

Figure 1:

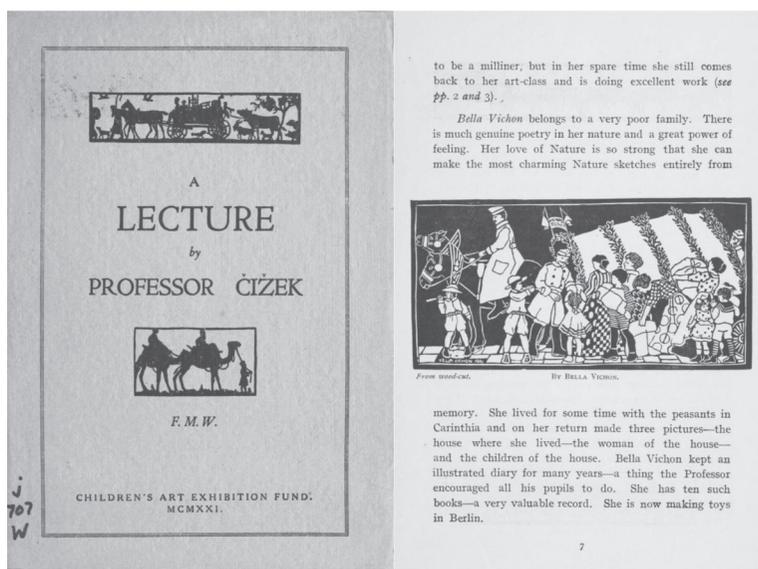


« Gina Laing (Cootes) de la Première nation Uchucklesaht et survivante de l'école résidentielle d'Alberni, a reçu en cadeau une reproduction de l'image qu'elle a peinte à l'école lorsqu'elle était enfant, de la part de Mary Jo Hughes, Directrice des University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries. Au cours de la cérémonie de rapatriement, elle a aussi reçu l'original. En raison de la fragilité de toutes les œuvres originales, les survivants ont aussi reçu des reproductions pour leur usage personnel. » — Andrea Walsh. Étudiés par les anthropologues, exposés à travers le pays, et discutés entre les générations des membres des communautés autochtones, de tels dessins appartiennent à une large entreprise de poursuite en justice, de recherche de la vérité, de réconciliation et de commémoration.

“Alberni Indian Residential School survivor Gina Laing (Cootes) of First Nation Uchucklesaht received, as a gift, the reproduction of a painting she produced as a child while at the school, from Mary Jo Hughes, Director of the University of Victoria Legacy Art Galleries. During the repatriation ceremony, she was handed the original. However, owing to the fragility of all original works, other survivors were also given copies for their personal use.” — Andrea Walsh. Studied by anthropologists, exhibited throughout the country, and discussed among intergenerational members of aboriginal communities, such drawings belong to a vast undertaking of legal action, truth, reconciliation, and commemoration.

DESSINS D'ENFANTS ET AIDE HUMANITAIRE :
EXPRESSIONS ET EXPOSITIONS TRANSNATIONALES

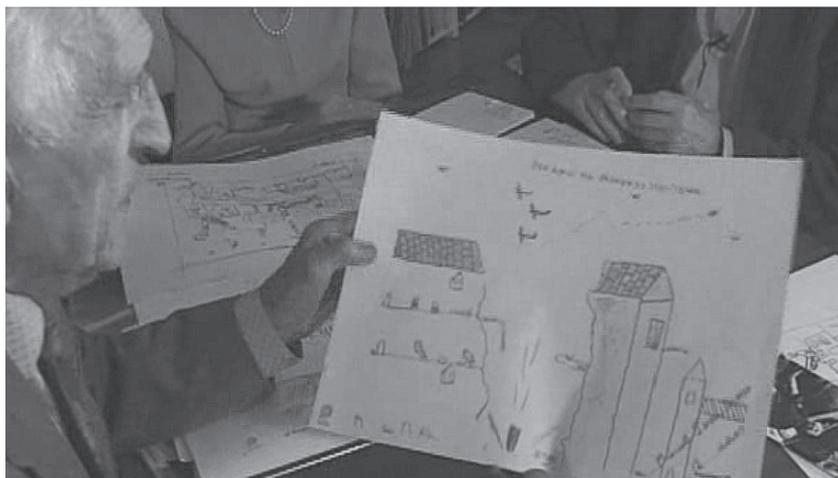
Figure 2:



Exécutées par des enfants viennois en temps de crise sous la direction de Franz Cizek, artiste viennois avant-gardiste, ces gravures sur bois furent présentées à un public composé de travailleurs humanitaires et de pédagogues, afin de stimuler une levée de fonds pour l'œuvre caritative des Quakers dans la capitale autrichienne à l'époque de sa reconstruction, de même que réformer l'enseignement de l'art dans les villes de Grande Bretagne et d'Amérique où l'exposition voyagea. L'expression joyeuse des enfants symbolise l'endurance, l'espoir et le caractère original de l'art juvénile. Attribuée à Bella Vichon, cette procession datée de 1916 demeure l'une des rares représentations de cette collection mettant en scène des soldats.

Executed by Viennese children at in a time of hardship, under the guidance of the progressive Viennese artist Franz Cizek, these woodcuts were presented to a humanitarian and pedagogical public, to raise funds for the Quakers' work in the Austrian capital under reconstruction, and to transform the teaching of art in the hundreds of British and American places where the exhibition travelled. The joy of children's expressions symbolised resilience, hope, and the originality of children's art. Bella Vichon's scene of a procession executed in 1916 is one of the rare ones to include soldiers.

Figure 3:

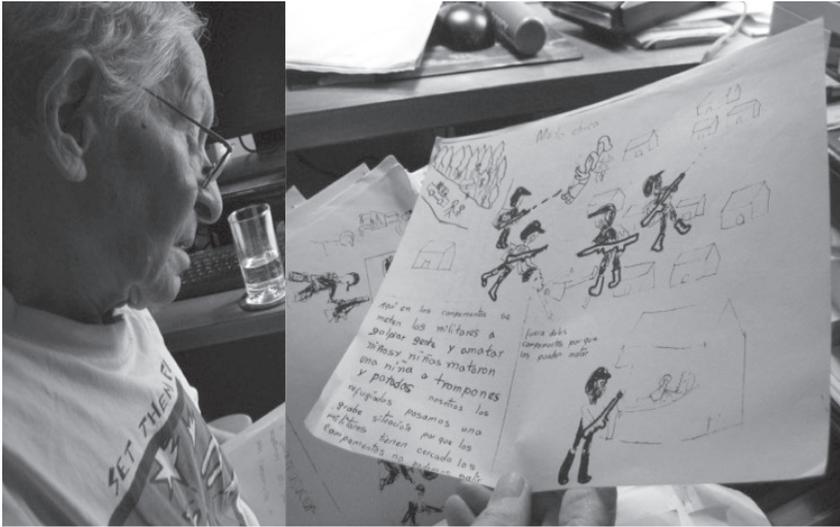


Simultanéité des événements, détails des descriptions des armes, image d'un enfant emmené par la main, drapeaux républicains, ambulance, tentes et grabats, autant de témoignages visuels d'une expérience enfantine de la guerre, vraisemblablement de première main. Récoltés dans l'un des refuges républicains pour enfants déplacés ou victimes de la guerre d'Espagne, ces dessins, comme des centaines d'autres provenant du conflit, étaient censés aider les pensionnaires à surmonter leurs difficultés. Reçus au Canada par le Président du Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, ils devaient émouvoir pour provoquer solidarités internationales et donations humanitaires. Exposés en ligne par les Archives provinciales de l'Ontario, ils servent aujourd'hui à commémorer les "enfants qui se retrouvent sans défense au cœur d'un conflit armé" et "rappellent la fragilité et, en même temps, la résilience des enfants pendant des périodes d'adversité."

Simultaneous events, detailed description of weapons, a child led by the hand, Republican flags, ambulance, tents and stretchers: all these images are but visual testimonies of children's wartime experience, likely first-hand drawings. Collected in one of the Republican refuges for displaced children or war victims, these artistic expressions — as hundreds of others executed during the Spanish Civil War — must have helped refugee children to cope with their ordeal. The president of the Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy used these drawings to stimulate international solidarity and humanitarian donations. Posted online by Archives of Ontario, they now serve to commemorate "children who find themselves defenseless in the midst of an armed conflict" and "remind us of both children's vulnerability and resilience during periods of adversity."

CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS AND HUMANITARIAN AID:
TRANSNATIONAL EXPRESSIONS AND EXHIBITIONS

Figure 4:



Humanitaire d'Oxfam Canada en mission au Honduras au début des années 1980, Meyer Brownstone a conservé les dessins d'un enfant avec lequel il s'était lié d'amitié et dont il a perdu la trace. La représentation picturale expressive assortie de la description du traitement brutal et de l'assassinat de civils arrachés à leur foyer par de sombres soldats continue de l'émuouvoir. À la fois souvenirs et témoignages, ces dessins se trouvent aujourd'hui dans un fonds éponyme déposé à la Carleton University Library Archives and Research Collection que consultent les descendants des victimes, les travailleurs humanitaires et les historiens, en sus des photographies et des rapports produits lors de ses visites.

Meyer Brownstone, an Oxfam Canada Humanitarian visitor in Honduran camps in the early 1980s, has kept the drawings of a child he befriended and never found again. These vivid pictorial and written descriptions of the brutal handling and killing of civilians taken out of their homes by dark soldiers continue to move him. They serve as both keepsakes and testimonies, and they are now in his fonds at Carleton University Library Archives and Research Collections, where descendants, humanitarian workers, and historians consult them alongside pictures and reports of his visits.

Sources / credits : Figure 1 : Andrea Walsh | Figure 2 : Francesca M. Wilson, A Lecture by Professor Cizek, London, Children's Art Exhibition Fund, 1921. Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/lectureby00wils> | Figure 3 : "Je m'appelle Alfred Brauner," Guy Baudon, 2011, <http://www.enfance-violence-exil.net/index.php/eve/video/it/13/404/> / 2011 | Figure 4 : Dominique Marshall

Children's Drawings and Humanitarian Aid: Transnational Expressions and Exhibitions

Dominique Marshall*

ABSTRACT

This article offers a broad survey of the use of children's drawings in the history of humanitarian aid, thanks to select examples taken from the author's research in Canada but also elsewhere in the world. It examines how various organizations, over the last decades, and historians have treated these drawings. Borrowing concepts and methods from a host of disciplines, it helps understand the history of childhood psychology, pedagogy, children's art, intergenerational humanitarian relations, children's rights, and juvenile perception in the course of humanitarian interventions. The article uncovers the history of the medium, its promoters, and detractors and further proposes pathways to identify, despite the hurdles, hints of genuine children's expression.

Introduction

In the history of humanitarian aid, children's drawings are omnipresent, for better or for worse. The worse is a "pornography of poverty," a simplistic and paternalistic industry of pity, which speaks only about the symptoms of inequalities and of solutions,

* I would like to thank my colleagues who have encouraged me to write this survey, from Nancy Janovicek to Jo-Anne McCutcheon, including Christelle Sethna, Sarah Glassford, Jill Campbell-Miller, Kevin O'Sullivan as well as the numerous members of the Canadian Network on Humanitarian History, a number of them non-for-profit organization workers. I also want to thank the students who assisted me in this research: Will Tait, Julia Sterparn, Erica Muñoz, Francesca Taucer, Victoria Hawkins, Carlos Uriel Contreras Flores, and Shawn Anctil. Monica Patterson has generously shared her knowledge with me and so did Andrea Walsh through her expertise of children's drawings from the Alberni Indian Residential School. The research projects deriving from these drawings were funded

instead of causes. In this context, the mobilization of actions and works by children may represent some of the most simplistic methods of fundraising for help between nations. The better is a communication between givers and receivers of aid, independent and thoughtful on each side.¹ In these circumstances, children's expression plays another role to unlock opportunities and remove stereotypes. This overview of the multiple and contradictory roles of children's pictorial expression in humanitarian history also shows that international aid is an integral part of the history of drawing, as is the case for its more extensively studied relative, humanitarian photography. Moreover, children's drawings produced or used during humanitarian experiences have played an active part in the development of many types of expertise, from psychology to pedagogy, including philosophy, art history, anthropology, and plastic arts. My study borrows from this knowledge and presents rare practitioners in each discipline who have analysed the genre of humanitarian children's artwork in itself.

This effort to place children's drawings into context and study their meanings for the history of international aid, is relatively new. As a starting point, I focus on the drawings encountered in my research on the history of children's rights and the history of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). I touch on the following aspects: the identity of the artists and the variety of roles that the drawings may have played in their own lives; the contexts, actors, conditions of production, and collection of the drawings; the audiences anticipated and not anticipated by

by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Association of Commonwealth Universities, the Leverhulme Trust, and the Carleton University Research Office. A host of archivists provided help in support of these projects, notably from the State Archives of Geneva, the United Nations Archives, the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum, Library and Archives Canada, Carleton University Library Archives and Research Collection, and Oxfam Archives recently transferred to the Bodleian Library. Finally, I would like to thank Michel Ducharme, Carolyn Podruchny, Jacqueline Holler, and Ian Wereley for their patient and collective work of editing and translation.

the various artists; themes, styles, selection modalities, circulation chains, exhibition, publication, and archiving histories; the nature of contemporary and posterior receptions; problems of ethical and intellectual property related to the drawings' use; the question of the existence of aspects specific to these types of drawings; and their interpretations as a source of historical work.

Drawings from Religious Missions

If we think of missionaries as the first humanitarians, among the oldest drawings by young wards of which I am aware are those painted by Wu Lan, one of the first Chinese in the United States, who arrived in New England in 1823 to study at the Cornwall Foreign Mission School. With a view to raising money, the mission school used exhibits of children's performances and works. Childhood historian Sanchez-Kepler uncovered 19 watercolours accompanied by English and Cantonese texts attributed to a 19-year-old man, as many contributions to a collective "friendship album" for a beloved teacher.² The tools of English and postcolonial literature help her identify pieces of personal expression among the exercises of recopying that the preparation of such albums involved, despite the ponderousness of educational and national codes. The attentive juxtaposition by Wu Lan of two language and pictorial idioms provides keys to understanding the friendships and concerns of a young man making sense of the collision of the two worlds in which he evolved.

The history of colonial education tells us that the space of relative freedom necessary for children's expression was rarely given to non-European pupils of Christian missions. Still, the works of Wu Lan show that the act of painting or writing "open[ed] to other possibilities of expression and gestures toward other possible relations."³ According to sociologist and education historian de La Ferrière, this very opening represents "the source of the rhetorical and emotional power conveyed by these documents."⁴ Thus, the active nature of the childhood drawings would call out to humanitarian audiences for reasons that are different from the appeal of the passive representations of poor children, more

typical of humanitarian campaigns. However, de La Ferrière does not presume the truth of this expression: what counts, he writes, is that “We hear (or we think we hear) the children’s own voices.”⁵ We will return to this point.

One hundred and fifty years later, children’s drawings from the Alberni Indian Residential School in British Columbia, recently exhibited at the Canadian Museum of History as part of the end of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2008-2015),⁶ also represent a collection of children’s expressions rescued from missionary history. In this case, however, the collection involves long-hidden works, with a deferred emotional charge. The Commission had always assumed that the art of adults who had survived the Indian residential schools could hold “a strong cultural and social power,” serving not only as a witness and a means of retrospective healing, but also as an opportunity for education and communication.⁷ The First Nations Family and Child Caring Society of Canada had also called for artistic productions on the theme of reconciliation from today’s Canadian children and used them as the basis of the association’s logo.⁸ Finally, cases were mentioned of artists, including Aboriginal artists, who had given classes in residential schools, offering students both a refuge and some recovery of their self-esteem.⁹ But before the discovery of the Alberni drawings by anthropologist Andrea Walsh from the University of British Columbia, it was hard to imagine that accounts of children at the time of internment had survived the closure of residential schools. Five years ago, she realized that Robert Aller, artist and volunteer art teacher in the early 1960s,¹⁰ had kept 47 paintings done by children at the residential school of Vancouver Island. After this finding, Walsh started to look for the artists and their descendants.¹¹

Local journalist Judith Lavoie gathered the comments of one of the artists, now Hereditary Chef of the Ahousaht First Nation on Vancouver Island. His account shows that, more than the act of drawing, the protection that the teacher of the art class offered, removed as it was from the sexual violence of the dormitory, appears to have motivated the students:

[Maquinna Lewis] George ... was sent to Alberni Indian Residential School when he was about six years old. Soon after his arrival, he jumped at the chance of taking art classes because they would get him out of early bedtime: "They used to put us to bed at 6 p.m. and the art classes were between 7 p.m. and 10 p.m.," he recalled. It was during the evening that most sexual abuse happened — dorm supervisor Arthur Henry Plint was eventually branded a "sexual terrorist" by the courts. "I credit those classes with keeping me from being abused," said George, who was physically abused at the school but escaped the sexual abuse that many of his friends and siblings suffered ... "I want my story kept alive," said George, who remembers the kindness shown to him by volunteer art teacher Robert Aller as being in stark contrast to the harsh realities of life at the school.

Over time, these painted pages have taken on new meanings. Studied by the Commission, exhibited across the country, expressions of young victims, they figure amongst the traces of a scandal hidden for decades. At the Canadian Museum of History, the event of 1 June 2015 included the exhibit of works as well as "the incredible story of the repatriation of these childhood paintings as told by the Survivors themselves, and the role art has played in both truth telling and reconciliation."¹² The exhibit creators suggested that "artworks dealing with trauma contribute to healing either the artist or the public."¹³ The question of their therapeutic value at the time of their production is less well known than their curative value today, and we can hope along with the experts of trauma that they will become objects of cultural studies.¹⁴ After their rediscovery, some of the Alberni paintings returned to the artists, while others were archived. The ethics of their ownership also has a story: two years ago, they became objects of a repatriation ceremony, during which the descendants of the child painters carried the artwork in front of them, as tokens of transmission of memory and possibly a symbol of "cultural vitality."¹⁵

The Alberni paintings, as the Ahousaht Chief recalled in his interview with the *Times Colonist*, also attest to the generosity of a white teacher who, in addition to encouraging the production of the works, recognized the importance of preserving them. Robert Aller did ask each of his students to leave him one painting. Aller taught art in prisons and at the YMCA, and championed Aboriginal art. His work with children, “whose curiosity and spontaneity met his own” and to whom he preferred to give materials to “let them discover their own mode of expression,” represented the most joyful part of his career. Under his tutelage, children who were otherwise punished at the mention of their original culture had a unique opportunity to “remember where they came from . . .,” by painting scenes from their memories and perhaps receiving from Aller the rudiments of Aboriginal artistic traditions.¹⁶ This attention to the pictorial conventions of their own culture might have facilitated the children’s expression. The story of Alberni’s drawings shows a relationship between children’s artwork, philanthropy, and the struggle, in modern art, for the integration of “local stories, practices and beliefs.”¹⁷ We will come back to this theme, present throughout analyses of humanitarian artwork.

If, to my knowledge, we do not find children’s drawings in the archives of the anti-slavery movements, these other ancestors of modern humanitarian aid, it is partly because children’s works are often ephemeral and because the possibility to express oneself through a medium that will survive distance and time declines with diminished wealth. Artists from the mid-nineteenth century who took interest in the particularities of the graphic language of children had already pointed out the transient nature of children’s media of expression. French literary figure Théophile Gautier, for instance, spoke of images of “little fellows charcoaled by lads on the walls” of cities.¹⁸ In 1983, Jean Mohr, the “humanist photographer” and delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), found a way to overcome the precariousness and immobility of the works of displaced children living in the Jordanian camp of Jerash by bringing back the image of a wall covered in scribblings, irremovable signs of free and spontaneous expressions of refugee children.¹⁹

Fifteen years earlier, when passing through Kakya in Uganda, Mohr had “taken images” of school children dancing for visitors, a type of communication that audiences overseas could not directly receive. Looking at the young artists and their works photographed by Mohr, one also understands how, at the time of their production, drawings could offer a form of play for their creators. At the turn of the twentieth century, many reformist educators had already highlighted this aspect of children’s art in campaigns designed to counter the rigidity of the art lessons of their contemporaries. These supporters of “free art” were in turn divided amongst those for whom the role of art stopped there, at games, and those who had seen in it a true means of growth, such as the teacher at the Alberni School.

Mohr recalls that the Red Cross had chosen to send him to tour the camps because of the “softness” of his photographs, focused on testimonies with which “the people could identify.” Concerned not to show his subjects “in the conditions of weakness that would have harmed them,” he photographed the laughing of children and the games they were inventing from “almost nothing,” to convey hope and provoke action and intervention. Last year, for the 150th anniversary of the ICRC, the travelling exhibit of Mohr’s pictures made its way to Ottawa and gave to the expressions of Jerash children a new life. Through Mohr’s work, messages of the youth from Kakya and Jerash crossed time and space, as he had wished: “I remain extremely sensitive to the evolution of what is happening. If my images could still be valuable for other struggles, I would be very happy.”²⁰ This positive aspect of the children’s work collected in Jordan and Kenya represents a key issue for the writing of humanitarian history. The happiness of the subjects might have been not just the product of an adult selection, but the choice of the children themselves. Similarly, child artists’ choices might explain why the Alberni paintings do not appear to have recorded directly the pain of confinement.

Indeed, psychologists, sensitive to the multiplicity of forms of information that a child’s drawing may contain, have studied the cases of youth aware of the uncertainty of their future who

chose to represent only the best of themselves in artwork that they would be proud to leave behind them.²¹ These examples also show that adults are not the only ones to influence the drive and circulation of children's drawings, and that youth themselves have an audience and ends in mind.²² What appears to impress the humanitarians who keep and exhibit this type of artwork is the ability of youth in difficulty to evoke what exists beyond the walls, using their memories or their imagination. Those who want to pay homage to children's lives often believe that there is no better way to do so than to publish these images of hope, as in the case of posthumous collections of the pictorial works of children from clandestine classes of the Terezin Concentration Camp in Nazi Germany.²³ This theme in particular is interesting, because it runs counter to the discredited humanitarian tendency of depicting children as being isolated to generate the pity of donors. Alternatively, it is possible that the children of Albemarle kept quiet, reduced to silence out of fear of an omnipresent enemy, as many participants to a "culture of silence" maintained by their seniors.²⁴

The Great War and its Aftermath

The young artists associated with the humanitarian work of Herbert Hoover at the time of the World War I, first in Belgium, then in central Europe, and finally in the Soviet Union, were often children of the middle class sending American donors a message of gratitude at the instruction of their teachers. Sent in groups, produced in school settings, their images and texts are found in West Branch, Iowa, in the collection of the presidential library, where I studied them seven years ago.²⁵

These drawings from Belgian children figure among many tokens of transatlantic gratitude, next to lace, embroidery and other items made by adults. At the time of the German invasion, public school teachers were known for using Froebelian pedagogy, fostering drawings and watercolours, with a view to developing observation and growth.²⁶ Some of the young student artists appear to have found in this work, performed in

school with the predetermined goal of thanking faraway donors, enough latitude to pair their appreciation with an independent message. For example, some students' artworks were accompanied by text reminding American children that it was their duty to help the Belgian children who were personally suffering to defend the freedoms from which all countries would benefit; others thanked the American benefactors not as recipients but as donors on equal footing, because they would in turn distribute the transatlantic offerings to the poor Belgians of their neighbourhoods. Willingness to engage in public life, expressions of political sympathies, these messages denoted a political agency of interest to the humanitarian historian.²⁷ By making use of pictorial art as a means for exchange between children of different countries — who often spoke different languages — the Commission for Relief in Belgium joined the international youth movements of the last century that had encouraged international Pen Pal programs, from the Red Cross to the Scouts and Guides, including the YMCA.²⁸ At the start of the century, the recognition of the political role of children was often synonymous with the educational project that the Declaration of the Rights of the Child would codify in 1924 in its fifth and last point: "The child must be brought up in the consciousness that his talents must be devoted to the service of his fellow men."²⁹

Created far enough away from the conflict, the Belgian works also permit reflection on the meaning of distance and its consequences. School principal Pierre de Panafieu produced a book on, and a virtual exhibition of, a collection of Alsatian drawings produced in 1916 at the request of a teacher who had invited his students to illustrate the conflict. Panafieu's careful juxtapositions with the media, drawings or postcards to which the children had access, help identify children's basis for representations of the conflict. What such pictures show, he writes, is that the children were paying "great attention to very recent events."³⁰ They also show that "children are actively responding to and negotiating cultural symbols most relevant to their environment."³¹ Studies of childhood representations of the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001 add an insight into the issue

of proximity: young witnesses to violence seem to depict scenes less horrible than those painted by children who can only rely on their imagination or on second-hand accounts.³²

Questioned decades after the Great War, one of the children of the *École alsacienne* confirmed that the violence in his drawings represented his own expression rather than that of his teachers:

All that happened at the time of the World War I, between my twelfth and thirteenth birthday. Of course, at the *École alsacienne*, a strong patriotism reigned as its name indicates. In our childhood drawings, under the tutelage of the wonderful and charming Maurice Testard, [their teacher] we tried to outdo each other with bloody gibes against the Kaiser and his soldiers with their spiked helmets. But it was entirely of our creation; because I have no memory that our teachers, although they extolled in us love for our country, ever taught us hate or vengeance, I never heard them get drawn into inappropriate language or mud-slinging against the enemy.³³

Panafieu draws attention to the recurrent themes, which we find in the archives of the Commission for Relief in Belgium headed by Herbert Hoover: the concern for detail in representation of weapons, the repetition of patriotic symbols, the reproduction of racist propaganda. Thus, he writes, words painted on an anonymous watercolour in which colonial troops appear (“Turco: after the war, I’m going to bring you to my country because I really like the boches ... roasted on the spit!”) convey “the typical racist cliché of African cannibalism.” Exclusions, killings, humiliations: the dark tendency of childhood expression divided the art critics at the start of the century, contemporaries of the Alsatian teacher, as well as psychologists, philosophers, and artists. On the one hand, some, like Picasso and later Georges Bataille, regarded destruction as an integral part of human development, going so far as to consider the juvenile scribbling as an “exemplary” sign of the desire to destroy. On the other hand, the supporters of an “educational optimism” rec-

commended that parents and educators discourage this violence. In 1930, to represent this “other childhood drawing,” George Bataille chose reproductions of Abyssinian children’s scribbling, likely brought back by ethnologist friends and travellers.³⁴

Let’s return to the humanitarians. From the very start of its reconstruction projects in central Europe with children of former enemies in 1919, the “Save the Children Fund” (SCF) involved educators convinced of the usefulness of drawing. For the SCF idealists, the artistic expression of children from Vienna receiving aid from the Quakers represented a means of establishing the humanity of yesterday’s enemies.³⁵ Posted in Vienna by the SCF, Bertram Hawker, an Anglican pastor and promoter of the Montessori methods and partisan of the ideas of the British reformists of the “Arts and Crafts,” took interest in an artist from the Art nouveau movement and colleague of Gustav Klimt, Franz Cizek. Cizek, who taught art to youth at the town’s school of arts and crafts starting in 1897, shared Hawker’s passion for the educational ideas of William Morris. His methods fostered the free expression of young creators.³⁶ Hawker “believed that if he could get an exhibition of the work of his children touring round England, he could kill two birds with one stone — raise funds for Vienna and revolutionize art teaching in Great Britain.”³⁷ Hawker entrusted the preparation of the exhibit to his compatriot Francesca Wilson, a pioneer of humanitarian work who had arrived in Vienna earlier to help the Quakers. In 1921, she presented in London an exhibit of drawings produced by Cizek’s students between the ages of ten and 15, while looking after producing postcards and pamphlets to accompany the drawings.

The 1921 exhibit represented a key moment in the history of showing children’s artwork in art galleries, which had begun in the United Kingdom in the previous century. The catalogue, *The Child as Artist: Some Conversations with Professor Cizek*, entwined Wilson’s text and reproductions of wood carvings. Hawker’s educational ambition was realized when, over the course of the next decade, the academic authorities of London endorsed these new methods themselves and applied them to the entire public

school system. The SCF exhibit travelled to Glasgow and Dublin and to more than 40 towns and cities, together with collection boxes and information material on the plight of Vienna. It then left for the United States and Canada, where it would remain for five years: it is under this aegis that Cizek's methods made their entrance in North America.³⁸

The Child as Artist also attracted attention to the sophistication of the young artists and the aesthetic value of children's art. This attitude continues to drive many of the uses of the artworks today, from their preservation in an artistic institution of northern England (the drawings are now part of an archival collection of the Yorkshire Sculpture Park) to their reproductions in the writings of fellow historians of humanitarian aid. As a result, the circulation of childhood images related to humanitarian reconstruction work, fundraising, and promoting universal standards was, and remains, an integral part of the development and dissemination of the idea of children's artwork as artistic expression worthy of attention. Franz Cizek participated in a movement that art historian Emmanuel Pernoud calls the "invention of children's drawing," in his book of the same name. To Wilson, Cizek confided that "*after fifteen, children as a rule lose their spontaneity and become ordinary. Until then their ideas grow like wildflowers in a wood — naïve, untrained, gaily coloured . . .*" Wilson added, "*so many children, he implied, are not allowed to have a proper Spring.*"³⁹ To consider children's drawings as original expression aligned with the strong belief of the SCF humanitarians that it was important to protect childhood as a special, original, key time, worthy of an attention that went beyond the borders and hostilities of adults. This is the spirit that led them to draft the 1924 Declaration of the Rights of the Child, recognizing that the autonomous will of young people was worthy of understanding and protection by an international institution.⁴⁰

Hawker's second wager was won: he returned to the Quakers working in Vienna the proceeds from the exhibit to fund projects sponsored by the SCF.⁴¹ The artistic productions of young recipients of international aid would also spruce up the pages of the monthly publication of the Save the Children Fund,

The World's Children. In the eyes of the current and potential donors of the Save the Children Fund, the drawings, like the art of the Belgian children sent to the United States a few years earlier, represented a window into the lives of the children that their offerings helped. For the good of humanitarian fundraising, the concept of childhood expression as a reproduction of reality free of artifice helped reach distant donors. It appears that many found satisfaction in feeling the experience of the recipients of their donations, without any clear intermediary. This predilection of philanthropists, large and small, young and old, for the documentary and emotive value of childhood testimonies was analysed by anthropologist Erica Bornstein in a study conducted a decade ago of Canadian donors participating in a program for children in Zimbabwe led by Plan Canada.⁴² The notion of the impartial eye of innocent children free from the responsibilities of their seniors strengthened the perception of the impartiality of humanitarians, crucial for fundraising.

Like photographer Jean Mohr and teacher Robert Aller, Francesca Wilson found comfort in the joy of the children's drawings at a time when her work in the field was filled with suffering. In her memoirs, published a quarter of a century after her time in Vienna, the humanitarian worker associated with the Save the Children Fund wrote about the students of the Cizek workshop that "this contact with youth gave a special glow to my Vienna days — so that even now when I think of them, it isn't starvation and relief work that come into my mind, but the laughter and gaiety of gifted children."⁴³

Originating from central Europe, carried out in the media of the moment and the place, images that testified to specific cultural graphic traditions were often used by humanitarians as a universal idiom. For his weekend lessons offered free of charge, Cizek would attract only interested youth, whom he coached through discussions, encouragement, and an aesthetic education anchored in a specific culture. Paradoxically, for his students' work to keep the rhythmic and chromatic qualities he associated with children, his method required a work of plastic education, as well as thematic and formal restrictions. These prerequisites

limited the idea of universality. Coming from another direction, anthropologist Margaret Mead, a contemporary of Wilson and Cizek, would share similar views regarding the ideas of purity and immediacy in childhood expression. From her travels in New Guinea during the early 1930s, she concluded that children left amongst themselves, removed from adults, tended more toward realism. She also observed that children raised in a culture penetrated by the supernatural did not show the same penchant for creative imaginative drawings as the young artists from the North.⁴⁴ As a result, the 35,000 childhood artistic productions that Mead brought back to the United States appeared to be more bleak and prosaic than the pieces from the Cizek collection. The drawings from Manus, which are now part of the Library of Congress collection, were not as popular in their time as the Viennese works.

With a return to peace, the humanitarians of the Save the Children International Union (SCIU), which grouped together the many national SCF chapters, refocused their energies toward the promotion of universal standards for children. In 1927, three years after the adoption of their Declaration of the Rights of the Child by the League of Nations, they launched a global drawing contest for children through the national committees and in conjunction with the International Bureau of Education. This involved illustrating the meaning that the new international prerogatives of the Declaration would have in the eyes of their recipients. The call was the act of reformists concerned about “popularizing and disseminating” the content of the Declaration, to ensure that children themselves were aware of their new prerogatives.⁴⁵ The SCIU received drawings from 12 countries, with widely varying degrees of participation: for example, 24,000 Mexican children and 57,000 French children entered the competition. A jury comprising two educators, a fine arts promoter, a pedagogue, and the vice-president of SCIU awarded medals to the best drawings selected by the national committees, organized an exhibit of the works received in Geneva, and chose to reproduce some of them to illustrate *The Declaration of Geneva and the Child*,⁴⁶ a work that would present the international agreement

from the viewpoint of the holders of the new rights of children. The collection of 1,500 pieces was quickly dismantled when the SCIU sent most of the drawings back to participating organizations so that they could exhibit the art themselves.

The educator Janusz Korczak, known as one of the fathers of children's rights, was a member of the Polish child protection committee that organized the contest in his country, and published in its wake a brochure on *La Déclaration des Droits de l'enfant dans la créativité infantile*, which also included drawings from the contest.⁴⁷ In their time, it thus appears, these drawings were of special value in teaching and representation. The few works still available to researchers appear to belong for the most part to Cizek's traditions of "educational optimism." At Carleton University where I teach, the Landon Pearson Centre archives on children's rights contains a similar publication, printed 50 years later, which shows the drawings of young Canadians called by the collective "All About Us/Nous autres, Inc.," to illustrate the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of its adoption.⁴⁸ Much later, by including among children's rights the right to artistic expression, the 1989 Convention of the Rights of the Child (Article 31) would reinforce the relationship between drawing and humanitarian work.⁴⁹ Today social workers and anthropologists from South Africa, such as Jenny Doubt, even use children's drawings as an alternative means of responding to the growing demand of governments and non-governmental organizations for detailed measures of the impacts of their donations.⁵⁰

The Spanish Civil War

The resumption of hostilities in Europe at the time of the Spanish Civil War was an opportunity for humanitarians to use drawing as one of the tools of their protection and rehabilitation efforts. Pioneers of this work, husband and wife Françoise and Alfred Brauner, pacifists and Republican sympathizers, a physician and an educator respectively, facilitated, collected, and disseminated thousands of drawings from war-torn Spain.⁵¹ The works were

primarily collected in Republican refuges for children evacuated from regions that had fallen victim to civilian bombardments, and run by members of Republican brigades at rest or injured. In these cases, drawing could serve as a means of starting a conversation: this is how some children cared for by the Brauners progressed from black scribblings to more differentiated depictions as they were able to come out of the mutism resulting from their war experience. Drawing was thus able to help the children cope with what had happened to them. In the aftermath of psychologists' and philosophers "inventors of children's drawing," the Brauners considered the end drawing as an effort to make sense of the world, the result of a search for meaning. In their therapeutic work, they discovered that one of the only ways to pull the children most afflicted by the war out of their silence was to convince them of the existence of a place, at home, where there would be hope, and where they would be expected to return. The action of the adults of the refuges revealed the extent to which the psychological work of rehabilitation was inevitably political. Like in the case of the creators observed later by another therapist, Robert Cole, cited above, the Brauners' activity would open a window on the childhood perception of public life, richer and more open than the understanding of the authors of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924.

Alfred Brauner had received from the Commissioner of War the assignment of writing , along with his official photographer, a book that would testify to the action of the brigades with refugee children. Impressed by their drawings, Brauner decided to work with the children himself. He also launched a drawing program for all Catalan schools on three themes: "my life before the war; how I see the war; my life after the war," which enabled him to gather more than 10,000 drawings. Many were sent to the rest of Europe and America by humanitarian organizations committed to obtaining material and moral support for Republican refugees. The most famous of these efforts to disseminate Spanish drawings is the little book entitled *They Still Draw Pictures!* introduced by writer and pacifist philosopher Aldous Huxley for the American Quakers in charge of the Spanish Child Welfare

Association of America. To raise money and save children's lives, the author provides a commentary on their content. Like Cizek, Huxley suggests that the children's use of colour and shape when they are left to themselves makes them artists until adolescence. He wonders at their ability to perceive and convey scenes of war and peace in a sensible, dramatic, comprehensive, and simultaneous way. For the general public, as for the sociologist and historian, the candid portraits of murderous airplanes bear witness to "the world's collective crime and madness."⁵² This adventure left traces in Canadian archives: the fonds of Canadian communist Albert MacLeod, founder of the Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, contains drawings that are now the object of an online exhibit.⁵³ One can understand how such representations of the war through the eyes of the child, interweaving innocence and horror, had a shock value that met the goals of the Brauner spouses, whose work was related to pacifist convictions. Seen from this perspective, the popularity of these drawings with the humanitarian public may have a more interesting dimension than the simple voyeurism that troubles the McLeod Group: the drawings' diffusion would allow children in difficulty to convey a relatively independent message to audiences also seeking to understand the nature of conflicts.

The archiving and curation of the Spanish drawings provide the opportunity to reflect on the conservation of these documentary sources. Like the First Nations on Vancouver Island, many Spanish associations are proudly preserving and rediscovering these documents. The Brauners themselves became collectors of war drawings from everywhere: the pieces that are part of their publication, *J'ai dessiné la guerre*, go back to the Boer War. This collection was recently put online and has become the subject of a deep and innovative analysis. The Enfants-Violence-Exil (EVE) team is studying "the perspective of children in war." The group is looking, amongst other things, at the question of the interpretation of these drawings. A series of interviews with Alfred Brauner offering his comments as he looks at selected pieces accompanies the collection: we see how the couple observed the order in which a child was drawing, and the gestures of the child, in their effort

to understand the young refugees.⁵⁴ Such information harvested in the field is precious for the analysis. During World War II, the Brauners continued to work in France helping children evacuated from Germany and Austria. When the time came to exhibit the drawings of their pupils, they chose only those that depicted the conflict; however, as writes one of the members of the EVE group, the representations of domestic scenes must also be studied, in another way, as drawings of war.⁵⁵ It is also interesting to know that the Brauners would later become specialists in the treatment of autism, and that an undertaking started through humanitarian urgency had great impact in times of peace.

The Colonial Wars of Liberation

Children's drawings from the wars of colonial liberation were used as a curative method by Martinique anti-colonialist psychiatrist, soldier, and theorist Franz Fanon, in a way not unlike that of the Brauners.⁵⁶ The works of young Algerian refugees who were orphans or not accompanied, housed in Tunisian children's houses run by the provisional government of the Algerian Republic, were brought back to France by French anti-colonialist filmmaker René Vautier. Two colleagues set them in motion and used accounts from children as a soundtrack.⁵⁷ The short film *J'ai huit ans* "marked a critical intersection between radical psychiatry and activist cinema."⁵⁸ The violence appears through graphic and oral testimonies. Fanon's use of the drawings was therapeutic: the "visualisation" of what was troubling them, through speech, writing, or drawing, could help refugees, adults and children, face their experiences. The belief of the two filmmakers, as well as that of Italian philanthropist Giovanni Pirelli who published dozens of these drawings, was that the accusatory force of the child's perspective had a "dramatic potential" that would provoke indignation: boys and girls displayed an unescapable knowledge of torture and gratuitous acts of humiliation of civilians that many, in metropolitan France, refused to recognize.⁵⁹ The film incorporated a photo of a boy looking straight at the camera and for the benefit of the metropolitan

audience, the idiom of their words was French, the children's second language. In this corpus, as in the accounts drawn by children evacuated from Spain in the 1930s, the depth of the children's political commitment appears, far from the ideal of innocence associated with children by simplistic humanitarianism. Finally the film, according to analyst Nicholas Mirzoeff, represents an act of memory and commemoration of the war in the rural regions and stands as proof of the success of anticolonial resistance. The French police early on recognized this function of the film, which was seized and banned from the country's screens until 1973. *J'ai huit ans* earned many accolades from the time it became available.

As in the case of its written relative, *Les enfants d'Algérie*, the creators of the film give way to the children's voices and images. This anonymity of the production team emphasizes the oral and pictorial expression and "reinforc[es] the impression of direct testimonial connection between reader and child, as well as integrating the children's collective testimony into the collective voice of the FLN [Front de libération nationale]." ⁶⁰ Like the drawings collected by Save the Children in Vienna, those from the Tunisian children's houses were shown as universal testimonies, representing all Algerian children, when the collection was actually a selection, based on the theme of the works (the war) and the accessibility of the children, the 3,000 residents of the urban children's houses being different from the 14,000 children from refugee camps on the borders.

Epilogue and Conclusion

It was a meeting with Meyer Brownstone, Director of Oxfam Canada from 1975, that pushed me to pull together the findings on children's drawings collected until then through various research. The drawings and artifacts that he brought back from the Salvadorian refugee camps in Honduras in the 1980s represent in part mementos. ⁶¹ One of the first documents he showed me was drawn by a child whom he had befriended. The accompanying text, plausibly written by the boy, reads:

Martha girl (Martha chica could also mean kill the girl)
— Here it is the camps, the soldiers come in to hit
people and kill the boys and girls — they killed a girl
by punching and kicking her — we refugees have dif-
ficulty because the soldiers surround the camp and we
cannot leave the camp because they may be killed.⁶²

Brownstone could not find the child again on his subsequent trip, and he fears that he was killed. Over the same years, French people associated with the Brauners and founders of *Enfants Réfugiés du Monde* went to the same region, in Chiapas camps that were welcoming refugees from another civil war, to work with Guatemalan children. They also brought back children's drawings from their expeditions. Today, their own research includes a fascinating series of recent interviews with the creators of the drawings from 30 years ago whom they were able to track down, and who recall, like the survivors of Alberni Residential School, the circumstances in which they drew.⁶³ In this case, drawings have also become triggers for memory.

In Honduras, as in the Spanish shelters of the 1930s, the artistic productions from the camps came in part from the need to keep the children busy and eventually to educate them in precarious circumstances, a constructive and long-term undertaking that concurred with the principles of Oxfam. For humanitarians, like photographer Jean Mohr and Director Meyer Brownstone, the drawing were not only a portrayal of hope, but also a proof that these communities had the capacity to help themselves. Other drawings took the route of an exhibition organized by Canadian teachers, whose catalogue figures in Brownstone's collection. More optimistic and less shocking, these drawings participated in a work of international solidarity between workers in the same occupation, similar to what Oxfam Canada was undertaking at the time with fishermen, nurses, and farmers. These circulations of children's drawings are part of a panoply of means for mobilization of Canadians from whom Oxfam was seeking support, next to the songs of Bruce Cockburn, able to communicate urgent realities directly through the senses.

The images brought back by Brownstone are now popular amongst members of the Salvadorian diaspora of Canada, who use his archives to understand their past.⁶⁴ Other Canadian diasporas who, as often, provide the backbone of humanitarian relations, have used children's drawings: this is the case of a small book on the children of Sierra Leone in war, presenting late 1990s works gathered by a Canadian teacher of Sierra Leonean origin, thanks to his long-time involvement within the community of African teachers.⁶⁵ From the hundred or so drawings brought back to Canada, the publishers chose a dozen works for publication, including the illustration of a rape, with similar intentions to those of Huxley in Spain and the creators of *J'ai huit ans* on the Algerian War. In 2014, to talk of rape in times of war, the creators of the small introductory video at the London summit on sexual violence in regions of conflict simulated the language of children's drawing.⁶⁶ The choice raised questions, but it is also true that adults who might not have had the chance to draw when they were young may draw like children.⁶⁷

The drawings dear to Brownstone, like the collections obtained by Pearson's colleagues, and many others, are still awaiting analysis. To summarize, understood from the perspective of the cases examined here, the drawings rescued from the worst situations have multiple roles to play for the history of childhood expression and that of the humanitarian sector. At the time of their production, they served to procure for afflicted children, or those in a situation of profound inequality, avenues of protection, understanding of the world, play, expression or self-respect, and participation in public life and transnational exchanges. Once presented to a humanitarian audience, images produced by children continue to offer opportunities of communication, recognition, and remedy for injustices. In a post-colonial context, reappropriated by their original communities, they can build bridges for the transmission of memories and the reinforcement of cultures. Finally, as artistic expressions, they present material for a critical reflection on neglected aspects of modern art and its frontiers.

I hope that this voyage through a corpus of drawings produced in humanitarian contexts will help you take the time to

look at the next delivery of the genre with interest, and that these documents have become a little more eloquent, beyond the cynicism, horror, or wonderment they rarely fail to provoke.

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Endnotes

- 1 "The Rise and Rise of Poverty Porn," *McLeod Group Blog*, 16 February 2015, <http://www.mcleodgroup.ca/2015/02/13/the-rise-and-rise-of-poverty-porn/>. The authors give as an example of the best communications the story of a Tanzanian boy retelling the plot of a Hollywood film, in a video produced by the California NGO MamaHope, "Alex presents: commando" for the series "Stop the Pity," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pLix4QPL3tY>.
- 2 "Copying and Conversion: A Connecticut Friendship Album from 'a Chinese Youth,'" *American Quarterly* (June 2007); reprinted in *Asian Americans in New England: Culture and Community*, edited by Monica Chiu (Durham: University Press of New England, 2009), 301-39.
- 3 Sanchez-Kepler, "Copying and Conversion," 304.
- 4 Alexis Artaud de La Ferrière, "The Voice of the Innocent: Propaganda and Childhood Testimonies of War," *History of Education*, 43, 1 (2014): 116.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=843>. (Unless otherwise indicated, all websites were verified in February 2016.)
- 7 See, for example, the painting entitled "Blood Tears" (2001) by Alex Janvier, a student for ten years at Blue Quills Indian Residential School, and reproduced in the catalogue of the exhibit *Witnesses: Art and Canada's Indian Residential School*, held in September 2013 at the Morris and Helen Belkin Gallery. Gina Laing, a former resident and young artist

- of Alberni, also presented her current works there. In conjunction with the exhibition, a symposium entitled “Traumatic Histories, Artistic Practice, and Working from the Margins” encouraged discussion of the “relationship between art and healing as well, as in, how do artworks dealing with trauma contribute to healing either the artist or the public,” <http://www.belkin.ubc.ca/publications/witnesses-catalogue>.
- 8 Alyssa Collier, Logo Design, in Cindy Blackstock, Terry Cross, John George, Ivan Brown, and Jocelyn Formsmma, *Reconciliation in Child Welfare: Touchstones of Hope for Indigenous Children, Youth and Families*, Ottawa, 2006, 1, https://fncaringsociety.com/sites/default/files/Touchstones_of_Hope.pdf and communication of the author with Blackstock, May 2015.
 - 9 Victoria Miller, “Representing Trauma: Exhibiting the Experience of Residential Schools,” (Master’s Research Essay, Carleton University, 2011). Account from Don Willie, about the visits from artist Henry Speck to the Alert Bay school in the 1960s, cited in *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, 2015, p. 210, http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Survivors_Speak_English_Web.pdf
 - 10 Student and travel companion of painter Arthur Lismer, and a Manitoban established in Port Alberni, Robert Aller had adopted an open pedagogy fostering individual creation. “Robert Aller, Visions of the West Coast: Robert Aller and his Community,” <http://www.maltwood.uvic.ca/rollin/artists/aller.html>.
 - 11 Judith Lavoie, “Paintings Bear Witness to B.C. Residential Schools’ Harsh Life,” *Time Colonist* (31 March 2013), <http://www.timescolonist.com/news/local/paintings-bear-witness-to-b-c-residential-schools-harsh-life-1.101179#sthash.wZNQ4Ncq.dpuf>. Deborah Steel, “Residential School Childhood Artwork Repatriated by Adult Survivors,” *Alberni Valley News* (13 April 2013), <http://www.albernivalleynews.com/news/201349521.html> and Susan Quinn, “Repatriation Story Feb. 12 at Museum,” *Alberni Valley News* (11 February 2015), (<http://www.albernivalleynews.com/entertainment/291548891.html>). An exhibition entitled “We Are All One” was held at the Alberni Valley Museum in February 2015. Children of the Alberni Indian Residential School had also been learning music, according to the site of the United Church Residential Archives Project, *The Children Remembered*, which shows a photo of the orchestra members of the Alberni school in 1930, sitting in a row: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/school-locations/alberni/>.
 - 12 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Closing Events, Program — Day Two Monday 1 June 2015, Theme: “We still have lots to learn,” <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=843>
 - 13 *Witnesses: Art and Canada’s Indian Residential School*.

CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS AND HUMANITARIAN AID:
TRANSNATIONAL EXPRESSIONS AND EXHIBITIONS

- 14 Guy Austin, "Drawing Trauma: Visual Testimony in *Caché* and *J'ai 8 ans*," *Screen*, 48, 4 (2007): 536.
- 15 *Witnesses: Art and Canada's Indian Residential School*.
- 16 In 1970, Aller gave a speech on Aboriginal art to the United Nations. The following year, he created a film for national television on the teaching of painting and sculpture to First Nations children entitled *Wikwemikong (By the Bay of the Beaver)*: Toronto, Ontario, CBC Toronto, 30 min.
- 17 *Witnesses: Art and Canada's Indian Residential School*. In its guidelines for rehabilitation of youth traumatized by war through art, UNICEF insists on the respect of local cultures. Bo Nylund, Jean-Claude Legrand, and Peter Holsberg, "The role of art in psychosocial care and protection of displaced persons," *Forced Migration Review* (6 December 1999): 16-19.
- 18 1847, cited in Emmanuel Pernoud, *L'invention du dessin d'enfant en France à l'aube des avant-gardes* (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 2003), 18 and note 34. The equivalent study in the English language is the work of R.R. Tomlinson and John FitzMaurice Mills, *The Growth of Child Art* (London: University of London Press, 1966).
- 19 Jerash Camp, near Irbid, Jordan, 1983, Musée de l'Elysée Collection; excerpt from the film by David Monti, dir., *War from the Victims' Perspective*, 2014, produced by the Musée for the exhibit by the same name, <http://www.elysee.ch/en/collections-and-library/the-collections/photographic-archives/war-from-the-victims-perspective-photographs-by-jean-mohr/>.
- 20 Schools, dances, and demonstrations for visitors, Kakya, Uganda, 1968, Musée de l'Elysée Collection. The exhibit was presented by the University of Ottawa Human Rights Research and Education Centre in the winter of 2014-15, in cooperation with the Switzerland Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. Mohr's words come from Monti, dir., *War from the Victim's Perspective*.
- 21 Robert Coles, *Their Eyes Meeting the World: The Drawing and Painting of Children* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), 55.
- 22 de La Ferrière, "The voice of the innocent ...," 120.
- 23 Jiri Weil, "Epilogue. A few words about this book," ... *I never saw another butterfly ... Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezín Concentration Camp* (New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill, 1971), originally published by the Prague Jewish Museum; Weil puts forward that the children rather record their fears in their poems. Ellen Handler-Spitz, for her part, found pictorial representations of horrors next to those of memories of peaceful times. In both types of artwork, children often try to situate themselves in another context, most often that of the family: "Friedl Dicker-Brandeis and Her Work in Terezín: Children, Art, and Hope," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 46 (2) (2012): 1-13.

- 24 de la Ferrière, “The voice of the innocent,” 110. His remark concerns Algerian children of the colonial war.
- 25 “Children’s Rights and Children’s Actions in International Relief and Domestic Welfare: the Work of Herbert Hoover between 1914 and 1950,” *Journal of the History of Children and Youth*, Vol. 1, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 351-88.
- 26 Jean Houssiau and Christian Vreugde, “Les écoliers bruxellois pendant la Première Guerre mondiale,” *Cahiers Bruxellois – Brusselse Cahiers* (2014): 41-54.
- 27 de La Ferrière, “The voice of the innocent,” 120.
- 28 Sarah Glassford, “Practical Patriotism: How the Canadian Junior Red Cross and Its Child Members Met the Challenge of the Second World War,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 7, 2 (2014): 219-42; Kristine Alexander, “The Girl Guide Movement, Imperialism, and Internationalism in Interwar England, Canada, and India,” (Ph.D. diss., York University, 2011); James Trepanier, “Building Boys, Building Canada: the Boy Scout Movement In Canada, 1908–1970,” (Ph.D. diss., York University, 2015); Marie-Luise Ermisch, “Children Within British International Development Initiatives, 1959–1979,” (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 2014). See also “It’s a Small World: Children Promoting Peace Through Art,” visual exhibit of drawings gathered through the Art for World Friendship program of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom: Swarthmore College Peace Collection, <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/Exhibits/ChildrensArt/ChildrensArtFull.htm>.
- 29 See my article “The Formation of Childhood as an Object of International Relations: the Child Welfare Committee and the Declaration of Children’s Rights of the League of Nations,” *International Journal of Children’s Rights*, 7, 2 (1999): 103–47.
- 30 “Les dessins de la Grande Guerre. Guerre mondiale représentée par des élèves de l’École alsacienne,” 17 February 2010. Stories by Pierre de Panafieu. <http://ecole-alsacienne.org/spip/les-dessins-de-la-grande-guerre.html>. Thirty of these drawings were part of an exhibit in 2006.
- 31 de La Ferrière, “The voice of the innocent,” 120.
- 32 Jason Kane, “Then and Now: Children Draw to Cope with 9/11,” PBS Newshour, blog, 10 September 2011, <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/then-now-children-draw-to-cope-with-911/>. My thanks go to Stéphane Lévesque for the reference and whose synthesis of the works on the issue appears in “‘Bin Laden is Responsible: It Was Shown on Tape.’ Canadian High School Students’ Historical Understanding of Terrorism,” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 31, 2 (Spring 2003): 174–202.
- 33 Jean Bruller (Vercors) relates the state of mind in which these drawings were produced in the preface to Tome II of the *Histoire de l’École alsacienne* by Georges Hacquard, cited on the website.

CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS AND HUMANITARIAN AID:
TRANSNATIONAL EXPRESSIONS AND EXHIBITIONS

- 34 Article on “L’art primitif,” mentioned in Pierre Georgel, “Regards sur l’ “autre” dessin d’enfant. Autour de Fallimento de Balla,” *Gradhiva*, 9 (2009): 57-81, <http://gradhiva.revues.org/1368>.
- 35 This is what missionaries had done for years, when they included, in the background of their photographs of “savages,” objects of their belief, of which the beauty and the complexity showed that they had a soul. Nicholas Thomas, “Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy and History in Early Twentieth-Century Evangelical Propaganda,” in Catherine Hall, ed. *Cultures of Empire: A Reader* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), chapter 12. The work of one of the two founding sisters of the SCF, Eglantyne Jebb, referred to the new pedagogy of Pestalozzi: *Save the Child! A Posthumous Essay By Eglantyne Jebb* (London: Weardale Press, 1929), 5.
- 36 Franz Cizek Collection, Yorkshire Sculpture Park, <http://www.ysp.co.uk/page/franz-cizek-collection/es>. Wilson gave the works that were part of the art exhibit to the National Arts Education Archive, Bretton Hall, at the University of Leeds, which digitized its 217 possessions (<http://www.artsedarchive.org.uk/collitem.aspx?id=22634&cid=14>). Cizek kept the artwork of his pupils; the majority of his collection of thousands of works resides in the Museum of Vienna, where these were exhibited in 1985. Lucinda Matthews-Jones, “Thinking about Francesca Wilson and the Victorian Imaginary that Surrounded her Philanthropic Work,” *Journal of Victorian Culture Online* (2 June 2014), <http://blogs.tandf.co.uk/jvc/2014/06/02/thinking-about-francesca-wilson-and-the-victorian-imaginary-that-surrounded-her/>. Francesca Wilson, *A Lecture by Professor Čížek {by} F. M. W.* ([n.p.] Children’s Art Exhibition Fund, 1921), <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007307669>. See also Ruth Gooding, “Christmas: Pictures by Children, 1922,” Children’s Library, University of Reading Collection, <http://www.reading.ac.uk/web/FILES/special-collections/featurecizek.pdf> and <https://archive.org/details/lectureby00wils>.
- 37 Francesca M. Wilson, *In the Margins of Chaos: Recollections of Relief Work in and Between Three Wars* (New York: Macmillan, 1945), 133. Siân Roberts, “Exhibiting Children at Risk: Child Art, International Exhibitions and Save the Children Fund in Vienna, 1919–1923,” *Paedagogica Historica*, 45, 1-2 (2009): 171–90. Roberts shows how the SCF was able to count on the rising popularity of children’s drawings amongst artists and teachers to raise money for its causes and educate the public to pacifist ideals. The publicity of its exhibits juxtaposed images of destitution in Vienna with children’s art. Roberts establishes the original nature of the formula in its time and shows how it would be frequently reproduced in subsequent years.
- 38 This was possible mostly through a colleague already convinced of the value of children’s drawings, the friend of painter Richard Fry and

- future public education inspector, Marion Richardson. Sian Everitt, "Richardson, Marion Elaine (1892–1946)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (May 2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57053>. Tomlinson and FitzMaurice Mills, *The Growth of Child Art*. See also Roberts, "Exhibiting Children at Risk," 184.
- 39 Francesca Wilson, *The Child as Artist: Some Conversations with Professor Cizek* (Knightsbridge: Children's Art Exhibition Fund, 1921), 6, 10.
- 40 See my article, "The Formation of Childhood."
- 41 The SCF archives consulted in London 20 years ago, and today at the Cadbury Research Library Special Collections of the University of Birmingham, contain the correspondence of Hawker about the distribution, in the Vienna projects, of the money from the proceeds of the exhibit. Siân Roberts also consulted these papers.
- 42 *The Spirit of Development: Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe* (New York: Routledge, 2003). On the additional credibility attributed to children's accounts and their power to generate donations to NGOs, see in particular de La Ferrière, "The voice of the innocent." He uses fruitfully the concepts of language philosopher J. L. Austin to analyse the "instrumentalization" of drawings by adults, as well as the possibilities of rehabilitation of childhood words by the historians who study these documents.
- 43 Wilson, *In the Margins of Chaos*, 138.
- 44 Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (Lutterworth Press: Cambridge, 2004), 344–7. Patricia A. Francis, curator, "Manus: Childhood Thought," Margaret Mead: Human Nature and the Power of Culture," virtual exhibit, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/mead/field-manus.html>.
- 45 Archives d'État de Genève, Union internationale de secours aux enfants, PV du CE de l'UISE, Jan 27–28, séances 168–183, p. 4. The archives contain two of these drawings as well as some 15 photographs, most of which appearing in the publication mentioned below: "Circulaire aux comités affiliés," *Revue internationale de l'enfant*, 3, 14 (February 1927): 87-91; 4, 21 (September 1927): 605; 5, 27 (March 1928): 170. This last issue announced the opening of an archive of children's drawings at the Kunsthalle in Manheim, with a view to encouraging children's drawing and study childhood psychology. The 50,000 drawings gathered by the annual contest of the Pestalozzi calendar since 1932 constitute a similar collection: Luca Beti, "A Century Seen Through Children's Eyes," 24 March 2013, Pestalozzianum Foundation, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/history-lesson_a-century-seen-through-children-s-eyes/35300100.
- 46 Save the Children International Union, 1937?, 63 p. Etienne Clouzot, "La Croix-Rouge vue par les enfants," *Revue Internationale de la Croix-Rouge et Bulletin international des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge*, (1928):

CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS AND HUMANITARIAN AID:
TRANSNATIONAL EXPRESSIONS AND EXHIBITIONS

- 1089–94. Union internationale de secours aux enfants, *Déclaration de Genève. Concours mondial de dessins d'enfants*, Catalogue (Geneva, 1929). The catalogue lists 1,579 works identified solely by their creator and country of origin.
- 47 Marta Ciesielska, “*Le droit de l'enfant au respect*,” Genesis of a foundational text, translation of notes from the Polish edition of the complete works of Janusz Korczak, pp. 507–10, published on <http://korczak.fr>.
- 48 Betty Nickerson, ed. *Of You and Me/Nous autres : A Contemporary View of Human Rights by Young Canadians/ Vue contemporaine des droits de la personne par des jeunes Canadiens*, Ottawa, All About Us/Nous autres, Inc., 1977, 96 p. Landon Pearson Centre, Article 13, vol. 1, GRM.
- 49 See for example, Awet Andemicael, *Positive Energy. A Review of the Role of Artistic Activities in Refugee Camps*, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Policy Development and Evaluation Services, 2011.
- 50 Jenny Doubt, “Representing HIV/AIDS-Affected Children in South Africa: Public Health Interventions and Cultural Texts,” Child Studies Speaker Series, Carleton University, 9 March 2015.
- 51 Yannick Ripa, “Naissance du dessin de guerre. Les époux Brauner et les enfants de la guerre civile espagnole,” *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 89 (2006): 29–46. My comments also come from my review of the collection of memoirs from children refugees in the United Kingdom, Natalia Benjamin, dir., *Recuerdos: Basque Children Refugees in Great Britain. Niños wascos refugiados en Gren Bretana*, Norwich, Mousehold Press, 2007, in *Journal of the History of Children and Youth*, 3, 5 (Fall 2010): 438–40.
- 52 *They Still Draw Pictures! A Collection of 60 Drawings Made by Spanish Children During the War* (New York: 1938), 154 p. Internet Archives, <https://archive.org/details/drawpic00huxl>. The quotations come from p. 8. The drawings come from a collection conducted by Huxley six months before, through the “Board of Education” with the schools of Madrid, and some shelters for Spanish children in France, through the Carnegie Institute.
- 53 “The Archives of Ontario Remembers Children’s Art from the Spanish Civil War,” <http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/spain/index.aspx>. Canadian funds were used for the construction of two camps.
- 54 “*Je m'appelle Alfred Brauner*” — Documentary by Guy Baudon, 2011, <http://www.enfance-violence-exil.net/index.php/eve/video/it/13/404>. Baudon initially produced a three-hour-30-minute film distributed to friends, “*J'ai rencontré Alfred et Françoise Brauner — Témoignage de Guy Baudon*,” *Enfance, Violence, Exil, Recherche*, <http://www.enfance-violence-exil.net/index.php/ecms/it/33/333>; see also “Bref historique de la ‘Collection Brauner,’” <http://www.enfance-violence-exil.net/index.php/ecms/it/3/313>.

- 55 Émile Lochy, “Alfred Brauner au château de la Guette,” *Enfances en guerre: témoignages d’enfants sur la guerre*, December 2011, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00753845/document>.
- 56 de La Ferrière, “The voice of the innocent.”
- 57 Vautier was himself a child at the time of his first engagements against Nazi occupation and the production of his first film, the first French anti-colonial film. The format was used abundantly after that: Alice Cherki, *Franz Fanon, portrait* (Paris: Seuil, 2000). Michel Grappe, “50 ans après Frantz Fanon: les apports de sa pratique clinique en Algérie auprès des victimes de guerre et de torture,” communication at the 2007 *Penser aujourd’hui à partir de Frantz Fanon* colloquium, <http://www.csprp.univ-paris-diderot.fr/IMG/pdf/grappe.pdf> <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/servlet/biblio?idNœud=1&ID=38487851&SN1=0&SN2=0&host=catalogue>. Alexis de La Ferrière focuses on this collection in “The Voice of the Innocent.” Thank you to Matthew Croombs whose lecture introduced me to the filmmaker’s work: “Questions of Militant Cinema: René Vautier and the Anti-colonial Combat Film,” Carleton University, Institute of African Studies, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=docD0Mz-tiw>.
- 58 Yann Le Masson and Olga Poliakoff, Paris, *Centre audiovisuel Simone de Beauvoir*. Nicholas Mizroeff, “We Are All the Children of Algeria,” *Visuality and Countervisuality 1954–2011* (Duke University Press: 2012), <http://scalar.usc.edu/nehvectors/mirzoeff/jai-huit-ans-analysis>.
- 59 Mizroeff, “We Are All the Children of Algeria.” Between 2011 and 2013, *A Child’s View from Gaza*, the exhibition of drawings of palestinian children collected by the Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, toured American and Canadian cities and created comparable controversies: Laura Brown, “Palestinian Children’s Art Exhibit Postponed after Allegations of Propaganda,” *Global News*, 24 April 2013, <http://globalnews.ca/news/508638/a-childs-view-from-gaza-art-exhibit-postponed/>.
- 60 de la Ferrière, “The Voice of the Innocent,” 112–4. For similar use of the voices of youth by the African National Congress in South Africa, see Monica Eileen Patterson, “Constructions of Chidhood in Apartheid’s Last Decades,” (Ph.D, diss., University of Michigan, 2009).
- 61 Meyer Brownstone Funds, Archives and Research Collections, Carleton University Library, <https://archie.library.carleton.ca/index.php/meyer-brownstone-oxfam-international-fonds>. Interview conducted by the author with Brownstone, 2012.
- 62 Thank you to Uriel Contreras, research assistant, for his translation.
- 63 Nicole Dagnigno, “Terreur au Guatemala. Sur les traces des dessins d’enfants,” *Colloque international Enfances en guerre. Témoignages d’enfants sur la guerre*, Université Blaise Pascal Clermont Ferrand,

CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS AND HUMANITARIAN AID:
TRANSNATIONAL EXPRESSIONS AND EXHIBITIONS

- December 2011, http://www.enfance-violence-exil.net/fichiers_sgc/Dagnigno.pdf.
- 64 Peter Conrad's video, *The Forsaken One*, 2013, 5 minutes, shows José Hernandez, a child from the camps, in conversation with Brownstone, examining the images brought back by the humanitarian worker, <https://vimeo.com/126335290>. Conrad is working on a longer documentary for which he benefits from the work of Carleton University archivists who have digitized Brownstone's slides and carefully attached his descriptions.
- 65 Ana Wasilewski, ed., *Stolen Childhoods: Stories and Drawings from War-Affected Children in Sierra-Leone*, (Montréal: The International Children's Institute, 2000), 34 p. Landon Pearson Centre for the Study of Childhood and Children's Rights, Carleton University.
- 66 "Don't believe the thumbnail, this video is the stuff of nightmares," <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/animation-launched-for-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict>, sponsored by the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom and produced by Don't Panic. Thank you to Doris Buss for having reported this video.
- 67 This is what my colleague Monica Patterson, historian and anthropologist, reports from her interviews with South African militants of the ANC.