obstacles of race, nationality and so forth, which stand in the way of real international co-operation and understanding." Students are openly seeking a spiritual foundation strong enough to carry the temple of international goodwill which they frankly desire to build.

Truly a long distance has been travelled since that moment three years ago when seventy students were dumped with their baggage on the platform at Turnov, doubtfully eyeing each other and full of nervous apprehension as to whether they could possibly live for a week together without explosion.

CHAPTER XVI

THE INCREASING PURPOSE

Europe Ten Years Hence.

Look backwards and consider the mighty results when one small action sets a chain of cause and effect in motion. In 1914 the sound of a shot fired in a small Bosnian town reverberated through the world; its sound was carried on by the roar of cannon till half the world was in ruins. In 1920 a thought was thrown into the midst of a small group of women students in Austria. Like a stone dropped in the ocean of the student world, this thought of comradeship and love has carried ripples to the furthest shore and has set in motion tides of healing waters which have brought health and renewal to the world's academic life. What if that stone had not been dropped into the waters of world student thought? To seek the answer to this question will give us some idea of what the real work of European Student Relief has been.

Look forward and ask another question. What of Europe ten years hence? How far will the world in 1935 show marks of European Student Relief? The Japanese at Turnov pictured the world to-day as a huge block of marble, the material for a great work of new creation to be done by our student

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fellowship. What is that fellowship carving on this great stone? The artists of the new age are the young men and women of to-day, free from the trammels of old tradition. Theirs is the sculptor's task to work on the block of marble and together to carve thereon their ideal of the world as one; this must be the masterpiece of the present generation of students.

The rôle of prophet is a dangerous one, yet certain things concerning 1935 we can assert with a measure of confidence. The block of marble will show the shaping influence of the student movement expressed in the E.S.R. University life ten years hence will be fuller and freer. The extension of the work-student system to land after land will have secured the freedom of the universities from the sway of political parties and freedom to enter university life for every worthy student. Men and women from every class of society and from every school of thought will receive training together for the leadership of their country. We have seen the students of the intelligentsia reading Goethe in the coal mine. We shall see the coal miner in the university teaching his fellow students of the intelligentsia to read his life and understand his thought.

No longer will an economic or political crisis of necessity cause the closing of the universities and the debarring of thousands of students from their chance to build their country. The rebuilding of the lands of Central Europe will be further advanced by far than would have been possible, had not the E.S.R. secured to them the devoted service

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of their sons and daughters in building the new states and rebuilding the old. The last five years have seen thousands of future builders saved from starvation, physical and mental—from cold and disease. In lands like Poland, where before the war eighty per cent. of the population was illiterate there will be a universal system of schools with trained teachers. Land will be redeemed through new methods of agriculture taught to the peasants by students. Already the students from the Agricultural Schools of Russia are spending their vacations helping the peasants in the fields and teaching them improved methods of cultivation. Voices that might have been silenced in death or in the sheer struggle for bread will be heard from the pulpit or the professor's chair, bringing guidance and inspiration; a new generation of healthy children, endowed not only with the brains of their student parents, but with healthy bodies, will owe their chance of life and leadership to what was done in their university years for the physical and mental health of their fathers and mothers.

The world will be richer by many a discovery made by those whom the E.S.R. has saved. A Russian university, even while paralysed by famine conditions, produced a scientist who discovered insulin simultaneously with, if not before, Doctor Banting of Toronto. The cure for cancer, for tuberculosis, for typhus is yet unknown, and millions await release from these scourges. By 1935 some student, himself saved from starvation in a student kitchen, may have released millions from the fear and torture of cancer. The exchange of thought

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between men of learning is open once more and blood is flowing back to the starved brains of professors. Some fruit of intellectual relief, a book given to a university library, some foreign scientific magazine sent to a professor, may have started a train of thought and discovery which will give the world an effective weapon against tuberculosis.

By 1935, personalities trained and inspired in the student friendship movement will be working out the vision they have gained, in many a post of national and international significance. By their means, social and reconciling influences will pass with freedom and rapidity from one land to another. Already, important national, social and religious organisations in divers lands have discovered the finance secretary they have been seeking, in some man or woman who first showed money-raising gifts in work for the E.S.R. Already in the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and in great international social and religious movements you can find men and women who got their first training in international work in some university campaign launched on behalf of European students. When, a few months since, a group of far-sighted men and women wished to establish a Club House in Geneva where the students of the nations, as they gather in that home of international idealism, may learn to know each other in close social relations, it was to the European Student Relief office that they turned for help and begged a share of Conrad Hoffmann's time to guide the new enterprise. Their dream is that this Club may grow to a building which will become the home and headquarters

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of all international student societies. The work of the European Student Relief already has brought results beyond its own immediate circle. The international standpoint of the Student Forum in the United States owes much direct inspiration to the visits of its pioneers to the Turnov Conference and other conferences of the World's Student Christian Federation. Both the *Confédération Internationale des Étudiants* and the *Pax Romana* would allow that their efforts for student relief owe much to the example of the European Student Relief.

Such things concerning 1935 we *do* venture to prophesy, but why not much more than those? Shall we dream for a moment of what may be? Students of the world united can put through a big thing; this we have seen. May they not accomplish far greater things if, in the same spirit as they have already shown, they turn to yet more difficult and critical tasks?

Even now the students at the European Student Relief Conferences begin to talk of a united effort to discover and combat the causes of war. May it not be that by 1935 a new generation of leaders now in the university will have actually succeeded in concrete instances in averting war? Not long since, in one of the South American Republics, the voice of a younger leader, raised on a boundary question against war and in favour of arbitration with a neighbouring country, carried a hostile Senate with him. That man had met the students of the other nation concerned, in a student camp like Turnov ten years before, and had there registered

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a vow that if ever he got the chance to avert war between the two countries, he would do so at all costs. Many such vows are made at student relief conferences. May we not hope soon to see an all-inclusive League of Nations made possible by the efforts of those who have belonged to the full League of Youth they have found in European Student Relief?

But the students of to-day face questions even more burning than those between the nations. To-day the race problem is the crucial question of the world. It will be so in greater measure in 1935. Three great race questions may at any moment plunge the world into war. They contain possibilities of precipitating catastrophe even more potent than disputes between nations and states—the race frictions round the Pacific Basin, the problem of Black and White, and the age-long strife between Jew and Gentile. Yet in the cause of student relief we have seen, albeit under great difficulties, Jew and Gentile working together, black and white contributing to each other's welfare.

"I would not urge the cause of student relief upon you so strongly," writes a white leader to the chief secretary of the Coloured Student Young Men's Christian Associations in the United States, "if I did not feel that the issues at stake in the realm of internationalism and the whole problem of inter-racial dealing are so acute. God only knows what might be the result if your coloured students, with all their poverty and difficulties, gave

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our white students this year a demonstration of great, generous, self-sacrificing action in this Friendship Fund, which so uniquely binds together all the different nations and races of the world."

Already through student relief many Western lands have realised something of the spiritual message the East can bring them, and the East has realised the fellowship of the West through helping to meet its material need. There are definite plans in hand for a Pan-Pacific Student Conference, called by the World's Student Christian Federation to consider race relationships. If all these beginnings are pursued in the spirit of Turnov and Parad, may we not hope that ten years hence students working together may begin to contribute some answer to the great riddle of race?

The other great strife centre lies in the domain of industry. In Germany at least the Work Student is beginning to bridge the gulf between employed and employer. In those countries to which the Work Student idea has spread—and it is spreading widely—*there* will the Work Student and his comrades in mine or factory help towards the solution of this question, as burning a one as that of race, and closely connected therewith.

Dreams, do you say? Well, then, let us face realities. They are bad enough. The best scientific brains of the world's youth are to-day employed by Governments not for the rebuilding of the world, but for the discovery of fresh means of destruction. One Government alone is budgeting

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\$920,000 (£200,000) yearly for military explosives research. But yesterday, in recruiting for the Anti-Aircraft Force, the London newspapers described a gas bomb which in nine minutes can destroy all life in a city five miles square. Fear, suspicion and hatred are anything but dead. In country after country fierce nationalist demonstrations are taking place in which embittered students play a leading part. Each nation proclaims its love of peace and readiness to take measures to secure peace, always provided, of course, that their own special grievance is first removed. Old systems of diplomacy and balance of power are being revived and strengthened, in country after country a militarist reaction appears to be gaining ground, class war is openly proclaimed and worked for, scorn and mockery await those who declare their belief in the possibility of world progress towards international and inter-racial peace.

The record of European Student Relief has given cause to thank God and take courage, but there, too, confession must be made of failure to overcome difficulties and accomplish urgent tasks. The salvage of the refugee student from starvation and despair has been a great thing, but we face the ugly fact that there is grave danger that the 600 Russian refugee students who are leaving the universities of Central Europe this year will join the ranks of the unemployed. The difficulty of finding professional work for them in the countries which have trained them is very great, seeing that the hope of their early return to Russia must be abandoned.

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An effort to meet the urgent call of the new countries to their universities for students in sufficient numbers to supply the immediate needs of those countries' reconstruction has resulted in what is, for the present needs, a serious over-production of qualified men and women in certain professions. The carrying out of the task, which still remains to be done amongst refugees and in the relief of intellectual famine, is hampered by difficulties which arise between competing student international bodies. To make a lengthy catalogue of difficulties is only too easy and such a catalogue represents grim realities. The future must be faced with these realities held steadily full in view.

Nevertheless, let no one mock at our dreams. In 1920, realities as grim as those to-day were faced by those who initiated European Student Relief. The cynic told them that students could never raise for relief one-tenth of what as a matter of fact they have raised. The sceptic assured them that the Work Student was impossible, and proclaimed his conviction that the work of student relief would inevitably be wrecked by nationalist or racial hatreds. But students of many lands united to prove the sceptics wrong and to do far more than the most ardent of the faithful dared to dream.

European Student Relief was a venture of faith. Its sponsors took great risks, and their faith has been rewarded. They have found in the world around them a reaching out after just such things as they longed to see, and signs of hope in every direction. To-day is a day when men desire to

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know each other. Travel agencies are multiplying in every land—you hear of a new one each week. Men and women would go and see for themselves. To-day is a day of world organisations of every kind, commercial, scientific, student, labour and what-not, and most of these world organisations, though limited in their operation by their political, religious or economic affiliations, are yet in their own way reaching out towards understanding and friendship.

In their midst is the fellowship of European Student Relief. Openly and avowedly the child of the World's Student Christian Federation, it has from the beginning drawn into its work men and women of every religious affiliation or of none, and has dispensed their contributions without regard to national, political or religious considerations. In its historical development, it has escaped many of the difficulties which hamper other world student organisations in carrying out rapid and large international and inter-racial developments. European Student Relief is an attitude, a spirit, a programme of service, not an organisation. It has no membership, it is never called upon to deal with the affiliation of national organisations and can pursue its work of fellowship and co-operation unfettered by questions of affiliation and scope with which the basis of other world organisations rightly compels them to deal. Men and women of all political parties and of all churches and religions have found themselves able to take part in it with no strain on their conscience and loyalties. May it not be that this fellowship came into existence

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to provide a meeting ground where the loyal members of other world student organisations may work together in a circle still wider than their own?

"We can if we will" has been the note sounded time and again by students in E.S.R. conferences. "If we will!" What can bend the student will towards reconciliation and world peace? What can energise that will in the face of enormous difficulties and problems that seem insoluble? What can secure that each succeeding generation shall feel that the subtler ills of mind and spirit are as desperate and yet as possible of remedy as the material ills of 1920? No hope unless a continued dynamic is discovered, but a desire for such a dynamic is a new and hopeful sign in the student world. A new note has been heard of late in European Student Relief conferences, a note of desire for a spiritual—nay, more, a religious—conception of the world, strong enough to bear up the student as he faces his world tasks. Increasingly there is heard in such gatherings testimony to a sense of guidance and a dawning belief that there is a goal which this student fellowship was created to reach. There is, moreover, a growing consciousness that there is power available to make possible the attainment of that goal.

Students one by one have felt an impulse to some task of rebuilding; following the inward call, they have found themselves in touch with some group of like vision. One group, intent on reconstruction, has opened a window through an old wall looking eastwards; another has fashioned a doorway through which can come the ministers of

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hope ; other groups have made windows of painted glass, or have adorned a wall with mosaics or with carving ; others have shaped mighty pillars of marble or granite ; yet others have cut down trees and prepared the timbered beams. Only slowly has the knowledge dawned on them that each and all are working out a purpose, the Plan of the Divine Architect, for a temple whose beauty and grandeur they as yet but faintly apprehend. Not yet is the purpose fulfilled for which they have been called to work, even the outlines of the plan are not yet clear, but they have seen enough of the purpose of their labour to assure them that the Hand which has so far traced the plan for their several groups, will show them, as a united company, an Increasing Purpose. They rejoice that they have accomplished something for the Rebuilding of Europe, they are glad indeed that they have shared in writing the Student Chapter of Post-War Reconstruction, they believe that in the task they are attempting they are part of an Increasing Purpose, not for Europe only, but for the world. Through doubt and discouragement and through the long night when the vision is hid from their eyes, this faith sustains them.

“With aching hands and bleeding feet
We dig and heap, lay stone on stone ;
We bear the burden and the heat
Of the long day, and wish 'twere done.
Not till the hours of light return
All we have built do we discern.”

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SOURCE AND AMOUNTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Countries.	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	Total Swiss Frs.
Argentina	1,820.65	37,838.45	—	6,006.35	—	45,665.45
Australia	—	3,563.35	82,510.10	2,043.55	2,607.90	90,724.90
Austria	—	7,517.50	4,600.20	1,141.85	—	13,259.55
Belgium	—	—	228.00	—	—	228.00
Brazil	—	85.10	—	1,097.34	—	1,182.44
British West Indies	—	309.25	—	—	—	1,302.45
Canada	993.20	16,513.15	31,064.65	33,012.85	—	89,641.50
Czechoslovakia	9,050.85	4,964.06	8,400.20	629.40	—	14,863.66
China	864.00	1,878.00	769.35	269.16	—	4,544.96
China	1,628.45	—	616.00	2,022.35	1,273.55	6,119.10
Chile	—	2,207.20	6,573.80	4,474.00	—	15,446.90
Denmark	4,399.10	—	—	—	4,339.60	4,339.60
Dutch East Indies	—	—	—	—	—	1,636.45
Egypt	163.50	1,094.40	378.55	—	—	1,787.80
Estonia	1.20	1,464.40	322.20	—	—	9,674.64
Finland	9,142.64	507.00	25.00	—	—	28,900.14
France	931.75	14,031.84	11,110.85	2,825.70	—	12,657.88
Germany	—	5,875.43	5,599.75	1,182.70	—	2,851.05
Greece	—	—	2,851.05	—	—	2,851.05
Hungary	—	2,242.49	260.70	—	—	2,503.19
India and Ceylon	7,128.00	3,390.10	5,546.50	3,329.15	2,266.52	21,660.27
Italy	1,201.15	344.40	—	—	115.55	1,661.10
Japan	571.70	9,777.29	42,632.45	25.70	—	53,007.14
Yugo-Slavia	—	—	13,216.00	—	242.82	13,458.82
Latvia	—	2,118.75	—	—	51.90	2,170.65
Netherlands	39,218.00	71,024.50	374,041.00	11,510.65	50.60	599,439.75

New Zealand	—	3,201.37	47,045.50	28,109.90	25,186.35	103,543.12
Norway	—	19,119.55	1,430.80	30,223.05	—	71,223.46
Palestine	—	22.50	—	1,042.45	—	1,064.95
Peru	—	—	—	108.65	371.35	480.00
Portugal	598.05	560.05	81.75	—	—	1,239.85
Poland	—	941.62	1,675.75	—	—	2,617.37
Rumania	985.40	566.00	192.75	—	4.60	1,748.75
South Africa	69,460.19	7,182.95	5,183.90	69,324.90	5,542.43	156,604.37
Sweden	11,755.23	3,222.90	14,174.40	227,534.20	1,391.80	258,098.53
Switzerland	1,863.70	13,184.05	54,025.80	16,605.00	4,498.78	90,237.33
Turkey	—	—	360.75	—	—	360.75
United Kingdom	514,349.89	600,202.81	459,242.81	482,102.65	77,782.49	2,133,680.65
Uruguay	—	1,000.00	—	5,008.85	—	6,068.85
United States	649,215.28	1,280,759.60	1,019,170.15	2,303,925.90	799,464.37	6,052,535.30
U.S.A., A.R.A. Feeding	1,725,000.00	—	—	—	—	1,725,000.00
Nansen	—	—	—	24,420.00	—	24,420.00
Total	3,070,785.99	2,116,710.06	2,193,342.71	3,361,711.30	925,190.61	11,667,740.67
Interests	2,297.12	4,513.02	2,934.65	469.55	3,170.37	13,384.71
Sundry Receipts	—	—	2,227.80	608.00	8,880.69	11,716.49
Grand Total	3,073,083.11	2,121,223.08	2,198,595.16	3,362,788.85	937,241.67	11,692,841.87

- I. The above figures represent cash, plus value of gifts in kind, such as food, clothing, and books.
- II. The value of clothing is estimated at Sw. Frs. 6.00 per kilo, but the actual value, particularly of the clothing sent to Russia, is much higher.
- III. The figures for the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway include sums of money collected by organisations other than European Student Relief, but about which the Geneva Office received full reports.
- IV. The figures for 1924-25 represent only the donations, interest and sundry receipts received by Geneva Headquarters up to May 1st, and by the Moscow Office of the American section of European Student Relief up to March 1st, 1925.
- V. For ascertaining value of the above figures in dollars or pounds, use the following approximate rates:
 $\frac{\$1.00}{\text{Sw. Frs. 5.70}}$
 $\frac{\text{£1}}{\text{Sw. Frs. 24.65}}$

APPENDIX II

AMOUNTS DISTRIBUTED

Countries	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	Total Swiss Frs.
Asia Minor	35,000.00	53,440.38	7,116.40	—	—	95,556.78
Austria	374,815.70	181,858.54	140,578.12	16,110.20	2,603.78	715,966.34
Bulgaria, Refugees	—	—	5,025.95	4,232.20	1,110.75	10,374.90
Czechoslovakia	16,293.97	218,645.13	209,933.60	26,850.55	16,615.50	488,338.75
Estonia	19,832.85	8,403.05	11,710.65	1,463.45	1,042.00	42,452.00
France, Refugees	908.60	26,971.94	10,645.60	4,182.95	7,173.60	49,882.69
Germany, Foreign Students	—	—	—	45,598.35	21,639.25	67,237.60
" "	209,976.90	348,361.26	255,193.90	1,411,185.15	9,772.20	2,234,489.41
Greece	—	330.40	44,824.94	10,484.50	3,862.80	59,502.64
Hungary	61,414.50	157,436.73	53,483.35	5,623.70	—	277,958.28
Japan	—	—	—	5,740.00	—	5,740.00
Yugo-Slavia, Refugees	—	—	41,025.95	62,013.95	27,325.25	130,965.15
Latvia	1,620.30	13,069.05	6,492.25	—	201.50	21,383.10
Lithuania	—	1,459.75	2,432.20	—	—	3,891.95
Poland	141,847.63	303,063.75	87,074.20	21,145.10	4,468.55	558,199.23
Rumania	—	—	2,275.60	—	309.00	2,584.60
Russia, International Section	—	6,533.28	694,235.86	174,552.90	8,384.91	883,806.95
Russia, American Section	—	—	1,205,462.89	1,469,140.55	*713,051.12	3,388,254.56
South Africa	—	—	—	—	3,712.50	3,712.50
Sundry Relief	—	—	—	—	238.65	338.65
Switzerland	55,490.00	87,726.65	13,600.65	3,781.75	2,885.20	163,484.25
Turkey	13,981.60	21,970.98	44,510.10	3,836.45	—	84,299.13
A.R.A. Feeding in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Baltics	1,725,000.00	—	—	—	—	1,725,000.00

Refugee Students, England	—	—	—	13,187.05	1,498.15	14,685.20
Dutch Clothing (Distributed various countries)	—	—	150,000.00	—	—	150,000.00
Total	2,656,182.05	1,429,270.89	2,986,322.21	3,279,828.80	826,500.71	11,178,104.66
Exchange Adjustments	—	10,912.63	—	1,253.20	278.43	12,444.26
Books distributed from United Kingdom	—	—	—	5,104.00	—	5,104.00
Geneva Headquarters Expenses	44,890.44	93,146.00	57,058.35	85,278.60	64,748.07	345,121.46
London Office Expenses	15,934.10	22,957.42	26,552.20	839.05	1,002.26	61,285.03
London-Geneva Equipment	6,451.92	—	—	624.80	—	7,076.72
Advances to be accounted for	—	—	—	10,377.91	10,117.42	20,495.33
Balance cash o/h Geneva, May 1st	—	—	—	—	15,501.30	15,501.30
Direct Loans to Student Organisations	—	—	—	—	39,204.80	39,204.80
Geneva Headquarters Special Expenses	—	—	—	—	8,544.31	8,544.31
Grand Totals	2,723,458.51	1,556,286.94	3,063,932.76	3,383,266.36	965,897.30	11,692,841.87

I. The above figures represent cash, plus value of gifts in kind, such as food, clothing and books.
 II. The value of clothing is estimated at Sw. Frs. 6.00 per kilo, but the actual value, particularly of the clothing sent to Russia, is much higher.
 III. The figures for 1924-25 represent only the amounts distributed by the Geneva Headquarters up to May 1st, and by the Moscow office of the American Section of European Student Relief up to March 1st, 1925.
 IV. For ascertaining value of the above figures in dollars or pounds, use the following approximate rates:
 \$1.00 = Sw. Frs. 5.70
 £1 = " 24.65

* Ear-marked, but not yet spent.

EUROPEAN STUDENT RELIEF

CHRONOLOGY

1920.

- February. Visit of Woman Secretary of World's Student Christian Federation to Vienna, followed by an appeal to the Movement connected with the Federation for the relief of needy Austrian students.
- March. Relief operations on behalf of needy students in Vienna begun by the Federation in co-operation with the Society of Friends.
- March—September. Operations continued and enlarged in Austria: the Federation extends student relief work to Hungary.
- Summer. Relief work on behalf of foreign students in Switzerland continued by the Federation. Student Relief begun by the Society of Friends in Germany and by the American Y.M.C.A. in Czechoslovakia and Poland.
- August 7. Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation at *Beatenberg*, Switzerland. Decision made that the Federation launch a student relief programme in Asia Minor and Turkey, Austria, the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and for foreign students in Switzerland and France. Appeal made to students all over the world on behalf of this newly-formed *European Student Relief*.
- September—November. Organisation of campaigns for funds and supplies in different countries. Organisation of the relief efforts in the respective fields. Opening of the Central Office for European Student Relief in *Geneva*.
- October 1. Beginning of enlarged relief operations in *Austria* under European Student Relief.
- December 20. Beginning of active operations of the Geneva Headquarters with arrival of the Executive Secretary and Associate.

1921.

- January. Beginning of European Student Relief in *Poland* and *Germany*; expansion of operations in *Hungary*.

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CHRONOLOGY

- February. Beginning of European Student Relief in *Estonia* and *Turkey* and *Asia Minor*.
- March. Beginning of operations in *Latvia* and for refugee students in *France*.
- March 1—April 15. Assumption of student feeding operations by the American Relief Administration in the Baltic States, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland with the funds furnished by American students.
- March 28—31. Conference of Student Relief Field Representatives in *Prague*.
- April 15. Full programme, including student feeding, provision of clothing, books, housing and promotion of self-help schemes, in operation in Poland, the Baltic States, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Turkey and Asia Minor, France and Switzerland.
- June 2—6. Decision to continue European Student Relief for academic year 1921—1922, made by the Executive Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation at *Hardenbroek*, Holland.
- Summer. Visitation of relief fields by American, Australian and British student leaders.
- September. Second Field Representatives' Conference in *Warsaw*. European Student Relief enters *Lithuania*.
- December. Dr. Nansen makes special appeal to European Student Relief on behalf of famine-stricken students in *Russia*.

1922.

- January. E. C. Colton goes to *Russia* to organise the American Section of European Student Relief.
- April. Donald Grant goes to *Russia* to organise the International Section of European Student Relief.
- April 1—12. Pekin Conference of the Federation—decision to continue Student Relief for academic year 1922—1923.
- April 8—16. Conference at *Turnov* in Czechoslovakia—the first student conference called by European Student Relief for discussion of student relief future and programme.
- Summer. Student Friendship Pilgrimage from America. Blacker Student Party from England. European Student Relief exhibit at *Oberammergau*.
- September. Special relief measures for Smyrna student refugees in *Greece* and *Near East*. Initiation of Student Relief work for refugees in *Bulgaria*, *Yugo-Slavia* and *Rumania*.

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REBUILDING EUROPE

1923.

- February—March. Student feeding operations in Russia at their highest level; 31,450 receiving a daily meal.
 May 19—26. Meeting of European Student Relief Committee. Decision to continue relief for 1923-1924.
 June 14—24. Second European Student Relief Conference in *Parad*, Hungary.
 July. First Issue of *Vox Studentium*.
 September. Earthquake in *Japan*. European Student Relief sends money for restoration of libraries in Tokyo.
 October, 1923—March, 1924. Development of relief work for Russian professors made possible by special gifts from America.

1924.

- May. Withdrawal of the International Section of European Student Relief from Russia.
 July 24—31. Third European Student Relief Conference held at *Elmau*, Germany.
 August. Meeting of the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation and the Executive Committee of the E.S.R. at High Leigh, England. Decide to continue European Student Relief for another year.
 September. The first large loans to Student Self-help Committees made. The Executive Secretary of European Student Relief at the Warsaw Conference of the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants. Plans for collaboration between the two organisations formulated.
 October 5. Meeting of the Executive Committee of European Student Relief with a Commission of the Confédération Internationale to discuss collaboration.

1925.

- January. First appropriation sent for relief work among the native students in *South Africa*.
 January—March. Balkan tour of the Executive Secretary to aid in organisation of Student Self-help Committees, particularly in Rumania.
 April. Withdrawal of the American Section of European Student Relief from Russia.
 May. Executive Committee meeting of European Student Relief at Bas Mornex, France. Adoption of a new title—*International Student Service*.

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