

FREDSVENNENES HJELPETJENESTE:
QUAKER-LED RELIEF WORK IN FINNMARK AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR
by
MARION MARGARET STRACHAN

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Theology and Religion
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
September 2021

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

Norway was occupied by Nazi-led forces from April 1940 to May 1945. In late 1944, the German army was driven out of Russia by Soviet forces and one of the routes for retreat was into the very north of Finnmark, then the most northerly county in Norway (from 1 January 2020 the county was combined with the county of Troms immediately to the south). As German troops withdrew from Finnmark and the northern part of Troms, they forced about two-thirds of the area's approximately 75,000-strong population to evacuate to more southerly parts of Norway. Those who stayed hid in very difficult living conditions and in constant fear of discovery. On orders from Hitler, the retreating forces used scorched earth tactics to ensure that the advancing Soviet army would find as little shelter as possible and to deny the Norwegian government in exile in London the possibility of re-establishing a presence on Norwegian soil. After liberation national and regional authorities had to undertake an enormous reconstruction project that lasted many years.

In 1946 and 1947 Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [The Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT], a small relief organisation founded and led by Norwegian Quakers, undertook relief work in northern Norway with the aim of giving voluntary practical help to the region's inhabitants as they rebuilt their communities. FHT co-ordinated assistance given by a number of other peace organisations from Denmark, Sweden, Britain, the USA and Finland, with a total of 180 volunteers over the two years working in Finnmark under the Norwegian organisation's auspices.

The primary purpose of the thesis is to examine FHT's work in Finnmark and to make the account available to an Anglophone audience for the first time. After outlining the historical context, the thesis reconstructs the founding of FHT and the participation of the partner organisations, investigating the role played by shared and overlapping networks. It describes FHT's relief work in Finnmark, and examines the range of tasks undertaken, the groups of volunteers who participated and the challenges encountered in working with the Norwegian authorities, with local people and within the volunteer body itself. The thesis situates FHT's project in the wider spectrum of other Quaker-led relief work and of humanitarianism more generally in the first half of the twentieth century, not least in Norway. It examines the need for co-operation between relief organisations and relevant authorities, different models of relief work, and women and relief work. It investigates what drew the different participating organisations to take part in FHT's Finnmark project, the ways in which each preferred to work and the (relatively few) tensions between national groups of volunteers.

FHT's work in Finnmark is little known within Norway and is virtually unknown elsewhere. As well as being the first academic exploration of the topic, the thesis also makes an original contribution to the historiography of Quaker relief and of northern Norway.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank the archivists and librarians who have enabled me to access archives and other material at: the British Library; the Danish National Archives [*Rigsarkivet*]; the Library of the Society of Friends; the Norwegian National Archives [*Riksarkivet*]; the Swedish National Archives [*Riksarkivet*]; and the University of Birmingham. I am also grateful for help given remotely by archivists at the American Friends Service Committee Archives and the Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archives and Special Collections. Hammerfest Historielag kindly gave me permission to use two photographs (Figures 1.2 and 1.3) from their extensive collection to provide a vivid illustration of the level of destruction inflicted on northern Norway as Nazi-led forces retreated in the closing months of the Second World War.

I have been fortunate to have received financial support towards the costs of my research from the University of Birmingham Postgraduate Research Support Fund and from Adult Education Grants, Britain Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. It was a privilege to be awarded a David Adshead Visiting Scholarship which supported a week's work on the Quaker archives at Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre.

I greatly valued meeting two of the British volunteers, Giles Cooper and Rollo Woods, albeit briefly, some years ago and listening to reminiscences of their time in Finnmark. Neither wished to go through the formalities that are a necessary precursor to their recollections being used in the thesis but both kindly lent me material from their time in post-war Finnmark. Rollo Woods' papers and photographs have now been deposited in the Library of the Society of Friends and are available for consultation.¹

Hans Eirik Aarek generously sent me an extract from his own PhD thesis, currently in preparation, about Norwegian Quakerism. Professor Ingunn Elstad kindly helped me to access some research material not easily available in the UK. I am also grateful to

¹ Library of the Society of Friends, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

Tony Manasseh for allowing me to cite his late wife, Pamela Manasseh's, thesis. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Penny, an Oslo Quaker, who with wonderful generosity offered me – then a stranger – an open invitation to stay with her when on a major research trip to the Norwegian National Archives in Oslo. It enabled me to have a longer visit than would otherwise have been affordable. More importantly, it turned a research trip into something more pleasurable and relaxed.

I have enjoyed sharing my research journey with my fellow students at the Centre for Research in Quaker Studies, Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre. In particular, I thank Penelope Cummins, Fran Handrick and Frédérique Green for their support.

I am immensely grateful to my supervisors, Professor 'Ben' Pink Dandelion and Dr Rebecca Wynter, who have been unfailingly supportive and without whose guidance this project would not have come to fruition. I greatly appreciate the constant encouragement I have received from both.

Finally, I thank my stepmother, Nancy, who suggested over 20 years ago that I accompany her on a holiday in Norway – a first visit for both of us. We have been fellow Norway devotees ever since, and she was an interested and helpful travelling companion during two summers' site visits to places in Finnmark where FHT had set up work camps. She was eager to read the results of the research which she has heard about for so long and I am very grateful for her acute eye for typos and inconsistencies. Any errors that remain are, of course, my responsibility.

CONTENTS

PART 1: CONTEXT	1
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	2
1.1: The thesis topic and its academic importance	2
1.2: FHT's work in Finnmark in historical context	5
Introduction	5
Invasion of Norway.....	6
Occupation of Norway	7
Norway's importance to the Nazi occupiers	15
Finnmark	19
The forced evacuation of northern Norway	24
The destruction of Finnmark and northern Troms	28
The reconstruction of northern Norway	31
Fredsvennenes Hjelpejeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT]	32
Section summary	34
1.3: Thesis outline.....	35
1.4: Chapter summary	37
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND KEY EMERGENT THEMES	38
2.1: Introduction	38
2.2: The reconstruction of northern Norway.....	39
British historiography.....	39
Norwegian historiography	41
2.3: FHT and relief in Finnmark.....	49
2.4: Other twentieth-century Quaker-led relief projects.....	51
Philanthropy, relief, humanitarianism?	53
Quaker faith and Quaker relief work	58
Co-operation between relief organisations and relevant authorities	60
Different models of relief work.....	63
Women and relief work	66
2.5: Humanitarian aid in the first half of the twentieth century	70
Humanitarianism and religious faith	70
Co-operation between humanitarian organisations and relevant authorities	72
Different models of humanitarian work.....	74
Women and humanitarian work	77
2.6: Norway: humanitarian aid in the first half of the twentieth century.....	81
Norway: Humanitarianism	81
Norway: Co-operation between relief organisations and relevant authorities	83
Norway: Different models of relief work	85
Norway: Women and relief work	86
2.7: Chapter summary.....	89
CHAPTER 3: METHODS, SOURCES AND CHALLENGES	91
3.1: Introduction	91
3.2: Methods and sources	91

Archives examined.....	92
Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT].....	92
Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA].....	94
Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL].....	96
Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service [FAU PWS].....	97
Friends Service Council [FSC]	98
Archives not examined.....	98
Section summary	102
3.3: Primary sources: challenges encountered.....	102
Multilingual primary sources.....	102
Loss of material.....	103
FHT's Kvalsund archive.....	103
FHT's office correspondence.....	104
FAU PWS reports	105
Deficiencies in the surviving FHT archive	106
Reports	108
Information about volunteers and pupils on the vocational courses.....	112
Difficulty in ascribing dates and authorship to some archive material	114
Difficulty in deciphering some handwritten documents.....	116
Published material.....	117
Reliability of the primary sources	118
Ethical issues	122
Positionality	127
3.4: Chapter summary.....	129
PART 2: THE WORK OF FHT	130
CHAPTER 4: PLANNING TO HELP FINNMARK	131
4.1: FHT: the organisation's beginnings and plans for its work in Finnmark	131
Introduction	131
Relief for northern Norway	131
The establishment of FHT	137
Changes in committee membership.....	139
Sigrid Helliesen Lund (1892-1987).....	146
Myrtle Wright (1903-1991)	151
Negotiations with the Norwegian authorities and sending goods north	156
Planning the relief work in Finnmark	159
The committee in Kvalsund.....	163
Section summary	164
4.2: Interactions between FHT and the reconstruction authorities	165
4.3: Organisations that worked with FHT in Finnmark.....	171
Introduction	171
The participating organisations	173
American Friends Service Committee [AFSC]	173
International Voluntary Service for Peace [IVSP]	174
Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA].....	174
Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL].....	175
Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service [FAU PWS].....	175

Kansainvälinen Vapaaehtoinen Työleirijärjestö [International Voluntary Work Camps – KVT]	176
Section summary	177
4.4: The role played by shared and overlapping networks	178
Introduction	178
Networks that linked participants	180
Section summary	189
4.5: Chapter summary	189
CHAPTER 5: FHT'S RELIEF WORK IN FINNMARK.....	191
5.1: Introduction	191
5.2: The duration of the Finnmark relief.....	192
The start of FHT's work in Finnmark	192
Trondenes camp	194
Teknisk Hjælp Kolonne [Technical Relief Group – THK]	196
The end of FHT's work in Finnmark	199
5.3: FHT's work camps	201
The location of FHT's work camps	201
Main and subsidiary work camps	203
The location of the Kåfjord camp	208
Travel and communication between work camps	209
5.4: The work undertaken by FHT volunteers in Finnmark.....	214
Priorities for relief work.....	214
Building work.....	215
Temporary accommodation.....	216
Permanent accommodation.....	217
Reports from FHT groups in different work camps	221
Clothes distribution.....	225
Shoe-repairing.....	227
Carpentry	229
Canteens.....	230
Hostel accommodation in Hammerfest	232
Care for children and young people	233
Support for families	236
Nursing at Russenes and Lakselv.....	238
Russenes.....	238
Lakselv	240
Dental treatment.....	242
The increased emphasis on social and cultural activities	244
Courses for adults	245
Courses in Kvalsund for young people	246
Subjects offered at Kvalsund.....	248
Courses taught by volunteers.....	249
Issues affecting course delivery	250
Funding the Kvalsund courses	252
The Kvalsund pupils	253
Course provision taken over by the West Finnmark Vocational Education Committee [Vest-Finnmark Yrkesopplæringsnemnda].....	255

Work FHT did not do	256
Work was gendered	260
Section summary	264
5.5: Interactions within the FHT volunteer body	264
5.6: Interactions between FHT and local people	271
5.7: Chapter summary	283
PART 3: THE WIDER PICTURE	286
CHAPTER 6: THE PARTICIPATING ORGANISATIONS	287
6.1: Introduction	287
6.2: FHT's principles	288
6.3: Why was FHT needed?	296
6.4: Why did the participating organisations undertake work in Finnmark?.....	300
Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT]	300
Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA]	301
Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL]	303
Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service [FAU PWS]	304
American Friends Service Committee [AFSC]	305
International Voluntary Service for Peace [IVSP].....	306
Kansaivälinen Vapaaehtoinen Työleirijärestö [International Voluntary Work Camps – KVT]	307
Section summary	308
6.5: The ways in which the different organisations preferred to work.....	308
Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT]	309
Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA]	311
Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL]	313
Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service [FAU PWS]	316
International Voluntary Service for Peace [IVSP].....	318
American Friends Service Committee [AFSC]	319
Kansaivälinen Vapaaehtoinen Työleirijärestö [International Voluntary Work Camps – KVT]	320
Section summary	321
6.6: Tensions between national groups of volunteers	322
Introduction	322
The organisational basis underlying the Finnmark relief work	323
Preferred models of relief work	330
What did and did not constitute relief	335
The debate on the need for relief	338
6.7: Chapter summary	342
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION.....	344
7.1: Introduction	344
7.2: Summary of research findings	344
7.3: FHT and other Quaker relief	347
Indigenous relief and incomer relief	350
The Friends Ambulance Unit in China	353
The American Friends Service Committee in Finland	355
The Friends Relief Service in Germany	358

Section summary	362
7.4: Previous scholarship and future directions	364
Introduction	364
Previous scholarship	364
Future research	365
Section summary	369
7.5: Thesis summary	369
APPENDIX 1: LIST OF VOLUNTEERS	372
Norwegian volunteers	375
Danish volunteers	383
Swedish volunteers	383
British volunteers	389
American volunteers	392
Finnish volunteers	393
Volunteer whose nationality is not known	393
APPENDIX 2: THE VOLUNTEERS – NATIONALITIES AND SKILLS	394
Volunteers' countries of origin	394
Establishing a listing of volunteers	395
Issues encountered in confirming volunteers' identity	396
Evidence from FHT's card index and from other sources	399
Norwegian volunteers	402
Danish volunteers	407
Swedish volunteers	411
British volunteers	412
American volunteers	414
Finnish volunteers	415
Nationality not known	415
Periods of service in Finnmark	416
Variations in numbers of volunteers in Finnmark	418
APPENDIX 3: NUMBERS OF FHT VOLUNTEERS IN FINNMARK MAY 1946- DECEMBER 1947	422
BIBLIOGRAPHY	423
Primary sources	423
Unpublished	423
Published	424
Secondary sources	426
Unpublished	426
Published	428
Websites	444
Photographs of Hammerfest	452

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1:	German retreat to the Lyngen Line	25
Figure 1.2:	The centre of Hammerfest 1934	30
Figure 1.3:	The centre of Hammerfest in ruins 1945.....	30
Figure 4.1:	Shared and overlapping networks.....	188
Figure 5.1:	Places in Finnmark where THK volunteers worked	197
Figure 5.2:	Main FHT work camps in Finnmark	203
Figure 5.3:	Smaller FHT work camps near Kvalsund.....	205
Figure 5.4:	Smaller FHT work camps near Lakselv	206
Figure 5.5:	Places where the Alta FHT group distributed clothing	207
Figure 5.6:	Kåfjord near Alta and Kåfjord near Honningsvåg.....	209
Figure 5.7:	Overview of the area travelled by Edith Østlyngen and Ron Atkinson, and by the FHT group returning from Børselv to Kvalsund	211
Figure 5.8:	Home areas of some of the Kvalsund vocational course pupils	254
Figure A2.1:	Numbers of FHT volunteers in Finnmark May 1946- December 1947.....	419

ABBREVIATIONS

- AFSC American Friends Service Committee
- DNA Danish National Archives [*Rigsarkivet*]
- DP Displaced persons
- FAU Friends Ambulance Unit
- FAU PWS Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service
- FHA Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service –
Danish]
- FHT Fredsvennenes Hjælpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service –
Norwegian]
- FRA Friends of the Right to Asylum [*Asylrettens venner*]
- FRS Friends Relief Service
- FSC Friends Service Council
- FWVRC Friends War Victims Relief Committee
- IAL Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps]
- ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross
- IVSP International Voluntary Service for Peace
- KVT Kansainvälinen Vapaaehtoinen Työleirijärestö [International Voluntary
Work Camps]
- LSF Library of the Society of Friends
- MS Mellemløst Samvirke (formerly Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde, now
known in English as ActionAid Denmark)

n.d.no date

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

NKS Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening [Norwegian Women's Public Health Association]

NNA Norwegian National Archives [*Riksarkivet*]

NRK Norsk Rikskringkasting [Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation]

NS Nasjonal Samling [National Union party]

POW Prisoners of war

SCF Save the Children Fund

SCI Service Civil International

SCIU Save the Children International Union

SNA Swedish National Archives [*Riksarkivet*]

SOE Special Operations Executive

THK Teknisk Hjælpe Kolonne [Technical Relief Group]

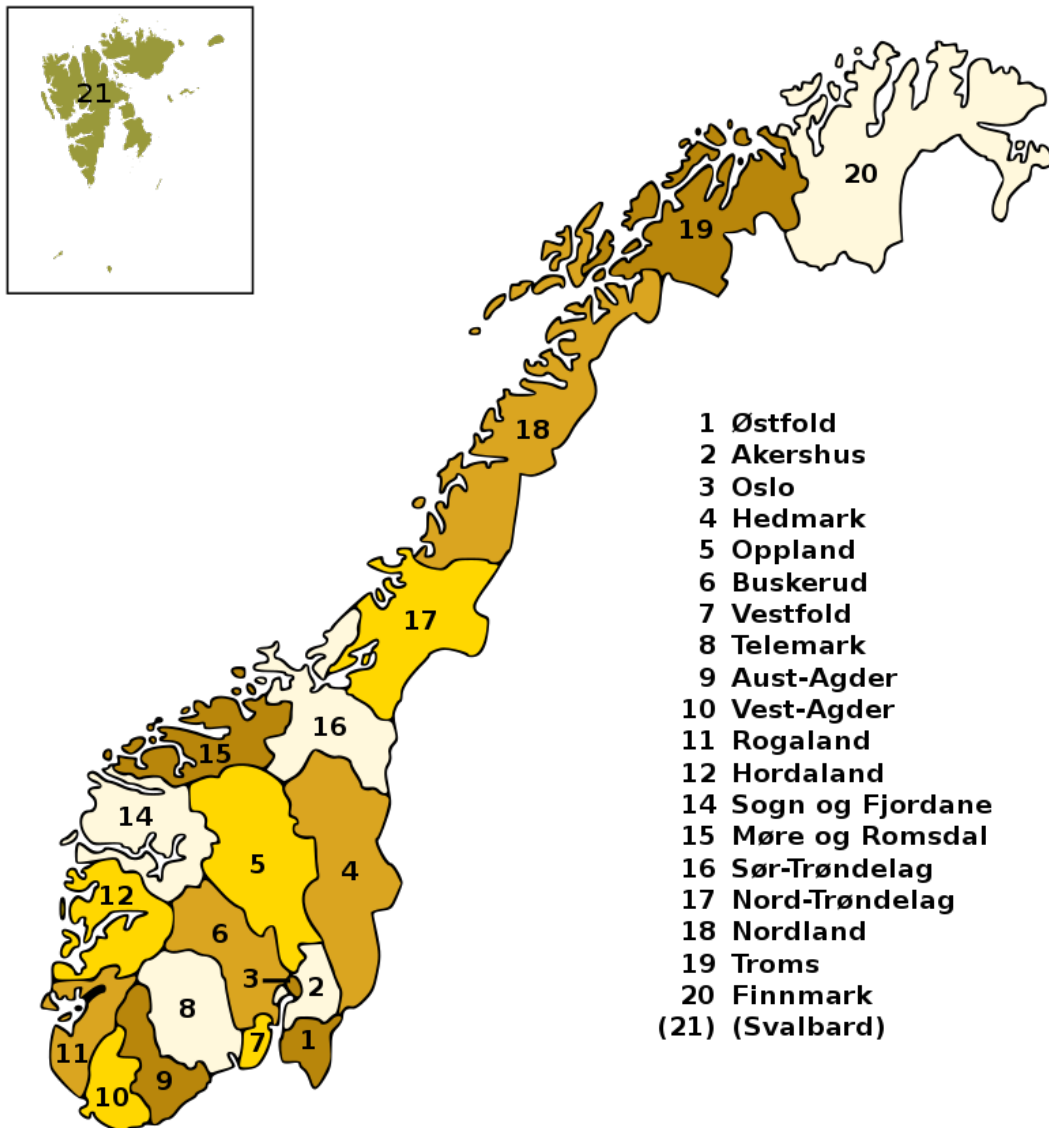
UiT Universitetet i Tromsø [The University of Tromsø] (now called UiT Norges arktiske universitet [UiT The Arctic University of Norway])

UNRRA United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

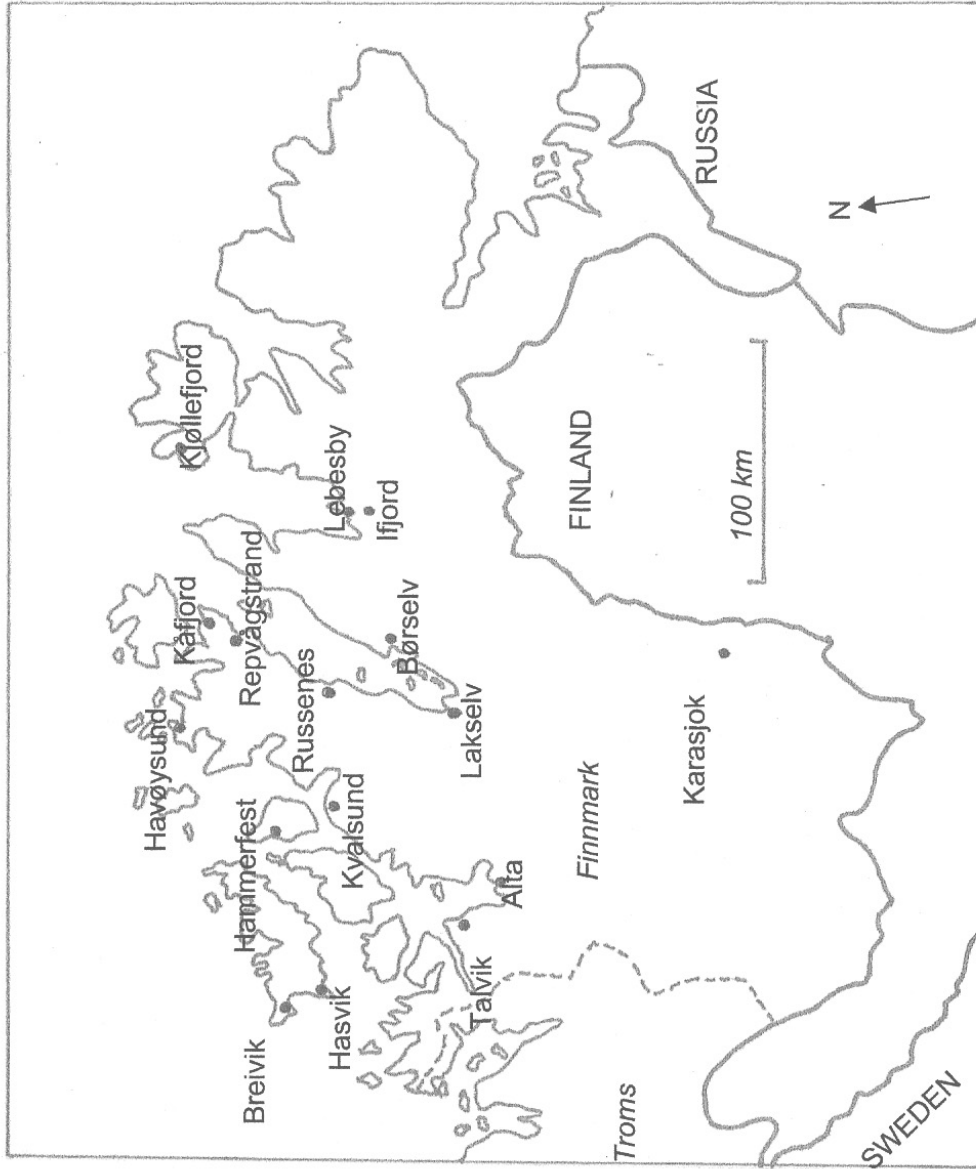
WILPF Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

WRI War Resisters' International

NORWEGIAN COUNTIES (prior to 1 January 2020)*



* Reis, J. and Tereso, J. D. Counties of Norway, with ISO 3166-2:NO code and legend [online]. 2005, accessed 25 April 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Norway_counties.svg. While some of the county [fylke] boundaries shown in the map will not reflect the situation in 1945, those of Finnmark and Troms remained unchanged between 1866 and 1996 (see Dag Juvkam, 'Historisk oversikt over endringer i kommune- og fylkesinndelingen' [Historical overview of changes in municipality and county boundaries], (Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå [Central Statistical Bureau]), 1999), 87, https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/rapp_9913/rapp_9913.pdf). No boundary changes affected Finnmark and Troms after 1996 until they became a single county on 1 January 2020 (see Regjeringen.no, 'Nye fylker' [New counties], 2019, accessed 20 January 2020, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kommuner-og-regioner/regionreform/regionreform/nye-fylker/id2548426/>).



Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service]:
main work camps in Finnmark

PART 1:

CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1: The thesis topic and its academic importance

This thesis examines relief work in northern Norway undertaken by Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [The Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT], a small relief organisation founded and led by Norwegian Quakers.¹ The relief project FHT coordinated in 1946-1947 in Finnmark, then the most northerly county [*fylke*] in Norway, arose directly from the wartime events in the area, the entire country having been occupied by Nazi-led forces from April 1940 to May 1945 (the historical context is outlined in 1.2).² To date, the only significant material published about the organisation's post-war work in Finnmark is Inez Boon Ulfsby's short and informative narrative account, which, written in Norwegian, is largely inaccessible to Anglophone audiences.³ The primary purpose of the research is to examine FHT's relief project in

¹ The names of FHT and the other organisations which took part in the Finnmark relief will be given in their original form (usually abbreviated after the first use). Their names, used frequently throughout the text, will not be italicised. Otherwise, in the text names of organisations and individuals' job titles, and titles of books and documents will be given in English to aid the reader, with the original language form given in italics in square brackets for the first use in any given chapter. However, to assist researchers with archive work, books, journal articles and documents in languages other than English are cited in footnotes in the original language first followed where needed by an English translation in square brackets.

² The thesis refers to Finnmark as the most northerly county in Norway and Troms as the neighbouring county immediately to the south as was the situation during the 20th century and the first two decades of the 21st. On 1 January 2020 as part of nationwide regional reform, the two counties were merged to form a new county of Troms and Finnmark (see Regjeringen.no, 'Nye fylker' [New counties], 19 December 2019, accessed 20 January 2020, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kommuner-og-regioner/regionreform/regionreform/nye-fylker/id2548426/>). Troms and Finnmark county council later agreed to apply to the Norwegian Parliament for permission to demerge. Following the September 2021 general election, the incoming Labour Party-led government indicated that the application would be recommended for approval to the Parliament (see Troms og Finnmark fylkeskommune, 'Fylkestinget vedtok oppstart av oppdeling' [The county council approved the start of the de-merger], 2021, accessed 18 January 2022, <https://www.tffk.no/aktuelt/fylkestinget-vedtok-oppstart-av-oppdeling.38399.aspx>). For simplicity the thesis will refer to Finnmark and Troms as separate counties as was the case during the events examined. The Norwegian spelling, 'Finnmark', is used rather than 'Finmark', the form often found in English, except when the latter is used in a citation.

³ Inez Boon Ulfsby, *Et håndslag til Finnmark: Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste under gjenreisningen 1946-47* [A helping hand to Finnmark: Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste during the reconstruction 1946-47], 2nd rev. ed. [Norway]: Kvekerforlaget, 2006. The first edition was published in 1982 by Tiden

northern Norway, from its initiation to its close, in more detail than has previously been possible and to make the account available to a wider Anglophone audience. It is the first academic exploration of the topic, and also develops the historiography of Quaker relief and of northern Norway.

This thesis includes a narrative and analytical account of the work of FHT. It situates the work in the context of Quaker relief more broadly and within humanitarianism more generally. A range of different research topics emerge from the examination of FHT's work. I look at the role in the organisation's foundation played by pre-existing linked and overlapping networks in which 'emotional ties provided the foundation for informal networks that were also trans-local, transnational and global.'⁴ I explore why the participating organisations chose to undertake relief in a remote and little-known corner of north-west Europe when the need was even more pressing further south in the continent and argue that insufficient scholarly attention has been paid to relief undertaken in areas seen as peripheral. The differences in preferred models of relief work favoured by the various organisations are explored as are tensions that sometimes arose between national groups of volunteers in spite of generally amicable and co-operative interpersonal relations. The thesis notes the link between Quaker faith and Quaker-led relief work and the role that religious faith more generally has played in the development of humanitarianism. It examines themes arising from the basic research: co-operation between relief organisations and

Norsk Forlag who gave permission for the publication of the 2006 edition. Page references are to the Kvekerforlaget edition.

⁴ Sandra Holton and Robert J. Holton, 'From the Particular to the Global: Some Empirical, Epistemological and Methodological Aspects of Microhistory with regard to a Women's Rights Network,' in *Performing Global Networks*, ed. Karen Fricker and Ronit Lentin (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 21.

relevant authorities; different models of relief work; and women and relief work. The thesis expands the body of scholarship about Quaker-led relief projects, the stories of which may have been told in local, commemorative or self-published histories but which have yet to be the subject of academic analysis.⁵

The thesis is presented in three parts. Part 1: Context establishes the historical context for FHT's post-war work in Finnmark, reviews relevant literature and key emergent themes, and discusses methods and sources. Part 2: The Work of FHT examines the organisation's beginnings, the initial planning for the relief project, the organisations which joined FHT in northern Norway, and the role played by shared and overlapping networks. It discusses the work accomplished in 1946 and 1947 and the challenges faced in carrying it out. Part 3: The Wider Picture looks in more detail at the participating organisations, why they chose to go to Finnmark, their preferred ways of working and tensions that developed between them. Finally, it reviews the research findings of the thesis, considers FHT's activities in the context of selected other Quaker-led relief projects and discusses previous scholarship and possible future avenues of research.

⁵ For example, Linda Palfreeman, 'The Friends' Ambulance Unit in the First World War,' *Religions* 9, no. 5 (2018), 1-14. Page numbers refer to the online version of the article. Katherine Storr, 'Excluded from the Record: Civilians – Refugees and Rescuers, 1914-1925,' PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2003, <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.406617>. Jennifer Carson, 'The Friends Relief Service: Faith into Action: Humanitarian Assistance to Displaced Persons Camps in Germany, 1945-1948,' PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2009, <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.498855>.

1.2: FHT's work in Finnmark in historical context

Introduction

As noted above FHT was a small relief organisation founded and led by Norwegian Quakers.⁶ To aid an understanding of its work in Finnmark, this section summarises the historical context of the occupation that had a profound effect on the country and its inhabitants, and from which the FHT's relief work grew. Norway's wartime history is complex and many-faceted, and a short account cannot hope to do it justice.

However, while it is acknowledged that Norway 'escaped the most grotesque and deadly elements of the war,' it is important to appreciate the colossal and hugely harmful effects of the war on the population in order to understand what motivated FHT's founders.⁷ Accordingly, this section outlines the April 1940 Nazi-led invasion of Norway, the five-year long occupation and Norway's strategic importance to the occupying power. It offers a brief description of Finnmark in the years immediately before the Second World War and during the hostilities. It gives a summary of the forced evacuation and systematic destruction of Finnmark and the northern part of Troms, the county immediately to the south, over the late autumn and winter of 1944

⁶ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjöring og ødeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, Fredsvenenes Hjelpetjeneste archive (hereafter 'FHT archive'), F-L0001 0002. {The document is not dated and the writer's name is not given. However, there is a statement, 'And I had a little contact with my husband, Diderich Lund' [Og litt forbinnelse [*sic*] hadde jeg med min mann, Diderich Lund], so the writer must have been Diderich's wife, Sigrid Helliesen Lund (4.1). Diderich Lund was the Director of the Finnmark Office [*Finnmarkskontoret*], which was established in 1945 and was the body administratively responsible for leading the reconstruction of northern Norway between 1945 and 1947, after which the work was transferred to the relevant local authorities (see NSD Forvaltningsdatabasen, 'Finnmarkskontoret i Harstad [The Finnmark Office in Harstad],' n.d., accessed 22 November 2017, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/polsys/data/forvaltning/enhet/10204/endringshistorie>.)} A significant number of primary source documents need verification regarding the date and/or the identity of the sender and/or the recipient. To clarify relevant footnotes for the reader, explanatory text accompanying a citation will be delineated by curly brackets as in this footnote.

⁷ Guri Hjeltnes, *Hverdagsliv* [Everyday life], 5: 62, *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], ed. Magne Skodvin (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984-1987). 'sto utenfor de mest groteske og dødbringende deler av krigen.' Where English translations from Norwegian, Danish or Swedish sources are quoted in the text, the original will be given in the relevant footnote. All English translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

to 1945. It then briefly outlines the post-war reconstruction of the area and summarises FHT relief work in Finnmark to establish the context for the more detailed description and analysis in later chapters. Attention is devoted to the historical context mindful of the criticism voiced recently by Bernt Hagtvet that 'foreign historians or social scientists, indeed, civilised people in general' are almost completely lacking in knowledge of Norway other than at anecdotal level.⁸

Invasion of Norway

Nazi-led forces invaded Norway on 9 April 1940 in an attack that had, as Ole Kristian Grimnes explained, been carefully planned to strike at different locations simultaneously.⁹ Tom Kristiansen pointed out that Norway's 'armed forces had not fired a shot in anger since 1814' and that 'Norway had...only been fully independent for 35 years.'¹⁰ The Norwegian army, less well trained and equipped than the aggressors, fought hard in defence of the country supported by British, French and Polish troops, who were also deficient in training and equipment.¹¹ While the German forces had success further south, the Norwegians and the Allies were close to victory in fighting around the northern town of Narvik.¹² However, as Grimnes made clear,

⁸ Bernt Hagtvet, 'Det ukjente landet mot nord,' [The unknown country in the north], *Aftenposten*, 29 May 2021. The author is 'a professor emeritus of political science at the University of Oslo' (see Human Rights House Foundation, 'Bernt Hagtvet, Chairperson,' n.d., accessed 8 June 2021, <https://humanrightshouse.org/contact/bernt-hagtvet/>). 'utenlandske historikere eller samfunnsvitere, ja, kulturfolk i sin alminnelighet.'

⁹ Ole Kristian Grimnes, 'Felttoget i 1940 i Norge' [The 1940 campaign in Norway], in *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian War Dictionary 1940-45], ed. Hans Fredrik Dahl, Guri Hjeltnes, Berit Nøkleby, Nils Johan Ringdal, and Øystein Sørensen ([Oslo]: J. W. Cappelen, 1995), 94-96.

¹⁰ Tom Kristiansen, 'Closing a Long Chapter: German-Norwegian Relations 1939-45: Norway and the Third Reich,' in *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*, ed. John Gilmour and Jill Stephenson (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 73.

¹¹ Grimnes, 'Felttoget i 1940' [1940 campaign], 94-96.

¹² Ole Kristian Grimnes, *Overfall* [Attack], 1: 198-210, *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], ed. Magne Skodvin (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984).

German attacks on France, the Netherlands and Belgium led to the Allied forces being withdrawn.¹³ The Norwegian army could not withstand the aggressors unaided and capitulated on 10 June 1940.¹⁴ The Norwegian King and the Government evaded capture by retreating ever further north, and eventually escaped to exile in London on a British destroyer as the Allies left.¹⁵

Occupation of Norway

Hans Fredrik Dahl noted that Vidkun Quisling, the leader of the Norwegian fascist National Union party [*Nasjonal Samling* – NS], which he founded in 1933, took advantage of the German invasion to stage a coup, positioning himself as head of a new government.¹⁶ Hitler, who had formed a favourable impression of Quisling after a meeting in Berlin in December 1939 (when the latter warned the Nazi leader of Britain's interest in Norway), initially recognised the new government but changed his mind shortly afterwards.¹⁷ Two weeks after the invasion, Hitler appointed Josef Terboven, a long-standing Nazi member and activist, as Reich Commissioner [*Reichskommissar*] with full administrative power over Norway.¹⁸ Dahl quoted Terboven as saying that Quisling was 'not at all the right sort of personality to lead a National Socialist party,' but Hitler ordered that a political role should be found for

¹³ Ibid., 214.

¹⁴ Grimnes, 'Felttoget i 1940' [1940 campaign], 94-96.

¹⁵ Grimnes, *Overfall* [Attack], 230.

¹⁶ Hans Fredrik Dahl, 'Quisling, Vidkun,' in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 336. Berit Nøkleby, *Nyordning* [Changes], 2: 24, *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], ed. Magne Skodvin (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985). Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Quisling: A Study in Treachery*, trans. Anne-Marie Stanton-lfe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 172-175.

¹⁷ Berit Nøkleby, *Josef Terboven: Hitlers mann i Norge* [Josef Terboven: Hitler's man in Norway], ([Oslo]: Gyldendal, 2008), 97. Dahl, *Quisling: A Study*, 149-157, 175-176.

¹⁸ Nøkleby, *Josef Terboven*, 28-39, 41-49, 24-25.

him.¹⁹ All political parties were dissolved apart from NS with Quisling as leader.²⁰ A new government cabinet was appointed by Terboven, most of whom were NS members, and, while the body was responsible to the Reich Commissioner, Quisling frequently attended meetings as party leader, although his power was very limited.²¹ Berit Nøkleby explained that he acted as Prime Minister until formally appointed as Minister President in February 1942, although Terboven continued to hold overall authority.²² The Reich Commissioner was initially willing 'to use silk gloves' in governing the country but, as Nøkleby noted, it soon became clear that, apart from NS members, most Norwegians were strongly opposed to the occupation and to the Nazi authorities.²³ Quisling and his political party were very unpopular in Norway with Dahl concluding that:

a party leader attacking his King and government from the rear during a national emergency was quite simply outrageous and unpalatable to most people. Quisling underrated both the extent of this outrage and the depth of the underlying feelings, and found himself denounced by the whole world.²⁴

There were attempts by the fascist government to impose their practices in different areas of civilian life. For example, as Gunnar Heiene noted, they tried 'to censure NRK's [*Norsk Rikskringkasting*] religious broadcasts and favoured priests who were sympathetic to the National Union party.'²⁵ Egil Christophersen explained that the

¹⁹ Dahl, *Quisling: A Study*, 188. Nøkleby, *Nyordning* [Changes], 38.

²⁰ Nøkleby, *Nyordning* [Changes], 43, 46, 52. Baard Borge, 'NS, Nasjonal Samling' [NS, National Union], in *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], ed. Dahl et al., 304. Dahl, *Quisling: A Study*, 205.

²¹ Dahl, *Quisling: A Study*, 207. Berit Nøkleby, *Holdningskamp* [Patriotic struggle], 4: 23, *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], ed. Magne Skodvin (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1986).

²² Dahl, *Quisling: A Study*, 247.

²³ Nøkleby, *Josef Terboven*, 70. 'å bruke silkehanser'. Berit Nøkleby, 'Terboven, Josef,' in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 417-418.

²⁴ Dahl, *Quisling: A Study*, 186.

²⁵ NRK was established in 1933 and is Norway's state-owned public broadcaster (see NRK, 'NRKs historie' [NRK's history], 2019, accessed 28 January 2020, <https://www.nrk.no/organisasjon/nrks-historie-1.6589747>). Gunnar Heiene, 'Kirkekampen' [The church struggle], in Dahl et al., *Norsk*

state church resisted Nazification and eventually the bishops and almost all the priests resigned their positions, although they continued to do their pastoral work as far as was possible with various ways being used to ensure that they had sufficient income to survive.²⁶ A number were imprisoned and, in 1942, an unofficial organisation, the Interim Church Leadership [*Den Midlertidige Kirkeledelse*] was established as 'the highest leadership for the Church now, both spiritual and administrative' and refused to have contact with the authorities who decided not to pursue the matter further at that time.²⁷

Norway's teachers were another of the groups targeted. The Terboven-appointed government applied increasing pressure to get them to support NS policies for the schools and pupils, not least instructing children about the merits of fascism, but, as Nøkleby and Guri Hjeltnes recorded, resistance among the Norwegian teaching profession was strong.²⁸ Tessa Dunseath explained that Quisling's administration decided that existing professional organisations were to be dissolved and the members obliged to join new Nazi-inspired equivalents.²⁹ As Nøkleby outlined, over 90% of teachers refused to join the new Nazi Teachers' Union [*Lærersambandet*], which led the authorities to take severe reprisals.³⁰ Five hundred male teachers were

krigsleksikon [Norwegian War Dictionary], 211. 'å sensurere de religiøse sendingene i NRK og favoriserte prester som var positivt stemt overfor NS.'

²⁶ Egil Christophersen, 'Den Midlertidige Kirkeledelse' [The interim church leadership], in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 67. Nøkleby, *Holdningskamp* [Patriotic struggle], 53, 67-68.

²⁷ Nøkleby, *Holdningskamp* [Patriotic struggle], 63-65, 68-71. 'den øverste ledelse for Kirken nå, både åndelig og administrativt.'

²⁸ Berit Nøkleby and Guri Hjeltnes, *Barn under krigen* [Children during the war], (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2000), 44-47. Tessa Dunseath, 'Teachers at War: Norwegian Teachers during the German Occupation of Norway 1940-45,' *History of Education* 31, no. 4 (2002): 374-375.

²⁹ Dunseath, 'Teachers at War,' 375.

³⁰ Berit Nøkleby, 'Lærersambandet' [Teachers' union], in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 258-259.

arrested and sent north to Kirkenes, a town close to the Russian border in the far north-east of Finnmark county. Dunseath noted that they were made to undertake forced labour, with very inadequate accommodation, food and clothing.³¹ Nøkleby explained that the teachers, both those sent to Finnmark and their colleagues, were well supported by other Norwegians.³² Finally, the teachers agreed under duress to join the Nazi teachers' organisation but, as a result of the strong resistance to it, the Church and Education Department [*Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet*] relented to the extent of conceding that Teachers' Union membership would make no political demands as had originally been envisaged.³³ Bjarte Bruland and Mats Tangestuen argued that the failure of the Quisling government's attempt to Nazify Norwegian society 'was the primary factor in encouraging civilian and military resistance.'³⁴

Individual civilians took extraordinary risks to help resistance to the Nazi occupiers. As Hjeltnes explained, the Illegal Press [*Illegal presse*] was the collective name for a large number of underground news-sheets produced by a wide range of different groups, which appeared throughout the occupation of Norway. They transmitted messages from the Norwegian government in exile in London and from the resistance movement in Norway, and provided news about the progress of the war, which was difficult to access after the Nazi authorities confiscated radios in 1941. Involvement in the production, distribution or possession of such news-sheets was very dangerous, with those caught subject to punishments that included the death

³¹ Dunseath, 'Teachers at War,' 378-379.

³² Nøkleby, *Holdningskamp* [Patriotic struggle], 89, 94, 98, 106, 116.

³³ *Ibid.*, 72, 115, 118-119.

³⁴ Bjarte Bruland and Mats Tangestuen, 'The Norwegian Holocaust: Changing Views and Representations,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 36, no. 5 (2011): 590.

penalty.³⁵ Nils Johan Ringdal noted that, in west coast communities, particularly in the southern part of the country, local people helped some 3,000 compatriots to escape by sea, usually to Scotland, or assisted allied agents secretly transported to Norway from Britain.³⁶ In other parts of the country, individuals helped with the various stages of difficult and dangerous transports of the approximately 50,000 people who fled over the country's eastern border to Sweden.³⁷ Even low-key expressions of resistance, such as wearing red clothing or paperclips on a collar as signs of unity between 'true' Norwegians became so widespread that to do so was expressly forbidden by the authorities who came to recognise very well what the symbols expressed.³⁸

Bruland and Tangestuen observed that Norway did not have a large Jewish population, not least because the 1814 Constitution specified that 'neither Jews nor Jesuit priests were allowed entry into Norway.'³⁹ The prohibition was lifted in 1851 but the numbers who settled in the country were small. 'In 1940, approximately 2,100 Jews lived in Norway, 500 of whom were not Norwegian citizens.'⁴⁰ Some Jewish refugees from eastern Europe were given sanctuary in the years leading up to the Second World War, assisted by organisations such as Nansen Relief

³⁵ Guri Hjeltnes, 'Illegal presse' [The illegal press], in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 193.

³⁶ Nils Johan Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden: politiet under okkupasjonen* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea: the police during the occupation], ([Oslo]: Aschehoug, 1987), 213.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

³⁸ Hjeltnes, 'Binders' [Paper clips], in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 41. Red was and is the main colour in the Norwegian flag (see 'Norges flagg' [Norway's flag], (2019, 3rd May), in Store Norske Leksikon, accessed 31 January 2020 from https://snl.no/Norges_flagg. The style of the citation used in the footnote is stipulated in the source. The entry in the bibliography is under 'Store Norske Leksikon').

³⁹ Bruland and Tangestuen, 'Norwegian Holocaust,' 588

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 589.

[*Nansenhjelp*].⁴¹ Although the most extreme actions against Jews came later in Norway than in most other Nazi-occupied countries, Norway did not escape the effects of the Holocaust. Kristiansen described 'parts of Norway's war record that represent an eternal embarrassment,' with one of those episodes being 'the deportation of the Jews in the autumn of 1942.'⁴² Oddvar K. Høidal estimated that about 1,100 Jews fled to Sweden, usually with the help of people in the resistance.⁴³ Marte Michelet observed that in early 1942 Jews had their identity papers stamped with 'J' and had to complete a three-sided questionnaire that 'included questions about their political, religious and economic circumstances.'⁴⁴ On 25 October of the same year, adult Jewish males were rounded up by the police, with women and children being arrested on 14 November.⁴⁵ Bruland and Tangestuen calculated that, during the occupation of Norway, 771 Jews were deported, mainly between November 1942 and February 1943. Most were sent directly to Auschwitz and only 34 survived.⁴⁶ The actual arrests were made by Norwegian police, not by Germans.⁴⁷

⁴¹ In February 1937 Nansen Relief was founded by Odd Nansen, son of Fridtjof Nansen, the explorer, to support stateless people and refugees, especially Jews, who were threatened by the worsening political situation in Europe. Anne Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen: arvtageren* [Odd Nansen: the heir], (Oslo: Historie & Kultur, 2015), 100-103. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Celine Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], (Oslo: Tiden, 1981), 61, 66.

⁴² Kristiansen, 'Closing a Long Chapter,' 93.

⁴³ Oddvar K. Høidal, 'Vidkun Quisling and the Deportation of Norway's Jews,' *Scandinavian Studies* 88, no. 3 (2016): 290.

⁴⁴ Marte Michelet, *Den største forbrytelsen: ofre og gjerningsmenn i det norske Holocaust* [The greatest crime: victims and perpetrators in the Norwegian Holocaust], (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2014), 173. 'inneholdt spørsmål om politiske, religiøse og økonomiske forhold.'

⁴⁵ Per Ole Johansen, 'Jødeaksjonene' [The actions [against] the Jews], in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 204.

⁴⁶ Bruland and Tangestuen, 'Norwegian Holocaust,' 590. It should be noted that the abstract printed at the head of the article (p587) gives the number deported as 772. There is some variation in the reported numbers of Jews deported and Jews who survived. For example, the figures of 767 and 26 respectively are cited in Kristian Ottosen, *I slik en natt: deportasjon av jøder fra Norge* [On such a night: the deportation of Jews from Norway], (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2008), 334, 364.

⁴⁷ Bruland and Tangestuen, 'Norwegian Holocaust,' 593.

Grimnes argued that the role of the Norwegian police during the occupation became widely condemned as greater attention was devoted to the fate of Norway's Jewish population.⁴⁸ Michelet noted that there was a prior history of co-operation between the police forces in Norway and Germany with some Norwegian police officers having been sent on study tours to work with German police during the interwar years.⁴⁹ Ferdinand Linthoe Næshagen observed that, following the occupation of the country, 'for the Norwegian Nazi marionette government, nazifying the police force was one of the first priorities.'⁵⁰ However, while many senior personnel did join NS, only about 40% overall became members, with percentage membership varying considerably from area to area. In Finnmark, a high proportion of officers in Hammerfest on the west coast joined NS. However, in Vadsø, a town in the eastern part of the county, virtually none did.⁵¹ Michelet argued that the police undoubtedly helped the occupying authorities: as German troops started to land at Oslo's airport in 1940, the then Oslo police chief, Kristian Welhaven, sent a police escort to accompany them into the city centre.⁵² Some weeks later, police carried out the confiscation of radios from Jewish citizens and, as noted above, were the main actors in carrying out the arrests of Jewish citizens prior to their deportation to extermination camps.⁵³ However, as Ringdal and Grimnes observed, there is also evidence that individual officers helped by providing false identity papers for

⁴⁸ Ole Kristian Grimnes, 'Hitler's Norwegian Legacy,' in *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*, ed. John Gilmour and Jill Stephenson (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 172-173.

⁴⁹ Michelet, *Den største forbrytelsen* [Greatest crime], 180-181. Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea], 65.

⁵⁰ Ferdinand Linthoe Næshagen, 'Norway's Democratic and Conservative Tradition in Policing,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 25, no. 3 (2000): 192.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 192. Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea], 38-40.

⁵² Michelet, *Den største forbrytelsen* [Greatest crime], 113.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 122.

resistance activists and others to assist them evade capture by the occupying forces and by giving 'confidential warnings about coming raids and arrests.'⁵⁴

Grimnes argued that 'the [Norwegian] population identified itself with resistance,' with the consequence that, following liberation, the national mood supported 'the castigation of "them", the quislings, traitors and collaborators of different sorts.'⁵⁵ He noted that '[NS] party membership rose to an all-time high in the autumn of 1943 with 43,000 members.'⁵⁶ In his view, that has subsequently led to an 'issue which more than any other challenges the nation's self-understanding,' namely, 'why so many, that is more than a tiny minority, joined the fascist party and supported the Norwegian fascist government and its Nazification campaign.'⁵⁷ Nina Drolsum Kroglund argued that 'one of the most used arguments to explain why people chose NS is fear of communism.'⁵⁸ The Norwegian Labour Party had joined the Third Communist International [Comintern] in 1919. Although it left the organisation four years later, some still considered that it remained very left-wing in the years that followed.⁵⁹ The Party changed its political stance in the 1930s to become considerably less radical. However, after it became the party of government in 1935, Quisling's supporters were deeply concerned by its marked reluctance to increase

⁵⁴ Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea], 276-277. Ole Kristian Grimnes, 'Hitler's Norwegian Legacy,' 172.

⁵⁵ Grimnes, 'Hitler's Norwegian Legacy,' 162-163.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁵⁸ Nina Drolsum Kroglund, *Hitlers norske hjelpere: Nordmenns samarbeid med Tyskland 1940-45* [Hitler's Norwegian helpers: Norwegians' collaboration with Germany 1940-45], (Oslo: Historie & Kultur, 2012), 317. 'Et av de mest brukte argumentene for å forklare hvorfor folk valgte NS, er frykten for kommunismen.'

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 318.

military spending.⁶⁰ Krogslund contended that areas of the country that experienced high levels of German activity also experienced relatively high levels of NS membership in the local population. Finnmark was one of those areas and also a region in which 'the fear of communism because of the geographical proximity to the Soviet Union is probably the background for the relatively high support here.'⁶¹

Norway's importance to the Nazi occupiers

Dunseath commented that the Nazi leadership regarded Norwegians as being pure Aryans and, consequently, a good addition to the Third Reich.⁶² Ivar Kraglund and Arfinn Moland argued that, more practically, Hitler considered Norway to be strategically important, not least because he was convinced that the British were planning to invade the country.⁶³ Asbjørn Jaklin and Olav Riste contended that the conviction was not wholly unreasonable as Winston Churchill considered the possibility, although it eventually became 'a decoy to convince the Germans to believe that Norway was the invasion target long after planning for D-Day in northern France was in progress.'⁶⁴ Nazi military commanders saw Norway as a useful base

⁶⁰ Regjeringen.no, 'Johan Nygaardsvold: Statsminister 1935-1945' [Johan Nygaardsvold: Prime Minister 1935-1945], 2013, accessed 30 March 2020, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/om-regjeringa/tidligere-regjeringer-og-historie/historiske-artikler/embeter/statsminister-1814-/johan-nygaardsvold/id463389/>.

⁶¹ Krogslund, *Hitlers norske hjelpere* [Hitler's Norwegian helpers], 301. 'frykt for kommunismen på grunn av den geografiske nærheten til Sovjet-unionen, er antakelig bakgrunnen for den relativt høye oppslutningen her.'

⁶² Dunseath, 'Teachers at War,' 372-373.

⁶³ Ivar Kraglund and Arfinn Moland, *Hjemmefront* [The home front], 6: 118, *Norge i krig: fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], ed. Magne Skodvin (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984-1987).

⁶⁴ Asbjørn Jaklin, *Nordfronten: Hitlers skjebneområde* [The northern front: Hitler's area of destiny], ([Oslo]: Gyldendal, 2006), 159, 160, 170. Olav Riste, *Utefront* [The front line outside Norway], 7: 84-86, *Norge i krig: fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], ed. Magne Skodvin (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984-1987). 'ein narreplan for å lokke tyskarane til å tru at Norge var invasjonsmålet lenge etter at planlegginga for D-dagen in Nord-Frankrike kom i sving.'

to give German shipping access to the North Atlantic and as a source of Swedish iron ore mined in Kiruna, which was exported via the port of Narvik in northern Norway.⁶⁵ Nøkleby and Tønne Huitfeldt explained that the far north-east of the country was one of the routes used by the Nazis when they invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941 in Operation Barbarossa.⁶⁶ That most northerly line of attack was not successful, as Tim Greve noted, with Soviet troops managing to hold the Germans from 1941 to 1944 on the largely static Litza Front some distance west of Murmansk, the ice-free Russian harbour that the Nazis had hoped to capture.⁶⁷ Øystein Bottolfsen, author of the official history of Finnmark county for the period 1840-1990, explained that the north east of Finnmark became in effect the supplies depot for the German troops stationed at the Litza Front and was subjected to repeated air attacks by the Soviet forces.⁶⁸ Christopher Hartmann commented that, following the Operation Barbarossa invasion, the Soviets joined the Allies.⁶⁹ Nøkleby and Hjeltnes noted that British and American convoys sailed round northern Norway to Murmansk and Archangel carrying war supplies for the Soviet forces with the result that air and sea bases in Finnmark and Troms were used by the Germans to launch attacks on the Allied ships.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Tim Greve, *Verdenskrig* [World war], 3: 195-197, *Norge i krig: fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], ed. Magne Skodvin (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984-1987). Berit Nøkleby, 'Narvik,' in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 284.

⁶⁶ Berit Nøkleby, 'Barbarossa,' in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 34-35. Tønne Huitfeldt, 'Between the Lines: North Norway 1944-5,' in *Britain and Norway in the Second World War*, ed. Patrick Salmon (London: HMSO, 1995), 232-233.

⁶⁷ Greve, *Verdenskrig* [World war], 148, 150, 151.

⁶⁸ Øystein Bottolfsen, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie 1840-1990* [The history of Finnmark county 1840-1990], ([Vadsø]: Finnmark fylkeskommune, 1990), 314.

⁶⁹ Christopher Hartmann, *Operation Barbarossa: Nazi Germany's War in the East, 1941-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 112-113.

⁷⁰ Nøkleby, *Nyordning* [Changes], 181. Guri Hjeltnes, 'Murmansk-konvoiene' [The Murmansk convoys], in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 278-280.

Greve commented that Hitler's conviction that Norway was 'an area of destiny' led him to keep many thousands of troops stationed there.⁷¹ While numbers varied, the country 'had to bear the burden of an occupation force totalling between three and four hundred thousand men,' increasing the population by 10%.⁷² Northern Norway was, and remains, sparsely populated but, as Bottolfsen and Jaklin noted, many thousands of German soldiers were stationed there because of the region's strategic significance.⁷³ Ingrid Immonen reported that, at times and in particular communities, occupying troops could outnumber local people by 10 to 1.⁷⁴ She observed that it made life difficult for the inhabitants with schools, hospitals, homes and other buildings requisitioned for military accommodation.⁷⁵ Nøkleby and Hjeltnes wrote that many children had little, if any, schooling during the occupation, and some families had to share their houses with German soldiers.⁷⁶ Resistance activities against the occupiers in other parts of the country were difficult and dangerous, but possible; in Finnmark they were almost impossible. As Knut Einar Eriksen and Terje Halvorsen commented, the resistance movement barely operated that far north and there is no record of illegal newspapers having been produced in the region.⁷⁷ Kraglund and Moland explained that agents new to the area would have been identified very quickly in small communities where everyone knew everyone else, and those who

⁷¹ Greve, *Verdenskrig* [World war], 202. 'et skjebnesone.'

⁷² Grimnes, 'Hitler's Norwegian Legacy,' 162. Kraglund and Moland, *Hjemmefront* [Home front], 139-140.

⁷³ Bottolfsen, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie* [History of Finnmark county], 314. Jaklin, *Nordfronten* [Northern front], 187.

⁷⁴ Ingrid Immonen, "'I Learned to Trust Myself': An Oral History of Professional Nurses' Wartime Practice in Finnmark,' *Nordlit* 37 (2015): 2.

⁷⁵ Ingrid Immonen, 'Nursing during World War II: Finnmark County, Northern Norway,' *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 72 (2013): 2.

⁷⁶ Nøkleby and Hjeltnes, *Barn* [Children], 59-61. Jaklin, *Historien om Nord-Norge* [The history of northern Norway], ([Oslo]: Gyldendal, 2006), 276-277.

⁷⁷ Knut Einar Eriksen and Terje Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 8: 25, *Norge i krig* [Norway at war], ed. Skodvin.

had German soldiers billeted on them could not realistically engage in work against the occupying forces.⁷⁸ The experience of living in such close quarters with the occupiers varied. As Øyvind Finne reported, initially most of the troops were Austrians who seemed to be 'well trained...and with orders to treat their "Aryan" friends in the north well' but SS soldiers posted to the area later were 'very brutal'.⁷⁹

Marianne Neerland Soleim explained that the Germans set up a large number of prisoner of war camps throughout Norway, many in northern Norway.⁸⁰

Approximately 100,000 prisoners from the Soviet Union and the Balkans were sent to the country, most of whom were captured soldiers but some 9,000 of whom were civilian forced labourers.⁸¹ Jaklin noted that the military prisoners of war (POWs) were used as slave labour on German building projects, such as the northern portion of the main road 50 [*Riksvei 50*], which Hitler wanted built all the way to Kirkenes on the Norwegian-Russian border.⁸² Soleim commented that they were treated very badly, being forced to undertake hard physical work without adequate accommodation, enough food, suitable work equipment or medical help, with the result that many died in captivity.⁸³ Finne wrote that local inhabitants were well aware of the appalling circumstances in which the POWs lived and some later reported that

⁷⁸ Kraglund and Moland, *Hjemmefront* [Home front], 156.

⁷⁹ Øyvind Finne, *Krigen som aldri slutter: krigstraumer i et livstidsperspektiv: eksemplet Finnmark 1940-46* [The war that never ends: wartime trauma in a lifelong perspective: the example of Finnmark 1940-46], ([Karasjok]: Davvi girji, 2005), 61-62. 'Godt oppdratt som soldatene...og med ordre om å behandle sine "ariske" frender i nord godt,' "'veldig brutal'.'

⁸⁰ Marianne Neerland Soleim, *Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941-1945: antall, organisering og repatriering* [Soviet prisoners of war in Norway 1941-1945: numbers, organisation and repatriation], (Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2018), 9.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁸² Jaklin, *Nordfronten* [Northern front], 142.

⁸³ Soleim, *Sovjetiske krigsfanger* [Soviet prisoners of war], 53-70.

having to witness how the prisoners were treated was one of the worst experiences that they had during the occupation.⁸⁴

Bottolfsen reported that a small number of Norwegians, who had fled from their homes in the northern coastal areas of Finnmark across the border to the Soviet Union, later came back as agents, landing secretly on Finnmark's Arctic coast to observe Nazi shipping and air movements and to radio information back to the Soviet authorities, by then on the Allied side of the conflict. However, those agents who survived the war later paid a considerable price for their activities as, with the rapid transition of the Soviet Union from a Second World War ally to a Cold War adversary, they were regarded for many years after the conflict as security risks.⁸⁵

Finnmark

Finnmark is, as noted above, the most northerly county in Norway. Its land area is 48,637 km², equivalent to nearly one fifth of the size of the United Kingdom and 15% larger than Denmark, and it has always been sparsely populated.⁸⁶ While parts are mountainous, much of the county lies under 600 metres above sea level and there is an extensive inland mountain plateau [*Finnmarksvidda*].⁸⁷ Most of the population lived and live in small settlements round the coast, the local economy having traditionally been highly dependent on fishing.⁸⁸ The county lies between 68° and 71°

⁸⁴ Finne, *Krigen som aldri slutter* [War that never ends], 69.

⁸⁵ Bottolfsen, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie* [History of Finnmark county], 328.

⁸⁶ Finnmark Fylkeskommune, 'Finnmarksfakta' [Finnmark facts], 2018, accessed 16 February 2018, <https://www.ffk.no/om-fylkeskommunen/finnmarksfakta/>. World Bank, 'Land area (sq. km),' 2018, accessed 16 February 2018, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.TOTL.K2?name_desc=false.

⁸⁷ Store Norske Leksikon, 'Finnmark – tidligere fylke,' 2022, accessed 18 January 2022, [https://snl.no/Finnmark - tidligere fylke](https://snl.no/Finnmark_-_tidligere_fylke).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

north, with the consequence that winter weather is frequently harsh, particularly on the inland mountain plateau.⁸⁹ The whole county lies north of the Arctic Circle, so there is a period over the winter when the sun does not rise, while for some weeks in summer it does not set. The coastline is indented with several very large fjords and there are a number of inhabited islands round the coast. Historically, sea transport was often the easiest or the only means of travel between locations. The road network was not extensively developed before the Second World War and the roads constructed by the German occupying forces were destroyed by them as they withdrew (see below in this section).⁹⁰

Northern Norway, northern Finland, northern Sweden and north-western Russia together form an area, Sápmi, that has been the homeland of the Sami for thousands of years.⁹¹ The Sea Sami settled on the coast, making a living principally from hunting and fishing but also tending small holdings.⁹² The Reindeer Sami lived a traditionally nomadic life, pasturing their reindeer on the mountain plateau in the winter months and moving to the coast in the spring and summer. With the closure of national borders in more recent times there is a greater tendency to keep herds in one area throughout the year.⁹³

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Hans Luihn, *Finnmark: en økonomisk analyse* [Finnmark: an economic analysis], ([Oslo]: Arbeidsdirektoratet, 1952), 13.

⁹¹ Hege Jensen and Karen Anne Buljo, *På vei til de åtte årstiders land* [On the way to the land of eight seasons] (Oslo: SpråkJensen forlag, 2014), 9. Neil Kent, *The Sámi Peoples of the North: A Social and Cultural History* (London: Hurst, 2014), 1-2, 6.

⁹² Jensen and Buljo, *På vei til de åtte årstiders land* [On the way to the land of eight seasons], 40-41.

⁹³ Kent, *Sámi Peoples*, 215-231.

Finnish migrants came to northern Norway at various times, with much of the immigration taking place in the 1700s and 1800s, often when Finland was suffering famine conditions.⁹⁴ Known as Kvens in much of northern Norway, there are also those of Finnish descent in Norway who 'prefer to call themselves "Finns" or "Norwegians of Finnish descent".' While I will use the designation 'Kven' as it is widely accepted in Norway, it should be noted that rejection of the term results from perceived negative connotations arising from the 'Norwegianisation' policy of successive governments from the mid nineteenth century to the mid twentieth century. The Kvens and the Sami were seen as inferior to ethnic Norwegians and 'a strict policy of assimilation [of the Kvens and the Sami] was enforced. The Kvens – and the Sami – were expected to give up their native languages and to become "real" Norwegians, mainly through schooling.'⁹⁵

For centuries, Finnmark has had an ethnically diverse population. However, establishing a clear picture of the balance of population groups during and immediately after the Second World War is not straightforward. A national census was held in 1930 but the war-time occupation made it impossible to hold one in 1940. One was held in 1946 to make up for the omission before the 10-year timetable was re-established in 1950.⁹⁶ The 1930 census asked questions about ethnic identity but the 1946 one did not.⁹⁷ In 1930, out of a Finnmark population of 53,308, 10,861

⁹⁴ Teemu Ryymin, 'Creating Kvenness: Identity Building among the Arctic Finns in Northern Norway,' *Acta Borealia* 18, no. 1 (2001): 54.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54, 57. Teemu Ryymin, 'Civilizing the "Uncivilized": The Fight against Tuberculosis in Northern Norway at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century,' *Acta Borealia* 24, no. 2 (2007): 145. The quotation is from the first of the two references.

⁹⁶ Kjartan Soltvedt, 'Innledning' [Introduction], in *Folketellinger gjennom 200 år* [The census throughout 200 years], ed. Kjartan Soltvedt (Oslo; Kongsvinger: Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2004), 5.

⁹⁷ Luihn, *Finnmark: en økonomisk analyse* [Finnmark: an economic analysis], 11.

(20.4%) were Sami and 5,859 (11.0%) were Kven.⁹⁸ While Terje Brantenberg, Marit Anne Hauan and Nils M. Knutsen argued that 'the pressure towards Norwegianisation and assimilation may have led to a certain under-reporting of ethnic origin,' it is clear that Finnmark was ethnically much more diverse than southern areas of Norway.⁹⁹

Hans Luihn's work made clear that Finnmark, Norway's most northerly county, which was already one of the most deprived regions of Norway, had experienced severe economic problems in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁰⁰ Fishing was a major part of the county's economy and Bottolfsen argued that the effects of the depression that affected many countries were intensified in northern Norway by government policies that adversely affected the export of fish to Spain and Portugal.¹⁰¹ In addition, he contended that the local economy suffered when, after the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Soviet authorities terminated the Pomor trade, 'cross-border trade with Norwegian communities on the Barents Sea...from the late 17th to the early 20th centuries.'¹⁰² Jaklin noted that the area's economy started to improve in the late 1930s and experienced a significant boost during the Nazi occupation, when the Germans' need to build fortifications and industrial facilities created great demand for

⁹⁸ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁹ Terje Brantenberg, Marit Anne Hauan and Nils M. Knutsen, 'Myter om nord-Norge og nordlendingen gjennom tidene [Myths about northern Norway and the northern Norwegian throughout time], in *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* [Cultural history of northern Norway], eds. Einar-Arne Drivenes, Marit Anne Hauan and Helge A. Wold (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1994), 1: 407. 'fornorskings- og assimilasjonspress kan ha ført til en viss underrapportering av etnisk opphav.'

¹⁰⁰ Luihn, *Finnmark: en økonomisk analyse* [Finnmark: an economic analysis], 50.

¹⁰¹ Bottolfsen, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie* [History of Finnmark county], 232-235.

¹⁰² Ibid., 232-235. Pomors are 'a specific Russian socio-cultural group' who live 'along the coast of the White and Barents Seas.' (see Vladislav I. Golding, 'Pomorje (Ru. literally meaning "the land along the sea"),' in *Encyclopedia of the Barents Region: Volume II N-Y*, ed. Mats-Olov Olsson et al. (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2016), 190-191). The Northern Lights Route, 'The Pomor Trade,' 1999, accessed 24 January 2020, <https://www.ub.uit.no/northernlights/eng/pomor.htm>.

labour. However, the virtual elimination of unemployment and debt was of limited value given shortages and rationing.¹⁰³

Luihn concluded that the standard of housing in Finnmark was the worst in Norway: the houses were smaller than the national average; less than a third had electric power; and, as Nina Planting Mølmann, Bjarne K. Jacobsen and Ingunn Elstad noted, 'very few households had running water.'¹⁰⁴ Mølmann, Jacobsen and Elstad reported that, during the war, food was scarce and rationing affected 'commodities, such as soap, cleaning utensils,...medicine and even water.'¹⁰⁵ Immonen explained that the incidence of tuberculosis was high and 'living conditions during the War increased the rate of all infectious diseases.'¹⁰⁶ Hjeltnes and Myrtle Wright noted that during the occupation there were many restrictions on daily life throughout Norway.¹⁰⁷ Other areas of the country experienced the same kind of deliberate destruction as was wreaked on Finnmark. For example, as Nøkleby observed, Telavåg, a small settlement on Norway's west coast, was targeted by the occupation authorities after two members of the German security police were shot there in April 1942 following the discovery that some of the inhabitants were helping foreign agents to land in the area. The village was razed to the ground, adult men between the ages of 16 and 60 were sent to Sachsenhausen, where over 40% of them died, and the

¹⁰³ Jaklin, *Historien om Nord-Norge* [History of northern Norway], 273-276.

¹⁰⁴ Luihn, *Finnmark: en økonomisk analyse* [Finnmark: an economic analysis], 17, 45. Nina Planting Mølmann, Bjarne K. Jacobsen and Ingunn Elstad, 'Infant Mortality and Epidemic Diseases: Wartime Finnmark in a Comparative Perspective,' *Nordlit* 37 (2015): 13.

¹⁰⁵ Mølmann, Jacobsen and Elstad, 'Infant Mortality,' 8.

¹⁰⁶ Immonen, "'I Learned to Trust Myself'," 6.

¹⁰⁷ Guri Hjeltnes, 'Rasjonering' [Rationing], in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 342. Myrtle Wright, *Norwegian Diary 1940-1945* (London: Friends Peace International Relations Committee, 1974), 182.

other inhabitants were imprisoned in Norway until mid-1944.¹⁰⁸ In addition, 18 men, already in Nazi custody and without any connection to the settlement, were shot in reprisal.¹⁰⁹ However, dreadful though the treatment meted out to, and as a result of, Telavåg was, it was dwarfed by the sheer scale of the destruction inflicted on Finnmark.

The forced evacuation of northern Norway

Eriksen and Halvorsen explained that, in October 1944, the Soviet army drove German forces westwards from the Litza Front out of the extreme north-west of Russia, back across the border into the far north-east of Norway.¹¹⁰ On 2 October, Hitler had given an order that German troops, forced to withdraw from Finland following that country's 19 September armistice with the Soviet Union, should leave Finnmark and set up a defensive line in the Lyngen area of North Troms (see Figure 1.1).¹¹¹ Bottolfsen noted that the very early stages of the retreat from north-east Finnmark were disorganised.¹¹² However, as he, and Eriksen and Halvorsen, reported, a direct order from Hitler on 28 October signalled the start of the forced evacuation of the inhabitants of Finnmark and northern Troms and the systematic destruction of the area's infrastructure: 'sympathy for the population is inappropriate.'¹¹³ Harry Westheim concluded that the wording of the order made

¹⁰⁸ Berit Nøkleby, 'Telavåg,' in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 416.

¹⁰⁹ Nøkleby, *Holdningskamp* [Patriotic struggle], 142.

¹¹⁰ Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 30-31.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 29. Henrik Meinander, *A History of Finland*, trans. Tom Geddes (London: Hurst, 2011), 157.

¹¹² Bottolfsen, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie* [History of Finnmark county], 315.

¹¹³ Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 44. Bottolfsen, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie* [History of Finnmark county], 315-319. 'Medlidenhet med befolkningen er ikke på sin plass.'

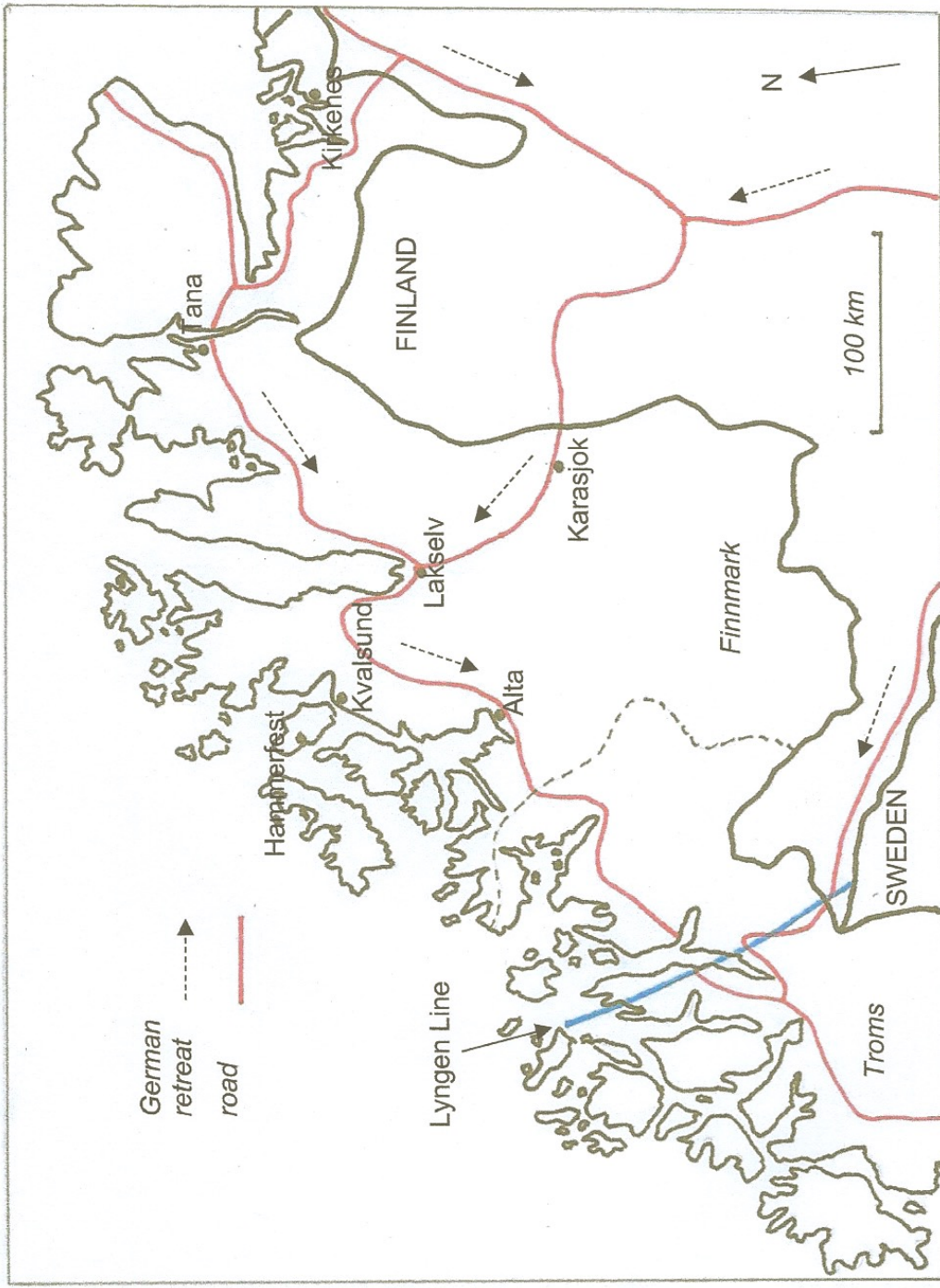


Figure 1.1: German retreat to the Lyngen Line

clear that the objective was to deny shelter and sustenance to the Soviet army to prevent it advancing through northern Norway, although in the end the Soviets halted at Tana in eastern Finnmark.¹¹⁴ In addition, as Eriksen and Halvorsen reported, with eastern Finnmark having been liberated by Allied forces, the Nazi leadership was anxious to deny the Norwegian government in exile in London the possibility of establishing a foothold back on the country's soil.¹¹⁵ In fact, the first small, although symbolically important, group of Norwegian soldiers crossed from Russia into Finnmark on 11 November 1944.¹¹⁶

At best the inhabitants of Finnmark were compelled to leave their homes at short notice with no more than what they could carry, some were given no notice at all, and still others saw their homes set alight and their domestic animals slaughtered as they departed.¹¹⁷ Dag Skogheim, and Nøkleby and Hjeltnes, explained that hospitals and children's homes had to be evacuated, with no consideration being given to the additional suffering inflicted upon those who were unfit or unsuited to undertake a long journey southwards.¹¹⁸ Diderich Lund noted that most civilians had to be evacuated by sea because, in addition to civilians, large numbers of troops and of POWs also had to leave the region and their evacuation was undertaken by road, with the latter two groups having to take part in the destruction of the region's

¹¹⁴ Harry Westrheim, *Landet de brente: tvangsevakueringen av Finnmark og Nord-Troms høsten 1944* [The land they burned: the forced evacuation of Finnmark and North Troms, autumn 1944], ([Bodø]: Nordnorsk Forfatterlag/Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1978), 45. Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 44.

¹¹⁵ Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 30-34, 44.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 52-57, 66.

¹¹⁸ Dag Skogheim, *Med slukte lanterner: de som aldri kom tilbake* [With lanterns extinguished: those who never came back], Gjenreisningsmuseets skriftserie no. 1 (Hammerfest: Gjenreisningsmuseet for Finnmark og Nord-Troms, 1998), 15-19. Nøkleby and Hjeltnes, *Barn* [Children], 236-238.

infrastructure.¹¹⁹ Eriksen and Halvorsen, and Inger Selven Watts, explained that some of the evacuees were able to use their own boats but the conditions aboard two cargo ships used in the evacuation of civilians, the *Karl Arp* and the *Adolf Binder*, became emblematic of the appalling difficulties suffered by many forced to leave their homes.¹²⁰ Anders Ole Hauglid, Knut Erik Jensen and Westrheim noted that both vessels were severely overcrowded (the former had some 1900 Norwegians and 400 German soldiers on board, and the latter had 1300 Norwegians) with civilians crammed together in the holds. Sanitation was completely inadequate, and the food and water supplies were insufficient and became contaminated. Twenty-five people died on the *Karl Arp* and almost all of the passengers became ill, while diphtheria and dysentery broke out on the *Adolf Binder*.¹²¹

Diderich Lund calculated that approximately two-thirds of the roughly 75,000 inhabitants of Finnmark and northern Troms were forced to leave their homes and travel to unknown destinations further south in Norway.¹²² Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim reported that the rest of the population managed to evade evacuation by hiding in caves or small, heavily concealed shelters in the hinterland of their home communities. Living conditions were very harsh. They were crowded into small spaces with few comforts, many had difficulty in obtaining enough food and it was

¹¹⁹ Diderich H. Lund, 'The Revival of Northern Norway,' *The Geographical Journal* 109, no. 4/6 (April-June 1947): 193.

¹²⁰ Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 66. Inger Selven Watts, *De kom til oss: tvangsevakueringen av Finnmark og Nord-Troms* [They came to us: the forced evacuation of Finnmark and North Troms] (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2016.), 81-82.

¹²¹ Anders Ole Hauglid, Knut Erik Jensen and Harry Westrheim, *Til befolkningen! brannhøsten 1944 – gjenreisningen etterpå* [To the people! the autumn of fire 1944 – the reconstruction afterwards], (Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1985), 62-63.

¹²² Diderich H. Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 194. There is variation between sources in the numbers quoted for those who were forcibly evacuated and those who managed to evade evacuation.

difficult to keep warm because of the danger of detection if fires were lit.¹²³ Trond Dancke explained that those who remained were in great danger because, if the occupying forces believed that some people had evaded evacuation from a given area, soldiers were sent back there, sometimes repeatedly, to try to discover those in hiding. Anyone found could face a very serious fate, with the possibility of being killed on the spot.¹²⁴ Eriksen and Halvorsen concluded that many of those who went into hiding believed that Allied forces would come to their aid and that, on the assumption that help would come relatively swiftly, it was less dangerous to stay than to set off on a journey that most civilians had to take by sea during the late autumn in waters that were known to be mined.¹²⁵ They and Arvid Petterson agreed that the unseasonably calm weather was a significant factor in making the sea journey south significantly less hazardous than it might otherwise have been.¹²⁶

The destruction of Finnmark and northern Troms

The far north-easterly part of Finnmark suffered very extensive damage as a result of repeated air attacks by the Soviet air force during the Nazi occupation. Nøkleby wrote that it escaped more organised destruction during the German withdrawal because the retreat began before Hitler gave his order that scorched earth tactics should be used as the forces abandoned the region.¹²⁷ However, as Dancke

¹²³ Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 54-55.

¹²⁴ Trond M.E. Dancke, *Opp av ruinene: gjenreisningen av Finnmark 1945-1960* [Up from the ruins: the reconstruction of Finnmark 1945-1960], (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1986), 19.

¹²⁵ Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 81. Asbjørn Jaklin, *Brent jord: 1944-1945: heltene, ofrene, de skyldige* [Scorched earth: 1944-1955: the heroes, the victims, the perpetrators], ([Oslo]: Gyldendal, 2016), 306.

¹²⁶ Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 69. Arvid Petterson, *Fortiet fortid: tragedien Norge aldri forsto: tvangsevakuering og overvintring i Nord-Troms og Finnmark 1944-1945* [The concealed past: the tragedy Norway never understood: forced evacuation and overwintering in North Troms and Finnmark 1944-1945], (Hammerfest: Gjenreisningsmuseet for Finnmark og Nord-Troms, 2008), 56.

¹²⁷ Nøkleby, *Josef Terboven*, 266.

explained, the greater part of the county and the northern section of Troms immediately to the south was systematically destroyed.¹²⁸ Most buildings were wooden and easy to set alight, but care was also taken to dynamite concrete and stone foundations. Marion Palmer, Eriksen and Halvorsen, and Dancke reported that roads, bridges, quays, boats, and telephone and telegraph poles were destroyed, and domestic animals were killed.¹²⁹ Westrheim noted that inhabitants forced to evacuate had to leave behind virtually everything they owned.¹³⁰ In addition, Dancke pointed out that many municipalities lost their records, which caused considerable difficulties after the war for the authorities wishing to rebuild local services for the population.¹³¹ The thoroughness of the destruction can be seen by considering the example of Hammerfest, the oldest town in northern Norway. Figure 1.2 shows the centre of Hammerfest in 1934, five years before its 150th anniversary. The town was and is situated on a bay with a harbour well used for fishing and other trading activities, most notably now oil and gas exploration and processing.¹³² Figure 1.3 shows the same part of Hammerfest after the town was systematically destroyed in the winter of 1944/1945 as Dancke and Sverre Hoëm reported.¹³³ Diderich Lund

¹²⁸ Trond Dancke, writing in 1986, calculated that the eastern part of Finnmark experienced 60-70% destruction while the rest of the county was nearly totally destroyed (see Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 136).

¹²⁹ Marion Palmer, *Bare kirka sto igjen: fortellinger om krigen i Finnmark* [Only the church was still standing: accounts of the war in Finnmark], (Oslo: Spartacus, 2010), 94-95. Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 52-57. Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 18-19.

¹³⁰ Westrheim, *Landet de brente* [Land they burned], 159.

¹³¹ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 344.

¹³² Hammerfest Turist AS, 'A brief history of Hammerfest,' n.d., accessed 26 February 2020, <https://www.visithammerfest.net/history>.

¹³³ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 371-372. Sverre Hoëm, 'Evakueringen av Finnmark og Nord-Troms' [The evacuation of Finnmark and northern Troms], *Kvekeren* no. 1 (August 1945): 13. Sverre Hoëm was a senior police officer in Finnmark before and during the Second World War. A Quaker, he was one of the three founders of what became FHT (see 4.1).



Figure 1.2: The centre of Hammerfest 1934.¹³⁴
Courtesy of Hammerfest Historielag.



Figure 1.3: The centre of Hammerfest in ruins 1945.¹³⁵
Courtesy of Hammerfest Historielag.

¹³⁴ Nerlien, 'Midtbyen og Molla 1934' [Town centre and Molla 1934], 1934, accessed 1 May 2014, http://www.hammerfest.folkebibl.no/cgi-bin/websok-bilde?mode=vt&pubsok_txt_0=Midtbyen%20Og%20Molla&pubsok_kval_0=/. Courtesy of Hammerfest Historielag.

¹³⁵ 'Ruinbyen fotografert fra Salsida mot Haugen [1945]' [The ruined town, photographed from Salsida looking towards Haugen [1945], 1945, accessed 1 May 2014, [http://www.hammerfest.folkebibl.no/cgi-bin/websok-bilde?mode=vt&eccl=\(%26quot;ruinbyen+fotografert+fra+salsida+mot+haugen*%26quot;+eller+\(ruinbyen*+og+fotografert*+og+fra*+og+salsida*+og+mot*+og+haugen*\)\)&st=p](http://www.hammerfest.folkebibl.no/cgi-bin/websok-bilde?mode=vt&eccl=(%26quot;ruinbyen+fotografert+fra+salsida+mot+haugen*%26quot;+eller+(ruinbyen*+og+fotografert*+og+fra*+og+salsida*+og+mot*+og+haugen*))&st=p). Courtesy of Hammerfest Historielag.

calculated that, across Finnmark and North Troms, the area laid waste in northern Norway was equivalent to 'more than one-third of the area of England and Wales.'¹³⁶

The reconstruction of northern Norway

As Dancke explained, post-war reconstruction of the region was a colossal undertaking and had to be led by the national government, which had started planning for the task while still in exile in London in late 1944.¹³⁷ The government was anxious to stop evacuees travelling back to northern Norway immediately after the end of hostilities. Jaklin noted that there were immense amounts of ordnance scattered round the area: minefields had been laid on land and at sea, and there were unexploded bombs and grenades as well, all of which needed to be cleared to make the roads, the countryside and the seaways safe again.¹³⁸ In addition, as Dancke pointed out, the authorities had intended that the reconstruction efforts would concentrate on providing permanent homes to be ready before people returned from the south.¹³⁹ However, the region's inhabitants were determined to go home, with 16,000 returning to the area in 1945 alone to add to the numbers of those who had evaded evacuation.¹⁴⁰ That meant that initial rebuilding had to concentrate on provisional dwellings to accommodate people whose houses had been destroyed and who needed shelter quickly to enable them to live through northern Norway's harsh winter.¹⁴¹ Although the post-war government seems not to have encouraged

¹³⁶ Diderich H. Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 185.

¹³⁷ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 33-35.

¹³⁸ Jaklin, *Brent jord* [Scorched earth], 306.

¹³⁹ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 129. There is variation between sources in the numbers quoted for evacuees returning in the years following liberation

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 75, 129.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

non-governmental organisations to have taken part in the reconstruction process, it allowed a small number to work in the area.¹⁴² For example, as Charles Norum explained, the Norwegian section of the Salvation Army had a presence in Finnmark before the war and had been forced to evacuate the occupants of a children's home and an elderly care home.¹⁴³ It, together with its Swedish counterpart, returned to the area shortly after liberation. Field kitchens provided by the Swedish Salvation Army enabled them and their Norwegian fellows to provide a much-needed service of hot meals in a number of centres of population in Finnmark.¹⁴⁴

Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT]

The work undertaken by FHT in northern Norway after the Second World War is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5. A synopsis is given here to frame the project within the wider context of the Norwegian wartime experience.

In late 1944 information began to spread throughout Norway about the Nazi-led forced evacuation and systematic destruction of Finnmark and northern Troms. In early 1945, three Norwegian Quakers, Ole Olden, Erling Kjekstad and Sverre Hoëm, started to plan how assistance might be given to their northern compatriots following liberation, which eventually came in May 1945. Work began in earnest in June of that year led by another Norwegian, Sigrid Helliesen Lund, who was by then closely associated with Quakers although she did not formally become a member until late

¹⁴² 1946-04-17 Steve Cary to Julia Branson, 2, AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946.

¹⁴³ Charles Norum, *Med kjærlighetens våpen: Frelsesarmeen i Norge 100 år: 1888 – 22. januar – 1988* [With the weapon of love: 100 years of the Salvation Army in Norway: 1888 – 22nd January – 1988], (Oslo: Salvata kristelig forlag, 1987), 182.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 186-187.

1947.¹⁴⁵ She was assisted by a British Quaker, Myrtle Wright, who had been trapped in Norway for most of the war (4.1). FHT led the work and co-ordinated volunteers and supplies sent by a number of peace and pacifist organisations from different countries: Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA], Denmark; Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL], Sweden; the Friends Ambulance Post-War Service [FAU PWS] and International Voluntary Service for Peace [IVSP], Britain; the American Friends Service Committee [AFSC], United States; and Kansaivälinen Vapaaehtoinen Työleirijärestö [International Voluntary Work Camps – KVT], Finland.

FHT's aim was to provide relief on a voluntary basis to Finnmark inhabitants who had been affected by the systematic destruction of their communities in the closing stages of the war, concentrating on families who did not have men to help them and on those who would have struggled to pay for assistance.¹⁴⁶ The organisation started its activities in Finnmark in May 1946 with volunteers based in 15 main work camps and a number of smaller, shorter-term subsidiary work camps located throughout the western two-thirds of Finnmark (5.3). However, by 1947 local government officials, who had initially been grateful for FHT's assistance, were increasingly convinced that there was no longer a need for volunteers and that their accommodation could better be used to house paid skilled workers brought to the area from further south to help

¹⁴⁵ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjöring og ödeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 6 for information about the authorship of the document.} Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 136-137.

¹⁴⁶ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {There are two documents with the same title in the folder. The reference is to the one-page version the text of which incorporates handwritten corrections made on the other, longer, version (two typed pages, with wider line spacing, with handwritten amendments on the reverse of the second sheet), suggesting that the one-page version is the later of the two. A second copy of the longer, earlier version can be found in the FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.}

with the ongoing reconstruction.¹⁴⁷ Most of FHT's relief work in Finnmark ceased in 1947, although one Swedish volunteer continued working until well into 1948.¹⁴⁸

Section summary

While Norway's experience of wartime occupation was less damaging than that of some other countries elsewhere in Europe, the resistance of the monarchy, the government and most of the population to Nazi occupation led to increasingly harsh treatment from the occupying powers. The effects were compounded by Norway's perceived strategic significance which led to high numbers of German forces being stationed in the country. The inhabitants' inability effectively to mitigate the dreadful treatment of Soviet and Slavic POWs was traumatic. Eastern Finnmark, with its close proximity to the Soviet Union, was the focus of repeated attacks during the occupation, and the withdrawal of German forces brought systematic and brutal destruction of infrastructure across a huge area. The forced evacuation of Finnmark and northern Troms brought the reality of the situation home to compatriots elsewhere in the country. While not all were welcoming and receptive, many others were warmly supportive.¹⁴⁹ A trio of Norwegian Quakers decided that help should be offered and, after liberation, their aims were put into practice by the formation and work of FHT.

¹⁴⁷ 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The name Lolo Tresvig is given in 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Karen-Elise Tresvig is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. Astrid Foss and Sigrid Helliesen Lund are the only individuals with their respective first names identifiable in the archive material.}

¹⁴⁸ 1947-11-17 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontoret [Finnmark Office], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {The document, which is not dated, is a report on FHT's activities in 1948 the first sentence of which makes clear that it was written late that year.}

¹⁴⁹ Palmer, *Bare kirka sto igjen* [Only the church was still standing], 119-120.

1.3: Thesis outline

The thesis is structured in three parts. Part 1: Context – the current chapter and Chapters 2 and 3 – establishes the context for the thesis. In this chapter I outlined the historical context for FHT's work in northern Norway. In the following chapter I review British and Norwegian historiography regarding Norway's experience of war, the reconstruction of northern Norway and FHT and relief in Finnmark. In addition, I examine the literature about selected twentieth-century Quaker-led relief projects, humanitarian aid more generally in the first half of the twentieth century and aid in Norway during the same period in the light of key themes that emerge from work on the archive material about FHT's Finnmark work, namely co-operation between relief organisations and relevant authorities, different models of relief work, and women and relief work. In chapter 3, I evaluate source material and examine methods and challenges.

Part 2: The Work of FHT, consisting of Chapters 4 and 5, reconstructs the founding of FHT and the participation of other like-minded organisations. It is intentionally largely narrative and concentrates on a description of FHT's relief and reconstruction work in Finnmark. I examine the range of work carried out, the groups of volunteers who participated and the challenges encountered. In Chapter 4 I outline the establishment of FHT and the planning of the relief work, briefly introduce the other participating organisations, examine the role played by shared and overlapping networks and discuss interactions between FHT and the reconstruction authorities. Chapter 5 describes FHT's work in Finnmark, detailing where the work camps were

located and the different kinds of tasks undertaken. It also explores the challenges encountered during the relief work in FHT's interactions with local people and within its own volunteer body.

Chapters 6 and 7 make up Part 3: The Wider Picture. In Chapter 6 I examine the principles on which FHT's work was based and why the organisation considered that its work was necessary. I discuss the participating organisations, what led them to take part in the Finnmark project, the ways in which they preferred to work, and the tensions that occurred between national groups of volunteers and why that happened. In the final chapter I summarise the findings of the research and compare FHT's relief efforts with those of selected other Quaker-led undertakings. I review previous scholarship and suggest possible topics for future research.

Three appendices offer more information about the volunteers who served in Finnmark. In Appendix 1 I provide the most complete and reliable listing available of those who took part, mindful that the loss of source material means that no such list can now be definitive and that my version may not be wholly correct (but see 3.3).¹⁵⁰ In Appendix 2 I investigate the volunteer cohort, noting the countries from which they came, the issues encountered in confirming their identities and, as far as can be

¹⁵⁰ The listing gives the name, nationality (where known) and a best estimate, based on archival sources, of each individual's period of service in Finnmark. Such a listing of participants in events during 1946-1947 compiled for historical purposes is acceptable under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) as the Appendix was compiled, and is provided, for research purposes (see ICO Information Commissioner's Office, 'Exemptions,' n.d., accessed 7 March 2022, <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-data-protection/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/exemptions/#ex16>). However, Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke, formerly Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA], has specifically withheld permission for its volunteers to be included in the list until all can be assumed to have died. Accordingly, the Danish section of the listing will not be made public until 2030.

established, the different characteristics of each national grouping. I review their periods of service in northern Norway and examine the variations in numbers of volunteers over the period of FHT's presence in Finnmark. Appendix 3 gives the numbers of volunteers of each nationality who served during each month of FHT's work.

1.4: Chapter summary

The chapter began by setting out the research topic and its academic importance. It then established the historical context of wartime events in Norway generally and northern Norway more particularly to contextualise FHT's work in Finnmark following liberation. The chapter closed with an outline of the thesis structure. Chapter 2 offers a review of the historiography connected with the themes of this research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND KEY EMERGENT THEMES

2.1: Introduction

In this chapter I review the literature about the reconstruction of northern Norway, Norwegian history of the period, FHT, other Quaker-led relief, humanitarian aid more generally in the first half of the twentieth century and in Norway during the same period. I organise the examination of the literature of the latter three sections in the light of themes that are identified in the research and developed in Part 2 of the thesis, namely co-operation between relief organisations and relevant authorities, different models of relief work, and women and relief work. The first is an issue which affects delivery of aid very widely, which was of relevance to FHT in gaining permission to work in northern Norway and which influenced its eventual departure. The issue of different models of relief work was a matter which caused some tension between British and American participants in Finnmark and their Norwegian hosts. The role of women involved in the selected projects rounds off the review of literature about Quaker-led relief. The topic is increasingly addressed in scholarly analysis of relief work generally and is of interest as regards FHT, whose work was initially planned by three men but was subsequently led by a woman assisted principally by several others. In addition, within the section on Quaker-led relief, I summarise terminology employed in writing on these topics and on relief projects more generally and consider the role of faith in Quaker-led relief work in order to clarify terms and justify my use of the term 'relief'. As a whole, the chapter highlights the original contribution this thesis makes to the literature.¹

¹ While acknowledging the concerns expressed by Abigail Green that there has been insufficient consideration 'of different humanitarian traditions as they evolved in different national, religious, and imperial cultures,' it should be noted that in this study humanitarian aid is considered almost

2.2: The reconstruction of northern Norway

British historiography

The British historian Patrick Salmon noted that 'recent Nordic history has ... failed to attract large numbers of British historians perhaps because it seems to lack drama by comparison with that of other parts of Europe or perhaps because Nordic languages are less familiar.'² *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*, the book to which Salmon contributed, sought to go some way to address that omission. However, its re-examination of the differing and often contested legacies of the Second World War in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden did not allow for a detailed consideration of events such as the rebuilding of Finnmark. Salmon edited an earlier work, *Britain & Norway in the Second World War*, in which contributors examined different aspects of the military, political and intelligence alliances between the two countries, acknowledging areas of disagreement and failures of understanding as well as successful co-operation.³ This collection was also an attempt to redress the lack of scholarly work in English on recent Nordic history, yet it referred only fleetingly to the destruction of Finnmark and limited consideration of post-liberation events to an analysis of how Norway's strategic position evolved as an element of Allied post-war strategy.⁴

exclusively from a Western viewpoint (see Abigail Green, 'Humanitarianism in Nineteenth-Century Context: Religious, Gendered, National,' *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014), 1169-1174).

² Patrick Salmon, 'The Nordic Countries and the Second World War: A British Perspective,' in *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*, ed. John Gilmour and Jill Stephenson (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 40-41.

³ Patrick Salmon, *Britain and Norway*.

⁴ Tønne Huitfeldt, 'Between the Lines,' 227, 228, 234. Clive Archer, 'The Lessons of War: Norway in Post-War Allied Strategy,' in *Britain and Norway*, ed. Salmon, 238-244.

The dominance of strategic issues in Anglophone historiography about Norway, the Second War and its aftermath, is exemplified by Matthew Christopher Mann's PhD thesis. In it he examined the military relationship between Britain and Norway during the period of Norway's occupation and analysed matters of policy, planning, strategic thinking and political decisions, and the influence on all of those issues of the imbalance in the relationship between a major power (Britain) and a minor, though strategically important, one (Norway).⁵ Ian Herrington's PhD thesis sought to address a gap in the historiography of the Special Operations Executive (SOE), a British underground army that served during the Second World War, by conducting what was claimed to be the first comprehensive analysis of the SOE's policy regarding activities in Norway during the Second World War.⁶ In her PhD thesis, Anika Seemann re-examined a different, but very important issue, namely post-war trials of those who collaborated with the Nazi-led wartime occupiers of Norway.⁷ The Norwegian government was largely successful in ensuring that those deemed to have betrayed their country were dealt with according to proper legal process. Seemann investigated how that process was inevitably affected by changing political and societal perceptions over time. However, it appears that no scholarly analysis in English of the reconstruction of northern Norway exists.

⁵ Matthew Christopher Mann, 'British Policy and Strategy towards Norway, 1941-1944,' PhD thesis, King's College, University of London, 1998, <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.285187>.

⁶ Ian Herrington, 'The Special Operations Executive in Norway 1940-1945: Policy and Operations in the Strategic and Political Context,' PhD thesis, De Montfort University, 2004, <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.516070>. National Army Museum, 'Special Forces: Special Operations Executive,' n.d., accessed 12 October 2020, <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/SOE>.

⁷ Anika Seemann, 'Law and Politics in the Norwegian "Treason Trials" 1941-1961,' PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.36703>. The thesis is embargoed indefinitely. I am grateful to have been allowed to access a copy.

Norwegian historiography

By contrast – and not surprisingly – Norwegian historiography about the country's experiences of conflict and occupation during the Second World War is extensive, and addresses wartime events and selected aspects of post-war national experience. However, I have been unable to identify academic material that specifically addresses voluntary relief work in northern Norway in the years of reconstruction.

Sivert Langholm noted that 'a peculiar feature of Norwegian historical culture and historiography is the strength of multi-volume history works written by professional historians for a non-professional public.'⁸ One such work, 'Norway at war' [*Norge i krig*], was written to academic historical standards for a wide and non-specialist readership and devoted each of its eight volumes to an examination of a particular aspect of the war, such as the attack, everyday life during the war, the home front and liberation.⁹ The final volume, 'Liberation' [*Frigjøring*] devoted 41 of its 273 pages to an account of the forced evacuation and destruction of Finnmark, an account considered by Fredrik Fagertun, of UiT The Arctic University of Norway [*UiT Norges arktiske universitet* – UiT] as still worthy of praise 35 years after it was written.¹⁰ The reconstruction of northern Norway was covered in four pages, understandable concision in a volume that addresses events in the whole country from mid-1944 to

⁸ Sivert Langholm, 'The Infrastructure of History,' in *Making a Historical Culture: Historiography in Norway*, ed. William H. Hubbard, Jan Eivind Myhre, Trond Nordby and Sølvi Sogner (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 99.

⁹ Magne Skodvin, ed. *Norge i krig* [Norway at war]. Magne Skodvin, 'Forord' [Preface], to Grimnes, *Overfall* [Attack].

¹⁰ Eriksen and Halvorsen, *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 38-78. Fredrik Fagertun, 'UiT og historieforskning på landsdelens okkupasjonshistorie' [UiT and history research on the [wartime] occupation of the area], *Nordlys*, 26 May 2020. UiT The Arctic University of Norway [*UiT Norges arktiske universitetet*] was originally called the University of Tromsø [*Universitetet i Tromsø*]. The name was changed in 2013. Throughout the thesis where the University is associated with a cited source, the form of the University's name used at the date of publication is given.

the post-war prosecutions of those who had collaborated with the occupying forces.¹¹ Although brief, the account successfully indicated the tension between the government's wish to have a planned reconstruction and the inhabitants' determination to return home, the great difficulties faced in reconstructing the region's infrastructure in the face of post-war shortages, and the advantages and disadvantages of a society that became more equal but also less diverse.

There are also works which address specific issues. Nils Johan Ringdal reconsidered the contentious role of the Norwegian police during the Nazi-led occupation in the light of his claim that factors not previously acknowledged justified a more nuanced understanding of why the police were considerably more receptive to co-operation with the occupying authorities than other groups in the community.¹² Marianne Neerland Soleim addressed the appalling treatment by the occupying forces of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) brought to the country to be slave labour in numerous infrastructure projects and whose fate was overshadowed by the swift onset of the Cold War in the post-war years.¹³ Soleim sought to establish the presence and fate of Soviet POWs, and the help given to them by ordinary Norwegians, as a theme in Norwegian historiography.¹⁴ Although her work referred to the entire country, it is of particular relevance to northern Norway because over half of the POWs were imprisoned in the most northerly counties and the after effects of their treatment had some connection to the humanitarian work discussed in this thesis.¹⁵ The Danish

¹¹ Eriksen and Halvorsen, *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 223-226.

¹² Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea].

¹³ Soleim, *Sovjetiske krigsfanger* [Soviet prisoners of war].

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12-15.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

organisation, Fredsvenners Hjelpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA], which later participated in FHT's work, sent 20 nurses to northern Norway in July 1945, whose first task was to care for 600 Russian former POWs. In 1946, FHT's relief workers in Ifjord were asked to bury bodies of Russian POWs which had been found in the area during the reconstruction period.¹⁶ Øyvind Finne investigated the long-term effects of wartime trauma on people who lived in Finnmark during the period of Nazi occupation, highlighting a topic of considerable importance in the north's wartime and post-war social experience but one which, perhaps surprisingly, is absent from the surviving archive material on which this thesis is based.¹⁷ It may be that, having at last been able to return to their own county [*fylke*] and faced with the pressing need to rebuild their lives and communities, the local people displayed 'the state of frozenness' in which 'an individual, family and community limit their activities to the bare essentials and conserve energy' described by Renos Papadopoulos.¹⁸

Local history, 'a respected branch of the discipline of history in Norway,' gives rise to publications covering the history of a particular region or settlement which include treatment of the wartime experiences of the area in question, such as Randi Rønning Balsvik's history of the northern Norwegian town of Vardø and Øystein Bottolfsen's history of Finnmark county.¹⁹ Balsvik's work outlined the effects of conflict on one

¹⁶ 1947 'Fredsvenners Hjelpearbejde' [Friends of Peace Relief Service], 14, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁷ Finne, *Krigen som aldri slutter* [War that never ends].

¹⁸ Renos K. Papadopoulos, 'Refugees, Home and Trauma,' in *Therapeutic Care for Refugees: No Place Like Home*, ed. Renos K. Papadopoulos (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 33.

¹⁹ Quotation from Harald Winge, 'Local History,' trans. Eamonn Noonan, in *Making a Historical Culture: Historiography in Norway*, ed. William H. Hubbard, Jan Eivind Myhre, Trond Nordby and Sølvi Sogner, (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 240. Randi Rønning Balsvik, *Vardø: grensepost*

town and the surrounding area, and conveyed in a degree of detail the stresses and losses suffered by a local population during the period.²⁰ Bottolfsen gave weight to the military, political and administrative consequences of wartime and post-war events across the county.²¹ Both his and Balsvik's treatments conveyed the immense damage inflicted on the area and the enormity of the task of rebuilding Finnmark, an undertaking to which FHT wished to make their own small contribution, but it inevitably remained one episode in a much broader historical perspective.

It is worth noting five publications regarding the forced evacuation, destruction and rebuilding of northern Norway, written by authors with extensive experience in their subjects, although not working within a specifically academic setting. The first is an interim account of the work to rebuild Finnmark and North Troms given in a 1947 article by Diderich Lund, then Director of the Finnmark Office [*direktør, Finnmarkskontoret*].²² It described the degree and nature of the damage wreaked on the area during the German forces' retreat and addressed the changes and improvements that the reconstruction was intended to achieve. The second, a book by Trond Dancke, is a highly detailed, wide-ranging, referenced account of the rebuilding of Finnmark written by a professional architect who worked as part of the reconstruction team from 1945 to 1961, becoming County Architect and leader of Finnmark County Reconstruction Committee.²³ It included a very brief oversight of

og fiskevaer [Vardø: border settlement and fishing village], Vardø: Vardø kommune, 1989. Bottolfsen, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie* [Finnmark county's history].

²⁰ Balsvik, *Vardø* [Vardø], 2: 200-252.

²¹ Bottolfsen, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie* [Finnmark county's history], 290-397.

²² Diderich H. Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 185-197. Although Diderich Lund was the Director of the Finnmark Office [*Finnmarkskontoret*], which was the body administratively responsible for leading the reconstruction of northern Norway between 1945 and 1947, the journal article is not a formal report on progress with the reconstruction.

²³ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins].

the various forms of relief offered to northern Norway by government, private and religious organisations, and devoted a short chapter to the efforts to ensure that social and cultural activities should be a part of the area's reconstruction.²⁴ However, its emphasis was on the technical aspects of reconstruction rather than the societal consequences of wartime destruction. A third publication, by Anders Ole Hauglid, Knut Erik Jensen and Harry Westrheim, had its origins in work on a TV series, 'Finnmark between east and west' [*Finnmark mellom øst og vest*], first shown in 1985 by NRK [*Norsk rikskringkasting*], the Norwegian state broadcaster, about the evacuation, destruction and rebuilding of Finnmark.²⁵ During their research, the authors realised 'how little our own people really know about the events in the north in the years 1944 to 1950' and decided to provide a more permanent record than could be achieved on television.²⁶ Much of the second half of the text was devoted to an account of the reconstruction, with 18 pages covering ways in which different kinds of emergency help contributed to the process, including five about the work undertaken by FHT volunteers, which I explore in greater depth in this thesis.²⁷ Ragnar Haraldsson Augestad commented that the publication was unusual in covering 'both the evacuation and the reconstruction in the same book.'²⁸ Another, much shorter, publication that fits the same description is a pamphlet edited by Anne

²⁴ Ibid., 58-63, 329-340.

²⁵ NRK TV, 'Finnmark mellom øst og vest' [Finnmark between east and west], 2020, accessed 6 August 2020, <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/finnmark-mellom-oest-og-vest>. Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 5.

²⁶ Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 5. 'hvor lite vårt eget folk egentlig vet om hendingsene i nord i årene 1944 til 1950.'

²⁷ To judge from the relevant text and the list of sources given in the book, it seems that the source for the information about FHT and its work is Ulfsby *Et håndslag* [Helping hand].

²⁸ Ragnar Haraldsson Augestad, 'Organisering og gjennomføring av tvangsevakueringa hausten 1944: arbeidet til evakeringskommisjonen i Tromsø' [The organisation and carrying out of forced evacuation in autumn 1944: the work of the Evacuation Commission in Tromsø], (Master's dissertation, UiT Norges arktiske universitet, 2016), 5, <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/9314>. 'både evakueringa og gjenreisninga i same boka.'

Merete Knudsen and published by Alta Museum following an exhibition in 1994-1995 to mark the 50th anniversary of the forced evacuation and destruction of Finnmark and northern Troms.²⁹ It described 'the evacuation and burning in 1944 and the post-war reconstruction' as 'the most important events in Finnmark history' and fulfilled its aim of 'making known the historic events of 1944 ... after the exhibition closed' within a small compass.³⁰ Finally, in his book, 'The concealed past: the tragedy Norway never understood' [*Fortiet fortid: tragedien Norge aldri forsto*], based on interviews with those who experienced wartime events in northern Norway, Arvid Petterson contended that there has been relatively little interest at national level in researching what happened in Finnmark and northern Troms during and after the Second World War.³¹ He argued that the perceived lack of engagement outwith local historical circles was partly the result of a belief, which he claimed to be mistaken, that the death toll resulting from the forced evacuation was low. In addition to Petterson's exploration of evacuees' experiences during and after the war, he sought to document deaths, wherever they occurred in the country, that he considered should be recognised as resulting from the disruption and trauma experienced by the evacuees.

Ola Goverud Andersson argued that academic historians at UiT (established in 1972) have made a very significant contribution to the historiography of northern Norway.³²

²⁹ Anne Merete Knudsen, ed., *Flyktninger i eget land* [Refugees in their own country], Alta: Alta Museum, 1995. It was this publication that brought first brought the subject of this thesis to my attention.

³⁰ Knudsen, *Flyktninger* [Refugees], 5. 'Evacueringen og brenningen in 1944 og gjenreisningen etter krigen er de viktigste begivenheter i Finnmarks historie,' 'å formidle de historiske hendelsene i 1944...etter at utstillingen er avsluttet.'

³¹ Arvid Petterson, *Fortiet fortid* [Concealed past].

³² Ola Goverud Andersson, 'Utviklingen av den lokal-og regionalhistoriske forskningen i Nord-Norge og Nord-Rusland i perioden 1972–2015' [The development of local and regional historical research in

He contended that the work of Tromsø academics and research students has done much to establish local and regional history as respected historical fields, citing as an example the two-volume 'Cultural history of northern Norway' [*Nordnorsk kulturhistorie*], which he described as being a 'regional historical account of all of northern Norway, the first of its kind.'³³ He also claimed that, since the end of Communist rule in the Soviet Union, Tromsø historians have been active in developing collaborative studies of the wider northern region with colleagues in academic institutions in Murmansk and Archangel.³⁴ However, his analysis suggested that UiT has undertaken little research concerning the Second World War, with the post-war reconstruction period covered in only one PhD thesis by Ingebjørg Hage which examined the process of rebuilding houses, the effect of increased building controls and the contributions of local people.³⁵ There are other dissertations and theses which cover issues related to the post-war period in northern Norway that are of importance to the historiography of the period and the area, but that do not discuss humanitarian work.³⁶ Perhaps the nearest approach to a treatment of relief

northern Norway and northern Russia in the period 1972-2015], PhD thesis, UiT Norges arktiske universitet, 2019, <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/16544>.

³³ Andersson, 'Utviklingen' [Development], 99. 'regionalhistorisk framstilling om hele Nord-Norge, den første i sitt slag.' Einar-Arne Drivenes, Marit Hauan and Helge A. Wold, eds., *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* [Cultural history of northern Norway], 2 vols., Oslo: Gyldendal, 1994.

³⁴ Andersson, 'Utviklingen' [Development], 363-378.

³⁵ Andersson, 'Utviklingen' [Development], 73. Ingebjørg Hage, 'Som fugl fønix av asken? gjenreisingshus i Nord-Troms og Finnmark' [As a phoenix from the ashes? reconstruction houses in northern Troms and Finnmark], PhD thesis, Universitetet i Tromsø, 1996. Copies of the thesis are not available outside Norway. However, it was subsequently published in book form: Ingebjørg Hage, *Som fugl fønix av asken? gjenreisingshus i Nord-Troms og Finnmark* [As a phoenix from the ashes? reconstruction houses in northern Troms and Finnmark], [Oslo]: Ad notam Gyldendal, 1999 (see Arkitektur N, 'Opp av ruinene – på gjenreiste stier?' [Up from the ruins – on reconstructed paths?], 2020, accessed 15 September 2020, <https://arkitektur-n.no/bokomtaler/opp-av-ruinene-pa-gjenreiste-stier#>).

³⁶ See, for example, Bjørn-Petter Finstad, 'Finotro: statseid fiskeindustri i Finnmark og Nord-Troms: fra plan til avvikling' [Finotro: state-owned fish industry in Finnmark and North Troms: from planning to winding up], PhD thesis, Universitetet i Tromsø, 2005, <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/4314>. Augestad, 'Organisering og gjennomføring av tvangsevakueringa' [Organisation and carrying out of forced evacuation]. Ruth Miriam Kolstad Varhaug, 'Den kirkelige gjenreisningen i Finnmark etter 2. verdenskrig, med særlig fokus på årene 1945-1952' [The reconstruction of churches in Finnmark after

work can be seen in Kristian Husvik Skancke's dissertation concerning the operation to rescue from the island of Sørøya inhabitants who had evaded forced evacuation in late 1944 and early 1945 and were at serious risk of starvation as a consequence.³⁷ He explored the motivation behind the British authorities' decision to carry out the evacuation, not least in light of the fact that Finnmark seemed not to be high on their list of priorities.³⁸

There are recent and current research projects concerned with the experience of northern Norway during and, to some extent, after the Second World War.³⁹ One of them, 'In a world of total war: Norway 1939-1945' [*I en verden av total krig: Norge 1939-1945*], while not seeking to address the period of reconstruction, is expected to publish work of relevance to the subject matter of this thesis in that it includes provision for a PhD submission on 'Humanitarian work and the war in Norway' [*Humanitært arbeid og krigen i Norge*].⁴⁰

the Second World War, with particular emphasis on the years 1945-1952], Master's dissertation, VIT vitenskapelige høgskole, 2016, <http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2440187>.

³⁷ Kristian Husvik Skancke, 'Redningsoperasjonen på Sørøya: bakgrunn og strategisk kontekst' [Rescue operation on Sørøya: the background and strategic context], Master's dissertation, Universitetet i Tromsø, 2010, <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/2507>.

³⁸ Skancke, 'Redningsoperasjonen' [Rescue operation], 38.

³⁹ Museene for Kystkultur og Gjenreisning i Finnmark: The Museum of Reconstruction, 'Living the war – Barents area during WW2 and aftermath [*sic*]', 2020, accessed 3 August 2020, <https://www.kystmuseene.no/living-the-war-barents-area-during-ww2-and-aftermath.5338843-406356.html>. UiT Norges arktiske universitet, 'I en verden av total krig: Norge 1939-1945' [In a world of total war: Norway 1939-1945], 2020, accessed 3 August 2020, https://uit.no/prosjekter/prosjekt?p_document_id=590210. UiT Norges arktiske universitet, 'Den andre verdenskrigen i nord' [The Second World War in the north], 2020, accessed 3 August 2020, https://uit.no/prosjekter/prosjekt?p_document_id=590183.

⁴⁰ UiT Norges arktiske universitet, 'I en verden av total krig' [In a world of total war], 2020, accessed 3 August 2020, https://uit.no/prosjekter/prosjekt?p_document_id=590210. UiT Norges arktiske universitet, 'C – Hverdagsliv og minoriteter i nord: sammenligning og perisentrisme [C – Everyday life and minorities in the north: comparison and pericentrism]', 2019, accessed 3 August 2020, https://uit.no/prosjekter/prosjektsub?p_document_id=590210&sub_id=591432.

While the works cited above emphasise the many-faceted nature of the reconstruction period in northern Norway, no scholarly work could be identified that considered voluntary relief work as an element in the rebuilding of the area after the Second World War.

2.3: FHT and relief in Finnmark

Little has been published about the admittedly small-scale Quaker-led relief project in northern Norway and there is no scholarly analysis of it. The fullest secondary account can be found in Inez Boon Ulfsby's short book.⁴¹ It conveyed a great deal of information in a concise format but it did not seek to be analytical and, written in Norwegian, it is effectively unavailable to most who have English as their mother tongue. A small number of other Norwegian publications mention FHT's work but, to judge by the reference lists, Ulfsby's book was their source. Three are discussed above. 'To the people!' [*Til befolkningen!*] by Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim devoted several pages to FHT's contribution to the reconstruction of Finnmark.⁴² A second, Dancke's book, 'Up from the ruins' [*Opp av ruinene*], devoted a short paragraph to FHT as part of an overview of a range of organisations that either provided practical help on the ground or, more usually, organised the collection of money or goods to help the people of northern Norway who had lost their homes and possessions in the German withdrawal.⁴³ The third, Knudsen's pamphlet, 'Refugees in their own country' [*Flyktninger i eget land*], devoted the brief final section to assistance given by non-governmental organisations to the inhabitants of northern

⁴¹ Ulfsby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand].

⁴² Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 152-157

⁴³ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 61.

Norway with the last paragraph referring to FHT's efforts.⁴⁴ FHT's Finnmark relief was also described briefly by Eva Dohnáková in her Master's study of Nansen Relief [*Nansenhjelp*], the aid organisation founded by Odd Nansen in 1937 to help 'Jews who fled from the Nazis' persecution in Germany and middle Europe' and 'the many who were rendered stateless...after the First World War.'⁴⁵

No secondary sources in English have been traced. The only two publications I have identified which refer to FHT's work in Finnmark – and the references are brief – are A. Tegla Davies's account of the work of the Friends Ambulance Unit [FAU] during the Second World War and Roger Bush's history of the FAU Post-War Service and its successor, the International Service.⁴⁶ The former devoted a paragraph to the relief work in Finnmark.⁴⁷ The latter gave two pages to the Finnmark project, which had been inherited from the FAU when the Post-War Service came into being on 1 July 1946.⁴⁸ Neither publication sought to provide a scholarly analysis of the relief work undertaken in northern Norway and both are primary sources written by authors who were participants in the relief undertaken by their respective organisations.

My examination of FHT's work in Finnmark brings a largely forgotten episode in the much larger reconstruction of the area to a wider Anglophone audience for whom it

⁴⁴ Knudsen, *Flyktninger* [Refugees], 39-41.

⁴⁵ Eva Dohnáková, 'Nansenhjelpens historie og aktiviteter: en norsk humanitær organisasjon i tsjekkisk perspektiv [Nansen Relief's history and activities: a Norwegian humanitarian organisation from a Czech perspective],' (Master's dissertation, Masarykova univerzita, 2013), 4, 56-57, https://is.muni.cz/th/168373/ff_m/. Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen* [Odd Nansen], 100-102. 'jøder som flyktet fra nazistenes forfølgelse i Tyskland og Mellom-Europa;' 'de mange som hadde mistet statsborgerrett...etter første verdenskrig.'

⁴⁶ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*. Roger Bush, *FAU: The Third Generation: Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service and International Service 1946-1959*, York: Sessions, 2007.

⁴⁷ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 462.

⁴⁸ Bush, *FAU: The Third Generation*, 11-12.

has not previously been available. In doing so, I examine the relief undertaken, co-operation between FHT and national and local government authorities, differing models of relief work favoured by the participating organisations and demonstrate that, while the initial concept came from three Norwegian Quaker men, the work was largely led by women. It is understandable that much of the scholarly attention devoted to the Second World War and its aftermath has been concentrated on areas of Europe further south, which had experienced catastrophic levels of destruction, where millions of people had been displaced and where there was an almost limitless need for aid for reconstruction.⁴⁹ However, the historiography of the period, of aid and of northern Europe would be the poorer if it lacked knowledge of the experiences of countries on the periphery, and the analysis of FHT and its work in Finnmark contained in this thesis seeks to address the issue.

2.4: Other twentieth-century Quaker-led relief projects

Jenny Carson commented that 'the history of Quaker relief prior to the Second World War...has been researched by only a handful of non-Quaker scholars, whilst studies on Friends' actions after 1945 have so far been almost solely written by members of the relief teams themselves.'⁵⁰ In reviewing the small but growing scholarly literature available about other selected twentieth-century Quaker-led relief projects, I seek to illustrate the context in which FHT's work in Finnmark should be situated so that it can be acknowledged as part of the historiography of Quaker relief work, rather than

⁴⁹ Keith Lowe, *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), 5-10, 27-33.

⁵⁰ Jenny Carson, 'The Quaker Internationalist Tradition in Displaced Persons Camps, 1945-48,' in *Warlands: Population Resettlement and State Reconstruction in the Soviet-East European Borderlands, 1945-50*, ed. Peter Gatrell and Nick Baron (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 69.

as a minor – and largely forgotten – episode in a remote area on the far north-western fringe of Europe. Given the strongly European composition of FHT's volunteer cohorts (only six non-Europeans took part), I concentrate principally on selected relief projects undertaken in Europe during the first half of the twentieth century.

Much that has been written about Quaker relief work is descriptive rather than analytical and many of the authors are, as Carson noted, former participants recounting their experiences. In addition to the books by Davies and Bush referred to above, there are publications such as Clifford Barnard's letters home sent while he worked for the Friends Ambulance Unit and the British Red Cross from 1943 to 1947.⁵¹ Margaret McNeill adopted a rather different approach. She worked with the Friends Relief Service in the years immediately following the end of the Second World War and published her recollections of her time as a relief worker in fictionalised form.⁵² However, there is a growing body of scholarly analysis of a range of Quaker relief activities, which I discuss following a consideration of the terminology used regarding relief projects and the role of faith in Quaker relief work.

⁵¹ Clifford Barnard, *Binding the Wounds of War: A Young Relief Worker's Letters Home 1943-47 from the Friends Ambulance Unit and British Red Cross in North-West Europe: with a revised version of Sandbostel Revisited*, London: Pronoun Press, 2010.

⁵² Margaret McNeill, *By the Rivers of Babylon: A Story of Relief Work among the Displaced Persons of Europe*, London: Bannisdale Press, 1950.

Philanthropy, relief, humanitarianism?

There is considerable diversity of opinion among scholars as to what qualifies as humanitarianism and the terminology used to describe it.⁵³ Marty Sulek argued that 'the meanings assigned to philanthropy have undergone significant changes through history,' a view shared by Peter Grant.⁵⁴ F. K. Prochaska contended that, throughout most of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, philanthropy was effectively mutual aid within local communities or charitable support to those in society less fortunate than oneself.⁵⁵ The author also claimed that the community basis for much philanthropic activity made it a sphere in which women could and did play a significant role.⁵⁶ As I discuss later, Sigrid Helliesen Lund, the woman who became the leader of FHT's work in Finnmark, had considerable experience in philanthropic work during the interwar years (4.1). The close association between philanthropy and mutual aid, and the involvement of women, were also features of the settlement movement as it developed in the closing years of the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ Jill Manthorpe acknowledged that settlements could be seen 'as expressions of upper-class philanthropy seeking to salve a social conscience,' but she argued that their work prefigured significant state social support developments in the twentieth

⁵³ Katherine Davies, 'Continuity, Change and Contest: Meanings of "Humanitarian" from the "Religion of Humanity" to the Kosovo War,' HPG Working Paper, Humanitarian Policy Group (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2012), 1-2, 21. Matthew Hilton et al., 'History and Humanitarianism: A Conversation,' *Past & Present* 241, no. 1 (2018), e17, e18-e19.

⁵⁴ Marty Sulek, 'On the Modern Meaning of Philanthropy,' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (2009), 194. Peter Grant, *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War: Mobilizing Charity* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 346-347.

⁵⁵ F. K. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy,' in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950: Volume 3: Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 362, 364, 371.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 385-386.

⁵⁷ Ruth Gilchrist and Tony Jeffs, 'Introduction,' in *Settlements, Social Change, and Community Action: Good Neighbours*, ed. Ruth Gilchrist and Tony Jeffs (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley, 2001), 11. Michael Rose, 'The Secular Faith of the Social Settlements: "If Christ came to Chicago,"' In *Settlements*, Gilchrist and Jeffs, 30.

century, a view with which Prochaska agreed.⁵⁸ The provision offered by some voluntary organisations in Norway was similar to what Manthorpe and Prochaska described. Daniel Maul and Siân Roberts argued that Quaker involvement in relief grew from participation in other, often more locally-based, forms of social activism.⁵⁹

Many agree with Michael Barnett's view that humanitarianism 'slowly became associated with compassion across boundaries.'⁶⁰ Abigail Green and Benjamin Holmes favoured the more flexible definition of assistance given to 'distant others', who may be 'distant' because of circumstance rather than location, a concept that was key to William Booth's arguments in favour of emergency and developmental relief in England in the late nineteenth century.⁶¹ Branden Little argued that 'humanitarianism' might be applied to distinguish between voluntary efforts and professionalised work, the term being applied to the latter.⁶² Gerlof Homan used 'relief' for aid delivered across borders, although Pierre Fuller employed it both for cross-border aid and for 'in-country' assistance.⁶³ The current situation has recently

⁵⁸ Jill Manthorpe, 'Settlements and Social Work Education: Absorption and Accommodation,' *Social Work Education* 21, no. 4 (2002), 410, 416-417. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy,' 389.

⁵⁹ Daniel Maul, 'American Quakers, the Emergence of International Humanitarianism, and the Foundation of the American Friends Service Committee, 1890-1920,' in *Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Johannes Paulmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 67-68. Siân Roberts, 'A "Position of Peculiar Responsibility": Quaker Women and Transnational Humanitarian Relief, 1914-24,' *Quaker Studies* 21, no. 2 (2016), 254.

⁶⁰ Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 20.

⁶¹ Green, 'Humanitarianism in Nineteenth-Century Context,' 1159. Benjamin Holmes, "'To Love One's Enemy": British Humanitarian Relief for German Civilians, c1914-1925,' (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2019), 29, <http://hdl.handle.net/10871/37154>. The thesis is currently embargoed. I am grateful to have been allowed to access a copy. William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. The ebook does not identify the original place of publication or the original publisher. It was first published in 1890. 'It was in fact mostly written by the crusading journalist W.T. Stead,' (unnumbered first page of front matter).

⁶² Branden Little, 'An Explosion of New Endeavours: Global Humanitarian Responses to Industrialized Warfare in the First World War Era,' *First World War Studies*, 5, no. 1 (2014), 11.

⁶³ Gerlof D. Homan, "'Ayuda a los niños": Mennonite Relief Work in Spain, 1937-1939,' *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 86, no. 3 (2012), 353-370. Pierre Fuller, 'Changing Disaster Relief Regimes in China: An Analysis Using Four Famines between 1876 and 1962,' *Disasters* 49, no. s2 (2015), 146-

been summed up thus by Esther Möller, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig: 'humanitarianism is understood...as a field that covers a broad range of activities, including emergency relief, longer-term development and active response to famine, ill-health and poverty.'⁶⁴

A similar diversity of practice is seen in academic analysis of Quaker-led relief projects. Some scholars who concentrated on specific aspects of a given relief project, such as the work by Linda Palfreeman and Rebecca Wynter on the Friends Ambulance Unit during the First World War, did not address the topic.⁶⁵ Benjamin Holmes differentiated between humanitarianism and philanthropy, the latter being used for relief offered within one's own country, although he favoured considering the former to be defined less by geographical location of operation than by the degree to which recipients of relief are seen as 'alien' by those dispensing it.⁶⁶ Susan Armstrong-Reid referred to 'humanitarian nursing' to describe Quaker-led work undertaken in China by both Western and Chinese personnel.⁶⁷ Nerissa Aksamit

165. While the practice of state aid over past centuries described by Fuller could, given the size of China, be described as assistance to distant others, he also makes clear that there was a long tradition of locally-based aid.

⁶⁴ Esther Möller, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig, 'Gendering Twentieth-Century Humanitarianism: An Introduction,' in *Gendering Global Humanitarianism in the Twentieth Century: Practice, Politics and the Power of Representation*, Möller, Paulmann and Stornig, 2.

⁶⁵ Linda Palfreeman, *Friends in Flanders: Humanitarian Aid Administered by the Friends' Ambulance Unit During the First World War*, Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2017. Rebecca Wynter, 'Conscription, Conscience and Controversy: The Friends' Ambulance Unit and the "Middle Course" in the First World War,' *Quaker Studies* 21, no. 2 (2016), 213-233.

⁶⁶ Benjamin Holmes, "'To Love One's Enemy,'" 40.

⁶⁷ The Quaker-led relief work in China, the 'China Convoy', ran for 10 years from 1941. At its start, China was fighting the Sino-Japanese War. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, civil war broke out in China, culminating in Communist victory in 1949. The effect on the civilian population was catastrophic with widespread social disruption and many millions of people having to flee their homes. The Convoy was led initially by the British FAU and from 1947 by the American Friends Service Unit. Susan Armstrong-Reid, *The China Gadabouts: New Frontiers of Humanitarian Nursing, 1941-51* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 8, 9-10, 11. BBC Bitesize, 'The Story of China – The Rise of Mao ZeDong,' 2021, accessed 17 February 2021, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/clips/zcfdrdm>.

accepted the concept of humanitarianism as including Quaker relief whether delivered within the mother country or elsewhere and Rose Holmes argued that Quaker aid to refugees from fascism was 'the first time Quaker humanitarian work involved a blending of overseas and domestic projects.'⁶⁸ Pamela Manasseh and Stephen Baumann favoured the use of 'relief' to describe Quaker work, and the latter also used the combined term 'humanitarian relief.'⁶⁹ Armstrong-Reid, Carson, and Fiona Reid and Sharif Gemie were comfortable using 'humanitarianism', although they emphasised that the elements of faith and ethics are of central importance to the Quakers involved.⁷⁰

Despite the differences in practice noted above, it is worth exercising caution in describing Quaker relief as 'humanitarianism'. Rebecca Gill contended that 'even today, many Quakers reject the term "humanitarian" for failing to capture the spiritual import that they attach to relief.'⁷¹ Roger Wilson, General Secretary of the Friends Relief Service (FRS) from 1940 to 1946, wrote:

Most relief work begins with some obvious physical need. But almost always there is, behind the physical need, something much less concrete, a damaged or lonely or hopeless or hungry spirit, and relief work which does not penetrate

⁶⁸ Nerissa K. Aksamit, 'Training Friends and Overseas Relief: The Friends Ambulance Unit and the Friends Relief Service, 1939 to 1948,' PhD thesis, West Virginia University, 2019, <https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/etd/7405>. Rose Holmes, 'A moral business: British Quaker work with refugees from fascism, 1933-1939,' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2015), 16, <http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/54158>.

⁶⁹ Pamela Manasseh, 'The Brynmawr Experiment 1928-1940: Quaker Values and Arts and Crafts Principles,' PhD thesis, University of Plymouth, 2009, <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=9&uin=uk.bl.ethos.510578>. Stephen Patrick Baumann, 'Quaker Relief and Rehabilitation: The Bengal Famine 1942-45,' *Quaker Studies* 25, no. 1 (2020), 95-112.

⁷⁰ Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 8, 244. Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 4, 45, <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.498855>. That the author has published as both Jennifer Carson and Jenny Carson is confirmed in Gatrell and Baron, *Warlands*, ix. Fiona Reid and Sharif Gemie, 'The Friends Relief Service and Displaced People in Europe after the Second World War, 1945-48,' *Quaker Studies* 17, no. 2 (2013), 226, 238.

⁷¹ Rebecca Gill, *Calculating Compassion: Humanity and Relief in War, Britain 1870-1914* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2013), 5.

to this level, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, and make some contribution to healing is a job only partially done.⁷²

In an article about the American Friends Service Committee's [AFSC] relief work in Gaza after the Second World War, Ilana Feldman found that Quakers 'wanted to be more than humanitarian – to be Quaker, to be engaged in a project that would help advance the cause of peace and justice.'⁷³ In her work on the Spanish Civil War, Farah Mendlesohn claimed that, while there were considerable differences of approach between the British and American Quaker relief teams, they shared the Quaker conviction that 'their relief work' was not 'a humanitarian effort but...a central part of their peace witness.'⁷⁴ While there is no discussion in the archive material of how FHT described its work, there is evidence that one of the organisation's aims was in line with Quaker practice in that they hoped to contribute to building peace as well as to offering relief.⁷⁵ Accordingly, in this thesis I have chosen to use 'relief' to describe the project undertaken by FHT in Finnmark in the years 1946-1947.

Given the linguistic and cultural differences between the English-speaking (and particularly Anglo-American) context and that of Scandinavia, I do not attempt to comment on the use of the terms 'humanitarianism' and 'relief' regarding scholarship on Norwegian humanitarian activity.

⁷² Roger C. Wilson, *Authority, Leadership and Concern: A Study in Motive and Administration in Quaker Relief Work: Swarthmore Lecture 1949*, ([London]: Quaker Books, 2007), 15.

⁷³ Ilana Feldman, 'The Quaker Way: Ethical Labor and Humanitarian Relief,' *American Ethnologist* 34, no.4 (2007): 689-690.

⁷⁴ Farah Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace: American and British Quaker Relief in the Spanish Civil War,' (PhD thesis, University of York, 1997), 41, <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.493726>.

⁷⁵ 1946-09-03 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Kamma [Aakjær], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named. However, the sender's address, 'Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen i Aker', was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's home address (see Myrtle Wright, *Norwegian Diary, 1940-1945*, (London: Friends Peace International Relations Committee, 1974), 32). Kamma Aakjær is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

Quaker faith and Quaker relief work

Rose Holmes claimed 'Quakerism is a religion where faith is manifested in action, and has a long history of intervening in humanitarian crises.'⁷⁶ The Religious Society of Friends is a church, not a relief organisation, and that influences its approach to relief work. Scholars have noted the importance to Quakers of faith as the basis for relief work, their conviction that satisfying material need, although important, is not sufficient in itself and their belief that, as Mendlesohn argued, 'their relief work...[is] a central part of their peace witness,' a view with which Carson concurred.⁷⁷ Maul claimed that, historically, Quakers have usually, but not invariably, avoided using relief work as a vehicle for proselytising.⁷⁸ Helen Hatton argued that they earned praise during the Great Famine in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century for not using the provision of aid to try to gain converts.⁷⁹ By contrast, Mendlesohn maintained that 'the Quaker presence in Spain in 1936 was not initially designed as a relief effort...[it was] essentially a missionary endeavour,' although that aim was abandoned given the reality of civil war.⁸⁰

Reid and Gemie showed that it can be difficult for faith-based relief organisations to combine spiritual elements with the day-to-day requirement to satisfy practical demands and to co-operate with relevant authorities.⁸¹ In addition, the need to satisfy

⁷⁶ Rose Holmes, 'Moral business,' 2.

⁷⁷ Carson, 'Quaker Internationalist Tradition,' 67. Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace,' 41, 68, 327.

⁷⁸ Maul, 'American Quakers,' 70.

⁷⁹ Helen Hatton, *The Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (Kingston; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 146-147.

⁸⁰ Farah Mendlesohn, 'The Ethics of Friends' Relief Work in Republican Spain,' *Quaker History* 88, no. 2 (1999): 3.

⁸¹ Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 238.

an ethical basis for undertaking relief work can constrain what projects are undertaken and can dictate the other organisations with which it is possible to co-operate. The FAU was formed shortly after the outbreak of the First World War and, as Palfreeman claimed, provided a way in which its members, 'mostly young pacifists belonging to the Society of Friends (or Quakers)' could travel to offer voluntary medical assistance in 'the war zones of France and Belgium.'⁸² Because of its willingness to co-operate closely with the armed forces, it was never formally recognised by the then London Yearly Meeting during either the First World War or the Second when it was re-formed to fulfil the same purpose.⁸³ Wynter, and Reid and Gemie have argued that the Unit experienced considerable internal tensions following the introduction of conscription in early 1916 because some volunteers believed that the Quaker testimony to pacifism had been severely compromised, an illustration of the difficulties faced by faith-based organisations in their efforts to balance the spirituality of the work with the practical issues.⁸⁴ However, there was also an official Quaker response with relief work undertaken in Britain and abroad during and after both World Wars that sought to mitigate the effects of war while avoiding close co-operation with the military. Several scholars – John Ormerod Greenwood, Benjamin Holmes, Lyndon Back, Aksamit, Carson, and Reid and Gemie – have shown that Quaker bodies worked with civilians affected by conflict, whether

⁸² Meaburn Tatham and James E. Miles, eds., *The Friends' Ambulance Unit 1914-1919: A Record* (London: Swarthmore Press, [1920]), 4, 5. Palfreeman, 'Friends' Ambulance Unit,' 1.

⁸³ London Yearly Meeting (renamed Britain Yearly Meeting in 1995) 'is the formal name of the main organisation of Quakers in Britain' (see Quakers in Britain, 'Our organisation,' n.d., accessed 13 May 2020, <https://www.quaker.org.uk/our-organisation>). John Ormerod Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Volume 1: Friends and Relief: A Study of Two Centuries of Quaker Activity in the Relief of Suffering Caused by War or Natural Calamity* (York: William Sessions, 1975), 183.

⁸⁴ Wynter, 'Conscription, Conscience and Controversy,' 218-221, 222-223, 227-228, 230-231. Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 238.

as refugees, internees or those facing the need to rebuild communities and livelihoods devastated by fighting.⁸⁵

Co-operation between relief organisations and relevant authorities

It is difficult for an organisation to provide relief without some degree of co-operation with the relevant authorities and each organisation has to determine whether the conditions of co-operation are acceptable. Achieving fruitful coexistence with the authorities will almost certainly require negotiation and there may be a need for re-negotiation if conditions change. Palfreeman, Wynter and Jessica Meyer, while concentrating on different aspects of the FAU's work during the First World War, all argued that its co-operation with the military involved difficult negotiations, both external and internal to the Unit, and a degree of compromise of its wish to 'remain a purely voluntary, non-military unit.'⁸⁶ In her analysis of British and American Quaker-led relief work during the Spanish Civil War, Mendlesohn contended that the British team, operating in Republican areas, found the authorities receptive to their presence and efforts, but that their American counterparts discovered that the Nationalists were far less welcoming with continued relief eventually becoming impossible after the Nationalist victory.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Greenwood, *Friends and Relief*, 194-232, 234-251. Benjamin Holmes, "'To Love One's Enemy.'" Lyndon S. Back, 'The Quaker Mission in Poland: Relief, Reconstruction, and Religion,' *Quaker History* 101, no. 2 (2012), 1-23. Aksamit, 'Training Friends.' Carson, 'Friends Relief Service.' Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service.'

⁸⁶ Palfreeman, *Friends in Flanders*, 156-157. Wynter, 'Conscription, Conscience and Controversy,' 213-233. Jessica Meyer, 'Neutral Caregivers or Military Support? The British Red Cross, the Friends' Ambulance Unit, and the Problems of Voluntary Medical Aid in Wartime,' *War & Society*, 43, no. 2 (2015), 120.

⁸⁷ Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace,' 68-83, 158, 177, 215-216, 222.

In practice, relief organisations may derive their support from sources other than the titular authorities or may have to operate in its absence. Manasseh studied the contribution made by a Quaker-led group to involve local people in Brynmawr, a town in South Wales badly affected by the economic downturn in the two decades after the First World War.⁸⁸ She argued that, while the local authorities were ambivalent in their attitude to the Quaker-led relief project in the area, the support of local people gave the work the legitimacy it needed to continue.⁸⁹ She also contended that tensions between Peter Scott, the leader of the work, and Friends House, London, led to the latter withdrawing funding from the project, although there was continuing help from other sources.⁹⁰ It is an illustration of how the 'space' in which relief organisations operate has to be negotiated and re-negotiated as external circumstances change. Rose Holmes contended that British voluntary relief work with refugees from Fascism during the 1930s involved 'negotiating between desperate refugees, an uninterested British government and the violent hostility of fascist regimes' and that, to achieve their aims, the voluntary agencies involved had to carry out tasks that were overly complex for their resources.⁹¹

Disagreement with the authorities may result in relief work having to be abandoned but, in some circumstances, it may be possible to achieve an accommodation which allows for continuation, with the issue being addressed in different ways. Negotiating the space for the China Convoy's relief work was greatly complicated by the need to

⁸⁸ Manasseh, 'Brynmawr Experiment.' Ethelwyn Best and Bernard Pike eds., *International Voluntary Service for Peace 1920-1946: A History of Work in Many Countries for the Benefit of Distressed Communities and for the Reconciliation of the Peoples* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1948), 34-36.

⁸⁹ Manasseh, 'Brynmawr Experiment,' 91, 96-98.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁹¹ Rose Holmes, 'Moral Business,' 2, 178, 179.

do so within the complex and shifting political situation in the country as the civil war continued. Armstrong-Reid argued that achieving co-operation with the authorities was made still more difficult by the fact that 'few Chinese understood Quaker pacifism or its humanitarian practice.'⁹² She contended that the Communist authorities' increasing hostility to westerners as the Cold War developed eventually made continued co-operation impossible and led to the end of the work.⁹³ In her study of the work of the FAU and the FRS during the Second World War and its aftermath, Aksamit claimed that, while both organisations worked 'alongside military doctors and personnel as well as with other relief organizations,' co-operation was not complete or unquestioning.⁹⁴ Neither organisation was willing to accept the Allied authorities' ruling that fraternisation with Germans was forbidden. They found it ethically unacceptable and an active hindrance to the effective delivery of relief.⁹⁵ Reid and Gemie argued that the FRS experienced a similar tension between the need to co-operate with the army because it 'was responsible for providing relief teams with all equipment and supplies' and their own concern over the military authorities' lack of interest in and concern for people displaced by the conflict ('displaced persons' – DPs), a view shared by Carson.⁹⁶ The three authors contended that both organisations continued to co-operate with the army while quietly circumventing the prohibitions and attitudes that they found unacceptable.⁹⁷

⁹² Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 116, 193.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 12, 202-203, 209.

⁹⁴ Aksamit, 'Training Friends,' 210-211.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 64-65, 215.

⁹⁶ Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 233. Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 128.

⁹⁷ Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 108, 111, 114-115. Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 229-230.

While the FHT needed and received support from government authorities to undertake relief work in Finnmark and undertook to consult local officials regarding the choice of tasks, their stated aims made clear that they retained the right to exercise their own priorities in the projects selected.⁹⁸ FHT's relationship with the authorities was rather easier than the FAU's in China, for example, but the Norwegian organisation mirrored the FRS's and FAU's determination to act in accordance with their principles where necessary. I contend that there is evidence that FHT received support from local people as well as local authorities. However, as reconstruction progressed and the need for volunteers diminished, attempts to renegotiate FHT's presence in Finnmark were not successful leading to the organisation's withdrawal from northern Norway in the second half of 1947 (5.2).

Different models of relief work

Relief organisations may agree about desired ends but they not infrequently disagree about preferred means. Tammy Proctor contended that considerable tension developed between British and American Quakers working in Austria and Germany respectively during and after the First World War because the British thought the Americans were 'too wedded to systems', while the Americans considered the British approach inefficient.⁹⁹ Proctor contended that 'English Quakers retained a sense that charity...had an individual and particular character' in contrast to their American

⁹⁸ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {There are two documents with the same title in the folder. The reference is to the one-page version the text of which incorporates handwritten corrections made on the other, longer, version (two typed pages, with wider line spacing, with handwritten amendments on the reverse of the second sheet), suggesting that the one-page version is the later of the two. A second copy of the longer, earlier version can be found in the FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.}

⁹⁹ Tammy M. Proctor, 'An American Enterprise? British Participation in US Food Relief Programmes (1914-1923),' *First World War Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014), 29-42.

counterparts who favoured 'institutionalized large-scale programmes of "feeding"'.¹⁰⁰ Mendlesohn made a similar argument regarding a marked difference in approach between the British and American teams providing aid during the Spanish Civil War, with the former 'still essentially an amateur' organisation, while the latter felt the need to emphasise the professionalism of its approach, not least to maintain co-operation with a range of American Quaker Yearly Meetings of widely differing theological standpoints.¹⁰¹ She claimed that a serious disagreement between differing models of relief work also arose between the British Quaker team and the Save the Children International Union [SCIU] with whom they worked for a period.¹⁰² Rose Holmes maintained that the tensions in the Spanish relief work arose between the British and American Quaker teams on the one hand and the SCIU on the other.¹⁰³

Armstrong-Reid argued that, in China, there were disagreements between the FAU personnel and those from the AFSC because the former were happy to work with military casualties while the AFSC were intent on being involved with civilians only.¹⁰⁴ She also claimed that considerable tension arose from a clash between Western medical practices and traditional Chinese ones, although she maintained that Western volunteers mostly came to realise that practices favoured by their Chinese colleagues were a necessary adaptation to the constraints of circumstances governed by tradition and by the immensely difficult conditions imposed by continuing conflict.¹⁰⁵ Aksamit, in her study of the FAU and the FRS during and after the Second

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 31.

¹⁰¹ Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace,' 36-37, 86, 102.

¹⁰² Ibid., 86-87.

¹⁰³ Rose Holmes, 'Moral Business,' 56, 61.

¹⁰⁴ Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 28.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 52, 178-181.

World War, argued that there was a difference between the models of relief work practised by the two organisations, identifying the former's willingness to work in close collaboration with the military, a practice not favoured by the latter.¹⁰⁶ However, she contended that, in late 1945, the FAU realised that the changing needs of the situation meant that their relief model was no longer appropriate, leading to a decision to withdraw and to transfer its members to the FRS which would continue its work.¹⁰⁷ Both Aksamit and Carson argued that there was a fundamental difference of approach to relief between the FRS and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Aksamit contended that the latter provided 'aid to victims of German and Japanese aggression only', while the former aimed to provide 'democratic and impartial relief.'¹⁰⁸ Carson claimed that the FRS aimed to engage emotionally with DPs in a way contrary to that adopted by UNRRA, a view shared by Reid and Gemie.¹⁰⁹

Tensions between different groups of relief workers are also seen in FHT's work in northern Norway (6.6). American and British participants were largely united in their view that the Norwegian organisation's approach to aid was misguided and less effective than it should have been. FHT in its turn had a conscious wish to establish good international relations as an integral part of its model of relief, an approach that found little favour with the FAU PWS.

¹⁰⁶ Aksamit, 'Training Friends,' 67-69.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 252, 270.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁰⁹ Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 11, 68. Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 235.

Women and relief work

Roberts claimed that Quaker women regarded 'their humanitarian relief work...as part of their witness for peace, and a constructive contribution to international understanding and friendship,' with that work involving both welfare at home as well as relief work overseas.¹¹⁰ Roberts and Katherine Storr argued that their contribution, certainly during the early part of the twentieth century, was overlooked, although Proctor contended that British Quakers were more open to women taking leadership roles than were their American counterparts.¹¹¹ Siân Roberts claimed that Quaker women frequently became involved in relief work through what Sandra Holton and Robert Holton characterised as 'the contingencies of personal life,' which could include marriage, education, friendship and Quaker networks, the latter two of which were also of relevance in the development of FHT's work in Finnmark.¹¹² Manasseh contended that, while some key leadership positions in the Quaker-led work in Brynmawr were held by men, women also made significant contributions, while Rose Holmes argued that 'Quaker humanitarian work was predominantly led by women.'¹¹³

It is clear that, in the opening decades of the twentieth, Quaker women increasingly took significant roles in setting up and delivering relief. Immediately upon the outbreak of the First World War, Hilda Clark, a Quaker obstetrician, was sure 'that Friends should set up a special committee to find ways of relieving the sufferings of

¹¹⁰ Roberts, "'Position of Peculiar Responsibility,'" 237, 238-245, 254.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 236. Storr, 'Excluded from the Record.' Proctor, 'American Enterprise?' 39.

¹¹² Siân Roberts, 'Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief: Episodes in the Life of Francesca Wilson, Humanitarian Educator Activist,' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010), 84, <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.519052>. Holton and Holton, 'From the Particular,' 15.

¹¹³ Manasseh, 'Brynmawr Experiment,' 82, 88, 89, 91-92, 94-95, 101-103, 111-137. Rose Holmes, 'Moral Business,' 4.

the civilian populations in the war-torn areas.¹¹⁴ With the support of London Yearly Meeting and in co-operation with her friend, the nurse Edith Pye, also a Quaker, she set up hospitals in France.¹¹⁵ Sheila Spielhofer, admittedly considering a period slightly earlier than that examined by Rose Holmes, did not share the latter's analysis of Quaker relief leadership noted above, claiming 'that a women should be in charge of such large scale relief work was certainly an innovation, even for Quakers.'¹¹⁶ Spielhofer recounted that, after the war ended, Hilda Clark and Edith Pye organised extensive relief in Vienna, whose inhabitants were severely affected by the outcome of the war and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹¹⁷ Ruth Fry maintained that 'the large and efficient organisation for coping with the many-faceted problems of Vienna, was due in vary large part to Hilda Clark's personal devotion, ability and initiative.'¹¹⁸ Sybil Oldfield noted that Francesca Wilson, born into a Quaker family, joined the relief effort in Vienna after having undertaken similar work in France and Serbia during the First World War.¹¹⁹ She subsequently undertook 'famine relief in the Buzuluk area in Russia in 1922-23' and later took a leading role in Quaker-led relief during the Spanish Civil War, setting up a hospital in Murcia before she 'turned her attention to other schemes, a common pattern in her Murcian story.'¹²⁰ Oldfield noted that Bertha Bracey was another Quaker relief worker in Vienna and Germany.¹²¹ She later used her knowledge of Germany and German to good effect in

¹¹⁴ Sheila Spielhofer, *Stemming the Dark Tide: Quakers in Vienna 1919-1924* (York: William Sessions, 2001), 5.

¹¹⁵ Sybil Oldfield, *Women Humanitarians: A Biographical Dictionary of British Women Active between 1900 and 1950* (London: Continuum, 2001), 178.

¹¹⁶ Spielhofer, *Stemming the Dark Tide*, 6.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7-37.

¹¹⁸ Ruth A. Fry, *A Quaker Adventure: The Story of Nine Years' Relief and Reconstruction* (London: Nisbet, 1926), 194.

¹¹⁹ Oldfield, *Women Humanitarians*, 279-280.

¹²⁰ Roberts, 'Place, Life Histories,' 136-137, 198, 202-204.

¹²¹ Oldfield, *Woman Humanitarians*, 27.

the role of 'Secretary of the Quakers' German Emergency Committee...between 1933 and 1945 [which] meant she was the director of all Quaker humanitarian projects with refugees during this period.'¹²² Rose Holmes claimed that 'Bracey was one of a very few leading Quakers who had the ear of statesmen,' using that access to help to persuade 'Home Secretary Samuel Hoare to the *Kindertransport*,' playing a part in easing 'conditions of internees on the Isle of Man in 1940, and [commandeering] a plane in 1945 to rescue 300 children from Thereisenstadt.'¹²³

Armstrong-Reid claimed that Western women nurses working with the China Convoy during and after the Second World War not only had to contend with a 'male-dominated organization where gender expectations dictated that women exhibit a sense of decorum and deference,' but also had to adapt to a very different society, to very different medical practices and to different ways of working in the light of constraints imposed by continuing conflict.¹²⁴ The situation for Chinese nurses working with the Convoy was even more challenging, facing disapproval from their compatriots and a degree of racial prejudice within the FAU.¹²⁵ However, Armstrong-Reid contended that the Chinese nurses were critically important in helping the Unit to function more effectively in the country, not least in their adaptation of Western medical practice to fit local constraints imposed by custom and conflict.¹²⁶

¹²² Rose Holmes, 'Moral Business,' 34.

¹²³ Ibid., 34. Simon Parkin, *The Island of Extraordinary Captives* (London: Sceptre, 2022), 34-38, 40-42, 58-59, 264-268, 294-298.

¹²⁴ Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 115, 154, 178-179, 192.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 64, 70, 85.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 178-181.

Aksamit claimed that the FRS was considerably more receptive to the participation of women in their relief work than was the FAU, although the issue of women and relief work is not a major theme in her work.¹²⁷ While Carson, like Aksamit, did not give women's role in relief work particular prominence in her research, she took a different position, contending that 'both the FAU and FRS appear to have treated women as equals with men.'¹²⁸ Women might be appointed to lead FRS teams but Carson contended that British military restrictions could affect their activities.¹²⁹ Like Carson, Reid and Gemie noted that women could lead FRS teams and contended that 'it often proved easier for the women to forge good relations with army officers than it did for the men' because 'soldiers often saw the typical Quaker man as a "spineless inefficient conchie"' while women 'occupied a less controversial position.'¹³⁰

There is no clear archival evidence that male volunteers working with FHT in Finnmark resented the presence of women, a contrast with the FAU in China but not unlike the FRS teams in post-war Germany, although there are indications that some of the men did not recognise the value of the work they did.¹³¹ Occasionally, reports on the work done by a given work group and written by one of the male volunteers fail to give proper, if any, credit for the women members' contribution (5.4).¹³²

¹²⁷ Aksamit, 'Training Friends,' 26.

¹²⁸ Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 72.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 93, 100.

¹³⁰ Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 225, 234.

¹³¹ 1946-08-01 Sophie [Stibolt Christiansen] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Sophie Stibolt Christiansen and Sigrid Helliessen Lund are the only individuals with those respective first names identifiable in the archive material.} 1946-07-30 Rapport for Lakselv-gruppen for juni-juli 1946 [Report for the Lakselv group for June-July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Both documents report work done by male group members but fail either partly or wholly to do likewise for work done by female peers.

¹³² 1946-07-30 Rapport for Lakselv-gruppen for juni-juli 1946 [Report for the Lakselv group for June-July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-03 Rapport af 1 August 1946 fra Lebesbygruppen [Report of 1 August 1946 from the Lebesby group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

2.5: Humanitarian aid in the first half of the twentieth century

Whether or not Quakers themselves accept the categorisation of their relief work as 'humanitarianism' – and, as noted above, not all do – their efforts are situated within a broader context of humanitarian work carried out by many different organisations, both religious and secular.¹³³ In this section, I summarise the literature on the contribution of faith to humanitarian work and review the scholarship on humanitarian aid in the first half of the twentieth century.

Humanitarianism and religious faith

Historians of the sector are clear that humanitarianism has its roots in the work of religious organisations.¹³⁴ Keith Watenpaugh, and Barnett and Janice Gross Stein argued that some religious bodies saw humanitarian aid as a means of gaining converts but it is also claimed that this practice abated during the course of the nineteenth century.¹³⁵ A number of scholars – Barnett, Eleanor Davey, John Borton and Matthew Foley, and Kevin O'Sullivan, Matthew Hilton and Juliano Fiori – made the case that the 'humanitarian challenges posed by the First World War' and its aftermath 'highlighted the limitations of improvised charity and the necessity of an institutionalized philanthropic and aid sector.'¹³⁶ Davey, Borton and Foley, O'Sullivan,

¹³³ Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 5.

¹³⁴ Elizabeth Ferris, 'Faith and Humanitarianism: It's Complicated,' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011), 608. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein, 'Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism,' in *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, ed. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4. Keith Watenpaugh, 'The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920–1927,' *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 5 (2010), 1319.

¹³⁵ Watenpaugh, 'League of Nations' Rescue,' 1319. Barnett and Stein, 'Introduction,' 4-5.

¹³⁶ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 86. Eleanor Davey, John Borton and Matthew Foley, 'A History of the Humanitarian System: Western Origins and Foundations,' HPG Working Paper, Humanitarian Policy Group (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2013), 7-8. Kevin O'Sullivan, Matthew Hilton and

Hilton and Fiori, and Little argued that the period between the two world wars saw 'the creation of international organisations to address humanitarian issues.'¹³⁷ While religious organisations did not necessarily withdraw from relief efforts, as is demonstrated by the subject matter of this thesis and much other work, the continuing move to longer-term and more professionalised humanitarian organisations prompted by the First World War was epitomised by the establishment of UNRRA in November 1943, marking the fact, as Homan and Barnett claimed, that 'humanitarianism was entering a new phase of global governance.'¹³⁸ However, organisations such as Save the Children [SCF] and Oxfam entered the humanitarian field during the period with clear roots in religious faith and with both subsequently developing into global humanitarian actors. Bruno Cabanes asserted that 'a significant religious component continued to be part of the defense of children's rights, during and after the Great War.'¹³⁹ From its beginnings in 1919, SCF worked 'to achieve for children what the Red Cross had done for wounded soldiers and prisoners of war.'¹⁴⁰ SCF's founders, Dorothy Buxton, a Quaker, and her sister, Eglantyne Jebb, had been brought up in a staunchly Christian home.¹⁴¹ Maggie Black claimed that, just over 20 years later, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief was founded as part of a nationwide campaign initiated by Edith Pye, a Quaker.¹⁴² It was

Juliano Fiori, 'Humanitarianisms in Context,' *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 23, no. 1-2 (2016), 6-7.

¹³⁷ Davey, Borton and Foley, 'History of the Humanitarian System,' 7. O'Sullivan, Hilton and Fiori, 'Humanitarianisms in Context,' 6. Little, 'Explosion of New Endeavours,' 11.

¹³⁸ Homan, "Ayuda a los niños," 354, 370. Branka Peuraca, 'Can Faith-Based NGOs Advance Interfaith Reconciliation? The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina,' Special Report 103 (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2003), 1-2. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 110-111.

¹³⁹ Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 251, 253, 278.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 279.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 253.

¹⁴² Maggie Black, *A Cause for Our Times: Oxfam: The First 50 Years* (Oxford: Oxfam; Oxford University Press, 1992), 10.

'led by Rev. T.R. Milford, Vicar of the University Church,' described as 'a gentle, almost a saintly, figure' whose 'voice...established on behalf of the Oxford Committee the principle of impartiality governing its aid.'¹⁴³ One of the Committee's founder members was a Quaker, Dr Henry Gillett, who, like a fellow founder, Professor Gilbert Murray, 'attended rarely, but whose moral backing was tremendously esteemed.'¹⁴⁴

Co-operation between humanitarian organisations and relevant authorities

As discussed above, it is difficult for an organisation to provide relief without some degree of co-operation with the relevant authorities. The issue may be addressed in different ways. David Forsythe and Barbara Rieffer-Flanagan argued that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has developed the practice of gaining permission to visit prisoners of war, for example, by refraining from public comment as far as possible because it knows that open criticism of authorities might mean that the welfare access it seeks would be denied.¹⁴⁵ Caroline Moorehead contended that national Red Cross societies, later advised to remain independent of governments, tended to 'become...auxiliaries to their armies' in times of war, even if, in Britain at least, the Army were initially reluctant to benefit from their assistance.¹⁴⁶ Jessica Reinisch and Daniel Cohen claimed that UNRRA, founded in 1943 'by 44 participating countries to oversee and direct relief programmes across the world,' was

¹⁴³ Ibid., 10, 27.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 33. Oxford History: Mayors and Lord Mayors, 'Henry Tregelles Gillett (1870-1955): Mayor of Oxford 1938/9,' 2021, accessed 3 March 2022, https://www.oxfordhistory.org.uk/mayors/1836_1962/gillett_henry_1938.html.

¹⁴⁵ David P. Forsythe and Barbara Rieffer-Flanagan, *The International Committee of the Red Cross: A Neutral Humanitarian Actor*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 122-123. Caroline Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross* (New York: HarperCollins, 1998), 298.

¹⁴⁶ Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream*, 208-209, 220.

subordinate to military authorities once it was working in the field.¹⁴⁷ M. E. Cornelis and Jill Liddington argued that what became known as the Scottish Women's Hospitals, led by Dr Elsie Inglis, a gynaecologist and an active figure in the suffragist movement, had to seek support in France, the Balkans and Russia after her First World War offer of funded and staffed mobile hospital units was refused by the British authorities.¹⁴⁸ It is not unknown for humanitarian organisations to anticipate adverse reactions on the part of the authorities and to take action to mitigate possible negative effects. Emily Baughan and Fiori contended that, although Buxton, a Quaker, founded SCF in 1919, she recognised that she was already known as 'an Independent Labour Party campaigner with socialist sympathies' and as being involved with pacifist organisations, which was considered unpatriotic.¹⁴⁹ In order to distance the SCF from her own political views, her sister, Jebb, who was not politically aligned, became head of the organisation.¹⁵⁰ Baughan and Fiori claimed that, later, in order to maintain 'the support of the British public while retaining the trust of the Russian government' for projected work with Russians affected by famine, the SCF 'claimed that humanitarian aid was "entirely non-political".'¹⁵¹ While it was a productive tactic in the circumstances, Barnett questioned such assertions, as

¹⁴⁷ Jessica Reinisch, 'Internationalism in Relief: The Birth (and Death) of UNRRA,' *Past & Present* 210, Supplement 6 (2011), 260. G. Daniel Cohen, 'Between Relief and Politics: Refugee Humanitarianism in Occupied Germany 1945-1946,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 3 (2008), 442.

¹⁴⁸ M. E. Cornelis, 'The Scottish Women's Hospitals: The First World War and the Careers of Early Medical Women,' *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* 36, no. 2 (2020), 175-176. Jill Liddington, 'Britain in the Balkans: The Response of the Scottish Women's Hospital Units,' in *Aftermaths of War: Women's Movements and Female Activists, 1918-1923*, ed. Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 396.

¹⁴⁹ Emily Baughan and Juliano Fiori, 'Save the Children, the Humanitarian Project, and the Politics of Solidarity: Reviving Dorothy Buxton's Vision,' *Disasters* 39, no. 2 (2015), 130, 131, 132. Greenwood, *Friends and Relief*, 331.

¹⁵⁰ Baughan and Fiori, 'Save the Children,' 132.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

applied to humanitarian work in general, as being 'part confidence trick and part self-delusion.'¹⁵²

Different models of humanitarian work

Forsythe and Rieffer-Flanagan argued that the ICRC, which is unusual among humanitarian organisations in having 'important and specialized rights and duties in public international law,' originally confined its activities to concern for members of armed forces injured in combat.¹⁵³ By the First World War it had amended its model to include care of civilians and prisoners of war, later including victims of events such as the Spanish Civil War and refugees, and broadening its operations beyond Europe.¹⁵⁴ Forsythe and Rieffer-Flanagan claimed that, notably for an well-established, respected international organisation, the ICRC 'has changed its practice first and amended the legal framework later.'¹⁵⁵ In the early part of the twentieth century relief work was frequently carried out by small, voluntary organisations created to meet a specific need.¹⁵⁶ However, Grant claimed that maladministration of a number of small British aid organisations led to greater oversight being introduced in Britain.¹⁵⁷

More widely, Barnett argued that 'the [First World] war and the tremendous relief effort highlighted the limitations of improvised charity and the necessity of an

¹⁵² Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 34.

¹⁵³ Forsythe and Rieffer-Flanagan, *International Committee of the Red Cross*, 2.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2, 12, 13, 14.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁵⁶ Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 7. Peter Gatrell, 'Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War,' *Immigrants & Minorities* 26, no. 1/2 (2008), 91. Grant, *Philanthropy*, 70, 72-75.

¹⁵⁷ Grant, *Philanthropy*, 78-79.

institutionalized philanthropic and aid sector,' with the Second World War heralding a move to aid organisations becoming more permanent and 'increasingly planning-minded.'¹⁵⁸ UNRRA was an example of deliberate planning for aid that would be needed in the aftermath of war.¹⁵⁹ However, Francesca Wilson, who worked in relief during and after the First World War and who joined UNRRA in 1945, judged that it was poorly organised, was critical of the standard of some UNRRA staff members and felt that its close relationship to Allied military forces was detrimental to the organisation's work.¹⁶⁰ She also came to disapprove of the UNRRA policy decision not to care for enemy nationals.¹⁶¹ That having been said, Cohen maintained that the formation of UNRRA has been claimed to have marked 'the end of the "charitable phase" of modern humanitarianism' and to have contributed to the growing professionalisation of relief work.¹⁶²

Bruno Cabanes judged that Jebb, who at an early point took over the leadership of SCF from her sister, Buxton, 'significantly contributed' to the 'modernization and professionalization' of humanitarianism.¹⁶³ Baughan and Fiori maintained that '[Buxton] felt that a widely held belief in the innate innocence and value of children would help to prevent popular opposition to its humanitarian activities.'¹⁶⁴ Cabanes claimed that Buxton and Jebb were examples of middle class women, who 'still did not have the right to vote' but who were enabled through their involvement in relief

¹⁵⁸ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 86, 105, 108.

¹⁵⁹ Sylvia Salvatici, "'Fighters without Guns": Humanitarianism and Military Action in the Aftermath of the Second World War,' *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 25, no.6 (2018), 3.

¹⁶⁰ Francesca M. Wilson, *Aftermath: France, Austria, Germany, Yugoslavia 1945 and 1946* (West Drayton; New York: Penguin Books, 1947), 9, 29-30, 131, 132, 165, 253.

¹⁶¹ Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 223.

¹⁶² Cohen, 'Between Relief and Politics,' 438.

¹⁶³ Cabanes, *Great War*, 279.

¹⁶⁴ Baughan and Fiori, 'Save the Children,' 132.

work to 'exercise the abilities they had acquired thanks to higher education, just as traditional charitable work was giving way to a more modern, professional form of philanthropy.'¹⁶⁵ Cabanes concluded that, while in many ways the SCF was managed traditionally 'with its executive board and its patrons drawn from members of the government, high-ranking officials and the aristocracy,' it was unusual for its time [immediately post-First World War] in that it managed to work internationally, with SCIU being set up in 1920 and '[admitting] members from former enemy nations.'¹⁶⁶ However, simply to do humanitarian work was not enough. Jebb was anxious to ensure that children should be internationally acknowledged as being entitled to respect and protection. Cabanes maintained that 'it is to her that we owe the first internationally recognized declaration of children's rights, adopted by the SCIU on May 17, 1923, then ratified by the General Assembly of the League of Nations in September 1924,' even though he judged that 'the 1924 Declaration is more significant for its moral import than for its legal weight.'¹⁶⁷

Black asserted that another charitable organisation, Oxfam, made a conscious decision to operate in a way very different to that chosen by UNRRA.¹⁶⁸ As noted above, in May 1942 Edith Pye set up a Famine Relief Committee, which quickly garnered support across Britain.¹⁶⁹ After the end of hostilities, 'the Famine Relief Committee in Brook Street, London, gradually wound itself down and handed its assets over to the Friends' Relief Service.'¹⁷⁰ However, the Oxford Committee for

¹⁶⁵ Cabanes, *Great War*, 257.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 282.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 289, 296.

¹⁶⁸ Black, *Cause for Our Times*, 9.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 9, 13.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

Famine Relief decided to continue its work, broadening its operation "to relief of suffering in consequence of the war".¹⁷¹ While UNRRA '[provided] aid to victims of German and Japanese aggression only,' the Oxford Committee was clear 'that relief should be given purely on the basis of need, without reference to nationality or religion.'¹⁷² Oxfam was 'from the beginning a "donor" body....The quest was always for sound and reliable practitioners to use money and relief goods on the donors' behalf.'¹⁷³

Women and humanitarian work

Gill claimed that there was a marked increase in women's participation in humanitarian work in the early years of the twentieth century.¹⁷⁴ Heather Jones argued that the phenomenon 'stemmed from the burgeoning prewar trend of female social activism, particularly in Britain.'¹⁷⁵ While Grant contended that, during the First World War in Britain, a great deal of domestic relief activity was organised by 'ordinary women and men' rather 'than by well-to-do matrons,' Storr judged that relief delivered internationally was an activity possible only for 'upper-middle or upper class "single" women.'¹⁷⁶ The latter viewpoint is not supported by the information available regarding the women who served with FHT. While some were undoubtedly middle class, others were what Grant describes as 'ordinary'.¹⁷⁷ Both Grant and Storr acknowledged that, although much of the work was undertaken by women, men

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 20.

¹⁷² Aksamit, 'Training Friends,' 64. Ibid., 27.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 37. While I use the well-known name, Oxfam, here, it should be noted that the organisation's formal title was 'Oxford Committee for Famine Relief' until 1965 (see Black, *Cause for Our Times*, 91).

¹⁷⁴ Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, 188.

¹⁷⁵ Heather Jones, 'International or Transnational? Humanitarian Action during the First World War,' *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 16, no. 5 (2009), 698.

¹⁷⁶ Grant, *Philanthropy*, 27. Storr, 'Excluded from the Record,' 108-109.

¹⁷⁷ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

tended to be the figureheads, Storr arguing that it was the result of men's perceived social status and their networks, the latter argument again not reflected in FHT's experience.¹⁷⁸ She also considered that women's contribution to domestic and international relief was not well recognised at the time.

The founding of SCF by Buxton and the assumption of its leadership by her sister, Jebb, demonstrated that it was entirely possible for women to manage relief organisations as was the case with FHT.¹⁷⁹ Watenpaugh's comment concerning 'the middle-class female relief workers who emerged during the humanitarian turn of the interwar period' to work abroad may reveal the extent to which humanitarianism is now defined as something that happens across borders, with many, although not Watenpaugh himself, failing to recognise women's earlier contribution to 'nationally based social reform and peace movements.'¹⁸⁰ It is also evidence of the extent to which women's contribution has been 'excluded from the record' as Storr contended.¹⁸¹ Sybil Oldfield acknowledged that the rescue of mainly Jewish children in the 1930s as part of the Kindertransport operation 'would have been impossible in the first instance without the backing of influential English *men*.'¹⁸² However, she argued that the core of the work was undertaken by women filling many roles, administrative and caring, 'over ten years' and 'in certain cases bear[ing] the responsibility for failure.'¹⁸³ She also made clear, that while some of the women

¹⁷⁸ Grant, *Philanthropy*, 51. Storr, 'Excluded from the Record,' 177-178.

¹⁷⁹ Baughan and Fiori, 'Save the Children,' 130, 131, 132.

¹⁸⁰ Watenpaugh, 'League of Nations' Rescue,' 1320, 1330.

¹⁸¹ Storr, 'Excluded from the Record,' 54, 109.

¹⁸² Sybil Oldfield, "'It Is Usually She": The Role of British Women in the Rescue and Care of the Kindertransport Kinder,' *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 23, no. 1 (2004), 57. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 57.

involved undoubtedly held influential positions in society, there were others in much humbler circumstances.¹⁸⁴

Britain alone produced many women who assumed leadership roles in relief work both at home and in other countries.¹⁸⁵ Florence Barrow, a Birmingham Quaker, was one such individual, 'active in a number of social welfare and reform initiatives in Birmingham.'¹⁸⁶ She went on to undertake relief work in France and Russia during the war, later '[becoming] leader of Quaker relief in Poland.'¹⁸⁷ Another Quaker, Hilda Cashmore, participated in the relief work in First World War France organised by Hilda Clark and Edith Pye before assisting Florence Barrow in her work 'near Lvov (Lviv).' After undertaking settlement work back in Britain during the interwar years, she 'went to work in central India, setting up an adult school, a conference centre and a dispensary in the jungle near Nagpur.'¹⁸⁸ Of course, Quaker women held no monopoly on involvement in and leadership of humanitarian work. Oldfield described how Emily Hobhouse made herself thoroughly unpopular in Britain by campaigning against the Boer War, travelling to South Africa where 'she founded the South African Women and Children's Distress Fund "to feed, clothe, shelter and rescue women and children, Boer, British or others who [have] been rendered destitute and homeless by the...military operations".'¹⁸⁹ Storr maintained that, during the First World War, Hobhouse's 'concern for effects of war on civilians...particularly in relation to children'

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. The whole article is relevant.

¹⁸⁵ Oldfield, *Women Humanitarians*.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 16-17. Roberts, 'Position of Peculiar Responsibility,' 240.

¹⁸⁷ Roberts, 'Position of Peculiar Responsibility,' 244-250.

¹⁸⁸ Oldfield, *Women Humanitarians*, 40-41.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 103.

led to 'her work merging with the Save the Children Fund.'¹⁹⁰ Oldfield also recounted the work of Katherine MacPhail, who as a young doctor, joined Dr Elsie Inglis's Scottish Women's Hospital in Serbia during the First World War. Immediately after the war, 'she went to Belgrade to fight [a] terrible outbreak of typhus.' Having 'found a host of abandoned, uncared-for sick children[, s]he decided to open a hospital for them herself...in a disused army hut....Hers was at first the only children's hospital in the whole of the new state of Yugoslavia.'¹⁹¹ Liddington judged that 'it probably remains the most significant permanent monument embedding SWH's [Scottish Women's Hospitals] original good practice.'¹⁹²

Women had participated in humanitarian work for many years and were increasingly assuming leadership roles. However, while in recent years there has been more scholarly work on women's contribution, it is hard not to agreed with Storr's contention that, in organisations run by both men and women, the former tended to be perceived – and perhaps to perceive themselves – as the leaders, while women had a greater chance of retaining, and being seen to retain, control if the leadership team was exclusively female.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Storr, 'Excluded from the Record,' 108.

¹⁹¹ Oldfield, *Women Humanitarians*, 148-149.

¹⁹² Liddington, *Britain in the Balkans*, 410.

¹⁹³ Storr, 'Excluded from the Record,' 178.

2.6: Norway: humanitarian aid in the first half of the twentieth century

Norway: Humanitarianism

According to Per Selle, 'Norway has a rich tradition of social and humanitarian associations.'¹⁹⁴ As is the case for humanitarianism more generally, the provision of relief in the Norwegian context was considered by Selle to have strong religious roots, although Seija Jalagin, Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Maria Småberg, and Lars Korvald argued that more general humanitarian impulses have also made a contribution.¹⁹⁵ The country has a considerable record of providing aid both domestically and internationally. That having been said, Jill Loga, and Håkon Lorentzen and Selle contended that Norway does not have a tradition of philanthropy such as was the case in Great Britain.¹⁹⁶ Loga argued that 'this is to do with the norms and social structures in Norwegian society. Historically, there have been relatively small social differences, and as a former poor country, there has been a lack of a large bourgeoisie with an economic surplus.'¹⁹⁷

Korvald, and Lorentzen and Selle, maintained that, historically, voluntary organisations have worked to combat poverty and health needs within Norway, not least those whose primary concern has been mission work.¹⁹⁸ Hage claimed that,

¹⁹⁴ Per Selle, 'The Transformation of the Voluntary Sector in Norway: A Decline in Social Capital?' in *Social Capital and European Democracy*, ed. Jan W. van Deth et al., (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 149.

¹⁹⁵ Seija Jalagin, Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Maria Småberg, 'Introduction: Nordic Missions, Gender and Humanitarian Practices: From Evangelizing to Development,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 3 (2015), 285, 286. Lars Korvald, ed., *Frivillige organisasjoner* [Voluntary organisations], Norges offentlige utredninger, 1988: 17 (Oslo: Forvaltningstjenestene, 1988), 113.

¹⁹⁶ Jill Loga, 'Civil Society and the Welfare State in Norway: Historical Relations and Future Roles,' *Community Development Journal* 53, no. 3 (2018), 585. Håkon Lorentzen and Per Selle, *Norway: Defining the Voluntary Sector* (Norway: Institutt for Samfunnsforskning, 2000), 8.

¹⁹⁷ Loga, 'Civil Society,' 585.

¹⁹⁸ Korvald, *Frivillige organisasjoner* [Voluntary organisations], 258-259. Lorentzen and Selle, *Norway: Defining the Voluntary Sector*, 13-14.

while such efforts usually existed alongside what was provided by the authorities, voluntary organisations in the counties of Finnmark and Nordland supplied what was needed in the interwar years when there was little public provision of institutional health facilities in northern Norway.¹⁹⁹ Kurt Klaudi Klausen and Selle argued that it has not been unusual for Norwegian voluntary organisations to provide health and social care institutions to supplement what was offered by the authorities, a view supported by Korvald.²⁰⁰ Anne Ellingsen and Dohnáľková maintained that there was also relief activity in other areas, such as help to refugees from fascism and to those who were stateless that was organised by Nansen Relief in the 1930s.²⁰¹

Korvald claimed, as did Jalagin, Okkenhaug and Småberg, that Norwegian voluntary institutions also have a long record of providing relief across borders, again much of it stemming from missionary work.²⁰² Okkenhaug claimed that 'while spreading the Christian message was initially the main aim, social work, especially health and education, soon became an accepted missionary activity.'²⁰³ She examined the work of 'the missionary, nurse and midwife Bodil Biørn,' who was a relief worker with Armenian refugee children and older women on their own and who provided nursing and welfare care, and adult learning classes.²⁰⁴ Overseas aid has also developed

¹⁹⁹ Ingebjørg Hage, 'Helseinstitusjoner i Nord-Norge: "trekt opp av havet" [Health institutions in northern Norway: "dragged up from the sea"]', in *Rom for helse* [Space for health], ed. Regionsykehuset i Trondheim (Trondheim: RIT 2000 FKF, 2001), 175.

²⁰⁰ Kurt Klaudi Klausen and Per Selle, 'The Third Sector in Scandinavia,' *Voluntas* 7, no. 2 (1996), 106-107. Korvald, *Frivillige organisasjoner* [Voluntary organisations], 114.

²⁰¹ Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen*, 95-142. Dohnáľková, 'Nansenhjelpens historie' [Nansen Relief's history].

²⁰² Korvald, *Frivillige organisasjoner* [Voluntary organisations], 159, 160. Jalagin, Okkenhaug and Småberg, 'Introduction: Nordic Missions,' 285, 286.

²⁰³ Inger Marie Okkenhaug, 'Gender and Nordic Missions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28, no. 2 (2003), 74.

²⁰⁴ Inger Marie Okkenhaug, 'Religion, relief and humanitarian work among Armenian women refugees in Mandatory Syria, 1927-1934,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 3 (2015), 432, 435-436, 438-440, 441, 444-446.

from secular sources. For example, Norwegian People's Aid [*Norsk Folkehjelp*] was founded 'in 1939 as the trade union movement's humanitarian solidarity organisation.'²⁰⁵ Thor Viksveen recounted that its first operation was organising aid for Finland after Soviet troops invaded the country in December 1939.²⁰⁶ He contended that, following Norway's occupation by the Nazis, the organisation started welfare work within the country but its refusal to help the Nazi occupying authorities led to its dissolution.²⁰⁷ In Swedish exile, some of the organisation's officials tried to continue aid work including supporting Norwegians who had fled across the border to safety.²⁰⁸ However, Viksveen explained that it was not until after liberation that it could fully resume the provision of relief at home and in other parts of war-torn Europe.²⁰⁹ FHT's work in Finnmark was atypical. As noted above, aid from Norwegians to fellow Norwegians was not unusual but it was customarily provided by people who lived within the relevant locality. FHT's Norwegian cohort all came from the southern part of the country. In addition, it was exceptional to have non-Norwegians coming to offer relief within a country that was more used to providing aid to other nations.

Norway: Co-operation between relief organisations and relevant authorities

Selle argued that 'historically, in Norway voluntary organizations have been very close to the public sector, while at the same time being largely autonomous

²⁰⁵ Norsk Folkehjelp, 'Om Norsk Folkehjelp: fagbevegelsens humanitære solidaritetsorganisasjon' [About Norwegian People's Aid: the trade union movement's humanitarian solidarity organisation], 2020, accessed 29 September 2020, <https://folkehjelp.no/om-norsk-folkehjelp>. 'Norsk folkehjelp ble stiftet i 1939 som fagbevegelsens humanitære solidaritetsorganisasjon.'

²⁰⁶ Thor Viksveen, *Folk forandrer verden: Norsk Folkehjelp 75 år* [People change the world: Norwegian People's Aid 75 years], (Oslo: Pax forlag, 2014), 34-39.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 39-40, 42-45.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 49, 53-57.

associations,' a view also held by Klausen and Selle.²¹⁰ Loga contended that one outcome of the history of the two sectors working together was that, when organisations offering domestic welfare services were badly affected by the interwar economic difficulties, they asked 'local authorities to take over their services and thus [secure] the stability [*sic*] for the institutions.'²¹¹ However, as noted above, Norwegian People's Aid was forced to decide that the price of co-operation with the occupying authorities during the Second World War was too high and suffered the consequences. Nansen Relief's work was effectively suspended shortly after Odd Nansen was arrested by the Nazis in 1943 and became part of Relief for Europe [*Europahjelpen*] in 1946.²¹² Earlier, according to Okkenhaug, Bodil Biørn fell foul of the Soviet authorities in 1925 because of her dedication to Christian mission and her determination to 'save, support and reconstruct the Armenian culture and religious traditions' and had to move to Beirut to continue her work with refugees there.²¹³ FHT's work reflected the pattern outlined above of voluntary organisations working closely with relevant authorities. It had to obtain permission and support from national and local government to start and continue its labours in Finnmark but retained its autonomy while doing so, there being no evidence of close governmental monitoring of its efforts.

²¹⁰ Selle, 'Transformation of the Voluntary Sector,' in *Social Capital*, van Deth et al., 147. Klausen and Selle, 'Third Sector,' 118.

²¹¹ Loga, 'Civil Society,' 585.

²¹² Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen*, 167, 269.

²¹³ Okkenhaug, 'Religion, relief and humanitarian work,' 435.

Norway: Different models of relief work

Klausen and Selle contended, as did Korvald, that much of Norway's domestic relief has been offered by organisations that 'have been membership-based...with a democratic organisational structure in which the local branch organisations have had a great deal of influence.'²¹⁴ Torunn Hamran argued that relief has been offered by local people within their own communities.²¹⁵ She claimed that, to adopt Barnett's characterisation, it can be both 'emergency' aid, such as the early work by the Norwegian Women's Public Health Association [*Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening* – NKS] in establishing field hospitals and 'alchemical' aid, such as their setting up nursing training and care homes.²¹⁶ Originally founded in 1896 to provide voluntary medical support to the army, NKS was, Korvald argued, 'the first nation-wide organisation with aims associated with the health and social sectors.'²¹⁷ He claimed that NKS was linked to the movement for full political rights for women, a similarity with the Scottish Women's Hospitals referred to above.²¹⁸ NKS later developed its work to include the treatment of diseases such as tuberculosis and cancer, and to fund research.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ Klausen and Selle, 'Third Sector,' 103. Korvald, *Frivillige organisasjoner* [Voluntary organisations], 240.

²¹⁵ Torunn Hamran, 'Foreningsliv – Samfunnsliv [Committee life – community life],' in *Sykdom: Nord-Norge før 1940* [Disease: northern Norway before 1940], Ingunn Elstad and Torunn Hamran, (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2006), 171-173.

²¹⁶ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 10. Torunn Hamran, 'Kvinneforeningene, institusjonsbyggingen og den nasjonale velferdspolitikken: Nord-Norge før 1940' [Women's organisations, building institutions, and national welfare policy: northern Norway before 1940], *Historisk Tidsskrift* 86, no. 3 (2007), 416. NKS is a women's voluntary organisation founded in 1896 with the aim of 'promoting women's health and living conditions' and 'public health' (see Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening, 'Historie' [History], n.d., accessed 2 December 2020, <https://sanitetskvinnene.no/historie-0>; and Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening, 'Om oss' [About us], n.d., accessed 2 December 2020, <https://sanitetskvinnene.no/om-oss>).

²¹⁷ Korvald, *Frivillige organisasjoner* [Voluntary organisations], 18. 'Den første landsomfattende organisasjon med målsetting knyttet til helse- og sosialsektoren.'

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

²¹⁹ Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening, 'Historie [History]', n.d., accessed 2 December 2020, <https://sanitetskvinnene.no/historie-0>.

Although it is noted above that Norwegian voluntary organisations have long working relationships with public authorities at home, Korvald argued that aid overseas has been rather more independent. 'Until 1962 these [Norwegian voluntary] organisations managed their work completely without public economic support.'²²⁰ He claimed that mission organisations had continued to be part of the overseas relief effort with a strong element of medical aid and school provision being offered.²²¹ Viksveen maintained that the secular organisation, Norwegian People's Aid, joined forces with the Norwegian branch of the Red Cross [*Norges Røde Kors*] to provide different forms of relief in various European countries.²²²

FHT did not follow the pattern of being membership-based in the way that, for example, NKS was and is. During its limited time in Finnmark it focused largely on 'emergency aid' – helping build temporary and some permanent dwellings, providing hot meals and helping gather in crops – but also offered some 'alchemical aid' – offering short vocational courses for young people and training locals to mend shoes or run a bakery for their community.

Norway: Women and relief work

Hamran argued that, with regard to domestic relief and women's part in it, NKS has been a significant actor since the closing years of the 19th century.²²³

²²⁰ Korvald, *Frivillige organisasjoner* [Voluntary organisations], 159. 'Fram til 1962 drev disse organisasjonene sitt arbeid helt uten offentlig økonomisk støtte.'

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 159.

²²² Viksveen, *Folk forandrer verden* [People change the world], 55-57.

²²³ Hamran, 'Kvinneforeningene,' [Women's organisations], 416.

[It] was founded in Kristiania in 1896. The founder was Mrs Fredrikke Marie Qvam and a group round her. All were...on the left politically and married to very prominent left-wing politicians. However, the objective was to recruit members...from across the party political spectrum.²²⁴

Eldrid Mageli claimed that, unlike the Norwegian Red Cross, whose 'committee members were supporters of the union [with Sweden] and had strong connections to the Swedish Royal Family,' the NKS was established by women who supported the campaign for Norway's independence from Sweden.²²⁵ In addition, Mageli described the Norwegian Red Cross of the time as being 'male-led and male-dominated,' and judged that the founders of NKS considered that, if they joined the Red Cross, 'they would easily lose [the] right to decide for themselves.'²²⁶ That resulted in many women choosing to join the NKS rather than the Red Cross, the latter, Mageli contended, remaining 'withdrawn from Norwegian society for the first 25 years after it was founded' in 1865.²²⁷ 'The Red Cross was still, in many people's eyes, an organisation with a certain upper class feel.... Many associated [it] with defence and war preparedness.'²²⁸ For many years, the NKS had a considerably higher membership than the Norwegian Red Cross, the situation not changing until the latter instituted a major recruitment drive in the early 1920s.²²⁹ Aine Schiøtz maintained

²²⁴ Torunn Hamran, 'Kvinnene, byen og helsepolitikken: Narvik før 1940 [The women, the town and health policy: Narvik before 1940],' in *I spissen for utviklingen: høyere utdanning i Narvik* [Leading the way in development: higher education in Narvik], ed. Ellen Margrethe Julin (Narvik: Høgskolen i Narvik, 2005), 3. Page number refers to the electronic copy of the chapter available from the Munin database. Kristiania is the former name for Oslo, the change having been made in 1925 (see Store Norske Leksikon, 'Kristiania,' 2020, accessed 19 July 2021, <https://snl.no/Kristiania>). '(NKS) var stiftet i Kristiania i 1896. Initiativtaker var fru Fredrikke Marie Qvam og kretsen rundt henne. Alle var...venstreorienterte og gift med meget fremstående venstrepolitikere. Målet var likevel å rekruttere medlemmer...på tvers av partitilknytning.'

²²⁵ Eldrid Mageli, *Med rett til å hjelpe: historien om Norges Røde Kors* [With the right to help: the history of the Norwegian Red Cross], (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2014), 54, 60. Styremedlemmene...var tilhengere av unionen og hadde sterke bånd til det svenske kongehuset.'

²²⁶ Ibid., 60. 'mannsledete og mannsdominerte;' ville de lett miste denne retten til selv å bestemme.'

²²⁷ Ibid., 16, 58, 61. De første 25 årene etter dannelsen levde den tilbaketrukket fra norsk samfunnsliv.'

²²⁸ Ibid., 111. 'Røde Kors var fortsatt, i manges øyne, en organisasjon med et visst overklassepreg,.... Mange forbandt Røde Kors med forsvar og krigsberedskap.'

²²⁹ Ibid., 61, 88, 111, 115.

that, while the initial impetus for the foundation of NKS was to prepare in case there was war with Sweden, during much of the early period, 'NKS women became active far and wide and set up local branches and health teams throughout the entire country.'²³⁰

There were many other aid organisations, usually much smaller, doing similar work in their own districts. In an article that examines 'local women's organisations' contributions as founders of institutions...and the significance their contributions can have had for the development of the Norwegian welfare state,' Hamran claimed that, in the years leading up to 1940, 'all these organisations [in Nordland in northern Norway] were led and managed by women.'²³¹ Okkenhaug maintained that women also played a major role in overseas aid. 'From the 1880s Norwegian women went out as missionaries for German organizations, the China Inland Mission and the British Zenana mission in India.'²³² She contended that 'in Norway there were direct links between the women's missionary movement and the feminist movement in the early 20th century' but that 'the various mission movements in the Scandinavian countries as in the rest of the Western world, tended to defend and conserve ideologically defined gender borders,' a view also held by Karina Hestad Skeie.²³³

²³⁰ Aine Schiøtz, 'De frivillige organisasjonene og helsebyggeriet i Norge' [The voluntary organisations and health construction in Norway], in *Rom for helse: hovedtrekk i spesialisthelsetjenestens bygningshistorie* [Space for health: principal features in the construction history of the specialist health service], ed. Erlend Hammer (Oslo: Helse- og Omsorgsdepartementet, 2012), 102. 'Mobiliserte sanitetskvinnene bredt og vidt, og stiftet lokalforeninger og helselag over hele landet.'

²³¹ Hamran, 'Kvinneforeningene,' [Women's organisations], 411, 412. 'lokale kvinneforeningers innsats som institusjonsbyggere...og hvilken betydning deres innsats kan ha fått for utformingen av den norske velferdsstaten.' 'Alle disse foreningene ble ledet og drevet av kvinner.'

²³² Okkenhaug, 'Gender and Nordic Missions,' 76.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 77, 78. Karina Hestad Skeie, 'Gender, Mission and Work: The Complex Relationship between Formal Rights and Missionary Agency in the Norwegian Lutheran China Mission Association,' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 3 (2015), 335-336, 345.

The pattern in Norway as elsewhere seems to have been that, in mixed gender relief organisations, women have historically not found it easy to be accepted as leaders.

As will be discussed later (4.1), women played a major role in managing FHT's relief in Finnmark and there is no evidence of any reluctance to accept Sigrid Helliesen Lund's leadership role, possibly because of the active role played by her female predecessors as outlined above. Women participated in the execution of the various tasks undertaken although there was an emphasis on their role in carrying out the domestic functions of the different FHT work camps. That having been said and as will be illustrated, women also provided highly specialised input such as nursing and dentistry (5.4).

2.7: Chapter summary

British historiography about Norway and its recovery from the Second World War concentrates on strategic issues, principally consideration of military matters linked to the war itself and geopolitical questions arising from the swift post-war development of the Cold War. Not surprisingly, Norwegian historiography of the field is much richer and more detailed, although scholarly attention to the situation in northern Norway has been largely dependent on the development of UiT since the 1970s. As yet the contribution of relief work in the area has not been considered in detail, although, as noted above (2.2), research on such aid during the conflict is in progress. Quaker-led relief projects, humanitarianism more generally and humanitarian aid in Norway during the first half of the twentieth century are reviewed in the light of emergent themes in the research which are developed in Part 2 of the thesis: co-operation

between relief organisations and relevant authorities; different models of relief work; and women and relief work. Academic analysis of Quaker relief is increasingly evident with researchers establishing that, alongside much good work undertaken from praiseworthy motives under frequently very challenging conditions, Quaker projects have been no more immune than other faith-based and secular organisations from the charges of sexism, racism and what Wolf Mendl described as 'cultural imperialism in their relief work.'²³⁴ While the first half of the twentieth century saw the increasing participation of secular organisations in humanitarian work, the historical contribution of faith-based organisations to the field and its development is clear. Equally evident is the major part played in humanitarian work by women, both in small, locally based operations and in larger transnational ones. What is true of humanitarianism more generally is equally true in the Norwegian context, where missionary bodies have historically included relief operations in their overall work and women have more than played their part, both as members of associations directed by men, and as founders and managers of their own independent organisations. Little has been written primarily about FHT and the relief operation in Finnmark. This thesis breaks new academic ground, offering a significant development to the extant literature by considering a nation not normally thought of as a recipient of relief, providing a counterbalance to the white, 'first world' view of the global south as the place of neediness and filling an important gap in the history of indigenous aid.

²³⁴ Wolf Mendl, *Prophets and Reconcilers: Reflections on the Quaker Peace Testimony* (London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1974), 44.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS, SOURCES AND CHALLENGES

3.1: Introduction

This chapter examines the methodological issues raised by the need to work with primary sources generated by a range of different organisations. It considers the challenges of working with material in several languages, of the loss of documents and of the limitations on the scope of research imposed by constraints of time and funding. It reviews ethical issues and my positionality as the author of the thesis.

3.2: Methods and sources

The most easterly part of Finnmark had been liberated by Soviet forces in October 1944, but the rest of the country remained under occupation until the Nazi capitulation in May 1945 brought freedom to the entire country. As has been outlined, northern Norway was laid waste by the retreating German forces. FHT led a small-scale relief project in Finnmark in the years 1946 and 1947 and this thesis seeks to reconstruct their work in northern Norway from source material consisting largely of contemporary documents. While much that is relevant to FHT's work in the north survives, the primary sources present a number of methodological challenges, which are considered in this section. A multiplicity of archive sources has meant that it has not always been possible to spend as much time working with individual archives as could have been wished, and that not all could be consulted within the limits imposed by considerations of time, funding and the Coronavirus pandemic. The languages of the primary sources have also had implications for the research. The archives of the three Scandinavian organisations involved – FHT, FHA and IAL – are

overwhelmingly in Norwegian, Danish and Swedish respectively, with the implications that has for an English mother-tongue researcher, even one with competence in Norwegian which confers the ability to read the other two Scandinavian languages. The archives of the British and American organisations – the FAU PWS, the IVSP and the AFSC – are in English while KVT's are in Finnish. The surviving FHT archive is relatively extensive but a very great deal of other material about the organisation and its work in Finnmark has been lost. Staff at the archives and libraries visited in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Britain have been uniformly helpful but working with the primary material has shown that not all sites have had the resources necessary to catalogue the relevant holdings in equal detail. It is frequently difficult to ascribe dates and authorship to documents. A few of the relatively small number of handwritten documents are exceedingly difficult to decipher. There is also the issue of the degree to which the primary sources can be regarded as reliable. The section explores the nature of the archives used and reflects on these challenges.

Archives examined

Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT]

Some 30 years after the war, Sigrid Helliesen Lund gave her FHT papers (the extant FHT archive – see below for details of the loss of other material) to Inez Boon Ulfsby, who used them in writing her book, 'A helping hand to Finnmark' [*Et håndslag til Finnmark*].¹ The archive, with minor later additions (see below) was subsequently deposited in the Norwegian National Archives [*Riksarkivet* – NNA] in Oslo.² Following

¹ Ulfsby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand], 8.

² Arkivportalen: Arkivverket Riksarkivet, 'PA-1487 – Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste,' n.d., accessed 19 August 2019, <https://www.arkivportalen.no/entity/no-a1450-01000000007275?ins=RA>. It should be noted that Inez Boon Ulfsby is referred to as Inez Boon on the web page referenced, a name change

an initial two-week visit in September 2014, I continued the examination of the documents over four weeks in May-June 2015. It is clear that the papers have been reviewed after receipt in the Archives. Folders contain material linked by date, such as correspondence referring to FHT's activities in 1946, and by document type, such as the extensive file of reports and the less formal documents preferred by FHT to formal reports (3.3). It seems unlikely that any documents have been discarded, given that a very limited number are present in the same folder in multiple copies.³ Additional papers relating to a Dane, John (or Jon) Hansen, a Danish Quaker, were deposited in 2015.⁴ He expressed an interest in post-war relief work in northern Norway, but, in spite of a journey in person to northern Norway in mid-1945 — a journey Myrtle Wright criticised as 'unfortunate...where he used the Quaker name to get himself to the North for no reason at all' — he had no contact with FHT.⁵ The documents relate to his contacts with Norwegians and not to FHT's relief project in

made subsequent to the publication of her 1982 book. The FHT archive cited has been accessed many times earlier during the course of the research. However, more recent access information is given following a restructuring of the Norwegian National Archives' website.

³ For example, 1946-03 Rapport 1 [Report 1] Anne Marie Lund [and] Per Lund [-Rapport nr. 10 [Report no. 10]], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003, is a series of 10 reports dated between 1 and 23 March 1946. Each report is also filed separately in the same folder.

⁴ 1945-07-02 Sverre Hoëm to H[er]r Distriktpolitisjefen Tromsø [District Chief of Police, Tromsø], FHT archive, F-L0005 0005. Hansen himself used the form 'John' (see 1945-07-06 'Ankommet marinefly Trondheim' [Have arrived by seaplane Trondheim], FHT archive, F-L0005 0005). Sverre Hoëm used the form 'Jon'. Arkivportalen: Arkivverket Riksarkivet, 'PA-1487 – Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste,' n.d., accessed 25 September 2019, <https://www.arkivportalen.no/entity/no-a1450-0100000007275?ins=RA>. Click the heading 'Hierarki' [Hierarchy] towards the foot of the web page to view detailed information about dates of deposit.

⁵ 1945-07-10 Hålogaland biskop [Hålogaland bishop] to Johan Hansen, FHT archive, F-L0005 0005. 1945-08-30 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred [Tritton], 2, Library of the Society of Friends (hereafter LSF), FSC/SC/1/4. {Myrtle Wright is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Only the first name of the recipient is given. The content of the document makes clear that he was involved in working with the British Friends Relief Service and Friends Service Council, and at the date of the letter was in Scandinavia. That the recipient was Fred Tritton is supported by the fact that Fred Tritton is recorded as having reported on a trip to Scandinavia to a meeting of the Friends Service Council Europe Committee in October 1945 (see 1945-10-26 Friends Service Council Europe Committee, minute 57, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC Friends Service Council: Europe Committee Minutes, 1945).} Myrtle Wright was trapped in Norway during much of the country's Nazi occupation and became closely involved in FHT's work in Finnmark (3.1). She did not explain why she considered John Hansen's trip to northern Norway to be 'unfortunate'.

northern Norway. It was possible to examine the entire FHT archive and to take over 1,500 photographs of documents for later and more detailed study. A limited amount of material, identified in the Regional State Archives in Stavanger [*Statsarkivet i Stavanger*], was added to the NNA's FHT holdings in 2017. A supplementary archive trip to examine the additional material, planned for 2020, had to be cancelled because of restrictions imposed as a consequence of the Coronavirus pandemic.

Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA]

The FHA archive, housed in the Danish National Archives [*Rigsarkivet – DNA*], consists of the papers from the founding of FHA in 1943.⁶ The DNA's holdings run from 1944 to 1995, with the period 1944-1947 being relevant to FHA's work in Finnmark. Even within the limited early period there is a very great deal of material, not least as FHA increasingly worked in countries other than Denmark and Norway.

Care was taken to select as far as possible documents that related to FHA's establishment and to its Norwegian work. Archive boxes frequently contain more than one file, each of the latter having apparently been numbered within the MS organisation. Archival judgement seems to have been exercised in the arrangement

⁶ The organisation changed its name to Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke [ActionAid Denmark – MS] in 1949 (see Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke. 'MS' historie' [MS's history]. n.d., accessed 9 April 2019, <https://www.ms.dk/om-ms/historie>). The listing in the Danish National Archives' online catalogue records the official name as being 'Fredsvennernes [*sic*] Hjælpearbejde' from 1944 to 1946 changing to 'Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke' from 1946 (see Rigsarkivet: Daisy, 'Arkivskaber: Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke,' n.d., accessed 11 May 2018, https://www.sa.dk/daisy/arkivskabers_arkivserier?a=mellempfolkeligt+samvirke&b=&c=&d=1&e=2018&f=&g=&h=&ngid=1494596&ngnid=1494606&heid=&henid=&epid=&faid=&meid=&m2rid=&side=&sort=&dir=&gsc=&int=&ep=&es=&ed=). However, the form 'Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde' is used in the history of FHA's first 20 years (Kjeld Juul, *Mod nye grænser: fra europæisk genopbygning til u-landssamarbejde* [Towards new borders: from European reconstruction to co-operation with developing countries], ([Copenhagen]: Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke, 2002), 14). I have, therefore, elected to use the form the organisation itself used at the time.

of files. Within a given box they are frequently not sequentially numbered, suggesting that there has been a conscious choice to store files containing related material together.

The material examined includes many documents of direct relevance to the presence of FHA volunteers in Finnmark, both before FHT's presence there and as part of its work. For example, there are lists of groups of volunteers sent to work in Norway, correspondence between the FHA office in Copenhagen and relief workers in Finnmark, reports from those workers back to Copenhagen, issues of the FHA newsletter and examples of correspondence between FHT and FHA, although these last are usually between individuals associated with the Norwegian organisation rather than from the FHT office.⁷ In spite of two week-long archive visits, both using the maximum opening hours of the Copenhagen reading room of three and a half days a week, there was insufficient time to examine all the material selected as being potentially relevant, although much was covered in the time available and over 1,000 photographs of documents were taken away for further detailed study.

⁷ The following documents are cited as examples of the categories to which reference is made. [1946-07] 'Fortegnelse over hjælpearbejdere udsent af FHA pr. 6.-7.-46 i Norge' [List of FHA relief workers in Norway as at 6.-7.-46], Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke archive (hereafter MS archive), 27-28, folder 20. {The list, which is undated, gives names of FHA relief workers in Norway as at 6 July 1946. It is reasonable to assume that it was produced some time during that month. Where a document is undated but it is possible to establish approximately when it was produced, the ascribed date will be given in square brackets as with the [1946-07] document cited here.} 1946-07-19 Hanne Zeuthen to Kamma Aakjær, MS archive, 38-39, folder 21. 1946-10-10 Rapport fra 8. Finnmarkshold [*sic*] [Report from 8th Finnmark team], MS archive, 31-32, folder 4. 1946-06-15 'FHA nr. 6 1946 15. Juni' [FHA no. 6 1946 15th June], MS archive, 27-28, folder 37. 1946-05-04 Hanne Zeuthen to Sigrid Helliesen Lund, MS archive, 31-32, folder 3. 1946-07-13 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to FHA, MS archive, 31-32, folder 3.

Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL]

The IAL archive, preserved in the Swedish National Archive [*Riksarkivet* – SNA], is also very extensive.⁸ It consists of material from 1942 to 1996, with the period 1944-1947 being relevant to IAL's participation in FHT's work in Finnmark. As with the FHA archive, there is a great deal of information surviving from that early period and, like the Danish organisation, the Swedish one was active in work to help people in a range of countries.

Care was taken to try to select as far as possible material that relates to IAL's work to support FHT's relief project in Finnmark. There are examples of the organisation's newsletter, of circular letters sent to its volunteers working in different locations and of letters between volunteers in northern Norway and IAL in Stockholm. There are also letters to and from private and public bodies, frequently seeking financial contributions or gifts in kind to help with the support IAL gave to FHT. It seems clear that the IAL holdings have been reviewed within the SNA, making it straightforward to examine and, where relevant, photograph the contents for later, closer examination. Folders are grouped in archive boxes according to topic and the documents are usually, but not invariably, in date order. No correspondence from or to FHT was found and very little from or to FHA. It is notable that there are very few sets of minutes in the period, virtually none of which is relevant to FHT's work in Finnmark. Such sets as exist are not kept together but are filed with other papers. A small number of documents show slight signs of fire damage so some records may have

⁸ Riksarkivet, 'Sök i arkiven' [Look in the archive], n.d., accessed 9 July 2018, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad?Sokord=ial&EndastDigitaliserat=false&BegransaPaTitelEllerNamn=false&Arkivinstitution=&Typ=&Huvudkategori=&Ik=Ladda+kategorier&DatumFran=&DatumTill=&AvanceradSok=False&typAvLista=Standard>.

been lost. It was possible to devote only one week of five working days to examination of the IAL archives. While I was able to examine all the material identified prior to my visit as likely to be relevant, it is possible that other parts of the IAL archive that could not be examined because of funding and time constraints might have been useful to the research. However, the work in the archive resulted in over 200 photographs of documents for further detailed examination.

Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service [FAU PWS]

The Library of the Society of Friends in London houses the archive of the FAU during the First and Second World Wars, and the archive of the later FAU PWS and its successor, the FAU International Service, the latter two of which operated from 1946 to 1948 and 1948 to 1959 respectively.⁹ The archives of the FAU in the First World War are catalogued in full. The extensive Second World War archives are sorted and indexed at topic level, which enables the identification of a great deal of useful and interesting material but can mean that tracing specific categories of documents is not always straightforward. In 2019 it was announced that the Wellcome Trust was to fund a project that 'aims to catalogue, preserve, and promote the papers of the Friends Ambulance Unit (1939-1946).'¹⁰ However, this thesis will not benefit from the fruits of the exercise. Restrictions imposed as a consequence of the Coronavirus pandemic meant that a final archive trip to the Library of the Society of Friends had to

⁹ Bush, *FAU: The Third Generation*, 9, 29, 87.

¹⁰ Quaker Strongrooms, 'Creating a World without War: New Project to Open Up World War Two Research Materials,' 2019, accessed 10 September 2019, <https://quakerstrongrooms.org/2019/09/05/creating-a-world-without-war-new-project-to-open-up-world-war-two-research-materials/>.

be cancelled, although over 400 images of documents of relevance to the FAU PWS and the Friends Service Council (see below) had been captured on previous visits.

Friends Service Council [FSC]

The FSC archive is also housed in the Library of the Society of Friends. The FSC undertook work in which, for British Quakers, 'relief work and peacemaking became the primary focal points of mission.'¹¹ While the FSC was not involved in the relief work in Finnmark, Myrtle Wright started to work for them in the interwar years (4.1) and FSC minutes confirm the Council's indirect support for her during her enforced stay in Norway from 1940 to 1944.¹² In addition, the files contain correspondence between her and the Council, not least in the period between her escape from occupied Norway in 1944 and the end of FHT's work in 1947.

Archives not examined

Constraints imposed by time and funding have meant that material in a number of archives either could not be examined during a personal visit or could not be examined at all.

Although funding issues and lack of time made it impractical to travel to examine the AFSC archive in Philadelphia, the Archivist, Don Davis, kindly supplied electronic copies of a number of documents relevant to the research and confirmed that the

¹¹ Jacalynn Stuckey Welling, 'Mission,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 313.

¹² 1941-09-15 Friends Service Council Europe Committee, minute 144, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC Friends Service Council: Europe Committee Minutes, 1941.

holdings regarding the participation of American volunteers in FHT's Finnmark project are not extensive.¹³

The archives of the IVSP pose a different challenge. Now housed in the Hull History Centre, the material had to be hastily preserved from loss when the relevant office of the International Voluntary Service, as it was known by then, was closed at 48 hours' notice in 1991. The archive, consisting of 83 boxes (25 linear metres) of material covering a period from the 1920s to the 1990s, has yet to be catalogued.¹⁴ That being the case, there seemed little prospect of being able to identify material relevant to the participation of two British IVSP volunteers in the Finnmark work in the limited time that would have been available so the archive was not examined.

I had hoped to work with archive material in the Museum of Reconstruction for Finnmark and Northern Troms [*Gjenreisningsmuseet for Finnmark og Nord-Troms*] in Hammerfest in Finnmark to enhance my understanding of local people's experience during the Second World War, forced evacuation and the subsequent reconstruction period and, if possible, garner greater insight into their reaction to FHT's presence and work in the county.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the material was unavailable for a period because of a building project at the Museum and plans for a later visit had to be

¹³ 2015-10-21, Don Davis, Archivist, AFSC, email message.

¹⁴ Hull History Centre, 'International Voluntary Service archive: 1920s-1990s,' n.d., accessed 23 August 2019, <http://catalogue.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/files/u-divs.pdf>.

¹⁵ The Museum of Reconstruction is now part of the Museums for Coastal Heritage and Reconstruction for Finnmark (see Museene for kystkultur og gjenreisning i Finnmark IKS, 'The Museum of Reconstruction for Finnmark and Northern Troms,' 2021, accessed 15 January 2021, <https://www.kystmuseene.no/?cat=107297>).

cancelled because of restrictions imposed as a consequence of the Coronavirus pandemic.

It is possible that some of the deficiencies in the FHT archive noted above could be remedied by consulting the extensive archive of the Finnmark Office [*Finnmarkskontoret*], the body administratively responsible for leading the reconstruction of Finnmark and northern Troms.¹⁶ The material, which is in the Regional State Archives in Tromsø [*Statsarkivet i Tromsø*], is part of the very much larger archive of the Chief Administrative Officer in Finnmark [*Amtmannen/fylkesmannen i Finnmark*], containing material from the late 1580s to the late 1900s.¹⁷ The files relating to the reconstruction of Finnmark are detailed on pages 297-388 of a 389-page document which lists the contents of the entire archive up to 1989. Much that is relevant to the reconstruction of Finnmark refers to a period later than FHT's presence in the county. In addition, the way in which the material is catalogued – by district, by administrative function or by different categories of work, for example – would make an attempt to identify correspondence between the Finnmark Office and a small-scale relief project very difficult, time-consuming and expensive in terms of associated travel and accommodation. Consequently, the decision was taken on practical grounds that the archive should not be examined.

¹⁶ NSD Forvaltningsdatabasen, 'Finnmarkskontoret i Harstad' [The Finnmark Office in Harstad], n.d., accessed 14 April 2021, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/polsys/data/forvaltning/enhet/10204/endingshistorie>.

¹⁷ Arkivverket Statsarkiv i Tromsø, '1 - Amtmannen/Fylkesmannen i Finnmark: Arkivet SATØ/S-1120/1' [1 – Council leader/council leader in Finnmark: Archive SATØ/S-1120/1], n.d., accessed 25 September 2019, <https://www.arkivportalen.no/entity/no-a1450-09000000135049>.

KVT, founded in Finland in 1947 (4.3), still exists and there is no reason to assume that its archive has not been preserved.¹⁸ The material would be in Finnish, a language of which I have very little knowledge. While it would be possible to have relevant material translated, it would be extraordinarily difficult first to identify documents that were of sufficient relevance to merit translation. Given the fact that only two Finnish volunteers joined FHT's work in northern Norway for a short period in the summer of 1947 (6.4 and Appendix 1), I judged that trying to locate and examine the archive would not be an appropriate use of time and funding.

The Danish organisation, Teknisk Hjælpe Kolonne [Technical Relief Group – THK], was active in Finnmark at the same time as FHA and, later, FHT, although the organisation seems to have been short-lived. FHA expressed doubts about THK's aims and the way in which it selected its volunteers (5.2).¹⁹ The Finnmark Office asked Sigrid Helliesen Lund whether FHT could provide support for the Danish organisation but it is not clear whether such an arrangement was ever put in place.²⁰ The DNA hold a very small archive about the organisation which I had hoped to consult during my second visit.²¹ Unfortunately, a lengthy delivery period for the

¹⁸ KVT Kansaivälinen vapaaehtoinen ry, 'KVT – an international peace organisation,' n.d., accessed 11 December 2020, <https://www.kvtfinland.org/en/what-is-kvt/>.

¹⁹ 1945-09-22 H[agbard] Jonassen to Diderich Lund, 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0001. {The letter is on FHA headed paper so it is reasonable to assume that the sender is Hagbard Jonassen, one of FHA's founders (see Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 8-9).}

²⁰ 1946-07-12 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontorets sosiale avdeling [the Finnmark Office Social Department], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. It is clear that the letter was written in response to one from the Finnmark Office of 8 July 1946 but there is no copy of the earlier letter in the FHT archive.

²¹ Rigsarkivet: Daisy, 'Arkiveskaber eller arkivserie: Teknisk Hjælpe Kolonne' [Archive creator or archive series: Technical Relief Group], n.d., accessed 24 August 2018, https://www.sa.dk/daisy/arkivskaber_eller_arkivserie_liste?d=1&e=2016&c=Teknisk_Hjælpe_Kolonne.

material meant that it was not available during my second session in the Archives, and funding and time constraints precluded a third visit to the Copenhagen facility.

Section summary

While practical constraints imposed by time, funding and a global pandemic have to some degree set a limit on archive visits, most of those planned were conducted prior to pandemic-related travel restrictions. While it seems that a sizeable proportion of FHT's archive material has been lost (see below), the multinational nature of the Finnmark relief work brought with it the benefit of consulting material generated by the various participating organisations. Visits to archives in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Britain, together with material kindly supplied from the AFSC Archive, enabled the collection and examination of a robust evidence base for the research that is the subject of this thesis.

3.3: Primary sources: challenges encountered

Multilingual primary sources

Most of the FHT archive documents are written in Norwegian, as are the two main published sources (see 'Published material' below), with some in Swedish, and a few in Danish and English. The FHA archive is overwhelmingly in Danish with the IAL archive being almost exclusively in Swedish. Although English is my mother tongue, as noted above I have sufficient competence in Norwegian to be able to work productively with the Norwegian material. Given the close similarities between the three Scandinavian languages, I can do likewise with Swedish and Danish documents, although reading documents in Swedish and Danish is a slower and

more demanding process than reading in Norwegian. In addition, there are nuances in all three Scandinavian languages that are not clear to a non-native speaker, particularly in view of the lapse of time between when the documents were written and the present, and the changes in linguistic and societal norms over the period. That being the case, quotations in the text from Scandinavian language material, all of which are my translations unless noted otherwise, are given in the original in the relevant footnote so that the reader can, if wished, check the accuracy of the English version. The archives of the FAU PWS, the FSC and the AFSC are in English. Language issues arising in connection with the archive of the Finnish organisation, KVT, are discussed above.

Loss of material

FHT's Kvalsund archive

Kvalsund was FHT's main work camp in Finnmark (5.3) and by late July 1946, barely two months after FHT's arrival, had become the place where most of FHT's administrative work was undertaken.²² On 18 May 1947, one of the huts used by the FHT in Kvalsund was destroyed by fire. It had been used for a range of purposes: accommodating female volunteers and the girls attending vocational courses offered by FHT; providing space for storing equipment and educational materials; and housing FHT's administrative office. No-one was hurt but the greater part of the contents was lost. All the office paperwork was destroyed and the main archive that has survived is the FHT papers that belonged to Sigrid Helliesen Lund.²³ She was in

²² 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²³ 1947-05-26 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. (The name Lolo Tresvig is given in 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT

Finmark for approximately two months in the summer of 1946, followed by a visit of probably two weeks in November of that year, another two weeks in May 1947 and an unknown period of time probably in September 1947 in order to close down FHT's work in the north.²⁴ She was ultimately responsible for FHT, and documents in the surviving archive evidence her continuing interest and involvement in the work even while at home in Oslo.²⁵

FHT's office correspondence

FHT rented office space in Gyldenløvesgate, Oslo, and employed two paid staff, later reduced to one.²⁶ A small number of documents in the surviving FHT archive were clearly produced in the office, such as letters typed on headed paper and signed by an individual known to have been working in the office at the time.²⁷ Otherwise, there

archive, F-L0001 0004. Karen-Elise Tresvig is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. Astrid Foss is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

²⁴ 1946-05-27 FHT Møte den 27. mai 1946 hos Sigrid Helliesen Lund [FHT Meeting on 27th May 1946 at Sigrid Helliesen Lund's house], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2] FHT, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-10-30 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-11-29 FHT møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1947-03-22 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 23 and 5 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-08-29 Referat fra styremøte [Minutes from the management committee], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

²⁵ For example, she was eager to receive regular news from Finnmark (see 1946-09-30 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender's name is not given. However, the sender's address is 'Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen, Aker', which was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's home (see Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 32). Edith is almost certainly Edith Østlyngen, then in charge of administration at Kvalsund (see 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946).} When FHT's time in Finnmark was coming to an end, Sigrid Helliesen Lund discussed with the authorities the possibility of their taking over provision of vocational courses in Finnmark (5.4).

²⁶ 1946-05-27 FHT Møte den 27. mai 1946 hos Sigrid Helliesen Lund [FHT Meeting on 27th May 1946 at Sigrid Helliesen Lund's house], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1947-02-16 SHL [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The initials 'S.H.L.' are handwritten at the end of the document. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with those initials identifiable in the archive material. See footnote 25 for the identity of the recipient.}

²⁷ 1946-06-26 Signe [Hirsch Gill] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Signe Hirsch Gill is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. See footnote 23 for the identity of the recipient.} See 1946-05-27 FHT Møte den 27. mai 1946 hos Sigrid Helliesen Lund [FHT

is a striking lack of the office correspondence that would have been produced by an organisation that had to communicate frequently with government bodies about issues such as obtaining permission for foreign volunteers to enter the country, and for the sending of volunteers and equipment to Finnmark. There would also have been correspondence with the partner organisations whose volunteers were travelling to, working in and returning from northern Norway, and documents detailing financial transactions. That such material has been lost is seen in copies of FHT-generated correspondence that are preserved in FHA's archives, but not in FHT's, and in the preserved copies of equivalent documents produced by FHA itself, even allowing for the fact that FHA's volunteers were working in several different countries in the immediate post-war period making the Danish operation rather larger scale than was the case with its Norwegian counterpart.²⁸

FAU PWS reports

It is known that the FAU PWS group in Finnmark sent fortnightly reports to the organisation's London office, presumably based on the reports that FAU PWS men sent regularly to their FAU PWS colleagues in Kvalsund.²⁹ Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify the former in the extensive FAU holdings in the Library of the Society of Friends. The documents were probably lost or destroyed as Myrtle Radley (née Wright) mentioned that she could not locate them in the Library papers

Meeting on 27th May 1946 at Sigrid Helliesen Lund's house], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004 for confirmation that Signe Hirsch Gill was employed in the FHT office at the time.

²⁸ 1946-06-27 Ruth Haüer to FHA, MS archive, 64-65, Folder 101. [1946-12] 'Fortegnelse over de Hjælpere der er ude i Øjeblikket 18/12-46' [List of the volunteers who are in service at the moment 18/12-46], MS archive, 38-39, folder 21.

²⁹ 1947-01-07 FAU Report on the work in Finnmark, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-09-03 'Circ[ular] 10,' 1, and 1946-09-24 'Circ[ular] 13,' 1, both documents LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

in the 1970s.³⁰ However, a set of the reports that were circulated by the FAU PWS group to all the British volunteers in Finnmark was preserved by Rollo Woods, one of the FAU PWS men, and is now lodged in the Library of the Society of Friends.³¹

Deficiencies in the surviving FHT archive

The surviving FHT archive is informative and allows a reasonably clear picture of the organisation and its activities to be developed, but its deficiencies are clear.

Infrequent or apparently non-existent reports mean that it can be difficult or, at times, impossible to reconstruct what was being done by whom, when, and in which locations. It is probable that some information was recorded in Kvalsund only with no copies elsewhere to survive the May 1947 fire.

There are a few documents that show efforts being made in the late 1970s and the early 1980s to contact people who had worked with FHT in Finnmark in order to gather recollections of the relief work and eight other documents appear to be responses from former volunteers.³² The reminiscences, together with documents

³⁰ 1977-10-19 Myrtle [Radley] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {See footnotes 5 and 23 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Myrtle Wright married Philip Radley in 1951 (see Radley Charitable Trust, 'The Radleys,' n.d., accessed 19 August 2019, <https://www.radleycharitabletrust.org.uk/the-radleys/>).

³¹ Rollo Woods papers, LSF, MSS 1045. The documents were deposited in the Library following Rollo Woods's death. I am very grateful that he lent them to me in 2016.

³² 1977-05-11 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Signe Hirsch Gill, Anne Margrethe Mökleby, Edith Högevold, Lollo og [and] Knud Larsen, Cecile og [and] Jock Murphy, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {No sender's name is given. The address, 'Meltzersgate 3, Oslo', is the flat to which Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Diderich Lund moved in the 1960s (see Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 199-200). 'Lollo' is a variant spelling of 'Lolo' (Karen-Elise Tresvig), a Norwegian FHT volunteer who subsequently married Knud Larsen, a Danish FHT volunteer (see [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001 {The document is not dated. It is a report on FHT's activities in 1948 the first sentence of which makes clear that it was written late that year.}). See footnote 23 for the identification of 'Lolo' as Karen-Elise Tresvig.} 1977-10-19 Myrtle [Radley] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {See footnotes 5 and 23 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} The content of the first part of the letter makes clear that both writer and sender are working to assemble recollections of FHT's work in Finnmark from people who participated. n.d. 'Some

retained by Sigrid Helliesen Lund, were to provide material for Ulfsby's book, 'A helping hand to Finnmark' [*Et håndslag til Finnmark*].³³ One document suggests that the 'letters and reports' had lain undisturbed since the 1940s – 'Since that period we have been asked many times to write down something about what the Friends of Peace were involved in, letters and reports have lain there and waited to be used.'³⁴

memories of Finnmark 1945,' FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document gives no name and is undated. '(W. David Wills)' is handwritten at the top right-hand corner of the first page. On the second page of the document, the writer recounts an episode when a Danish volunteer and he worked together in Finnmark to level a plot of land so that a house could be built on it. The relevant passage in the document is virtually identical to a passage in David Wills' unpublished autobiography (see W. David Wills, 'Autobiography: Part Three: Fulfilment,' 206-207, David Wills Archive, PP/WDW 3B1/1, Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archives and Special Collections, The Mulberry Bush Third Space). It is reasonable to assume that the document in the FHT archive was written by David Wills. However, the date of 1945 given in the document heading is incorrect. FHT was in Finnmark in 1946 and 1947 only, and David Wills was in Finnmark May-August 1946 (see 1946-06-08 'FAU Disposition of Personnel,' LSF Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045 and n.d 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004).} 1977-10 'Finnmark – More of David Wills' Reminiscences,' FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. 1980-05-23 'Hågkomster fra Finnmarken' [Recollections from Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document seems not to have been dated by Edgar Johansson, one of the Swedish volunteers in Finnmark, although he signed it. His name and the date given here have been written at the top of the first page in a hand that appears to be different from that of the signature. The year, 1980, accords with the content of the first sentence of the text in which the writer mentions recalling events 34 years after the summer of 1946. The writer's three fellow shoe-mending volunteers are identified in the document only by their first names. However, their nationality is given as English and each is the only British volunteer with the relevant first name identifiable in the archive material. Edgar Johansson's recollections are confirmed in 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], '5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.} 1980-07 'Some memories of FHT in Finnmark,' FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. n.d. 'FHT i Finnmark hadde, som navnet antyder,' [FHT in Finnmark had, as the name suggests], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {There is no name or date on the document. 'Signe' is handwritten in the top left-hand corner of the first page, so the document may have been written by Signe Hirsch Gill, the only individual with that name identifiable in the archive material. She was Norwegian and spent July and August 1946 in Finnmark as the FHT leadership's representative there. The writer makes clear on the fourth page that he or she is Norwegian but there is no more information about his or her identity.} n.d. 'Relief Project in Finnmark, North Norway (FHT): Notes and Reminiscences from Myrtle (Wright) Radley,' FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' FHT archive, F-L0003 0002.

³³ Ulfsby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand].

³⁴ n.d. 'FHT. Ryktene svirret rundt oss' [FHT. The rumours swirled around us], 5-6, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {There is no name or date on the document. The wording is nearly but not quite identical to that of Sigrid Helliesen Lund's foreword to Ulfsby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand]. The document refers specifically (p6) to Inez Boon Ulfsby's work in gathering and working on the material so it is likely that the document was written in the late 1970s or early 1980s.} 'Mange ganger siden den tiden er vi blitt bedt om å skrive ned noe av det som Fredvennenes var med på, brev og rapporter har ligget der og ventet på å bli brukt.'

Reports

In a letter to the Finnmark Office dated 12 July 1946, Sigrid Helliesen Lund undertook that FHT would submit fortnightly reports about the work done in Kvalsund and the other camps, which were located in central and western Finnmark county (5.3 and Figure 5.2). Copies of all other correspondence had clearly been requested in a letter from the Finnmark Office that has not survived in the FHT archive. Sigrid explained that communications between FHT and relief workers would be inappropriate for submission to a public office because, by deliberate choice, they were not to be written according to business conventions but as personal letters in order to build friendships between individuals. However, she agreed that copies of letters from FHT to local reconstruction officials or to people requesting help would be copied to the Finnmark Office.³⁵

There are four formal, numbered reports dated 1946 in the archive which collated and summarised work being done across the different FHT locations.³⁶ It seems likely that the four, which were produced at irregular intervals over a period of four months, were submitted to the Finnmark Office. There are other reports, not numbered, at least some of which may have been submitted to the reconstruction authorities. For example, one covered the period 14-26 July 1946, when Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright visited several of the smaller work camps to find

³⁵ 1946-07-12 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontorets sosiale avdeling [the Finnmark Office's Social Department], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

³⁶ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2] FHT, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-09-20 Rapport nr. 3 [Report no. 3] FHT, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4 FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

out how the volunteers and their efforts were progressing, and whether there might be other places that would benefit from voluntary assistance.³⁷ The document was factual, identified when work was going well and when there were difficulties to be resolved, and might well have been sent to the Finnmark Office. A final report, drafted in 1948, summarised the work undertaken in Finnmark in 1947 and also included a brief description of relief work in Germany to which FHT had contributed.³⁸ It is not known whether other reports, which did not survive the May 1947 fire, were written and submitted to the Finnmark Office. On the basis of the existing evidence, it is clear that the aim of submitting fortnightly reports to the Office was not achieved. However, letters were sent, sometimes as frequently as once a week but occasionally at much longer intervals, from Kvalsund to Oslo reporting on FHT's labours in Finnmark. Given what Sigrid Helliesen Lund had written in the 12 July 1946 letter to the Finnmark Office referred to above, it seems highly unlikely that those documents were copied to the authorities.

In the first of the numbered reports referred to above, it was made clear that, when a group had established a work camp in a given location, the leader was to send a report to the Kvalsund camp every fortnight.³⁹ Even if it is assumed that that was a council of perfection and might not have been adhered to in practice, there are considerably fewer surviving reports than might have been expected. It should be noted that, in the context of the individual work camps, 'report' is a term to be

³⁷ 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

³⁸ [1948] 'FHT 1948,' FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 32 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

³⁹ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

interpreted loosely. Sigrid Helliessen Lund's explanation to the Finnmark Office, referred to above, that internal FHT communications were deliberately informal is clearly reflected in the surviving documents, many of which take the form of personal letters.⁴⁰ There are four camps for which no reports exist in the FHT archive: Hammerfest, Havøysund, Ifjord and Kåfjord. Information about the four has to be gleaned from other material in the archives.⁴¹ For example, a short letter, handwritten by one of the Danish volunteers who worked at Kåfjord, survives in the FHA archive.⁴² While there is no formal account of tasks undertaken in Hasvik, the sole volunteer who worked there, a Swedish man, sent a reasonably detailed letter describing a typical working day.⁴³ The number and frequency of reports from the other main camps (Alta, Børselv, Karasjok, Kjøllefjord, Kvalsund, Lakselv, Lebesby, Repvågstrand, Russenes and Talvik) varied considerably, from a single report from Karasjok, where the FHT involvement lasted only two months, to seven from Lakselv, where FHT worked for five months.⁴⁴ The style of the reports also shows considerable variation, ranging from an illustrated handwritten letter from Repvågstrand to a brief typewritten report from Lakselv that lists the volunteers

⁴⁰ 1946-09-29 'Repvågstrand,' FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 25 and 5 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

⁴¹ A newsletter produced by and for the FHT volunteers in Finnmark was issued 12 times between July 1946 and March 1947. The first six were entitled 'Prøvekluten' [The Guinea Pig] and the second six 'Byggaren' [The Builder]. The first issue of 'Prøvekluten' is undated but gave details of the number of volunteers in the different work camps on 12 July (see n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [sic] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], 6, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). A number of the camps mentioned, such as Karasjok, operated in 1946 only. The remaining 11 issues of the newsletter are all dated. See FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

⁴² 1946-09-15 Jörgen Markussen to FHA, MS archive, 31-32, folder 4.

⁴³ [1946] 'En dag såsom arbeidschef i gjenreisningen' [A day managing reconstruction work], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {The document is not dated. However, it is signed 'Pelle Wallin'. Pelle is a diminutive for Per and Per Wallin is the only individual with that family name identifiable from the archive material. In n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004, Per Wallin is listed as having been in Finnmark from 19 June to 3 October 1946. The document content refers to events happening in the present so it is reasonable to date the document to 1946.}

⁴⁴ See 5.3 for a discussion of main and subsidiary camps.

currently stationed there by nationality, the local individuals whom they were helping, the relevant locations and the tasks being undertaken.⁴⁵ There are no reports from the subsidiary camps near Kvalsund (Danielsvik, Klubbukt, Kokelv, Repparfjorddalen, Saraby, Skjåholmen, Stallogargo, Storbukt and Torskefjord) where volunteers worked for short periods.

In spite of the lack of surviving reports from the various camps, the numbered reports which covered the totality of FHT's efforts in Finnmark include information about the numbers of volunteers in each place, often by nationality, and brief details of the projects being undertaken, although unfortunately no names are listed. The less formal reports and the letters that also covered all of the FHT projects are often more detailed in their description of conditions encountered by the FHT workers and some of them name the individuals stationed in the different locations which contributes towards reconstructing a picture of how at least some of the volunteers moved between tasks and places. Given the apparent infrequency with which other main camps reported to Kvalsund and the fact that the county's communications infrastructure was still being rebuilt, the movement of volunteers between main camps and Kvalsund must have been one of the ways in which information was brought to those likely to be drafting various documents which detail the volunteers' efforts.

Most groups had a typewriter, but there is no information as to whether group leaders were asked to submit only a single copy of reports or, perhaps, a top copy and one or

⁴⁵ 1946-09-29 'Repvågstrand,' FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-07-30 Rapport for Lakselv-gruppen for juni-juli 1946 [Report for the Lakselv group for June-July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

more carbon copies. If the practice was the former and if the people in Kvalsund were to be conscientious in sending copies of all reports to Sigrid Helliesen Lund in Oslo, considerable work would have been involved in doing the necessary retyping. The archive includes copies of documents which seem to have been retyped from an original but it would be understandable, given the circumstances of an organisation carrying out relief work, if retyping material to create additional copies had not been seen as a priority.⁴⁶

Information about volunteers and pupils on the vocational courses

As is discussed in more detail in Appendix 2, the FHT archive includes a card index which, while listing much useful information, does not give a wholly reliable overview of the volunteers who did, or did not, take part in FHT's work in Finnmark. The most detailed records in the index include the following eight items of information: name; date of birth; nationality; home address; occupation; the date on which the individual started working for FHT; the date on which the individual finished working for FHT; and the location(s) in Finnmark where the individual worked. However, only one includes all eight. A close analysis of other documents in the archive demonstrates the degree to which detail of where individual relief workers served and when was not recorded in the card index. In June 1946, less than a month after FHT volunteers first arrived in Finnmark, Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright, both in Kvalsund at the time, wrote to Signe Hirsch Gill who was then providing administrative support for FHT in Oslo.⁴⁷ One of the requests was that all changes regarding which individuals

⁴⁶ 1946-03-20 'Avskrift: Kjøllefjord, 20/3-46' [Copy: Kjøllefjord, 20/3-46], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁴⁷ 1946-06-18 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes footnotes 23 and 5 for the identities of the two senders and footnote 27 for the identity of the recipient.}

were in which camps should be recorded in the card index so that it was clear at all times where each relief worker was stationed. The evidence shows that the surviving card index is deficient in that regard. However, that may be a consequence of the fact that, by July 1946, FHT was largely being administered in Kvalsund.⁴⁸ Given the emphasis Sigrid Helliesen Lund placed on such record keeping, it is highly likely that there was a fuller and more accurate set of records of participants in the papers that were lost in the 1947 fire.

Even more notable is the lack in the existing archive of any listing of the young people who were students on the vocational courses run by FHT in Kvalsund in the autumn of 1946 and the spring and summer of 1947 (5.4). While the number of pupils was not high (for example, there were 22 during autumn 1946), it seems inconceivable that FHT in Kvalsund would not have had records of applications for places on the courses (it is known that there were over 100 applicants for the courses that were to start in January 1947), personal details of the students accepted, and information about their families and home addresses.⁴⁹ The names of a few of the young people and, for some of them, the locations of their homes can be

⁴⁸ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁴⁹ [1947] 'Det frivillige hjelpearbeidet i Nord-Norge' [Voluntary relief work in northern Norway], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The document is undated and there is no indication of who wrote it. However, there is a handwritten comment in the top right-hand corner of the first page, in what appears to be Sigrid Helliesen Lund's handwriting: 'Opplysninger gitt stortingsmann Teodor [sic] Broch i anledning Finnmarksdebatten 7 [sic] feb. 1947 i Stortinget' [Information given to Member of Parliament Teodor [sic] Broch on the occasion of the Finnmark debate 7 Feb[ruary] 1947 in Parliament]. Theodor Broch was a representative in the Norwegian Parliament for the country towns in the northern counties of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark for the period 1945-1949 (see Stortinget, 'Broch, Theodor (1904-1998),' n.d., accessed 13 October 2017, <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Representanter-og-komiteer/Representantene/Representantfordeling/Representant/?perid=THBR>.)}

gleaned from surviving documents, but no evidence survives to allow anything approaching a complete list to be compiled.

Difficulty in ascribing dates and authorship to some archive material

Many documents show clearly the date they were written and, if a letter, the address or location from which they were sent, with the names of the sender and the recipient.⁵⁰ However, there are significant numbers of documents for which that is not the case, with variation in the information which is lacking. It may be possible to assign a precise date to an undated document from its content but it is more probable that only an approximate date of composition can be determined.⁵¹ The month and day may be given but not the year, in which case mention within the document of names of volunteers present in Finnmark or of particular work projects in progress at the time may give the basis for assigning a year.⁵² Because of FHT's wish that internal reports should be informal and because most of the individuals

⁵⁰ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-09-20 Rapport nr. 3 [Report no. 3] FHT, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁵¹ [1946-07-19] 'Det første inntrykket av Finnmark' [The first impression of Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document is undated. However, there is a statement (p2) that 'i aften skal vi ha en festlig sammenkomst for konfirmantene og presten' [this evening we will have a party for the confirmands and the priest]. It is known that the confirmation service was held on Sunday 21 July 1946 (see 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, FHT F-L0001 0003). The FHT party was held on the preceding Friday (see [1946-07] 'Fredag: Kerstin stelt fru Mortensens baby...Lørdag...Søndag' [Friday: Kerstin looked after Mrs Mortensen's baby...Saturday...Sunday], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). {The [1946-07] document is undated. However, it makes clear that the party held by FHT in Kvalsund for the confirmands took place on the Friday, the events of which day are described in the document. Only one confirmation is mentioned in the archive material so it is reasonable to assume that the document was written in July 1946.} The sender's name is not given in the [1946-07-19] letter. However, she refers to being the Kvalsund camp housemother and leading the women's work. Else Bull is identified as having that role in 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.} [1946] 'En dag såsom arbeidschef i gjenreisningen' [A day managing reconstruction work], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {See footnote 43 for information about the date assigned to the document.}

⁵² [1946]-05-21 Myrtle [Wright] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {No year is given but it must be 1946 as the document makes clear that Myrtle Wright is travelling north by boat with a group that includes English volunteers (see 1946-06-08 Journal letter from Myrtle Wright, 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 for confirmation of the year of the letter). See footnotes 5 and 23 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

responsible for the overall management of the work in Finnmark knew each other before their involvement with FHT (4.1 and 4.4), letters frequently use first names only. Identifying the relevant people is usually straightforward because there is remarkably little duplication of names, especially first names, among the nearly 200 people who took part in whatever capacity. Some documents give no sender's name, but identification can be made from the address supplied. On others there is neither the sender's name nor an address, although the content together with information from another document enable a name to be assigned.⁵³ It is not always possible to assign a date other than in the broadest terms or to identify the sender of a given document.⁵⁴ As can be seen from the footnotes informing the text, establishing a date for a document or determining who the sender and/or the recipient were frequently necessitates reference to at least one other document and it is not unknown for aspects of the second document to call for verification by reference to a third document in order to ensure confidence in the claim being made.⁵⁵

⁵³ 1946-09-04 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Ole Olden, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named. However, the sender's address, 'Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen i Aker,' was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's home address (see Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 32).} 1946-07-27 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Sosialavdelingen, Finnmarkskontoret [Social Department, Finnmark Office], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The letter, a carbon copy, gives no sender's name or address. However, the sender states that he/she returned the previous day (ie, 26 July 1946) from a tour round 'some of our groups' [en del av våre grupper] and, specifically, had been in Kjøllefjord to resolve issues to do with the canteen service being run by a THK group there. The sender is almost certainly Sigrid Helliesen Lund (see 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the tour for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003, in which Sigrid Helliesen Lund, among other matters, reports on her trip to Kjøllefjord to resolve the issue to do with the canteen service being run by a THK group there).}

⁵⁴ n.d. 'FHT og dens arbeid i Finnmark' [FHT and its work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {The document gives no name and is undated. It mentions that volunteers came from Finland which means that the document could not have been written earlier than summer 1947 when the only two recorded Finnish volunteers worked with FHT in Finnmark (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Helle Ruge is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material and still known to be involved with the FHT work by 1947. There is no evidence that Anne Marie Lund, the only other identifiable Mrs Lund, was involved after her investigative tour of Finnmark with her husband, Per, on behalf of FHT in early 1946 (see 1946-03-16 FHT for Nord-Norge [FHT for north Norway], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.}).}

⁵⁵ See 1.2, footnote 6.

Difficulty in deciphering some handwritten documents

Most of the documents in the FHT archive are typewritten and legible, a not inconsiderable achievement for an organisation most of whose volunteers worked in small groups in remote areas in a region of the country that had been systematically laid waste. With relatively few exceptions, the documents are carbon copies, some of which are somewhat indistinct, in all likelihood having been produced using carbon paper that had been used rather longer than normally advisable, probably as a result of post-war shortages of materials.⁵⁶ The most significant difficulty in reading printed or typed text is encountered in a few issues of the FHT volunteers' newsletter in which the standard of reproduction varies from acceptable to so poor that, in the latter case, legibility is adversely affected.⁵⁷

Relatively small numbers of documents are handwritten and most can be read with little difficulty. However, there are a few the handwriting of which makes deciphering the content exceedingly difficult. This is most obvious in all but one of the reports in the FHT archive written from Børselv detailing work done there. Greta Anderson, a Swedish volunteer, led craft activities there from 1947 until well through 1948 and handwrote letters to Sigrid Helliesen Lund describing the work there.⁵⁸ Unfortunately, her handwriting is small and very difficult to read: it appears that her typewriter went

⁵⁶ 1946-08-28 'Circ[ular] 9,' 1, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. There is an apology in the document, sent from an FAU PWS member to members of the British contingent in other work camps, 'for the bad carbon copies which have been sent out. Our supplies of stationery are low and so each carbon must be completely "done in" before being disposed of as rubbish.'

⁵⁷ n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [sic] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1946-12-03 Prøvekluten nr. 6 [The Guinea Pig no. 6], FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

⁵⁸ [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 32 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

missing in transit.⁵⁹ It has not been possible to transcribe any of the letters in its entirety, which is unfortunate because the letters are lively, and they demonstrate that the volunteer valued the opportunity to try to help the community and was enjoying her contacts with local people. However, the sum of the information derived from the documents is diminished by the inability to decipher some of the detail.

Published material

Very little primary material has been published. In Sigrid Helliesen Lund's autobiography, 'Always on the move' [*Alltid underveis*], FHT's work in Finnmark is one episode in a long life largely devoted to different forms of voluntary service.⁶⁰ Palmer's book, 'Only the church was still standing' [*Bare kirka sto igjen*], is an oral history compendium edited from spoken and written material gathered from Kvalsund inhabitants who lived in the region during and after the War, and from a few of the FAU PWS volunteers who were working in Finnmark in the period 1946-1947.⁶¹ While the coverage in Palmer's book of FHT's post-war work in the area is limited, it is interesting to read local people's recollections, albeit many years after the event, of FHT and its volunteers when the contributors themselves were children. In English, there appear to be only two publications that refer to FHT's relief efforts in northern

⁵⁹ [1947-04-07] Greta [Andersen] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The letter is headed 'Børselv [*sic*], annandag Påsk' [Børselv, Easter Monday]. It is signed 'Greta'. It is known that Greta Andersen was working in Børselv from April 1947 (see 1947-04-29 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005; see footnote 23 for the identity of the recipient). Both the [1947-04-07] and the 1947-04-29 documents are in the same distinctive handwriting so it is reasonable to assume that they were written by the same person. Greta Anderson is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. By 29 April 1947 she had a sewing course with 30 participants arranged so it is unlikely that she had just arrived. In 1947, Easter Monday fell on 7 April, see United States Census Bureau, 'Easter Dates from 1600 to 2099,' 2017, accessed 11 September 2017, <https://www.census.gov/srd/www/genhol/easter500.html - easter1900>. See footnote 27 for the identity of the recipient of the [1947-04-07] document.}

⁶⁰ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 1981.

⁶¹ Palmer, *Bare kirka sto igjen* [Only the church was still standing].

Norway. The project is mentioned briefly in A. Tegla Davies's account of FAU work during the Second World War, where it is noted that 'the story of Finmark [*sic*] will undoubtedly be told elsewhere.'⁶² It is told in slightly more detail – two pages – in Roger Bush's book about the FAU Post-War Service and International Service, but seems to be considered as something of a prelude in that the Norwegian work was initiated by the wartime FAU before it ceased to exist on 30 June 1946 and was inherited as a project in progress by the FAU PWS.⁶³ The two FAU histories apart, published primary source information about the work exists only in Norwegian.

Reliability of the primary sources

By far the greater proportion of the primary source material used in the research consists of documents produced by people engaged in the planning and/or the execution of FHT's relief work in Finnmark either prior to or during the project. Those who wrote the material were carrying out the tasks on which they were reporting or received information from those engaged in related projects in other locations.⁶⁴ The contemporaneous nature of much of the material is a reassurance that the fallibilities of memory should not be a significant factor in the recollection of what was, or was not, achieved. A reasonable degree of confidence can be placed in a basic level of accuracy as to the work being undertaken but it is prudent to take reports of successful outcomes and of favourable reception from local people with a degree of caution in order to guard against the likelihood of the unconscious bias that virtually

⁶² Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 462.

⁶³ Bush, *FAU: The Third Generation*, 5, 11-12.

⁶⁴ 1946-08-03 Rapport af 1 August 1946 fra Lebesbygruppen [Report of 1 August 1946 from the Lebesby group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2] FHT, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

inevitably affects the perceptions of those providing what they perceive to be a benefit to those who are in need. Few would describe relief work undertaken by oneself and one's fellows as 'second-class work done by third-class people.'⁶⁵ To balance the possibility that FHT volunteers might have had a tendency to look on their work too favourably, it should be acknowledged that there are examples in the FHT archive of individuals reporting on remedial action being taken in relation to an individual who had behaved unacceptably.⁶⁶ In addition, there was a notable instance in the summer of 1947 when Else Schjöth, who had just arrived in Kvalsund to undertake the role of FHT's local administrator, reported to Sigrid Helliesen Lund in Oslo that 'FHT people are not popular....There have certainly been some unfortunate elements that have destroyed [things] for the rest of us.'⁶⁷

There are grounds to suspect that some of the reports from individual work camps may have been biased towards reporting work undertaken by the male volunteers. Such documents were usually written by men, although almost all camps included women amongst the resident volunteers. For example, a report from the camp at Lebesby mentions the men stationed there and the building work they were engaged in. It also makes clear that the group were providing meals for 20 workers in addition

⁶⁵ An anonymous Friends War Victims' Relief Committee worker quoted in Fry, *Quaker Adventure*, xxviii-xxix.

⁶⁶ 1947-05-05 Astrid [Foss] and Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 23 for the identities of the senders and the recipient of both documents.}

⁶⁷ 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The sender uses only her first name. However, the distinctive handwriting is the same as that used in 1947-07-01 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. See footnote 23 for the identity of the recipient of the 1947-07-12 and 1947-07-01 documents.} Else Schjöth does not give further information about the 'unfortunate elements.' 'Fredsvennene er ikke populære....Det har vel vært noen uheldige elementer, som har ødelagt for oss andre.'

to the relief workers themselves but omits any reference to the three women who were known to be there at the time and who were responsible for the camp's domestic arrangements including the provision of food.⁶⁸ Similarly, a report from Lakselv lists the relief workers there by name and nationality, refers to the building work being undertaken by the male volunteers, but says little about the work of their women colleagues. It does not mention that most of the women were preparing hot food every day for local workers nor does it give any indication that another was a nurse actively engaged in providing nursing services locally at a time when such help was very scarce and highly valued.⁶⁹

During the period Myrtle Wright spent in Norway during the Nazi-led occupation (4.1), she wrote a diary that was kept carefully hidden from the occupying forces.⁷⁰ She published it in 1974 with editorial commentary to clarify aspects of the text which might not be clear to a post-war readership unfamiliar with wartime conditions in Norway.⁷¹ While such personal contemporaneous accounts are of considerable interest, they have to be treated with some caution. As John Tosh observed, 'even in the case of a diary composed without thought of publication, the writer may be

⁶⁸ 1946-08-03 Rapport af 1 August 1946 fra Lebesbygruppen [Report of 1 August 1946 from the Lebesby group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-01 Sophie [Stibolt Christiansen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Sophie Stibolt Christiansen is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. See footnote 23 for the identity of the recipient.}

⁶⁹ 1946-07-30 Rapport for Lakselv-gruppen for juni-juli 1946 [Report for the Lakselv group for June-July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-07-06 Arbejdsrapport fra Søster Inger [Work report from Sister Inger], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁷⁰ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, iii.

⁷¹ Ibid. The diary was started in June 1942 when she had been in Norway for over two years. Chapters I-IV are a narrative account of that period. The diary section, which follows chapter IV, includes editorial comments (see, for example, p80-81 and p100-103). Chapter V closes the book with a narrative account of the period from February 1944, when she and Sigrid Helliesen Lund fled to Sweden, to November 1946 after she had returned to Britain in October 1944 and subsequently travelled again to Norway in August 1945.

bolstering his or her self-esteem and rationalizing motives.⁷² At least as much care is required in the use of autobiographies published many years after at least some of the events they describe. Diderich Lund and Sigrid Helliesen Lund brought out their autobiographies in 1972 and 1981 respectively, both books covering a wide range of different events during long and active lives.⁷³ As Tosh suggests, the passage of time may mean that 'as a record of events [autobiographies] are often inaccurate and selective to the point of distortion.'⁷⁴ Although it is necessary to remain mindful of the weaknesses inherent in diaries or autobiographical writings, such documents can be helpful in shedding greater light on ambiguities encountered in researching a topic some of the sources of which are no longer available. Many of the references made in this thesis to the three publications discussed in this paragraph use them to confirm issues such as the dating of events, the organisations in which the three individuals or third parties were involved, confirmation of the identity of third parties referred to with a degree of ambiguity elsewhere in the archive material and confirmation of addresses. There is also use of instances where a more subjective element is likely to have been present, some of which can be independently corroborated and some of which cannot. An example is that much of the information about Sigrid Helliesen Lund's activities before the Second World War (4.1) comes from her autobiography. However, overall the material used in the thesis from autobiographical or diary sources is not central to the understanding and analysis of the FHT work that is the subject of the current research.

⁷² John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 5th ed. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 129-130.

⁷³ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell til fjerne kyster* [From Norway's mountains to distant shores] (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1972). Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move].

⁷⁴ Tosh, *Pursuit of History*, 95.

Ethical issues

Increasing attention has been devoted in recent decades to how and whether recipients of aid are represented, especially in visual media, by those providing the relief. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno argued that, as the use of photography became more common during the latter part of the 1800s, humanitarian organisations used visual images of those affected by famine or other calamity to encourage potential and actual donors to support relief efforts.⁷⁵ Johannes Paulmann maintained that, during the last century there was a growing realisation that 'humanitarianism at its very core harbours a fundamental asymmetry between beneficiaries and providers of succour.'⁷⁶ Sanna Nissinen concluded that, in the latter part of the twentieth century, there was 'a distinct shift in humanitarian imagery from negative depictions of passive, suffering, innocent victims to narratives of the resilient victims told through "positive" imagery.'⁷⁷ However, it was Henrietta Lidchi's view that photography does not show reality and that 'all visual images – *positive* or *negative* – articulate something very different from dry truth or reality' because the image is decontextualised.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno, 'Introduction: The Morality of Sight: Humanitarian Photography in History,' in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 6.

⁷⁶ Johannes Paulmann, 'Humanitarianism and Media: Introduction to an Entangled History,' in *Humanitarianism & Media: 1900 to the Present*, ed. Johannes Paulmann (New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2019), 24.

⁷⁷ Sanna Nissinen, 'Dilemmas of Ethical Practice in the Production of Contemporary Humanitarian Photography,' in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Fehrenbach and Rodogno (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 298.

⁷⁸ Henrietta Lidchi, 'Finding the Right Image: British Development NGOs and the Regulation of Imagery,' in *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, ed. Fehrenbach and Rodogno (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 277, 291, 293. Emphasis in the original; quote taken from p293.

FHT's surviving archive includes a number of photographs.⁷⁹ Many show the volunteers working or relaxing, or are of particular locations. However, there are some which show, for example, children using the play equipment that FHT organised for the play area in Hammerfest or some of the young people who took FHT's vocational courses in Kvalsund (5.4). The archive documents suggest that the organisation made only sparing use of visual images regarding its work in Finnmark and those that were reproduced showed volunteers at work, not those who received assistance.⁸⁰ Bertil Ljungberg, one of the Swedish volunteers and a photographer, seems to have taken photographs in Finnmark.⁸¹ It is not clear whether they were for FHT or for himself and some or all of them were in any case lost in the 1947 fire.

Only two photographs are used in the thesis, chosen from the extensive collection held by Hammerfest Local History Society [*Hammerfest Historielag*]. They have been selected to illustrate wartime destruction and its aftermath in Finnmark towards the end of the Second World War and after it in order to make clear the extreme conditions that faced evacuees when they returned home to start rebuilding their communities. No individuals are included in the photographs chosen.

⁷⁹ Arkivportalen: Arkivverket Riksarkivet. 'PA-1487 – Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste.' n.d., accessed 7 December 2018, <https://www.arkivportalen.no/entity/no-a1450-01000000007275?ins=RA>.

⁸⁰ n.d. 'Fred og hjelp' [Peace and aid], 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. The leaflet text makes clear that the Finnmark work had ended. With reference to work elsewhere in Europe to which FHT either had or would send volunteers, there is a photograph of children in Greece who were recipients of Quaker food aid. Of the 29 children pictured, all but six are drinking from large bowls and are consequently unrecognisable.

⁸¹ 1947-06-25 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. The name Lolo Tresvig is given in 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Karen-Elise Tresvig is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

Whether or not to name those involved in or touched by FHT's work in Finnmark is an issue that has to balance the need to protect individuals while remaining aware of the fact that material examined in the organisational archives names individual relief workers, including lists of those who travelled to northern Norway. They, in addition to government officials and individual inhabitants of Finnmark, are identified in documents that are on open access to any reader wishing to consult them. Ulfsby's book, 'A helping hand to Finnmark', names 26 volunteers who worked with FHT in Finnmark and, in its second edition, the one cited in this thesis, includes material about the celebrations held in Kvalsund to mark the 60th anniversary of FHT's work in the area.⁸² The information, photographs and newspaper articles from the 2006 events reproduced in the book name and show images of some former FHT volunteers along with others present, including two individuals who had been pupils on FHT's vocational courses.

In drafting the thesis text, I have been guided both by the nature of the material I have examined and by the practice of others working on the academic study of humanitarianism. For example, Ilana Feldman, writing about Quaker humanitarian aid in Gaza in the late 1940s, named volunteers who, in contributing to oral or other accounts of the project, provided material for publicly available records of their time working with the AFSC in Gaza.⁸³ In the article, she also used three photographs from the AFSC archives two of which appear to show only AFSC volunteers, but the third of which includes two local people, none of the individuals concerned being

⁸² Ulfsby, *Et håndslog* [Helping hand], 14, 17-18, 22, 28, 30, 34-39, 42-44, 50, 52-56, 59, 60, 62-67, 73, 77, 82-92.

⁸³ Feldman, 'Quaker Way,' 689-705.

named. Farah Mendlesohn adopted a similar practice in work on Quaker-led relief during the Spanish Civil War.⁸⁴ She identified people, whether Quaker or not and of a range of nationalities including Spanish, who worked on projects led by British and American Quakers or with other aid agencies active in Spain at the same time. She did not identify any of those who received aid and did not use any illustrations.

Where it helps clarity to name a volunteer and where the matter being discussed is either neutral or praiseworthy, I identify the person involved. However, on the very rare occasions when inappropriate behaviour (not necessarily specified in the source material) was identified, I have chosen not to name the individual concerned. Almost all participants are now dead, so the very few who were considered to have behaved in an unacceptable manner cannot be approached to give their account of the situation. I do not have access to any papers they might have left that might argue their cause after their death because, for practical reasons of time and scope, the research has focused on organisational rather than on personal records, even supposing the latter to have survived.

Where the names of public officials with whom the FHT volunteers had contact can be identified and it is relevant to the research, they have been named. The FHT archive material seldom identifies the private individuals for and with whom the volunteers worked to help with rebuilding their shattered communities and, when it does, it is usually by family name only. It is likely that only a few could now be

⁸⁴ Mendlesohn, 'Ethics,' 1-23. Farah Mendlesohn, 'Denominational difference in Quaker relief work during the Spanish Civil War: the operation of corporate concern and liberal theologies,' *Journal of Religious History* 24, no. 2 (2000): 180-195.

identified with any degree of confidence so it has seemed wiser not to attempt to name any because to do so might give an unintentionally unbalanced impression of work undertaken.

The names of five of the young people who attended short vocational courses offered by FHT volunteers over the 1946/1947 winter and spring appear in archive documents. It is clear that the relief workers involved found the pupils on the courses of study impressive.⁸⁵ Ulfsby's book, 'A helping hand to Finnmark', reproduces a photograph taken of 21 vocational course pupils and eight teachers in spring 1947.⁸⁶ All pictured are named, although five of the former are identified by first name only. I have elected not to name the pupils who can be identified from the FHT archive because they were minors at the time of their participation.

However, Appendix 1 is a listing which gives the name, nationality where known and a best estimate, based on archival sources, of each individual's period of service in Finnmark. All those included are mentioned in at least one archive open to the public and most are listed in at least two. I have therefore judged that the listing of participants in events during 1946-1947 is acceptable under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) as the Appendix was compiled, and is provided, for research purposes.⁸⁷ However, Mellempøkeligt Samvirke, formerly Fredsvenners

⁸⁵ 1947-02-03 'International Cooperation in Relief for Northern Norway,' 2, 3, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/6. 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 23 for the identities of the senders and the recipient.}

⁸⁶ Ulfsby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand], 60.

⁸⁷ ICO Information Commissioner's Office, 'Exemptions,' n.d., accessed 7 March 2022, <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-data-protection/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/exemptions/#ex16>.

Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA], has specifically withheld permission for its volunteers to be included in the list until all can be assumed to have died.⁸⁸ Accordingly, the Danish section will not be made public until 2030.

Positionality

This thesis is an historical, not a theological, study, not least as there is clear acknowledgement, but no discussion, in the archive material that Quakerism informed the relief work in Finnmark (see 6.3). Academic historians have not adopted the practice widely used by their sociological peers of interrogating how their positionality might affect their work. However, given that, as Roberts argued, 'histories of Quaker participation in twentieth century relief in general...are very limited and tend on the whole to have been written by Quakers and therefore from an "insider" perspective,' it is appropriate that I review my positionality as a member of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) writing about Quaker-led relief.⁸⁹

David Hufford maintained that 'we must distinguish our personal voices from our scholarly voices.'⁹⁰ Of Peter Donovan's three-mode model of observer-neutrality, participant-neutrality and role-neutrality, only the first would be possible in the context of this study. However, he acknowledged that 'it is widely accepted nowadays...that...pure observer-neutrality exists as an ideal only.'⁹¹ He considered the issue of unconscious bias but concluded that there might be equal possibility of

⁸⁸ 2202-02-20, Mellempøkkeligt Samvirke, email message.

⁸⁹ Roberts, 'Place, Life Histories, 16.

⁹⁰ David J. Hufford, 'The Scholarly Voice and the Personal Voice: Reflexivity in Belief Studies,' in *The Insider/Outsider Problem*, ed. McCutcheon, 301.

⁹¹ Peter Donovan, 'Neutrality in Religious Studies,' in *The Insider/Outsider Problem*, ed. McCutcheon, 236.

'self-aware scholars compensating for their personal biases; or over-compensating.'⁹²

Peter Collins contended that 'the relationship between the terms "insider" and "outsider" [is] less of a dichotomy...and more of a continuum,' and that 'terms which comprise dichotomies, such as..."insider/outsider", are social constructions which do not represent immutable truths and which are not neutral either.'⁹³ Eleanor Nesbitt maintained that 'any polarization of insider and outsider is problematic.'⁹⁴

As a Quaker analysing Quaker-led relief work I start with an awareness of the Quaker history of participation in relief work as an expression of faith.⁹⁵ At the same time, I acknowledge the possibility of being over-ready to praise relief undertaken because I am aware of the spiritual inspiration behind it and might arguably be reluctant to find fault with my 'tribe'. David Hinshaw offered a reasonably informative account of the AFSC-led relief work in Finland after the Second World War.⁹⁶ However, his book is somewhat over-zealous in its praise of the Quaker contribution and, as such, is a warning to other Quaker authors to avoid the same partiality. Echoing Donovan's awareness of the possibility of over-compensation referred to above, I know as an insider that Quakers 'have as many limitations as the next organization.'⁹⁷ It would not be acceptable to hesitate to include information that reflected badly on individuals involved in Quaker-led relief work because of personal loyalty to the Society of Friends. In undertaking a scholarly study of Quaker work, I

⁹² Ibid., 242-243.

⁹³ Peter Collins, 'Connecting Anthropology and Quakerism: Transcending the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy,' in *Theorizing Faith*, ed. Arweck and Stringer, 78, 79.

⁹⁴ Eleanor Nesbitt, 'Quaker Ethnographers: A Reflexive Approach,' in *Theorizing Faith*, ed. Arweck and Stringer, 149.

⁹⁵ Roger C. Wilson, *Authority, Leadership and Concern*, 12.

⁹⁶ David Hinshaw, *An Experiment in Friendship*, New York: Putnam, 1947.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 2.

can only acknowledge my own membership of the Society and use my consciousness of the possibility of bias to inform and guide my judgements.

3.4: Chapter summary

While there is a significant amount of primary source material available in a number of archives, the historical record is not complete. Some material has been lost or destroyed, while other sources may still be theoretically available but, in practical terms, are inaccessible because a parent archive has yet to be catalogued. Care was taken in working with material found in the three main archives consulted but it is possible that there are nuances of interpretation that may escape an English mother-tongue researcher working with Scandinavian language material. Constraints of time and funding made the examination of all sources impractical while the Finnish archive is inaccessible both because of such practical limitations and because of language issues. It is always important to adopt an ethical approach to the identification of people involved in the project being researched while acknowledging that at least some of the considerations that researchers usually take into account are pre-empted by the fact that the participants are already identified in publicly available archives. My positionality as a Quaker researching Quaker history as an 'insider' was reviewed to acknowledge the need to guard against possible bias. These challenges notwithstanding, the research underpinning this thesis has interrogated by far the greater part of available archive material, taking care over sources that may be more subjective or display bias and being mindful of the ethical considerations implicit in the identification of individuals who were part of FHT's work.

PART 2:

THE WORK OF FHT

CHAPTER 4: PLANNING TO HELP FINNMARK

4.1: FHT: the organisation's beginnings and plans for its work in Finnmark

Introduction

The second part of the thesis consists of two chapters that look in detail at the work of FHT. This chapter examines the founding of FHT, the planning of its relief work in Finnmark, and interactions between the organisation and the reconstruction authorities. It also discusses the participation of other organisations in the project, and the part played by shared and overlapping networks. Chapter 5 describes the timescale of the project and where FHT's work camps were situated, including the locations where short-term tasks were carried out by groups sent out from longer-term camps. Difficulties in accessing some of the locations are noted. The chapter discusses the range of activities undertaken by volunteers, referring to the largely gendered approach to work and the tasks that FHT did not undertake. It also considers the interactions within the FHT volunteer body, and between FHT and the local Finnmark people.

Relief for northern Norway

In late 1944 Norwegians, at home and abroad, became aware that approximately two-thirds of the population of Finnmark and northern Troms had been forcibly evacuated and the area destroyed. Initially, the leadership of the Home Front [*Hjemmefront*, the Norwegian resistance movement] insisted that Norwegians should not assist the evacuees because it was a Nazi responsibility to do so; the Norwegian government in exile in London agreed. People in northern Norway and Norwegian

exiles in Sweden disagreed very strongly, and shortly afterwards the Home Front issued instructions that Norwegians should after all offer help to those who had been forcibly evacuated.¹ While the continuing Nazi-led occupation meant that nothing practical could be accomplished at the time, people began to consider how best to help the area and its exiled inhabitants when the opportunity arose. Most notably, the Norwegian government-in-exile in London, already well into planning for the re-establishment of civil society in post-war Norway, added the need to rebuild Finnmark to their plans.² Many inside Norway were similarly eager to do what they could for their compatriots when it became possible. In early 1945, three Norwegian Quakers began to discuss how they might respond. Ole Olden from Stavanger in western Norway, Erling Kjekstad from Lier, south-west of Oslo, and Sverre Hoëm from Hammerfest in Finnmark, who himself had been amongst those forcibly evacuated, started to make plans for helping the people of northern Norway once the war had ended.³

Ole Olden was a school teacher and Principal [*rektor*] of St Svithun's School in Stavanger from 1923-1946.⁴ Described as 'a radical Christian and peace activist', he had formally joined the Religious Society of Friends in 1935 after being involved with

¹ Eriksen and Halvorsen, *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 71-73.

² Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 32-33. Kristian Husvik Skancke, 'Reetableringen av sivil administrasjon i Finnmark, 1943-1945' [The re-establishment of civil administration in Finnmark, 1943-1945], in *Krig og frigjøring i nord* [War and liberation in the north], ed. Fredrik Fagertun (Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk, 2015), 47.

³ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjøring og ødeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {The document is not dated and the writer's name is not given. However, there is a statement, 'Og litt forbinneelse [*sic*] hadde jeg med min mann, Diderich Lund' [And I had a little contact with my husband, Diderich Lund]} so the writer must have been Sigrid Helliesen Lund.} Sverre Hoëm's family name is usually given as 'Hoem' in documents written by other people (see n.d. 'Forslag. E.K. Motto: "La ikke hatet bli morgendagens verden"' [Proposal. E.K. Motto: "Do not let hate become tomorrow's world."], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001). He himself used the spelling 'Hoëm' (see 1946-03-25 Sverre Hoëm to Diderik [*sic*] Lund, 5, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002) so that spelling is used here.

⁴ Sigurd Jacobsen, "'Inn i det store alt'" [Into the great everything], *Kvekeren* no. 2-3 (1963), 2.

Norwegian Quaker life for a number of years.⁵ In spite of his teaching responsibilities, he spent the academic year 1937/1938 studying at Woodbrooke, the Quaker college in Birmingham, England.⁶ Stavanger had historically been the main centre of Quakerism in Norway and remained so until after the Second World War and, in the late 1930s, the Stavanger Quakers helped Nansen Relief [*Nansenhjelp*] by giving accommodation to refugees in transit to other destinations.⁷ In January 1940, Ole Olden travelled to Kirkenes in Finnmark to investigate conditions for Finnish refugees from the Winter War in 1939-1940 between Finland and the Soviet Union who had fled across the border to northern Norway. Shortly afterwards, Norwegian Quakers sent food and clothing to the northern towns of Tromsø and Hammerfest.⁸ Ole Olden was one of those who set up Quaker Service [*Kvekerhjelp*] to help people who had to be evacuated following the Nazi-led invasion of Norway. Quaker Service's activities later expanded to help people in other parts of the country and, although the organisation's work was not extensive, 'it served as training both for recognising commitment and finding practical solutions which would benefit the relief and reconstruction work after the war.'⁹ The Nazi occupation authorities imprisoned him for approximately six months in 1941, apparently as a hostage.¹⁰

⁵ Hans Eirik Aarek, 'Part IV: 1920-1945: The Years of Transformation,' (unpublished manuscript, 19 December 2013), 25. Microsoft Word file.

⁶ n.d. 'Navn og informasjon om norske studenter på Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alfabetisk' [Names and information about Norwegian students at Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alphabetical], 4, FHT archive, F-L0004. Woodbrooke 'was founded in 1903 and was the vision of George Cadbury and John Wilhelm Rowntree who saw a need amongst Friends for a "permanent settlement" with a mission to "foster a vital Friends' ministry"' (see Woodbrooke, 'About Woodbrooke,' n.d., accessed 16 November 2018, <https://www.woodbrooke.org.uk/about/about-woodbrooke-2/>).

⁷ Aarek, 'Part IV: 1920-1945,' 3, 88-89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 96-98.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 58, 101.

In his obituary of Erling Kjekstad in 'The Quaker' [*Kvekeren*], a periodical published by the Religious Society of Friends in Norway, Bernt Heid indicated that Erling Kjekstad's first contact with Quakerism had probably been in 1921 when he studied at Fircroft College, Birmingham, which is next door to Woodbrooke.¹¹ Fircroft College 'was established in 1909 by George Cadbury Jr, grandson of Cadbury's co-founder John,' its aim being 'to provide educational opportunities for some of the most disadvantaged and excluded members of society.'¹² During his stay in England, Erling Kjekstad heard that the British Quaker organisation, the Friends Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee, needed volunteers for relief work in Poland, offered his services and worked at Koplín and subsequently Kobryn from early 1922 to the end of 1930.¹³ During those eight years he had two short periods out of the country. In 1927 he had a three-month visit to the USA to study agricultural training, a topic linked to the relief work he was doing, and in autumn 1928 he started two terms' study at Woodbrooke.¹⁴ On his return to Norway in the early 1930s, he was eager to develop a Quaker worship group in Oslo, hoping to build on the presence of several fellow Old Woodbrookers based there. Old Woodbrookers were people who, although usually not Quakers, had studied at Woodbrooke and who subsequently kept in touch with each other partly through associations in their home countries and

¹¹ Bernt Heid, 'Vennen Erling Kjekstad (9.3.1895-17.5.1977)' [Friend Erling Kjekstad (9.3.1895-17.5.1977)], *Kvekeren* no. 1 (1978), 8.

¹² Fircroft College, 'Who We Are,' n.d., accessed 1 November 2018, <https://www.fircroft.ac.uk/who-we-are>.

¹³ Heid, 'Vennen Erling Kjekstad' [Friend Erling Kjekstad], 8. Fry, *Quaker Adventure*, 299.

¹⁴ Heid, 'Vennen Erling Kjekstad' [Friend Erling Kjekstad], 8. The *Kvekeren* obituary cited states that Erling Kjekstad spent a term at Woodbrooke. However, the following list of Norwegians who were students there before the Second World War suggests that he was there for two terms. n.d. 'Navn og informasjon om norske studenter på Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alfabetisk' [Names and information about Norwegian students at Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alphabetical], 3, FHT archive, F-L0004.

partly through periodic international reunions.¹⁵ Nearly 300 Norwegians studied at Woodbrooke between 1903 and the outbreak of the Second World War.¹⁶ Erling Kjekstad continued his efforts to form a Quaker group in Oslo even after his 1934 decision to start farming in Lier, approximately twenty-five miles south-west of the city. He helped to organise relief for Finnish refugees from the 1939-1940 Winter War and was one of the Old Woodbrookers who supported Myrtle Wright when she was stranded in Oslo following the Nazi invasion in April 1940 (see below). Mildrid Dahl, an Oslo-based Old Woodbrooker, reported that Erling Kjekstad had hidden people during the German occupation. Continued support for refugees was assumed to be the reason why he was imprisoned by the Nazi authorities for a few weeks in 1944.¹⁷

Sverre Hoëm, the third member of the group, lived in Finnmark. He spent a total of three terms at Woodbrooke, in autumn 1908, autumn 1910 and spring 1911, applying for and being accepted into membership of the Religious Society of Friends in Norway in 1911.¹⁸ He served as a police officer, becoming Police Chief [*politimester*] first in Hammerfest and subsequently for West Finnmark.¹⁹ In common with other

¹⁵ Herbert G. Wood, 'The First Director of Studies,' in *Woodbrooke 1903-1953: A Brief History of a Quaker Experiment in Religious Education*, ed. Robert Davis (London: Bannisdale Press, 1953), 29-30. Horace G. Alexander, 'Old Woodbrookers,' in *Woodbrooke 1903-1953*, ed. Davis, 143, 148-150.

¹⁶ n.d. 'Navn og informasjon om norske studenter på Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alfabetisk' [Names and information about Norwegian students at Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alphabetical], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹⁷ n.d. 'Navn og informasjon om norske studenter på Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alfabetisk' [Names and information about Norwegian students at Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alphabetical], 2, FHT archive, F-L0004. Heid, 'Vennen Erling Kjekstad' [Friend Erling Kjekstad], 9. It is not clear whether Erling Kjekstad's involvement with Finnish refugees was a part of the Quaker-organised response in which Ole Olden participated, although it would seem likely.

¹⁸ n.d. 'Navn og informasjon om norske studenter på Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alfabetisk' [Names and information about Norwegian students at Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alphabetical], 2, FHT archive, F-L0004. Aarek, 'Part IV: 1920-1945,' 12.

¹⁹ 1945-07-02 Sverre Hoëm to H[er]r distriktspolitisjefen Tromsø [Regional Police Chief Tromsø], FHT archive, F-L0005 0002. The printed letter heading, 'Politimesteren i Hammerfest' [Police Chief in Hammerfest], is amended by hand to 'Politimesteren i Vest Finnmark' [Police Chief in West Finnmark]; the printed address 'Hammerfest' is amended by hand to 'p.t. Bygdøy' [for the moment Bygdøy].

Finmark inhabitants, he had been forced to evacuate to more southerly parts of the country as the Germans withdrew late in the war.²⁰ He was credited with being one of a small group of Norwegian and Sami resisters who played a key role in enabling nomadic reindeer-herding Sami to avoid having to hand over approximately 70,000 reindeer for slaughter to feed the German forces who were retreating to a defensive line in northern Troms. Able to speak both Norwegian and Sami, Sverre Hoëm helped to plan the evasive action during Sami language phone calls knowing that, even if the Nazi authorities were monitoring the calls, the content would not be understood. It was agreed between all parties – Germans, Norwegians and Sami – that the reindeer would be driven to a place called Helligskogen. The Germans were confident that it was the location of that name that lay in Skibotendalen near their projected defensive line. They were unaware that there was another Helligskogen in Anárjohkadalen considerably further east on the Norwegian-Finnish border. The Norwegians and the Sami involved understood clearly, but were careful not to make explicit, that the second Helligskogen, which lay a considerable distance across Finnmark's extensive inland mountain plateau [*Finnmarksvidda*], would be the actual destination. The reindeer were taken well beyond the reach of the German troops for whom pursuit was virtually impossible as the area's severe winter weather set in, wiping out all traces of the passage of the reindeer herds.²¹

Bygdøy is a peninsula on the western side of Oslo. At the foot of the document is a stamp with a crest and the legend 'Politimesteren i Vest Finnmark'.

²⁰ Hoëm, 'Evakueringen av Finnmark og Nord-Troms' [The evacuation of Finnmark and northern Troms], 12-13.

²¹ Bottolfson, *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie* [Finnmark county's history], 320-323. Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 60-61.

The establishment of FHT

Michael Barnett claimed that 'most societies...tended to give to those with whom they had a prior emotional connection.'²² The emotional connection with the people of Finnmark felt by the Quaker trio – Ole Olden, Erling Kjekstad and Sverre Hoëm – led to a committee being formally established after liberation when it was possible to take practical steps to help the people of Finnmark. The members were drawn from Norwegian Quakers and other peace organisations and seem to have met first on 8 June 1945 although neither agenda nor minutes of the meeting survives.²³ Ole Olden, Erling Kjekstad and Sverre Hoëm were all members of the committee and the other members were Diderich Lund, Sigrid Helliesen Lund, Ingebjørg Sletten and Christoffer Vibe.²⁴ At that time Diderich Lund had already been working on reconstruction projects in eastern Finnmark, the part of Norway liberated by Soviet forces in late 1944.²⁵ Sigrid Helliesen Lund described herself as being on the committee as a Quaker, showing her sense of identification with the Religious Society of Friends two years before she formally became a member, although Erling

²² Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 83.

²³ [1946-10] 'Statement about "FHT" (Norway) for organisations meeting at Brussels, October 20th-22nd, 1946,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {Although the document is undated, the fact that it was prepared for a meeting in late October 1946 suggests that it is reasonable to date the document to the same month. The content and the use of language (for example, 'we' and 'our') suggest that the document was prepared by an individual/individuals within FHT. The Brussels meeting was a conference organised by Service Civil International and attended by representatives from a number of different peace organisations (see [1946-10 or -11] Rapport fra det internasjonale møte i Bryssel 21-22.10.1946 [Report from the international meeting in Brussels 21-22.10.46] F-L0002 0003. {The [1946-10 or -11] document is undated but the fact that it is a report on the meeting suggests that it is reasonable to date the document to either October or November 1946.}).} n.d. 'Forslag. E.K. Motto: "La ikke hatet bli morgendagens verden.'" [Proposal. E.K. Motto: "Do not let hate become tomorrow's world."], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001. {'E.K.' is almost certainly Erling Kjekstad. The only other individual associated with FHT and with those initials who is identifiable in the archive material is Erik Valfrid Lennart Kindgren, a Swedish volunteer whose first recorded link with FHT is recorded as his arrival in Finnmark in July 1946 (see n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004, in which his name is given as Lennart Kindgren. The full name is recorded in n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004).}

²⁴ n.d. 'Forslag. E.K. Motto: "La ikke hatet bli morgendagens verden.'" [Proposal. E.K. Motto: "Do not let hate become tomorrow's world."], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001.

²⁵ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 30.

Kjekstad considered her to be a representative of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, the Norwegian branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom [*Kvinneligaen for fred og frihet* – WILPF Norway].²⁶ Ingebjørg Sletten was a member of International Relief Service [*Intern[asjonal] hjelpetjeneste*, the Norwegian branch of Service Civil International], as well as having been involved with Nansen Relief; and Christoffer Vibe was a member of Never Again War [*Aldrig mere krig*, a branch of War Resisters' International – WRI].²⁷ Ingebjørg Sletten, described by Myrtle Wright as 'one of my Woodbrooke friends,' had been involved in the civilian resistance during the German occupation and had had to flee to Sweden at the same time as Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright (see below).²⁸ During part of their time in Sweden, Ingebjørg Sletten and Sigrid Helliesen Lund shared a flat.²⁹ The former's resistance work included helping members of the Jewish community to escape arrest and transportation to Germany for which she was awarded the title of 'Righteous Among the Nations' in 1967.³⁰ Christoffer Vibe had, like Sigrid Helliesen

²⁶ n.d. 'Finnmark - Friggjøring og ødeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 3 for information about the authorship of the document.} n.d. 'Forslag. E.K. Motto: "La ikke hatet bli morgendagens verden."' [Proposal. E.K. Motto: "Do not let hate become tomorrow's world."], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001.

²⁷ n.d. 'Forslag. E.K. Motto: "La ikke hatet bli morgendagens verden."' [Proposal. E.K. Motto: "Do not let hate become tomorrow's world."], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001. n.d. 'FHT og Internasjonal Frivillig Hjelpetjeneste, Planer for sommeren 1947' [FHT and International Relief Service, Plans for summer 1947], 1, MS archive, 64-65, folder 101. Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen* [Odd Nansen], 168.

²⁸ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 13, 102, 121, 122. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 116.

²⁹ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 123.

³⁰ Yad Vashem, 'Righteous Among the Nations Awarded by Yad Vashem by 1 January 2017: Norway,' n.d., accessed 6 November 2017, <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/pdf-drupal/norway.pdf>. 'Righteous Among the Nations is an official title awarded by Yad Vashem on behalf of the State of Israel and the Jewish people to non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust. The title is awarded by a special commission headed by a Supreme Court Justice according to a well-defined set of criteria and regulations.' (see Yad Vashem, 'Home: The Righteous Among the Nations: FAQs,' 2017, accessed 6 November 2017, <http://www.yadvashem.org/righteous/faq>).

Lund, been a member of a pacifist group which had met during the war to discuss attitudes to the occupying forces, passive resistance and different forms of boycott.³¹

Changes in committee membership

The membership of the committee changed somewhat over time. In early autumn 1945, Diderich Lund was appointed Director of the Finnmark Office [*direktør, Finnmarkskontoret*], based in Harstad in northern Norway and he stood down from the committee.³² The Finnmark Office was established in 1945 under the Directorate of Reconstruction [*Gjenreisningsdirektoratet*] and was the body administratively responsible for leading the reconstruction of Finnmark and northern Troms, the county [*fylke*] immediately south of Finnmark, between 1945 and 1947, after which the work was transferred to the authorities in the two counties.³³ Diderich Lund was Director from late 1945 until late 1947.³⁴ FHT's activities were overseen by a section of the Finnmark Office and he may have thought that he could be considered to have a conflict of interests although that is not explicit in the archive material.³⁵

³¹ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 109.

³² Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 69. 1945-10-06 Referat fra moete [Minutes from meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

³³ NSD Forvaltningsdatabasen, 'Finnmarkskontoret i Harstad' [The Finnmark Office in Harstad], n.d., accessed 22 November 2017, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/polsys/data/forvaltning/enhet/10204/endringshistorie>.

³⁴ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 155, 161.

³⁵ 1946-04-07 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Diderich [Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender and the recipient are identified by first name only. The letter discusses whether FHT's plans for work in Finnmark are consistent with the guidelines agreed between the organisation and the Finnmark Office. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. In addition, the address on the letter is given as Jordans, a Quaker location in southern England, and the writer comments that she recently met 12 FAU people while she was at Woodbrooke. Sigrid Helliesen Lund was at Woodbrooke in the period 16-30 March 1946 (see 'Aliens' Register 1942-1946,' Archives, Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre). Diderich Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. He was also Director, Finnmark Office, at the time and the text of the letter makes clear that the recipient of the letter approved FHT's proposed work in Finnmark on behalf of the Finnmark Office.}

The three founders withdrew from the committee. Ole Olden remained as chairman for a period but his teaching commitments prevented his active participation in the short term so his role passed to Sigrid Helliesen Lund.³⁶ However, following his retirement in 1946, he and his wife Ingeborg spent the autumn of 1946 and the spring of 1947 as volunteers with FHT in Kvalsund. In spite of being one of the oldest participants, Ole Olden took his full share in the work, leading the teaching in the vocational school that FHT ran in Kvalsund (5.4), which was not surprising given his former profession, and doing his share of the menial tasks.³⁷

Erling Kjekstad was appointed to work at the Trondenes camp near Harstad in Troms county in northern Norway. It was a former German navy camp which could house approximately 2,000 people and was to be used as a transit camp for Finnmark people returning home after liberation.³⁸ His position there is described both as

³⁶ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjøring og ødeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 3 for information about the authorship of the document.}

³⁷ 1946-09-20 Rapport nr. 3 FHT' [Report no. 3 FHT], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Lolo, Knud, Cicilie [*sic*] og [and] Edith, 'Olden og Finnmark' [Olden and Finnmark], *Kvekeren* no. 9-10 (1963), 15. {The text makes clear that all four authors had worked with Ole Olden as volunteers in Finnmark just after the war. No volunteer called 'Cicilie' is identifiable in the archive material. The name must be a misprint for 'Cecilie', that is, Cecilie Engebrigtsen, the only volunteer with that first name identifiable in the archive material. The other three are almost certainly Karen-Elise [Lolo] Tresvig, Knud Larsen and Edith Østlyngen. The name Lolo Tresvig is given in 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Karen-Elise Tresvig is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. Knud Larsen is the only volunteer with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Edith is almost certainly Edith Østlyngen, in charge of administration at Kvalsund from July 1946 to March 1947 (see 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946; n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004; and 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).}

³⁸ 1945-10-05 DL [Diderich Lund] to Herr Statsråd Gabrielsen [Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The letter, a carbon copy, is unsigned but there is a reference 'DL/KT' at the head of the sheet, the location of writing is given as Harstad and the content concerns Danish volunteers' work in clearing and cleaning Trondenes camp to make it fit for use as a transit camp for Finnmark inhabitants returning north. 'DL' is almost certainly Diderich Lund, the Director of the Finnmark Office, which was based in Harstad close to the camp.} At the date of the letter, Gabrielsen was the Statsråd [Cabinet Minister] in charge of the reconstruction of Finnmark who had asked Diderich Lund to take the Finnmark Office post (see Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 154, 155).

Deputy Head [*sousjef*] and Welfare Officer.³⁹ In summer 1946 he was to move to Hammerfest to take up a position directing voluntary work in the region in preparation for which FHT constructed a hut for him and provided a volunteer to act as his secretary.⁴⁰ However, he had to leave Finnmark because his wife, living at their home in Lier south-west of Oslo, became seriously ill after the birth of their first child.⁴¹

In early 1946 Sverre Hoëm was asked to step down from the FHT committee. Rumours were circulating about him that were seen as damaging to FHT's prospects of being accepted in northern Norway. Some of his fellow Hammerfest inhabitants accused him of not having had 'a satisfactory national attitude during the Occupation,' which normally meant that the person concerned had been too closely associated with the Nazi authorities.⁴² He strongly denied the claims, pointing out that, during the period in 1944 when accusers claimed that he had organised a party for two senior Norwegian Nazi officials prior to the forced evacuation of Hammerfest, he had been on sick leave with his police responsibilities carried out by his deputy, a

³⁹ 1945-10-06 Referat fra moete [Minutes from meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. [1946-10] 'Statement about "FHT" (Norway) for organisations meeting at Brussels, October 20th-22nd, 1946', 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {See footnote 23 for information about the date ascribed to the document.} Erling Kjekstad is not identified by name in the latter document. However, it states that 'The Welfare Officer for that camp was a Norwegian Quaker and one of those how [*sic*] had first taken the initiative in forming the Fredsvenners Hjelpetjene [*sic*].' The statement, together with the information included in the former document, supports the identification of Erling Kjekstad as the Welfare Officer.

⁴⁰ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-07-12 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontorets sosiale avdeling [the Finnmark Office's Social Department], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁴¹ 1946-07-13 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to FHA, 2, MS archive, 31-32, folder 3.

⁴² 1946-05-23 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred Tritton and Roderick Ede, 2, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7. {Myrtle Wright is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

member of the Norwegian National Union party [*Nasjonal Samling*, a Norwegian fascist party founded by Vidkun Quisling – NS, 1.2].⁴³

Further and with reference to a claim that he had misused a police boat during the forced evacuation, Sverre Hoëm explained that, at the time, the Hammerfest police had had no boat at their disposal. Indeed, he had had very limited use of a boat that was hired for a short period of time for local use and then, on the orders of Gard Holtskog, a high-ranking police officer and senior member of the NS party who had been reported by fellow NS members for his use of excessive violence, had had to leave Hammerfest in a boat provided for him, his wife, several other police officers and a woman not known to them.⁴⁴ That Sverre Hoëm was a target for claims of being too close to the Nazi authorities was not perhaps entirely unexpected. He was a senior police officer during the German occupation when it was impossible for the police to avoid contact with German and Norwegian Nazis, and indeed many police officers joined the NS party.⁴⁵ The role of the police during the wartime occupation is a difficult topic, given their participation in actions such as the wholesale arrest of Jews prior to their deportation to Nazi concentration camps (2.2).⁴⁶ However, it is also acknowledged that there were police officers who actively used their position to help the Norwegian resistance.⁴⁷ It should be made clear that the Norwegian National Archives have confirmed that there is no record of an investigation into Sverre

⁴³ 1946-03-25 Sverre Hoëm to Diderik [*sic*] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. Dahl, *Quisling: A Study*, 94-97.

⁴⁴ 1946-03-25 Sverre Hoëm to Diderik [*sic*] Lund, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea], 308-310.

⁴⁵ Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea], 37-42.

⁴⁶ Bruland and Tangestuen, 'Norwegian Holocaust,' 593.

⁴⁷ Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea], 103-104. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 89.

Hoëm's wartime conduct following liberation when over 90,000 such cases were opened out of a population of 3.1 million.⁴⁸ In addition, he was appointed Police Chief in Molde in central Norway shortly after the end of the war.⁴⁹ That alone might have made his continued participation difficult given that Molde is approximately 540 km north of Oslo and 1700 km south of the part of Finnmark in which FHT worked. However, the FHT committee in Oslo judged that it would be seriously detrimental to the work the organisation wished to accomplish in Finnmark if he remained as a committee member so he was asked to stand down and did so.⁵⁰

Mimi Sverdrup Lunden and Mulka Rosenqvist, both WILPF Norway members, joined the committee, as did Agnes Broch, a Quaker.⁵¹ Mimi Sverdrup Lunden was an educator, author and translator who became known for her work on peace and women's issues. She had been imprisoned twice during the war as punishment for helping refugees, work which she had begun during the 1930s.⁵² Subsequently Signe Hirsch, Fritz Lund, Else Bull and Gunnar Hansen also became members.⁵³ Signe

⁴⁸ 2015-10-26 Riksarkivet [[Norwegian] National Archives], email message. Arkivverket [National Archives], 'Hva inneholder landssvikarkivet? [What does the treachery archive include?]', accessed 6 November 2018, <https://www.arkivverket.no/utforsk-arkivene/andre-verdenskrig/landssvikarkivet>. On 1 January 1946, the population of Norway was 3.1 million (see Statistisk sentralbyrå, 'Population,' 2018, accessed 6 November 2018, <https://www.ssb.no/en/statbank/list/folkemengde>. The population figures for the relevant year are calculated by selecting the requisite variables from those listed on the web page cited.).

⁴⁹ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjøring og ødeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 3 for information about the authorship of the document.}

⁵⁰ 1946-02-08 Referat av møte i FHT [Minutes of a meeting of FHT], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-02-24 FHT møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-02-24 FHT møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

⁵¹ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjøring og ødeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 3 for information about the authorship of the document.}

⁵² Sogn og Fjordane Fylkeskommune: Fylkesbibliotek, 'Forfattarar frå Sogn og Fjordane: Mimi Sverdrup Lunden' [Authors from Sogn and Fjordane: Mimi Sverdrup Lunden], 2016, accessed 1 November 2017, <http://forfattarar.sfj.no/mimi-sverdrup-lunden/>. Irwin Abrams, 'The multinational campaign for Carl von Ossietzky,' 1991, accessed 1 November 2017, <http://www.irwinabrams.com/articles/ossietzky.html>.

⁵³ 1946-03-16 'FHT for Nord-Norge' [FHT for northern Norway], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Fritz Lund was not related to Sigrud and Diderich Lund (see 1946-01-18 Myrtle [Wright] to Brian, LSF,

Hirsch (later Signe Hirsch Gill) was a sister-in-law of Odd Nansen, the founder of Nansen Relief, and she had been involved in the organisation for several years.⁵⁴ Shortly after the occupation, when a number of towns and cities were suffering the immediate aftermath of heavy bombing by the invading forces, Sigrid Helliesen Lund, who also worked for Nansen Relief, had chosen Signe to help her lead a transport of supplies gathered by the organisation from donors in Oslo for Kristiansund, a town on the west coast of Norway.⁵⁵ Signe took part in FHT's work from an early stage and spent July and August 1946 in Finnmark as the FHT's leadership representative there.⁵⁶ Both Fritz Lund, a personal friend of Erling Kjekstad, and his son Per, who with his wife, Anne Marie, undertook a survey journey round northern Norway in early 1946 to assess need for the relief work FHT hoped to provide, were involved in wartime resistance work including helping Jews to flee to Sweden.⁵⁷ During the war Sigrid Helliesen Lund had belonged to a group of women who distributed money to families whose husbands and fathers had been arrested by the occupying forces.

YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. {See footnote 42 for the identity of the sender. It is not possible to identify the recipient with certainty. However, as Myrtle Wright had been in correspondence with Brian Groves and Eric Hayman in December 1945 (see 1945-12-24 Myrtle [Wright] to Brian Groves & Eric Hayman, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4) and both the December and the January letters were about plans for the Quaker-led work in Finnmark, it seems likely that the recipient was Brian Groves.}. 1946-11-29 FHT møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

⁵⁴ Signe Hirsch married Clæs Gill in spring 1943 (see Store Norske Leksikon: Norsk Biografisk Leksikon, Lise Lyche, 'Clæs Gill,' 2009, accessed 21 November 2017, https://nbl.snl.no/Claes_Gill). Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 125. Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen* [Odd Nansen], 153. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 81.

⁵⁵ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 81-83.

⁵⁶ 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 37 for the identity of the sender. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

⁵⁷ 1945-12-27 'Notes on Relief in Northern Norway,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946. 1946-01-15 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Erling [Kjekstad], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named. However, the sender's address, Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen i Aker, was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's home address (see Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 32). Only the first name is given for the recipient. Erling Kjekstad, one of FHT's founders (see above in this chapter), is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 101-103, 128-129, 198.

One of her co-workers, Else Bull, was subsequently 'one of the first who joined the post-war relief work in Finnmark as a volunteer.'⁵⁸ Else Bull served with FHT in Kvalsund from June to September 1946 as camp secretary and house mother, and later joined the FHT committee.⁵⁹

Myrtle Wright seems to have been a member of the committee when she was in Norway, although she was not formally appointed until September 1946.⁶⁰ She was described by Sigrid Helliesen Lund as being 'the obvious person when she was here in the country and as a contact with the Quakers in Great Britain and the USA.'⁶¹

Sigrid Helliesen Lund, assisted by Myrtle Wright, became the moving spirit of FHT's work in Finnmark.

⁵⁸ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 90. Sigrid Helliesen Lund, 'Else Bull,' *Kvekeren* no. 8 (1964), 5. 'en av de første som meldte seg som frivillig til hjelpearbeid i Finnmark etter krigen.'

⁵⁹ n.d. Kort over arbeidstakere [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004. [1946-07-19] 'Det første inntrykket av Finnmark' [The first impression of Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document is undated. However, there is a statement (p2) that 'i aften skal vi ha en festlig sammenkomst for konfirmantene og presten' [this evening we will have a party for the confirmands and the priest]. It is known that the confirmation service was held on Sunday 21 July 1946 (see 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, FHT F-L0001 0003). The FHT party was held on the preceding Friday (see [1946-07] 'Fredag: Kerstin stelt fru Mortensens baby...Lørdag...Søndag' [Friday: Kerstin looked after Mrs Mortensen's baby...Saturday...Sunday], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The [1946-07] document is undated. However, it makes clear that the party held by FHT in Kvalsund for the confirmands took place on the Friday, the events of which day are described in the document. Only one confirmation is mentioned in the archive material so it is reasonable to assume that the document was written in July 1946.} The sender's name is not given in the 1946-07-19 letter. However, she refers to being the Kvalsund camp housemother and leading the women's work. Else Bull is identified as having that role in 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.}.)}

⁶⁰ [1946]-09-12 Møte den 12. september hos Mimi Sverdrup Lunden [Meeting on 12th September at Mimi Sverdrup Lunden's], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. {The year is not given but it must be 1946. The meeting noted that building work would have to cease over the winter and referred to plans for vocational courses to be given in Kvalsund. The winter of 1946/47 was the only winter over which FHT was in Finnmark.}

⁶¹ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjøring og ødeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 3 for information about the authorship of the document.} 'Myrtle Wright var selvskreven når hun var her i landet og som kontakt med Kvekerne i Stor Britannia [sic] og USA.'

Over half the sets of the Oslo committee minutes record that the meetings took place in the homes of Mimi Sverdrup Lunden, or Sigrid Helliesen Lund, or Signe Hirsch Gill. By that time all three women lived in Oslo so it seems clear that the committee responsible for the planning and management of FHT's relief work in Finnmark was based in the city.⁶² It will be referred to as the Oslo committee.

Sigrid Helliesen Lund (1892-1987)

In 2.5 I discussed the phenomenon of capable, independently-minded women seeing a task that needed to be done and assuming the leadership needed to accomplish it. The same applied in the case of the work to support the inhabitants of Finnmark, who were rebuilding their communities under exceedingly difficult circumstances in the most remote region of a country depleted by the effects of five years of Nazi-led occupation. As noted above, the FHT project was initiated by three men who, for different reasons, were unable to carry the work forward as they had intended when opportunity arose after liberation. The mantle of leadership was assumed by a woman, Sigrid Helliesen Lund, supported in the main by other women, especially Myrtle Wright.

Sigrid Helliesen (later Sigrid Helliesen Lund) was born in 1892 in Oslo.⁶³ She was independently-minded from her early years, refusing to be confirmed into the State Lutheran Church in her teens because she could not accept the Church's theology, a

⁶² Sogn og Fjordane Fylkeskommune: Fylkesbibliotek, 'Forfattarar frå Sogn og Fjordane: Mimi Sverdrup Lunden' [Authors from Sogn and Fjordane: Mimi Sverdrup Lunden], 2016, accessed 1 November 2017, <http://forfattarar.sfj.no/mimi-sverdrup-lunden/>. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 50. n.d.' Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁶³ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 10.

highly unusual decision for the period.⁶⁴ In her autobiography, she makes clear that she discussed her decision at length with her mother and then with the priest who was giving confirmation classes. He agreed that, in the circumstances, she should not be confirmed and asked her if she knew anything about Quakers. She said that she simply understood that 'they were strange people with large hats, who...were against all war' to which he responded that she would 'surely come to know more about them later in life.'⁶⁵ His response turned out to have been prescient.

In 1923 Sigrid Helliesen married Diderich Lund, a civil engineer.⁶⁶ She and her husband became involved in peace work in the late 1920s.⁶⁷ In his autobiography, Diderich Lund recounted that his growing concern with pacifism led him to become involved in the Norwegian Peace Union [*Norges Fredsforening*, now the Norwegian Peace Association [*Norges Fredslag*]]. As refugees from Germany began to arrive in Norway in the 1930s, he joined the Union Against Racial Hatred [*Foreningen mot rasehat*] to help those who had fled and to try to increase awareness of the events that had led people to flee. He tried unsuccessfully, and in what he himself described as 'a small way,' to get Norway to boycott the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games.⁶⁸ Earlier, he and Sigrid had set up a peace group in Odda while Diderich was in charge of constructing a factory in Eitheim, but apparently it did not survive their return to Oslo a few years later.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 22-23.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 23. 'de var noen raringer med store hatter, som...var imot all slags krig.'

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 44; Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 66.

⁶⁷ Margaret Gibbins, *Sigrid Helliesen Lund: Portrait of a Friend*, (London: Friends World Committee for Consultation and Quaker Home Service, 1980), 4. Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 77.

⁶⁸ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 96-98. 'etter svært fattig evne.'

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 77.

Sigrid, who was musically gifted, had earlier hoped to make a career as a singer. Unfortunately, two episodes of thrombosis on the lungs left her unfit for the physical demands that would entail but she was still able to sing for enjoyment.⁷⁰ While she and her husband were living in Odda, she was asked to sing a contralto solo with the local workers' choir. Sigrid and Diderich were already aware of, and disturbed by, the class divisions in the local community. Diderich, as one of the engineers in a major local firm, was perceived as being in a higher social class than the workers. Sigrid saw the invitation to sing with the workers' choir as a way of making genuine contact with local people. However, as long as she was treated as a soloist, sitting in front of the choir, she remained socially isolated from choir members. At her own insistence, she became a member of the contralto section of the choir, stepping forward only when she had to sing a solo. In that way, she was accepted into the ranks of the choir, deriving considerable satisfaction at being met with warmth from her fellow choir members.⁷¹

During the winter of 1935/36, Sigrid Helliesen Lund joined WILPF Norway. In her autobiography, she recalled that, relatively soon after becoming a member, she joined the organisation's national committee as secretary. In the 1930s, the organisation was accused of being communist and, on occasion, their meetings and lectures were disrupted by young members of NS, the Norwegian fascist party.⁷²

⁷⁰ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 29, 32, 42, 46-47.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 48-49.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 57. Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 97.

In 1936 Sigrid joined the newly-formed Friends of the Right to Asylum [*Asylrettens venner* - FRA] which was led by Mimi Sverdrup Lunden, 'an ardent anti-fascist and a convinced pacifist.'⁷³ The organisation worked to help refugees from eastern Europe find work and accommodation. In early 1937 Sigrid Helliesen Lund was invited to join Nansen Relief to work on children's issues, which she was glad to do.⁷⁴ As she became more involved with the organisation, she withdrew from the FRA, although she continued to be involved in WILPF Norway.⁷⁵ In October 1939 Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Marie Lous Mohr, a fellow member of WILPF Norway and one of the non-Quaker Norwegians who had spent time at Woodbrooke, travelled to Prague on behalf of Nansen Relief to collect 37 Jewish children and bring them to safety in Norway while their families waited for permission to emigrate to the USA.⁷⁶ The Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union meant that many Finns became internally-displaced refugees.⁷⁷ Nansen Relief decided to help support some of them. Sigrid led a group which went to Finland at the very end of 1939 and remained until mid-March 1940 when the Winter War ended.⁷⁸ The group included a doctor, a medical student and six nurses. Their main work was medical, but they also took clothes and food. For the most part, the group assisted Finns displaced from their

⁷³ Store Norske Leksikon, *Mimi Sverdrup Lunden*, 2017, accessed 6 November 2017, https://snl.no/Mimi_Sverdrup_Lunden. Ida Blom, 'Foremothers: "To Women in the Year 2000": Norwegian Historians of Women, c.1900-c.1960,' *Gender & History* 19, no. 3 (2007), 592.

⁷⁴ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 61-62. Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen* [Odd Nansen], 101.

⁷⁵ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 58-59, 64-65.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 67-69. n.d. 'Navn og informasjon om norske studenter på Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alfabetisk' [Names and information about Norwegian students at Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alphabetical], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁷⁷ David Kirby, *A Concise History of Finland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 208-216; Meinander, *History of Finland*, 146-151.

⁷⁸ Kirby, *Concise History of Finland*, 214. Gibbins, *Sigrid Helliesen Lund: Portrait*, 6. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 69-75.

homes, but some group members were also involved in helping those injured in front-line fighting.⁷⁹

In April 1940, Nazi-led forces invaded and occupied Norway. Sigrid and Diderich became involved in the non-violent resistance movement, refusing to join activities that involved any use of force.⁸⁰ Diderich and another engineer, Haakon Eeg-Henriksen, had set up their own engineering company in 1931.⁸¹ Diderich's work with the company meant that he had special permission from the authorities for extended travel throughout Norway, a privilege the Nazi occupiers allowed to very few Norwegians. He used that freedom of movement to act as a courier between different resistance groups throughout the country.⁸² Sigrid helped with a group that arranged financial assistance for families of people who had been arrested by the Nazi authorities. The funds were smuggled into and around the country, an activity with which Diderich was involved.⁸³ Sigrid and Diderich's home also occasionally provided a hiding place for people who were waiting to flee over the border to Sweden to avoid arrest.⁸⁴ That included helping some members of Norway's Jewish population to avoid arrest and transportation to virtually certain death in Nazi camps for which work she was posthumously awarded the title of 'Righteous Among the Nations' in 2006.⁸⁵ In early 1944, as a result of his involvement with the resistance, Diderich had to flee

⁷⁹ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 69-75.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 87-88. Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 112-115, 122-123, 124, 125-126.

⁸¹ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 79, 80-81.

⁸² Ibid., 115.

⁸³ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 59-60.

⁸⁴ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 91.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 96-103. Yad Vashem, 'Righteous Among the Nations Awarded by Yad Vashem by 1 January 2017: Norway,' n.d. accessed 6 November 2017, <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/pdf-drupal/norway.pdf>.

to Sweden to avoid arrest by the Gestapo. It was immediately clear that Sigrid was in equal danger and she fled to Sweden only a few days after her husband.⁸⁶

Following liberation in May 1945 and her return to Norway, Sigrid joined the FHT committee, initially as secretary, later becoming chairman when Ole Olden had to withdraw from the role because of other commitments. She was actively helped by the English Quaker, Myrtle Wright.

Myrtle Wright (1903-1991)

After completing a Natural Sciences degree at Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1926, Myrtle Wright spent the following year at Woodbrooke.⁸⁷ She studied religious and international affairs and it was during this period that she joined Quakers.⁸⁸ Quakerism was central to her life. She later worked for the British Quaker body the Friends Service Council (FSC), having considerable contact with international students. She travelled to India in 1938-1939, where she met Gandhi. In 1939 she was in Palestine and Lebanon, visiting Brummana High School, a Quaker foundation.⁸⁹ In early 1940 she went to Copenhagen on the FSC's behalf to help

⁸⁶ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 129-133; Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 116.

⁸⁷ Newnham College, *Newnham College Register, 1871-1971*, 2nd ed. ([Cambridge]: [Newnham College], 1979, 352. Radley Charitable Trust, 'The Radleys,' n.d., accessed 7 October 2020, <https://www.radleycharitabletrust.org.uk/the-radleys/>. Myrtle Wright would not have been able to graduate formally as the University of Cambridge did not award degrees to women until 1948 (see University of Cambridge, Cambridge University Libraries, 'The Rising Tide: Women at Cambridge: #WomenAtCambridge,' n.d., accessed 7 October 2020, <https://www.cam.ac.uk/TheRisingTide>).

⁸⁸ Radley Charitable Trust, 'The Radleys,' n.d., accessed 7 October 2020, <https://www.radleycharitabletrust.org.uk/the-radleys/>.

⁸⁹ Ibid. Cambridge and Peterborough Monthly Meeting, 'Myrtle Aldren Wright Radley Testimony,' in *London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends Proceedings 1994*. London: London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 155.

establish a Scandinavian Quaker Centre there.⁹⁰ On 6 April 1940, she travelled to Norway to visit Norwegians whom she had met at Woodbrooke and became trapped in the country following the Nazi invasion three days later. After some weeks of her being offered hospitality by different acquaintances, Sigrid and Diderich Lund offered Myrtle a place in their home.⁹¹ She had met them after she had arrived in Norway and before the Germans had invaded, and had spent some time with them subsequently so there was a degree of acquaintance before they extended their invitation to her.⁹² Myrtle is quoted as saying 'I came to tea and stayed four years.'⁹³ She and the Lunds rapidly became close friends and her presence with them seems to have been a factor in Sigrid's later becoming a Quaker and in Diderich's becoming closely associated with Quakers although he did not formally become a member.⁹⁴ In her autobiography, Sigrid made clear that she never felt under any pressure from Myrtle to become a Quaker.⁹⁵ It was presumably the experience of sharing a home with a dedicated Quaker and attending meetings for worship with her that gave Sigrid an exposure to Quakerism that she would probably not otherwise have experienced.

One of Myrtle's aims in coming to Oslo had been to meet Norwegian Old Woodbrookers. Once it was clear that she would be unable to leave Norway following the Nazi-led invasion, such contacts became especially important to her in her need

⁹⁰ 1939-11-29 Friends Service Council Scandinavia Committee, minute 600, LSF, YM/MfS/ FSC Friends Service Council: Europe Committee Minutes, 1939.

⁹¹ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 112. Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 2, 24, 32.

⁹² Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 3, 16, 18, 21.

⁹³ Radley Charitable Trust, 'The Radleys,' n.d., accessed 7 October 2020, <https://www.radleycharitabletrust.org.uk/the-radleys/>.

⁹⁴ Gibbins, *Sigrid Helliesen Lund: Portrait*, 10, 13. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 110. Cambridge and Peterborough Monthly Meeting, 'Myrtle Aldren Wright Radley Testimony,' 156. 2015-08-02, Hans Eirik Aarek, email message.

⁹⁵ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 137.

to establish some sort of personal network.⁹⁶ Through the Old Woodbrooker network she met a woman who was to be instrumental in enabling Quaker meetings for worship to be held in Oslo. Myrtle wrote in her *Diary*:

In particular a widow and teacher, Rakel Stensrud living at Lysaker, gave me an invitation for each Sunday and it was refreshing to spend hours in her home and garden away from the centre of the town. Later on a few of us met there regularly, each third Sunday, for a small Quaker Meeting for Worship.⁹⁷

Occasionally, the Meeting for Worship was held at the Lunds' house and, in her autobiography, Sigrid Helliesen Lund stated that, of all the groups she was involved with at the time, the one that meant most to her was the Quaker Meeting for Worship and that continued during her period of exile in Sweden.⁹⁸ While neither Sigrid nor Myrtle was among FHT's founders, Myrtle recorded in her *Diary* that, during the war, the two discussed the need for humanitarian relief that would exist after the war. 'We had a long discussion on the future plans for relief work, on the need for work which was more than physical relief and which was reconciling in spirit also.'⁹⁹ This sentiment accords with the approach to relief identified among Quaker volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, and among Quaker and other relief groups in Germany after the Second World War.¹⁰⁰

Like the Lunds, Myrtle Wright took part in non-violent resistance to the occupying forces.¹⁰¹ For example, she helped with the distribution of funds, smuggled into

⁹⁶ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 2, 16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 224. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 110, 120, 136-137.

⁹⁹ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 116, 140.

¹⁰⁰ Mendlesohn, 'Ethics,' 4. Matthew Frank, 'Working for the Germans: British Voluntary Societies and the German Refugee Crisis, 1945-50,' *Historical Research* 82, no. 215 (2009), 173.

¹⁰¹ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 112. 1944-10-25 Friends Service Council Europe Committee, minute 463, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC Friends Service Council Europe Committee Minutes, 1944.

Norway, to families of men who had been imprisoned. She also took part in the Lund family's efforts to help Jews escape to Sweden to avoid arrest and deportation to Nazi death camps.¹⁰² As a result, she too was in danger of being arrested by the Gestapo and had to flee to Sweden in early 1944 with Sigrid.¹⁰³ She returned to Norway shortly after liberation in 1945 and, in late 1946, received the Haakon VII Freedom Cross [*Haakon VII's Frihetskors*], 'awarded to Norwegian, foreign military or civilians for outstanding achievement during war.'¹⁰⁴ Through her work for the FSC, Myrtle Wright had numerous contacts with British Quaker organisations. She was instrumental in arranging for twenty-two members of the FAU PWS to take part in FHT's relief project in Finnmark in 1946.¹⁰⁵ She may also have helped to facilitate the participation of two volunteers from International Voluntary Service for Peace, the British branch of Service Civil International. Elise Thomsen was a Danish Quaker who had herself been a relief worker during the Spanish Civil War and who was one of the founders of FHA (4.3).¹⁰⁶ She knew Myrtle Wright from the time the latter had spent in Denmark in early 1940 and, in a letter to Myrtle shortly after the end of the war in Europe in which Elise outlined FHA's preparations for post-war relief, she

¹⁰² Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 59-60, 101-102.

¹⁰³ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 133-134; Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 116-117. Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 227-231.

¹⁰⁴ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 247-248. Radley Charitable Trust, 'The Radleys,' n.d., accessed 7 October 2020, <https://www.radleycharitabletrust.org.uk/the-radleys/>. Myrtle Wright married Philip Radley in 1951.

¹⁰⁵ 1945-09-03 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred [Tritton], 2, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnote 42 for the identity of the sender. Only the first name of the recipient is given. The content of the document makes clear that he was involved in working with the British Friends Relief Service and Friends Service Council, and, at the date of the letter, was in Scandinavia. That the recipient was Fred Tritton is supported by the fact that Fred Tritton is recorded as having reported on a trip to Scandinavia to a meeting of the Friends Service Council Europe Committee in October 1945 (see 1945-10-26 Friends Service Council Europe Committee, minute 57, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC Friends Service Council: Europe Committee Minutes, 1945.)} 1945-12-24 Myrtle [Wright] to Brian Groves and Eric Hayman, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnote 42 for the identity of the sender.}

¹⁰⁶ Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace,' 80, 92, 99, <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.493726>. Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 8.

suggested that IVSP should be contacted and asked Myrtle if she could help because of the difficulty of writing or sending telegrams from Denmark at the time.¹⁰⁷

The FHT archive in Oslo contains an eleven-page excerpt from what must have been a much longer diary-style letter. The writer is not named but was almost certainly an AFSC representative who had travelled to Finnmark to review FHT's work there. In the letter, the writer describes Myrtle Wright as 'a very dynamic person in...her "bustling way".'¹⁰⁸

In a report written in August 1946, Irwin Abrams, of the AFSC, wrote: 'The Fredsvenner Committee in Oslo...is not a very active committee, and the Fredvenners has been mainly Sigrid Lund, who has been aided and abetted by Myrtle Wright.'¹⁰⁹ His judgement is essentially correct. However, other members of the FHT committee undoubtedly contributed in a number of ways, for example, by helping to draft a brochure (presumably for publicity and/or recruitment), by sourcing

¹⁰⁷ 1940-04-12 Elise [Thomsen] to Fred Tritton, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/2. {Elise Thomsen is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} 1945-06-01 Elise Thomsen to Myrtle Wright, 1, YM/MfS/FSC, LSF, FSC/SC/2/1.

¹⁰⁸ 1946-08-13 'July 30: My last day...', 4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document is an 11-page extract from what appears to be a much longer diary-style letter. There are handwritten page numbers on the sheets. However, these are not consecutive throughout the 11-page extract so page numbering for citation purposes has used the 1-11 sequence. {The letter writer's name is not given. Some of the content indicates that the writer was associated with the AFSC (p10). The writer arrived in Kvalsund via Hammerfest on 3 August (p4) and gave a talk about AFSC work to the FHT volunteers there on 5 August (p5), which suggests that he was Irwin Abrams (see [1946-08] 'Mandag 29/7' [Monday 29/7], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The [1946-08] document gives day and month dates but no year. The year must be 1946 because some of the volunteers named in the document worked in Finnmark in that year only. For example, a volunteer called Eunice is mentioned. Eunice Jones is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material and she left Finnmark in November 1946 (see FHT 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, 1, F-L0002 0004 {see footnotes 37 and 56 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively of the 1946-11-30 document}).}

¹⁰⁹ 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 1, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946.

equipment and work clothes for use in Finnmark, and by seeking to identify individuals who had the skills and willingness to undertake leadership roles in the planned work camps.¹¹⁰

From July 1946 Kvalsund had become the main centre for administration, excepting only the activities of the Oslo committee, which acted largely as a policy committee.¹¹¹ As discussed in 3.3, FHT's papers in Finnmark were destroyed in a fire in May 1947 in Kvalsund, the main FHT camp.¹¹² The existing archive in the Norwegian National Archives in Oslo [*Riksarkivet* – NNA] is essentially Sigrid Helliesen Lund's personal papers, in other words those held by the organisation's chairman. That being the case, the file of minutes of the Oslo committee meetings is notably slim. The committee seems to have met approximately once each month, starting in September 1945, except for a four-month gap from June to September 1946 and another one from April to July 1947, when the work in Finnmark was coming to an end. It is possible that other sets of minutes of Oslo committee meetings were among papers held only in FHT's Oslo office and now lost (3.3).

Negotiations with the Norwegian authorities and sending goods north

It was not possible for FHT to send volunteers to northern Norway immediately. The danger from land mines was great. One estimate suggested that there were around

¹¹⁰ 1945-09-07 Møte i Kvekerhjelp til Finnmark [Meeting of Quaker Aid for Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-03-16 'FHT for Nord-Norge' [FHT for northern Norway], 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹¹¹ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹¹² 1947-05-26 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 37 and 56 for the identities of the first named sender and the recipient respectively. Astrid Foss is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

800,000, only partially mapped, along with abandoned ammunition dumps. Sea transport was also affected by the destruction of lighthouses and the need to sweep for mines. Work began immediately on clearing ordnance but the task, like the construction of temporary accommodation, took time.¹¹³ In addition, relief workers sent shortly after liberation by FHA, the Danish organisation, were considered to be sufficient in number to meet the initial need, not least because, at liberation, the population of northern Norway was much reduced.¹¹⁴ There is some variation in the estimates of the numbers of people who managed to evade forced evacuation and remain in the north but it seems that between 20,000 and 25,000 people remained in the region throughout the closing stages of the war.¹¹⁵

The post-war Norwegian government was anxious to prevent evacuees from returning home and the authorities issued a prohibition to that effect with exceptions for special cases, such as adult workers.¹¹⁶ Not only was there very real danger from unexploded ordnance as mentioned above, but also there was a virtually complete lack of accommodation and infrastructure in place, hence the wish to have those skilled in building return north first. In addition, the government initially planned to rebuild permanent homes before people returned.¹¹⁷ However, the evacuees thought otherwise and started to travel home in large numbers in what has been described as

¹¹³ Diderich H. Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 194-195.

¹¹⁴ [1946 10] 'Statement about "FHT" (Norway) for organisations meeting at Brussels, October 20th-22nd, 1946,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {See footnote 23 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

¹¹⁵ Diderich Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 194. Eriksen and Halvorsen, *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 52.

¹¹⁶ Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 126-128.

¹¹⁷ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 129. Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 123-124.

the single biggest example of civil disobedience in Norwegian history.¹¹⁸ The unplanned return of large numbers of Finnmark inhabitants forced the government to change its plans and erect a great deal of temporary accommodation to tide people over until permanent houses could be built.¹¹⁹

Scholars identify the need for humanitarian organisations to gain and maintain permission from the relevant authorities for relief to be delivered.¹²⁰ Over the winter of 1945/1946, the FHT committee had to obtain permission from the Norwegian government for their proposed relief project in northern Norway. By that time, Sigrid Helliesen Lund was effectively leading the project. She knew a number of the relevant government officials and negotiated with them to get permission for FHT to take volunteers from different countries to Finnmark as voluntary relief workers.¹²¹ During that period, FHT facilitated the sending of parcels to northern Norway. It may also have sent some directly but that is not clear from the evidence. Following a meeting of the Oslo committee on 6 October 1945, it was minuted that Quaker clothes had arrived in Tromsø in September, that is, clothes, bedding and sewing materials. While no specific quantities are given in the FHT archive, an article in the British Quaker periodical, *The Friend*, printed in the same month, mentioned that 30 bundles of clothing in good condition sent by the British FSC had been received in

¹¹⁸ Eriksen and Halvorsen, *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 224.

¹¹⁹ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 129.

¹²⁰ Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace,' 158-159, 177, 215-216, 222. Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 260.

¹²¹ 1946-04-17 Steve Cary to Julia Branson, 2,3, AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946. [1946-01] Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright], LSF, FSC/SC/1/7. {No date is given. However, it is written in response to a letter dated 7 January 1946, and reference is made to the work FHT intends to do in the coming spring and summer and to the volunteers FHT hopes to get from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Britain and the USA. It is reasonable to assume that it was written in January 1946. Myrtle Wright and Sigrid Helliesen Lund are the only two individuals with those first names identifiable in the archive material.}

Tromsø.¹²² Bundles containing clothes, bed linen and sewing materials were forwarded to Gamvig [*sic*] (probably Gamvik), Berlevaag (Berlevåg) and Alta.¹²³ It is implied that FHT facilitated the sending of the goods, but it is not stated, and there is no information as to the number of items contained in a bundle. There is also some evidence that FHT were aware of, and wished to help with, need among people in other parts of Norway. In early 1946 AFSC asked FHT for advice as to the best way of sending goods to Norway. FHT agreed to receive the packages and said that they would ask the authorities to distribute them according to need – to pensioners and seamen's widows, for example – and not necessarily send them to northern Norway.¹²⁴

Planning the relief work in Finnmark

Minutes of the Oslo committee's meetings show that FHT developed its plans for relief work in Finnmark in consultation with the reconstruction authorities and National Relief [*Nasjonshjelpen*].¹²⁵ National Relief had been set up shortly after German forces occupied Norway in 1940 with the aim of co-ordinating aid to people affected by the war. After liberation it continued the same function, establishing a department to offer assistance with reconstruction in Finnmark and northern Troms. From October 1945 to August 1946 it organised collections in southern Norway to

¹²² 'What About Those Clothes?' *The Friend* (16 November 1945), 781.

¹²³ 1945-10-06 Referat fra møte [Minutes from meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Gamvik and Berlevåg are fishing villages on the north coast of mainland Finnmark. Alta is a town on the coast of western Finnmark. 'aa' is an older form of what is now written as 'å' (see Språkrådet, 'Kvifor har vi æ, ø og å i det norske alfabetet?' [Why do we have æ, ø and å in the Norwegian alphabet?], n.d., accessed 5 March 2021, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/?CurrentForm.SearchText=aa&CurrentForm.KategoriFilter=Bokstaver+og+tegn>).

¹²⁴ 1946-03-16 'FHT for Nord-Norge [FHT for northern Norway]', 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹²⁵ See, for example, 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004, and 1946-02-07 'Velferdsarbeidet i Nord-Norge' [Welfare work in northern Norway], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

help the areas of northern Norway that had been destroyed, and money, tools and equipment were donated.¹²⁶ As part of the planning of FHT's activities in Finnmark, Sigrid and Myrtle travelled round northern Norway in autumn 1945 to find out at first hand about the level of destruction and to think about what relief FHT might be able to offer. During the war Sigrid had been the Nansen Relief representative on a National Relief committee established to help children affected by the war. National Relief planned to support the Trondenes camp near Harstad for Finnmark evacuees and, as part of her duties on the trip for FHT, Sigrid was asked to report on the camp to the organisation.¹²⁷

Inevitably, FHT's plans changed over time, not least as some of the issues involved depended on decisions taken in consultation with the authorities. There was to be a main work camp and all volunteers were to begin by spending a fortnight there, partly to give an opportunity for appropriate training and partly to allow volunteers' abilities to be assessed so that they could be allocated to an appropriate work team.¹²⁸ At first, it was intended that FHT's main base would be the Trondenes camp.¹²⁹ However, the proposed site subsequently changed more than once. Both Alta and Lakselv were considered as possible locations before it was decided that Kvalsund would be appropriate, as it had good connections to the main road and was on the coast, making sea travel easier.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Nøkleby, *Nyordning* [Changes], 58-59.

¹²⁷ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 47. 1945-08-30 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred [Tritton], 1-2, LSF, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnotes 42 and 105 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹²⁸ n.d. 'FHT for Nord-Norge' [FHT for northern Norway], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

¹²⁹ n.d. 'FHT: Opplysninger om planer våren 1946' [FHT: Information about plans for spring 1946], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

¹³⁰ *Alta*: 1946-03-16 'FHT for Nord-Norge' [FHT for northern Norway], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. *Lakselv and Kvalsund*: 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge möte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Möte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Möte [Meeting]), 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. The

FHT wanted to offer voluntary personal relief to people affected by the war and aimed to do so by undertaking physical work, such as construction, helping in people's homes or on their land, and by offering social and cultural activities. They envisaged having both male and female volunteers and initially planned that there should be three times as many men as women. However, FHT acknowledged that there would be many more women than men in the Norwegian cohort as 'Norwegian men will not have the opportunity to do voluntary work this year.' That statement is not elaborated. Women were to undertake tasks such as housework and childcare, and it was important for them to have knowledge of first aid and caring for the sick, and to have experience of social work. Men were to have building skills but did not need formal qualifications.¹³¹ FHT had about 20 small huts which could each accommodate eight people. The intention was that groups would take them to the location in which they were to work and erect them there. Later, if necessary, they could be taken down and used in another place.¹³²

Each volunteer was to come equipped with suitable work clothes and boots, a sleeping bag and blanket, cutlery, some first aid supplies, and tools, if possible. Board and lodging would be provided and volunteers were to be paid 1 krone per day pocket money.¹³³ Initially, they were expected to remain in Finnmark for about three

minutes of three meetings are included in one document. Lakselv as a location for the main work camp was discussed at the 1946-04-02 meeting. The choice of Kvalsund was confirmed at the 1946-04-25 meeting. Italics are used for clarification, as here, where citations in the same footnote refer to, for example, different places, individuals or topics.

¹³¹ n.d. 'FHT Planer for våren 1946' [FHT Plans for spring 1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. 'norske menn ikke vil ha høve til å ta frivillig arbeid i år.'

¹³² n.d. 'FHT for Nord-Norge' [FHT for northern Norway], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

¹³³ In pre-decimal British currency, 1 krone would have been equivalent to 1/- (£0.05 in decimal currency which was adopted in Britain on 15 February 1971, see The Royal Mint, 'Story of

months, although, as is discussed in Appendix 2, that did not always happen, and they had to be prepared to do the tasks assigned to them. Volunteers came from Norway, Denmark, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Finland. The organisations through which they were recruited were responsible for providing appropriate accident insurance for their volunteers, and the Finnmark Office was to provide health insurance. Either the volunteers or the sponsoring organisations were to pay for travel from the home country to the main work camp. All travel within Finnmark would be paid by the Finnmark Office. If volunteers wanted to travel for private reasons, then they would be responsible for the cost.¹³⁴

FHT drew up lists of tools that volunteers would need and equipment, such as kitchen utensils, that would be required in the camps and sent copies to FHA in Denmark and IAL in Sweden, two of the organisations which sent volunteers to take part in FHT's relief work in Finnmark. It was noted that copies of the lists were also sent to National Relief in Oslo, and an organisation named as the Norwegian Finnmark Committee [*Norska Finnmarkskomiteen*] in Stockholm.¹³⁵ Ole Olden tried to find equipment in Stavanger. In Oslo, Fritz Lund did likewise, as did Engineer

Decimalisation,' 2017, accessed 7 September 2017, <http://www.royalmint.com/discover/decimalisation/the-story-of-decimalisation>). Norges Bank, 'Historical exchange rates,' 2009, accessed 31 December 2020, <https://www.norges-bank.no/en/topics/Statistics/Historical-monetary-statistics/Historical-exchange-rates/>. Norges Bank is the Norwegian Central Bank. 1 krone in 1946 would be worth £2.14 at 2020 values (see Bank of England, 'Inflation Calculator,' 2021, accessed 25 May 2021, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>).

¹³⁴ n.d. 'FHT Planer for våren 1946' [FHT Plans for spring 1946], 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. n.d. 'FHT for Nord-Norge' [FHT for northern Norway], 2, F-L0003 0004

¹³⁵ I have not been able to identify the *Norska Finnmarkskomiteen* [Norwegian Finnmark Committee]. It may be that the name given in the archive material was not the committee's formal name.

Tønnevold, who worked in Eeg-Henriksen & Diderich Lund A/S, the engineering firm part owned by Diderich Lund.¹³⁶

The committee in Kvalsund

Later, when FHT relief activities had started in Finnmark, a committee was set up, based in Kvalsund, the main FHT work camp in Finnmark. It was initially composed of a volunteer from each of the organisations which, in 1946, had sent people to take part in the FHT project: FHT itself; FHA from Denmark; IAL from Sweden; the FAU PWS and the IVSP from Britain; and the AFSC from the United States.¹³⁷ All surviving sets of minutes from the committee in Kvalsund are dated from 1946.¹³⁸

Given that there are surviving sets of minutes of meetings of the FHT Oslo Committee dated 1947, it seems that the committee in Kvalsund did not function after the end of 1946. After the latter had been in existence for some weeks, it changed to be open to all volunteers to attend its meetings if they wished.¹³⁹ In order to distinguish it from the committee that met in Oslo, it will be referred to as the Kvalsund committee. The minutes of the two committees illustrate that the Oslo committee was concerned with overarching organisational matters while its counterpart in Kvalsund concentrated on day-to-day tasks. The former typically

¹³⁶ 1946-03-16 'FHT for Nord-Norge' [FHT for northern Norway], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 80.

¹³⁷ 1946-07-15 'Circ[ular] 3 FAU & IVSP Finnmark,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

¹³⁸ See FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. Three documents in the folder give minutes of meetings on: 12 and 15 August ([1946]-08-12 Gruppemøte mandag [Group meeting Monday] (with Gruppemøte torsdag [Group meeting Thursday]), FHT archive, F-L0001 0005); 18 and 19 August ([1946]-08-18 Gruppemøte [sic] 18.8 [Group meeting 18.8] (with Gruppemøte 19.8 kl. 2 [Group meeting 19.8, 2 o'clock] and Gruppemøte 19.8 kl. 2 [Group meeting 19.8, 2 o'clock]), FHT archive, F-L0001 0005); and 5 November respectively ([1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005). {None of the three documents gives a year. However, all three refer to FHT work being done in Kåfjord and that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). It is reasonable to assume that the documents record meetings held in 1946.}

¹³⁹ 1946-09-06 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005.

discussed issues such as drafting a brochure to publicise what FHT wished to do in Finnmark and why, funding, discussions with the authorities, investigative visits to Finnmark to assess need, and the location of the main work camp.¹⁴⁰ The latter increasingly assumed responsibility for determining what practical tasks would be undertaken, such as setting up a bakery in Kvalsund, and which individuals would work in each location.¹⁴¹

Section summary

FHT developed from a wish among members of Norway's Quaker community to offer personal voluntary help to people affected by war and especially to their northern compatriots whose lives had been so catastrophically affected in the closing months of the occupation of their country. From an early stage the Oslo committee planning its work in Finnmark included people who were not Quakers but who had a similar commitment to peace work, a common feature in Quaker-led relief.¹⁴² In addition, a significant proportion of them had worked together as members of the Norwegian civilian non-violent resistance movement during the war. In this respect, FHT resembled the development of relief work out of pre-existing networks described by

¹⁴⁰ 1945-09-07 Møte i Kvekerhjelp til Finnmark [Meeting of Quaker Aid for Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1945-10-31 Referat fra møte onsdag [Minutes of the meeting on Wednesday], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-02-08 Referat av møte i FHT [Minutes of a meeting of FHT], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge møte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Møte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Møte [Meeting]), F-L0001 0004.

¹⁴¹ 1946-08-01 Referat for gruppemøte [Minutes of the group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 1946-08-27 Gruppe møte [*sic*] [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 1946-09-06 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 1946-11-12 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005.

¹⁴² J. William Frost, "'Our Deeds Carry Our Message': The Early History of the American Friends Service Committee," *Quaker History* 81, no. 1 (1992), 10, 16. Roger C. Wilson, *Authority, Leadership and Concern*, 22. Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 9.

Luke Kelly, Katherine Storr and Roberts.¹⁴³ Tasks were shared among committee members but the greater part of the work was undertaken by Sigrid Helliesen Lund, frequently aided by Myrtle Wright. The evidence suggests an organisation striving hard to realise plans under pressure of time, clear that it aimed to offer relief and to promote international understanding, and concentrating on bringing its plans to fruition rather than on building formal organisational structures.

4.2: Interactions between FHT and the reconstruction authorities

The Finnmark Office [*Finnmarkskontoret*] was established in 1945 under the Directorate of Reconstruction [*Gjenreisningsdirektoratet*], itself a part of the Department of Supply and Reconstruction [*Forsynings- og gjenreisningsdepartementet*]. The Office was administratively responsible for leading the reconstruction of Finnmark and the northern part of Troms, the county [*fylke*] immediately south of Finnmark, between 1945 and 1947, after which the work was transferred to the county authorities.¹⁴⁴ The area being reconstructed was divided into seven districts, with FHT's main work camp, Kvalsund, being sited in District III [*Distrikt III*]. A number of municipalities [*kommuner*] had a local building office with a building leader [*byggeleder*] and some had building committees [*byggenemnder*] which helped to organise and regulate local work.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Luke Kelly, *British Humanitarian Activity in Russia, 1890-1923* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 17-18. Storr, 'Excluded from the Record,' 60, 71, 86, 110, 175. Roberts, "'Position of Peculiar Responsibility'," 254.

¹⁴⁴ NSD Forvaltningsdatabasen, 'Finnmarkskontoret i Harstad' [The Finnmark Office in Harstad], n.d., accessed 22 November 2017, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/polsys/data/forvaltning/enhet/10204/endringshistorie>. NSD Forvaltningsdatabasen, 'Forsynings- og gjenreisningsdepartementet' [The Department of Supply and Reconstruction], n.d., accessed 7 December 2017, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/polsys/data/forvaltning/enhet/10000/endringshistorie>.

¹⁴⁵ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 67-68.

The Finnmark Office provided food, lodging, pocket money and third class travel within Norway for the FHT relief workers and lent them some equipment.¹⁴⁶ There was discussion between the Office and the FHT about the location of the main work camp, with Alta and Lakselv being considered before the decision was made to site it in Kvalsund.¹⁴⁷ In early 1946 it was reported that the Finnmark Office was supportive of FHT's suggestions for tasks it might undertake in northern Norway, in spite of earlier misgivings on the part of Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright that the concept of voluntary work was not well understood in Norway.¹⁴⁸ In August 1946, FHT volunteers in Finnmark were reminded that all groups should send in reports and copies of accounts because the Finnmark Office were eager to receive them.¹⁴⁹ The previous month Sigrid Helliesen Lund had written to the Finnmark Office's Social Department [*Finnmarkkontorets sosiale avdeling*] to confirm that FHT would follow

¹⁴⁶ 1945-09-03 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred [Tritton], 2, LSF, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnotes 42 and 105 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1946-07-12 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontorets sosiale avdeling [the Finnmark Office's Social Department], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-09-18 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Sosialkontoret, Finnmarkskontoret [the Social Department, the Finnmark Office], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴⁷ 1946-03-22 Rapport III [Report 3], FHT archive, F-L0001 0007. 1946-04-17 Steve Cary to Julia Branson, 4, AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946. 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge møte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Møte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Møte [Meeting]), 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹⁴⁸ 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-11 Rapport fra S[igrid]. H[elliesen]. Lunds reise til Kvalsund [Report from S. H. Lund's journey to Kvalsund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with those initials and that family name identifiable in the archive material.} [1945-10] Report of a visit to north Norway by Sigrid Helliesen Lund and M. Wright, 4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document is undated. However, the first paragraph states that Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright had just returned from a visit to northern Norway. They had departed on 12 September 1945 (see 1945-09-07 Møte i Kvekerhjelp til Finnmark [Meeting of Quaker Aid for Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004) and had returned by early October (see 1945-10-06 Referat fra moete [Minutes from meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004). It is reasonable to assume that the report was written in October 1945.}

¹⁴⁹ 1946-08-14 [not named] to Kjære alle gode venner i Kvalsund [All dear good friends in Kvalsund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender of the document is not named and no address is given. The content includes issues regarding the management of FHT that suggest that the sender was probably Sigrid Helliesen Lund, supported by a reference to 'Diderich' (ie, first name only), whom the sender met during a two-day stay in Harstad where Diderich Lund was based as Director of the Finnmark Office.}

instructions given to them and would undertake work only after consulting the authorities in the relevant locality, preferably in the knowledge that the local authorities and the Office had agreed what was to be done. She also confirmed that, as requested, FHT would send in copies of correspondence and intended that reports would be submitted fortnightly, although she qualified her agreement by explaining that FHT's internal correspondence was deliberately informal and unsuitable for submission to the Office.¹⁵⁰

There is evidence that FHT consulted local building authorities and that the authorities were pleased with the work that was done. For example, after a tour round the various work camps in July 1946, Sigrid Helliesen Lund reported that, in Lakselv, 'the boys [the FHT men] are doing building work and receiving great praise from the building leader Markussen, who has also been outstandingly helpful to us and has shown great understanding of our work.'¹⁵¹ When Ole Olden went on a similar tour round the work camps in September-October 1946, he reported that three women volunteers in Lebesby were each day providing food for 40-60 workers, who themselves were helping individual families and the local building office with reconstruction projects. Johan Bøgeberg, a member of the local building committee, commented to him that, without the FHT canteen, it would not have been possible to

¹⁵⁰ 1946-07-12 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontorets sosiale avdeling [the Finnmark Office's Social Department], 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁵¹ 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 'Guttene driver med byggearbeid og får meget god omtale av byggeleder Markussen, som også har vært en utmerket hjelp for oss og vist stor forståelse for vårt virke.'

have the workers there. Sigrid Helliesen Lund noted that Bøgeberg had been helpful in finding the group relevant tasks.¹⁵²

When FHT was planning the vocational courses for young people that it ran in Kvalsund in autumn 1946 through to spring and early summer 1947 (5.4), it was reported in a Kvalsund committee meeting that the Kvalsund council leader [*ordfører*] and the school director [*skoledirektør*] in Vadsø were very interested in FHT's educational plans.¹⁵³ When FHT withdrew from Finnmark in 1947, the local Vocational Education Committee [*Yrkesopplæringsnemnda*] took over the running of the domestic science course in Kvalsund and the mechanics course, although the latter was offered in Hammerfest.¹⁵⁴ That suggests that the authorities considered the volunteers' educational courses worth continuing, which is supported by the fact that two of the relief workers who had taught for FHT stayed on in Kvalsund as salaried teachers, one of domestic science and the other of carpentry, when the authorities took over the educational provision.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁵³ 1946-08-01 Referat for gruppemöte [Minutes of the group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005.

¹⁵⁴ 1947-10 Rapport fra FHTs arbeid 1947 [Report from FHT's work 1947], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁵⁵ [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {The document, which is not dated, is a report on FHT's activities in 1948 the first sentence of which makes clear that it was written late that year.} [1947]. 'Til Kvinnen og tidens redaksjon, Oslo [To Woman and Time's editorial office],' 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The document is undated. However, the year must be 1947. Karen-Elise Tresvig describes the domestic science school started in Finnmark by FHT in 1946. She came to Finnmark in January 1947 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004). The content makes clear that the document cannot have been written earlier than June 1947 (p2) and was written before autumn 1947 (p4).}

Academic analysis argues that support from the authorities can vary, whether temporarily or permanently.¹⁵⁶ FHT's relations with the authorities were not invariably harmonious and productive. When Sigrid Helliesen Lund made a tour round the groups in the second half of July 1946, she discovered that the volunteers in one of the work camps along the coast of the Porsanger Fjord had been hampered by the fact that the authorities had not been good at allocating tasks for them to do, the procedure agreed with the Finnmark Office. In the circumstances, she encouraged the group to find their own projects and seek approval from the authorities afterwards, an approach adopted by the FAU in the early days of the First World War.¹⁵⁷ In addition, the volunteers were providing daily meals for a number of other workers but the lack of accommodation was such that the meals had to be served in the room in which the FHT men slept and the workers who came for the meals arrived at all hours. Sigrid Helliesen Lund conferred with the local building leader who promised that better facilities would be provided.¹⁵⁸

In 1947 previously positive attitudes on the part of the local authorities towards FHT became more negative. When the volunteers had arrived in the late spring of 1946, there was still considerable need for people who could help to build housing, mostly temporary but also permanent. With varying levels of skills, FHT men undertook useful work in contributing to a range of tasks within the construction effort. Given the harsh winters of northern Norway, building stopped over the winter of 1946/1947 and, when construction started again in 1947, there was no longer much requirement for

¹⁵⁶ Manasseh, 'Brynmawr Experiment,' 126. Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 12, 202-203, 209.

¹⁵⁷ Tatham and Miles, *Friends' Ambulance Unit 1914-1919*, 8.

¹⁵⁸ 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

voluntary labour. The period of acute need had passed as most families had accommodation, even though it was unlikely to be permanent in nature. There was now a greater ability for people to pay for help and appropriately qualified workers were needed rather than volunteers.¹⁵⁹ FHT had itself foreseen that development and was aware that, although they might undertake some practical tasks during the summer of that year, their role would largely become focused on more social support to communities, such as the vocational courses they offered in Kvalsund.¹⁶⁰ Some local building officials seem to have started to view FHT volunteers still in Finnmark as occupying accommodation that could more usefully have been made available for the paid workers needed to do the more skilled reconstruction tasks that were planned as reconstruction developed more fully to the phase, described by Michael Barnett, in which the large-scale work of reconstituting infrastructure can only be undertaken by a national government.¹⁶¹ One district engineer, who had responded enthusiastically in March 1947 to Sigrid Helliesen Lund's suggestion that FHT volunteers might help to clear more sites of debris left after fire damage, had changed his mind by early June. At that point he informed relief workers in Kvalsund that there would be no need for voluntary work during the summer because all labour would be provided by private enterprises and paid workers, a development Barnett claimed to have been a widespread pattern in post-war reconstruction.¹⁶² However,

¹⁵⁹ 1946-10-08 'Komiteen har i flere møterdrøftet [*sic*] spørsmålet om virksomheten for vinteren' [The committee has in several meetings discussed the issue of work over the winter], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹⁶⁰ 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 3-4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁶¹ 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 37 and 112 for the identities of the first and second senders respectively. See footnote 56 for the identity of the recipient.} Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 118.

¹⁶² 1947-03-25 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright] or Ruth [Hauer], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 56 and 42 for the identities of the sender and the first named recipient respectively. In early 1947 Ruth Hauer was working three days a week in FHT's Oslo office (see 1947-

the engineer's prediction turned out to be not entirely accurate. Although there were only small numbers of FHT relief workers in the county at any one time in summer 1947 (the highest number was 27 during the month of July, see Appendix 3), they helped to prepare building sites, took part in haymaking, helped in people's homes, ran nurseries in Hammerfest and Alta, and provided dental treatment. However, FHT recognised that the authorities had decided that the time for voluntary input was over and all but one of the volunteers left Kvalsund in August 1947. There were two remained in Børselv in November and one in Kvalsund, with Greta Anderson continuing craft courses in Børselv into 1948.¹⁶³

4.3: Organisations that worked with FHT in Finnmark

Introduction

It is clear from Sigrid Helliesen Lund's autobiography that, as soon as was possible after the end of the war, Ole Olden, Erling Kjekstad and Sverre Hoëm started to contact other organisations that they hoped would participate in the work. They approached IAL in Sweden and FHA in Denmark, which had both sent volunteers to Norway independently of FHT before FHT's work began in 1946.¹⁶⁴

02-16 SHL [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with those initials identifiable in the archive material and Edith is almost certainly Edith Østlyngen, then in charge of administration at Kvalsund (see 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946).}. Ruth Hauer is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 37 and 112 for the identities of the two senders and footnote 56 for the identity of the recipient.} Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 118.

¹⁶³ 1947-11-17 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontoret [Finnmark Office], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁶⁴ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 129.

FHA had initially hoped to send groups of volunteers to work in Germany after the cessation of hostilities but the Allied occupation authorities refused permission.¹⁶⁵ Accordingly, Norway was chosen, not least because of the destruction in the north of the country, and the first FHA team of 20 nurses left Denmark for northern Norway in July 1945 in response to a specific request from the Norwegian Director of Health [*helsedirektør*], Karl Evang.¹⁶⁶ Other volunteers with a range of skills followed, including three teams who went to the Trondenes camp in northern Norway.¹⁶⁷ The camp had been established for the German military and, after their departure, was to be used as a transit facility for Norwegian evacuees returning to Finnmark.¹⁶⁸ However, it was in a poor state of repair and the FHA volunteers did a great deal of work in undertaking necessary repairs and cleaning to make it fit for habitation again.¹⁶⁹ IAL sent four volunteers to Trondenes in November 1945 where they helped to gather, clean and sort the equipment left behind by the Germans, and to clean huts so that returning evacuees could use them.¹⁷⁰ However, once FHT had established a presence in Finnmark, the volunteers from FHA and IAL who were still in Norway or who subsequently came to the country took part in the Norwegian organisation's programme of activities.

¹⁶⁵ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 40.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-42. Guri Hjeltne, 'Evang, Karl,' in *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian War Dictionary 1940-45], ed. Hans Fredrik Dahl, Guri Hjeltne, Berit Nøkleby, Nils Johan Ringdal, and Øystein Sørensen ([Oslo]: J. W. Cappelen, 1995), 87-88.

¹⁶⁷ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 48.

¹⁶⁸ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 71.

¹⁶⁹ 1945-10-05 DL [Diderich Lund] to Herr Statsråd Gabrielsen [Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {See footnote 38 for the identity of the sender of the letter and for information about Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen's area of responsibility.}

¹⁷⁰ n.d. 'IAL Tidningen' [IAL newsletter], 4, Internationella Arbetslag archive (hereafter IAL archive), B3:1.

The participating organisations

This section introduces the six organisations that joined FHT in its relief project in Finnmark in 1946 and 1947. In addition to FHA from Denmark and IAL from Sweden, the two British organisations, the FAU PWS and the IVSP, took part as did the American body, the AFSC, and KVT from Finland. Each of the six will be considered in the order of their foundation to illustrate where FHT fitted into the spectrum of the different relief bodies with which it co-operated. The reasons that brought the different organisations to Finnmark are discussed in 6.4.

American Friends Service Committee [AFSC]

The AFSC was established in 1917 shortly after the United States of America entered the First World War. It was 'organized by Quakers in Philadelphia to give young Friends of draft age an opportunity to serve their country in ways not requiring violence.'¹⁷¹ After taking part in relief and reconstruction work arising from the war, it developed into a permanent aid agency active both in the USA and in other countries, running counter to the trend, identified by Barnett, that 'prior to World War II aid agencies came and went with the emergency.'¹⁷² The AFSC's *Annual Report 1946* states that organisation's 'relief operations were at all times rooted in the Committee's basic, long-range concern for deep, creative peace among men.'¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ H. Larry Ingle, 'The American Friends Service Committee, 1947–49: The Cold War's Effect,' *Peace & Change* 23, no. 1 (1998), 28.

¹⁷² Ibid, 28-29. American Friends Service Committee, 'Bulletin No. 16: The First Year of American Friends' War Relief Service,' Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d., 1-13. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 105.

¹⁷³ American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1946,' (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d.), 5.

International Voluntary Service for Peace [IVSP]

The British organisation, IVSP, was established as a branch of Service Civil International (SCI), founded by Pierre Cérésolle, who later became a Quaker.¹⁷⁴ SCI ran work camps in which volunteers of different nationalities undertook 'pick and shovel work' and, in the process, sought to build peace through friendships across national boundaries.¹⁷⁵ IVSP's work in Britain began in the 1930s and during the Second World War IVSP was recognised by the British authorities as providing a means for conscientious objectors to undertake alternative national service.¹⁷⁶

Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA]

FHA, the Danish organisation, was started in September 1943 with the aim of setting up a peace organisation to undertake relief work after the war.¹⁷⁷ The three founders were Finn Friis, Elise Thomsen and Hagbard Jonassen. Elise Thomsen was already a Quaker, Finn Friis joined the Religious Society of Friends later and Hagbard Jonassen was a member of Never Again War [*Aldrig mere Krig*], a branch of War

¹⁷⁴ SCI International Archives, 'Historical Development [*sic*] of SCI in the 20th Century,' 2004-2019, accessed 8 March 2019, <http://archives.sci.ngo/history/developement-of-sci.html>. In the 1920s Pierre Cérésolle, a Swiss engineer and pacifist who became a member of the Religious Society of Friends in 1936, founded Service Civil International (SCI), with the aim of helping those affected by war or natural disasters and providing an alternative to military service for conscientious objectors. A peace rather than a pacifist organisation, it instituted work camps for groups of volunteers of different nationalities to undertake 'pick and shovel work' and, in the process, to build friendships across national boundaries (see The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, *Quaker Faith & Practice: The Book of Christian Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain* (London: The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, 2013), 10.29.

¹⁷⁵ Best and Pike, *International Voluntary Service for Peace*, 1. n.d. 'Bilag 1: Kort oversikt over de forskjellige organisasjoners oppgaver, arbeide og organisasjon' [Enclosure 1: A short overview of the different organisations' purposes, work and organisation], 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

¹⁷⁶ Best and Pike, *International Voluntary Service for Peace*, 35-36. International Voluntary Service, 'Our History,' n.d., accessed 17 April 2019, <https://ivsgb.org/history/>.

¹⁷⁷ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 9.

Resisters International.¹⁷⁸ Elise Thomsen was an Old Woodbrooker and had participated in Quaker-sponsored relief in Spain during the Civil War.¹⁷⁹

Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL]

IAL was the brainchild of Wolfgang Sonntag, a German of Jewish family background who had left Germany and moved to Norway during the 1930s, subsequently settling in Sweden. He had been interested in the work of SCI for a number of years.¹⁸⁰ He became a member of the Religious Society of Friends and in 1942 received support from Swedish Quakers for his plans to establish an organisation which would train young people to undertake projects in small teams to help those affected by conflict or natural disasters. Emilia Fogelklou, a leading Swedish Quaker, helped to establish IAL in 1943 and was a keen supporter of the fledgling organisation.¹⁸¹ IAL's aim of contributing to post-war reconstruction was made clear in the full form of the organisation's original name, which was Internationella arbetslag för återuppbyggnad [International work camps for reconstruction].¹⁸²

Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service [FAU PWS]

While the FAU PWS was technically the second youngest of the participating organisations from outside Norway, it developed from the Second World War FAU

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 8.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 11. Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace,' 80, 90, 95, 335.

¹⁸⁰ 1944-08-01 W[olfgang] Sonntag to Gilbert Murray, IAL archive, E1e1. {Wolfgang Sonntag is the only individual with that first name initial and that family name identifiable in the archive material.} In the letter, Wolfgang Sonntag refers to 'I.V.S.P.' rather than to SCI, presumably because his letter was to a British man whom Sonntag notes in the letter was then Vice-President of IVSP, the British branch of SCI. Malin Bergman Andrews, *Whirlwind of Life: The Story of Emilia Fogelklou* (London: Quaker Books, 2004), 165-166.

¹⁸¹ Andrews, *Whirlwind of Life*, 165-166. Service Civil International Sverige, 'Om SCI Sverige' [About SCI Sweden], 2021, accessed 10 November 2021, https://ial.se/wordpress/?page_id=45.

¹⁸² 1946-06-03 Kerstin to Manne, 1, IAL archive, E1a7.

which, in turn, had drawn on the heritage of its First World War predecessor. It was re-formed in 1939 'to undertake ambulance and relief work in areas under both civilian and military control, and so, by working as a pacifist and civilian body where the need is greatest, to demonstrate the efficacy of co-operating to build up a new world rather than fighting to destroy the old.'¹⁸³ It closed on 30 June 1946 but 'conscription had not ended...something had to be done...to provide for young pacifists.'¹⁸⁴ The individuals whose period of prescribed non-military service had not come to an end by 30 June 1946 were transferred to the Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service (FAU PWS) and their group constituted all but three of the British men who travelled to Finnmark to take part in the relief work organised by FHT. Two of the British men, Stephen Gould and Finlay McLaren, came under the auspices of the IVSP and David Wills, a Quaker who was some years older than the rest and was the UK's first qualified psychiatric social worker, came at the specific invitation of Sigrid Helliesen Lund.¹⁸⁵

Kansaivälinen Vapaaehtoinen Työleirijärestö [International Voluntary Work Camps – KVT]

The establishment of KVT, the Finnish organisation, in 1947 seems to have been prompted by the arrival in Finland of overseas volunteers to help the Finns to re-establish themselves after the war.¹⁸⁶ FHT credits it with helping the relief work in

¹⁸³ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 5-6.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 461. Bush, *FAU: The Third Generation*, 5-6.

¹⁸⁵ 1946-06-08 Journal letter from Myrtle Wright, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. n.d. David Wills, 'Autobiography: Part Three: Fulfilment,' 204, David Wills Archive, PP/WDW 3B1/1, Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archives and Special Collections, The Mulberry Bush Third Space.

¹⁸⁶ KVT Kansaivälinen vapaaehtoinen ry, 'KVT – an international peace organisation,' n.d. accessed 11 December 2020, <https://www.kvtfinland.org/en/what-is-kvt/>.

Finmark.¹⁸⁷ There is little detail about the Finnish body in the organisational archives examined but there is evidence that it sought to eliminate international tensions and to build peace by gathering teams of people from different classes of society and different nations to live and work together *with*, not simply *for*, those who needed their help.¹⁸⁸

Section summary

FHT was the result of a conviction on the part of three Norwegian Quakers that help had to be offered to their Finnmark compatriots who had lost so much in the forced evacuation and destruction of their communities. While the three initiators had to withdraw, whether temporarily or permanently, the plans were carried forward by a band of like-minded people who had already established good working relations and, in some cases, friendships through shared membership of formal and informal groupings. They had to gain permission from the Norwegian authorities to undertake their work. There is no evidence that FHT considered carrying out the Finnmark project without help from others, so they had to persuade other organisations to join in the endeavour. While not all the participating bodies were Quaker-led, it is known that there was some Quaker involvement in all but the Finnish organisation, KVT, and for that last there is insufficient evidence available to judge. All shared a conviction that relief work was a means of building peace and international understanding.

¹⁸⁷ n.d. 'Fred og hjelp' [Peace and aid], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹⁸⁸ 1948 'Tjäna, älska, bygg!' [Serve, love, build!], FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

4.4: The role played by shared and overlapping networks

Introduction

There are few explicit references to the existence of networks as a contributory factor in FHT's establishment or subsequent activities. Sandra Holton and Robert Holton acknowledged that much of the research into networks 'tends to treat the persons involved in networks as sets of anonymous individuals.'¹⁸⁹ The following discussion uses a microhistorical approach which acknowledges, as Sandra Holton and Robert Holton suggested, 'the value of understanding specific individuals and the connections between them in ties of...friendship and political commitment that are rooted in personal histories of inter-action.'¹⁹⁰ I have identified key players by adopting the approach characterised by Roberts as 'identifying relationships from easily obtainable biographical and historiographical sources.'¹⁹¹ The choice is appropriate because it better illustrates that individuals significant within FHT's development belonged to a number of different and overlapping networks and that 'the shared history...provided a further basis on which they built still wider networks.'¹⁹² The discussion below clarifies the limitations imposed by lack of evidence, outlines the networks and organisations examined, and demonstrates that shared values led to shared participation and increasing interpersonal connection. The discussion includes both true networks, where the relationships are informal (the Norwegian resistance, the Pacifist Group [*Pasifistgruppen*], the Gang [*Banden*] and Old Woodbrookers), and organisations with a more formal relationship structure. The

¹⁸⁹ Holton and Holton, 'From the Particular to the Global,' 8.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9. In this context 'political' is interpreted as being indicative of shared values rather than demonstrating any shared party political allegiance.

¹⁹¹ Roberts, 'Place, Life Histories,' 78.

¹⁹² Holton and Holton, 'From the Particular,' 18.

latter (FRA, Nansen Relief, Quakers, SCI/IVSP, WILPF and WRI) are not themselves networks. However, they were all voluntary organisations and offered structures in which the values that led to individuals' participation were of a nature and strength to enable at least some of the members to form strong interpersonal networks with each other in addition to the structural relationships associated with membership. For ease of reference, the organisations' names are used as proxies for the networks that individuals, who were later involved with FHT, formed while members of the organisations, while recognising that there were other people in those organisations who did not go on to participate in the Finnmark relief.

Not all the bodies which contributed to FHT's Finnmark project are included in the analysis with the same level of detail. KVT is omitted because not enough is known about the Finnish organisation or the individuals in it to enable a judgement to be made about any networks of which it or they might have been a part at and shortly after its foundation in 1947. However, it is reasonable to assume that there was some interaction between KVT and the AFSC, which led relief projects in post-war Finland and which was keen for there to be an exchange of volunteers between FHT and the activities in Finland.¹⁹³ There is insufficient detail about the individuals, other than Myrtle Wright, who were involved with the British FSC, the British FAU and the AFSC and who facilitated the participation of the FAU PWS and the AFSC in the Finnmark relief to do more than acknowledge their participation in national and international Quaker networks. The evidence indicates that Myrtle provided the main connection

¹⁹³ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

with British Quakers.¹⁹⁴ Douglas Steere, a prominent American Quaker much involved in AFSC activities, visited Norway shortly after the end of the war and met FHT's Oslo committee, and both Myrtle Wright and Ole Olden were in touch with him regarding the proposed relief in Finnmark and the possibility of American Quaker participation.¹⁹⁵ Consideration of networks is principally devoted to the individuals involved in leading FHT itself (including Myrtle Wright), FHA and IAL, and to Diderich Lund and Kaare Salvesen, both of whom were senior officials in the Finnmark Office.¹⁹⁶ Connections between leading figures in FHT and the two Finnmark Office men were in existence by the 1930s, most continued during the wartime occupation of Norway and many were still in place after the Second World War.

Networks that linked participants

FRA was a Norwegian organisation founded in 1936 which helped refugees from central Europe to find work and accommodation.¹⁹⁷ It was headed by Mimi Sverdrup Lunden, who was much involved with peace and women's issues.¹⁹⁸ Sigrid Helliesen Lund took part for a period until her commitment to Nansen Relief caused her to

¹⁹⁴ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 247. 1945-09-03 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred [Tritton], 2, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnotes 42 and 105 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹⁹⁵ 1945-08-20 Myrtle Wright to Dear Friends, 2, YM/MfS/FSC, LSF, FSC/SC/1/6. [1946-01] Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright], 1, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. {See footnote 121 for information about the date ascribed to the document and the identities of the sender and the recipient.} [1945-09] Myrtle [Wright] to Douglas Steere, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4. {The letter is not dated but was written in response to a letter dated 'Sept. 20th'. The content of the letter makes clear that the war has finished and that the Finnmark relief project is still being planned. It is reasonable to assume that the letter was written in September 1945. See footnote 42 for the identity of the sender.}

¹⁹⁶ *Members or people closely associated with FHT's Oslo Committee*: Agnes Broch; Else Bull; Signe Hirsch Gill; Gunnar Hansen; Erling Kjekstad; Fritz Lund; Sigrid Helliesen Lund; Mimi Sverdrup Lunden; Ole Olden; Mulka Rosenqvist; Ingebjørg Sletten; Christoffer Vibe; Myrtle Wright; Edith Østlyngen. *FHA*: Fanny Arnskov; Finn Friis; Regnar Halfdan-Nielsen; Svend Haugaard; Hagbard Jonassen; Johannes Novrup; Elise Thomsen; Else Zeuthen. *IAL*: Emilia Fogelklou; Wolfgang Sonntag. *Finnmark Office*: Diderich Lund; Kaare Salvesen.

¹⁹⁷ Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen* [Odd Nansen], 105.

¹⁹⁸ Blom, 'Foremothers,' 592-593.

withdraw.¹⁹⁹ In the course of her involvement in the latter body, which was set up in 1937, she co-operated closely with Signe Hirsch, and Ingebjørg Sletten was also involved in the organisation.²⁰⁰ Nansen Relief's efforts were principally focused on helping 'Jews who fled from the Nazis' persecution in Germany and Middle-Europe, and tried to help the many who had been made stateless by the peace settlement after the First World War.²⁰¹ Sigrid had also joined the Norwegian branch of the WILPF over the winter of 1935/1936.²⁰² Founded in 1915, the WILPF was and remains a feminist organisation whose main objective is to establish peace.²⁰³ Mimi Sverdrup Lunden was one of the fellow members with whom Sigrid worked closely at a time when the Norwegian branch was much preoccupied with events in Germany.²⁰⁴ Mulka Rosenqvist, who was later a member of FHT's Oslo committee, was also a WILPF member as were two of the Danish women, Fanny Arnskov and Else Zeuthen, who were involved in the early development of FHA.²⁰⁵

During the interwar years, four of the Norwegians who subsequently helped to manage FHT – Erling Kjekstad, Ole Olden, Ingebjørg Sletten and Myrtle Wright – and Kaare Salvesen had all studied at Woodbrooke, although not at the same time.²⁰⁶ Kaare Salvesen became 'secretary of that section of the Reconstruction Ministry

¹⁹⁹ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 58-59.

²⁰⁰ Ellingsen, *Odd Nansen* [Odd Nansen], 153, 168.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 102. 'jøder som flyktet fra nazistenes forfølgelse i Tyskland og Mellom-Europa, og søkte å hjelpe de mange som hadde mistet statsborgerrett ved fredsslutningene etter første verdenskrig.'

²⁰² Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 57.

²⁰³ Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 'Our Movement: History,' 2018, accessed 30 May 2019, <https://www.wilpf.org/our-movement/>.

²⁰⁴ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 57.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 129-130. Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 11-12.

²⁰⁶ n.d. 'Navn og informasjon om norske studenter på Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alfabetisk [Names and information about Norwegian students at Woodbrooke 1903-1939/1945 Alphabetical],' 4, FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-06-08 Journal letter from Myrtle Wright, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

which has to do with all Relief [*sic*] workers.²⁰⁷ During the war he had been invited, along with other Oslo-based Old Woodbrookers, to attend a day of prayer at the Lunds' home, an event organised by Quakers in many different countries. Although not a Quaker, he was clearly acquainted with Sigrid and Diderich Lund and with Myrtle Wright, and, as an Old Woodbrooker, can be assumed to have been in sympathy with Quaker peace-building activities.²⁰⁸ Elise Thomsen, one of the founders of and a driving spirit behind the FHA, was also an Old Woodbrooker.²⁰⁹

During the occupation of Norway, Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Christoffer Vibe were members of a small informal group referred to as the Pacifist Group which met in each other's houses and discussed in particular what their relationship with the Germans should be during the war and what should happen after the war ended.²¹⁰ Nine of those who later had involvement with FHT took part in various forms of non-violent resistance in Norway although they did not all belong to the same resistance network. Erling Kjekstad hid people during the occupation of Norway, for which he was imprisoned, and, as noted above, Diderich Lund acted as a courier linking different resistance groups.²¹¹ Else Bull, Sigrid and Myrtle belonged to a small group that distributed money smuggled into Norway to help the families of men who had been imprisoned by the Nazi authorities.²¹² Sigrid, Myrtle, Fritz Lund, Ingebjørg Sletten and Edith Østlyngen were amongst those who helped members of Norway's

²⁰⁷ 1946-06-08 Journal letter from Myrtle Wright, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²⁰⁸ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 175.

²⁰⁹ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 10-11.

²¹⁰ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 109.

²¹¹ Heid, 'Vennen Erling Kjekstad' [Friend Erling Kjekstad], 9. Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 115.

²¹² Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 59-60.

Jewish community to avoid arrest and transportation to death camps by finding hiding places for them and arranging their escape to Sweden.²¹³ Ragnar Ulstein wrote that Sigrid, Ingebjørg Sletten and Edith Østlyngen were all members of a group of women, who called themselves the Gang and who worked together to get Jews into hiding until their escape could be arranged.²¹⁴ Agnes Broch, one of the founding members of the Oslo Quaker meeting, provided accommodation for Jews who had to be hidden while waiting for their escape across the border to Sweden to be arranged.²¹⁵

The Old Woodbrookers network was not the only one to cross national borders. Ingebjørg Sletten and Edith Østlyngen were both members of the Norwegian branch of SCI and Wolfgang Sonntag, one of the founders of IAL, belonged to the organisation in Sweden. SCI was formed with the aim of 'creating a real and lasting world-wide comradeship through voluntary, constructive service.'²¹⁶ WRI was another cross-border network, founded in 1921 in the Netherlands by conscientious objectors whose aim was to campaign against war and conscription.²¹⁷ Svend Haugaard and Hagbard Jonassen, both of whom actively contributed to FHA's development, were members of WRI as were Christoffer Vibe of the FHT Oslo committee and Diderich

²¹³ Ibid., 102-103. Ragnar Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt* [Jews who had to flee], 2nd ed. (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 2006), 204.

²¹⁴ Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt* [Jews who had to flee], 201-204.

²¹⁵ Esther Sveen, 'Agnes Broch,' *Kvekeren* 31: 9-10 (1967), 77. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 98. The woman is named in the text simply as 'Agnes' but the index reference is to 'Broch, Agnes'.

²¹⁶ Best and Pike. *International Voluntary Service for Peace*, 1.

²¹⁷ War Resisters' International, 'Conscientious Objection in History,' 2015, accessed 20 May 2019, <https://www.wri-irg.org/en/cobook-online/co-in-history>.

Lund, Director of the Finnmark Office.²¹⁸ Diderich had become involved in WRI after travelling to England from Sweden in 1944 prior to being sent by the Norwegian government in exile in London to the liberated area of Finnmark round the town of Kirkenes in north-east Finnmark.²¹⁹ While wartime participation in non-violent resistance was the main network within Norway, a commitment to Quakerism provided the principal network that functioned across borders. Agnes Broch, Erling Kjekstad, Sigrid and Myrtle were all Quaker members of FHT's Oslo committee. Finn Friis, Regnar Halfdan-Nielsen and Elise Thomsen were Quaker members of FHA's committee, and Emilia Fogelklou and Wolfgang Sonntag, both Quakers, were among the founders and early supporters of IAL.

Of the 10 organisations or networks reviewed above, all were either pacifist or worked for peace. FRA and Nansen Relief sought to counteract the effects of the increasing Nazi terror during the 1930s, a commitment that was continued by those who participated in non-violent resistance during the Nazi occupation of Norway. Co-operation in such networks was a strong indicator of shared values, and participation in wartime resistance in Norway called for a high degree of courage and very considerable levels of trust in contexts in which an individual knew the identities of at least some fellow resistance activists. While the factors that had led to the existence of FRA, Nansen Relief, the Norwegian resistance and the Gang lay outside Norway, their field of operation was very largely within the country. Similarly, the Pacifist Group concerned itself with issues that affected Norway and Norwegians but which

²¹⁸ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 8, 9, 13. n.d. 'Forslag. E.K. Motto: "La ikke hatet bli morgendagens verden.'" [Proposal. E.K. Motto: "Do not let hate become tomorrow's world."], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001. Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 139.

²¹⁹ Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 135-137, 142-145.

had their origins elsewhere. WRI and WILPF were created to campaign for peace on an international basis by acting to try to prevent war, while SCI sought to repair the damage caused by war and other socially disruptive circumstances, and to create international fellowship with the aim of preventing war in the future. All three, while having national branches, were intentionally international in outlook. The Old Woodbrookers network was international and effectively self-selected by prior attendance as students at Woodbrooke to include those who, while usually not Quaker, were in sympathy with the Quaker approach to pacifism and peace building. The Religious Society of Friends became a national network shortly after its beginnings in 1652 and rapidly became an international organisation, not least as a result of religious persecution in England. It had a long-standing tradition of pacifism and was unusual in allowing women an active role in its structures from early times.

WRI points out in modern times that 'the history of conscientious objection has been...overwhelmingly male' because, until recently, most countries excluded women from their fighting forces.²²⁰ WILPF was formed as an organisation for women, although men can now become members.²²¹ With those two exceptions, all the organisations considered provided contexts for networks in which women played strong, active roles beside men. While women may not have been much in evidence in WRI's activities in the organisation's early years, WILPF was a body in which women's abilities and activism were accepted as the norm.

²²⁰ War Resisters' International, 'Conscientious Objection in History,' 2015, accessed 20 May 2019, <https://www.wri-irg.org/en/cobook-online/co-in-history>.

²²¹ Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 'Our Movement: History,' 2018, accessed 30 May 2019, <https://www.wilpf.org/our-movement/>. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 'WILPF Membership,' 2018, accessed 9 July 2019, <https://www.wilpf.org/membership/>.

Diderich Lund was a member of WRI and, while he never applied for formal membership of the Religious Society of Friends, he became well acquainted with Quakers. When he spent time in England in late 1944, he visited Myrtle's mother who arranged for him to receive hospitality from many of her Quaker friends. While not an Old Woodbrooker, he gave a lecture at Woodbrooke before his return to Norway.²²² He felt at ease in Quaker circles and was much involved in peace work on his own account. As Sigrid's husband, he must have known a great deal about the founding of FHT. Initially a member of the Oslo committee, he later stood down, presumably judging that, once he had been appointed as Director of the Finnmark Office operations in Finnmark, he might be considered to have a conflict of interests.²²³ He was not uncritical of FHT's plans, with Sigrid commenting in a letter to Myrtle in early 1946 that the only official who had reservations about the plans for FHT's work was her husband.²²⁴ Nevertheless, Diderich took a friendly interest in the FHT volunteers travelling to Finnmark and, when possible, he would meet them on the quayside when the ships on which they were travelling called at Harstad, the town where the Finnmark Office was situated.²²⁵ However, the marriage of the Director of the Finnmark Office to the leading figure in FHT's administration was a network connection that was far from being an unalloyed advantage. While Diderich Lund was personally well-liked, the Finnmark Office was not, being seen in southern Norway as

²²² Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 112, 139.

²²³ 1945-10-06 Referat fra moete [Minutes from meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

²²⁴ [1946-01] Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright], 1, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7. {See footnote 121 for information about the date ascribed to the document and the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²²⁵ 1946-08-13 'July 30: My last day...', 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. See footnote 108 for information about the attribution of authorship of the document.

inefficient and by some in the north of the country as the embodiment of government policies for Finnmark that were frequently unpopular, though that criticism was sometimes tempered with a realisation of the exceptionally difficult circumstances in which the Office had to function.²²⁶ Sigrid was clear that 'it was no advantage to be "the Finnmark Director's" wife, rather the opposite.'²²⁷

As can be seen in Figure 4.1, Sigrid had the highest number of network connections, being part of seven of them (the Norwegian resistance, the Pacifist Group, the Gang, FRA, Nansen Relief, Quakers and WILPF). This helps to explain her ability to involve people with whom she had developed connections during the interwar period and the Second World War in the later work with FHT. Participation in the earlier networks would have afforded her the opportunity to experience directly the abilities and values of those who later became part of the Oslo committee, which undertook the overall management of the Finnmark relief project, and for those she worked with to do likewise with her.

²²⁶ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 69. Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 205. 1947-02-05 'Finnmarkskontoret er ikke så meget årsak som virkning' [The Finnmark Office is not so much the cause as the effect], FHT archive, F-L0003 0006. 1946-08-13 'July 30: My last day...,' 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. See footnote 108 for information about the attribution of authorship of the document.

²²⁷ 1946-10-09 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Ole Olden, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named and no address is given. However, on the second page the sender refers to being the wife of the Finnmark [Office] Director, so must be Sigrid Helliesen Lund.} 'det var ingen fordel å være "Finnmarkdirectörens" kone, snarer tvertom.'

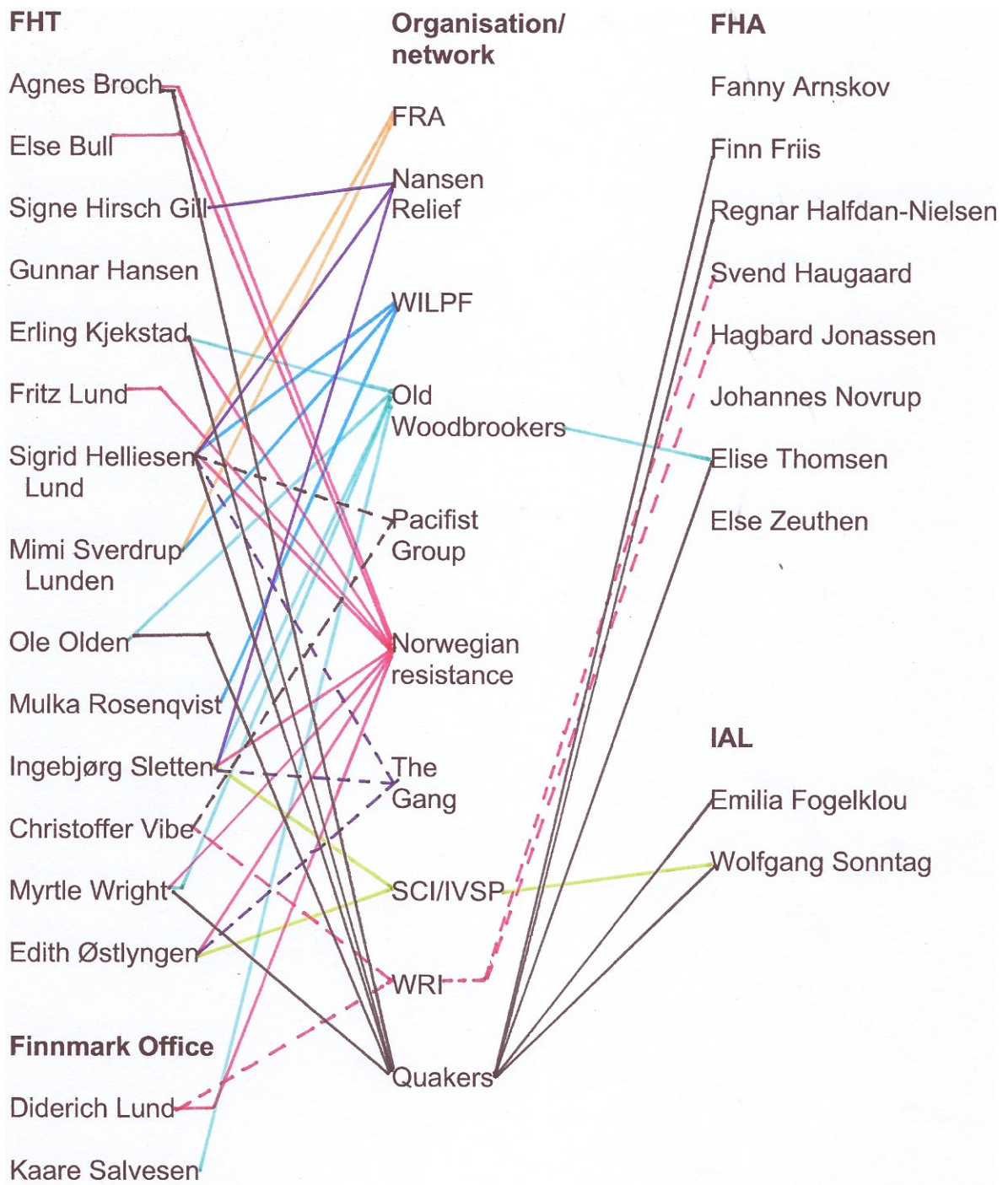


Figure 4.1: Shared and overlapping networks

Section summary

In writing of the Priestman-Bright Quaker family circle, Sandra Holton and Robert Holton argued that 'the shared history...in terms of a longstanding commitment to humanitarian causes...provided a further basis on which they built still wider networks.'²²⁸ The same phenomenon is seen in the prior connections that contributed to what became FHT. Common across all of the networks and the organisations treated as proxies for networks discussed in this section was a core of strong shared values leading to relationships between individuals who saw in each other a commitment to the same aims of social justice and peace building. Networks nurtured in different contexts, some across national boundaries, contributed to the formation of a new transnational network on which was built the co-operation that led to Danish, Swedish, British, American and Finnish participation in FHT's relief activities in Finnmark. As Roberts argued in a different context, 'their humanitarian relief work' was not 'an isolated event..., it was part of a broader commitment which was inextricably connected to their social activism at home on the local stage.'²²⁹ The Norwegian organisation followed a pattern in which, as Seija Jalagin, Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Maria Småberg contended, relief work following the First World War 'became increasingly organized around transnational networks.'²³⁰

4.5: Chapter summary

This chapter has provided the first account in English of FHT's genesis, a discussion of its interactions with the reconstruction authorities, an introduction to the

²²⁸ Holton and Holton, 'From the Particular,' 18.

²²⁹ Roberts, "'Position of Peculiar Responsibility",' 254.

²³⁰ Jalagin, Okkenhaug and Småberg, 'Introduction: Nordic Missions,' 288.

organisations which participated in its work, and an examination of the nature and extent of the networks on which it was based. FHT grew from the conviction on the part of a trio of Norwegian Quakers that, in addition to governmental efforts, their northern compatriots needed help at a personal level to rebuild their communities after the wholesale destruction inflicted by the retreating Nazi-led forces. Following liberation, the organisation started to plan for its relief in Finnmark, which was carried forward by a committee that included Quakers and non-Quakers linked by experience of various kinds of peace work gained through membership of shared and overlapping networks. Women were critical to the project: Sigrid Helliesen Lund led the work, assisted by committee members, most of whom were women, and especially by Myrtle Wright. Permission to carry out FHT's plans had to be gained from the authorities but it was a dynamic relationship, changing over time as the reconstruction of Finnmark developed. The networks which the committee members shared led to five other organisations (FHA, IAL, the FAU PWS, the IVSP and the AFSC) joining the project with a sixth (KVT) participating later. The first five were either Quaker-led or had Quaker involvement; not enough information is available in English to know whether that is also true of KVT. All believed that relief work was a means of building peace and international understanding. The available evidence shows that FHT was planning a multinational relief project while at the same time shaping a small but growing organisation with a resultant lack of the firm organisational structures that a more mature, established operation would have developed.

CHAPTER 5: FHT'S RELIEF WORK IN FINNMARK

5.1: Introduction

This chapter gives the only detailed account in English of FHT's relief in Finnmark. It outlines the duration of FHT's presence in the county [*fylke*] and discusses the location of the main and subsidiary work camps, noting that some were difficult to reach. It reviews the different tasks undertaken by the volunteers, which included building temporary and permanent accommodation, providing nursing and dental treatment and leading courses for adults and young people. It examines tasks FHT chose not to do and why. While the organisation's activities were largely gendered, the chapter examines those instances when contemporaneous gender norms were disregarded. The chapter considers interactions within the FHT volunteer body and between FHT and local people. Further, it informs the analysis in Part 3, Chapter 6, of what brought the participant organisations to Finnmark, the different ways in which they preferred to work and the tensions which sometimes arose between national groups of volunteers. Chapter 7 sets the record of FHT's work given in this chapter in the wider context of other Quaker relief and argues that it contributes to the under-researched field of scholarly work on peripheral areas and enhances our understanding of indigenous relief.

The examination of FHT's relief activities in Finnmark illustrates the way in which the organisation demonstrated many of the attributes of what Jeffrey Avina described as 'an internally initiated NGO [Non-Governmental Organisation]': it was 'small in nature and the breadth of their impact is very localized. They are often born from the

initiative of...a small cadre,' with their structure 'characterized by a low level of administrative and managerial sophistication and formal accountability.'¹ That having been said, Avina argued that 'informal communication networks...may offset the lack of more formal monitoring procedures.'² However, while FHT had a measure of success in helping to build local capacity at a time when societal institutions were having to be reconstructed in the aftermath of total destruction, for the most part it experienced what Susan Armstrong-Reid described as an inability to 'move beyond being an emergency agency.'³ In FHT's case, the perceived need in Finnmark for people with a greater level of occupational skills than those offered by its volunteers 'ultimately constrained its humanitarian endeavours and pacifist witness.'⁴

5.2: The duration of the Finnmark relief

The start of FHT's work in Finnmark

The planning for what became FHT's relief work in Finnmark began before Norway was liberated when people elsewhere in the country realised how severe the destruction wreaked on the north had been. In early 1945, three Norwegian Quakers, Ole Olden, Erling Kjekstad and Sverre Hoëm, started to consider how the work might be organised.⁵ As discussed in 4.1, a committee was formally established after liberation in May 1945 and seems to have met first on 8 June 1945 by which time it had been expanded to include other people some of whom were members of

¹ Jeffrey Avina, 'The Evolutionary Life Cycles of Non-Governmental Development Organizations,' *Public Administration & Development* 13, no. 5 (1993), 457.

² *Ibid.*, 457.

³ Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁵ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjöring og ödeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {The document is not dated and the writer's name is not given. However, there is a statement, 'Og litt forbinnelse [*sic*] hadde jeg med min mann, Diderich Lund' [And I had a little contact with my husband, Diderich Lund]} so the writer must have been Sigrid Helliesen Lund.}

different peace organisations.⁶ Permission to send relief workers to Finnmark had to be obtained from Norwegian governmental authorities and discussions were held with organisations in other countries to arrange participation of volunteers chosen and sent by them.⁷

On 25 May 1946 the first group of volunteers arrived in Kvalsund, which had been selected as the site of the main work camp and the place to which almost all the volunteers came before moving on to one of the smaller camps elsewhere in Finnmark (5.3).⁸ Many of the smaller camps were established soon after that. Before the end of May, three women volunteers were sent on to Lakselv where the Danish organisation, FHA, had had a group of relief workers since late 1945.⁹ There had

⁶ [1946-10] 'Statement about "FHT" (Norway) for organisations meeting at Brussels, October 20th-22nd, 1946,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {Although the document is undated, the fact that it was prepared for a meeting in late October 1946 suggests that it is reasonable to date the document to the same month. The content and the use of language (for example, 'we' and 'our') suggest that the document was prepared by an individual/individuals within FHT. The Brussels meeting was a conference organised by Service Civil International and attended by representatives from a number of different peace organisations (see [1946-10 or -11] Rapport fra det internasjonale møte i Bryssel 21-22.10.1946 [Report from the international meeting in Brussels 21-22.10.46], FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {The [1946-10 or -11] document is undated but the fact that it is a report on the meeting suggests that it is reasonable to date the document to either October or November 1946}).} n.d. 'Forslag. E.K. Motto: "La ikke hatet bli morgendagens verden.'" [Proposal. E.K. Motto: "Do not let hate become tomorrow' world."], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001. {'E.K.' is almost certainly Erling Kjekstad. The only other individual associated with FHT and with those initials who is identifiable in the archive material is Erik Valfrid Lennart Kindgren, a Swedish volunteer whose first recorded link with FHT is recorded as his arrival in Finnmark in July 1946 (see n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004, in which his name is given as Lennart Kindgren. The full name is recorded in n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004).} 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

⁷ [1946-10] 'Statement about "FHT" (Norway) for organisations meeting at Brussels, October 20th-22nd, 1946,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {See footnote 6 for information about the date attributed to the document.} 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

⁸ 1946-05-27 Myrtle Wright to Dear Friends, 1, 3-4, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7. 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge møte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Møte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Møte [Meeting]), 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁹ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The report refers only to 'the Danes' [de danske] who had started a canteen there in February 1946. That the Danes came under the auspices of FHA is confirmed by a letter from one of the group, Gunnar Skov Andersen, to Diderich Lund which refers to the writer not having heard from 'Vendersgade' (see 1946-04-27 Gunnar Skov Andersen to Hr. [Mr] Lund, 1, FHT

been another FHA group in Alta over the winter of 1945-1946 and FHT sent volunteers there to continue their work of distributing clothes as the Danish workers were shortly to return home. It is not clear exactly when the FHT volunteers arrived in Alta but they were there by 12 July 1946 as were the volunteers in Kjøllefjord.¹⁰ FHT relief workers were sent to Børselv, Hammerfest, Karasjok, Lebesby and Repvågstrand in June and to Hasvik, Ifjord, Kåfjord, Russenes and Talvik in July.¹¹ While a group of FHT volunteers were working in Kjøllefjord by 12 July 1946 as indicated, a lone FHT relief worker had been there earlier in the year. Else Schjöth, who worked in Kvalsund in 1947 as an FHT volunteer, arrived in Kjøllefjord on 8 March 1946. She was a trained teacher and went there on FHT's behalf to run a children's school for a short period, probably leaving in late May 1946.¹²

Trondenes camp

In FHT's first formal report about its work in Finnmark and in the first issue of the FHT newsletter for the volunteers in the region, reference was made to two Danish women nurses stationed in Trondenes, the camp near Harstad in Troms for Finnmark

archive, F-L0002 0004). FHA's address in Copenhagen was Vendersgade 29⁴ (see 1946-03-25 Elise Thomsen and Svend Haugaard to FHT Herr Ingeniør Didrik [*sic*] Lund [Engineer Didrik [*sic*] Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004).

¹⁰ n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [*sic*] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹¹ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹² 1946-03-20 'Avskrift: Kjøllefjord, 20/3-46' [Copy: Kjøllefjord, 20/3-46], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. n.d. 'Skolen i Kjøllefjord ved Else Schjöth' [The school in Kjøllefjord by Else Schjöth], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The writer's name is not given on the 1946-03-20 document. However, the content of the latter, undated one clearly refers to the same situation as that described in the former and bears Else Schjöth's name. It is reasonable to assume that the former document was written by her.} 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge møte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Møte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Møte [Meeting]), 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-04-12 Else Schjöth to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, 6, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with the family name Helliesen Lund identifiable in the archive material.

people returning north after forced evacuation.¹³ The Danish organisation, FHA, had sent relief workers, nurses and others, to Trondenes as early as September 1945, and had groups of volunteers elsewhere in northern Norway as well.¹⁴ It also sent volunteers to work under FHT's auspices. The implication in the FHT report and newsletter was that the nurses were part of FHT. While planning its work in northern Norway, FHT had considered sending volunteers to the camp. However, there seem to be no other references in the FHT archive to any of their relief workers being stationed there and the report indicated that the nurses were shortly to be sent to another location further north.¹⁵ Neither of them was identified so it cannot be established with certainty whether or not they were part of FHT's operations rather than FHA's but it seems unlikely that their further work was undertaken under FHT's auspices. The nurses who were clearly part of FHT in 1946 are those who were stationed in Lakselv and Russenes. Sister Inger Marie Pedersen, the nurse in Lakselv, had been there certainly since March 1946, which suggests that she had first arrived there under FHA's auspices although she later became part of the FHT group before leaving in September 1946.¹⁶ The same report in which FHT refers to

¹³ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [sic] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. Harstad is a town in Troms county which lies south of the area destroyed during the German retreat from northern Norway and south of the Lyngen Line.

¹⁴ 1945-10-05 DL [Diderich Lund] to Herr Statsråd Gabrielsen [Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The letter, a carbon copy, is unsigned but there is a reference 'DL/KT' at the head of the sheet, the location of writing is given as Harstad and the content concerns Danish volunteers' work in clearing and cleaning Trondenes camp to make it fit for use as a transit camp for Finnmark inhabitants returning north. 'DL' is almost certainly Diderich Lund, the Director of the Finnmark Office, which was based in Harstad close to the camp.} At the date of the letter, Gabrielsen was the Statsråd [Cabinet Minister] responsible for the reconstruction of Finnmark (see Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 154, 155).

¹⁵ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [sic] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1],. 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹⁶ 1946-07-06 Arbejdsrapport fra Søster Inger [Work report from Sister Inger], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-09-15 Rapport fra Lakselv-gruppen [Report from the Lakselv group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

the two Danish nurses in Harstad, makes clear that, at that time, there were two nurses stationed at Russenes, neither of whom was named, who had been there since the winter, that is, from late 1945 or early 1946.¹⁷ It seems likely that the two in Russenes were Birthe Rörbye and Edith Olsen who were identified as being there in late June 1946, having originally been sent to Norway by FHA.¹⁸ There is no subsequent reference to FHT work being carried out in Harstad.

Teknisk Hjelpe Kolonne [Technical Relief Group – THK]

The newsletter article referred to above also mentioned that there were volunteers working in Kjøllefjord, Gamvik, Mehamn and Skjånes, small settlements round the coast of the Nordkinn peninsula on the north coast of mainland Finnmark (Figure 5.1), who were members of 'T.H.K.'.¹⁹

¹⁷ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁸ 1946-06-20 Rapport från resan med gruppen till Lebesby [Report from the trip with the group to Lebesby], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. While Birthe (or Birte) Rörbye is listed in the FHT card index as being a nurse, Edith Olsen is listed as being a cashier and household worker. She was presumably acting as what in Britain would now be called a healthcare assistant helping her colleague with her nursing duties (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004; Health Careers, 'Healthcare Assistant', n.d., accessed 8 February 2018, <https://www.healthcareers.nhs.uk/Explore-roles/wider-healthcare-team/roles-wider-healthcare-team/clinical-support-staff/healthcare-assistant>).

¹⁹ 1946-06-20 Rapport från resan med gruppen till Lebesby [Report from the trip with the group to Lebesby], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. There seem to have been no public roads between the settlements at the time, although there was a track between Mehamn and Gamvik. There was a path from the isthmus on the southern edge of the peninsula to Mehamn and another one from Gamvik to the eastern coast of the peninsula (see 1945 'Oversiktskart over automobilveier i Nord-Norge' [General road map of northern Norway], LSF, Dudley Barlow papers, MSS 1007/4). 'T.H.K. (Teknisk Hjaelpekolonne, Danmark).' The name of the Danish organisation, THK, is written both as two words and as three. I have adopted the latter from the practice of the Danish National Archives. In the 1946-06-20 report cited, the 'æ' is typed as 'ae'. The document is written in Swedish by one of the Swedish volunteers. It is probable that he was using a Swedish typewriter lacking the appropriate key as the letter 'æ' does not exist in the language. n.d. 'Prøvekluten no [sic] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

THK saw itself as being based on principles set out by Pierre Cérésolle, a Swiss pacifist who founded what became Service Civil International (4.3). He wanted opportunities for civilians (initially specifically conscientious objectors) to be able to engage in 'constructive and pacific work' and for them to be able to take part in 'co-operative international service.'²⁰ A newspaper article, which largely consisted of a

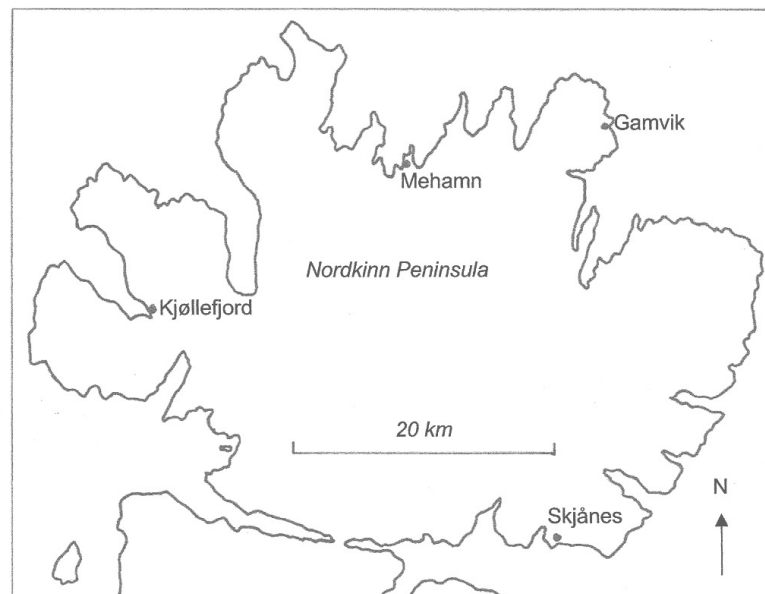


Figure 5.1: Places in Finnmark where THK volunteers worked

brief interview with a THK representative who was visiting Norway, made clear that the organisation was proposing to send architects, engineers and craftsmen to help reconstruction in Norway, as well as providing nurses and people to help in homes and to run canteens.²¹ In a letter to Diderich Lund, FHA expressed doubts about the

²⁰ Service Civil International: International Archives, 'International Civilian Service and Mutual Aid,' n.d., accessed 9 February 2018, http://archives.sci.ngo/uploads/documents/Ceresole/PCeresole_1924_International%20Civilian%20Service%20and%20Mutual%20Aid.pdf.

²¹ n.d. 'Dansker sender oss husmødre, sykepleiersker' [Danes are sending us housewives, nurses], FHT archive, F-L0003 0006. {The newspaper cutting shows neither the date of publication nor the name of the newspaper. Given that the content suggests that THK's work in Norway had not yet started and that the organisation had started work in northern Norway by April 1946 (see 1946-04-04 Rapport til herr distriktsingeniøren for Nord-Troms fra byggelederen i Skjærvøy [Report to the district

organisation, concerned that it had recruited too many volunteers in too short a time to have had time to get to know them adequately. FHA were also clearly troubled that THK's emphasis was on the technical skills of their volunteers whereas the former organisation thought that the spirit in which the work was done was important; they characterised THK as being 'not so much a humanitarian relief organisation as a purely technical reconstruction operation.'²² There seem to have been practical issues associated with its presence in Norway. For example, while appreciation was expressed for work they did in Skjervøy, an island community off the coast of northern Troms, individual THK groups were apparently not well informed about other THK groups who were in Norway at the same time and it was claimed that there was no overall THK leadership in the country, even though the organisation had established committees in both Denmark and Oslo.²³ Shortly after FHT began its work in Finnmark, it was asked by the Finnmark Office to take over the administration of THK groups in the area. Sigrid Helliesen Lund was not averse to doing so but made clear that she knew very little about the organisation and would need more

engineer for northern Troms from the building leader in Skjervøy [Skjervøy]], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002), it is likely that the article was published in the second half of 1945 or early 1946.}

²² 1945-09-22 H[agbard] Jonassen to Diderich Lund, 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0001. {The letter is on FHA headed paper so it is reasonable to assume that the sender is Hagbard Jonassen. one of FHA's founders (see Kjeld Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 8-9).} 'ikke saa meget et humanitært hjælpearbejde som et rent teknisk opbygningsarbejde.'

²³ 1946-04-04 Rapport til herr distriktsingeniören for Nord-Troms fra byggelederen i Skjervøy [Report to the district engineer for northern Troms from the building leader in Skjervøy [Skjervøy]], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. 1946-07-27 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Sosialavdelingen, Finnmarkskontoret [Social Department, Finnmark Office], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The letter, a carbon copy, gives no sender's name or address. However, the sender states that he/she returned the previous day (ie, 26 July 1946) from a tour round 'some of our groups' [en del av våre grupper] and, specifically, had been in Kjøllefjord to resolve issues to do with the canteen service being run by a THK group there. The sender is almost certainly Sigrid Helliesen Lund (see 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003, in which Sigrid Helliesen Lund, among other matters, reports on her trip to Kjøllefjord to resolve the issue to do with the canteen service being run by a THK group there).} 1946-06-20 Rapport från resan med gruppen till Lebesby [Report from the trip with the group to Lebesby], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

information.²⁴ There is evidence that she helped to resolve difficulties relating to work being done by a THK group in Kjøllefjord in summer 1946 but there are few other references to FHT's being involved in administering THK's activities, although it is possible that the relevant records were kept in the main FHT work camp in Finnmark and were destroyed in the 1947 fire.²⁵

The end of FHT's work in Finnmark

FHT's work in Finnmark came to an end in autumn 1947, although a Swedish volunteer, Greta Andersen, stayed in Børselv leading handcrafts courses until well into 1948.²⁶ However, some of the work camps had closed considerably earlier.

There were also places in which a small group of relief workers carried out a specific task for a limited period of only a few weeks. For example, a small group of volunteers from the Kvalsund camp did building work in Kokelv in late June to July 1946, with one or two returning to do similar tasks later that year.²⁷ During 1946 and, in at least one case, early 1947, there were short-duration building projects in Danielsvik, Klubbukt, Kokelv, Reppardfjorddalen, Saraby, Skjåholmen, Stallogargo, Storbukt and Torskefjord, all within relatively easy reach of Kvalsund (Figure 5.3), and volunteers from the Lakselv camp did similar tasks at Banak, Brennelv, Hamnbukt, Heggedal, Ilskog, Luostjok, Skoganvarre, Smørstad and Soldatnes

²⁴ 1946-07-12 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontorets sosiale avdeling [the Finnmark Office Social Department], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. It is clear that the letter was written in response to one from the Finnmarkskontor of 8 July 1946 but there is no copy of the earlier letter in the FHT archive.

²⁵ 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²⁶ [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {The document, which is not dated, is a report on FHT's activities in 1948 the first sentence of which makes clear that it was written late that year.}

²⁷ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 11, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

(Figure 5.4).²⁸ FHT volunteers withdrew from running the canteen at Karasjok in August 1946, their peers had left Kjøllefjord by early October and work in Talvik ended in November 1946, as it did in Ifjord, Lakselv and Repvågstrand.²⁹ FHT's 1946 efforts in Alta ended in September and there were no FHT volunteers there over the winter.³⁰ Volunteers returned in 1947 to run two nurseries, one in Bosekopp and the other in Elvebakken, two different areas of the town, during July and August when a small group also worked in Alta, building playgrounds and doing other work not detailed in the archive.³¹ FHT's presence in Kåfjord ended in January 1947, the remaining volunteers left Lebesby in May, the nursery in Hammerfest was taken over by the local authority in August and FHT's voluntary presence in Russenes ended in October of that year, although the Danish nurse then working there, Else Marie

²⁸ *Projects undertaken from Kvalsund*: n.d. Rapport om FHTs arbeid i tiden 20.7-10.8.46 [Report on FHT's work in the period 20.7-10.8.46], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {The document does not give a year. However, it refers to FHT work being done in Kåfjord and that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). It is reasonable to assume that the document records a meeting held in 1946.} 1947-01-31 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {Edith is almost certainly Edith Østlyngen, then in charge of administration at Kvalsund (see 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.)} *Projects undertaken from Lakselv*: 1946-07-30 Rapport for Lakselv-gruppen for juni-juli 1946 [Report for the Lakselv group for June-July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. It is possible either that there are errors in two of the place names given in the document or that the names were in informal use. The central place name register provided by Kartverket, the Norwegian Mapping Authority, has no place called Heggedal registered in the Porsanger region and no place called Ilskog registered in the entire country even though the register includes names that are no longer in use (see Kartverket, 'Stadnamn/stedsnavn' [Place names/place names], n.d., accessed 13 February 2018, <https://www.kartverket.no/Kart/Stedsnavn/>). 1946-07-09 Ludvig Thomsen to Kære allesammen i Vendersgade [Dear everyone in Vendersgade 29], 29, MS archive, 31-32, folder 4.

²⁹ 1946-09-24 'Prøvekluten nr. 3' [The Guinea Pig no. 3], 4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4 FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-11 Rapport fra S[igr]id. H[elliesen]. Lunds reise til Kvalsund [Report from S[igr]id. H[elliesen]. Lund's trip to Kvalsund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with those initials and that family name identifiable in the archive material.}

³⁰ 1946-09-24 'Prøvekluten nr. 3' [The Guinea Pig no. 3], 3-4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. The document refers to Elvebakken and to the group working in the Alta district. Elvebakken is part of Alta.

³¹ 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

Voldbjerg, stayed on, almost certainly as a salaried employee although the evidence is not entirely clear.³² There is no definite date for when the last FHT volunteer left Kvalsund. A brief report from Sigrid Helliesen Lund to the Finnmark Office states that in November 1947 there was still one volunteer in Kvalsund and two in Børselv, none of them named. As noted above, Greta Andersen remained in Børselv until well through 1948. Rasmus Dall, a Danish volunteer who first came to Finnmark in July 1947, was still there in November 1947 helping her and also assisting at the local school.³³ It is not known when he left. However, there is no surviving evidence that identifies the Kvalsund-based relief worker.³⁴

5.3: FHT's work camps

The location of FHT's work camps

The region in which FHT based its relief project offered challenges for the work being undertaken. Finnmark is, as noted in Chapter 1, the most northerly and easterly

³² 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 26 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

³³ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Helle Ruge is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material and still known to be involved with the FHT work by 1947. There is no evidence that Anne Marie Lund, the only other identifiable Mrs Lund, was involved after her investigative tour of Finnmark with her husband, Per, on behalf of FHT in early 1946 (see 1946-03-16 FHT for Nord-Norge [FHT for northern Norway], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004).} [1947-11] Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005). {The [1947-11] letter is not dated. At the top of the first page 'Sendt 25/11-47' [sent 25/11-47] is handwritten in pencil in different handwriting. Content in the document suggests that the letter was written at least some days after 9 November and before 4 December, indicating that the November 1947 date is likely to be correct. See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient of the [1947-11] document.} Rasmus Dall is identified only by first name. He is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. In addition, the work he is described as doing in the [1947-11] document accords with his work as described in 1947-10-24 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 5, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 in which his full name is given.

³⁴ 1947-11-17 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontoret [Finnmark Office], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

county in Norway. Its land area is 48,637 km², which makes it larger than Denmark.³⁵

At the planning stage FHT considered working in locations across the entire county but, in the end, set up its work camps in the western two-thirds, with most in the western half. Karasjok was the most southerly location, the sole volunteer who helped a local building official in Breivik was the furthest west, another volunteer working on his own running a bakery in Havøysund was by a short distance the most northerly of the relief workers and those stationed in Kjøllefjord were the furthest east (Figure 5.2).³⁶ As discussed above, volunteers in some camps were sent out on short projects in places relatively close to their camp but, in general, there were considerable distances between work camps at a time when travel and communications were not easy.

³⁵Inger Storli and Helge A. Wold, 'Naturen som ressurs og erfaringsramme' [Nature as resource and framework of experience], in *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* [Cultural history of northern Norway], eds. Einar-Arne Drivenes, Marit Anne Hauan and Helge A. Wold (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1994) 1: 53. Luihn, *Finnmark: en økonomisk analyse* [Finnmark: an economic analysis], 9.

³⁶Breivik (occasionally spelled Brevik in archive documents) is a small settlement on the island of Sørøya, off the west coast of Finnmark (see [1946] 'En dag såsom arbeidschef i gjenreisingen' [A day managing reconstruction work], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {The document is not dated. However, it is signed 'Pelle Wallin'. Pelle is a diminutive for Per and Per Wallin is the only individual with that family name identifiable from the archive material. In n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004, Per Wallin is listed as having been in Finnmark from 19 June to 3 October 1946. The [1946] document content refers to events happening in the present so it is reasonable to date the document to 1946.}). A few documents in the FHT archive mention work being undertaken in Hasvik (see 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). Breivik lies approximately 30 km along the coast of Sørøya from a larger settlement called Hasvik, both of which lie in a district also called Hasvik. That the place names Breivik and Hasvik are used interchangeably in FHT archive documents is confirmed by a reference to 'Pelle Wallin fra Hasvik' [Pelle Wallin from Hasvik] in [1946-07] 'Fredag: Kerstin stelt fru Mortensens baby...Lørdag...Søndag' [Friday: Kerstin looked after Mrs Mortensen's baby...Saturday...Sunday], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document is undated. However, it makes clear that the party held by FHT in Kvalsund for the confirmands took place on the Friday, the events of which day are described in the document. Only one confirmation is mentioned in the archive material so it is reasonable to assume that the document was written in July 1946.} The sender's name is not given in the 1946-07-19 letter. However, she refers to being the Kvalsund camp housemother and leading the women's work. Else Bull is identified as having that role in 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.}.

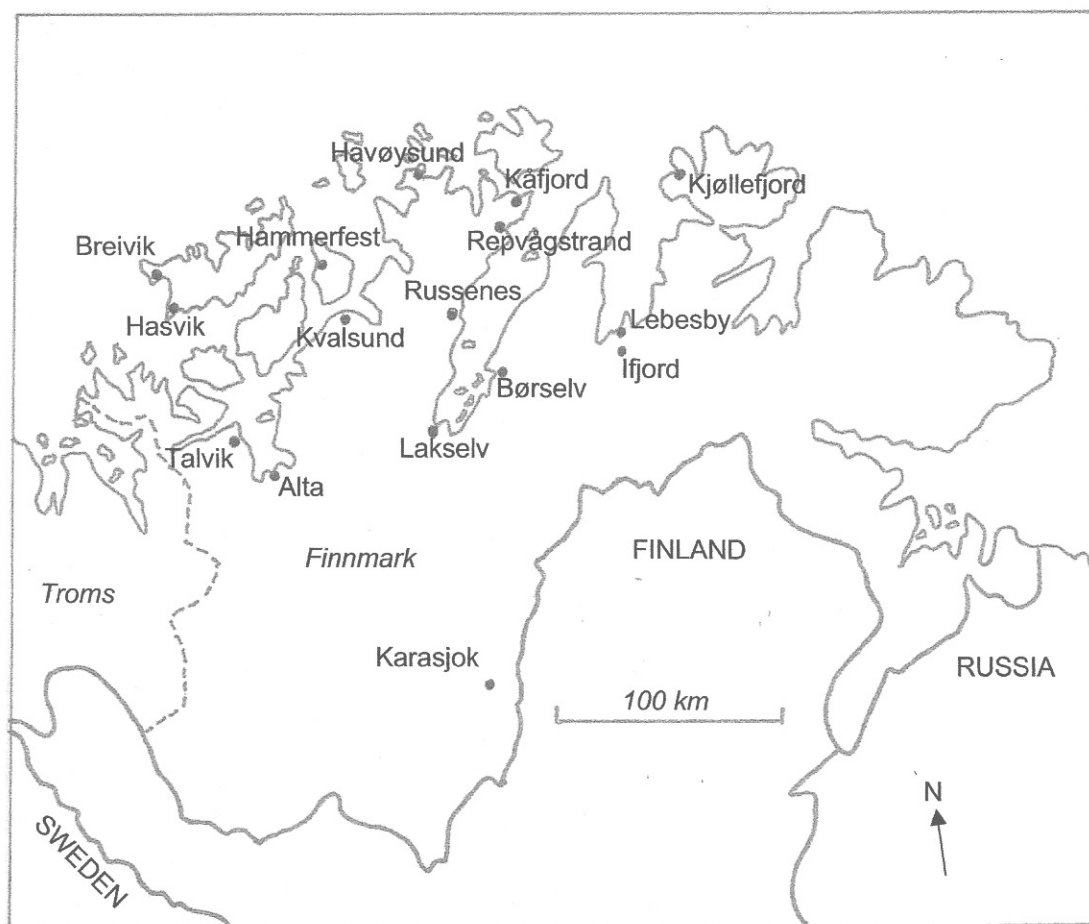


Figure 5.2: Main FHT work camps in Finnmark

Main and subsidiary work camps

Establishing a definitive list of the main and subsidiary work camps is not straightforward. No single list of all the locations where volunteers worked during 1946 and 1947 survives: evidence comes from a range of documents. There is also no record of how FHT defined main and subsidiary camps. For the purposes of this thesis, main work camps are defined as those where volunteers – usually a group but occasionally a single volunteer – appear to have worked in the location for at least several weeks. Subsidiary camps are those to which volunteers from a main camp travelled for shorter periods to undertake specific projects before returning to one of

the main camps. Accordingly, the latter can be listed as: Kvalsund, which was the principal camp to which nearly all volunteers came before travelling further to other, smaller, camps; Alta; Breivik (also referred to as Hasvik); Børselv; Hammerfest; Havøysund; Ifjord; Karasjok; Kjøllefjord; Kåfjord; Lakselv; Lebesby; Repvågstrand; Russenes; and Talvik (Figure 5.2).³⁷ Volunteers were sent out from Kvalsund to work at Danielsvik, Klubbukt, Kokelv, Repparfjorddalen, Saraby, Skjåholmen, Stallogargo, Storbukt and Torskefjord (Figure 5.3).³⁸

Volunteers working in the main camp at Lakselv undertook short projects at locations in the hinterland of the town, some nearby, such as Banak, Brennelv, Hamnbukt and Smørstad, and others slightly further away, such as Luostjok, Soldatnes and Skoganvarre (Figure 5.4). It is not entirely clear where Luostjok was situated and the Lakselv group also reported that they had worked on projects at places named as Heggedal and Ilskog, locations which I have been unable to identify in that area of northern Norway, suggesting that there may have been transcription errors in

³⁷ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 1-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The report also refers briefly to FHT work being carried out in Harstad, the location of the Trondenes transit camp for evacuees returning to Finnmark. Please see 4.2 for the explanation of why Trondenes is not included here. 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

³⁸ [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {The document does not give a year. However, it refers to FHT work being done in Kåfjord and that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). It is reasonable to assume that the document records a meeting held in 1946.} 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. Repparfjorddalen is sometimes referred to as Repparfjord in the archive material. It may be that help was given to people living both in the valley at the head of the fjord ('dalen' means 'the valley' in Norwegian) and on the coast round the fjord itself. It is difficult to be confident of the precise location of the work undertaken at Torskefjord as the name refers to a channel of water between the mainland and Kvaløya island rather than to a specific settlement or settlements. The assumption is that help was given to people living along the island's east coast. n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [sic] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1946-07-09 Ludvig Thomsen to Kære allesammen i Vendersgade [Dear everyone in Vendersgade 29], 29, MS archive, 31-32, folder 4.

recording the names.³⁹ Eidvik, where the Lebesby group carried out a short project, is another location that cannot now be identified.

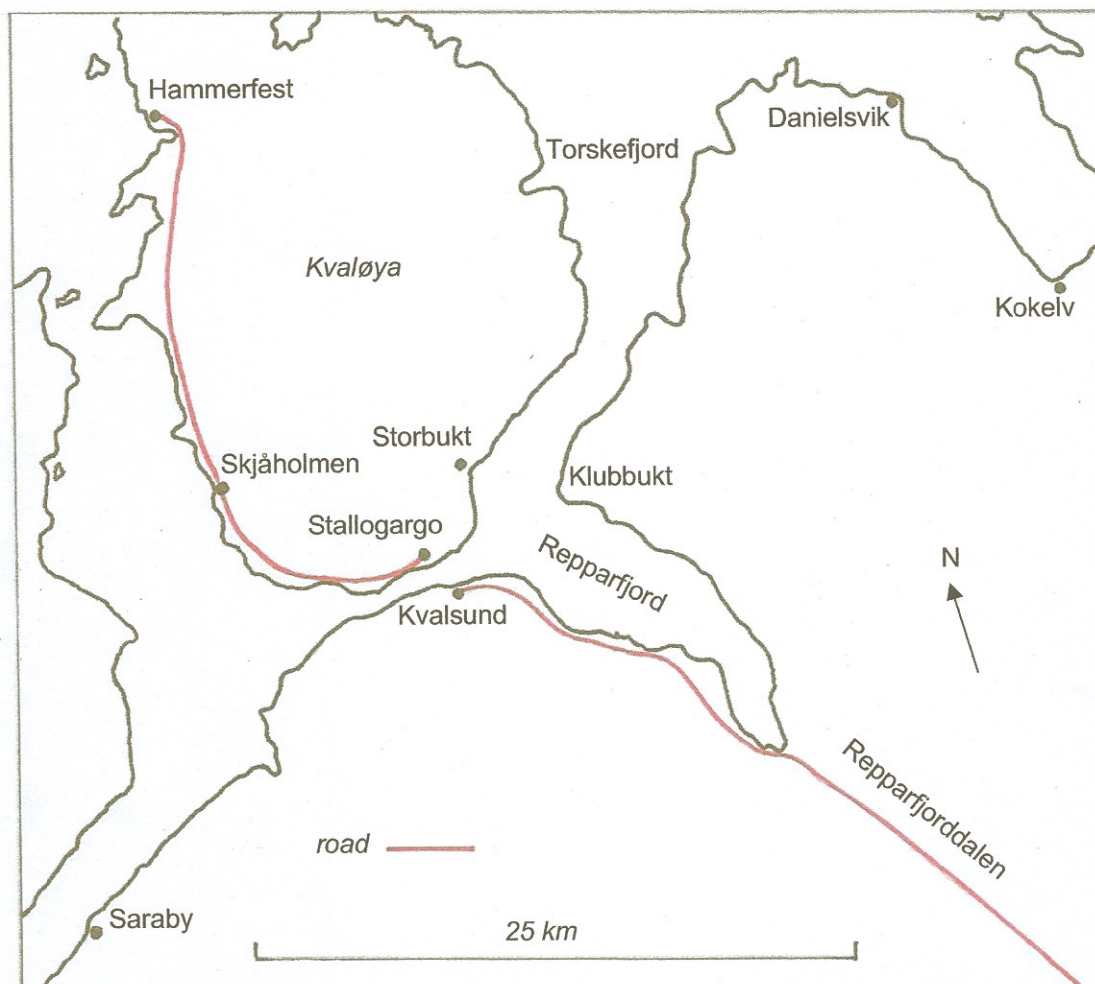


Figure 5.3: Smaller FHT work camps near Kvalsund (Hammerfest was a separate main camp)

³⁹ 1946-07-30 Rapport for Lakselv-gruppen for juni-juli 1946 [Report for the Lakselv group for June-July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2] FHT, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Kartverket, 'Stadnamn/stedsnavn' [Place names/place names], n.d., accessed 13 February 2018, <https://www.kartverket.no/Kart/Stedsnavn/>.

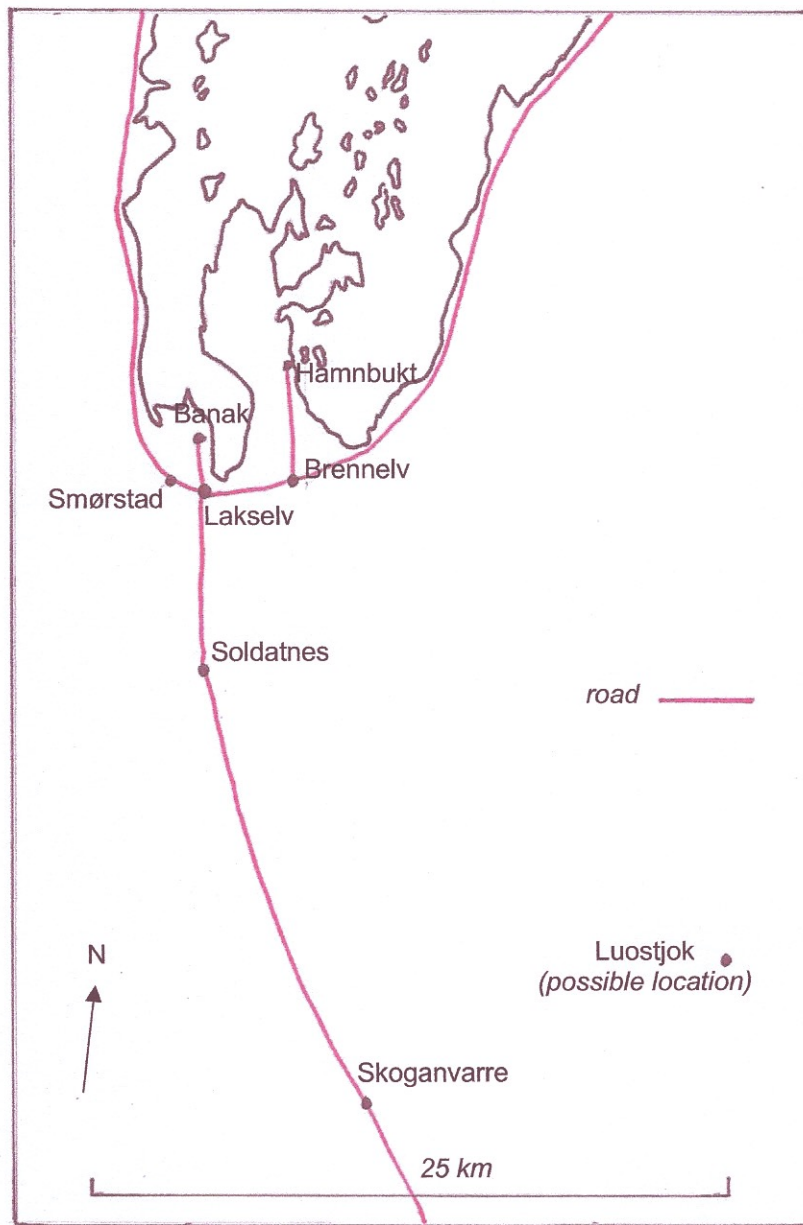


Figure 5.4: Smaller FHT work camps near Lakselv

The group in Alta also travelled in the area around the camp. After finishing clothes distribution in the town, they took clothing to other settlements in the area, most of which were on the coast, such as Eidsnes, Kjerringdal, Kviby, Langfjordbotten, Riverbukt, Storsandnes, Tappeluft and Talvik (Figure 5.5). That last was the location

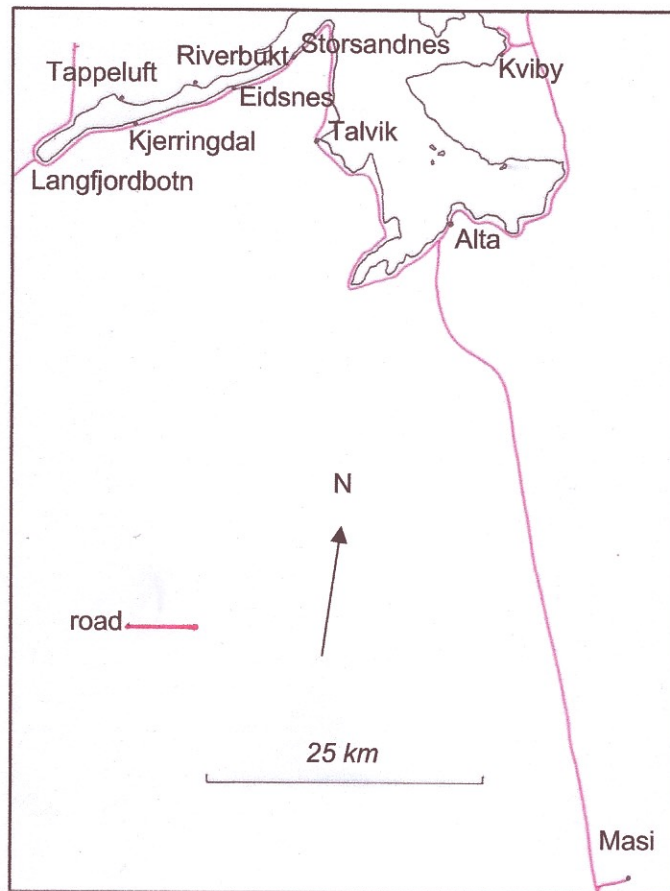


Figure 5.5: Places where the Alta FHT group distributed clothing

of one of the main camps but the group there were not involved in the Alta-based clothing project, concentrating instead on building tasks and helping families.⁴⁰ Just before the Alta group ended its distribution of clothes, two members travelled inland to Masi to take items to Sami living there. I have been unable to identify Fonestofte, another settlement named as being a location the group visited.⁴¹ One of the

⁴⁰ [1946]-07-28 Forste [sic] rapport Talvik [First report Talvik], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The year is not given on the document. However, the report is signed by Canby Jones, one of the American volunteers, who was preparing to leave Finnmark in early December 1946 (see 1946-12-06 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient} so the document must have been written in 1946, not 1947.)

⁴¹ 1946-08-31 Margit Frimann-Nergaard to FHT Kvalsund, 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Kartverket, 'Stadnamn/stedsnavn' [Place names/place names], n.d., accessed 13 February 2018, <https://www.kartverket.no/Kart/Stedsnavn/>.

volunteers who had led a short shoe-mending course in Lebesby in early 1947 subsequently offered the course in Honningsvåg.⁴²

The location of the Kåfjord camp

One of FHT's main camps was at Kåfjord. It should be noted that there are two settlements with that name in the area in which FHT worked, one west of Alta and close to both it and Talvik, and one on the north coast of the mainland across the sound from the island town of Honningsvåg (Figure 5.6). Ulfby judged the former to be the place where the FHT camp was situated.⁴³ There is considerable logic in the choice in that the location lies between two of FHT's other work camp sites and FHT volunteers could very well have visited the village. However, there is evidence that the more northerly settlement must have been the FHT site. For example, in a report on the tasks being undertaken in the various work camps, the settlement is described as 'Kåfjord near Honningsvåg' [*Kåfjord pr. Honningsvåg*] and in a letter from Edith Østlyngen to Sigrid Helliesen Lund, Edith recounts how she and Ron Atkinson, having visited the group at Kåfjord, then walked across the hills for about five hours to reach the group at Repvågstrand, a journey only possible if the starting point had been the settlement on the north mainland coast rather than the one near Alta.⁴⁴

⁴² 1947-02-28 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1947-03-31 'Byggaren nr. 6' [The Builder no. 6], 4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

⁴³ Ulfby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand], 6.

⁴⁴ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

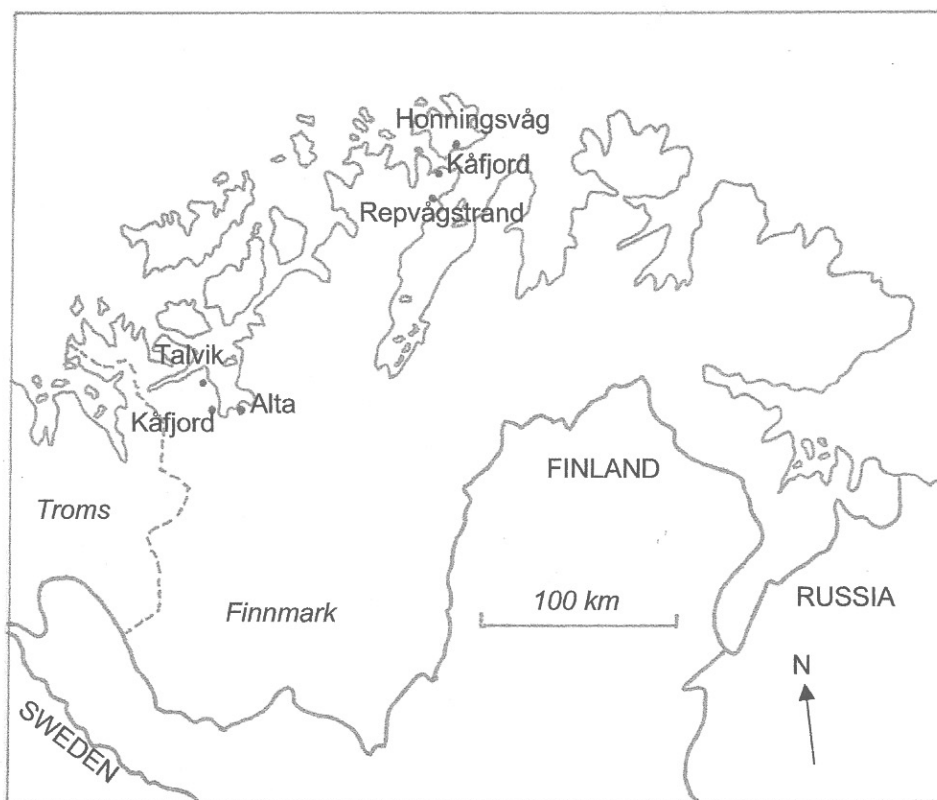


Figure 5.6: Kåfjord near Alta and Kåfjord near Honningsvåg

Travel and communication between work camps

As referred to above, travelling round and communicating across Finnmark in the immediate postwar period was frequently not straightforward. For the most part, circumstances meant that public transport running to regular timetables was still not possible. There is not a great deal of information in the FHT archive about how different work groups travelled to and from the locations in which they worked. However, a map of the county dated 1945 shows that, while many of the locations could have been reached by roads which varied in quality – some good but others not – a number of locations could only be accessed by boat. In the 1940s there were no roads to Kjøllefjord, Kåfjord or Repvågstrand, nor to small coastal settlements

such as Danielsvik, Klubbukt, Saraby, Storbukt and Torskefjord although it is possible that there may have been tracks to some of them. Work projects located on islands, such as Havøysund and Breivik, could only be reached from the sea and, while there was a road between Kvalsund and Hammerfest that ran on either side of the narrow sound dividing the mainland where the former is located from the island of Kvaløya where the latter lies, archive documents reveal that travel between the two was usually by boat, rather than by road and boat across the sound.⁴⁵

Edith Østlyngen and Ron Atkinson visited some of the groups in September 1946 (Figure 5.7). Edith reported in a subsequent letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund that travellers had to be prepared to change their plans at short notice. Edith and Ron got a lift from Kvalsund on a lorry travelling to Lakselv at the head of the Porsanger Fjord and had hoped to get off at Russenes on the west coast of the fjord and take a boat north along the fjord to the work camps at Repvågstrand and Kåfjord. However, the boat that they had expected to take from Russenes was not there so they stayed on the lorry until it reached Lakselv and, as Edith expressed it in her letter to Sigrid, 'hoped for other possibilities from there.' The two managed to get a boat from Lakselv

⁴⁵ 1945 'Oversiktskart over automobilveier i Nord-Norge' [General road map of northern Norway], LSF, Dudley Barlow papers, MSS 1007/4. n.d. 'Reisen hjem' [The journey home], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

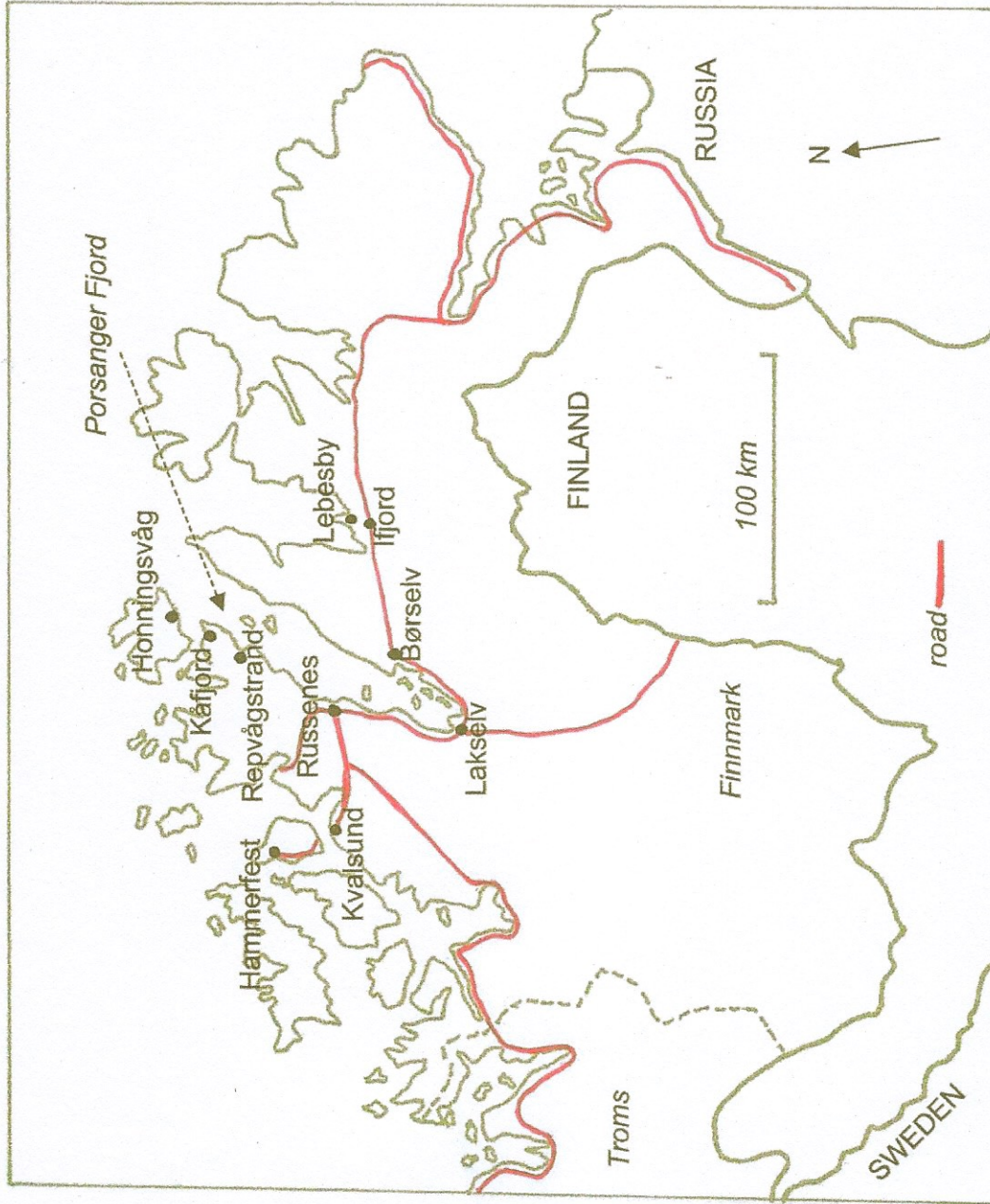


Figure 5.7: Overview of the area travelled by Edith Østlyngen and Ron Atkinson, and by the FHT group returning from Børseiv to Kvalsund

to Honningsvåg, on the island of Magerøya off the north coast of mainland Finnmark near the mouth of the Porsanger Fjord, and from there took another boat back across the sound to Kåfjord. After meeting the FHT group there, they had a five-hour walk over the hills to visit the group at Repvågstrand. How they accomplished the next stages of the journey, travelling back to Honningsvåg and then on to Lebesby on the east coast of the Porsanger Fjord, is not stated but it must have been by boat. After visiting the group in Ifjord, they got a lift with a sand lorry part of the way to the Børselv work camp. They then had to wait by the roadside for six hours before getting another lift to their destination. Although there are no details about their return journey to Kvalsund, it seems likely that waiting for a passing lorry would have been at least one element in the journey.⁴⁶

When the volunteers who had been working in the camp at Børselv returned to Kvalsund in December 1946, three of them skied cross-country for 12 hours from Russenes to Kvalsund because the road was blocked by snow. A fourth volunteer brought the baggage on by boat and, while it is not stated, the likely route for his journey would have entailed sailing north along the Porsanger Fjord, probably to the island port of Honningsvåg, getting another boat from Honningsvåg to Hammerfest and a third from Hammerfest to Kvalsund (Figure 5.7).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1-3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient. Edith's travel companion is referred to in the letter only as Ron. Ron Atkinson is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} 'håpet på andre muligheter derfra.'

⁴⁷ 1946-12-19 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1946-12-17 Dudley John [Barlow] to Mim and Dada, 1-2, LSF, Dudley Barlow papers, MSS 1007/3.

The telephone network was still in process of being restored and, while communication between the outlying main camps and Kvalsund and between Kvalsund and Oslo seems very largely to have been written, there were occasions on which phone calls were made. Phones were available in at least some of the locations where FHT's smaller work camps were situated. For example, one of the FHT volunteers on a trip to various locations in Finnmark phoned from Kjøllefjord to a fellow volunteer in Lebesby to discuss the work that the latter group was to undertake.⁴⁸ However, that the network was still by no means fully restored can be seen from the postscript to a report from Repvågstrand, which made clear that there were few telephones and those that existed were likely to be installed in public places where they would be available to everyone in the community.⁴⁹

The difficulties FHT's relief workers experienced in travelling and communicating were no greater than those faced by the local population. The county was historically one in which the greater part of a sparse population lived in small settlements on or near the coast and sea journeys were frequently the easiest means of travel. Damage to roads and bridges and the loss of vehicles such as lorries and buses as a result of the planned destruction as German troops withdrew from the area in late 1944 and early 1945 was simply another of the obstacles that had to be overcome while the area was being reconstructed.

⁴⁸ 1946-07-05 Rapport fraan resa med grupp till Hestnes [Report from the journey with the group to Hestnes], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁴⁹ 1946-08 Report from FHT group at Repvågstrand, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

5.4: The work undertaken by FHT volunteers in Finnmark

This section considers the range of work undertaken by FHT during the period of their presence in Finnmark. FHT's tasks included basic 'pick and shovel' work, more specialised building work and odd jobs done as needed. Clothes were distributed, canteens were run for workers, home care was given to hard-pressed families and nurseries were provided for young children. FHT provided nursing and dental care, and courses for adults and for young people. Progress in the overarching government-led reconstruction process led to changes in the needs of the population which, in turn, influenced what tasks FHT undertook, an issue that was discussed in more detail in 4.2. The section briefly considers tasks which FHT was unable to do or declined. It also outlines the underlying perception that men's work and women's work was different and indicates instances when such gendered assumptions were not rigorously observed.

Priorities for relief work

When FHT volunteers first arrived in Finnmark in May 1946 the single most pressing task was helping with the provision of accommodation. It is calculated that 10,563 houses were destroyed in the county by the retreating German army.⁵⁰ The government had intended that people who had been forcibly evacuated should remain in more southerly parts of the country for some time after liberation. The reason for this was partly because the government planned to have permanent housing ready before people returned and partly because of very real danger from minefields laid by the Germans on land and at sea. However, the evacuees' strong

⁵⁰ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 57.

wish was to go home.⁵¹ Approximately 20,000 returned north in 1945 and some 20,000 more followed in 1946.⁵² In addition, approximately 25,000 local people had never left Finnmark because they had avoided forcible evacuation by hiding in caves or huts in remote areas of the county.⁵³ Given the numbers of people in the county who urgently required accommodation, the government abandoned its original intention of concentrating on permanent housing and hastily instituted a programme of erecting huts for temporary accommodation to tide the local population over until permanent structures could be built.⁵⁴

Building work

Apart from doing odd jobs, much of the initial effort of the FHT relief workers, after they arrived in Finnmark in May 1946, was devoted to helping local people build temporary housing which was then one of the most immediate needs.⁵⁵ There were straightforward building-related tasks such as clearing rubble from sites where houses had been destroyed, digging cellars for permanent houses and pouring concrete for the house foundations. This type of labour was common in many of the locations.⁵⁶ There was more skilled work such as erecting huts for temporary

⁵¹ Diderich H. Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 194-195. Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 129.

⁵² Storli and Wold, 'Naturen som ressurs' [Nature as resource], 53. Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 195.

⁵³ Håvard Dahl Bratrein and Einar Niemi, 'Inn i riket: politisk og økonomisk integrasjon gjennom tusen år' [Into the kingdom: political and economic integration during one thousand years], in *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* [Cultural history of northern Norway], eds. Drivenes, Hauan and Wold, 1:200.

⁵⁴ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 75, 129.

⁵⁵ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2-3, FHT archive, F-L00010003.

⁵⁶ [1946]-09-10 'Organ for FHT' [FHT's newsletter], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. {No year is given but it must be 1946. Svend Zedergreen Bech wrote one of the articles and he had left Finnmark by 1 September 1946 (see 1946-09-01 Rapport fra Lakselv-Gruppen for Tiden 15 August-1 September [Report from the Lakselv group for the period 15 August-1 September], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).}

accommodation and constructing a children's play area.⁵⁷ The most skilled task was helping to build and fit out permanent houses.⁵⁸ The first report produced by FHT about its work across its various work camps mentioned that volunteers were putting up huts for temporary accommodation in Kvalsund, Børselv, Ifjord, Kåfjord, Lebesby and Russenes. Building work was also being done in Skoganvarre, Repvågstrand and Talvik but no detail was given.⁵⁹

Temporary accommodation

German military huts from around the country were dismantled and shipped north for use as short-term housing in northern Norway.⁶⁰ Re-erecting them was not always easy. For example, the FHT group in Russenes were charged with putting up a large hut that was to provide a sick room for the nurse who served the local area and to give the group accommodation in place of the tents they used at first. The remaining space was to be used as a local café and inn.⁶¹ Myrtle Wright was quoted in an FAU PWS circular as having said of the group at Russenes:

The men...have transport [*sic*] a very large barrack [hut] from the quay, dug the cellar and laid the greater part of the floor. There are many sections missing and those that exist are in poor condition and vary in size, involving much extra work in putting them together.⁶²

⁵⁷ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

⁵⁸ [1946]-09-10 'Organ for FHT' [FHT's newsletter], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. {See footnote 56 for information about the date assigned to the document.}

⁵⁹ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁶⁰ Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 195.

⁶¹ 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the writer and the recipient.} 1946-09-24 'Prøvekluten nr. 3' [The Guinea Pig no. 3], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

⁶² 1946-08-05 'Circ[ular] 6 FAU & IVSP Finnmark,' 1, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

A task that gave considerable satisfaction to the group working at Talvik was constructing a play area beside the local school, a job which they felt was a contribution to the community. The idea was their own and the local authorities were happy to give permission as they judged that it was the kind of work that no-one else was likely to do. It was to be 50 x 30 metres and involved removing 300 cubic metres of soil. The school master hoped that it would be possible to get materials so that FHT could also build a small hut beside the play area so that the children had somewhere to shelter if it started to rain, though it is not clear if the hut was ever erected.⁶³ Similar work was undertaken in Hammerfest. Two of the male volunteers based at Kvalsund, Ejnar Jensen and Mauritz Edström, travelled to the town for a short period to erect a see-saw and other similar equipment for the nursery that FHT volunteers were running there.⁶⁴

Permanent accommodation

Some of the volunteers worked on building permanent houses. Little detail is given but it seems to have been done in remote areas where it would have been difficult to get skilled paid help. One volunteer, Per Wallin, who is listed in the FHT card index of relief workers as being an engineer, oversaw building work at Breivik (also called Hasvik) on Sørøya, an island off the west Finnmark coast.⁶⁵ He worked as an assistant to the local building leader, the official who was in charge of organising

⁶³ 1946-08-29 Rapport nummer 1B fra Talvik gruppen [Report number 1B from the Talvik group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁶⁴ 1946-07-27 Referat av møte i Gruppekomiteen [Minutes of the Group Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. The see-saw is the only piece of equipment specifically mentioned. {Ejnar Jensen is named in full. Mauritz is identified only by his first name and is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

⁶⁵ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004. [1946] 'En dag såsom arbeidschef i gjenreisningen' [A day managing reconstruction work], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {See footnote 36 for information about the date assigned to the document.}

reconstruction in the municipality [*kommune*].⁶⁶ It was unusual for an FHT volunteer to be the only FHT representative in a given location. For the most part, volunteers worked in groups or, at the least, pairs. FHT's aim was not only to give practical voluntary help to the inhabitants of Finnmark trying to rebuild their livelihoods and their communities, but also to strengthen international understanding by having the volunteers work in multinational groups.⁶⁷ In addition to Breivik, locations for which there is evidence of FHT participation in building permanent houses are Eidvik, Klubbukt, Kokelv, Kåfjord, Repvågstrand and Torskefjord. Three men from the Lebesby group, probably Gideon Nilsson, Alan Sarfas and Vagn Nielsen, went to Eidvik to help a local family turn a hut into a permanent house.⁶⁸ In Klubbukt, a district just across the fjord mouth from Kvalsund, two unnamed FHT men helped with site preparation and pouring concrete for a permanent house.⁶⁹ In Kokelv, a small coastal settlement north of Kvalsund, the FHT involvement began when a small group went there in June 1946 to erect a German hut for local people to use. FHT

⁶⁶ n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [*sic*] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 68.

⁶⁷ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {There are two documents with the same title in the folder. The reference is to the one-page version the text of which incorporates handwritten corrections made on the other, longer, version (two typed pages, with wider line spacing, and a third page with handwritten amendments), suggesting that the one-page version is the later of the two.}

⁶⁸ 1946-08-03 Rapport af 1 August 1946 fra Lebesbygruppen [Report of 1 August 1946 from the Lebesby group], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The three are named as 'Gidde, Allang [*sic*] og [and] Vagn'. Gideon Nilssen is the only identified volunteer with a first name for which Gidde might be a diminutive. There was a Swedish volunteer called Allan Lundin but he did not arrive in Finnmark until 27 August 1946 (see n.d. "Antal dagsverken" [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004). The only other Alan/Allan identifiable in the archive material is British volunteer, Alan Sarfas, who is listed as having worked in Lebesby (see 1946-06-26 FHT, Kvalsund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). There are two volunteers whose first name is Vagn: Vagn Nielsen and Vagn Sørensen. Vagn Sørensen is known to have worked in Lakselv over the summer of 1946 (see 1946-07-30 Rapport for Lakselv-gru[p]pen for juni-juli 1946 [Report for the Lakselv group for June-July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 and 1946-09-15 Rapport fra Lakselv-gruppen [Report from the Lakselv group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003, which refers to a male member of the group as Vagn). Vagn Nielsen is known to have worked in Lebesby (see 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).

⁶⁹ n.d. Rapport om FHTs arbeid i tiden 20.7-10.8.46 [Report on FHT's work in the period 20.7-10.8.46], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

had given it to the municipality, which had then given it to Kokelv. Seven volunteers travelled out from Kvalsund: Else Bull; Dagny Flatebø; Finn Redse; Donald Andrews; Dudley Barlow; David Wills; and Knud Larsen.⁷⁰ Later, three FHT men, two of whom are not named but one of whom was probably Bror Malmberg, returned to help to build a permanent house.⁷¹ FHT's work at Kåfjord, a very small settlement on the north coast of mainland Norway, started with erecting huts.⁷² Later, four men lived in a tent while helping to build a permanent house.⁷³ Evidence suggests that the men were Gerion Ohlsson, Jørgen Lange, Peter Jackson and Karl Sahlin.⁷⁴ Later, Karl Sahlin and Gösta Gustavsson, both listed in the FHT card index as having building skills, seem to have helped with internal work once the house had been built.⁷⁵ Stephen Gould, Finlay McLaren, Tor Fahlberg and Robert Johansson were sent to Repvågstrand to help with building work, the first task being to build a house for a widow with children and then to help with other activities as needed. Work on the

⁷⁰ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁷¹ 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' (The Builder no. 1), 11, FHT archive, L-0003 0005. Bror is identified only by first name. There were two volunteers with that first name: Bror Bremer and Bror Malmberg. However, the former had had to go home in November 1946 following his father's death (see 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient}) and, while he was expected to return, there is no evidence that he did so. Bror Malmberg is known to have been in Finnmark during the period (see 1947-02-21 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient}).

⁷² 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁷³ 1946-09-24 'Prøvekluten nr. 3' [The Guinea Pig no. 3], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

⁷⁴ *Gerion Ohlsson and Jørgen Lange*: 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient}, in which the two men are identified by first names only. Gerion Ohlsson and Jørgen Lange are the only individuals with their respective first names identifiable in the archive material. *Peter Jackson*: [1946]-09-10 'Organ for FHT' [FHT's newsletter], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. {See footnote 56 for information about the date assigned to the document.} *Karl Sahlin*: 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' (The Builder no. 1), 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. Karl Sahlin is referred to as Kalle Sahlin. Kalle is a common diminutive for Karl.

⁷⁵ 1946-09-24 'Prøvekluten nr. 3' [The Guinea Pig no. 3], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

widow's house was held up by shortages of materials, so assistance was given to other local residents who were preparing sites for houses.⁷⁶ Tor Fahlberg left about 10 August 1946.⁷⁷ Åke Gilljam was there briefly during August to replace him and at some point during that month he and Robert Johansson left.⁷⁸ Gösta Gustavsson joined the group in late August or early September and was still there in October.⁷⁹ Stephen Gould and Finlay McLaren seem still to have been in Repvågstrand in late September but left at the beginning of October.⁸⁰ The work there ended on 5 November 1946 when the only worker there, not named but almost certainly Gøsta Gustavsson, was moved to Kåfjord.⁸¹ In the period between 20 July and 10 August 1946, two men, Sam and Jörgen, completed the building of a two-storey permanent house in Torskefjord, an area close to Kvalsund.⁸²

⁷⁶ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁷⁷ 1946-08 Repvågstrand report, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁷⁸ 1946-08-01 Referat for gruppemöte [Minutes of the group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 1946-08 Repvågstrand rapport, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁷⁹ 1946-08-27 Gruppe möte [*sic*] [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 1946-10-30 Referat av gruppemøte [Minutes of the group meeting] F-L0001 0005. Gösta Gustavsson is referred to by first name only in both documents, Gösta in the first and Gøsta in the second, the former probably being correct because he was Swedish (see n.d. 'Antal dagsverken [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004). Gösta Gustavsson is the only volunteer with that first name who is identifiable in the archive material.

⁸⁰ 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], 1, FHT archive, FHT F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identity of the sender. Myrtle Wright is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} n.d. 'Script for proposed broadcast on Finnmark,' 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document is undated but the introduction in the script suggests that it was written in either late 1946 or early 1947. The introduction also makes clear that the document was written in greater part by Finlay McLaren, one of the two British IVSP men who worked in Finnmark (see 1946-06-08' FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045).} Finlay McLaren and Stephen Gould, both members of IVSP (see 1946-06-08' FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045), left Finnmark together.

⁸¹ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4 FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁸² n.d. Rapport om FHTs arbeid i tiden 20.7-10.8.46 [Report on FHT's work in the period 20.7-10.8.46], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The men are referred to only by their first names. Sam could have been either Sam Johanssen or Sam Stevens (formally Thomas Stevens but called Sam, see 1946-06-08 FAU PWS 'Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045), both of whom were in Finnmark with FHT at the time (*Sam Johanssen*: n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004; *Sam Stevens*: n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004, and 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). Jörgen is probably Jörgen Markussen who is known to have been in Finnmark in 1946 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere'

Reports from FHT groups in different work camps

For the most part, the FHT reports which collate what was being done across the different work camps do not identify by name the individuals working in a given location at a given time nor is significant detail given of the tasks undertaken. The following style of reporting is quite usual:

Børselv (Hestnes)
sent 23.6.46. 8 relief workers, of whom 1 Norwegian, 1 Swede, 2 Danes and 4 Englishmen. Putting up huts and social work.⁸³

Reports from individual locations vary in the degree to which they name individuals and detail tasks carried out. A report from Lebesby dated 3 August 1946 gives general information on the work being done.⁸⁴ The group, split between Lebesby and Eidvik, were helping to build permanent houses while they were also giving a cooked meal to 20 workers each day. Three men in the group were identified by first name only and the writer of the report, Mads Nielsen, signed the report with his full name. He indicated that there were four other men in the camp, none of whom is named. Other archive material indicates that there were three FHT women volunteers there

[Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004). There was another volunteer called Jørgen Lange but evidence suggests that he was in Finnmark in 1947 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004). In the context of a multilingual volunteer body, the use of different but broadly equivalent letter forms such as 'ö' or 'ø' is not necessarily a determinant as there is some evidence in the archive material that usage could vary between people (see Språkrådet, 'Tødlar og alfabetisering' [Dots and alphabetical order], n.d., accessed 8 October 2020, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/?CurrentForm.SearchText=eg.&CurrentForm.KategoriFilter=Alfabetisering>). For example, when Edith Østlyngen signed her name, she used 'Ø' (see 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003) while it was known for other people to use 'Ö' in her surname (see 1946-09-04 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Ole Olden, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named. However, the sender's address, 'Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen i Aker', was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's home address (see Myrtle Wright, *Norwegian Diary, 1940-1945*, (London: Friends Peace International Relations Committee, 1974), 32)).).

⁸³ '1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT in Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 'Børselv (Hestnes) sendt 23.6.46. 8 hjelpearbeidere, derav 1 norsk, 1 svensk, 2 danske, 4 engleske. Brakkebygging og social virksomhet.'

⁸⁴ 1946-08-03 Rapport af 1 August 1946 fra Lebesbygruppen [Report of 1 August 1946 from the Lebesby group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

at the time, none of whom is mentioned in the report. The three, Sophie Stibolt Christiansen, Gunvor Aas and Anna-Lisa Eriksson, were responsible for feeding the FHT group and approximately 31 workers, as well as undertaking all the cleaning and washing for the group.⁸⁵

A report from the Lakselv group, dated 30 July 1946 and written by Svend Zedergreen Bech, is considerably more informative.⁸⁶ It gave full names for the 13 FHT volunteers there at the time, specifying their nationality. It listed clearly, although with little detail, the different building tasks undertaken by the group, naming the local people for whom the work had been, or was being, done and the relevant location. The Lakselv group, like many of the other FHT groups, worked throughout the area surrounding the place where they were stationed. It is reported in another document that the local building leader was impressed by the contribution the men were making.⁸⁷ However, there is only brief reference to the work the women were doing. The report mentioned that one woman, Borgny Kyllingstad, was to leave Lakselv shortly. A second, Lis Truelsen, was to travel with Sven Aage Nielsen, Viggo Pedersen and Svend Zedergreen Bech when the men returned to Luostjok, well outside Lakselv itself, to continue building a wooden house for a local man. Lis Truelsen was to be their cook to help them to complete the work within a week but she was likely to leave in mid-August. Two others, Dagny Lilleengen and Klara

⁸⁵ 1946-08-01 Sophie [Stibolt Christiansen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Sophie Stibolt Christiansen is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.} Gunvor and Anna-Lisa are mentioned only by first name. Each is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

⁸⁶ 1946-07-30 Rapport for Lakselv-gruppen for juni-juli 1946 [Report for the Lakselv group for June-July 1946], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁸⁷ 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service], 14-26 July 1946], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

Knutsen, were to stay for a longer period. What was not reported was that four of the five FHT women volunteers then in Lakselv were providing hot food each day for local administrators and workers (discussed below).⁸⁸ The fifth woman, Inger Marie Pedersen, was a nurse, Sister [Söster] Inger. In early July 1946 she submitted a report of her work in the period 25 March-5 July 1946 (discussed below) so no detail would have been required in the general report written by Svend Zedergreen Bech. However, his report omitted any mention that nursing was part of the group's contribution to the local community at a time when such skilled help was scarce and highly valued.

One of the most informative reports is a single-page document about work done in Kvalsund and the surrounding area written by Harry Burks, one of the AFSC volunteers.⁸⁹ Although undated, the content makes clear that it was probably written in autumn 1946 because it refers to making the Kvalsund camp ready for the vocational courses for young people which began in October 1946. Eight boys and

⁸⁸ Ibid., 3. 1946-08-13 'July 30: My last day,' 7, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document is an 11-page extract from what appears to be a much longer diary-style letter. There are handwritten page numbers on the sheets. However, these are not consecutive throughout the 11-page extract so page numbering for citation purposes has used the 1-11 sequence. The letter writer's name is not given. Some of the content indicates that the writer was associated with the AFSC (p10). The writer arrived in Kvalsund via Hammerfest on 3 August (p4) and gave a talk about AFSC work to the FHT volunteers there on 5 August (p5), which suggests that he was Irwin Abrams (see [1946-08] Mandag 29/7 [Monday 29/7], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The [1946-08] document gives day and month dates but no year. The year must be 1946 because some of the volunteers named in the document worked in Finnmark in that year only. For example, a volunteer called Eunice is mentioned. Eunice Jones is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material and she left Finnmark in November 1946 (see FHT 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, 1, F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1946-11-30 document}).}

⁸⁹ [1946] 'Work projects in Kvalsund,' FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document is undated. However, the content makes clear that the writer is still in Kvalsund and his name is given as Harry Burks. He, with his wife Pat, almost certainly left Kvalsund in December 1946 (see 1946-12-06 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient}).}

14 girls ultimately came to study in Kvalsund during the autumn, of whom five boys and 10 girls lived in the FHT camp itself.⁹⁰ Harry Burks's report concentrated very largely on building work. The writer calculated that, in Kvalsund municipality, the volunteers had dug over 25 cellars for buildings, involving the moving of c.175,000 cubic feet of earth and stone weighing 17,000,000 pounds (7,589 British imperial tons, 7,711 metric tonnes). They had mixed and poured c.12,000 cubic feet of concrete for 20 cellars. They had 'built over 10 barracks [huts],' which ranged in size from the smallest measuring 15 x 25 feet to a much larger one of 40 x 150 feet. They had erected three permanent houses and were working on two more. The writer claimed that FHT had 'built two of the first three permanent houses in Kvalsund kommune (municipality), and that it appears likely that we shall built [*sic*] 24 or 25 per cent of the houses to be built here this year.' Other tasks are mentioned as well.

Probably a third of our time here has been spent on small jobs.... Among these are digging wells, haying, setting up the bakery, helping in small building jobs, electrical work, clearance of rubbish, unloading and loading of ships at the pier, work in the homes of local people, nursing, and the placing of turfs round barracks.

One of the consequences of the complete destruction of the region's infrastructure was that the local population were preoccupied with rebuilding their homes and earning their living so it was difficult to find people to do the sort of tasks described above. FHT volunteers were willing to fill the gap and, in addition to what was listed by Harry Burks, the Kvalsund relief workers cleared the Kvalsund churchyard of

⁹⁰ 1946-10-27 Anne Margrethe [Smith] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Anne Margrethe Smith is the only individual with those first names identifiable in the archive material. See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.}

debris left by the German army, buried two corpses, and repaired the churchyard fence and benches in the church.⁹¹

Harry Burks explained that volunteers had prepared the premises that the FHT used for a kindergarten in Hammerfest for winter occupation and that one volunteer, Eric Pettersson, was working in the district architect's office in the town.⁹² The latter task, though probably not physically demanding, must have been less comfortable than it sounds. Trond Dancke, a Norwegian architect who worked on the post-war reconstruction of northern Norway for many years, described the temporary huts which served as offices as being 'cold and draughty' in which people worked in the light from small, portable lamps.⁹³

Clothes distribution

Wartime shortages compounded by the wholesale destruction in 1944-1945 of all but the most easterly region of Finnmark (which was itself severely damaged by Allied bombing during the German occupation) meant that, by the time of liberation, people in Finnmark were running short of clothes and shoes. What they still had was frequently in very poor condition and could not be replaced.⁹⁴ Michael Barnett claims that 'it is only recently that many humanitarian agencies have undertaken needs assessments.'⁹⁵ However, although a very young organisation, FHT recognised the

⁹¹ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁹² Eric Pettersson is not named in Harry Burks's document but is identified in 1946-09-24 'Prøvekluten nr. 3' [The Guinea Pig no. 3], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

⁹³ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 125. 'kalde og trekkfulle.'

⁹⁴ 1946-03 Rapport 1 [Report 1] Anne Marie Lund [and] Per Lund [-Rapport nr. 10 [Report no. 10]], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document cited includes 10 reports dated between 1 and 23 March 1946. Each report is also filed separately in the same folder.

⁹⁵ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 41.

need for such investigation. In early 1946, Anne Marie and Per Lund (not related to Sigrid Helliesen Lund) travelled in northern Troms and Finnmark on behalf of the organisation to find out what possibilities existed to help local communities as they returned to rebuild their lives.⁹⁶ They spoke to people involved in different ways in the reconstruction effort. Their reports make clear that there was a huge lack of the basic requirements for day-to-day living. Amongst other items, clothes, both outer- and underwear, and shoes for people of all ages were badly needed. A group of Danish relief workers, who had been in Alta over the winter of 1945, had distributed clothes to Finnmark people returning to the area to try to rebuild their lives after liberation. That group were to return to Denmark in late July or early August 1946 and an FHT group was sent to Alta to continue the task.⁹⁷ By the time the distribution in the town ended in mid August 1946, clothes had been given to 612 people, probably by FHT alone rather than by FHA and FHT together but the source is not entirely clear on the point. The group then travelled round the surrounding countryside and distributed clothes in smaller settlements in the Talvik area (Talvik village is on the Alta Fjord north-west of Alta). In late August, clothing for 205 people in Talvik was packed with help from two representatives from Talvik [Norwegian Women's] Public Health Association [*Norske Kvinnens Sanitetsforening* – NKS].⁹⁸ A total of 1,052 people in the Talvik area were given clothes. The FHT group then sorted and packed clothes to be handed over to Alta municipality who were to take over responsibility for

⁹⁶ 1946-01-18 Myrtle [Wright] to Brian, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7. {See footnote 80 for the identity of the sender. It has not been possible to identify the recipient with confidence.} 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-01-15 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Erling [Kjekstad], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 82 for the identity of the sender, who is not named. Erling Kjekstad is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

⁹⁷ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁹⁸ 1946-08-31 Margit Frimann-Nergaard to FHT Kvalsund, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

distribution. Afterwards, two FHT volunteers, Margit Frimann-Nergaard and Else, were to travel to Masi, a small settlement well inland from Alta, to take clothes to some Sami there who had managed to avoid forced evacuation.⁹⁹

Shoe-repairing

IAL hosted a series of meetings in Stockholm in April 1946 at which IAL, Swedish Quakers, FHT and FHA were represented.¹⁰⁰ As a part of the discussions, a Captain Hammersjö gave a demonstration of a method of repairing shoes called 'AGO' that used adhesive rather than sewing and nails. It was claimed that the repairs were durable and could be made to shoes in poor condition, with IAL intending to train some of its volunteers in the method. Captain Hammersjö is reported as having said that 10 sets of AGO equipment had been given to the Norwegian organisation, National Relief [*Nasjonshjelpen*], in Narvik but were not being used because of a lack of instructors.¹⁰¹ Several FHT volunteers were trained in the method. A shoemaker from Vardø or Kirkenes in eastern Finnmark travelled to the Kvalsund camp to take part in the training given by an FHT volunteer, Edgar Johansson, to two

⁹⁹ Ibid. It is not straightforward to identify the FHT volunteer called Else, there having been four women volunteers with that first name. It could be Else Sand, who was in Finnmark from late June to October 1946 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004, and 1946-10-19 'Finnmark visit (3)', 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). It could be Else Bull who was in Finnmark from June to September 1946 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004). Neither Else Schjöth nor Else Marie Voldbjerg was in Finnmark during August 1946. *Else Schjöth*: see 1946-04-12 Else Schjöth to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, 6, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 12 for the identity of the recipient} and 1947-06-06 SHL [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Kjäre venner i Kvalsund [Dear friends in Kvalsund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with the initials SHL identifiable in the archive material}. *Else Marie Voldbjerg*: see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹⁰⁰ 1946-04 Rapport fra møter i IAL, Stockholm [Report from meetings with IAL, Stockholm], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003.

¹⁰¹ 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge møte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Møte [meeting] and 1946-04-25 Møte [meeting]), 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

other volunteers in summer 1946.¹⁰² Edgar Johansson was joined in the shoe-repairing service by three volunteers, Giles Cooper, Eric Steele and Michael Lee.¹⁰³ In addition to learning the technique, the trainees mended ten pairs of shoes each day for local residents.¹⁰⁴ The service appears to have been provided free of charge to begin with but, in September 1946, it was decided to charge 2 kroner for children's shoes, 3 kroner for women's shoes and 4 kroner for men's shoes.¹⁰⁵ In early 1947, a shoe-repairing course was put on at Børselv.¹⁰⁶ Evidence suggests that a volunteer, Bror Malmberg, ran shoe-repairing courses in both Lebesby and Honningsvåg around the same time.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The former describes the shoemaker as being from Vardø, the latter from Kirkenes.

¹⁰³ 1980-05-23 'Hågkomster frå Finnmarken' [Memories from Finnmark], 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document seems not to have been dated by Edgar Johansson, although he signed it. His name and the date given here have been written at the top of the first page in a hand that appears to be different from that of the signature. The year, 1980, accords with the content of the first sentence of the text in which the writer mentions recalling events 34 years after the summer of 1946.} The writer's three fellow shoe-mending volunteers are identified in the document only by their first names.

However, their nationality is given as English and each is the only British volunteer with the relevant first name identifiable in the archive material. Edgar Johansson's recollections are confirmed in 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹⁰⁴ 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁰⁵ 1946-09-10 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. In pre-decimal British currency, the sums were worth 2/-, 3/- and 4/- respectively (£0.10, £0.15 and £0.20 respectively in decimal currency which was adopted in Britain on 15 February 1971, see The Royal Mint, 'Story of Decimalisation,' 2017, accessed 7 September 2017, <http://www.royalmint.com/discover/decimalisation/the-story-of-decimalisation>). At 2020 values, 2, 3 and 4 Norwegian kroner were worth £4.28, £6.42 and £8.56 respectively. See Norges Bank, 'Historical exchange rates,' 2009, accessed 31 December 2020, <https://www.norges-bank.no/en/topics/Statistics/Historical-monetary-statistics/Historical-exchange-rates/>. Norges Bank is the Norwegian Central Bank. See also Bank of England, 'Inflation Calculator,' 2021, accessed 25 May 2021, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>).

¹⁰⁶ 1947-10 Rapport fra FHTs arbeid 1947 [Report from FHT's work], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁰⁷ 1947-02-28 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient. 1947-03-31 'Byggaren nr. 6' [The Builder no. 6], 4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

Carpentry

The FHT card index indicates that there were six carpenters among the Danish and Swedish volunteers.¹⁰⁸ During the summer of 1946, that was clearly not enough for FHT's needs. A group meeting on 1 August minuted that a telegram would be sent to Sweden, presumably to IAL, to see if they could send more men with carpentry skills.¹⁰⁹ It is not clear whether the request was successful. Of the Swedish volunteers who arrived in Finnmark after the request was likely to have been sent, only two, Gunnar Almroth and Stig Ågren, can be identified as having been carpenters, although there are three other Swedish male volunteers who arrived after early August 1946 whose occupational qualifications are not recorded.¹¹⁰ The main contribution of the volunteers who had carpentry skills was to build temporary and permanent housing. Carpentry was also a useful skill for local people to acquire and FHT ran some short carpentry courses. As will be discussed below, the main centre for course provision was in Kvalsund. However, a volunteer, Bror Brehmer, ran a short carpentry course in early 1947 in Børselv.¹¹¹ Two other volunteers, Stig Ågren and Carl Mervald, ran a carpentry course in Lebesby.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹⁰⁹ 1946-08-01 Referat from gruppemøte [Minutes of the group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005.

¹¹⁰ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1947-01-31 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {There is no sender's name or address on the letter. However, it was probably sent by Sigrid Helliesen Lund. The content covers issues concerning the management of FHT's work in Finnmark, such as ordering carpenter's benches to be sent to FHT (p1). In addition, the sender discusses (p2) the possibility of 'Diderichs bror, Wilhelm' [Diderich's brother, Wilhelm] travelling to Finnmark as a volunteer and outlines his characteristics in terms that suggest close personal acquaintance. Diderich is likely to have been Diderich Lund, Sigrid Helliesen Lund's husband. See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.} Of the three men whose occupational qualifications are unknown, one, Bror Bremer, led a carpentry course in Børselv in late 1946 so may have been a carpenter (see 1946-11-29 FHT møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004).

¹¹¹ 1946-11-29 FHT møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹¹² 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

Canteens

Some tasks, such as building work and odd jobs, were common to most of the FHT work camps but others were specific to a limited number of locations. For example, there were areas where paid workers had been brought in from other areas of the country to help with the reconstruction effort.¹¹³ Providing them with hot food was not easy because catering facilities, both commercial and private, had been destroyed. In Ifjord, Karasjok, Lakselv and Lebesby, FHT volunteers ran canteens providing hot meals.¹¹⁴ A small group of four volunteers in Ifjord were mainly occupied with building-related tasks but also provided meals for seven workers.¹¹⁵ In June 1946 FHT sent four volunteers to Karasjok: Gudrun Christiansen; California Degerud; Gunnar Myrann; and Thormod Nielsen.¹¹⁶ They were to set up a field kitchen and provide meals for seven building workers and unspecified others.¹¹⁷ The canteen, which provided three meals a day, was taken over by local people when the volunteers left two months later in mid-August 1946.¹¹⁸ The provision of meals in Lakselv was started by Danish relief workers, almost certainly from FHA, in February 1946.¹¹⁹ In April 1946 the Danes were feeding between 20 and 40 men every day

¹¹³ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 198. 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹¹⁴ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4 FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹¹⁵ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4 FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹¹⁶ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹¹⁷ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹¹⁸ 1946-08-25 Rapport fra dugnaden i Karasjok [Report from the voluntary work in Karasjok], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-06-18 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 28 and 80 for the identities of the senders. Signe Hirsch Gill is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

¹¹⁹ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new frontiers], 51-52. 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

with numbers growing.¹²⁰ It is not clear exactly when FHT volunteers took over but by late July 1946 they seem to have been providing three meals a day for 40-60 people.¹²¹ The task was passed to local people from mid-August 1946 with FHT lending their kitchen equipment for the purpose.¹²² The handing over of responsibility for tasks was in accordance with one of FHT's stated aims of starting projects that the Finnmark population would find useful and wish to carry on.¹²³ The group at Lebesby ran a canteen, initially for 20 workers in the area, and started and ran a bakery.¹²⁴ Ole Olden, one of FHT founders who also worked as a volunteer in Finnmark, later reported that Johan Bøgeberg, a member of the local building committee, considered that, without the meals provided by FHT, it would not have been possible to have workers come to the area to help. By that time, three FHT women volunteers, Monika Rudin, Maja (Maria) Svensson and Gunvor Aas were feeding 40-60 workers a day.¹²⁵ One volunteer, Carl Emil Carlsson, worked as a

¹²⁰ 1946-04-27 Gunnar Skov Andersen to Hr. [Mr] Lund, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004.

¹²¹ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹²² [1946]-08-12 Gruppemøte mandag [Group meeting Monday] [with Gruppemøte torsday [Group meeting Thursday]], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {No year is given. However, it must be 1946. Reference is made to FHT's work at Kåfjord and that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005).}

¹²³ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 67 for information about which version of the document is cited.}

¹²⁴ 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. [1946]. 'Finnmarksglimtar' [Glimpses of Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {No date is given. However, the content suggests that the document was written in late 1946, the writer referring in the final paragraph to the 'school' [the vocational courses for young people] that began on 1 October (see 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). The writer's name is given as Edgar and there were two volunteers with that first name, Edgar Forsberg (Norwegian) and Edgar Johansson (Swedish). The document is written in Swedish and on the first page the writer refers to his having travelled round the FHT groups during September, which Edgar Johansson is known to have done (see 1946-09-30 Ole Olden to Diderik [sic] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004). It is reasonable to assume that the writer is Edgar Johansson.}

¹²⁵ 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Monika is identified only by her first name and no-one of that name is identifiable in the archive material. However, Monica Rudin, the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material, is listed as one of the Swedish volunteers. Maja Svensson is listed in 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Maria Svensson is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. For Bøgeberg's first name see 1946-07-29 Rapport fra

relief baker in Havøysund from early August until late September or early October when local bakers were ill.¹²⁶ He and another, unnamed, volunteer set up a bakery in Kvalsund in late 1946 using an old German field oven. They daily produced 300-400 loaves, buns and cakes. They also trained two local boys to take over the bakery when the volunteers left.¹²⁷

Hostel accommodation in Hammerfest

The port of Hammerfest was an important stage in the journey for evacuees returning to Finnmark. Many had to break their journey there when changing from a long-distance steamer to a smaller vessel that would take them to their home settlement. As had happened in most of the rest of the county, Hammerfest had been razed to the ground and, while many temporary huts had been erected since liberation, accommodation was at a premium. FHT volunteers ran a hostel in Hammerfest to provide a place where evacuees returning from the south could stay while waiting for a local boat to take them the last part of their journey home. The hostel could accommodate up to 15 adults with their children and there is a suggestion in the source material that it was usually women travelling with children.¹²⁸

reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹²⁶ [1946-08] 'Lørdag 3.8 Sigrid [Lund] og Myrtle [Wright] reiste' [Saturday 3.8 Sigrid [Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] left], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document gives the day and month but no year. See 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 for confirmation that the year is 1946 and that Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright are correctly identified. It is assumed that the [1946-08] document was produced in August because it is a diary-style account of a few days' activity early in that month.} 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 28 and 80 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} In both documents Carl Emil Carlsson is identified only by his first names. He is the only individual with those first names identifiable in the archive material.

¹²⁷ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4 FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹²⁸ 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946.

Care for children and young people

The volunteers in Hammerfest also provided play facilities for local children. They started by acting as play leaders, having cleared the play area. They subsequently opened a dedicated nursery which catered for up to 50 children a day.¹²⁹ Nursery equipment was sent from Sweden because only the toys that families had been able to carry with them when they were evacuated had escaped destruction.¹³⁰ Volunteers in the Kvalsund camp provided facilities for children from an early stage. A nursery for children up to eight years old was started on 25 June 1946 under the leadership of Cecilie Engebriksen, a Norwegian nursery teacher. Around 16 to 18 children attended every day. Bjørg Heldal, a young Norwegian woman, worked with older girls. There was a club for girls up to 14 or 15 years of age that was held three times weekly. In addition, there was a children's lending library. A small Scout group was established for boys, led by Donald Andrews, one of the volunteers.¹³¹ In the summer of 1947, two women volunteers, who were both trained kindergarten teachers, set up play centres for children at Bossekopp and Elvebakken, both in Alta.¹³² The two women were almost certainly Hjelen Hansen and Eli Jacobsen but the archive material is not entirely clear on the point.¹³³ The provision for children in both

¹²⁹ 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

¹³⁰ 1946-09-07 'De er så glade' [They are so happy], FHT archive, F-L0003 0006.

¹³¹ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹³² 1947-10 Rapport fra FHTs arbeid [Report from FHT's work], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹³³ [1947]-07-04 Else Schjøth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The year is not given in the document. However, it must be 1947 as the first sentence refers to 'de to finske pikene' [the two Finnish girls] being in Kvalsund. The Finnish girls were in Finnmark in summer 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru (Mrs) [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 33 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1947-07-31 document}). See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient of the [1947]-07-04 letter.} [1947]-07-06 Else [Schjøth] to [no name], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The year is not given on the letter but it must be 1947 as the letter refers to 'de to finske' [the two Finns] being in Kvalsund (see above in this footnote). While

Hammerfest and Alta was subsequently taken over by the municipal authorities in accordance with FHT's aim that they should try to start activities that local people would find useful and would wish to continue.¹³⁴ It is not clear whether Kvalsund municipality took over provision for young children from FHT.¹³⁵

Confirmation has been, and largely remains, a strong tradition in Norway. The customary pattern has been that young people in their teens take confirmation classes with a priest leading to confirmation in a church ceremony that marks the transition from child- to adulthood. Before 1950, there was no secular alternative to Christian confirmation.¹³⁶ Wartime conditions had meant that it had not been possible to have any confirmations in the Kvalsund area since the latter stages of the war. Only days after the first FHT volunteers arrived in Kvalsund in late May 1946, the local priest appealed at a Sunday morning church service for help to accommodate approximately 40 young people from around the area so that they could come to Kvalsund for a fortnight for a period of instruction concluding in the confirmation service. Local people, living in temporary housing, had scarcely enough room for their own needs. FHT volunteered to help provide enough accommodation so that confirmation could be held in July.¹³⁷ It is not clear whether young people stayed with

the sender does not give her family name, the distinctive handwriting is the same in the [1947]-07-04 and [1947]-07-06 documents.} It is possible that the [1947]-07-06 document is a continuation of the [1947]-07-04 one. The latter is dated two days after the former and starts with the statement: 'Dette brevet er blitt liggende for ustanselig dukker det opp nytt jeg vil ha med' [This letter has been left lying for constantly something new comes up that I want to deal with.]. The latter document also continues discussion of topics raised in the first one.

¹³⁴ 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹³⁵ Further research might identify the extent to which FHT initiatives were adopted by local communities when the organisation's presence in Finnmark came to an end.

¹³⁶ ung.no, 'Hva er konfirmasjon?' [What is confirmation?], n.d., accessed 22 August 2017, www.ung.no/konfir/929_Kirkelig_eller_Humanistisk_konfirmasjon_-_hva_velger_du.html.

¹³⁷ 1946-05-27 Myrtle [Wright] to Ellen, 6, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 80 for the identity of the sender. I have been unable to identify the recipient.}

FHT, although at least some had their meals in the work camp.¹³⁸ On the Friday before the confirmation service, which was held on Sunday 21 July, a party was held in the Kvalsund camp for the confirmands and the priest.¹³⁹ The hut was decorated with flowers and cakes were baked specially. It is interesting that the brief description of the party that survives makes clear that the confirmands were given advance information about the short vocational courses that FHT were to offer in late 1946 and the first part of 1947. There were Sami children amongst the confirmands. Their colourful costumes are mentioned as is the difficulty in communicating with them because some spoke no Norwegian.¹⁴⁰ On the Sunday of the confirmation service, FHT gave lunch to some of the confirmands' families. Later, the confirmands who had had their meals at the FHT camp, their families and some local people came for an evening celebration with speeches and songs.¹⁴¹

The document describing the party is one of the few in the archive that specifically mentions FHT's contacts with the local Sami community.¹⁴² It is notable that there is no mention of contact with the Kven community. It is possible that, as the Sami and Kven languages both belong to the Finno-Ugric family of languages and there is no

¹³⁸ [1946-07] 'Fredag: Kerstin stelte fru Mortensens baby...Lørdag...Søndag' [Friday: Kerstin looked after Mrs Mortensen's baby...Saturday...Sunday], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 36 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

¹³⁹ 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴⁰ [1946-07] 'Fredag: Kerstin stelte fru Mortensens baby...Lørdag...Konfirmantfesten' [Friday: Kerstin looked after Mrs Mortensen's baby...Saturday...Confirmation party], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document is undated. However, it makes clear that the party held by FHT in Kvalsund for the confirmands took place on the Friday, the events of which day are described in the document. Only one confirmation is mentioned in the archive material so it is reasonable to assume that the document was written in July 1946.}

¹⁴¹ [1946-07] 'Fredag: Kerstin stelte fru Mortensens baby...Lørdag...Søndag' [Friday: Kerstin looked after Mrs Mortensen's baby...Saturday...Sunday], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 36 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

¹⁴² [1946-07] 'Fredag: Kerstin stelte fru Mortensens baby...Lørdag...Konfirmantfesten' [Friday: Kerstin looked after Mrs Mortensen's baby...Saturday...Confirmation party], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. See footnote 140 for information about the date ascribed to the document.

evidence that anyone by then associated with FHT could speak either, FHT personnel were unable to distinguish between them and assumed that anyone speaking a language they did not understand must be Sami. Given the then national Norwegianisation policy (1.2) and the consequent negative attitudes towards the Sami and Kven minorities, it may be that Norwegian volunteers from the southern parts of the country had little, if any, knowledge of their Kven compatriots. One of the FHT work camps was in Børselv, which is now the site of the national Norwegian Kven Institute [*Kvensk institutt*] founded in 2005, presumably chosen as an area with a strong Kven community.¹⁴³ It seems highly unlikely that the volunteers working in that area did not meet members of the local Kven community, even although they seem to have been unaware that they had.

Support for families

One of the ways in which FHT aimed to help local communities in Finnmark was to provide support for families.¹⁴⁴ The intention appears to have been to give assistance to households where the mother was under severe pressure, or ill or about to give birth, not least because there were few nurses and doctors in Finnmark at the time.¹⁴⁵ Women volunteers in the camps in Kvalsund and Talvik undertook such

¹⁴³ Kainun institutti/Kvensk institutt, 'Om Kainun institutti' [About the Kven institute], n.d., accessed 19 January 2022, <https://www.kvenskinstitutt.no/om-kainun-institutti/>.

¹⁴⁴ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 67 for information about which version of the document is cited.}

¹⁴⁵ [1947] 'Det frivillige hjelpearbeidet i Nord-Norge' [Voluntary relief work in northern Norway], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The document is undated and there is no indication of who wrote it. However, there is a handwritten comment in the top right-hand corner of the first page, in what appears to be Sigrid Helliesen Lund's handwriting: 'Opplysninger gitt stortingsmann Teodor [*sic*] Broch i anledning Finnmarksdebatten 7 [*sic*] feb. 1947 i Stortinget' [Information given to Member of Parliament Teodor [*sic*] Broch on the occasion of the Finnmark debate 7 Feb[ruary] 1947 in Parliament]. Theodor Broch was a representative in the Norwegian Parliament for the country towns in the northern counties of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark for the period 1945-1949 (see Stortinget, 'Broch, Theodor (1904-1998),' n.d., accessed 13 October 2017, <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Representanter-og-komiteer/Representantene/Representantfordeling/Representant/?perid=THBR.>) [1946-07] 'Oversikt

work. It may have happened in other camps but it is not possible to be certain because the general descriptions, 'social work' [*sosialt arbeid*] or 'social activity' [*sosial virksomhet*] are frequently used with no detail given.¹⁴⁶ In Talvik, Anne Margrethe Smith, a volunteer described in the FHT card index of volunteers as a domestic science teacher, gave home help to a woman who was seriously ill and had a baby to care for.¹⁴⁷ In Kvalsund, women volunteers did similar work, giving help where it was needed. Maria Svensson helped one family by doing their clothes washing.¹⁴⁸ Another volunteer, Kerstin Strömblad, helped a mother and her baby, and did housework for another woman who was shortly to give birth.¹⁴⁹ She also acted as a substitute for the local nurse for six or seven weeks. After that, she went to work in Stallogargo, just across the sound from Kvalsund, to help a family with seven children and an eighth expected.¹⁵⁰

over uken' [Overview of the week], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document gives day and month dates but no year. The year must be 1946 as the document mentions Donald Andrews, a British volunteer, who was known have been travelling back to Britain from Finnmark in late November/early December 1946 (see 1946-11-23 'Circ[ular] 18,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045). It is assumed that the document was produced in July because it is a diary-style account of a few days' activity during that month.}

¹⁴⁶ 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴⁷ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-07-28 Report 2 Talvik, 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Anne-Margrethe Smith is identified in the second source by her first name only. She is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

¹⁴⁸ [1946-08] 'Lørdag 3.8 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] og Myrtle [Wright] reiste' [Saturday 3.8 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] left], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 126 for information about the date assigned to the document and for the identities of the two individuals named in the document title.} Maria Svensson is identified only as Maja. See 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003, in which Maja is listed as Maja Svensson. Maria Svensson is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material.

¹⁴⁹ [1946-07] 'Oversikt over uken' [Overview of the week] FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 145 for information about the date assigned to the document.} Kerstin is identified only by first name. Kerstin Strömblad is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

¹⁵⁰ 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, F-L0003 0005. Kerstin is identified only by first name. See footnote 149 for confirmation of her identity.

Nursing at Russenes and Lakselv

Some of the relief work undertaken by FHT was highly specialised. The Danish organisation, FHA, had sent relief workers, including nurses, to northern Norway in 1945.¹⁵¹ Some of their workers became part of the FHT relief activities from summer 1946, including nurses working at Russenes and Lakselv, both on the Porsanger Fjord.¹⁵² Medical facilities of all kinds in Finnmark had been largely destroyed as the Germans withdrew in late 1944 and early 1945.¹⁵³ In the early stages of reconstruction, temporary structures had to be used as nothing else was available.¹⁵⁴

Russenes

The FHT group at Russenes built a large hut, part of which was devoted to a small nursing station which by late 1946 had space for five patients.¹⁵⁵ Little detail survives of the work carried out by the nurses who served in succession at Russenes and the district round about. A report written in late 1947 notes that 'the nearest doctor is 40-50 miles away and the nurse has often had to undertake difficult cases alone.'¹⁵⁶ It was noted in November 1946 that the Danish nurse there, Sister Birthe Rörby, who

¹⁵¹ 1945-10-05 DL [Diderich Lund] to Herr Statsråd Gabrielsen [DL [Diderich Lund] to Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {See footnote 14 for the identity of the sender of the letter and for information about Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen's area of responsibility.}

¹⁵² 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. FHT: 1946-07-06 Arbejdsrapport fra Søster Inger [Work report from Sister Inger], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Sister Inger's report starts from 25 March 1946, before the FHT team arrived in Lakselv in June 1946 (see 1946-06-08 FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045). Sister Inger remained in Lakselv until September 1946 (see 1946-09-15 Rapport fra Lakselv-gruppen [Report from the Lakselv group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).

¹⁵³ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 276.

¹⁵⁴ Immonen, Ingrid. 'Sykepleie i Finnmark: krig, evakuering og gjenreise' [Nursing in Finnmark: war, evacuation and reconstruction], HiF-Forskning 1999: 10, [Norway]: Hogskolen i Finnmark, 1999), 49.

¹⁵⁵ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4. FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁵⁶ 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

had arrived in Finnmark in October 1945, was very tired and needed to be replaced.¹⁵⁷ She left during December 1946 and was succeeded by another Dane, Sister Else Marie Voldbjerg.¹⁵⁸ She, together with a Swedish male helper, Rune Pettersson, wrote to Sigrid Helliesen Lund in January 1947, noting that there was a high level of illness among local people and that severe winter weather was affecting the nurse's ability to travel to patients. She asked to be supplied with hospital spirit so that she could sterilise instruments because other methods of sterilisation were not appropriate for the circumstances. She needed batteries for her torch to help her get around in the darkness that is a feature of winter in northern Norway. In the middle of reporting nursing issues, she mentioned that a scout troop was being set up with 25 participants. She then indicated that she had started to test local people for tuberculosis and hoped to include everyone in the process.¹⁵⁹ In doing so, she was providing a timely service. Tuberculosis was a significant health risk in Finnmark before, during and after the war.¹⁶⁰ There seems to be no later information on how the tuberculosis testing progressed. However, it is known that Sister Else Marie Voldbjerg stayed on as nurse in Russenes after the municipality took over nursing provision in the area from FHT.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

¹⁵⁸ [1946-12] 'Fortegnelse over hjemvendte Hjælpere fra 15/11-17/12-46' [List of volunteers [who] returned home from 15 November to 17 December 1946], 1, MS archive, 38-39, folder 21. {The document is not dated. It is a list of volunteers who returned to Denmark between mid-November and mid December 1946 so it is reasonable to assume that it was produced in December 1946.} 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹⁵⁹ 1947-01-23 Rune Petterson [*sic*] and Søster [Sister] Else Marie [Voldbjerg] to Fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. The correct spelling of Rune Petterson's family name seems to have been Pettersson (see n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004). {See footnote 12 for the identity of the recipient.} Else Marie Voldbjerg is the only individual identifiable in the archive material with those first names. She was a nurse.

¹⁶⁰ Immonen, Ingrid, "'I Learned to Trust Myself', 6. Ryymin 'Civilizing the "Uncivilized", 143-144.

¹⁶¹ [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 26 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

Lakselv

Sister Inger Marie Pedersen, another Danish nurse, arrived to work in Norway in September 1945.¹⁶² She was based at Lakselv and became part of the FHT group that was established there. She wrote two reports, both dated 6 July 1946, which detail the range of work she carried out in the period 25 March-5 July of that year.¹⁶³ Lakselv is at the head of the Porsanger Fjord approximately 65 kilometres south of Russenes and it is likely that the work Inger Marie Pedersen did was very similar to what Else Marie Voldbjerg would have done in Russenes further north along the west coast of the fjord. The district the former covered was 2,200 square kilometres with the district doctor 50 kilometres away in Børselv. In approximately three-and-a-half months Inger Marie Pedersen saw 183 outpatients and made 131 home visits. Lakselv was, and is, the administrative centre of the area but many of the patients would have lived well outside the town. She recounted how she was fetched by a man whose wife was about to give birth. The family 'lived in a very remote place' [*boede meget afsides*] and she was taken there by sled. The baby was born before she arrived. While the birth seemed to have gone well, she noted that conditions were not sterile. At that time many homes in Finnmark did not have a piped water supply.¹⁶⁴ The house in question had no well so snow had to be melted to provide water, presumably so that she could wash her patients to her satisfaction. In recounting another birth she attended, she commented that she is a nurse but not a trained midwife but 'in spite of everything, better help than someone entirely

¹⁶² n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹⁶³ 1946-07-06 Arbejdsrapport fra Søster Inger [Work report from Sister Inger], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-07-06 Inger Marie Pedersen to FHA, MS archive, 24, folder 5.

¹⁶⁴ Mølmann, Jacobsen and Elstad, 'Infant Mortality,' 13, 16.

untrained' [*trods alt, bedre Hjælp end en hel ufaglært*]. In addition to working with patients in Lakselv and the surrounding area, she had to travel further afield with some patients. For example, she had to take two soldiers first to a field hospital five kilometres from the town and then to a garrison facility some distance south between Tromsø and Narvik. The men had walked over a field, trodden on a mine and been very severely injured. She comments that, in Finnmark, it was dangerous to walk anywhere other than the road because of the ordnance still remaining from the war. On a separate trip she had to accompany a tuberculosis patient south to Sortland to a tuberculosis home where long-term treatment was available. In the German withdrawal from the far north of Norway, hospital patients and the elderly had not been spared forced evacuation and the therapeutic facilities on which they depended had been destroyed along with all other buildings. Given the acute need to provide housing, and reinstate basic facilities such as roads, bridges and harbours, permanent hospital provision was not restored until the 1950s, hence the need to take the patient south.¹⁶⁵ On the same journey, Sister Inger Marie Pedersen had to take a young man to a hospital in Bodø, still further south, because he had become blind as a result of drinking wood alcohol. Towards the end of the period covered by the report, she indicated that, in a country area about 40 kilometres from Lakselv, she had tested 164 people for tuberculosis. However, because the area's population was 300, she was not satisfied with the level of uptake and planned to make home visits to those who did not turn up for testing because, to be effective, tuberculosis testing should cover an entire population. Her closing comment concerned the poor state of dental care in Finnmark. People in their early twenties either had dentures or

¹⁶⁵ Teemu Ryymin and Astri Andresen, 'Effecting Equality: Norwegian Health Policy in Finnmark, 1945-1970s,' *Acta Borealia: Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies* 26, no. 1 (2009), 102.

their own teeth were in very poor condition. Even young teenagers had teeth that seemed to her to be beyond treatment. She intended to try to persuade the authorities to employ a schools dentist because, otherwise, the nearest dental treatment was over 200 kilometres distant.

Dental treatment

Dental treatment was another area in which FHT were able to offer specialist and very scarce help. A Norwegian schools dentist, Johanne Strandrud, worked as a volunteer for FHT in the summers of 1946 and 1947, using her summer vacation in both years to travel to Finnmark to help.¹⁶⁶ She was based in two of FHT's locations, Kvalsund and Alta. In 1946 she spent a few days in Kvalsund, treating the confirmands and others, before going on to Alta. The following year, she arrived in Kvalsund on 24 July, with her assistant and his family arriving on 29 July. Such was the demand for her services that, in a letter that is undated but was almost certainly written in 1946, she reports that she was working at least a 12-hour day.¹⁶⁷ In 1947, she was reported as working from 7.30 am to nearly midnight with only necessary breaks for meals.¹⁶⁸ There is little detail of the work she carried out over her two visits to Finnmark. However, in 1946 she seems to have spent most time based in

¹⁶⁶ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1946-06-26 Signe [Hirsch Gill] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 118 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹⁶⁷ [1946] Johanne Strandrud to Fru [Mrs] Signe [Hirsch] Gill, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The letter is undated and is addressed to Signe Gill in Kvalsund. Signe Hirsch Gill worked in Finnmark from July to late August/early September 1946 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004, and 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the latter document}.)}

¹⁶⁸ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

Bossekop in Alta and noted the huge demand for dental treatment. She commented that there had never been enough dentists. She was seeing people in their twenties who had never visited a dentist before and who were very grateful for the treatment they were receiving.¹⁶⁹ Unusually for someone working under FHT's auspices, she had made clear before she started that she thought that a charge should be made for the dental services she was intending to provide. Her view was that, if no charge were to be made, the service would not be valued. She also had to cover expenses for equipment and dental supplies. Any charge would be waived for people who could not afford to pay. FHT recognised that this was an unusual situation for them and that, if it were to be allowed, she could not be treated as a normal volunteer receiving the customary 1 krone per day pocket money.¹⁷⁰ FHT noted that she came with excellent recommendations, though it is not recorded from whom, and that she was devoting her holidays to the work.¹⁷¹ It appears that FHT accepted Johanne Strandrud's point of view because, in her letter referred to above, she commented that she shared the income with her assistant and would reimburse FHT for expenses they had incurred in connection with her visit.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ [1946] Johanne Strandrud to Fru [Mrs] Signe [Hirsch] Gill, 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 167 for information about the date ascribed to the letter.}

¹⁷⁰ 1946-07-12 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontorets sosiale avdeling [Finnmark Office Social Department], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The letter thanks the Finnmark Office for raising volunteers' pocket money allowance to 1 krone per day from 25 kroner per month. In pre-decimal British currency, the sums were worth 1/- and £1-5/- respectively (£0.05 and £1.25 respectively in decimal currency which was adopted in Britain on 15 February 1971). One krone and 25 kroner in 1946 are worth £2.14 and £53.30 respectively at 2020 values (see footnote 105 for more information about historical exchange and inflation rates).

¹⁷¹ 1946-06 26-Signe [Hirsch Gill] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 118 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹⁷² [1946] Johanne Strandrud to Fru [Mrs] Signe [Hirsch] Gill, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 167 for information about the date ascribed to the letter.}

The increased emphasis on social and cultural activities

During 1946 it became clear that the need for temporary housing was no longer acute. Ole Olden and his wife, Ingeborg, had arrived in Kvalsund by early September.¹⁷³ The following month Ole Olden reported to the FHT committee in Oslo that practical work of the sort that most of the FHT volunteers had undertaken should cease at the end of 1946. Reconstruction had reached the stage at which either the reconstruction or the local authorities would carry out the work needed, a confirmation that FHT was capable of recognising when at least some aspects of its contribution were no longer appropriate for the major rebuilding effort that Barnett described as 'the heavy lifting' that has to be undertaken by governments.¹⁷⁴ Accordingly, FHT increasingly turned its attention to social and cultural activities, although practical work continued until the end of 1946 and, on a limited scale, in the summer of 1947.¹⁷⁵ There was no FHT presence in Alta over the winter of 1946/1947 but, in summer 1947, in addition to the children's play centres provided in the town (see above), a group of five men went there to build playgrounds.¹⁷⁶ In Kvalsund, practical building work resumed in summer 1947 with volunteers digging foundations and trenches for pipes to be laid, helping to harvest hay and assisting families where

¹⁷³ 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

¹⁷⁴ 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 3-4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 118.

¹⁷⁵ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4 FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁷⁶ 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. [1947]-07-16 Else [Schjøth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] F-L0002 0004. {No year is given on the letter. However, it refers to 'de finske' [the Finns] then with FHT in Finnmark. The two Finns who worked with FHT did so in the summer of 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru (Mrs) [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identity of the sender and the recipient.}). While the sender of the [1947]-07-16 letter does not give her family name, the distinctive handwriting is the same in 1947-07-01 Else Schjøth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 (see footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient of the 1947-07-01 letter).} The family name is given as 'Schjøth' in the minutes (see footnote 82 above regarding the interchangeable use of 'ø' and 'ö').

the mother needed support.¹⁷⁷ FHT continued to provide nursery facilities and accommodation for returning evacuees and departing volunteers in Hammerfest, and nursing provision and a scout group in Russenes.¹⁷⁸ However, the principal effort was devoted to providing courses, which were mostly designed for young people but with some provision for adults.

Courses for adults

A handcrafts course for local women was started in Børselv in early 1947.¹⁷⁹ Forcible evacuation had meant that people in Finnmark had had to leave their homes, frequently at only a few hours' notice, with what they could carry in a suitcase.¹⁸⁰ Their homes and everything that had perforce to be left in them had been destroyed.¹⁸¹ On their return, people had few clothes, frequently no household linen, and, in most cases, no means of making replacements.¹⁸² The Børselv handcrafts course provided sewing machines, fabric, knitting wool, FHT volunteers to lead sewing and weaving courses, and a hut as accommodation for the activities.¹⁸³ It

¹⁷⁷ 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identity of the sender and the recipient.}

¹⁷⁸ 1947-10 FHT report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁷⁹ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹⁸⁰ Diderich H. Lund, 'Revival of Northern Norway,' 193. Knudsen, *Flyktninger* [Refugees], 11.

¹⁸¹ Hauglid, Jensen and Westrheim, *Til befolkningen!* [To the people!], 43, 90. Hjeltnes, *Hverdagsliv* [Everyday life], 96. 1945-10-16 Rapport fra tur til Nord-Troms og Finnmark 15-9 til 6-10 1945 [Report from the tour to northern Troms and Finnmark 15-9 to 6-10 1945], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁸² 1945-10-16 Rapport fra tur til Nord-Troms og Finnmark 15-9 til 6-10 1945 [Report from the tour to northern Troms and Finnmark 15-9 to 6-10 1945], 1, 4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁸³ [1947-04-07] Greta [Andersen] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The letter is headed 'Børselv [*sic*], annandag Påsk' [Børselv, Easter Monday] and is signed 'Greta'. In 1947, Easter Monday fell on 7 April, see United States Census Bureau, 'Easter Dates from 1600 to 2099,' 2017, accessed 11 September 2017, <https://www.census.gov/srd/www/genhol/easter500.html - easter1900>. It is known that Greta Andersen was working in Børselv from April 1947 (see 1947-04-29 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient of the 1947-04-29 document}). Both the [1947-04-07] and the 1947-04-29 documents are in the same distinctive handwriting so it is reasonable to assume that they were written by the same person. Greta Anderson is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. By 29 April 1947 she had a sewing course with 30 participants arranged so it is unlikely that she had

gave local women the facilities to make clothes and home furnishings. Evidence indicates that the courses were structured, covered theoretical as well as practical aspects of handcrafts, and included topics such as interior decoration.¹⁸⁴ The provision was appreciated by local people with 30 women and girls being listed as taking courses in April 1947.¹⁸⁵ In autumn 1947, the hut was donated to the the Børselv Housewives Association [*Børselv Husmorlag*].¹⁸⁶ Two women volunteers, Greta Andersen and Linnea Sandin, were responsible for the craft activities.¹⁸⁷ Linnea Sandin had to return to Sweden in late July or early August 1947 but Greta Andersen stayed in Børselv until well into 1948 even though FHT ended its other activities in Finnmark the previous year.¹⁸⁸

Courses in Kvalsund for young people

The principal focus of FHT's educational activities was in the main work camp in Kvalsund where they provided short vocational courses for young people over 15 years of age.¹⁸⁹ Schooling had been severely disrupted during the Second World War. There were large numbers of German soldiers in Finnmark during the occupation and many public buildings, including schools, were requisitioned for the troops' use. Schools, in common with other buildings, were destroyed during the

just arrived. See footnote 118 for the identity of the recipient of the [1947-04-07] document.} 1947-04-25 Greta [Andersen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see above for the identity of the sender; see footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.} 1947-04-29 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.}

¹⁸⁴ 1947-04-29 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.}

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁸⁶ [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 26 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

¹⁸⁷ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹⁸⁸ 1947-07-30 Helle [Ruge] to fru (Mrs) [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 26 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

¹⁸⁹ 1946-12 Report of relief work in Finnmark, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

German withdrawal from the area in late 1944 and early 1945.¹⁹⁰ One of the three original founders of FHT, Ole Olden, had been rector of St Svithuns School in Stavanger.¹⁹¹ Following his retirement in 1946, he and his wife, Ingeborg, worked as FHT volunteers in Finnmark from autumn 1946 to spring 1947.¹⁹² Ole Olden led FHT's educational provision for young people. As the winter of 1946/1947 approached, with a consequent cessation of outside work, and as volunteers who had worked over the summer started to leave Finnmark, the accommodation in the Kvalsund camp was altered to provide facilities for short courses.¹⁹³ The courses could not be publicised much in advance because FHT was waiting for confirmation that the Education Department [*Undervisningsdepartement*] would award support funding. When news came that 7,800 kroner had been granted to FHT for the courses, notices were put up in post offices throughout the area because there was no functioning newspaper locally.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Nøkleby and Hjeltnes, *Barn* [Children], 59-60. 1946-03 Rapport 1 [Report 1] Anne Marie Lund [and] Per Lund [-Rapport nr. 10 [Report no. 10]], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document cited includes 10 reports dated between 1 and 23 March 1946. Each report is also filed separately in the same folder.

¹⁹¹ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Celine Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], (Oslo: Tiden, 1981), 129.

¹⁹² 1946-09-04 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Ole Olden, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 82 for the identity of the sender who is not named.} 1947-02-12 Ole Olden to fru [Mrs] Sigrid Helliesen Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁹³ 1946-09-20 Rapport nr. 3 [Report no. 3] FHT, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁹⁴ In 1946 7,800 Norwegian kroner was worth £390, in turn worth £16,458 at 2020 values (see footnote 105 for more information about historical exchange and inflation rates). 1946-09-20 Rapport nr. 3 [Report no. 3] FHT, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-10-27 Anne Margrethe [Smith] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 90 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

Subjects offered at Kvalsund

Courses in carpentry, mechanics and shoe-repairing were offered for boys. The carpentry course was the most popular. It concentrated on the sort of skills needed for fitting out buildings because there would be considerable need for such work for the foreseeable future. While the level of interest in mechanics was less pronounced than for carpentry, Ole Olden judged that there was a lack of people with such skills in Finnmark and that, as car traffic increased, the need for car mechanics would also increase.¹⁹⁵ There seems to have been a shoe-repairing course in autumn 1946 but not in spring 1947 as there is some evidence that there were only a few applicants for the second offering of the course.¹⁹⁶ There was a domestic science course for girls, which covered cookery, sewing, nutrition, health and child care. All pupils also had classes in Norwegian, English and Citizenship.¹⁹⁷ The courses ran from October to December 1946, and again from January to March 1947, with a further domestic science course after Easter finishing in June.¹⁹⁸ Although the courses were popular, FHT were able to take only limited numbers because of lack of space in the Kvalsund camp. For example, there were 22 pupils, eight girls and 14 boys, on the autumn 1946 courses. There had been applications from 20 girls and 15 boys but FHT did

¹⁹⁵ 1946-11-20 Rapport fra Yrkeskursene til FHT i Kvalsund [Report from FHT's vocational courses in Kvalsund], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁹⁶ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4. FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-10 Rapport fra FHTs arbeid 1947 [Report from FHT's work], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-12-12 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

¹⁹⁷ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4. FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁹⁸ n.d. Report of FHT for period Autumn 1946-Spring 1947, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The name Lolo Tresvig is given in 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Karen-Elise Tresvig is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. Astrid Foss is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.} 1947-10 Rapport fra FHTs arbeid [Report from FHT's work] 1947, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

not have enough space to accommodate all those who wished to enrol.¹⁹⁹ Five boys and 10 girls stayed in FHT's Kvalsund camp while the others lived at home in Kvalsund.²⁰⁰ FHT received over 100 applications for the courses to be held in Spring 1947 but could only accept 22.²⁰¹

Courses taught by volunteers

The courses were taught by volunteers. As noted above, Ole Olden, a retired headmaster, led the work. He taught English and Norwegian for the girls, and draughtsmanship, mechanics and arithmetic for the boys.²⁰² Carpentry was taught by Knud Larsen, who was both a volunteer and a carpenter.²⁰³ He had a period of illness during the autumn term and Chris Nickalls, another volunteer, took his carpentry courses for him until he recovered.²⁰⁴ Mechanics was initially taught by Sam Stevens and Ken Cue. The former left Finnmark in December 1946, the latter in January 1947.²⁰⁵ Chris Nickalls took over as instructor for the course. During the

¹⁹⁹ 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 28 and 80 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1946-10-27 Anne Margrethe [Smith] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 90 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

²⁰⁰ 1946-11 Rapport fra S[igrid]. H[elliesen]. Lunds reise til Kalsund [Report from S. H. Lund's trip to Kvalsund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 29 for the identity of the report's author.}

²⁰¹ [1947] 'Det frivillige hjelpearbeidet i Nord-Norge' [Voluntary relief work in northern Norway], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {See footnote 145 for information about the date assigned to the document, the possible writer and the person for whom it was apparently prepared.}

²⁰² 1947-03-31 'Byggaren nr. 6' [The Builder no. 6], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-03-25 O. F. [Ole] Olden and Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Herr Avdelingsingeniør Arild [Departmental Engineer Arild], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002.

²⁰³ 1946-11 Rapport fra S[igrid]. H[elliesen]. Lunds reise til Kvalsund [Report from S. H. Lund's trip to Kvalsund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 29 for the identity of the report's author.} n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

²⁰⁴ [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 28 for information about the date ascribed to the document.} In undated recollections (n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' 4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002), Chris Nickalls recalls the episode although he dates it as having occurred in spring 1947 rather than autumn 1946.}

²⁰⁵ 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. Sam Stevens and Ken Cue are identified only by their first names. There were two volunteers called Sam, Sam Johansson and Sam Stevens. That it was probably Sam Stevens who was involved is supported

course taught by him, a fishing boat captained by a relative of one of the pupils suffered engine failure at Kvalsund. With some improvisation, the class were able to repair the fault.²⁰⁶ Edgar Johansson taught the shoe-mending course.²⁰⁷ Domestic science was taught by Anne Margrethe Smith during autumn 1946, with Cecilie Engebriksen teaching sewing. After the former left in December 1946, Karen-Elise Tresvig took over her responsibilities.²⁰⁸ The British volunteers based in Kvalsund helped to teach English.²⁰⁹

Issues affecting course delivery

There is evidence that the vocational courses offered in Kvalsund in autumn 1946 did not run smoothly but that the spring 1947 courses were more successful. A report written in early January 1947 by Kenneth Cue on behalf of the FAU PWS commented on the experience of the courses taught during autumn 1946. It acknowledged that the pupils formed friendships, that some of them acquired some competence in English and that the domestic science course was effective. While the carpentry

in n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. Ken/Kenneth Cue is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

²⁰⁶ 1947-01-25 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' 4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002.

²⁰⁷ 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1946-12 Report of relief work in Finnmark, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The first document records that 'Edgar' led the shoe-mending course and the second that the same course was led by 'a Swede'. Edgar Johansson is the only individual identifiable in the archive material who fits the criteria.

²⁰⁸ 1946-10-27 Anne Margrethe [Smith] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 90 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} [1947] 'Til Kvinnen og tidens redaksjon, Oslo' [To Woman and Time's editorial office, Oslo], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The document is undated. However, the year must be 1947. Karen-Elise Tresvig describes the domestic science school started in Finnmark by FHT in 1946. She came to Finnmark in January 1947 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004). The content makes clear that the document cannot have been written earlier than June 1947 (p2) and was written before autumn 1947 (p4).} 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. Cecilie Engebriksen is identified only by first name. She is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

²⁰⁹ 1947-01-07 FAU Report on the work in Finnmark, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

course was considered to be good, it was judged to be too short to fulfil its purpose. The shoe-mending and mechanics courses were described as 'a complete failure.' A main cause for the perceived lack of success was 'a complete lack of detailed planning.'²¹⁰ Anne Margrethe Smith, a trained domestic science teacher, commented in a letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund that her teaching was adversely affected by a lack of supplies. Initially there were no kitchen facilities for pupils' use so she concentrated on teaching the theory of diet, health and baby care. When the letter was written in late October 1946, domestic science teaching was being hampered by a lack of enough ovens, meaning that the class had to depend on using primus stoves. However, she was very satisfied with excellent new kitchen utensils sent to the camp from Sweden. Similarly, there was an initial lack of machinery for the mechanics course so it was having to concentrate on theory as well.²¹¹ Edith Østlyngen, who by then was in charge of administration in the Kvalsund camp, acknowledged that the vocational courses did not get off to a good start, although matters improved afterwards.²¹² It seems that, by the time the spring 1947 courses began, the school kitchen was better suited to the task, having been fitted with two stoves. The mechanics course was also going more smoothly than it had the previous autumn, though no reason for the change is given.²¹³ One difficulty with the course, which was eventually resolved, was that the lack of electricity in the Kvalsund camp meant that a lathe obtained for the mechanics course could not be used until a cable to power

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

²¹¹ 1946-10-27 Anne Margrethe [Smith] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 90 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

²¹² 1946-10-09 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²¹³ 1946-01-25 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

the machine was run from the electricity supply of a Kvalsund neighbour.²¹⁴ A delay in setting up the arrangement seems not to have been because of any reluctance on the neighbour's part but because it was difficult to obtain a suitable cable.²¹⁵ One of the women volunteers, Rigmor Sørensen, was going to lead twice-weekly gymnastics lessons for the young people.²¹⁶ The view from within the Kvalsund camp itself was that it was much easier to run the vocational courses during the spring of 1947 than it had been during the previous autumn. In late 1946 the school activities had had to co-exist with the closing stages of the more practical work that had been the principal activity hitherto.²¹⁷ The latter had ceased by the turn of the year and the courses offered in spring 1947 were more successful because by then they were the main activity in the Kvalsund camp.²¹⁸

Funding the Kvalsund courses

The Norwegian state Vocational Education Board [*Yrkesopplæringsrådet*] gave a total of 16,800 kroner to support the vocational courses taught at Kvalsund between October 1946 and March 1947. Nearly two-thirds of the funding (10,200 kroner) was used for the living costs of the students, most of whom boarded in the FHT camp and all of whom ate their meals there. The balance (6,600 kroner) was spent on

²¹⁴ 1947-02-28 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1947-02-24 O. F. [Ole] Olden to Oslokomiteen [the Oslo committee], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005.

²¹⁵ 1947-02-11 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²¹⁶ 1946-01-25 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²¹⁷ [1946] 'Work projects in Kvalsund,' FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 89 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

²¹⁸ 1947-01-16 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

equipment and tools.²¹⁹ That expenditure was not in itself sufficient. Significant quantities of equipment and tools were gifted for FHT's work by IAL, some were donated by FAU, some were bought by FHT and some were lent to FHT by the Finnmark Office in Harstad.²²⁰ All the pupils were given a full set of tools so that they could start work immediately because there was a great lack of equipment.²²¹

The Kvalsund pupils

There is no surviving formal record of who the young people were who took vocational courses at the Kvalsund camp. A few are mentioned by name in archive documents and there is occasional information as to their home location. For example, Chris Nickalls recalled many years later that pupils in his mechanics class included a boy from Kautokeino and another from Sorøy [*sic*], whose sister was one of the domestic science pupils (Figure 5.8).²²² While some lived in Kvalsund, others came from communities widely spread round northern Norway. One came from northern Troms, the county immediately south of Finnmark. Its northern part had, like Finnmark, been destroyed as the Germans withdrew late in the war.²²³ Kautokeino

²¹⁹ 1947-03-25 O. F. [Ole] Olden and Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Herr Avdelingsingeniør Arild [Mr Departmental Engineer Arild], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. In 1946 16,800 kroner, 10,200 kroner and 6,600 kroner were worth £840, £510 and £330 respectively, in turn worth £35,977, £21,843 and £14,134 respectively at 2020 values. See footnote 105 for more information about historical exchange and inflation rates.

²²⁰ 1947-03-25 O. F. [Ole] Olden and Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Herr Avdelingsingeniør Arild [Departmental Engineer Arild], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002.

²²¹ [1947]-05-19 'En av de 100 000 engleske krigsnektene' [One of the 100,000 English conscientious objectors], FHT archive, F-L0003 0006. {The year on the newspaper clipping is incomplete. However, the article reported Sigrid Helliesen Lund as referring to the courses that had been given and FHT's wish that West Finnmark's Vocational Education Committee [*Vest-Finnmark Yrkesopplæringsnemnd*] should take over the provision because FHT was planning to end its work in Finnmark, the year must be 1947 (see 1947-08-29 Referat fra styremøte [Minutes from the management committee], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004).}

²²² n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' 4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. It is probable that 'Sorøy' should be 'Sørøy' or 'Sørøya', an island off the west coast of mainland Finnmark.

²²³ Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation]. 52.

lies in the southern part of inland Finnmark, Sørøya is an island off the west coast of mainland Finnmark and two other pupils, who were siblings, came from Mehamn, a small settlement on the northern coast of the county.²²⁴ The FHT volunteers were

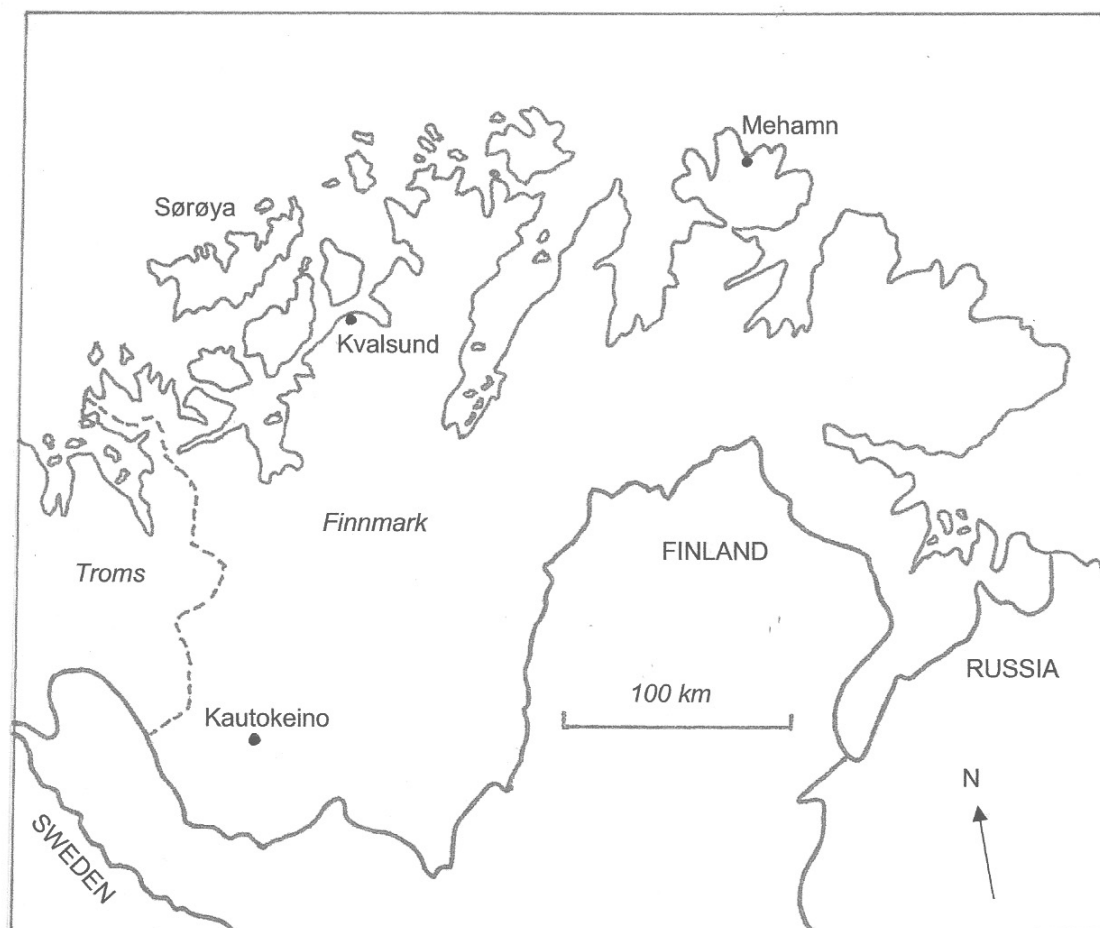


Figure 5.8: Home areas of some of the Kvalsund vocational course pupils

²²⁴ 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4. FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-01-16 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

impressed with the young people who were very pleasant, hard-working and intelligent.²²⁵ During the autumn term the girls on the domestic science course organised a party for local women which was greatly appreciated. Occasionally the young people organised an evening's entertainment for themselves and the FHT volunteers, and at the end of term they held an exhibition of their work in carpentry, metalwork and handcrafts for their families and local dignitaries, and also performed little plays and songs.²²⁶

Course provision taken over by the West Finnmark Vocational Education

Committee [Vest-Finnmark Yrkesopplæringsnemnda]

The Finnmark Office had approved FHT's proposal that they should offer vocational courses and the Norwegian state Vocational Education Board had been enthusiastic about the provision.²²⁷ As noted above, schooling had been severely disrupted by the war and an FAU PWS circular claimed that the courses were 'the only technical instruction in Finnmark.'²²⁸ FHT did not see their presence in Finnmark as being permanent and were anxious that the educational provision for young people should not stop after their departure, discussing the issue with the state Vocational

²²⁵ 1947-03-31 'Byggaren nr. 6' [The Builder no. 6], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. [1947] 'Til Kvinnen og tidens redaksjon, Oslo' [To Woman and Time's editorial office], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {See footnote 206 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

²²⁶ 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. 1946-12-12 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of both documents.} [1947] 'Til Kvinnen og tidens redaksjon, Oslo [To Woman and Time's editorial office], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {See footnote 208 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

²²⁷ 1946-08-05 'Circ[ular] 6 FAU & IVSP Finnmark,' 1, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1946-08-14 [not named] to Kjäre alle gode venner i Kvalsund [All dear good friends in Kvalsund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender of the document is not named and no address is given. The content includes issues regarding the management of FHT that suggest that the sender was probably Sigrid Helliesen Lund, supported by a reference to 'Diderich' (ie, first name only), whom the sender met during a two-day stay in Harstad where Diderich Lund was based as Director of the Finnmark Office.}

²²⁸ 1946-08-05 Circ[ular] 6 FAU & IVSP Finnmark,' 1, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

Education Board in Oslo and with the local Vocational Education Committee.²²⁹ The authorities agreed to take over the running of the courses and, once those run by FHT had finished, FHT gifted tools to Hammerfest town so that the mechanics course could be offered there. They gave tools for courses in carpentry and domestic science to be held in Kvalsund, together with two huts and furniture and kitchen equipment for approximately 30 people. The huts were to be used as boarding accommodation for boys and girls coming to Kvalsund to take the courses and FHT volunteers worked to get them ready for occupation. Tools that had been used by FHT but were not needed for the courses to be run by the West Finnmark authorities were sold and the money raised donated to help fund the courses.²³⁰

Work FHT did not do

There were some tasks that FHT did not do and different reasons why those jobs were not attempted. In Lakselv, there was a strong wish to have evening classes but FHT did not have the people to organise and run them, although whether that was because they lacked the skills or simply did not have enough people for the extra work is not explained.²³¹ FHT sometimes turned down work. In the summer of 1947 William Granaas, the council leader [*ordfører*] in Alta, suggested that their volunteers could clear barbed wire from sites in the area.²³² FHT decided not to accept the

²²⁹ 1946-09-30 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 82 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-03-24 SHL [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Herr Avdelingssjef Torgersrud [Departmental Head Torgersrud], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {Neither the sender's name nor address is given but the archive copy, which is a carbon copy, is initialled 'SHL'.}

²³⁰ 1947-10 Rapport fra FHTs arbeid 1947 [Report from FHT's work 1947], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²³¹ 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²³² [1947]-07-04 Else Schjøth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3-4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 133 and 28 for information about the date assigned to the letter and the identity of the

proposal because it was judged that the volunteers would injure themselves clearing rusty barbed wire and that the work already being done, helping to dig sites on which houses were to be built, was more useful to local people.²³³ In March 1947 FHT's Oslo committee recorded that the Finnmark Office [*Finnmarkskontoret*] had accepted their suggestions regarding tasks that the volunteers could undertake that year. The proposed tasks were: clearing snow screens that had been destroyed during the German withdrawal and salvaging some of the timber for fuel; clearing the airfield at Berlevåg, a fishing village on the north coast of mainland Norway; helping to install piping for water and sewage; and doing 'other work helpful for the inhabitants.'²³⁴ FHT recognised that the third of the suggested tasks might prove impractical because appropriate pipes were difficult to source in Norway and Sweden, although their volunteers helped to prepare for the installation of water pipes for a property in Kvalsund over the summer.²³⁵ When FHT's Oslo committee noted the summer's prospective tasks, they estimated that four groups of 12-15 men (that is, a total of 48-60 men) would be needed.²³⁶ The estimate may have erred on the side of generosity

recipient respectively.) William Granaas is identified by family name only in this document and in 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. In the latter, it is strongly implied that Granaas is one of the council leaders in Finnmark. William Granaas is identified as the council leader in Alta in Dancke, *Opp av ruinene*, 363.

²³³ 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 5, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The sender uses only her first name. However, the distinctive handwriting is the same as that used in [1947]-07-04 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] {see footnote 133 for information about the date assigned to the [1947]-07-04 document}. See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient of both documents.}

²³⁴ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 'annet arbeid til hjelp for befolkningen.'

²³⁵ 1947-03-21 [FHT] to Herr Avdelingssjef B! [*sic*] Torgersrud [Department Head B! [*sic*] Torgersrud], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. The content of the letter makes clear that it is a formal communication from one organisation to another. The document may be incomplete in that text on the second and final page ends with a complete sentence very close to the foot of the sheet without space for further text or a signature. That the sending organisation is FHT is confirmed by reference in the text (p1) to 'Baade Nemnda for Hjelpetjeneste og vaar formann rektor Ole Olden som p.t. befinner seg i Kvalsund' [Both the Committee for the Relief Service and our chairman, Rector Ole Olden who at the moment is in Kvalsund]. 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²³⁶ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

given that at least some of the FHT work camps active in summer 1946 undertook building tasks with rather smaller groups. For example, none of the work groups that had been established by late June 1946, other than the main one in Kvalsund, had as many as 12 members and all, apart from the ones in Hammerfest and Repvågstrand, had at least two women among their number.²³⁷ Even allowing for an overgenerous estimate by the Oslo committee in early 1947 of the numbers of men needed for the summer's projected work, there was a marked contrast between their expectations and the actual number of volunteers who were in Finnmark during the summer of 1947. The highest number was recorded in July when there were 27 volunteers, of whom 15 were women (Appendices 1 and 3).²³⁸

FHT volunteers in Kvalsund, including the two Finnish young women, dug a site for a house, together with a channel for a water pipe.²³⁹ Sigrid Helliesen Lund clearly judged that clearing snow screens or helping clear rubble from sites where permanent houses were to be built would be more satisfying work than clearing airfields.²⁴⁰ Whether or not that was the reason, there is no evidence that FHT volunteers ever went to Berlevåg. In a letter written in early July 1947, it was clear

²³⁷ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²³⁸ *Men*: Håkon Aasbø; Kurth Andersen; Fritz Bøge Andreason; Christen Bollerup Christensen; Rasmus Dall; Asbjørn Hansen; Marius Høier; Paul Kaasgaard; Jørgen Lange; Knud Larsen; Viggo Pedersen; and Arnodd Vie. *Women*: Greta Andersen; Astrid Foss; Mai Sewell Fürst; Philippa Goldsmith; Hjelen Hansen; Eli Jacobsen; Rauha Lankinen; Joan Newhouse; Helle Ruge; Linnea Sandin; Else Schjøth; Johanne Strandrud; Lulu Tarvainen; Karen-Elise Tresvig; and Else Marie Voldbjerg.

²³⁹ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²⁴⁰ 1947-03-25 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright] or Ruth [Hauer], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identity of the sender. See footnote 80 for the identity of the first named recipient. In early 1947 Ruth Hauer was working three days a week in FHT's Oslo office (see 1947-02-16 SHL [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see footnotes 99 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively}). Ruth Hauer is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

that FHT might still be asked to clear snow screens at Skaidi, south-east of Kvalsund, but there is no confirmation that the work was carried out.²⁴¹ The limited numbers of volunteers may well have been a factor. There is also some evidence that the authorities, at least in the Kvalsund area, were becoming less welcoming towards volunteers as the emphasis of the reconstruction work changed. As noted above, the work was turning more towards constructing permanent buildings and there was an increased need to find accommodation for workers brought in from outside. In early June 1947 local officials in Kvalsund made clear to FHT personnel there that the authorities would no longer support volunteers. The officials wanted to get occupancy of the accommodation used by FHT so that it could be used for incoming workers. The FHT volunteers were told that the sort of clearing up tasks that they had done and were still planning to do would now be done by paid workers.²⁴² There is evidence that local officials in Alta thought differently and were still grateful for volunteers prepared to undertake basic tasks such as clearing sites for house building.²⁴³ However, the FHT project in Finnmark was coming to an end and, in late August 1947, FHT's Oslo committee decided that Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Edith Østlyngen should travel to Kvalsund to wind up the activities there.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ [1947]-07-04 Else Schjøth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 133 and 28 for information about the date assigned to the [1947]-07-04 document and the identity of the recipient respectively.}

²⁴² 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 198 and 28 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient respectively.}

²⁴³ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identity of the sender and the recipient.}

²⁴⁴ 1947 08 29 Referat fra styremøte [Minutes from the management committee], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

Work was gendered

From the period when FHT's work in Finnmark was being planned, there is a clear assumption reflected in the FHT archive material that some tasks would be carried out by men and others by women. There is no evidence that the assumption was resented by any of the participants although, as will be seen, there was occasional blurring of gender roles. In seeking applicants FHT wanted men to have building skills, though the emphasis was on the ability to do practical work rather than on formal qualifications. Women had to be able to do domestic tasks, child care, first aid, nursing support and 'social work', a term that appears to have meant social support in the community, rather than having today's more profession-specific connotations.²⁴⁵ Gender division of tasks was seen throughout FHT's time in Finnmark. For example, one of the women volunteers mentioned in a letter she wrote from Kvalsund that she went to Kokelv with a group that was to erect a hut there. Her task was to cook and look after the group. After the group's return to Kvalsund, she described being the housemother there, allocating the women's duties and taking her turn cooking and cleaning. She made clear that the men did the heaviest domestic tasks such as carrying water and fetching wood in addition to their other duties. Besides housekeeping for the FHT group, the women invited local families to ask for support and were so busy that, at that period, they had to refuse to help when asked by local people to assist in harvesting crops, though it is known that volunteers gave such help at other times.²⁴⁶ The group based at Repvågstrand, a small, remote

²⁴⁵ n.d. 'FHT Planer for våren 1946' [FHT Plans for spring 1946], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

²⁴⁶ 1946-07-29 [Else Bull] to Kjäre allesammen [Dear everyone], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

{The sender's name is not given. However, on p1 the individual refers to doing the domestic tasks that the women volunteers undertook and to living at a specific address that is given as Else Bull's address in n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.} 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, FHT F-L0001 0003.

community on the western coast of the Porsanger Fjord, consisted of four men and never had a women member, which meant that the men had to fend for themselves domestically, taking it in turns to do the cooking.²⁴⁷ However, in late 1946 when the group at Lebesby lost their only women member when she married a local man, it was arranged that two local women would cook for the group in her place.²⁴⁸

Gender distinctions were not absolute. Even construction was not completely a male preserve. In summer 1947, two young Finnish women volunteers caused considerable surprise among the inhabitants of Kvalsund by helping – apparently with some success – to dig a site ready for a house to be built.²⁴⁹ FHT offered activities for children which were almost always run by women, such as nurseries in Kvalsund, Hammerfest and Alta. In Kvalsund, they also ran a club for girls up to 14 or 15 years of age, and had a small lending library for children. However, FHT also started a small scout group for boys in Kvalsund which was led by a male volunteer.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ [1946-07] Rapport från gruppen vid Repvågsstrand [Report from the group at Repvågsstrand], 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document is undated. However, the group finished work at Repvågstrand on 5 November 1946 (see 1946-11-15 Rapport nr. 4. FHTs arbeid i Finnmark i tiden 20.10 til 15.11.1946 [Report no. 4 FHT's work in Finnmark in the period 20.10 to 15.11.1946], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). The report makes clear that the group arrived in Repvågstrand on 18 June and indicates that the group thought that the house they were then building should be finished by the end of July. It is reasonable to date the document to July 1946.}

²⁴⁸ [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {See footnote 28 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

²⁴⁹ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru (Mrs) [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²⁵⁰ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

Support for families was one of FHT's aims and was offered almost exclusively by women volunteers. It is known that the FHT women in Kvalsund and Talvik undertook such work; it may have happened elsewhere, but the evidence is not clear.²⁵¹

However, the gender roles were flexible in times of acute need. In summer 1947, when no-one else could be spared from their own work, a young Danish male volunteer was sent to help a Sami family who lived in Stallogargo across the sound from Kvalsund. The mother was in hospital. The young man put on an apron and did the housework. The four children spoke only Sami and the volunteer did not. He stuck notes up round the kitchen, presumably helped by the children's father, with useful expressions in Sami such as 'The food is ready' and 'It is time to go to bed.' A male Danish volunteer giving support to a Sami-speaking family was the only solution available at the time. Perhaps because it was so unusual, it was monitored by a visit from two women working in the Kvalsund camp, who judged that it worked satisfactorily.²⁵²

However, there was one slightly, and possibly unconsciously, sad comment on the situation from Helle Ruge, one of the women volunteers, in 1947. She was a student aged 23 when she travelled to Finnmark that summer, described as 'a pearl' by the Kvalsund camp leader.²⁵³ In a letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund written from Kvalsund at

²⁵¹ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 67 for information about which version of the document is cited.} [1947] 'Det frivillige hjelpearbeidet i Nord-Norge' [Voluntary relief work in northern Norway], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {See footnote 145 for information about the date ascribed to the document, the possible writer and the person for whom it was apparently prepared.} [1946-07] 'Oversikt over uken' [Overview of the week], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 145 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

²⁵² Helle Braband (née Ruge) quoted in Palmer, *Bare kirka sto igjen* [Only the church was still standing], 285-286. 'Maten er ferdig'; 'Kom og legg dere.'

²⁵³ 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 9, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 133 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 'en perle.'

the end of July 1947, she commented in a very matter-of-fact way that 'It is therefore natural that we [the women] have not been so much direct use for the reconstruction as the boys have.'²⁵⁴ If 'reconstruction' is interpreted narrowly as 'construction' or 'building', Helle Ruge was correct. However, looked at more broadly, the purpose of reconstruction in Finnmark was not only to rebuild the physical infrastructure that had been destroyed but also to enable local people to recreate the social structures that had been completely disrupted. Even without specialist contributions such as nursing and dentistry, the support which the volunteer women gave to local women and children must have made a contribution that was of direct practical help at a very difficult time and also offered evidence of personal support and concern.

FHT was unusual for its time in the degree to which it did not conform to what were at the time widely accepted gender norms. Esther Möller, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig commented:

notions of separate spheres, complementary activities, male authority and narrative and practices of male leadership impacted on and...framed the conditions of humanitarian work in many organisations well into the twentieth century.²⁵⁵

Although much of the work that FHT carried out was strongly gendered, the fact remains that not only were volunteers ready to step outside societal norms when need arose but also the principal leader of the Finnmark project was Sigrid Helliesen Lund, enthusiastically supported by Myrtle Wright.

²⁵⁴ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 33 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}. 'Det er derfor naturligt at vi ikke har været til så stor direkte nytte for gjenreisinga som guttene har.'

²⁵⁵ Esther Möller, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig, 'Gender Histories of Humanitarianism: Concepts and Perspectives,' in *Gendering Global Humanitarianism in the Twentieth Century: Practice, Politics and the Power of Representation*, Möller, Paulmann and Stornig, 288.

Section summary

FHT did work in Finnmark ranging from unskilled to highly skilled, and from physical work to social care and educational courses. They undertook a wide range of tasks but recognised when they did not have the resources to take on areas of work, and they were also prepared to decline work they judged to be unsuitable. Tasks were seen as gendered, with a degree of flexibility when need arose, and there is no evidence that anyone involved questioned the fact. Their work met their aims of working in co-operation with the people affected, of doing tasks that were to the advantage of the local community and, where possible, of starting projects that local people would continue after FHT had left.²⁵⁶ Many Finnmark people had been suspicious of the FHT volunteers at first, but there is evidence that their work was valued both for what was achieved and for the fact that people had cared enough to come north to help.²⁵⁷

5.5: Interactions within the FHT volunteer body

The volunteers who worked with FHT in Finnmark came from six different countries: Norway; Denmark; Sweden; Britain; the USA; and Finland. As detailed in Appendix 2, the available information indicates that there was considerable variation in age and background among the volunteers, and it is probable that many had very limited competence in each other's mother tongues. David Wills, one of the British volunteers, working with an unnamed Danish counterpart, specifically mentioned that

²⁵⁶ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 67 for information about which version of the document is cited.}

²⁵⁷ 1947-03-31 'Byggaren nr. 6' [The Builder no. 6], 9, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

neither had sufficient command of the other's language to communicate at more than a basic level.²⁵⁸ The volunteers travelled to the far north of Europe to an area that had been totally destroyed by the retreating German army and, although reconstruction had begun before they arrived, living conditions were still very basic.²⁵⁹ While a main aim was, of course, to offer personal voluntary help to Finnmark people trying to re-establish their livelihoods and communities, FHT also considered it very important to have the volunteers working in teams of mixed nationalities to foster international understanding and friendship.²⁶⁰

There is evidence to show that friendships were formed between the volunteers. For example, one of the British IVSP relief workers, Finlay McLaren, wrote after his return to Britain that, when he and Steve Gould, the other British IVSP member, travelled back from Finnmark via Sweden, they broke their journey at several places and 'in each case, we were with friends who [*sic*] we had made in Scandinavia.'²⁶¹ Chris Nickalls, one of the British FAU PWS volunteers, stayed on longer than his compatriots to teach mechanics in the vocational school in Kvalsund.²⁶² Shortly after his departure in early May 1947, the two relief workers who were leading the camp at

²⁵⁸ n.d. 'Some memories of Finnmark 1945,' 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document gives no name and is undated. '(W. David Wills)' is handwritten at the top right-hand corner of the first page. On the second page of the document, the writer recounts an episode when a Danish volunteer and he worked together in Finnmark to level a plot of land so that a house could be built on it. The relevant passage in the document is virtually identical to a passage in David Wills's unpublished autobiography (see W. David Wills, *Autobiography*, Part Three, 'Fulfilment', 206-207, PETH Archive, W. David Wills Collection, PP/WDW 3B1.1). It is reasonable to assume that the document in the FHT archive was written by David Wills.}

²⁵⁹ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 134.

²⁶⁰ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 67 for information regarding the version of the document to which reference is made.}

²⁶¹ n.d. 'Script for proposed broadcast on Finnmark,' FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {See footnote 80 for information about the likely date and authorship of the document.}

²⁶² n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002.

the time asked Sigrid Helliesen Lund in a letter to tell Chris, whom presumably she was to see in Oslo on his way home, how much the volunteers missed him.²⁶³ He was popular with his peers but they had never told him that to his face.²⁶⁴ Chris Nickalls himself, who worked for a period in 1946 with the FHT group in Talvik made up of four Norwegians, two Americans and two Britons, later recalled that 'we all got on well together and the time seemed to go very quickly.'²⁶⁵ In early 1947, in an article written for the FHT newsletter, Cecilie Engebrigtsen commented that, before autumn 1946, it had been difficult to make friends, as opposed to acquaintances, in the Kvalsund camp, which was a transit camp as well as being a working one. There were a great many arrivals and departures, and it was not until there were fewer volunteers stationed there and passing through that it was possible to form real friendships.

Then we began to think of each other, not as English, or Danish, or Swedish, or Norwegian but, for example, as Chris and Knud and Edgard [*sic*] and Edith, then for the first time we were on the right track. Yes, now I think of them all, I think I have become so much richer because is it not that the more people we can think of with warmth and friendship, the richer we are?²⁶⁶

Equally, there were occasions on which active friendships may not have been formed but there is evidence of respect, liking and admiration. David Wills was clearly impressed by the vigour and work rate of the unnamed Danish volunteer referred to

²⁶³ 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²⁶⁴ 1947-05-05 Astrid [Foss] and Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 198 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient.}

²⁶⁵ n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002.

²⁶⁶ 1947-03-15 'Byggaren nr. 5' [The Builder no. 5], 4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 'Da vi begynte å tenke på verandre [*sic*], ikke som engelsk, eller dansk, eller svensk, eller norske men f. eks. some Chris og Knud og Edgard og Edith, da først var vi på riktig vei. Ja når jeg tenker på dem alle, synes jeg er blitt så meget rikere, for er det ikke slik at jo fler [*sic*] mennesker vi kan tenke på med varme og vennskap, jo rikere er vi?'

above with whom he worked to clear a site prior to a house being built.²⁶⁷ Chris Nickalls commented that the standard of catering in the Kvalsund camp, initially undertaken by members of the FAU PWS, was improved by the arrival of Kamma Aakjær, one of the Danish volunteers, 'whose skill and good humour soon distinguished her as a favourite among the ever-hungry young men who accounted for most of the group.'²⁶⁸ Mike Lee, one of the FAU PWS volunteers, left Finnmark in October 1946 but had hoped to return to work in Kvalsund later.²⁶⁹ While FHT judged that there was no suitable work to be done that would have justified his being invited to come back, there was a note of regret in refusing his request because he had been such an agreeable person to have in the camp.²⁷⁰ In a letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund, Edith Østlyngen described the way in which the 14 volunteers who were in the Kvalsund camp over Christmas 1946 took it in turns, by nationality, to do the cooking and provide simple seasonal treats for their peers, making clear that it had brought an especially agreeable atmosphere to the camp.²⁷¹ On another occasion, she praised Karen-Elise Tresvig and Astrid Foss as being very pleasant and hard-working.²⁷²

²⁶⁷ n.d. 'Some memories of Finnmark 1945,' 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {See footnote 258 for information regarding the attribution of the document to David Wills and for a correction to the date quoted in the document heading.}

²⁶⁸ n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002.

²⁶⁹ 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²⁷⁰ 1946-12-06 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²⁷¹ 1946-12-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²⁷² 1947-02-11 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

There were a few married couples among the relief workers: Eunice and Canby Jones, and Pat and Harry Burks, all with the American contingent; the Norwegian couples, Ingeborg and Ole Olden, and Auslaug and Knud Nesland; and Monica and Sven Rudin from Sweden.²⁷³ Inevitably, perhaps, given that mixed groups of adults were working together over periods of some months and were also working in relatively close co-operation with local officials, a small number of friendships developed into marriages. Gunvor Aas, a volunteer working in Lebesby, withdrew from involvement with FHT when she married the local building leader, Eldøen, and it seems that Inger Marie Pedersen, one of the nurses who worked in Russenes, married a local man, Terge Tomarsen.²⁷⁴ Voluntary work in Finnmark led to four international marriages between volunteer couples: Cecilie Engebrigtsen (Norwegian) and Jock Murphy (British); Ulla Glad (Norwegian) and Peter Jackson (British); Karen-Elise Tresvig (Norwegian) and Knud Larsen (Danish); and Dagny Lilleengen (Norwegian) and Svend Aage Nielsen (Danish).²⁷⁵

However, given the disparity in age, experience and nationality of the volunteers (Appendix 2), it is scarcely surprising that, at times, there were tensions between

²⁷³ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

²⁷⁴ [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {The document does not give a year. However, it refers to FHT work being done in Kåfjord and that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). It is reasonable to assume that the document records a meeting held in 1946.} There is no record of Eldøen's first name in the archive and his family name is given as 'Eldoen' in 1946-08-03 Rapport af 1 August 1946 fra Lebesbygruppen [Report of 1 August 1946 from the Lebesby group], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

²⁷⁵ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004. [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 26 for information about the date ascribed to the document.} Cecilie Engebrigtsen, Ulla Glad and Dagny Lilleengen are among the many Norwegian volunteers whose nationality is not explicitly stated on their record cards (see Appendix 2). However, the cards for all three are filed in the Norwegian section of the FHT card index of volunteers (n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004) and a Norwegian home address is recorded for each of them so it is assumed that all are Norwegian.

them. Finlay McLaren thought that '[in] most cases, the mixing of the international groups came off successfully despite some characteristic differences and, where friction did arise, it was personalities, rather than nationalities, that were the underlying causes.'²⁷⁶ A report written on behalf of the FAU PWS when nearly all its representatives had completed their service in Finnmark acknowledged that 'many friendships have sprung up between various individuals of different nationalities.' However, it also made clear that there were considerable tensions between the FAU PWS contingent and FHT people because the FAU PWS considered FHT's planning of the relief work was poor and FHT judged that the FAU PWS were running their own organisation within the FHT project. This issue is discussed in greater detail in 6.5 and 6.6 but, essentially, the FAU PWS strongly believed that their established way of working was the best way and they followed their own standard practices as fully as possible at all times, an approach confirmed both in the report and in the official history of the FAU's activities during the Second World War. The FAU PWS considered that having a mix of nationalities within a group was inefficient and that, in the report writer's view, deliberate placing together of different nationalities was not conducive to forming good relationships.²⁷⁷ That view was not necessarily echoed by other volunteers, as Edith Østlyngen made clear in a letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund in which she referred to the relief workers as being 'a close-knit family.'²⁷⁸ While the difficulties described in the FAU PWS report arose primarily from differences in organisational approach to relief work, personal incompatibility caused problems as

²⁷⁶ n.d. 'Script for proposed broadcast on Finnmark,' 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {See footnote 80 for information about the likely date and authorship of the document.}

²⁷⁷ 1947-01-07 FAU Report on the work in Finnmark, 2-5, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 211, 329-330.

²⁷⁸ 1946-10-09 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 'en sammensveiset familie.'

well. The report is unusual in the archive in its clear delineation of what the FAU PWS group perceived to have caused the difficulties. For the most part, where what might be described as personality clashes arose, references to them are oblique and little, if any, detail is given. For example, there was a hint in a letter from Kvalsund that the two women volunteers then doing the cooking for the work camp had experienced some difficulty in working together but the issue had been resolved by having one of them in the kitchen during the morning, while the other was in the kitchen during the afternoon. The hint is so subtle that the interpretation offered may be incorrect but it is supported by evidence elsewhere that one of the individuals involved was competent and likeable but not always easy to get along with.²⁷⁹

What seems to have been a more serious instance of interpersonal problems was experienced in one of the smaller work camps. While again little detail is given, two of the volunteers working there appear to have been displeased with the work they had to undertake and to have made their feelings clear. There were organisational difficulties associated with the task they were given to do which seem to have arisen from the way in which the work was set up before the FHT relief workers arrived and did not result from any action or decision on the part of the volunteers themselves.²⁸⁰ That having been said, FHT judged that the relief workers involved had not been well suited to the tasks given them and there is a suggestion that they had proved difficult

²⁷⁹ 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 28 and 80 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1946 10 09 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

²⁸⁰ 1946-07-29 Rapport fra reise for hjelpetjenesten, 14-26. juli 1946 [Report from the trip for the relief service, 14-26 July 1946], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-25 Rapport fra dugnaden i Karasjok [Report from the voluntary work in Karasjok], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

in earlier work undertaken elsewhere for another organisation.²⁸¹ There were also two instances of individuals whose good qualities were recognised and acknowledged but who, in the end, were judged not to have been best suited to the work FHT was doing in Finnmark; one of them could be difficult to deal with and the other held opinions which caused considerable offence amongst local people.²⁸²

5.6: Interactions between FHT and local people

As referred to in 4.1 and 5.4, Per and Anne Marie Lund, the son and daughter-in-law of Fritz Lund, a member of FHT's Oslo committee, had undertaken a survey journey round Finnmark in early 1946 to assess need for relief work and their reports

²⁸¹ 1946-08-12 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1946-08-16 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen] and Else [Bull] and all the others, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The document shows neither the name of the sender nor an address. However, the content, principally about FHT management issues, suggests that the sender is Sigrid Helliesen Lund, supported by a closing comment that the sender is expecting 'Diderich and Bernti' to arrive at the end of the week. Diderich Lund was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's husband and Bernti was her older son, Bernt Lund (see Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Celine Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], (Oslo: Tiden, 1981), 46). See footnote 99 for the identity of the first named recipient of the 1946-08-16 document. The second named recipient could be either Else Bull or Else Sand, both of whom are recorded as having been in Finnmark at the time (see 'n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004, for Else Bull's arrival and departure dates and for Else Sand's arrival date. It is not clear when the latter left Finnmark but she was still there in October 1946 (see 1946-10-19 'Finnmark visit (3)', 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.)). Else Bull is described as being the Kvalsund camp secretary and house mother in [1946-07-19] 'Det første inntrykket av Finnmark' [The first impression of Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003, so it is reasonable to assume that she is the more likely of the two to have been the second named recipient. {The [1946-08-19] document is undated. However, there is a statement (p2) that 'i aften skal vi ha en festlig sammenkomst for konfirmantene og presten,' [this evening we will have a party for the confirmands and the priest]. It is known that the confirmation service was held on Sunday 21 July 1946 (see 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, FHT F-L0001 0003). The FHT party was held on the preceding Friday (see [1946-07] 'Fredag: Kerstin stelt fru Mortensens baby...Lørdag...Søndag [Friday: Kerstin looked after Mrs Mortensen's baby...Saturday...Sunday], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document is undated. However, it makes clear that the party held by FHT in Kvalsund for the confirmands took place on the Friday described in the document. Only one confirmation is mentioned in the archive material so it is reasonable to assume that the document was written in July 1946.}.}

²⁸² 1946-12-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 198 for the identities of the two senders and footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.}

illustrated the extent of the difficulties experienced by the returning evacuees.²⁸³

They had taken care to identify local officials responsible for reconstruction efforts in each of the places they had visited and find out what the perceived needs of each community were.²⁸⁴ While FHT did not in the end work in all of the 14 areas that the Lunds had visited, they had some degree of presence in half of them.²⁸⁵

Per and Anne Marie Lund had reported that, when they visited Kvænangen municipality [*kommune*] in early 1946, the former council leader, Peder Olsen, and the chairman of the local building committee [*byggenemndas formann*], Avle Kåsen, considered that receiving help from relief workers would be useful because the local people needed to earn a living by fishing and by cultivating their small holdings, leaving them little time for rebuilding their homes.²⁸⁶ That was undoubtedly true but did not mean that outsiders coming to Finnmark could be assured of a welcome from

²⁸³ 1946-01-15 [Sigrid Helliessen Lund] to Erling [Kjekstad], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender's name is not given. However, the sender's address is 'Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen, Aker', which was Sigrid Helliessen Lund's home (see Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 32). Only the first name is given for the recipient. Erling Kjekstad is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} 1946-03 Rapport 1 [Report 1] Anne Marie Lund [and] Per Lund [-Rapport nr. 10 [Report no. 10]], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document cited includes 10 reports dated between 1 and 23 March 1946. Each report is also filed separately in the same folder.

²⁸⁴ 1946-03 Rapport 1 [Report 1] Anne Marie Lund [and] Per Lund [-Rapport nr. 10 [Report no. 10]], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. See footnote 94 for more information about the document.

²⁸⁵ Anne Marie and Per Lund visited Hammerfest and the municipalities of Kistrand [renamed Porsanger in 1964], Lebesby, Kjelvik [renamed Nordkapp in 1950], Måsøy, Kvalsund [merged with Hammerfest in 2020], Alta, Kvænangen, Loppa, Berlevåg, Tana, Gamvik, Sørøysund [merged with Hammerfest in 1992] and Skjærvøy [now written Skjervøy] (see: Dag Juvkam, 'Historisk oversikt over endringer i kommune- og fylkesinndelingen' [Historical overview of changes in municipality and county boundaries], Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå [Central Statistical Bureau], 1999, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85; Store Norske Leksikon, 'Kistrand,' 2020, accessed 16 December 2020, <https://snl.no/Kistrand>; Store Norske Leksikon, 'Kjelvik,' 2020, accessed 16 December 2020, <https://snl.no/Kjelvik>; Store Norske Leksikon, 'Kvalsund – tidligere kommune' [Kvalsund – former municipality], 2020, accessed 16 December 2020, [https://snl.no/Kvalsund - tidligere kommune](https://snl.no/Kvalsund_-_tidligere_kommune); Store Norske Leksikon, 'Sørøysundet,' 2020, accessed 16 December 2020, <https://snl.no/S%C3%B8r%C3%B8ysundet>. Regjeringen.no, 'Nye kommune- og fylkesnummer' [New municipality and county numbers], 2020, accessed 15 December 2020, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kommuner-og-regioner/kommunereform/nye-kommuner/id2470015/>). FHT eventually worked in the first seven of the areas listed.

²⁸⁶ 1946-03 Rapport 1 [Report 1] Anne Marie Lund [and] Per Lund [-Rapport nr. 10 [Report no. 10]], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. See footnote 94 for more information about the document.

the inhabitants. Reconstruction of the area was an enormous task that had to be organised overall by central government who decided that replacement homes and community facilities were to be built to predetermined standards and patterns, with a consequent increase in bureaucratic oversight in an area of the country where people had been used to exercising a considerable degree of independence in matters such as house building.²⁸⁷ Local people did not necessarily take kindly to the imposition of building controls that had been unknown outside towns in the county before the Second World War.²⁸⁸ There was considerable resentment against the Finnmark Office and, while there is little mention of the issue in the FHT archive, Sigrid Helliesen Lund was clear that, in Finnmark, it was no advantage to be known as the wife of the Office's Director.²⁸⁹ In later years the British volunteer, David Wills, recalled an encounter between a government official and a local man, witnessed by him and three other FHT relief workers. The local man had already started to build a new home when an official arrived and tried to insist that it should be built on another plot nearby. The local man simply refused to pay any attention to what the official said and eventually the latter gave up and left.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 144-147.

²⁸⁸ Ingebjørg Hage, 'Reconstruction Housing in North Norway: Gender and the Reception of the Modern Era,' *Acta Borealia: Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies* 24, no. 1 (2007), 33-35, 39.

²⁸⁹ 1946-10-09 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Ole Olden, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named and no address is given. However, on the second page the sender refers to being the wife of the Finnmark [Office] Director, so must be Sigrid Helliesen Lund.}

²⁹⁰ n.d. 'Some memories of Finnmark 1945,' FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document gives no name and is undated. '(W. David Wills)' is handwritten at the top right-hand corner of the first page. On the second page of the document, the writer recounts an episode when a Danish volunteer and he worked together in Finnmark to level a plot of land so that a house could be built on it. The relevant passage in the document is virtually identical to a passage in David Wills' unpublished autobiography (see W. David Wills, 'Autobiography: Part Three: Fulfilment,' 206-207, David Wills Archive, PP/WDW 3B1/1, Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archives and Special Collections, The Mulberry Bush Third Space). It is reasonable to assume that the document in the FHT archive was written by David Wills. However, the date of 1945 given in the document heading is incorrect. FHT was in Finnmark in 1946 and 1947 only, and David Wills was in Finnmark May-August 1946 (see 1946-06-08 'FAU Disposition of Personnel,' LSF Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045 and n.d 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004).}

The Norwegian authorities allocated FHT a site in Kvalsund where they could set up their main work camp, and the organisation undertook to consult the relevant reconstruction officials and committees about the work they were to undertake.²⁹¹ That implies that there was a perception that the kind of practical work which FHT volunteers could undertake was needed. However, there is no indication in the archive material of the extent to which, or whether, local people were consulted about the proposed arrival of a body of volunteers from elsewhere in Norway and from other countries. In a long letter from Myrtle Wright sent to Britain shortly after the first volunteers arrived in Kvalsund in May 1946, she wrote: 'We know we have been received with a good deal of scepticism and a great deal more curiosity. Anyone from the south is suspect and a foreigner is less predictable than others. On the whole however I think we are already well established.'²⁹² There seems to have been a variety of reactions to FHT volunteers and their work during their time in Finnmark. That view was echoed by a Kvalsund woman who would have been in her teens when FHT were active in northern Norway and who, like her sister, was one of the

²⁹¹ n.d. 'FHT og dens arbeid i Finnmark' [FHT and its work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {The document gives no name and is undated. It mentions that volunteers came from Finland which means that the document could not have been written earlier than summer 1947 when the only two recorded Finnish volunteers worked with FHT in Finnmark (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Helle Ruge is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material and still known to be involved with the FHT work by 1947. There is no evidence that Anne Marie Lund, the only other identifiable Mrs Lund, was involved after her investigative tour of Finnmark with her husband, Per, on behalf of FHT in early 1946 (see 1946-03-16 FHT for Nord-Norge [FHT for northern Norway], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004).} n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {There are two documents with the same title in the folder. The reference is to the one-page version the text of which incorporates handwritten corrections made on the other, longer, version (two typed pages, with wider line spacing, with handwritten amendments on the reverse of the second sheet), suggesting that the one-page version is the later of the two. A second copy of the longer, earlier version can be found in the FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.}

²⁹² 1946-05-27 Myrtle Wright to Dear Friends, 7, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7.

pupils on the domestic science courses taught by the volunteers. 'People were sceptical about the Friends of Peace [FHT] to begin with but afterwards understood that they wanted the best for us.'²⁹³

To judge by the surviving archival material, FHT spent little time recording the reactions of people whom they had helped, instead devoting their energies to doing the tasks set for them or which they had identified as being useful, and to coping with the practicalities of life in war-ravaged Finnmark. However, there are references that make clear that local people were grateful for the volunteers' efforts and what they achieved or helped to achieve, and mention is made of the friendliness shown to volunteers by local people.²⁹⁴ For example, the group working in Talvik in the summer of 1946 commented that local people were very friendly towards them and that they in return liked the inhabitants.²⁹⁵ The small group who were engaged in construction work in the remote settlement of Repvågstrand similarly reported that their 'relationship with the local population continues to be of the very best and our adapted hay-shed [the group's accommodation] is seldom without visitors.'²⁹⁶ The local people in Ifjord were grateful for help because there were no paid workers there.²⁹⁷ In Lebesby, as mentioned above, the local people prized the efforts of the

²⁹³ Quoted in Palmer, *Bare kirka sto igjen* [Only the church was still standing], 268. 'Folk va skeptisk til de der fredsvennan til å begynne med, men etter hvert skjønnte dem at dem villa våres beste.'

²⁹⁴ As discussed above (3.2), pandemic-related travel restrictions prevented archive work in the Museum of Reconstruction, Hammerfest, which might have provided additional material regarding local people's response to FHT's relief efforts and, additionally, those of the Salvation Army, also working in the area (see 1.2 and 7.4). It would be interesting to investigate how FHT's experience in Finnmark compares with how local people have responded to and felt about incoming relief workers elsewhere.

²⁹⁵ 1946-08-29 Rapport nummer 1B fra Talvik gruppen [Report Number 1B from the Talvik group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²⁹⁶ 1946-08 Report from FHT group at Repvågstrand, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

²⁹⁷ 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

FHT group who provided meals for the workers helping the locals with rebuilding.²⁹⁸ When Ole Olden attended a meeting of parents of children who attended the FHT-run nursery in Hammerfest, thanks were expressed for FHT's efforts and, not surprisingly, the people who received treatment from a dentist who worked with FHT in the summers of 1946 and 1947 were very grateful; some of them had never had such treatment before.²⁹⁹ In July 1946, two months after FHT had arrived in Finnmark, a report on the volunteers' activities commented on the good relations they had with local people in Kvalsund.³⁰⁰ That impression was confirmed when Edith Østlyngen in February 1947 wrote in a letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund that most of the volunteers in Kvalsund at the time had spent a very pleasant evening with the local teacher, Isak Leiros, and his family, that the FHT volunteers had felt very welcome, and that the Leiros family were not the only local people who invited volunteers to visit them.³⁰¹ Steve Gould, one of the two British IVSP volunteers, recalled in 1980

²⁹⁸ [1946] 'Finnmarksglimtar' [Glimpses of Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {No date is given. However, the content suggests that the document was written in late 1946, the writer referring in the final paragraph to the 'school' [the vocational courses for young people] that began on 1 October (see 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005).} The writer's name is given as Edgar and there were two volunteers with that first name, Edgar Forsberg (Norwegian) and Edgar Johansson (Swedish). The document is written in Swedish and on the first page the writer refers to his having travelled round the FHT groups during September, which Edgar Johansson is known to have done (see 1946-09-30 Ole Olden to Diderik [sic] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004). It is reasonable to assume that the writer is Edgar Johansson.

²⁹⁹ 1947-02-12 Ole Olden to Fru [Mrs] Sigrid Helliesen Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. [1946] Johanne Strandrud to Fru [Mrs] Signe [Hirsch] Gill, 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The letter is undated and is addressed to Signe Gill in Kvalsund. Signe Hirsch Gill worked in Finnmark from July to late August/early September 1946 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004, and 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the latter document}).}

³⁰⁰ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

³⁰¹ 1947-02-21 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} Leiros is referred to either by his family name only or as 'teacher Leiros' [lærer Leiros] in the FHT archive material except in an article he wrote for the FHT newsletter in which his name is given as I.M. Leiros (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 14, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). There are two excerpts from a man called Isak Leiros quoted in Palmer, *Bare kirka sto igjen* [Only the church was still standing], 261, 267. The content of the excerpts makes clear that Isak Leiros was a teacher and worked in Kvalsund from late 1946 or early 1947. It is reasonable to assume that there was only one teacher with that family name in Kvalsund at the time.

that he had had to be evacuated to hospital from the work camp in Repvågstrand when he was suddenly afflicted by temporary blindness. During his journey back to the camp after he had recovered, he met a Norwegian Army sergeant, who had spent time in Scotland during the war. The sergeant, discovering that Steve Gould was British, wanted to give him something in repayment and, when asked what the volunteers would like most, Steve asked for anti-midge oil (there are several documents in the FHT archive which record volunteers' complaints about troublesome midges).³⁰² He returned to camp with 'several Guinness [*sic*] bottles filled with the oil' and recalled that 'we were overwhelmed with the friendliness and kindness which greeted us everywhere.'³⁰³

Inevitably, there were occasions when misunderstandings and tensions arose between local people and FHT relief workers. At a time when the reconstruction authorities had brought paid workers from elsewhere in Norway to help with rebuilding, it is perhaps understandable that some local people were convinced that those who came with FHT were not volunteers. Finlay McLaren, the second British IVSP relief worker, wrote that, initially, local people 'could not accept our honest intentions first imagining that we were earning big wages,' and the same attitude was noted in the summer of 1947 in a letter from Else Schjöh in the Kvalsund camp to Sigrid Helliesen Lund.³⁰⁴ In fact, the volunteers received board and lodging, and were

³⁰² For example, 1946-06-18 Lakselv, FHA København, Rapport [Lakselv, FHA Copenhagen, Report], 3, MS archive, 24, folder 5. 1946-07-05 Rapport fraan resa med grupp till Hestnes [Report from the trip with the group to Hestnes], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. n.d. 'Jul-brev' [Christmas letter], 3, IAL archive, B3:1.

³⁰³ 1980-07 'Some memories of FHT in Finnmark,' 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002.

³⁰⁴ n.d. 'Script for proposed broadcast on Finnmark,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document is undated but the introduction in the script suggests that it was written in either late 1946 or early 1947.} The introduction also makes clear that the document was written in greater part by Finlay McLaren, one of the two British IVSP men who worked in Finnmark (see 1946-06-08' FAU PWS Disposition of

paid 1 krone per day pocket money.³⁰⁵ An unnamed Norwegian relief worker, writing 34 years after the event, recalled the volunteers' amusement that the Finnmark inhabitants considered them to be 'these rather crazy people who had volunteered to do work for the symbolic amount of 1 krone per day.'³⁰⁶

From time to time there were more serious difficulties between the FHT relief workers and the Finnmark inhabitants. Svend Zedergreen Bech, one of the Danish volunteers, who is listed in the FHT card index as having arrived in northern Norway in September 1945, wrote in an article in the second issue of the FHT newsletter of his concern that some FHT workers were spending too much time travelling round Finnmark. He reminded his peers that, although the FHT were few in number, they were noticeable because they were outsiders. Travelling to other places by car simply encouraged local people to question whether there was any point in FHT's being in northern Norway.³⁰⁷ A Swedish volunteer, Edgar Johansson, noted that

Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045). 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 12, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The sender uses only her first name. However, the distinctive handwriting is the same as that used in 1947-07-01 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient of the 1947-07-12 and 1947-07-01 documents.}

³⁰⁵ In pre-decimal British currency, 1 krone was worth 1/- (£0.05 in decimal currency which was adopted in Britain on 15 February 1971. 1 krone in 1946 is worth £2.14 at 2020 values. {See footnote 105 for information about historical exchange and inflation rates.}

³⁰⁶ n.d. 'FHT i Finnmark hadde, som navnet antyder' [FHT in Finnmark had, as the name suggests], 5, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {There is no name or date on the document. 'Signe' is handwritten in the top left-hand corner of the first page, so the document may have been written by Signe Hirsch Gill, the only individual with that name identifiable in the archive material. She was Norwegian and spent July and August 1946 in Finnmark as the FHT leadership's representative there (see 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 and 1946-08-27 Gruppe møte [sic] [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005). The writer makes clear on the fourth page that he or she is Norwegian but there is no more information about his or her identity. There is no date but the writer states on the second page that he or she was writing 34 years after the events described, ie, in 1980 or 1981.} 'disse nærmest skrullede personer som hadde meldt seg frivillig til et arbeid som de bare tjente den symbolske sum av 1 kr. dagen på.' See footnote 305 for the sterling equivalent of 1 krone.

³⁰⁷ [1946]-09-10 'Organ for FHT' [FHT's Newsletter], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. {No year is given but it must be 1946. Svend Zedergreen Bech wrote one of the articles and he had left Finnmark by 1

people in Kvalsund thought that the FHT accommodation there was bigger than was warranted by the work that the volunteers were doing. He felt that it was understandable because local people were unlikely to be aware that the size of the accommodation was partly due to the Kvalsund camp being a transit camp to which virtually all new volunteers came for a short period of acclimatisation and assessment before, in most cases, being allocated to smaller camps elsewhere in Finnmark, and partly due to the need to house the administration for the other, smaller camps elsewhere in Finnmark.³⁰⁸ At the time, accommodation in northern Norway was in short supply so it is scarcely surprising that local people questioned what they perceived as an excessive amount of a scarce resource.

It is clear that there was some tension between FHT volunteers and Kvalsund inhabitants in the summer of 1947. The archive material offers little detail but Else Schjöth, who was in charge of administration in Kvalsund at the time, was acutely aware of the poor atmosphere.³⁰⁹ She arrived in the village on 30 June 1947, and, in a letter dated 1 July to Sigrid Helliesen Lund, reported the 'strong animosity in Kvalsund towards the "holidaying" FHT [people],' although FHT's vocational provision there for young people, which had recently come to an end, had been very popular.

September 1946 (see 1946-09-01 Rapport fra Lakselv-Gruppen for Tiden 15 August-1 September [Report from the Lakselv group for the period 15 August-1 September], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).}

³⁰⁸ [1946] 'Finnmarksglimtar [Glimpses of Finnmark],' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {See footnote 298 for information about the date ascribed to the document and the identity of the writer.}

³⁰⁹ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Else Schjöth's name is given as Else Schjøtt in the document. For the interchangeable use of 'ö' and 'ø', see Språkrådet, 'Tødlar og alfabetisering' [Dots and alphabetical order], n.d., accessed 8 October 2020, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/?CurrentForm.SearchText=eg.&CurrentForm.KategoriFilter=Alfabetisering>. In Norwegian 'th' is pronounced as in English 't'. Given that there is no other person identifiable in the archive with a similar family name, it is reasonable to assume that Else Schjöth and Else Schjøtt are the same person. 1947-06-06 SHL [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Kjære venner i Kvalsund [Dear friends in Kvalsund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 99 for the identity of the sender.}

There were only nine relief FHT workers in the village by that stage and the implication is that the two volunteers teaching on the courses escaped the local people's scorn but not the remaining seven. On the day she wrote the letter Else Schjöth had visited Hammerfest to discuss financial issues with two local officials and reported that 'the refrain is constant joy that we [the FHT volunteers] are so few, it is sad.' However, she was also able to tell Sigrid Helliesen Lund that the nursery that FHT were running in Hammerfest for over 20 children was impressive and that the two volunteers running it were very popular with the inhabitants.³¹⁰ Less than a fortnight later, she was less positive about the attitude of Hammerfest people towards FHT volunteers without offering further explanation but reported that the nursery being run in Alta by FHT volunteers was going well. She repeated her view that FHT people were unpopular in Kvalsund and judged that 'there have certainly been some unfortunate elements who have destroyed things for the rest of us.'³¹¹ She did not furnish any detail nor is there material elsewhere in the archive that throws more light on the issue. The three Danish volunteers who were in Kvalsund at the time were reported to be digging a well for a local man, which was arousing the inhabitants' interest because they could see that it was useful work. There is a hint in the letter that part of the difficulty may have been that not enough effort had been made by FHT people in Kvalsund to find tasks for the volunteers: the Danes had been distressed before Else Schjöth's arrival because they had had nothing to do. In addition, it is possible that some work undertaken may have been privately agreed

³¹⁰ 1947-07-01 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, 1-2, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.} 'Veldig animositet i Kvalsund mot "ferierende" fredsvenner.' 'Omkvedet er stadig lyksaligheten over at vi er så få, det er trist.'

³¹¹ 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 233 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 'Det har vel vært noen uheldige elementer, som har ødelagt for oss andre.'

between FHT and individuals, causing jealousy in other people because Else Schjöth made it very clear that all the labour that FHT was to undertake would be arranged with the authorities specifically in order to avoid bad feeling. She also commented on the considerable division between people in the north of Norway and people in the south, and despaired of ever convincing local people that the FHT volunteers were not well paid.³¹²

There are also two instances in which it seems that an individual relief worker had behaved sufficiently badly that he (it was a man in both instances) needed to leave Finnmark. In the case of one of the men no details survive of his misbehaviour but he had worked with FHT in Finnmark for eight months with no record of problems having been reported previously. Details of the episode or episodes which had caused great concern had been given in a letter from Astrid Foss and Karen-Elise Tresvig, the volunteers running the Kvalsund camp at the time, to Edith Østlyngen, who had returned to Oslo having previously been in charge of FHT administration in Finnmark and whom the two knew well. Edith Østlyngen had shown the letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund but there is no copy of it in the FHT archive. When Astrid Foss and Karen-Elise Tresvig touched on the issue in a letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund, they simply referred to the earlier letter, which they knew she had seen, and made clear that they had insisted that the volunteer in question leave Finnmark immediately,

³¹² 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 233 and 28 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-05-26 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 22 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient.}

which he had done.³¹³ There is more information about the second case in that it was reported that the individual concerned, having worked with FHT in Finnmark for approximately five months in total, had written or contributed to an article in one of Norway's leading newspapers in which he had referred to what he considered to be the immorality of young people in Finnmark.³¹⁴ While there is little comment about the character of local young people in the surviving FHT archive, his view was strikingly at odds with opinions about them expressed by other volunteers.³¹⁵ Unsurprisingly, the article had made him very unpopular in northern Norway and, while he appeared not to have been told to leave, his national organisation had been asked to recall him, and Astrid Foss and Karen-Elise Tresvig were clearly very relieved to see him depart.³¹⁶

In June 1947 towards the end of the FHT's work in Finnmark, the volunteers in charge of the Kvalsund camp reported having difficulty with two local families. As in the other cases referred to above, information about the issue exists for only one party, namely FHT. In the summer of 1947, there were only a small number of FHT volunteers in Kvalsund and one of the families in question had moved into the hut formerly used as the FHT men's sleeping quarters. The FHT people found the family

³¹³ 1947-05-05 Astrid [Foss] and Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 128 for the identities of the two senders and footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.}

³¹⁴ I have been unable to identify the article, which had reportedly appeared in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*. The archive for the relevant period is nearly but not quite complete and it may be that the article appeared in an issue that is no longer available.

³¹⁵ For FHT volunteers' general attitude to local young people see, for example: [1947] 'Til Kvinnen og tidens redaksjon, Oslo' [To Woman and Time's editorial office, Oslo], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002 {see footnote 208 for information about the date ascribed to the document}; and 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see footnote 22 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient}.

³¹⁶ 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 128 for the identities of the two senders and footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.}

troublesome, though no more specific detail is given. FHT had initially wanted to regain occupancy of the hut so that it could be used for people coming north to work over the summer but were no longer sure it would be needed because accommodation for male volunteers had been provided in another hut nearby.³¹⁷ Astrid Foss and Karen-Elise Tresvig reported that members of a second family were making life very difficult for the volunteers and had complained to the authorities that FHT were damaging their property. While it is not stated clearly in the correspondence, there is a suggestion that the family in question might have owned the land on which FHT had been allowed to erect their huts. If that is the case, they might by 1947 have wished to see an end to the arrangement and attempted to achieve that by less than diplomatic means. Little detail is given, but Astrid Foss and Karen-Elise Tresvig wrote that other local people were supporting them.³¹⁸ It is not clear how or whether either matter was resolved.

5.7: Chapter summary

Conditions in Finnmark after the war were difficult. Historically, the area was sparsely populated and there were long distances between settlements. The planned destruction carried out as the Nazi-led forces retreated in late 1944 and early 1945 had made travel and communication even more difficult for inhabitants and incomers alike. The work and linguistic skills of FHT's volunteers varied widely. Some were

³¹⁷ 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {For both documents see footnote 128 for the identities of the two senders and footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.}

³¹⁸ 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {For both documents see footnote 128 for the identities of the two senders and footnote 28 for the identity of the recipient.}

young and inexperienced, although strong and enthusiastic, while others offered considerable practical experience and expertise. The relief workers undertook a wide range of tasks, from building work to social, cultural and educational activities, but were prepared to decline unsuitable jobs. The work was largely and unquestioningly gendered, with men carrying out the hard physical projects while women saw to the domestic chores in the work camps as well as helping local families where needed and, in some locations, offering activities for children and young people. Sigrid Helliesen Lund was disappointed that there were not more Norwegian men willing to give time volunteering in Finnmark, although the available evidence indicates that the Swedish, Danish and American men brought with them greater practical skills. The evidence suggests that, given the variations in nationality, linguistic skills, age and prior experience within the volunteer body, relations within the volunteer body were notably harmonious. However, there were undoubted frictions although they were not apparently sufficiently serious to cause concern. In the rare instance where behaviour was unacceptable, FHT members were prepared to ensure that the individual concerned left the region.

Where possible, FHT started projects that it could pass to local people to carry on once the volunteers had left Finnmark. They achieved their aim of working with the population and, while there is evidence that local people were suspicious of the relief workers when they first arrived in northern Norway, the inhabitants appreciated both what was achieved and the fact that the incomers had travelled so far north to help them. However, the welcome cooled over time as the first pressing need for emergency help was satisfied. Officials, originally glad to have volunteer help, later

judged that the need was for more skilled workers and saw the FHT volunteers as occupying accommodation that could be used for those tradesmen whom they saw as more useful as reconstruction progressed.

As need for physical work decreased, FHT concentrated its attention on cultural activities, especially the vocational courses for young people held in Kvalsund. That called for fewer relief workers and only those with appropriate language skills. Once FHT had passed responsibility for its education courses to the appropriate local authorities, its work in Finnmark came to an end.

PART 3:

THE WIDER PICTURE

CHAPTER 6: THE PARTICIPATING ORGANISATIONS

6.1: Introduction

The third part of the thesis consists of two chapters that situate FHT's Finnmark project in a wider context. This chapter examines the principles that informed FHT's work and why it considered its work to be needed when other organisations were providing relief in Norway and elsewhere in Europe. The chapter also considers why the various participating organisations undertook relief in northern Norway, the ways in which each worked in Finnmark and what tensions, if any, arose between them. Chapter 7 summarises the research findings discussed in the thesis, reviews FHT's activities in the context of selected other Quaker-led relief projects, and considers previous scholarship and possible future directions for research.

The first part of this chapter shows that, while those involved with the administration of FHT discussed the principles that informed their work in Finnmark, there is no evidence that an agreed set of principles was ever approved. It also looks at why FHT considered that its work in Finnmark was needed. The second part of the chapter examines the organisations that participated in FHT's work in northern Norway. The ways in which the different organisations preferred to work is also discussed as is the issue of whether tensions existed between national groups of volunteers. Finally, the chapter reviews the reasons for any tensions, with particular attention being given to differences in preferred models of relief work, and perception of what constituted relief and the need for it to be offered. The discussion is shaped

and, inevitably, limited by a paucity of relevant material on which to base evidenced conclusions.

6.2: FHT's principles

FHT's roots lay in the reaction in early 1945 of three Norwegian Quakers, Ole Olden, Erling Kjekstad and Sverre Hoëm, to the knowledge that compatriots had been forcibly evacuated from Finnmark and northern Troms, and that their homes, possessions and livelihoods together with the area's infrastructure had been systematically destroyed by retreating German soldiers (1.2).¹ After Norway's liberation in May 1945, planning to give help to the inhabitants of northern Norway began in earnest.

By September 1945 FHT, although that was not yet its formal title, was already working with the Danish organisation, FHA, and was planning to get assistance from British and American Quakers. A document written that month, 'Aid for northern Norway' [*Hjelp til Nord-Norge*], shows that the principles that were to guide the organisation's work were beginning to be framed. FHT intended to facilitate personal voluntary help to people in northern Norway, working partly in camps for those who had been displaced and partly with people living in remote areas. The organisation would co-ordinate help from Quaker and other peace groups from different countries, would provide useful articles for people in Finnmark who had lost virtually all their possessions, and would gather money to buy such items. In addition, Norwegian

¹ n.d. 'Finnmark - Frigjöring og ödeleggelse' [Finnmark - liberation and destruction], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {The document is not dated and the writer's name is not given. However, there is a statement, 'Og litt forbinnelse [*sic*] hadde jeg med min mann, Diderich Lund' [And I had a little contact with my husband, Diderich Lund] so the writer must have been Sigrid Helliesen Lund.}

Quakers had undertaken to pay FHT's administrative costs so that all the money collected could be used for relief in Finnmark.²

At that time, the organisation was still calling itself Kvekerhjelp til Finnmark [Quaker Aid to Finnmark] but Erling Kjekstad suggested to the Oslo Committee that the organisational name should not be decided until discussions had been held with the other, non-Quaker, bodies that might contribute to the work because a less specific name might be more attractive to them.³ Shortly afterwards, the Oslo committee minuted the decision to change the name to Fredsvenners hjelpetjeneste for Nord-Norge [Friends of Peace Relief Service for Northern Norway].⁴ The actual version used varied between the full form and the shortened version, Fredsvenners Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service], but the full form appears on printed letterhead during 1946 and 1947.⁵

² [1945-09-08] 'Hjelp til Nord-Norge' [Aid for northern Norway], FHT archive, F-L0001 0001. {The date is handwritten on the page; it is not part of the typed text. 'Nord-Norge' in the title is handwritten on the page in place of the typed word 'Finnmark', which has been scored out.}

³ 1945-09-07 Møte i Kvekerhjelp til Finnmark [Meeting of Quaker Aid for Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1945-08-31 'Forslag til vår komite' [Proposal to our committee], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001.

⁴ 1945-10-06 Referat fra moete [Minutes from meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

⁵ 1946-02-24 FHT møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1946-08-12 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Edith is almost certainly Edith Østlyngen, then in charge of administration at Kvalsund (see 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946). Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The name Lolo Tresvig is given in 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Karen-Elise Tresvig is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. Astrid Foss is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. See above in this footnote for the identity of the recipient.} It is not clear when the form of FHT's name changed from Fredsvenners Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service] to Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [The Friends of Peace Relief Service]. The former is used in the FHT archive material, the latter in the title of the book about FHT by Ulfsby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand], and in the title of the FHT archives held in the Norwegian National Archives [Riksarkivet], see Arkivportalen: Arkivverket Riksarkivet, 'PA-1487 – Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste,' n.d., accessed 7 December 2018, <https://www.arkivportalen.no/entity/no-a1450-01000000007275?ins=RA>. As the web page referred to makes clear, the FHT archive material was deposited in the Norwegian National Archives by Inez Boon (formerly Inez Boon Ulfsby).

The intention of working in camps for people who had been displaced was relinquished with no surviving discussion or explanation. However, the principle of offering personal voluntary help to people living in remote areas was maintained throughout FHT's time in Finnmark. 'Aid for northern Norway', the early written expression of the organisation's objectives, was brief but an undated document headed 'Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark' [*Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark*] is considerably more detailed.⁶ The former refers to a committee [*nemnd*] having been set up by 'members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and other peace friends for relief work for Finnmark.' The document refers only to 'the committee' [*nemnda*] for which no organisational name is given.⁷ The longer 'Principles' document refers to 'Fredsvenners Hjelpetjeneste' [FHT] so, although undated, it is likely that it is the later of the two, given that it uses the organisational name that was chosen a month after the 'Aid for northern Norway' document was produced. That assumption is supported by the fact that the 'Principles' document describes objectives which were still anchored in practical issues of relevance to the situation in which Finnmark people found themselves after the end of the Second World War but also included aims that were more outward looking with a reference to contributing towards peace-building more generally. The core aim of helping with

⁶ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {There are two documents with the same title in the folder. The reference is to the one-page version the text of which incorporates handwritten corrections made on the other, longer, version (two typed pages, with wider line spacing, with handwritten amendments on the reverse of the second sheet), suggesting that the one-page version is the later of the two. A second copy of the longer, earlier version can be found in the FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.}

⁷ [1945-09-08] 'Hjelp til Nord-Norge' [Aid for northern Norway], FHT archive, F-L0001 0001. {See footnote 2 for information about the date ascribed to the document and about its heading.} 'Medlemmer av Vennenes samfun (Kvekerne) og andre fredsvenner har tatt opp arbeidet for å jelp [*sic*] til Finnmark.'

building projects was retained but more socially-oriented work, such as nursing, running nurseries and helping housewives, was added, all with the intention of improving the situation of Finnmark inhabitants. The tasks undertaken were not to be seen simply as practical help but were an expression of fellowship with the people of northern Norway. Volunteers from different countries were to work together and with the people of Finnmark with the intention that that would lead to increased understanding between nations. While FHT had undertaken to select tasks in consultation with the government authorities, they made clear that projects chosen would be in accord with the organisation's broader principles. They considered it important to prioritise assistance to those who did not have accommodation that would withstand the harsh winter weather experienced in Finnmark. As far as possible, they would work for individuals and on tasks that were of benefit to a community; nothing would be done with the objective of making a profit. They would aim to help those who were least well off and families who had no men to undertake heavy work. The intention was to erect temporary accommodation in preference to working on permanent buildings. It was important to FHT that their relief workers would not be paid and that no-one should profit from their work.

Although there was some discussion in correspondence about the core aims underlying FHT's work and the 'Principles' document had clearly been revised at least once, there is no record that the document, or any equivalent, was formally approved by the organisation.⁸ There are references in minutes of meetings, held in Kvalsund and in Oslo, to consideration of what the Kvalsund committee referred to as

⁸ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 6 for information about the version of the document cited.}

'principles' [*prinsipper*], the Oslo committee called 'guidelines' [*retningslinjer*] and what is called 'a constitution for the organisation [FHT]' in an information document circulated to the British contingent in Finnmark by one of their number based in Kvalsund.⁹ On 16 August 1946, the Kvalsund committee recorded that they had discussed principles for the work.¹⁰ The following month, the Oslo committee considered 'some guidelines for FHT's work in Finnmark....members were largely in agreement with them. Some changes were suggested, particularly with regard to the development of the social and cultural work in addition to the purely practical tasks.'¹¹ The suggested changes did not find favour in Kvalsund where, on 24 September 1946, the committee recorded that they 'had discussed the Oslo committee's handling of the principles we have drafted. The original principles had been changed to some extent, and it was decided to send the original.'¹² It is not possible to identify the document being discussed with certainty: there is no further reference to it in the archive material and no copies were attached to the relevant sets of minutes. However, it seems likely that it was the 'Principles' document. The 'Help for northern Norway' document was written nearly a year before the discussions in Kvalsund and

⁹ 1946-08-16 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. [1946]-09-12 Møte den 12. september hos Mimi Sverdrup Lunden [Meeting on 12th September at Mimi Sverdrup Lunden's], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. {The year is not given but it must be 1946. The meeting noted that building work would have to cease over the winter and referred to plans for vocational courses to be given in Kvalsund. The winter of 1946/47 was the only winter over which FHT was in Finnmark. In addition, the vocational courses in Kvalsund were taught from autumn 1946 to summer 1947 (see 1947-10 FHT Report for the year 1947, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).} 1946-08-20 'Circ[ular] 8,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

¹⁰ 1946-08-16 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005.

¹¹ [1946]-09-12 Møte den 12. september hos Mimi Sverdrup Lunden [Meeting on 12th September at Mimi Sverdrup Lunden's], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. {See footnote 9 for information about the date ascribed to the document.} 'noen retningslinjer for Fredsvenners Hjelptjenestes virksomhet i Finnmark....Noen forandringer ble foreslått, særlig med hensyn til utviklingen av det sosiale og kulturelle arbeid ved siden av det rent praktiske.'

¹² 1946-09-19 Gruppemøtet den 19/9-46 [Group meeting on 19/9-46] (with Gruppemøtet den 24/9-46 [Group meeting on 24/9-46] and Gruppemøtet den 30/9-46 [Group meeting on 30/9-46]), FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 'Diskutert Oslokomiteens behandling av prinsippene vi har satt opp. De oprindelige prinsipper var blitt forandret endel på, og det ble besluttet å sende originalen.'

Oslo were recorded in the sets of minutes to which reference has been made, so it is unlikely that it was under discussion in the late summer and early autumn of 1946. There are two other documents, both of which have the word 'guidelines' [*retningslinjer*] in the heading or sub-heading and which are very similar to each other but are not identical. With some differences in detail, both outline issues such as the numbers of volunteers to come from each of the participating organisations, the financial and insurance arrangements for the work to be undertaken, where volunteers are to work, what sorts of work they are to undertake, and that the organisations are under the direction of the Finnmark Office. The two documents are unlikely to be those to which reference is made in the minutes of the Kvalsund and Oslo committees. One, clearly a carbon copy on plain paper, has 'Harstad, 7th August 1946' [*Harstad, 7. august 1946*] typed at the end, indicating that it was produced in Harstad, a small town in the county [*fylke*] of Troms nearly 200 km south of the area in which FHT operated and where the headquarters of the Finnmark Office was located. The second document is typed on 'Reconstruction Directorate[,] Finnmark Office' [*Gjenreisningsdirektoratet Finnmarkskontoret*] headed paper, which suggests that it was a document produced by the Finnmark Office, an assumption supported by the handwritten words 'Dir[ector] Lund' [*Dir[ektor]. Lund*] in the top right-hand corner of the first page, Diderich Lund being the Director of the Finnmark Office at the time.¹³

¹³ 1946-08-07 'Til distriktskontorer og byggeledere, ørdførere og byggenemnder' [To district offices and building leaders, council heads and building committees], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. 1946 'Retningslinjer [*sic*] for norske og utenlandske frivillige helppearbeideres dugnad i Troms og Finnmark, 1946' [Guidelines for Norwegian and foreign voluntary relief workers' voluntary work in Troms and Finnmark, 1946], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002.

Assuming that the 'Principles' document is the one being discussed by the Kvalsund and Oslo committees, it is notable that the reference in the earlier 'Aid to northern Norway' document to Quakers working with other peace organisations is not repeated in the later one. It may be because it was already known by August-September 1946 that the organisations from other countries which participated in the FHT work in Finnmark were either Quaker-led or otherwise dedicated to peaceful aims. Following the period in which FHT itself, along with its partner organisations, had been engaged in attracting and selecting volunteers, there may also have been a degree of realism that, so soon after the end of the Second World War, at least some of the relief workers, mostly young, might be governed by societal expectations that did not entirely meet FHT's pacifist ideals. For example, the British men who came to Finnmark as part of the FAU PWS were not all Quakers but would have been conscientious objectors, exempted from military service during and immediately following the Second World War on condition that they undertook approved alternative work.¹⁴ However, a male volunteer called Henry, probably Henry Hansen from Denmark, had to go home in September 1946, earlier than he had intended, in order to undertake military service. The matter-of-fact way in which that was minuted suggests that it was accepted that not all the volunteers would be sufficiently convinced of the merits of pacifism to be conscientious objectors.¹⁵

¹⁴ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS (578-580). Bush, *FAU: The Third Generation*, 5-6.

¹⁵ 1946-09-06 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 1946-09-10 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

Although there is evidence that a few of those engaged in the management and execution of the Finnmark project were concerned with spiritual aspects of the work, there was no requirement that volunteers should be Quakers or have any other declared religious affiliation, nor is there evidence in the 'Principles' document or elsewhere in the archive material of any intention or wish to proselytise. During the wartime occupation of Norway, Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright had discussed 'the need for humanitarian help after the war' and the latter's conviction was that 'all work in the future must have the same underlying aim,...the bringing of the right spirit among men – most completely and shortly described as the Christ-like spirit.'¹⁶ Myrtle was keen to nurture Quakerism in Scandinavia – she had gone to Copenhagen in 1940 to help to establish a Scandinavian Quaker Centre there (4.1) – but, in her view, Quakerism was to inform the work done in Finnmark, the work was not to serve Quakerism.¹⁷ In a letter to a British Quaker, Fred Tritton, who worked with the British Friends Service Council, she wrote about her wish that the British Friends Relief Service should send some volunteers to Finnmark 'because it shall be broader and more international and, most important of all from my point of view, that we shall strengthen the Quaker element in it...those who take part must be well chosen and equiped [*sic*] Relief [*sic*] workers.'¹⁸ Sigrid Helliesen Lund was convinced of the dual nature of help to be offered to Finnmark inhabitants. It was not enough

¹⁶ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 116.

¹⁷ 1939-11-29 Friends Service Council Scandinavia Committee, minute 600, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, Friends Service Council: Scandinavia Committee Minutes, 1939.

¹⁸ 1945-09-03 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred [Tritton], LSF, FSC/SC/1/4. Emphasis in the original. {Myrtle Wright is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Only the first name of the recipient is given. The content of the document makes clear that he was involved in working with the British Friends Relief Service and Friends Service Council, and, at the date of the letter, was in Scandinavia. That he was Fred Tritton is supported by the fact that Fred Tritton is recorded as having reported on a trip to Scandinavia to a meeting of the Friends Service Council Europe Committee in October 1945 (see 1945-10-26 Friends Service Council Europe Committee, minute 57, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, Friends Service Council: Europe Committee Minutes, 1945).}

simply to offer practical assistance, much needed though that was; through relief work, FHT could also offer spiritual support.¹⁹ She expressed her satisfaction that volunteers were to be sent by a British Quaker organisation: 'we are very grateful to be offered good Quakerhelp [*sic*], that is just the spirit we would love to get in our groups.'²⁰ However, there is no elucidation of what they meant by the Quaker spirit. Reading the documents, it is very much as if the concept was so clear to them as not to require precise statement, which is understandable given that the views were expressed in correspondence between three people much involved with Quakerism (Myrtle Wright, Fred Tritton and Sigrid Helliesen Lund). It is reasonable to assume that they would have shared the view of the Friends Relief Service, which, as Roger Wilson put it just a few years later, saw the Religious Society of Friends 'as a religious society with the conviction that Christian discipleship expresses itself in service in an effort to answer that of God in other men, rather than a relief organization with peculiar religious ideas.'²¹

6.3: Why was FHT needed?

Northern Norway had suffered badly during the years of occupation but was relatively well placed in the support it received from central government for the lengthy and arduous process of reconstruction. Dancke noted that the Norwegian government in

¹⁹ 1946-09-30 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender's name is not given. However, the sender's address is 'Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen, Aker', which was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's home (see Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 32). See footnote 5 for the identity of the recipient.}

²⁰ [1946-01] Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright], 1, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7. {No date is given. However, it is written in response to a letter dated 7 January 1946, and reference is made to the work FHT intends to do in the coming spring and summer and to the volunteers FHT hopes to get from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Britain and the USA. It is reasonable to assume that it was written in January 1946. See footnotes 5 and 18 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

²¹ Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief: An Account of the Relief Work of the Society of Friends 1940-1948*, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1952), 123.

exile in London had included the needs of Finnmark and northern Troms in their planning for post-war rebuilding (1.2).²² Materials were in short supply post-war, which delayed the rebuilding of local communities, but the process was supported by national and local authorities.²³ In addition, 'when the war ended, there arose a strong wish from people further south to help the war-damaged regions in the north. Spontaneous private actions by organisations and clubs got under way throughout the country.'²⁴ A significant proportion of the help offered took the form of donations of money, clothing and other household items, all very much needed in a region where everything had been destroyed.²⁵ For example, National Relief [*Nasjonalhjelpen*] co-ordinated the collection and despatch to northern Norway of large quantities of tools and agricultural equipment, and provided funds for house loans.²⁶ Norum recounted that, among other organisations helping with reconstruction, the Norwegian Salvation Army [*Frelsesarmeen*], forced out of Finnmark in late 1944 along with its compatriots, returned shortly after liberation with their Swedish peers to provide hot food and spiritual support (1.2).²⁷ Viksveen reported that Norwegian People's Aid [*Norsk Folkehjelp*], operating with limited finance because their funds had been confiscated by the Nazis, managed to pay for the provision of public wash-houses.²⁸ NKS [*Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening*], another organisation which lost its network in northern Norway through forced

²² Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 33.

²³ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 58. 'Da krigen sluttet vokste det fram et sterkt ønske fra befolkningen sydpå om å hjelpe de krigsskadede områder nordpå. Spontane private aksjoner ble satt i gang over hele landet av sammenslutninger og lag.'

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 58-63.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

²⁷ Norum, *Med kjærlighetens våpen* [With the weapon of love], 186-187.

²⁸ Viksveen, *Folk forandrer verden* [People change the world], 53. Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 60.

evacuation, was also soon back in the region concentrating on health provision and public wash houses, the latter often using funding from Norwegian People's Aid.²⁹

Dancke maintained that the Norwegian Red Cross [*Norges Røde Kors*] took part in the aid organised by National Relief, which contributed to the support so badly needed in northern Norway.³⁰ However, Mageli, in the official history of the Norwegian Red Cross, noted the help that the organisation's nurses and youth members gave to those forcibly evacuated from northern Norway in 1944, but mentioned nothing about work done within the region following liberation. Instead, she concentrated on other work including the organisation's post-war provision of a range of facilities elsewhere in Norway for children whose health had been damaged by the war or who suffered from learning disabilities or serious physical conditions.³¹

While the Swedish branch of SCF [*Rädda Barnen*] was founded in 1919, six months after the meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, London which started the British organisation, the Norwegian branch [*Redd barna*] was not set up until 1946.³² At first it operated under the auspices of the Norwegian Child Protection Council [*Norges barnevernsråd*] and had an international perspective from its inception. In 1948, it was reorganised as SCF and became an independent organisation.³³ Sigrid

²⁹ Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 62.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

³¹ Mageli, *Med rett till å hjelpe* [With the right to help], 191-192, 205, 214-215.

³² Rädda Barnen, 'En historia att vara stolt över' [A history to be proud of], n.d., accessed 2 March 2022, <https://www.raddabarnen.se/om-oss/historia/>. Redd Barna, 'Vår historie' [Our history], n.d., accessed 2 March 2022, <https://www.reddbarna.no/om-oss/organisasjon/historikk/>.

³³ Redd Barna, 'Vår historie' [Our history], n.d., accessed 2 March 2022, <https://www.reddbarna.no/om-oss/organisasjon/historikk/>. Store Norske Leksikon, 'Redd Barna,' 2021, accessed 2 March 2022, https://snl.no/Redd_Barna.

Helliesen Lund was appointed as the first chairperson in 1946.³⁴ There is no evidence that SCF took part in relief work in Finnmark.

Evidence suggests that few foreign humanitarian organisations operated independently in northern Norway after the Second World War and those that did were of Scandinavian origin – the Swedish Salvation Army [*Frälsningsarmén*] (1.2), FHA (6.4) and IAL (4.3) before their involvement with FHT, and THK (5.2). While other nations might have chosen to assist, the need further south in Europe was so overwhelming that attention and effort were understandably concentrated there. For example, Black argued that, after liberation the British humanitarian organisation, Oxfam, was developing its independent role determined 'that relief should be given purely on the basis of need, without reference to nationality or religion.'³⁵ It directed its work to countries further south in Europe, principally to Germany, where the devastation was immense but where the provision of adequate levels of aid was impeded by widespread anti-German sentiment among the victor countries.³⁶

While the Norwegian authorities undertook the principal task of the reconstruction of Finnmark and assistance was provided by a number of other organisations, FHT judged that there was still a part for them to play, the reasons for which were discussed in 6.2. They considered it important to give personal help as an expression of fellowship to the Finnmark inhabitants who had lost everything and by doing so to try to build increased understanding between nations. They chose to work in remote

³⁴ Redd Barna, 'Vår historie' [Our history], n.d., accessed 2 March 2022, <https://www.reddbarna.no/om-oss/organisasjon/historikk/>.

³⁵ Black, *Cause for Our Times*, 27.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22-26, 28-29.

areas, concerned that much of the initial reconstruction was happening in larger centres of population. Perhaps most tellingly and although FHT had neither the intention nor wish to proselytise, they hoped that, through the practical relief offered, they would also provide spiritual support.³⁷ They may have considered that most of the other relief offered in the region would not by its nature include such an element, one which, as was indicated above, was clearly important to Sigrid and Myrtle.

6.4: Why did the participating organisations undertake work in Finnmark?

Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT]

As noted in 1.2 and 4.1, the primary motivation underlying FHT's initial decision to undertake relief work in Finnmark was a strong wish to help compatriots who had lost everything, had been forcibly evacuated from their homes, and were returning to destroyed communities to start the long process of reconstruction. However, it was not simply an impulse to ensure that appropriate assistance was delivered to people in need; it was important to FHT that the help should be given by people who went to northern Norway on a voluntary basis to carry out tasks *with* the returning inhabitants, not *for* them, in a spirit of fellowship. FHT also wanted to build friendship and understanding between countries by having volunteers of different nationalities co-operating.

Serious organisational preparations started only after liberation in May 1945 which may account for the lack of a formally approved statement of objectives as discussed above. As examined in 4.4, the group of those who founded FHT and the Oslo

³⁷ n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 6 for information about the version of the document cited.}

committee members who took the work forward from summer 1945 encompassed a range of shared and overlapping connections to Quakers, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Service Civil International (SCI, including International Voluntary Service for Peace (IVSP)) and War Resisters' International (WRI), all pacifist or peace groups. There were similar connections within the group to Friends of the Right to Asylum (FRA) and Nansen Relief, the aim of both of which was to aid refugees from central Europe. Some of the committee had participated in non-violent resistance to the wartime occupation of Norway, two had been members of the Pacifist Group, which had met for discussion evenings during the occupation of Norway, and some were Old Woodbrookers, in other words they had been students at Woodbrooke, the Quaker college in England.

The archive material does not make clear the precise sequence in which the participating organisations became involved in FHT's project. FHA and IAL seem to have been the first, followed by the FAU PWS, the AFSC, the IVSP and, finally, KVT, although, with the exception of the last, there is clearly a large degree of overlap in the negotiations prior to their formal commitments to the work, the dates of which are not clear in the archive material. The following discussion of the participating organisations will adopt the assumed order in which they became involved.

Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA]

One of FHA's clear underlying motivations for the wish to help countries affected by war was the view that, although Denmark had been occupied, it had not been used as a battlefield between opposing forces and, as a consequence, had escaped the

worst ravages of conflict.³⁸ They were clear that post-war relief would largely be organised by national governments, but that there would be a need for supplementary relief akin to that organised by Pierre Cérésolle (4.3). 'It was to that kind of work that one wanted to send volunteers. It was important that those sent represented the views of peace organisations.'³⁹ Work camps remain one of the favoured ways of operation for FHA (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke [ActionAid Denmark] from 1949).⁴⁰

FHA had initially hoped to be allowed to undertake post-war relief projects in Germany but the Allied authorities would not grant permission. The first country to which FHA sent volunteers was Norway. It was chosen because:

there was a clear need in northern Norway for material reconstruction, there was no language barrier, and the relationship between the two countries was as warm and heartfelt as ever, not least thanks to the food aid from Denmark - called Danish Aid in Norway, Norway Aid in Denmark - which strangely enough was allowed to continue right up to the end of the occupation of the two countries.⁴¹

³⁸ 1947 'Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde' [Friends of Peace Relief Service], 7, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

³⁹ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 9. 'Det var til den slags arbejde, man ville udsende frivillige. Det var vigtigt, at de udsendte repræsenterede fredsorganisationernes idéer.' In the 1920s Pierre Cérésolle, a Swiss engineer and pacifist who became a member of the Religious Society of Friends in 1936, founded Service Civil International (SCI), with the aim of helping those affected by war or natural disasters and providing an alternative to military service for conscientious objectors. A peace rather than a pacifist organisation, it instituted work camps for groups of volunteers of different nationalities to undertake 'pick and shovel work' and, in the process, to build friendships across national boundaries (see The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, *Quaker Faith & Practice*, 10.29. SCI International Archives, 'Historical Development [sic] of SCI in the 20th Century,' 2004-2019, accessed 8 March 2019, <http://archives.sci.ngo/history/development-of-sci.html>).

⁴⁰ Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, 'Rejs ud i verden' [Travel in the world], n.d., accessed 9 April 2019, <https://www.ms.dk/rejs-ud-i-verden>. Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, 'MS' historie' [MS's history], n.d., accessed 9 April 2019, <https://www.ms.dk/om-ms/historie>. Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke is now known in English as ActionAid Denmark (see Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, 'ActionAid Denmark,' n.d., accessed 14 August 2019, <https://www.ms.dk/en>).

⁴¹ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 40. 'var der i Nordnorge et klart behov for materiel genopbygning, der var ingen sprogbarriere, og forholdet mellem de to lande var så varmt og hjerteligt som nogensinde, ikke mindst takket være den fødevarerhjælp fra Danmark – kaldet Danskehjælpen in

The first group of 20 Danish nurses left for Norway on 3 July 1945. They were warmly welcomed, and planning began in Copenhagen for other relief workers to follow. After a short period direct contact was made with Diderich Lund, who had been appointed to lead the reconstruction of northern Norway and who knew several of the FHA committee members, presumably through his long-standing involvement with peace groups (4.1). Several more groups of FHA volunteers were sent to a number of different locations in northern Norway, including nurses and people with a range of other skills to help with rebuilding houses. Many of the Danes returned home by or during early 1946, while those who remained transferred to working with FHT and those whom FHA sent later also became part of FHT's project.⁴²

Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL]

As discussed in 4.3, IAL was established with the specific aim of helping with post-war reconstruction as was indicated in the full form of its original name, Internationella Arbetslag för Återuppbyggnad [International work camps for reconstruction].⁴³ Another aim important to the organisation was to encourage international understanding by forming teams of volunteers from different backgrounds and nationalities.⁴⁴ It seems likely that personal connections also played a part. Emilia Fogelklou, an IAL co-founder and a Swedish Quaker, was in contact with Myrtle Wright during the war, with the latter referring in her wartime diary

Norge, Norgeshjælpen i Danmark – som mærkeligt nok lod sig gennemføre helt til slutningen af den tyske besættelse af de to lande.'

⁴² Ibid., 42-56.

⁴³ 1946-06-03 Kerstin to Manne, 1, IAL archive, E1a7.

⁴⁴ n.d. 'IAL tidningen' [IAL newsletter], 3, IAL archive, B3:1. {The newsletter is not dated. However, content on p1 and p9 makes clear that it must have been issued between November 1945 and the middle of June 1946.}

to receiving a letter from the Swedish woman in late 1943 when Myrtle was still living in occupied Norway⁴⁵. Both Myrtle and Sigrid Helliesen Lund later spent time in Sweden as refugees after having to flee across the border from Norway in February 1944 to avoid arrest by the Gestapo (4.1), and they worshipped regularly with Swedish Quakers.⁴⁶ It is clear that Sigrid, who had to remain in Stockholm for over a year until the end of the war, developed connections in Sweden that later proved fruitful in encouraging IAL to participate in FHT's work in Finnmark.⁴⁷

Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service [FAU PWS]

The FAU PWS's participation in the Finnmark work was a direct result of Myrtle Wright's close involvement in British Quakerism (she had originally gone to Copenhagen in January 1940 to represent the Friends Service Council). After fleeing to Sweden in February 1944, she returned to the UK in October of that year.⁴⁸ It was suggested initially that the Friends Relief Service (FRS) might provide the volunteers.⁴⁹ However, the FRS were greatly preoccupied with the immense need for relief in central Europe while the FAU 'were very definitely interested and thought such a project would just suit their members who will be left after the F.A.U. as it is now closes down.' Accordingly, after discussion it was decided that it would be the FAU that would send volunteers to Finnmark.⁵⁰ Technically, the men left Britain as

⁴⁵ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 207.

⁴⁶ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 120.

⁴⁷ [1945-09] Myrtle [Wright] to Douglas Steere, 1, LSF, FSC/SC/1/4. {The letter is not dated but was written in response to one dated 'Sept. 20th'. The content of the letter makes clear that the war has finished and that the Finnmark relief project is still being planned. It is reasonable to assume that the letter was written in September 1945. See footnote 18 for the identity of the sender.}

⁴⁸ Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, i, 228, 240-241.

⁴⁹ 1945-09-03 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred [Tritton], 2, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnote 18 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

⁵⁰ [1945-09] Myrtle [Wright] to Douglas Steere, 3, LSF, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnote 47 for information about the date ascribed to the document. See footnote 18 for the identity of the sender of this and the

members of the FAU, but were transferred shortly afterwards to the FAU PWS when the former closed on 30 June 1946. The creation of the FAU PWS in itself demonstrated the recognition that many millions of people were still suffering the after-effects of all-out war, and that conscientious objectors still needed a means of fulfilling their obligations under National Service laws while refusing service in the military.⁵¹

American Friends Service Committee [AFSC]

It is not clear precisely how AFSC's involvement in relief for Finnmark was initiated. American and British Quakers had considerable experience of working in the same areas affected by conflict, either together or on similar but distinct projects, in Revolutionary Russia, in Europe during and after the First World War and in Spain during the Civil War.⁵² Douglas Steere, a prominent American Quaker, had a particular concern for the post-war situation in Finland and was instrumental in initiating AFSC-led relief work in Lapland, the most northerly Finnish province, which had suffered deliberate destruction as German troops were forced to withdraw in autumn 1944 as a condition of the armistice between Finland and the Soviet Union (1.2).⁵³ He was present at a meeting of the FHT Oslo committee in mid-August 1945, as was Myrtle Wright, at which one of the topics discussed was the possibility of

following 1945-12-24 document.) 1945-12-24 Myrtle [Wright] to Brian Groves and Eric Hayman, LSF, FSC/SC/1/4.

⁵¹ Bush, *FAU: The Third Generation*, 5-6.

⁵² David McFadden, 'The Politics of Relief: American Quakers and Russian Bolsheviks, 1917-1921' *Quaker History* 86, No. 1 (1997), 3-15. American Friends Service Committee, 'Bulletin No. 16,' 2-12. Frost, "'Our Deeds Carry Our Message'," 19-29. American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1937' (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d.), 19-21. Mendlesohn, 'Ethics,' 1.

⁵³ Meinander, *History of Finland*, 156-157, 160.

American and British Quakers helping with the relief planned for northern Norway.⁵⁴

Douglas Steere visited northern Norway about that time and later contacted Ole Olden to suggest that American volunteers could take part in the Finnmark project.⁵⁵

International Voluntary Service for Peace [IVSP]

It is not clear from the archive material what led IVSP, the British branch of SCI, to participate in the relief project in Finnmark, and it is possible that there was more than one link between it and FHT. In June 1945, Elise Thomsen in Denmark wished to contact IVSP and asked Myrtle Wright to help her because of the difficulties of corresponding from Denmark at the time, although whether that was simply because Myrtle was then in England or because Elise thought that Myrtle already had or might have connections with the British organisation is not explicit.⁵⁶ Equally, the connection may have been more directly between Norwegians with links to SCI and their counterparts in Britain. In January 1946 Ingebjørg Sletten reported to the FHT Oslo committee that Markje Kullmann had attended a meeting of the International Relief Service [*Internasjonal Hjelpetjeneste*] in London and that 'they were eager to send two men from the British group from April to October.' Contemporaneously IVSP notified the FAU that they intended to send two men.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Hinshaw, *Experiment in Friendship*, 30-39. 1945-08-22 'Rejse til Norge fra 16-18 August 1945 [Trip to Norway from 16-18 August 1945]', 1, MS archive, 24, folder 5.

⁵⁵ [1945-09] Myrtle [Wright] to Douglas Steere, 2, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnote 47 for information about the date ascribed to the document. See footnote 18 for the identity of the sender.} 1945-08-30 Myrtle [Wright] to Fred [Tritton], 2, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4. {See footnote 18 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} [1946-01] Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright], 1, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. {See footnote 20 for information about the date ascribed to the document. See footnotes 5 and 18 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

⁵⁶ 1945-06-01 Elise Thomsen to Myrtle Wright, 1, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/2/1.

⁵⁷ The International Relief Service was the Norwegian branch of Service Civil International (see n.d. 'FHT og Internasjonal Frivillig Hjelpetjeneste, Planer for sommeren 1947' [FHT and International Relief Service, Planer for summer 1947], 1, MS archive, 64-65, folder 101). 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 'De ville gjerne sende to mann [*sic*] fra den britiske gruppe fra

IVSP's aim was to aid those affected by conflict or some other catastrophe by practical effort, often described as 'pick and shovel work', undertaken by teams of volunteers from different countries who, by co-operating with each other and with those whom they aimed to help, would build understanding between nations.⁵⁸

Kansaivälinen Vapaaehtoinen Työleirijärestö [International Voluntary Work Camps – KVT]

In an FHT leaflet, which is undated but, as the content makes clear, appeared after the relief project in Finnmark had been concluded, it was stated that KVT was one of the organisations that supported the relief activities in northern Norway.⁵⁹ Certainly, the two Finnish volunteers who worked with FHT in Finnmark were there from late June to early August 1947.⁶⁰ However, earlier discussion of the possibility of Finnish participation in Finnmark seems to have been facilitated by the AFSC who were eager both for Finns to help in Norway and for Norwegians to join the American-Finnish relief in Finland.⁶¹

april til oktober.' Markje Kullmann was apparently a friend or acquaintance of Ingebjørg Sletten and Sigrd Helliesen Lund, and had worked with them and others during the war to help Jews flee from Norway (see Friheten, 'Kvinner, i solidaritet med jøder som sto i fare for å bli deportert' [Women in solidarity with Jews who were in danger of being deported], 2019, accessed 15 April 2019, <https://www.friheten.no/arkiv/bruker-artikler/747-friheten/1390-kvinner-i-solidaritet-med-jøder-som-sto-i-fare-for-a-bli-deportert>. 1946-01-18 Myrtle [Wright] to Brian, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. {See footnote 18 for the identity of the sender.} 1946-01-12 FHT Møte [FHT meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

⁵⁸ Best and Pike, *International Voluntary Service for Peace 1920-1946*, 1-2.

⁵⁹ n.d. 'Fred og hjelp' [Peace and aid], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. The leaflet text makes clear that the Finnmark work had ended.

⁶⁰ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Helle Ruge is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material and still known to be involved with the FHT work by 1947.}

⁶¹ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

Section summary

Although most of the organisations that took part in FHT's Finnmark project were not specifically pacifist, they all shared a commitment to building peace. There was some degree of Quaker involvement in five of them, but the archive material examined does not indicate what influence, if any, individual Quakers or the Quaker-led relief in Finland had on the founding of KVT. All the participating bodies except the AFSC were created as a direct result of the circumstances of the Second World War, although one, the FAU PWS, had strong organisational links to its First and Second World War FAU predecessors. Four of the organisations, FHT, FHA, IAL and KVT, were newly formed; the FAU PWS could draw on the experience of the FAU in two world wars; and the AFSC had nearly 30 years of experience in relief work of different kinds.

6.5: The ways in which the different organisations preferred to work

There is no evidence that FHT considered trying to carry out relief work in Finnmark without help from other organisations. Those involved in setting it up may have been aware that enrolling only Norwegian volunteers would not give them the resources they needed to accomplish even the relatively small-scale tasks which they undertook. Contacts with other organisations were quickly established, drawing Danish, Swedish, British, American and Finnish organisations into the relief activities. The different ways in which the organisations preferred to work will be discussed in the order in which it is presumed that they became involved with FHT's project.

Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHT]

FHT aimed to have teams of volunteers from different countries working together to foster increased understanding between nations. They were very ready to undertake the kind of practical 'pick and shovel' work prized by SCI, but also wanted to carry out more socially-oriented activities, such as 'nurseries, nursing, [and] helping housewives.'⁶² Documents written during the planning stage – minutes from meetings or letters between those involved in planning the relief – concentrated on practical issues of immediate concern such as equipment needed, desired length of volunteers' service and discussing plans with the authorities.⁶³ There is no evidence of any training offered to Norwegian volunteers before they travelled north to Finnmark, other than a reference by Sigrid Helliesen Lund, in an article in the first newsletter produced for the volunteers in northern Norway, that it had proved very difficult to organise training for volunteers.⁶⁴ Information about volunteer training may have been kept in FHT's small Oslo office the files from which have been lost. Records of applications from Norwegians seeking to be volunteers, which are known to have been received, have not survived.⁶⁵

Almost all the information about the ways in which FHT preferred to work emerges from documents written after the Finnmark relief project began. In a letter to the

⁶² n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {See footnote 6 for information about which version of the document is cited.} 'barnehage, sykepleie, vikar for husmødre.'

⁶³ n.d. 'FHT i Nord-Norge' [FHT in northern Norway, FHT archive, F-L0001 0001. {No date is given but the text makes clear that it was written earlier than spring 1946.} [1946-01] Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright], LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. {See footnote 20 for information about the date ascribed to the document. See footnotes 5 and 18 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

⁶⁴ n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [sic] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

⁶⁵ 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge möte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Möte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Möte [Meeting]), 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

Finnmark Office in July 1946, Sigrid Helliesen Lund explained that she placed considerable importance on building community across the different national groups of volunteers and the various sites where FHT was active. The Office had clearly asked to be sent copies of correspondence. Sigrid, while content to comply with regard to more formal letters such as those FHT might send to local officials, judged that it would be inappropriate to send copies of written communications between FHT members: in order to foster good relations between the volunteers, it was the intention that such documents would be deliberately written in a personal style rather than in a more formal manner that a business might favour.⁶⁶

Four months after FHT had arrived in Finnmark, Sigrid wrote from Oslo to Edith Østlyngen, then in charge of FHT's administration in the Kvalsund camp. The former was clear that it was good to have volunteers working in international teams, that FHT was not intended to be a permanent organisation and that tasks should be undertaken as they became necessary rather than emphasis being placed on long-term planning.⁶⁷ The importance that the Norwegian organisation attached to social and cultural activities was endorsed by the Oslo committee on 19 January 1947.⁶⁸ While at that time the Norwegian branch of SCI prioritised pick and shovel labour, minutes of the meeting held on 5 May 1947 indicated that there were signs that they were moving towards introducing similar projects into their range of activities and

⁶⁶ 1946-07-12 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontorets sosiale avdeling [the Finnmark Office's Social Department], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁶⁷ 1946-09-30 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 19 and 5 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

⁶⁸ 1947-01-10 & 1947-02-05 FHT möter [FHT meetings], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

there was active discussion within the Oslo committee as to whether or not FHT should seek to merge with SCI.⁶⁹

It is possible that the delay in giving expression to FHT's preferences as to how it preferred to undertake relief indicates simply that the practical pressures of planning the project were so demanding that there was neither time nor energy to spare for drafting written expression of preferred working methods. Equally, it may be that those managing FHT had not fully allowed for the possibility that the various participating organisations might have differing views as to what constituted relief and how it should be carried out, and felt a belated need to elucidate their own organisational priorities.

Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA]

FHA were very keen that their volunteers should have an appropriate attitude towards relief work to the extent that, 'they did not initially look for specific technical skills from relief workers. It was solely a question of "the right attitude"' although it is not clear exactly what was meant by that.⁷⁰ Later, when the organisation had gained more experience, prior qualifications were given greater emphasis. Considerable attention was given to preparing people for work in other countries. FHA was able to start recruiting volunteers and organising training courses for them even though Denmark was still occupied by Nazi-led forces.⁷¹ However, care was taken not to attract the notice of the occupiers. When Elise Thomsen toured the country giving

⁶⁹ Ibid., 1.

⁷⁰ Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 20. 'Man gik i begyndelsen ikke efter bestemte faglige kvalifikationer hos hjælperne. Det var alene "den rette indstilling".'

⁷¹ Ibid., 21-23. 1945-06-01 Elise Thomsen to Myrtle Wright, 1, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/2/1.

talks about FHA and recruiting volunteers, the people arranging the meetings in each locality were warned that there should be no advance publicity, presumably having to rely on word of mouth to attract attenders, with WILPF and WRI local branches providing accommodation, often in private homes.⁷² The organisation considered it very important to evaluate volunteers before sending them out on humanitarian projects. There had been a suggestion that FHA might make up numbers to create a large team by using some of the individuals recruited by Teknisk Hjelpe Kolonne [Technical Relief Group – THK], another Danish organisation founded to carry out post-war relief (5.2). FHA were not eager to do so because, in their view, THK had recruited a large number of volunteers very quickly by putting advertisements in newspapers. FHA felt that THK could not have known enough about its recruits and, in addition, FHA judged that THK's emphasis was on enrolling people on the basis of their technical skills while for FHA "the spirit behind" was decisive.⁷³ Having received a request from the Finnmark Office for a large team, FHA did not hesitate to make clear to Director Diderich Lund that they believed that small groups were better suited to their sort of humanitarian work than larger ones. Their reluctance was also based in practicalities as, at the time of the request in late summer or early autumn of 1945, they had limited numbers of suitable volunteers.⁷⁴

⁷² Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 19.

⁷³ 1945-09-22 H[agbard] Jonassen to Diderich Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0001. {The letter is on FHA headed paper so it is reasonable to assume that the sender is Hagbard Jonassen, one of FHA's founders (see Juul, *Mod nye grænser* [Towards new borders], 8-9, 11).} "the spirit behind" er afgørende.'

⁷⁴ 1945-09-22 H[agbard] Jonassen to Diderich Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0001. {See footnote 73 for the identity of the sender.}

From the start FHA saw themselves as wanting to have clear links to SCI, War Resisters' International and Quakers, all peace or pacifist organisations. In addition, they were indicating a wish to share in SCI's approach to work, not least by placing volunteers in teams of mixed nationalities in different countries.⁷⁵ A resemblance between FHA and the approach to relief favoured by SCI and its various national branches was noted by British volunteers when a senior representative of the Danish organisation, who was touring round the relief projects in Norway and Finland to which FHA had sent relief workers, gave a talk about FHA to the Kvalsund camp.⁷⁶

Internationella Arbetslag [International Work Camps – IAL]

IAL was established to bring together 'people who wish to make a personal contribution to reconstruction and in that way contribute to creating conditions fit for humans: a constructive peace.'⁷⁷ The aim was 'through its work to try to foster reconciliation and understanding.'⁷⁸ Part of the process was to have a mix of nationalities in their groups, while acknowledging that language issues might mean that the work was carried out less efficiently.⁷⁹ An exchange of letters between Wolfgang Sonntag, the principal founder of IAL, and the Leeds-based national headquarters of IVSP, the British branch of SCI, made clear that the strong intention was that IAL should be modelled on the SCI pattern. Donald Bentley, then IVSP's

⁷⁵ 1944-09-22 Elise Thomsen to Harald Ditzel, 1, MS archive, 23, folder 28. 1947 'Fredsvenners Hjelpearbejde' [Friends of Peace Relief Service], 9, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

⁷⁶ 1946-07-22 'Circ[ular] 4 FAU & IVSP Finnmark,' 1, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

⁷⁷ n.d. 'IAL tidningen' [IAL newsletter], 3, IAL archive, B3:1. {See footnote 44 for information about the probable time period during which the newsletter was produced.} 'människor, som önske göra en personlig insats i återuppbyggnaden och därigenom medverka till att skapa människovardiga förhållanden: en konstruktiv fred.'

⁷⁸ n.d. 'Bilag 1: Kort oversikt over de forskjellige organisasjoners oppgaver, arbeide og organisasjon' [Enclosure 1: A short overview of the different organisations' purposes, work and organisation], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. 'ved sitt arbeide forsøke å skape forsoning og forståelse.'

⁷⁹ n.d. 'Jul-brev' [Christmas letter], 17, IAL archive, B3:1.

Secretary, commended Wolfgang Sonntag for organising training courses for volunteers to prepare them for relief work.⁸⁰ Although shorter courses were offered, most volunteers took a two-month course before they were sent into the field, and topics covered included clearing sites, pitching tents, creating provisional cooking sites, nutrition, epidemic diseases suffered by undernourished people and the effect of war on mental health.⁸¹ While IAL was not specifically religious, the organisation liked volunteers to have a quiet period every day and each work camp held a weekly meeting to discuss issues that had arisen in the camp.⁸² IAL were practical in their approach, realising that, while FHT was eager to have Swedish volunteers helping in Finnmark, it also needed assistance to acquire equipment that was difficult to source in post-war Norway. Over the course of their involvement in Finnmark, IAL donated or arranged for the donation of most of the equipment needed – items such as huts, clothes and tools.⁸³ They actively sought funding from other bodies, receiving, for example, 7,500 Swedish kronor from Swedish Aid to Norway [*Svenska Norgehjälpen*] to support their continuing work in northern Norway from funding set aside by the

⁸⁰ 1944-04-19 Donald Bentley to Wolfgang Sonntag, 1, IAL archive, E1e:1.

⁸¹ n.d. 'Bilag 1: Kort oversikt over de forskjellige organisasjoners oppgaver, arbeide og organisasjon' [Enclosure 1: A short overview of the different organisations' purposes, work and organisation], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. [1945-07] 'Program för I.A.L.:s [*sic*] träningskurs i Göteborg den 17-30 juli 1945' [Programme for IAL's training course in Gothenburg 17-30 July 1945], IAL archive, E1a:5. {The document is undated. However, given that it is a programme for a course held in July 1945, it is reasonable to assume that it was produced during the same month.} Swedish uses a colon before endings added to acronyms (see Philip Holmes and Ian Hinchliffe, *Swedish: An Essential Grammar*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2008), 222).

⁸² n.d. 'Bilag 1: Kort oversikt over de forskjellige organisasjoners oppgaver, arbeide og organisasjon' [Enclosure 1: A short overview of the different organisations' purposes, work and organisation], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

⁸³ n.d. 'FHT og dens arbeid i Finnmark' [FHT and its work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {The document gives no name and is undated. It mentions that volunteers came from Finland which means that the document could not have been written earlier than summer 1947 when the only two recorded Finnish volunteers worked with FHT in Finnmark (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 60 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.})}

Swedish organisation to aid in the reconstruction of northern Norway.⁸⁴ IAL also acted as a channel for other financial contributions for the Finnmark project and for gifts in kind, such as a donation of 200 kronor from Elisabeth Tamm and kitchen equipment from the Cooperative Union [*Kooperativa Förbundet*].⁸⁵ The donation from Elisabeth Tamm was probably not unexpected. A member of a well-known Swedish family, she had been one of the first women in Sweden to be elected to Parliament and was a prominent feminist. She had been able to visit Oslo in July 1942 when Myrtle Wright, and possibly Sigrid Helliesen Lund also, had met her at Marie Lous Mohr's house. She maintained a degree of contact with Sigrid during the war and sent food parcels to them. When Sigrid, her husband Diderich and Myrtle Wright were refugees in Sweden, they were welcomed on visits to her home in Julita, west of Stockholm.⁸⁶ She was clearly sympathetic to FHT's work and in late 1945 had given FHT 'two huts and transport to the Norwegian border and 3,000 kronor.'⁸⁷

⁸⁴ 1947-07-17 Sam. [*sic*] Knutsen to Svenska Norgehjælpen [Swedish Aid to Norway], IAL archive, E1a:8. Swedish Aid to Norway operated during the war but after liberation remaining funding contributed to Norway's recovery from wartime damage (see Guri Hjeltnes, 'Svenskehjelpen' [Swedish Aid], in *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian War Dictionary 1940-45], ed. Hans Fredrik Dahl, Guri Hjeltnes, Berit Nøkleby, Nils Johan Ringdal, and Øystein Sørensen ([Oslo]: J. W. Cappelen, 1995), 408. In pre-decimal British currency, 7,500 Swedish kronor was equivalent to £475-18/- (£475.90 in decimal currency which was adopted in Britain on 15 February 1971, see The Royal Mint, 'Story of Decimalisation,' 2017, accessed 7 September 2017, <http://www.royalmint.com/discover/decimalisation/the-story-of-decimalisation>). At 2020 values, the sum would be worth approximately £20,387 (see Historicalstatistics.org, 'Historical currency converter (test version 1.0),' n.d., accessed 26 May 2021, <https://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html>, and Bank of England, 'Inflation calculator,' 2021, accessed 25 May 2021, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>).

⁸⁵ 1946-06-21 Allan Wahlberg to Europahjælpens lokal kommitté i Julita [Europe Aid's local committee in Julita], IAL archive, G1:1. In pre-decimal British currency 200 Swedish kronor was worth £12-14/- (£12.70 in decimal currency). At 2020 values, the sum is worth approximately £556 (see footnote 84 for more information about historical exchange and inflation rates). 1946-05-13 Th. Hammarström to Styrelsen för Kooperativa Förbundet [Th. Hammarström to the Cooperative Union Committee], IAL archive, G1:1. The Swedish Cooperative Union was founded in 1899 and is an association of consumer-owned retail businesses and individual members (see KF, 'Om KF' [About KF], 2018-2019, accessed 15 May 2019, <https://kf.se/om-kf/>).

⁸⁶ Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 119-120. Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 84, 236.

⁸⁷ 1945-10-06 Referat fra moete [Minutes from meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. In pre-decimal British currency 3,000 Swedish kronor was worth £190. At 2020 values, the sum is worth

Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service [FAU PWS]

The FAU PWS was unlike the three organisations already discussed in that it had already had extensive practical experience gained through the FAU's provision of relief work under the very challenging conditions of the Second World War.⁸⁸ One of the FAU PWS men who travelled to Finnmark in May/June 1946 was 28 years old, two were 26 and the rest were younger, with one being only 18. In spite of their young ages, all except four of the 21-strong contingent had joined the FAU by 1944, so most of them had experience of practical relief activities, and one arrived in northern Norway five years after first joining the Unit.⁸⁹

It was never intended that the FAU would be a permanent organisation. It started in 1914 as a small body of volunteers reacting to tasks as they arose and, by the time of its dissolution in 1919, had evolved into a considerably larger organisation with clear structures, a belief in the value of planning projects as far as possible under the circumstances imposed by conflict but a willingness to alter plans if dictated by need.⁹⁰ A similar pattern of development is outlined in A. Tegla Davies' history of the FAU during the Second World War. Although veterans of the FAU in the First World War were involved in its re-formation in 1939, its further development was left to those who would be taking part in its activities. Training began in earnest with 58

approximately £8,138 (see footnote 84 for more information about historical exchange and inflation rates). '2 hus og transport til norskegrensen og 3000 kronor.'

⁸⁸ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 5.

⁸⁹ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580).

⁹⁰ Tatham and Miles, *Friends' Ambulance Unit*, 3, 8, 12, 178-198. Palfreeman, *Friends in Flanders*, 178-179.

recruits and 'plans and ideas but no definite piece of work in mind.'⁹¹ There was a short period of relief activity in Finland in early 1940 during the Winter War, after which the Unit intended to give help in Norway following the Nazi-led invasion in April of that year. However, the scheme had to be hastily aborted when Allied troops withdrew from Norway and German forces took control.⁹² The Unit spent most of the rest of 1940 providing support workers principally in hospitals in England and, in addition to the projects undertaken, devoted time and effort to devising an administrative structure that met the volunteers' requirements for a democratic system of governance while at the same time establishing organisational structures that would underpin effective relief work in the field.⁹³

During the Second World War a total of 784 FAU members were active in many different locations including the UK, Finland, Egypt, Greece, Syria, Ethiopia, China, Italy, the Balkans and the Dodecanese.⁹⁴ The Unit set considerable store by training its volunteers before allowing them to participate in relief projects, judging that 'as the war advanced there was ever less room for the untrained enthusiast.'⁹⁵ What became a programme of courses started with the first recruits in September 1939 and continued throughout the war years covering a wide range of topics from driving and vehicle maintenance to carpentry, building, hygiene, sanitation and blood transfusion.⁹⁶ Davies' history of the FAU during the Second World War illustrates with considerable clarity that 'the Unit wanted a job entrusted to it which it could organize

⁹¹ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 7-11.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 13-23.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 29-37.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 69, 29-68, 325-349, 13-29, 79-88, 177-233, 234-296, 367-390, 325-349, 390-422.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 340-346. The quotation cited is on p344.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 9, 340-346.

in its own way.⁹⁷ It was firmly convinced that its way of working was the most effective way and was occasionally criticised for a lack of humility by those in other organisations with which it came in contact.⁹⁸ It became increasingly 'preoccupied with its job, its training, its urge to make itself efficient' and, in addition to the London office, established regional headquarters in each field of operation to ensure that volunteers in the area worked according to standing instructions, and that 'the organization of finance and equipment' was handled as competently as possible.⁹⁹

International Voluntary Service for Peace [IVSP]

By the time that IVSP, the British branch of SCI, joined FHT in Finnmark, it had 15 years' experience in helping communities struggling with natural disasters, social disruption or the effects of conflict.¹⁰⁰ Willy Begert, who had been involved with SCI since the age of 21 and who was appointed SCI's international secretary in 1946, is reported as having said in late 1946 that:

IVSP want to get back to that which they think is their real concern and for which they are best [sic] suited, that is to say work camps of the pick-and-shovel type with international groups to which workers can come for quite short periods. The work must be worth while [sic] but the cooperation in a common piece of hard physical [sic] work is their main object.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Ibid., 330.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 294. Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*, 5.

⁹⁹ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 347, 354.

¹⁰⁰ Best and Pike, *International Voluntary Service for Peace*, 34-48, 65-66, 72-74, 81-112. 1944-04-19 Donald Bentley to Wolfgang Sonntag, 1-2, IAL archive, E1e:1.

¹⁰¹ SCI International Archives, 'Willy Begert,' 2004-2019, accessed 1 May 2019, <http://archives.sci.ngo/volunteers/begert-willy.html>. 1946-11-12 [unknown] to Chris [Nickalls], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The sender is not identified but seems to be someone who has a native command of English, the language in which the letter is written, and the letter is addressed from 'København' [Copenhagen], a form likely to be used only by somebody with extensive knowledge of Scandinavia. In addition, the content makes clear that the sender knows a great deal about FHT's work, is acquainted with Swedish and Danish Quakers, has close links with Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] and British Quakers and has met Willy Begert during the visit to Copenhagen. It is probable that the sender was Myrtle Wright, who would have the knowledge demonstrated in the letter and who was reported on 30 October 1946 as shortly to be visiting Copenhagen where, among other people, she would meet Willy Begert (see 1946-10-30 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004).

IVSP looked for 'people with good, all round practical ability rather than for those who are highly specialised,' but 'more important still however, is the quality of character – such as tact, ability to work with others, capacity for prolonged and hard work, and so on.'¹⁰² The organisation considered that service in which 'young people of different countries can take part [was] an excellent piece of education for themselves...and [was] a contribution to real internationalism.'¹⁰³ It was not thought necessary for work camps to be formally structured.¹⁰⁴

American Friends Service Committee [AFSC]

There is evidence that AFSC's preferred way of working was very different to that chosen by IVSP. The FHT archive includes a handbook for work camp leaders prepared by AFSC and printed in Swedish in 1944 that gives detailed guidance. It was important that the tasks to be done should have been planned before the camp started, there was to be a clear timetable for each day's activities that would include time for meals, a quiet period, work, cleaning, study and rest. Each camp should maintain a small library with books to support the training and discussion that were to be encouraged among participants. Group discipline and self-discipline were to be maintained, and all participants were to be mindful that they would be in a particular area for a short time and should be careful to show friendship to local people and help them by means of their physical input. The leader was to submit weekly reports

The recipient must be Chris Nickalls. The letter refers to 'you and your playing field in Talvik' and the recipient having recently visited Sweden and Oslo. Chris Nickalls had been in the FHT group in Talvik who had created a children's play area and he had attended the Yearly Meeting of Quakers in Sweden, returning to Kvalsund via Oslo (see n.d. 'Recollections of Chris Nickalls, FHT, June 1946 to May 1947,' 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002).}

¹⁰² 1944-04-19 Donald Bentley to Wolfgang Sonntag, 2, IAL archive, E1e:1.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 1.

¹⁰⁴ SCI International Archives, 'Historical Development [*sic*] of SCI in the 20th Century,' 2004-2019, accessed 8 March 2019, <http://archives.sci.ngo/history/development-of-sci.html>.

to the head office about 'the work carried out, the work done by women, the state of health [of people in the camp], the week's interesting speakers, expeditions and some moments in the life of the camp.'¹⁰⁵ The camp's accounts were to be kept by the leader and balanced every day before being consolidated into a weekly report to be sent to the AFSC in Philadelphia. Instructions were also given as to how a work camp should be wound up.¹⁰⁶ The guidance illustrates clearly that the AFSC expected a great deal of its camp leaders and favoured careful forward planning of projects but Daniel Maul commented that the organisation was always careful to keep sight of the spiritual nature of what they were doing however much they sought to make their relief activities as professional as they could.¹⁰⁷

Kansaivälinen Vapaaehtoinen Työleirijärestö [International Voluntary Work Camps – KVT]

There is little information about KVT in the archives examined and nothing that specifically refers to their preferred methods of working. The two Finnish women who

¹⁰⁵ 1944 'Denne handledning har blivit utarbetad' [This guidance has been drawn up], 3-14, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. It should be noted that the original does not have page numbers so the numbering used here starts with the document's first sheet although p1-2 serve as a brief introduction and the title page respectively. There is nothing on file to indicate either how the document came to be in the FHT archive or the purpose for which it was intended. It is possible that it was produced for the AFSC-led work camps that were held in Finland after the war. Swedish is the second of the country's two official languages. The main one, Finnish, which belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of languages, is regarded as being very difficult to learn. There is anecdotal evidence that Douglas Steere of the AFSC advised at least one of the American volunteers going to do post-war relief work in Finland, Howard Lutz, to learn Swedish rather than Finnish because Steere mistakenly regarded Finland as being a bilingual country (see Quaker Meeting 2015 Rovaniemi, [Presentation by] Jonathan Lutz, 2015, accessed 18 January 2016, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCL5w3diDAZ124MIYj_onBOA). 'det utförda arbetet, kvinnornas arbete, hälsotillståndet, veckans intressanta talare, utflykter och några moment i lägerlivet.' The quotation cited is on p14.

¹⁰⁶ 1944 'Denne handledning har blivit utarbetad' [This guidance has been drawn up], 14-16, 16-17, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

¹⁰⁷ Daniel Maul, 'The Politics of Neutrality: The American Friends Service Committee and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939,' *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 23, no. 1-2 (2016), 93.

volunteered with FHT in Finnmark in the summer of 1947 were fully prepared to take part in hard physical labour.¹⁰⁸ However, there is a suggestion that their expectations of life in a work camp might have been shaped by the AFSC approach described above. Else Schjöth, who was in charge of administration in the Kvalsund camp at the time, liked them very much and considered them to be excellent workers, but commented that they seemed to have expected that the camp would have 'a set programme for everything, as they were accustomed to.'¹⁰⁹ The description of the Finnish volunteers' expectations fits with the highly timetabled camp routine discussed above with regard to AFSC-led relief in Finland and suggests that the two young Finnish women might have taken part in camps organised by AFSC.

Section summary

FHT intended that the groups of volunteers should be made up of individuals of different nationalities as part of building international understanding and Sigrid Helliesen Lund insisted that she had explained the aim to the British when she visited England in early 1946.¹¹⁰ That apart, there is nothing that records a shared consideration between the participating bodies of how work in Finnmark was to be organised. Multinational groups were acceptable to FHA, IAL and IVSP. However, it

¹⁰⁸ [1947]-07-16 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {No year is given on the document. However, it refers to 'de finske' [the Finns] then with FHT in Finnmark. The two Finns were there from late June to early August 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 60 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} While the sender of the [1947]-07-16 letter does not give her family name, the distinctive handwriting is the same as in 1947-07-01 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. See footnote 5 for the identity of the recipient of the [1947]-07-16 and the 1947-07-01 letters.}

¹⁰⁹ [1947]-07-16 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. Emphasis in the original. {See footnote 108 for the year ascribed to the document and for the identity of the sender. See footnote 5 for the identity of the recipient.} 'fast programme for alt, som de var vant til.'

¹¹⁰ 1946-09-30 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 19 and 5 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

is unlikely that that approach would have appealed to the FAU PWS, which was the successor organisation to the FAU with its strong preference for working in FAU-only teams. By the mid-1940s the AFSC was keen to send out Americans whom they saw as well qualified to do the work but they accepted multinational teams where circumstances dictated as was the case in their relief work during the Spanish Civil War and their post-war relief activities in Finland.¹¹¹

FHA, IAL, the FAU PWS, the IVSP and the AFSC all placed emphasis on prior training of volunteers. There is no surviving evidence regarding FHT's attitude to training: all that is clear is that it was not possible to undertake much, if any.¹¹² The FAU was convinced of the value of planning work in advance, a preference echoed by the AFSC, in contrast to FHT's preference for reacting to locally expressed need. Existing documentation confirms that the FAU PWS and the AFSC valued regular formal reporting from the field to headquarters, while FHT chose that reports should in effect be personal documents. While the organisations shared a wish to help the Finnmark inhabitants to rebuild their shattered communities, there is no doubt that the preferred ways of approaching the task varied widely.

6.6: Tensions between national groups of volunteers

Introduction

The archive material indicates that, for the most part, relations between the organisations that participated in the FHT-led relief in Finnmark were good. However,

¹¹¹ Mendlesohn, 'Denominational Difference,' 194. American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1946,' 16-17. 1946-11-25 Rapport från Kittilä: FH:s och IAL:s arbetsläger i Finland 1946 [Report from Kittilä: FHA's and IAL's work camp in Finland 1946], 1, IAL archive, F2a:1.

¹¹² n.d. 'Prøvekluten no. [sic] 1' [The Guinea Pig no. 1], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

there is no evidence of discussion between the different bodies regarding preferred working methods and models of relief before the project began. That inevitably caused difficulties from time to time, although, given the lack of prior detailed consultation, inter-organisational relations appear to have been more amicable than might have been expected. Evidence for tensions is examined and the reasons explored to the extent that the relatively sparse material allows. Four principal areas of disagreement regarding the relief work undertaken in Finnmark are identified and discussed: the organisational basis underlying the relief work; the model adopted for such activity; what constitutes relief; and the need for such assistance.

The organisational basis underlying the Finnmark relief work

As discussed in 4.3, the organisations which co-operated in the FHT-led relief activities in Finnmark had been founded at different times with consequent variations in their levels of experience in the field. It is likely that this contributed to discontent on the part of the AFSC and the FAU PWS with what they regarded as FHT's organisational deficiencies. The AFSC had been in existence since 1917 and, while the FAU PWS formally came into being on 30 June 1946, it drew on the heritage of the FAU during the First and Second World Wars. Irwin Abrams, who was responsible for training AFSC volunteers from 1943 to 1946 and was in northern Europe to visit places in Finland and Norway where AFSC volunteers were active, clearly did not consider that FHT's Oslo Committee contributed a great deal to the organisation's efforts.¹¹³ He was unimpressed by the quality of the administration in

¹¹³ Irwin Abrams, 'Irwin Abrams, 1914-2010,' n.d., accessed 12 September 2019, <http://www.irwinabrams.com/>. 1946-08-07 Edith Østlyngen to FHA, MS archive, 31-32, folder 3. 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 1, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946.

the main camp in Kvalsund, not least because in his view the frequency with which the main administrative post had changed hands had adversely affected the work.¹¹⁴ The AFSC favoured detailed advance planning of relief so it is not surprising that Irwin Abrams was not comfortable with the FHT's practice of undertaking projects on a reactive basis as a response to need suggested to them, usually by the local authorities, although he was aware that the Norwegian organisation had undertaken to consult those same authorities before undertaking tasks.¹¹⁵ His 11 August 1946 report was destined for the AFSC headquarters in Philadelphia, although a copy was sent to Harry Burks, then working as an AFSC volunteer with FHT in Finnmark. The document is preserved in the AFSC archives and, given that the FHT archive in Kvalsund was destroyed by fire in 1947, it is impossible to know whether or not anyone associated with FHT, other than Harry Burks himself, read it. Had they done so, the report is likely to have caused a degree of offence, not least as it includes a suggestion that the American organisation might offer advice to FHT to enable the latter to align its processes and priorities more closely with those of the AFSC in spite of there being no indication that the Norwegian body wished to do so.¹¹⁶ Irwin Abrams, who was only three years old when the AFSC was founded in 1917, may have been unaware that the American organisation had also experienced teething problems.¹¹⁷ Maul noted that: 'while the beginnings [of the AFSC] were rather chaotic, Quaker businessmen gradually began to take over organizational tasks,' and that 'when the first American Quakers went to Europe [in 1917], it was clear that they

¹¹⁴ 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹⁷ Irwin Abrams, 'Bio,' n.d., accessed 16 January 2020, <http://www.irwinabrams.com/bio/index.html>.

would build on the wealth of experience their British counterparts had already gathered.¹¹⁸

A final report from the FAU PWS contingent in northern Norway on the relief activities in Finnmark was written by Kenneth Cue, the group's deputy leader, and sent to their London headquarters. Prior to his transfer to the FAU PWS, Kenneth Cue had served with the FAU for five years, mostly during wartime.¹¹⁹ He would have had considerable experience in trying to carry out relief activities in adverse conditions and, in one area in Greece during the Second World War, 'went to take charge of all the trucks and to arrange the orderly distribution of supplies until such time as a Greek Transport Officer was appointed.'¹²⁰ However, he had had the benefit of being part of an organisation that, although beset by wartime difficulties, had been able to devote time to the development of robust administrative structures as well as to relief work and, in Greece, had been helped by the fact that 'U.N.R.R.A. [the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration] and the Government brought in adequate transport to deal with the distribution.'¹²¹ It may be that he was unaware that there were some similarities between the young FHT and the early months of the First World War FAU when, far from being the highly organised operation it became, the then very new body's approach was "'Find work that wants doing; take it; regularise it later, if you can.'¹²²

¹¹⁸ Maul, 'American Quakers,' 81, 84.

¹¹⁹ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580).

¹²⁰ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 402.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 33, 34, 402.

¹²² Tatham and Miles, *Friends' Ambulance Unit*, 8.

The FAU PWS report echoed the AFSC's view that the quality of FHT's administration was poor and that the lack of planning on the Norwegian organisation's part was highly detrimental to the activities it undertook, not least the vocational courses for young people that were offered in Kvalsund over the 1946/1947 winter and spring.¹²³ In addition, it criticised FHT for its lack of a formal constitution and for never having produced a comprehensive list of its personnel.¹²⁴ Kenneth Cue was almost certainly correct in claiming that the FHT had not agreed a constitution.¹²⁵ The surviving FHT archive material does not include one, although the Kvalsund and Oslo committees discussed but apparently never approved a document that may have been intended to serve as the organisation's constitution (6.2). As discussed in Appendix 2, no wholly reliable listing survives of who served with FHT during its time in Finnmark. The work to establish as accurate a record of the volunteers as is possible from the available material made clear that the claim that no list of personnel was ever circulated is also probably correct, although such a document might have existed in the Kvalsund archive destroyed in 1947 (3.3). The main record of relief workers, which is useful but is neither complete nor wholly accurate, is contained in a card index compiled by FHT. However, the information it contains has to be supplemented from other listings of volunteers, compiled for varying purposes, none of which lists is, or is meant to be, comprehensive.¹²⁶

¹²³ 1947-01-07 FAU Report on the work in Finnmark, 3, 4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹²⁵ 1946-07-06 Minutes of FAU Section Meeting, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

¹²⁶ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004. n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

Although there is no explicit indication in the report that the FAU PWS document was copied to FHT, it must have been because the Norwegian organisation's archive includes a carbon copy, signed by Kenneth Cue. It was dated 7 January 1947 and the address at the head of the report was given as Kvalsund, so it would have been written shortly before he left Finnmark later in the month to return to Britain.¹²⁷ There is no evidence that FHT responded to it directly although an echo of its effect can perhaps be detected in a comment by Edith Østlyngen, then in charge of administration in the Kvalsund camp, in a letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund that 'I cannot say anything other than that it is also much easier to work here now that there are not so many Englishmen and Americans. They could never understand that not everything can be decided in advance.'¹²⁸

Michael Barnett noted that 'in the good old days of humanitarian action, many aid agencies...were seemingly temporary structures assembled with a minimum of planning and staffed by volunteers who had big hearts but little training.'¹²⁹ That description fits FHT, which was a young organisation that was still developing at the same time that it was co-ordinating the efforts of relief workers from six countries and seven sponsoring bodies. Sigrid Helliesen Lund was clear that FHT was not destined to be permanent and that it responded to circumstance. She acknowledged that 'it certainly is difficult for foreigners to understand that we can leave so much to the

¹²⁷ 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 11, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹²⁸ 1947-01-25 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 5 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 'Jeg kan ikke si annet enn at det er meget lettere å arbeide her også, når det ikke er så mange engelske og amerikanske. De kunne aldri forstå at alt mulig ikke kunne bestemmes på forhånd.'

¹²⁹ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 234.

chances which cannot but occur.'¹³⁰ It is arguable that the obligation placed on FHT to consult locally based officials about projects they were to undertake and the importance that the organisation itself placed on responding to the needs expressed by the Finnmark people largely precluded the use of the longer-term planning favoured by the AFSC and the FAU PWS.

The deficiencies that the AFSC and the FAU PWS identified in FHT did not make the Norwegian body unique at that period in its omitting to put in place what others viewed as standard features of a strong organisational foundation. Barnett commented that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was led to 're-examine its core principles' in the aftermath of the Second World War because 'in the nearly one hundred years since its birth, the ICRC's formal and informal principles had evolved incrementally and in reaction to the horrors of the day, creating a jumble of principles with no agreement on their interpretation.'¹³¹ Melanie Oppenheimer, Susanne Schech, Romain Fathi, Neville Wylie and Rosemary Cresswell argued that 'it had taken over one hundred years for the Red Cross Movement to arrive at a coherent and unanimous understanding of the Red Cross principles.'¹³²

FHT was unable to start significant planning until after the end of hostilities although acutely conscious of the plight of their Finnmark compatriots. As a consequence, it

¹³⁰ 1946-09-30 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 19 and 5 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 'det nok er vanskelig for utlenninger [sic] å forstå at vi kan overlate så meget til de tilfældigheter som nødvendigvis må oppstå.'

¹³¹ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 136.

¹³² Melanie Oppenheimer, Susanne Schech, Romain Fathi, Neville Wylie and Rosemary Cresswell, 'Resilient Humanitarianism? Using Assemblage to Re-evaluate the History of the League of Red Cross Societies,' *The International History Review* 43, no. 3 (2020), 11. Pagination and year of publication refer to the online, not the printed, version of the article.

started active relief work less than a year after its foundation. Its Danish and Swedish counterparts, FHA and IAL, had been able to begin preparative work during the war (4.2 and 6.4). I have not found discussion of a small relief body in a situation sufficiently similar to FHT's to allow a direct comparison regarding the efficiency and effectiveness of their operations. However, UNRRA, formed in 1943, provides a contemporaneous example that careful planning was not in itself enough to compensate for lack of effectiveness in delivering relief in the field. The organisation was set up during the conflict to plan for the humanitarian support that would be needed when the war ended.¹³³ Francesca Wilson, 'who had conducted relief work across Europe in the aftermath of the first world war [sic], now returned to the field under the auspices of UNRRA.'¹³⁴ She was initially optimistic about the benefit that would follow from the fact that 'we have at last become planning-minded.'¹³⁵ However, she later concluded that 'in Germany in 1945 I had found [UNRRA] doing good work here and there, but patchy, ill-organised, often badly recruited and over-staffed.'¹³⁶ The FAU PWS men in Finnmark were clearly unaware that FAU colleagues who worked in China during the Second World War had a less positive view of planning than they had. FAU men who served on the China Convoy judged that UNRRA's excessive emphasis on planning meant 'that by the time they are ready to start, the greatest need is past.'¹³⁷ Indeed, far from the Quaker relief group in China being an impeccably well-organised operation, Susan Armstrong-Reid noted

¹³³ Reinisch, 'Internationalism in Relief,' 260.

¹³⁴ Jessica Reinisch, 'Introduction: Relief in the Aftermath of War,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 3 (2008): 381.

¹³⁵ Francesca Wilson, *In the Margins of Chaos: Recollections of Relief Work in and between Three Wars* (London: John Murray, 1944), 269.

¹³⁶ Francesca Wilson, *Aftermath*, 70.

¹³⁷ Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 80.

that it 'tottered on the verge of chaos as they threshed out a democratic but realistic way for their scattered members to participate in major decisions while remaining accountable to Philadelphia and Gordon Square.'¹³⁸

Preferred models of relief work

It has been noted that the AFSC and the FAU PWS emphasised the need for prior planning, although the two organisations differed regarding the desired composition of working groups, with the AFSC accepting mixed-nationality teams where circumstances made that appropriate, while the FAU PWS were clear that it was more efficient for teams to be made up of people from one organisation only.

Multinational groups were acceptable to FHA, IAL and IVSP, with FHT considering them to be an important part of their activities. The four organisations did not simply wish to offer relief; they wished to build international understanding and considered that having people of different nationalities working together was an important element in that. The difference in approach created tensions at individual and organisational levels.

FHA, like FHT, favoured multinational teams as part of building international understanding but it was not a view shared by all the volunteers whom they sent to work with the Norwegian organisation in Finnmark. In a thoughtful introduction to a report from the group at Lakselv, the Danish volunteer, Svend Aage Nielsen, explained that, in his view, single-nationality groups were more efficient in accomplishing tasks than multinational ones. It was clear that the issue had been

¹³⁸ Ibid., 33. Philadelphia was and remains the location of the headquarters of the AFSC, and Gordon Square, London, was then the site of the FAU headquarters.

discussed repeatedly within the work camp with group members having concluded that it inevitably entailed weighing the merits of multinational teams against the use of a more effective, single-nationality, model of helping those whom the volunteers had come to assist.¹³⁹ The Lakselv group had consisted of people from Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Britain and the report made clear that the Scandinavians had found it easier to work with each other than with the British, although it was acknowledged that a significant contributory factor had been that the former spoke mutually comprehensible languages, while neither they nor the British were sufficiently skilled in each other's tongues to be able to avoid unintended misunderstandings.¹⁴⁰ There was also a suggestion in one of the FAU PWS circulars to the British contingent in Finnmark that the Lakselv group 'has had some domestic troubles over the election of a new leader but on the whole appears to be happy.'¹⁴¹ The Lakselv report from Svend Aage Nielsen confirmed that judgement, concluding that tensions had been overcome sufficiently to allow genuine comradeship to develop between the group members who had valued their time working with FHT.¹⁴²

The FAU PWS report referred to above includes the clearest indication apparent in the archive material of tensions between national groups of volunteers. The

¹³⁹ [1946-07] 'Fortegnelse over hjælpearbejdere udsent af FHA pr. 6.-7.-46 i Norge' [List of FHA relief workers in Norway as at 6.-7.-46], 1, MS archive, 27-28, folder 20. {The list, which is undated, gives names of FHA relief workers in Norway as at 6 July 1946. It is reasonable to assume that it was produced some time during that month}. The document confirms that, although Svend Aage Nielsen seems usually to have signed his name as 'Sv. Aage Nielsen' (see the next document cited in this footnote, for example), in doing so he was using a contracted form of the first element of his first name. 1946-11-02 Rapport fra Lakselv-gruppen for Oktober Maaned [Report from the Lakselv group for the month of October], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴⁰ 1946-11-02 Rapport fra Lakselv-gruppen for Oktober Maaned [Report from the Lakselv group for the month of October], 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴¹ 1946-09-10 'Circ[ular] 11,' 2, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

¹⁴² 1946-11-02 Rapport fra Lakselv-gruppen for Oktober Maaned [Report from the Lakselv group for the month of October], 4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

document made explicit that members of the FHT and of the FAU PWS had been openly critical of each other. The report's author, Kenneth Cue, explained that 'we retained our own internal organisation, i.e. reports came from each section regularly and we sent reports to London every two weeks....This followed the normal procedure of any FAU section.'¹⁴³ The FAU PWS group held section meetings when there were enough members in Kvalsund to make it practicable and sent circulars from its representatives in Kvalsund to FAU PWS members in other smaller work camps.¹⁴⁴ The FAU PWS practice was a continuation of how the FAU had chosen to operate during the Second World War when it judged that it had been most successful when allowed 'to organize its work in its own way.'¹⁴⁵ Kenneth Cue considered that, as a consequence of the decision to maintain the FAU PWS's usual way of undertaking relief even when part of a larger project managed by a different organisation, FHT was 'unremitting in its condemnation of the FAU because of the feeling that we were "wheels within wheels".'¹⁴⁶ At the same time, 'we had FAU members in the groups complaining bitterly about the complete lack of administration, information, and the general feeling of not knowing what was happening.'¹⁴⁷ He was also clear that 'to set about "creating" international fellowship is to start at the wrong end of the stick.'¹⁴⁸ His view was that there were enough

¹⁴³ 1947-01-07 FAU Report on the work in Finnmark, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Unfortunately, no examples of the fortnightly reports from the FAU PWS group in Finnmark to the organisation's headquarters in London have been found in the FAU PWS or FHT archive material.

¹⁴⁴ 1946-07-15 'Circular' 3 FAU & IVSP Finnmark,' 1, and 1946-07-06 Minutes of FAU Section Meeting, both documents LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. While the circulars were theoretically FAU PWS documents, in practice they included the two British IVSP men also working with FHT in Finnmark at the time (see, for example, 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045).

¹⁴⁵ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 416.

¹⁴⁶ 1947-01-07 FAU Report on the work in Finnmark, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

differences between volunteers – 'differences in temperment [*sic*], in age, trade, and approach to work, difference in age [*sic*] and education' – to create genuine difficulties in forming harmonious working units, without adding the additional barrier of different languages that could lead to mutual misunderstandings.¹⁴⁹ There was clearly a lack of mutual trust and a degree of tension between the British and the Norwegians, at least at an organisational level.

Differences of opinion about preferred models of relief also arose between people of the same national background and did not necessarily cause ill feeling. In contrast to the active discontent with the practice of having teams composed of people of different nationalities expressed by one British volunteer on behalf of a number of others, one of the British IVSP men, Finlay McLaren, considered that having volunteers working in international groups had largely been successful with any tensions that arose being a consequence of interpersonal differences rather than of the multinational nature of a group.¹⁵⁰

However, there was a rather less amicable divergence of views in September 1946 between the FAU PWS in the person of their Finnmark section leader, Ron Atkinson, and Myrtle Wright, who, at that time, was based in Oslo working partly on specifically Quaker issues and partly on administration associated with FHT's activities in

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁵⁰ n.d. 'Script for proposed broadcast on Finnmark,' 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document is undated but the introduction in the script suggests that it was written in either late 1946 or early 1947. The introduction also makes clear that the document was written in greater part by Finlay McLaren, one of the two British IVSP men who worked in Finnmark (see 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045).}

Finnmark.¹⁵¹ While Ron Atkinson's report of the disagreement survives in one of the FAU PWS circulars which he, as section leader, periodically sent to the British volunteers, letters from Myrtle Wright about which he was commenting to his compatriots have been lost. Myrtle was convinced that, although there was a greater practical need for relief elsewhere in Europe, the presence of FHT volunteers in Finnmark 'did a valuable service of reconciliation.'¹⁵² Ron Atkinson did not discount the concept of reconciliation but his view was that 'the people of Finnmark are not fools – they can see that there is little need for volunteer workers.... Secondly the F.H.T. is for the most part composed of people who have not the remotest interest in this aspect [reconciliation] of their being here.'¹⁵³ Myrtle was convinced that 'only those people who have a "CONCERN [*sic*] in the full Quaker sense" to share the life of the Finnmarks [*sic*] people should stay on.' Ron Atkinson did not agree: 'to my mind the main question is whether we shall be doing anything useful.'¹⁵⁴ The disagreement was quite profound, with the FAU PWS subsequently refusing to use Myrtle as an intermediary in negotiations. While Ron Atkinson did not specify the negotiations to which he was referring, it seems likely that they would have been with FHT, given that the FAU PWS group were working with the Norwegian organisation in Finnmark and that Myrtle was engaged in its administration in Oslo.

¹⁵¹ 1946-08-15 Ole Olden to Fred Tritton, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7. 1946-10-22 Roderick Ede to Myrtle Wright, 1-2, LSF, FSC/SC/1/5.

¹⁵² 1946-09-24 'Circular' 13, 1, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

What did and did not constitute relief

There was also disagreement about what did or did not constitute relief. The difference is most clearly seen by contrasting the attitudes of FHT and the AFSC. The Norwegian organisation saw the priority in Finnmark as being practical work to help the returning inhabitants such as building temporary or, in some cases, permanent housing for families, especially where there was no other male help for such tasks. As discussed in 5.4, efforts to counteract the direct effects of war also included, for example, the provision of canteens in some locations where paid workers and administrators helping with reconstruction efforts had no other opportunity of getting hot food. Volunteers also ran facilities such as a hostel in the town of Hammerfest for families returning to Finnmark who had to change there from the coastal ship from the south to wait for a smaller boat to take them to their home settlement.¹⁵⁵ However, from the start FHT had intended to supplement the practical assistance they aimed to give with what they called 'social and cultural work'.¹⁵⁶ That could take the form of support for families offered by women volunteers to households where the mother was ill or about to give birth.¹⁵⁷ In a few locations there were activities such as nurseries for small children, a scout troop for boys, a club for

¹⁵⁵ [1947] 'Det frivillige hjelpearbeidet i Nord-Norge' [Voluntary relief work in northern Norway], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The document is undated and there is no indication of who wrote it. However, there is a handwritten comment in the top right-hand corner of the first page, in what appears to be Sigrud Helliesen Lund's handwriting: 'Opplysninger gitt stortingsmann Teodor [sic] Broch i anledning Finnmarksdebatten 7 [sic] feb. 1947 i Stortinget' [Information given to Member of Parliament Teodor [sic] Broch on the occasion of the Finnmark debate 7 Feb[ruary] 1947 in Parliament]. Teodor Broch was a representative in the Norwegian Parliament for the country towns in the northern counties of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark for the period 1945-1949 (see Stortinget, 'Broch, Theodor (1904-1998)', n.d., accessed 13 October 2017, <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Representanter-og-komiteer/Representantene/Representantfordeling/Representant/?perid=THBR>.)}

¹⁵⁶ n.d. 'FHT for Nord-Norge' [FHT for northern Norway], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. 'sosialt og kulturelt arbeid'.

¹⁵⁷ [1947] 'Det frivillige hjelpearbeidet i Nord-Norge' [Voluntary relief work in northern Norway], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {See footnote 155 for information about the date assigned to the document, the possible writer and the person for whom it was apparently prepared.}

girls and a children's lending library.¹⁵⁸ Later, FHT ran short vocational courses, principally for young people and mainly in the Kvalsund camp.¹⁵⁹ Building on FHA's speedy provision of nurses to work in Norway shortly after liberation, FHT had continued to offer such help. The nurses in Lakselv and Russenes were FHA volunteers attached to the Norwegian organisation and giving a service which was highly prized in an area in which medical facilities had largely been destroyed during the German forces' retreat.¹⁶⁰ The Norwegian organisation was also fortunate enough to be able to offer Finnmark inhabitants the services of a qualified dentist during the summers of 1946 and 1947.¹⁶¹

During his visit to Europe to review AFSC activities in a number of locations, Irwin Abrams questioned such offerings. He recognised that there was a need for help in homes but considered it to be a structural issue in local society rather than a

¹⁵⁸ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁵⁹ 1946-12 Report of relief work in Finnmark, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁶⁰ 1945-10-05 DL [Diderich Lund] to Herr Statsråd Gabrielsen [DL [Diderich Lund] to Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {The letter is unsigned but there is a reference 'DL/KT' at the head of the sheet, the location of writing is given as Harstad and the content concerns Danish volunteers' work in clearing and cleaning Trondenes camp to make it fit for use as a transit camp for Finnmark inhabitants returning north. 'DL' is almost certainly Diderich Lund, the Director of the Finnmark Office, which was based in Harstad close to the camp.} At the date of the letter, Gabrielsen was the Statsråd [Cabinet Minister] in charge of the reconstruction of Finnmark (see Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 154). 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-07-06 Arbejdsrapport fra Söster Inger [Work report from Sister Inger], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Sister Inger's report starts from 25 March 1946, before the FHT team arrived in Lakselv in June 1946 (see 1946-06-08 FAU PWS 'Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045). Sister Inger remained in Lakselv until September 1946 (see 1946-09-15 Rapport fra Lakselv-gruppen [Report from the Lakselv group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). Dancke, *Opp av ruinene* [Up from the ruins], 276.

¹⁶¹ [1946] Johanne Strandrud to Fru [Mrs] Signe Gill, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The letter is undated and is addressed to Signe Gill in Kvalsund. Signe Hirsch Gill worked in Finnmark from July to late August/early September 1946 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004, and 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 5 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1946-08-20 document}).} 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 60 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

consequence of war and, therefore, not a task for relief workers. 'The home service of the girls, while needed, is hardly a special need of Finnmark, nor does it especially meet a need resulting from the war.'¹⁶² He acknowledged the value of offering nursing and dental care but criticised FHT because they could not at the same time demonstrate that the help had been planned to strengthen local resources. 'Nursing and dental care are always important, but especially when they contribute to the strengthening of local resources, and this kind of planning was not evident.'¹⁶³ What he seems not to have realised, or at the least not to have taken into account, is that there were at that time no such resources to be strengthened. Johanne Strandrud, the dentist who worked with FHT during the summers of 1946 and 1947, specifically commented on the long-standing paucity of dental provision in the area: 'There has never been enough dental help here to give everyone treatment. For example, young people 20 years old are now coming for treatment for the first time. They are very thankful for the treatment they get.'¹⁶⁴

The divergence of approach in Finnmark between FHT and the AFSC echoes what Farah Mendlesohn observed regarding Quaker relief work during the Spanish Civil War:

the AFSC unit in Burgos became concerned with distinguishing wartime need from what they termed "natural" poverty: poverty which either could not be helped because, in their opinion, it was the natural working of the marketplace,

¹⁶² 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 3, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁶⁴ [1946] Johanne Strandrud to Fru [Mrs] Signe Gill, 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 161 for information about the date ascribed to the letter.} 'Aldri her har vært tilstrekkelig tannlege hjelp til å gi alle behandling. Ungdom på 20 år kommer f.eks. første gang til behandling nå. De er meget takknemlig for den behandling de får.'

or was caused by inefficiency and poor working habits and therefore not the responsibility of a war-relief agency.¹⁶⁵

The difference in that instance was that the significant tensions were between American and British Quakers not least because of the AFSC's refusal to offer relief to ameliorate what they saw as need resulting from structural issues rather than from the effects of conflict. Johanne Strandrud's judgement, quoted above, supports Irwin Abrams' view that lack of dental treatment was at least in part a structural issue in Finnmark but FHT did not consider that to be a reason for not offering the service.

The debate on the need for relief

Doubts about the need for relief work in Finnmark began to surface only a few months after the FHT project began in May 1946. By the time liberation had come a year earlier, there had been near total destruction in northern Norway with other parts of the country having suffered the effects of air attacks, especially when the Nazi-led forces invaded in 1940.¹⁶⁶ Norwegians had been imprisoned both in Norway and Germany, others had fled the country to escape arrest, Jews who had not fled had been deported to Nazi death camps, hostages had been shot in reprisal for attacks on the occupying forces, and property had been requisitioned or destroyed.¹⁶⁷ There were acute shortages of virtually all sorts of food and other goods, and many other restrictions and deprivations.¹⁶⁸ However, as Guri Hjeltnes suggested, 'an

¹⁶⁵ Mendlesohn, 'Denominational Difference,' 185.

¹⁶⁶ Hjeltnes, *Hverdagsliv* [Everyday life], 86-87. Grimnes, *Overfall* [Attack], 182.

¹⁶⁷ Nøkleby, *Holdningskamp* [Patriotic struggle], 86-89, 91-106, 111-120. Berit Nøkleby, 'Tysklandsfanger' [Prisoners in Germany], in Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon* [Norwegian War Dictionary], 429. Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea], 213. Ulstein, *Jødar på flukt* [Jews who had to flee], 184. Michelet, *Den største forbrytelsen* [Greatest crime], 199-221, 232-252. Jaklin, *Nordfronten* [Northern front], 215. Nøkleby and Hjeltnes, *Barn* [Children], 59. Nøkleby, 'Telavåg,' 416.

¹⁶⁸ Hjeltnes, 'Rasjonering' [Rationing], 342. Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 182.

international comparison gives a perspective on everyday life in wartime Norway: Norway escaped the most grotesque and deadly elements of the war. The main conflicts in the World War and the worst brutality did not happen on Norwegian soil.¹⁶⁹ Norway was more fortunate than many countries further south in Europe. While the people and the country had suffered greatly during the occupation and although after liberation there was considerable debate and disagreement as to the composition of the interim government which held power from the end of hostilities until a general election was held in late 1945, Norway was able relatively speedily to re-establish sufficient political stability to make a reasonably ordered start on the enormous task of reconstruction.¹⁷⁰ In parts of middle and southern Europe, the end of hostilities saw countries in which civil administrations had collapsed and millions of people who had been displaced were homeless and facing a real threat of starvation.¹⁷¹

In a letter dated 27 September 1946, FHT worker Edith Østlyngen commented to Myrtle Wright that 'both the English and the Americans think that there is no longer such a great need for us here, especially when one compares [the situation here] with the other countries devastated by war. There is certainly no other country for which the government does so much as here in Norway.'¹⁷² Sigrd Helliesen Lund

¹⁶⁹ Hjeltnes, *Hverdagsliv* [Everyday life], 62. 'En internasjonal sammenlikning gir et perspektiv på den norske krigshverdagen: Norge sto utenfor de mest groteske og dødbringende deler av krigen. Hovedkampene i verdenskrigen og den verste brutaliteten utspilte seg ikke på norsk jord.'

¹⁷⁰ Eriksen and Halvorsen, *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 209-223.

¹⁷¹ Lowe, *Savage Continent*, 70.

¹⁷² 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 5 and 18 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 'både de engelske og de amerikanske mener at det er ikke så stort behov for oss her oppe lenger, serlig [*sic*] nå man da sammenligner med de andre krigsherjede land. Det er vel ikke noe land som regjeringen gjør så meget for, som her i Norge.'

insisted that, during a visit to England in spring 1946, she had made clear that there was:

much greater direct need in other places in Europe and elsewhere in the world, if it was exclusively direct relief work they wanted to do, such as distribution of clothes, opening soup kitchens and similar. The work which could be done in northern Norway was of a completely different kind even if, naturally, practical relief work was the means of getting to...a more spiritual form of relief work.¹⁷³

There was a growing realisation among FHT people both in Oslo and in Kvalsund that northern Norway's severe winter weather would mean that outdoor projects would effectively cease in December 1946 and probably not resume until March or April of the following year.¹⁷⁴ Ole Olden, by then a volunteer in Finnmark, supported the view that the need for practical work was coming to an end.¹⁷⁵ In November 1946, Harry and Pat Burks, two of the AFSC volunteers who were stationed in Kvalsund, visited some smaller camps. In the report written after their return, Harry Burks makes clear that the tour was undertaken 'after a conversation with the Building Leader in Kvalsund...regarding the oversupply of labor which has developed in the past few weeks.'¹⁷⁶ He reported that:

over the entire [sic] area of our operations, there are [sic] more paid labor than is justified by the available materials and the amount of work which can be undertaken before fast winter sets in....In one case at least, our group was interfering with paid workers in that our living quarters were needed for a group of paid workers who had just come and had no quarters....the Building Leader

¹⁷³ 1946-09-30 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 19 and 5 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 'meget større direkte nød andre steder i Europa og ellers i verden, hvis det udelukkende [sic] var direkte relief-work de ønsket å gjøre, slik som deling ut av klær, åpning av suppe stasjoner o.l. Det arbeid som kunne gjøres i Nord-Norge var av en hel annen art selv om naturligvis det praktiske hjelpearbeidet var midlet til å nå fram til det...mer åndelige form for hjelpearbeid.'

¹⁷⁴ 1946-10-30 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹⁷⁵ 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 3-4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁷⁶ 1946-11-18 Harry Burks to FHT Committee, 1, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946. On the first page of the report, it is stated that five smaller work camps were visited. However, the report includes information about only four of them.

stated that our services were no longer needed and that he needed our quarters.¹⁷⁷

It was clear that the main activity planned for the winter months, the vocational school in Kvalsund, would require volunteers who had 'particular training and qualifications.'¹⁷⁸ That meant that virtually all of the American and British volunteers would be unable to contribute, as Ron Atkinson acknowledged in one of his circulars to the British volunteers.¹⁷⁹ They lacked both the specific qualifications needed to teach the courses offered and the necessary level of competence in spoken Norwegian. In addition, most of the young people taking the courses were not from Kvalsund or the area immediately around it, so they had to be accommodated in the FHT camp, at which point several of the volunteers based in Kvalsund were to be reallocated to other work camps, presumably to leave room for the pupils and a smaller number of volunteers.¹⁸⁰ Barnett wrote that:

by 1948 Europe's postwar recovery had moved solidly from relief to reconstruction, and the private voluntary agencies that had once played a central role in distributing assistance to families now stepped aside, as governments...undertook the heavy lifting of repairing roads, ports, communications lines and transportation networks; rebuilding industries; and recovering farmlands.¹⁸¹

Perhaps it is a mark of the relative speed with which Norway managed to organise its own process of post-war recovery that the transition outlined by Barnett as taking place by 1948 had begun to affect FHT by late 1946.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁷⁸ 1946-10-30 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 'særlig utdannelse og kvalifikasjoner.'

¹⁷⁹ 1946-09-10 'Circ[ular] 11,' 5, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045.

¹⁸⁰ 1946-09-24 'Prøvekluten nr. 3' [The Guinea Pig no. 3], 4, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹⁸¹ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 118.

6.7: Chapter summary

The six organisations that sent volunteers to Finnmark in late spring 1946 agreed on the need to help those badly affected by wartime conflict. However, as has been noted, there is no evidence of discussion between the participating organisations regarding preferred working methods and models of relief before the Finnmark project began. In spite of differences of approach between the AFSC and the FAU that can be observed in other, earlier contexts, the American and British organisations were essentially in agreement that the activities in Finnmark were not planned rigorously enough and that some of the activities undertaken were ill chosen. FHA, IAL and the IVSP seemed considerably more at ease with FHT's preference for undertaking work as a response to circumstance. It suggests that one of the inter-organisational fault lines in Finnmark lay between those bodies which favoured a reliance on prior planning, strong administrative controls and teams made up of, or at least led by, those of the same nationality, and those bodies which preferred to take direction from need observed on the ground and from local opinion, and for which work in multinational teams was an integral part of the process of building peace. There were also deep-seated and conflicting convictions as to what constituted relief, although, by virtue of FHT being the organisation which determined priorities in consultation with local officials, the tasks carried out matched FHT's priorities much more closely than they did those of, for example, either the FAU PWS or the AFSC. While there was broad agreement that the need in northern Norway was not as acute as that seen in other conflict-affected areas, the difference in organisational judgements as to the relative priority of work in Finnmark emphasised the inter-organisational contrast between the 'incomers' – the organisations from other

countries – whose perspective was inevitably more detached and FHT, the 'indigenous' organisation, for whom fellow feeling towards compatriots was their founding principle.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1: Introduction

In this chapter I summarise the research findings identified in the previous chapters. I review the contribution that the thesis makes to the historiography of northern Norway and of Quaker relief more broadly. I outline conclusions regarding indigenous and incomer relief, and compare FHT's work with that of other selected Quaker-led aid projects. Previous scholarship is discussed and possible future directions for research are outlined.

7.2: Summary of research findings

In the first chapter I gave a synopsis of FHT's relief project in Finnmark (1.2). Norwegian wartime and post-war experience is not widely known in the Anglophone world and, while it is acknowledged that the country suffered less than others further south in Europe, the treatment meted out by the occupying forces became increasingly harsh. In particular, the forced evacuation and destruction of the northern region caused huge trauma and disruption which took many years to be alleviated. In Chapter 2, I reviewed the historiography of wartime and post-war events in Norway, noting that, while British material views the period through a strongly strategic lens, Norwegian work covers a much wider spectrum of issues arising from the conflict and its effects. Local history has made a considerable contribution and the historiography of northern Norway has been significantly enhanced by work stemming from UiT The Arctic University of Norway [*UiT Norges arktiske universitet*]. The literature about FHT's relief work in Finnmark is very limited,

with the only account, other than this thesis, being in Norwegian with just two English language publications making brief references to the events. I prefaced a review of literature regarding other Quaker relief projects in the first half of the twentieth century by considering the terminology – philanthropy, relief, humanitarianism – used by scholars and considered the literature regarding the relationship between Quaker faith and Quaker relief work, an important aspect given that Quakerism regards relief as being faith in action.¹ In examining academic work on Quaker relief projects, humanitarian aid more generally and humanitarian aid in Norway during the first half of the twentieth century, I concentrated on the issues of co-operation between humanitarian organisations and relevant authorities, different models of relief work, and women and humanitarian work, all three being relevant to the Finnmark project and themes that were present in the archival material. Chapter 3 was devoted to a discussion of the methods and sources used in conducting the research (3.2), and to challenges encountered during the course of the research (3.3). It also considered ethical issues that have to be considered and discussed my positionality as a Quaker researching Quaker relief work (3.3).

In Chapters 4 and 5 I reconstructed an account of FHT's founding, its planning for the project in northern Norway, and the work carried out across central and western Finnmark during 1946 and 1947. Those involved in FHT's management shared a background of pre-existing and overlapping networks, all pacifist or committed to building peace, which had fostered the growth of confidence between the various individuals (4.4). The role of women in FHT's project was also apparent. The

¹ Roger C. Wilson, *Authority, Leadership and Concern*, 11-15. Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace,' 41. Carson, 'Quaker Internationalist Tradition,' 67.

volunteer body was well suited to the initial need for tasks like basic building work and running canteens (5.4). However, as such provision gave way to more skilled activities including building permanent houses and providing educational courses, it became clear that the need now was for qualified tradesmen or people fluent in at least one Scandinavian language and that not all of those who had first volunteered were fitted for the changing demands. Harry Silcock, a British Quaker visiting Finnmark in late 1946 to review FHT's work, recognised the difficulty of 'personnel...recruited for the first phase and [who] don't feel qualified for the second' and noted that a similar problem was simultaneously being experienced by New Zealand relief workers on the ground in Greece.² The challenges attendant upon relief work were explored in Chapters 4 and 5. The authorities were increasingly reluctant to devote facilities to FHT which could be assigned to other workers (4.2), the warmth of the welcome shown to the FHT volunteers cooled perceptibly among at least some local people as the project extended into 1947 (5.6) and, in spite of a general level of harmony among the volunteers, there were inevitably some interpersonal tensions and a few who were not suited to the work (5.5).

Chapter 6 discussed the principles underpinning FHT's work and why the organisation judged that its work was needed in the region, concluding that the organisation believed that it could offer material help, fellowship and spiritual support to people living in remote areas who might otherwise find it hard to access help. It examined the ways in which the participating organisations worked, differences in which contributed to tensions experienced between national groups of volunteers

² 1946-10-15 'Finnmark Visit (2),' 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

largely arising from significant disagreement between some of their parent bodies as to how relief should best be delivered. Opinions also differed as to what constituted relief and at least three of them – FHA, the FAU PWS and the AFSC – were increasingly convinced that need for their volunteers' labour was greater further south in war-ravaged Europe. It is an indication of the differences of approach between the participating organisations that FHT agreed with their judgement but did not consider that sufficient reason for not assisting their compatriots who had lost their possessions, livelihoods, homes and communities in the closing months of the Second World War.

7.3: FHT and other Quaker relief

In this section I consider the contribution that the thesis makes to the historiography of northern Norway, and of Quaker and other relief. FHT's Finnmark project was a hybrid of indigenous and incomer relief and I review the differences between the two modes before comparing FHT's work with that of three other Quaker-led relief projects: the FAU in China; the AFSC in Finland; and the Friends Relief Service (FRS) in Germany.

My primary aim in researching and writing the thesis is to make an account of FHT's relief work in Finnmark accessible to an Anglophone audience. At the same time, it is a contribution to the historiography of northern Norway, of Quaker relief and of relief more generally. Scholarship has largely characterised relief or humanitarianism as being 'directed at those in other lands,' as Michael Barnett argued.³ A case can be

³ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 21.

made that, in the eyes of compatriots living in the southern part of the country, Norwegians living in Finnmark might qualify as the 'distant other' identified by, for example, William Booth and Benjamin Holmes.⁴ However, there is no evidence that the Norwegians who established FHT regarded Finnmark inhabitants in that way. On the contrary, and in the light of FHT's acceptance that needs elsewhere in post-war Europe were objectively greater than in northern Norway, those managing the organisation could arguably be seen as among those who, in Barnett's characterisation, chose to work with people with whom they identified.⁵ The closest bond was presumably that of Sverre Hoëm, one of the original trio who first planned the Finnmark work in the late stages of the occupation and a native of Finnmark, who was among those forcibly evacuated in 1944. Ole Olden, another member of the trio, had travelled to Kirkenes in the far north-east of Finnmark in early 1940 in connection with assistance Norwegian Quakers intended to offer to refugees from the 1939-1940 Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union, a task in which Erling Kjekstad was also involved.⁶ The other Norwegians who became involved presumably had fellow feeling with compatriots whose homes, livelihoods and communities had been destroyed.

Quakerism, although a church and not a humanitarian organisation, had already established a considerable reputation for provision of relief. Fry and Hans Eirik Aarek evidenced that Erling Kjekstad, one of the three founders of FHT, had spent some

⁴ Booth, *In Darkest England*, 23. Benjamin Holmes, "'To Love One's Enemy",' 40.

⁵ 1946-09-03 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Kamma [Aakjær], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named. However, the sender's address, 'Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen i Aker', was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's home address (see Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 32). Kamma Aakjær is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 83.

⁶ Aarek, 'Part IV: 1920-1945,' 89. Heid, 'Vennen Erling Kjekstad' [Friend Erling Kjekstad], 9.

years in Poland as a relief worker under the auspices of the British Quaker organisation, the Friends Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee.⁷ Margaret Gibbins and Sigrid Helliesen Lund recorded that the latter, later to manage FHT, had led a group of Nansen Relief workers who went to Finland from late 1939 to early 1940 during the Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union.⁸ In addition, Sigrid Helliesen Lund and her husband, Diderich, had offered a home to Myrtle Wright, a British Quaker experienced in international aspects of Quakerism, during her enforced wartime stay in Norway.⁹ That awareness of and involvement in relief delivered across borders was supplemented by a group of largely non-Quaker women and men, the Oslo committee, who had worked to support refugees in Norway during the difficult years of the 1930s, and compatriots and refugees affected by the dangers of the country's Nazi wartime occupation. That a woman led the committee was a departure from patterns seen in much earlier humanitarian work when women rarely achieved leadership positions other than in all-women groupings or mixed gender organisations which they founded themselves, as in the case of Buxton and Jebb and SCF. Fredrikke Marie Qvam, who founded NKS [*Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening* – the Norwegian Women's Public Health Association], had considerably earlier set a pattern of strong leadership in Norwegian indigenous relief work. The FHT committee, a group of people all committed to peace building and at least some of whom also held deep religious convictions, were consciously or otherwise following a Quaker practice of expressing their principles through practical

⁷ Fry, *Quaker Adventure*, 299, 367. Erling Kjekstad's family name is given correctly on p299 but as 'Kjeckstad' on p367. On the latter page he is identified as Norwegian. Aarek, 'Part IV: 1920-1945,' 82.

⁸ Kirby, *Concise History of Finland*, 214. Gibbins, *Sigrid Helliesen Lund: Portrait*, 6. Sigrid Helliesen Lund with Wormdal, *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move], 69-75.

⁹ Radley Charitable Trust, 'The Radleys,' n.d., accessed 25 January 2021, <https://www.radleycharitabletrust.org.uk/the-radleys/>.

action. The mix of Quakers and others was also part of Quaker practice. Quakerism, a spiritual movement with limited numbers, has long welcomed those of like mind to join them in their work, holding that it is the spirit in which the work is carried out that is crucial rather than any so-called 'purity' of specific and shared spiritual conviction. The role of religious faith in inspiring FHT's practical action was very similar to the part it played in Oxfam's foundation and early decision that all in need were deserving of aid.

Indigenous relief and incomer relief

It is appropriate to use the term 'indigenous relief' rather than 'philanthropy' about the FHT project, the latter term being more usually used to describe aid delivered within the home country. As noted in Chapter 2, Jill Loga, and Håkon Lorentzen and Per Selle contended that Norway does not have a tradition of philanthropy. Historically, 'the norms and structures in Norwegian society' have meant that, until relatively recently, there has not been a significant middle class with the surplus resources to provide such societal support.¹⁰ That statement is arguably in itself a comment on the connotations of the term 'philanthropy' in that it seems implicitly to categorise the societal support given by NKS and other smaller, more local but similar organisations to their compatriots, of which the authors must have been aware, as being something other than philanthropy. However, it may be more accurate to describe FHT's work as a hybrid of indigenous and incomer relief, given that pacifist and peace organisations from other countries were invited to take part in the work. There is no surviving evidence to indicate exactly why that happened: it might have been that

¹⁰ Loga, 'Civil Society,' 585. Lorentzen and Selle, *Norway: Defining the Voluntary Sector*, 8.

those planning the relief project feared that they might not recruit enough volunteers without external assistance. The choice of partner organisations seems to have resulted from the fact that, with the exception of KVT which was first set up in 1947, those bodies had already established, or were in process of establishing, a track record in the field of relief and that, as discussed in 4.4, the people running them were already linked to members of the FHT Oslo committee through shared and overlapping networks.

The collaboration between a number of different organisations brought undoubted benefits. There were more volunteers with a greater range of skills to contribute to the reconstruction process. In addition, IAL in particular contributed 'most of the equipment that was needed: tools, clothes, provisions, medical equipment and huts.'¹¹ There is also evidence that FHT's aim of building international understanding through having people of different nationalities working together was successful at least to some degree.¹² However, as discussed in 6.6, there were tensions between groups resulting from the different ways in which the various parties approached relief work. While there may be legitimate grounds for such disagreement, the FAU PWS and the AFSC clearly considered that their approach was better – more

¹¹ n.d. 'FHT og dens arbeid i Finnmark' [FHT and its work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. {The document gives no name and is undated. It mentions that volunteers came from Finland which means that the document could not have been written earlier than summer 1947 when the only two recorded Finnish volunteers worked with FHT in Finnmark (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Helle Ruge is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material and still known to be involved with the FHT work by 1947.})} 'det meste av det utstyret som trengtes: vertøy, klær, proviant, sanitetsmateriale og brakker.'

¹² 1947-03-15 'Byggaren nr. 5' [The Builder no. 5], 4, 7, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. n.d. 'Script for proposed broadcast on Finnmark,' 6, 7, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {The document is undated but the introduction in the script suggests that it was written in either late 1946 or early 1947.} The introduction makes clear that the document was written in greater part by Finlay McLaren, one of the two British IVSP men who worked in Finnmark (see 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045).

efficient, more effective – than FHT's. As already noted, FHT was undoubtedly a young organisation feeling its way towards administrative structures at the same time as it organised a relief project. The British and American organisations may not have been aware that their Norwegian counterpart had undertaken a fact-finding tour of northern Norway in early 1946 to try to establish the kind of support that communities wanted and needed, demonstrating a willingness to learn from local people that, as Barnett argued, many humanitarian agencies have not shown until relatively recently.¹³ I have already referred to the fact that FHT had undertaken to discuss proposed relief work with government officials, which in itself was likely to make less practical the longer-term prior planning that both the FAU PWS and the AFSC favoured. Representatives in the field from the two organisations appear not to have considered whether the Norwegian organisation might have been more fitted than they were to judge what was appropriate in the Norwegian context. While the population of northern Norway had been very severely affected by the occupation years, by forced evacuation and by the destruction of their communities, they were by no means lacking in initiative and determination. As Håvard Dahl Bratrein and Einar Niemi, and Knut Einar Eriksen and Terje Halvorsen recorded, large numbers returned north in defiance of a central government ruling in the knowledge that they would have to live at least temporarily in very cramped and inadequate conditions and were prepared to do so in order to be 'at home' working to re-establish themselves.¹⁴ It was not a situation in which an incoming organisation would have

¹³ 1946-03 Rapport 1 [Report 1] Anne Marie Lund [and] Per Lund -Rapport nr. 10 [Report no. 10]], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document cited includes 10 reports dated between 1 and 23 March 1946. Each report is also filed separately in the same folder. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 41.

¹⁴ Bratrein and Niemi, 'Inn i riket [Into the kingdom],' 200. Eriksen and Halvorsen. *Frigjøring [Liberation]*, 224.

been wise to carry out a pre-planned programme of activities devised without initial consultation with local officials and, ideally, local inhabitants.

Established relief organisations have had the opportunity to refine their operations in the light of experience, which can bring considerable benefits in terms of effectiveness and efficiency. However, they have also had the time to become overly wedded to a preferred model of delivering aid. They may need to guard against the conviction that heightened expertise necessarily confers greater understanding of what is appropriate irrespective of context.

The Friends Ambulance Unit in China

The FAU PWS's predecessor organisation, the Second World War FAU, was involved in relief work in China, the 'China Convoy', from 1941.¹⁵ The organisation arguably approached its work there during and after the war in much the same way as the FAU PWS did in northern Norway, that is with an underlying conviction that their way was best. Working as foreigners in China was not easy and the need for the relief they offered was undoubtedly great. Susan Armstrong-Reid concluded that much of the work they undertook was of benefit to the Chinese who received medical treatment that would probably not otherwise have been available to them.¹⁶ However, she argued that the Unit found it difficult to accept that their preferred model of relief work, in this case the Western medical methods they considered superior to Chinese practice, was frequently impractical where modern facilities did not exist and was sometimes viewed with considerable suspicion by a population used to very different

¹⁵ See 2.4.

¹⁶ Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 11, 58.

modes of treatment.¹⁷ The Convoy employed Chinese as well as Western nurses but Armstrong-Reid contended that the former experienced considerable difficulty in having their expertise accepted as valid because it frequently ran counter to the Western practice accepted as authoritative by FAU personnel.¹⁸ In addition, she considered that there was evidence that the women, irrespective of nationality, found it difficult to be accepted in the Unit, which was overwhelmingly male and included men who did not welcome the addition of women.¹⁹ A. Tegla Davies, who wrote a history of the FAU's work in the Second World War, acknowledged that 'the Convoy was...felt to be too much a foreign organization superimposed upon the life of China' and that 'a lack of humility was sometimes a source of criticism of the Unit from other Westerners in China.'²⁰ Armstrong-Reid contended that the China Convoy's work came to an end when the authorities ceased to regard foreign aid workers as welcome and further negotiation between relief organisations and the authorities proved ineffective.²¹ FHT's project was considerably easier in that it was carried out in their own country, although the Finnmark people had long been convinced that their fellow countrymen in the south rarely understood them.²² While there were occasions on which FHT was not regarded favourably in Finnmark (4.2 and 5.6), the reception they received was generally good and there is no evidence that they were criticised for regarding themselves as being superior to those among whom they were living. However, as with the China Convoy, FHT's presence in Finnmark was brought to an end when the authorities withdrew support for their efforts.

¹⁷ Ibid., 150, 159, 178-180, 192.

¹⁸ Ibid., 49, 150, 178-179.

¹⁹ Ibid., 91.

²⁰ Davies, *Friends Ambulance Unit*, 272, 294.

²¹ Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*, 12, 203, 208-209.

²² Eriksen and Halvorsen, *Frigjøring* [Liberation], 19.

The American Friends Service Committee in Finland

Finland was a co-belligerent of Germany during much of the Second World War because, as David Kirby and Heinrik Meinander argued, the country, having achieved its independence from Russia at the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917, was fearful of Joseph Stalin's territorial ambitions.²³ Marja Tuominen, T.G. Ashplant and Tiina Harjumaa noted that, after Finland signed an armistice with the Soviet Union in September 1944, the German troops stationed in the most northerly province of Lapland wreaked destruction as they were forced to withdraw into Finnmark just across the border and there were more than 420,000 internally-displaced refugees after parts of Finnish territory were ceded to the Soviet Union.²⁴ E. Glenn Hinson argued that Douglas Steere, an American Quaker and member of the AFSC, was concerned for the difficulties facing the Finns.²⁵ During a trip to Scandinavia in 1937, as Hinson wrote, Douglas Steere had met 'several leaders of the Finnish Christian Settlement Movement who would assist so notably in the post-war Quaker relief program.'²⁶

The AFSC played a pivotal role in organising a relief project in northern Finland in the years immediately after the Second World War in a way not dissimilar to FHT's role in the Finnmark relief, although the former were incomers. The American organisation decided on a limited programme of work, concentrated principally on Lapland with

²³ Kirby, *Concise History of Finland*, 207, 221-222. Meinander, *History of Finland*, 147-153.

²⁴ Marja Tuominen, T.G. Ashplant and Tiina Harjumaa, eds., *Reconstructing Minds and Landscapes: Silent Post-War Memory in the Margins of History* (New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 7.

²⁵ E. Glenn Hinson, *Love at the Heart of Things: A Biography of Douglas V. Steere* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1998), 150-151.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

help also being given in mid-Finland to the refugees from Karelia in the south-east of the country, one of the areas surrendered to the Soviets.²⁷ The AFSC reported that, in 'approximately 270 schools in Lapland...approximately 25,000 school and pre-school children received one supplementary meal a day' with a similar project being undertaken in 'Middle Finland.'²⁸ In addition, as Hinson wrote, clothing and shoes would be sent from America to be distributed by Finnish National Aid [*Suomen Huolto*], 'the official Finnish relief agency.'²⁹

It seems clear that the AFSC set up work camps according to the practices it favoured. That is worthy of note given that David Hinshaw reported that not more than 10 American volunteers served in Finland, with other workers being provided by the Finnish Settlement Movement, the Finnish Red Cross, IAL, FHA, and FHT.³⁰ The AFSC cohort included both men and women.³¹ Mary Barclay, who, as Hinson recorded, had taken a Relief and Reconstruction Training course at Haverford College in Pennsylvania, co-ordinated the work camps (in marked contrast to what

²⁷ American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1945,' (Philadelphia: America Friends Service Committee, n.d.), 6. American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1946,' 6-8. Tuominen, Ashplant and Harjumaa, *Reconstructing Minds*, 28.

²⁸ American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1946,' 6-8.

²⁹ Hinson, *Heart of Things*, 150, 151, 153. SLS Förvaltningshistorisk ordbok, 'Finlands folkhjälp' [Finnish National Aid], n.d. accessed 27 January 2021, <https://fho.sls.fi/uppslagsord/18562/finlands-folkhjalp/>. SLS is the Swedish Literature Society in Finland [*Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland*]. Swedish is the second national language of Finland (see Institute for the Languages of Finland, 'On language,' n.d., accessed 27 January 2021, https://www.kotus.fi/en/on_language/languages_of_finland). American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1946,' 6-8.

³⁰ Hinshaw, *Experiment in Friendship*, 50-51. American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1945,' 6. American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1946,' 6. 1947-07-01 'Rundbrev nr. 4' [Circular letter no. 4], 3, IAL archive, B3:1. [1947] 'Why we help. How we help,' 6, LSF, FSC/SC/1/6. {The document is not dated. However, dates mentioned in the text indicate that it is likely to have been produced part-way through 1947.} n.d. 'Fred og hjelp' [Peace and aid], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

³¹ 1946-10-31 'AFSC Program in Norway: Periodic Summary #2,' AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946. Naomi Jackson Groves, *Winter into Summer: Lapland Diary 1945-1946* (Waterloo, Ontario: Penumbra Press, 1989), 11, 33, 36.

Tammy Proctor argued was the AFSC's earlier reluctance to give leadership roles to women).³² The AFSC terminated its relief programme in Finland in 1947, reporting that: 'this was largely because Finnish agencies, notably Suomen Huolto, now have the necessary facilities for large relief distributions.'³³ This was similar to FHT which sought to start projects which it could hand over to local people to continue after the organisation left and it could be argued that the AFSC's work had helped bridge the gap until Finnish organisations could provide indigenous relief.³⁴ There is also evidence that the AFSC's efforts were appreciated with Hinson recording that Douglas Steere was decorated by the Finnish government in 1987 "in recognition of his services on behalf of Finland."³⁵

That having been said, it is apparent that the AFSC, with a limited budget for the Finnish relief and only a small number of its own volunteers in the country, judged it fitting to run the project according to its preferred model of relief, which speaks of a firm conviction that the experienced incoming organisation knew best, although according to Hinson, willing to work with in-country and other colleagues.³⁶ The work camps appear to have functioned according to guidelines very similar to those outlined in a handbook for work camp leaders published by AFSC in Swedish in 1944.³⁷ It laid out a detailed plan governing the volunteers' work and recreational

³² Hinson, *Heart of Things*, 148-149. Proctor, 'American Enterprise?' 39.

³³ American Friends Service Committee, 'Annual Report 1947,' (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d.), 6.

³⁴ 1947-03-25 O. F. [Ole] Olden and Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Herr Avdelingsingeniør Arild [Departmental Engineer Arild], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002.

³⁵ Quoted in Hinson, *Heart of Things*, 155-156.

³⁶ Hinson, *Heart of Things*, 150-152.

³⁷ 1944 'Denne handledning har blivit utarbetad' [This guidance has been drawn up], FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. There is nothing on file to indicate either how the document came to be in the FHT archive or the purpose for which it was intended. It is possible that it was produced for the AFSC-led work camps that were held in Finland after the war. Swedish is the second of the country's two official

times. Work camp leaders had many responsibilities to ensure that the allotted tasks were accomplished, spare time was used profitably, relationships with local people were nurtured and detailed written reports were submitted to the AFSC headquarters in Philadelphia. Howard Lutz, an AFSC volunteer working in northern Finland, noted in his diary the demanding duties attendant upon the role of work camp leader.³⁸ In addition, as was referenced in 6.5, the two young Finnish women who took part in FHT's activities in Finnmark in the summer of 1947 had probably worked with the AFSC in Finland and reportedly had expected a much more rigidly organised timetable of activities than was followed in the Norwegian project.³⁹ There is still much to be learned about the AFSC-led relief work in northern Finland after the Second World War, a topic to which I return below, but it is clear that the American organisation, the incomers, regarded their routines as best practice.

The Friends Relief Service in Germany

The Friends Relief Service (FRS), a British Quaker organisation, was active in providing relief in Germany, among other countries, after the Second World War. It developed from the Friends War Victims Relief Committee (FWVRC), which was re-

languages. The main one, Finnish, which belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of languages, is regarded as being very difficult to learn. There is anecdotal evidence that Douglas Steere of the AFSC mistakenly regarded Finland as being a bilingual country (see Quaker Meeting 2015 Rovaniemi, Presentation by Jonathan Lutz, 2015, accessed 18 January 2016, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCL5w3diDAZ124MIYj_onBOA).

³⁸ Quaker Meeting 2015 Rovaniemi, '[Presentation by] Jonathan Lutz, 2015,' accessed 18 January 2016, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCL5w3diDAZ124MIYj_onBOA.

³⁹ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. [1947]-07-16 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {No year is given in the document. However, it refers to 'de finske' [the Finns] then with FHT in Finnmark. They were there from late June to early August 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 11 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1947-07-31 document.} While the sender of the [1947]-07-16 document does not give her family name, the distinctive handwriting is the same as in 1947-07-01 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

established in November 1940 as a successor to several previous iterations since 1870.⁴⁰ It was an official committee of the then London Yearly Meeting and, in contrast to the FAU, declined to work actively with the military during conflict, although, as Roger Wilson reported, it worked with the forces in Europe after the war had ended.⁴¹ The FRS had a significantly higher proportion of women members than did the FAU and some individual teams were led by women.⁴²

As Roger Wilson recounted, during the Second World War the FWVRC busied itself with relief work in Britain, in other words with indigenous relief.⁴³ The way in which the FWVRC functioned at the start of the conflict shows similarities with the young FHT. It looked for work that needed to be done and did it rather than having a carefully constructed plan, it tried to help those whose needs might not have caught the attention of other organisations and the early records are not complete.⁴⁴ However, a great deal changed over the years. Jennifer Carson and Roger Wilson noted that, as part of the preparation for post-war relief, the work done in Britain by the FWVRC (by then – and briefly – known as the Friends War Relief Service) and the FAU was combined in 1943 to form the FRS and planning began for relief work in other countries after the end of the war.⁴⁵ By that stage, as Nerissa Aksamit, Carson, Roger Wilson, and Fiona Reid and Sharif Gemie reported, great emphasis was put

⁴⁰ Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 48. Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*, 325-326.

⁴¹ Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*, 113-114, 325-326.

⁴² Aksamit, 'Training Friends,' 59. Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 234.

⁴³ Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*, 14-76.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 3, 4. n.d. 'Prinsipper for FHTs virksomhet i Finnmark' [Principles for FHT's work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0001 0002. {There are two documents with the same title in the folder. The reference is to the one-page version the text of which incorporates handwritten corrections made on the other, longer, version (two typed pages, with wider line spacing, with handwritten amendments on the reverse of the second sheet), suggesting that the one-page version is the later of the two. A second copy of the longer, earlier version can be found in the FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.}

⁴⁵ Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*, 329-335. Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 9.

on training, an effective administrative framework had been established and the organisation was much larger than its Norwegian counterpart, suggesting that it had developed to a stage beyond that achieved by FHT.⁴⁶

While the Finnmark inhabitants had suffered greatly and had lost their possessions and homes, they were at least back in or returning to their own county [*fylke*] and relieved to be there. Reid and Gemie demonstrated how, in Germany, the FRS teams worked with survivors of concentration camps and some of the millions of people who had been displaced from their countries during the conflict.⁴⁷ Many would have been eager to be repatriated but, as Carson and G. Daniel Cohen argued, many were not able to return home because of a well-founded fear of persecution while others might be returned to their countries against their will.⁴⁸ Roger Wilson noted that the FRS was well aware that relief agencies could only function with the agreement of the relevant authorities, which, in Germany, were the occupying forces.⁴⁹ However, Carson argued that they were greatly concerned about what they considered to be deficiencies in the treatment of German civilians and displaced persons (DPs) by the military and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).⁵⁰ Reid and Gemie contended that the agencies disagreed profoundly with the British authorities' instructions that there should be no fraternisation with German civilians and they were deeply disturbed by UNRRA teams 'maintaining too much of a professional distance between themselves and the

⁴⁶ Aksamit, 'Training Friends,' 55-59. Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 78-81. Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*, 102. Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 227.

⁴⁷ Lowe, *Savage Continent*, 101-102. Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 225.

⁴⁸ Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 40, 42. Cohen, 'Between Relief and Politics,' 444-445, 448.

⁴⁹ Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*, 16.

⁵⁰ Carson, 'Friends Relief Service,' 140.

displaced persons.⁵¹ The agencies maintained their belief in their preferred model of relief work, refusing to accept the no fraternisation order and continuing their practice of 'forging personal relationships with displaced persons.'⁵²

Roger Wilson, and Reid and Gemie noted that FRS volunteers were uncomfortably aware that as incomers and nationals of one of the victorious powers their living conditions were better than those of German civilians.⁵³ By contrast, although post-war food supplies were constrained in Finnmark generally, people native to the county were able to obtain items not available to FHT workers.⁵⁴ Unlike FHT, the FRS were acting within what Barnett defined as the normal form of humanitarian activity, namely work that 'is directed at those in other lands.'⁵⁵ As noted above, the British organisation became much larger and more professionalised than the Norwegian one, although the loss of the latter's Kvalsund and Oslo office records – the very information that might have given the clearest insight into how well organised or otherwise FHT really was – makes it difficult to arrive at a clear judgement. The impression of energetic and well-intentioned amateurism, not uncommon in small new humanitarian organisations, might have been modified had the full set of records been preserved.

⁵¹ Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 229-230, 235.

⁵² Ibid., 229-230, 235.

⁵³ Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*, 224-225, 253. Reid and Gemie, 'Friends Relief Service,' 231, 234.

⁵⁴ 1946-07-27 Kamma Aakjær to Hanne Zeuthen, 2-3, MS archive, 31-32, folder 4.

⁵⁵ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 21.

Section summary

As discussed in Chapter 2, there has been and continues to be increasing scholarly work devoted to the historiography of northern Norway during and following the Second World War. However, to date there has been no academic analysis of the contribution made by voluntary organisations to the reconstruction process, although their wartime work is being researched. It is an interesting omission, given the way in which such organisations have historically worked in Norway to provide health and social care facilities, a topic to which I return later. This thesis starts to address the gap in the historical record, adding a degree of nuance to the broader account of the much-needed and much larger-scale government-led reconstruction work. It also offers evidence, albeit in a limited way, that northern Norway's harsh wartime experiences were of concern to compatriots further south.

The academic study of Quaker relief has tended to concentrate on major projects undertaken in areas central to Europe, such as during the Spanish Civil War and after the Second World War in Germany and France.⁵⁶ More recently scholarship has expanded its scope with work on Russia, China and Bengal.⁵⁷ However, there is still a lack of work on, indeed awareness of, Quaker-led relief undertaken in more remote areas. This thesis investigates a small-scale Quaker-led relief project on the northern fringe of Europe. It also gives the best available listing of those who contributed to the reconstruction of Finnmark through their work with FHT. While the list of volunteers given in Appendix 1 cannot be regarded as definitive because too much of

⁵⁶ Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace.' Carson, 'Friends Relief Service.'

⁵⁷ Kelly, *British Humanitarian Activity in Russia*. Armstrong-Reid, *China Gadabouts*. Baumann, 'Quaker Relief and Rehabilitation,' 95-112.

FHT's documentation has been lost, it is the fullest and most nearly accurate listing that can be established given the sources available.

The thesis also highlights aspects that are often subordinate in analysis of other Quaker-led relief. I show that FHT's work shares what Roberts' work on Quaker women demonstrated, namely an emphasis on the way in which pre-existing networks contributed to the formation of a planning group and volunteer body, an aspect of Quaker relief that is not usually explored in sufficient depth.⁵⁸ It also examines as closely as evidence allows the way in which FHT interacted with the other participating organisations. Such analysis forms part of the work of, for example, Farah Mendlesohn's work on Civil War Spain but, while relations with non-Quaker aid agencies are mentioned in other work, they are not usually investigated closely.⁵⁹

The thesis broadens the scope of scholarly work on humanitarian relief to include indigenous relief, a phenomenon that merits greater attention. As discussed above, philanthropy – the more usual description of aid given in-country – is not a concept that sits comfortably within the Norwegian context (2.6). In addition, in Anglophone countries the term is not universally viewed as positive. Some interpret philanthropy as bringing with it elements of paternalism and a wish for social control on the part of those who provide the aid.⁶⁰ It is indisputable that FHT's contribution in Finnmark was very small in relation to the huge need for reconstruction. That having been said, the

⁵⁸ Roberts, "'Position of Peculiar Responsibility'," 235-255.

⁵⁹ Mendlesohn, 'Practising Peace.' Mendlesohn, 'Ethics,' 1-23. Mendlesohn, 'Denominational Difference,' 180-195.

⁶⁰ Grant, *Philanthropy*, 46-49. Manthorpe, 'Settlements,' 410.

scale of their achievement and its having been supplemented by incoming organisations justify characterising it as relief.

7.4: Previous scholarship and future directions

Introduction

My research into the relief undertaken by FHT in Finnmark builds on the considerably shorter Norwegian-language account of FHT's work, Inez Boon Ulfsby's 'A helping hand to Finnmark' [*Et håndslag til Finnmark*]. Ulfsby's account, which does not set out to provide scholarly analysis, is a clear and helpful outline of FHT's time in northern Norway but the author herself is quoted as saying that 'there [was] more to be discovered' in Sigrid Helliesen Lund's archive material which Ulfsby deposited in the Norwegian National Archives after completing her book.⁶¹ I have had the opportunity to delve more deeply into the FHT archive and also to use material from the archives of four of the other six participating organisations to build a more detailed, wide-ranging and nuanced account of the Finnmark relief.

Previous scholarship

The historiography of northern Norway has been considerably augmented by the work of academics and students at UiT The Arctic University of Norway [*UiT Norges arktiske universitet* – UiT] (2.2). However, to date there has been no detailed analysis of post-war voluntary relief activity in the area comprehensively laid waste by the retreating Nazi-led occupying forces. Accounts of Quaker-led relief, both academic

⁶¹ Ulfsby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand], 92. 'det er mer å hente.' Arkivportalen: Arkivverket Riksarkivet, 'PA-1487 – Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste,' n.d., accessed 15 March 2021, <https://www.arkivportalen.no/entity/no-a1450-0100000007275?ins=RA>.

and general, have demonstrated that it is usual for the volunteers involved to include significant numbers of non-Quakers and for Quaker relief organisations to work with non-Quaker agencies.⁶² With regard to humanitarianism more generally, it may be understandable that the term has come to be 'associated with compassion across boundaries.'⁶³ It is arguable, however, that such specificity deflects scholarly attention from indigenous relief work that addresses situations in which philanthropy seems an inadequate characterisation, such as 'famine, ill-health and poverty.'⁶⁴

Future research

There is useful academic analysis to be undertaken in exploring relief offered in areas normally seen as being on the periphery and in examining indigenous relief more closely.

There is still research to be carried out regarding FHT's relief work in Finnmark. Constraints of time and funding referred to in 3.2 precluded an examination of the Finnmark Office [*Finnmarkskontoret*] archive. The Office was the governmental authority to which FHT was responsible and analysis of relevant documents in its archive could be expected to provide additional information about the work undertaken by FHT and its relationship with the authorities, not least given the loss of the organisation's Kvalsund archive in a fire in 1947.

⁶² Wynter, 'Conscription, Conscience and Controversy,' 221. Greenwood, *Friends and Relief*, 254-255.

⁶³ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 20.

⁶⁴ Möller, Paulmann and Stornig, 'Gendering Twentieth-Century Humanitarianism,' 2.

The Norwegian Salvation Army's [*Frølsesarmeen*] personnel in northern Norway were among those forcibly evacuated and its property was destroyed during the closing stages of the Second World War.⁶⁵ After liberation, its sister organisation, the Swedish Salvation Army [*Frälsningsarmén*], sent teams to northern Norway, having planned for the eventuality from 1943-44, with Norwegian Salvationists joining their groups.⁶⁶ The large-scale provision of hot meals was one of the main ways in which the Salvation Army teams aided Finnmark inhabitants at a time when few had access to cooking facilities.⁶⁷ Salvationists in other countries sent support which included generous funding, a great deal of clothing and a large quantity of wheat.⁶⁸ It would be interesting to compare its preferred model of relief work with that of FHT, mindful that the organisation was trying not only to offer relief but also to rebuild its presence in the area, and to investigate whether that model encapsulated the Army's claim that women have had equal opportunities within its ranks from the beginning.⁶⁹ Scholarly investigation and analysis of the Salvation Army's relief work in Finnmark would add to the historiography of the contribution of voluntary organisations to the reconstruction of northern Norway, and of indigenous and incomer relief.

The AFSC led a voluntary relief work project in Finland following the Second World War (7.3). A narrative account of the project was published shortly after it took place

⁶⁵ Charles Norum, *Med kjærlighetens våpen* [With the weapon of love], 181-184, 186.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 186-187.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 187. Johanne Løkken, '*Herregud hvor her ser ut!*': *hverdag og fest i brakkebyen Hammerfest: brev fra Johanne Løkken i Hammerfest til sin søster i Oslo 1945-1946* ['Dear God, what does this place look like!': daily life and celebrations in the town of huts, Hammerfest: letters from Johanne Løkken in Hammerfest to her sister in Oslo 1945-1946], ed. Knut Bjerck and Gjenreisningsmuseet (Hammerfest: Gjenreisningsmuseet for Finnmark og Nord-Troms, 2007), 40.

⁶⁸ Charles Norum, *Med kjærlighetens våpen* [With the weapon of love], 187.

⁶⁹ The Salvation Army International, 'About Us,' 2021, accessed 15 March 2021, <https://www.salvationarmy.org/ihq/about>.

and one of the volunteers later published a diary kept during her work with the AFSC in Lapland but neither work attempts to be academic.⁷⁰ Research may have been published in Finnish, which I lack the linguistic ability to identify, but I have been unable to identify scholarly analysis in English. The project deserves to be investigated more closely in its own right, and to be compared and contrasted with FHT's efforts in Finnmark. Organisations from Finland and other countries participated in the AFSC-led relief. The AFSC Archivist has confirmed that the AFSC Archives hold a great deal of material on the project, while Douglas Steere's papers are deposited in Haverford College, Pennsylvania.⁷¹ Other documents exist in the archives of the various organisations that shared in the work. Such research would be a considerable undertaking, made more complex by the fact that significant sources of information will be in Finnish, a language not widely understood outside Finland. However, if the project were to come to fruition, it would be a rich source for investigating similarities and differences between the ways in which the authorities in Finland and Norway approached the huge task of post-war reconstruction, how the different organisations working in Finland co-operated with each other and the authorities, how successfully or otherwise those organisations managed to mesh together what must have been different models of relief work and what the role of women was in the project. It would complement a recent research project based in the University of Lapland which examined 'the role that art and cultural activities played in mental and material [post-war] reconstruction of Lapland.'⁷² It would also

⁷⁰ Hinshaw, *Experiment in Friendship*. Naomi Jackson Groves, *Winter into Summer*.

⁷¹ 2015-10-21 Don Davis, Archivist, AFSC, email message. Philadelphia Area Archives Research Portal (PAARP), 'Douglas V. and Dorothy M. Steere Papers, MC.1174,' n.d., accessed 9 March 2021, http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/pacscl/HAVERFORD_HCColl1174.

⁷² Lapin Yliopisto, 'FEENIKS: Art and culture in the mental and material reconstruction process following the Lapland War.' n.d., accessed 24 March 2021, <https://www.ulapland.fi/EN/Webpages/>

add to the historiography of regions seen as peripheral and would serve as a recognition that 'the [Lapland War] represented a radical rupture in the lives, landscapes and material and mental culture of those who called the province home.'⁷³

Scholarly analysis of the full range of domestic wartime work of the FWVRC would provide a productive study in indigenous relief. As discussed above (7.3), the FRS (the FWVRC at the start of the Second World War before being briefly called the Friends War Relief Service) concentrated on relief work in Britain because it refused to work with the armed forces during conflict. To date, academic investigation of its activities has concentrated on the work undertaken outside Britain after the war, although Aksamit examined the FRS and FAU training regimes in Britain in her PhD thesis as a precursor to her analysis of the work carried out by the two organisations in post-war Germany, and Carson considered the development, role and training provision of the organisation in her thesis about FRS work in Displaced Persons' camps from 1945-1948.⁷⁴ Roger Wilson's comprehensive history of the FRS during and after the Second World War indicates that there remains significant scope for a detailed scholarly examination of the relief undertaken in Britain by the FRS and its predecessor organisations during the conflict.⁷⁵ Such a study would offer a more detached, detailed and nuanced understanding of the FRS. Tracing its development from slightly chaotic beginnings at the start of the war to the much more organised

[FEENIKS-%E2%80%93Art-and-culture-in-the-mental-and-material-reconstruction-process-following-the-Lapland-War.](#)

⁷³ Tuominen, Ashplant and Harjumaa, *Reconstructing Minds*, 6.

⁷⁴ Aksamit, 'Training Friends.' Carson, 'Friends Relief Service.'

⁷⁵ Roger C. Wilson, *Quaker Relief*.

outfit described in 7.3 would provide a revealing contrast to the development and organisation of FHT as it planned and undertook its work in Finnmark.

Section summary

The historiography of northern Norway has still to include a full examination of voluntary relief offered after liberation at the end of the Second World War. As yet, there is a paucity of detailed studies of how successfully or otherwise Quakers and non-Quakers co-operated on relief projects. There is a lack of analysis of aid offered in regions regarded as being peripheral, and indigenous relief deserves greater and more detailed attention. While this thesis has explored FHT's work in Finnmark in unprecedented detail, there is still unexamined material that could add further depth to an understanding of the organisation. Research into other voluntary organisations offering aid, such as the Swedish and Norwegian branches of the Salvation Army, would expand understanding of the contribution of voluntary relief to the reconstruction of northern Norway and of events in peripheral areas. Scholarly work on peripheral areas would be enriched by an investigation of the AFSC-led relief work in post-war Finland and further investigation of the aid offered by the FRS in Britain during the Second World War would enhance our understanding of indigenous relief.

7.5: Thesis summary

The museum in Alta, one of the places in Finnmark where FHT worked in 1946, now hosts a World Heritage Rock Art Centre to showcase 'Northern Europe's largest

concentration of rock art made by hunter-gatherers...from 7000 to 2000 years ago.⁷⁶ The museum's care also to preserve and promote the region's much more recent history led in the 1990s to their publication of a pamphlet about the forced evacuation, destruction and rebuilding of Finnmark and northern Troms in and after the closing years of the Second World War.⁷⁷ Some 15 years later, a copy in the museum's shop captured my attention, not least the closing paragraph with its outline of a Norwegian Quaker-led relief project that offered voluntary help for Finnmark after liberation. My subsequent inability to identify any significant English-language information and little in Norwegian other than Ulfsby's narrative account about the voluntary relief effort led to the research that informs this thesis.⁷⁸ The study of the planning and execution of the FHT project illustrates the challenges the organisation faced as it tried from the south of the country to put in place in Finnmark a relief programme that was both domestic and at a considerable distance while still in the throes of setting up its own administrative structures. FHT's wish and need to involve volunteers from non-Norwegian partner organisations made their work possible but brought with it the issue of tensions between different models of relief work. Welcome progress in the overall process of reconstruction led to a change in the attitude of formerly well-disposed government officials which culminated in FHT withdrawing from Finnmark having completed the work it was fitted to undertake. The organisation was led principally by women but there are indications that the efforts of the women in the work camps were not always valued by their male peers.

⁷⁶ Alta Museum, 'The Rock Art of Alta,' n.d., accessed 24 March 2021, <https://www.altamuseum.no/en/the-rock-art-of-alta>.

⁷⁷ Knudsen. *Flyktninger* [Refugees].

⁷⁸ Ulfsby, *Et håndslag* [Helping hand].

FHT's work in northern Norway showed similarities with other Quaker-led relief projects. Both FHT and the British FRS shared mildly disorganised beginnings, and the Norwegian organisation adopted the well-tried Quaker practice of involving both Quakers and non-Quakers in its work. It did not achieve either the size or the degree of professionalism demonstrated by the FRS, the FAU and the AFSC but it was arguably more sensitively attuned to the wishes of those among whom they worked than were the British and American organisations. It was a combination of indigenous and incomer relief, the former a phenomenon that is still under-researched. The project was undertaken in the far north-west of Europe in a region that was critically affected by the Second World War but which scarcely figures in English-language accounts of the conflict other than those which concentrate on issues of military or political strategy. This thesis starts to redress the balance.

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF VOLUNTEERS

1 As explained in 3.3, I judge that the listing of participants in events in Finnmark during 1946-1947 acceptable under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) as the Appendix was compiled, and is provided, for research purposes.¹ However, Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke, formerly Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde [Friends of Peace Relief Service – FHA], has specifically withheld permission for its volunteers to be included in the list until all can be assumed to have died.² Accordingly, the Danish section will not be made public until 2030.

2 As discussed in 3.3, there is no single reliable listing of the volunteers who served with FHT in 1946 and 1947. The lists below have been compiled from evidence in an FHT card index which lists the volunteers – Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, British, American and Finnish – who went or who probably went or who applied to go to Finnmark in 1946 and 1947. While it provides much useful information, it is not wholly reliable. Evidence from other documents is also used to establish who went to Finnmark and how long they worked there. In many cases it is not possible to establish precise dates for arrival and departure so the period of service is given as complete months even in those cases in which it is clear that a given individual was present for only a few days at the end or beginning of a particular month. That may mean that the dates for some periods of service err on the side of generosity. However, it is possible that other periods of service given below may

¹ ICO Information Commissioner's Office, 'Exemptions,' n.d., accessed 7 March 2022, <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-data-protection/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/exemptions/#ex16>.

² 2202-02-20, Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke, email message.

underestimate how long a given individual worked in Finnmark. As referred to in 3.3, the FHT archive in Finnmark was destroyed in a fire in May 1947 and the files from the small FHT office in Oslo appear also to have been lost. It is reasonable to assume that the most detailed records of when volunteers arrived and left were among the documents that have not survived. If an individual is mentioned only rarely in the extant records, his or her time in Finnmark may appear shorter than it actually was. One document states that three FHT volunteers, not named, remained in Finnmark at the time of writing in November 1947, one in Kvalsund and two in Børselv.³ While it is possible to identify the latter two, there is no surviving evidence for the identity of the Kvalsund-based relief worker.

- 3 Because much of the evidence regarding periods of service is gained from the FHT card index, references to it in the footnotes to this appendix are abbreviated to 'Kort' [Cards], instead of the fuller version used elsewhere in the thesis, n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.
- 4 One document, cited as n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive F-L0004, was probably originally produced by IAL, the organisation which recruited Swedish volunteers for FHT's work in Finnmark. No date is visible on the document which is significantly damaged across the top and down the right-hand side. It must have been produced in 1946 because those listed can be independently shown to have worked with FHT in northern Norway in 1946. It gives the names of IAL relief workers who travelled to Finnmark up to 27 August

³ 1947-11-17 Sigrd Helliessen Lund to Finnmarkskontoret [Finnmark Office], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

[1946]. For reasons not explained in the document or elsewhere, it states that any volunteer still in Finnmark in October 1946 was deemed to have left by 15 October, even though other evidence in the archives demonstrates that some had not. There is no equivalent listing for Swedish volunteers who arrived after late August and/or stayed in Finnmark after 15 October.

- 5 Five Danish volunteers, Sven Zedergreen Bech, Edith Olsen, Inger Marie Pedersen, Birthe Rörbye and Lis Truelsen, were already working as FHA volunteers in Norway before FHT's work in Finnmark started, subsequently joining FHT. The date of the arrival of each of them therefore predates FHT's presence in northern Norway. The same is true for Else Schjöth, one of the Norwegian volunteers, who taught in a school in Kjøllefjord between March and May 1946 before returning to Finnmark the following summer. She reported by personal letter to Sigrid Helliesen Lund during her 1946 period of volunteering so the service has been included in this list.⁴
- 6 Where possible, the names of the volunteers are taken from formal listings in the archive material produced by the individual volunteer's sponsoring organisation. Otherwise, name forms are derived from other available documentation. Sources used are cited in the relevant footnote. If more than one first name is given and the necessary evidence is available, the name in daily use is underlined. Where there are variations in spelling, such as 'Eric/Erik', the version used is the one that is

⁴ 1946-04-12 Else Schjöth to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, 3-4, 6-7, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with the family name Helliesen Lund identifiable in the archive material.} The original is handwritten on both sides of each sheet and numbered by sheet. The numbering given here is for each side, not for each sheet.

Braut, EivindMay 1946⁸

Bryne, ReidarJune-August 1946⁹

Bull, ElseJune-September 1946¹⁰

Christensen, Per (Pelle)May-July 1946¹¹

Christiansen, GudrunJune-August 1946¹²

Christiansen, Sophie StiboltJune-September 1946¹³

Dagerud, CaliforniaJune-August 1946¹⁴

be 1946. Reference is made to FHT's work at Kåfjord and that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005).}

⁸ [1946]-05-21 Myrtle [Wright] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {No year is given but it must be 1946 as the document makes clear that the sender was travelling north by boat with a group that included English volunteers (see 1946-06-08 Journal letter from Myrtle Wright, 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 for confirmation of the year of the [1946]-05-21 document). Myrtle Wright and Sigrid Helliesen Lund are the only individuals with those respective first names identifiable in the archive material.} The volunteer, Eivind Braut, is identified by first name only in the document and the entry for him in 'Kort' [Cards] is filed in the 1949 section, that is, the section referring to FHT activities following the closure of work in Finnmark. However, he is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. While no nationality is given for him in 'Kort' [Cards], the [1946]-05-21 document names an 'Eivind' in the group of volunteers with whom Myrtle Wright travelled to Finnmark in May 1946. In a separate report she sent to Britain about the arrival of the British volunteers' arrival in Norway and journey north, she makes clear that group travelling from Oslo included only Norwegian and British members (see 1946-05-22 Report of British Teams [sic] visit to Oslo, 3, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7). It is probable therefore that Eivind Braut was Norwegian.

⁹ 'Kort' [Cards. 1946-08-31 Margit Frimann-Nergaard to FHT Kvalsund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁰ 'Kort' [Cards].

¹¹ 'Kort' [Cards]. [1946]-07 'Vanlig arbeide [sic] i leiren' [Usual work in the camp], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document gives day and month dates but no year. The year must be 1946 because reference is made to the visit to Finnmark of Sven and Bergljot Haugård [Haugard]. Their visit, as representatives from FHA, is also reported in 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2] FHT, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.}

¹² 1946-06-18 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the two senders. Signe Hirsch Gill is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} 1946-08-25 Rapport fra dugnaden i Karasjok [Report from the voluntary work in Karasjok], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹³ 1946-06-18 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the two senders. See footnote 12 for the identity of the recipient.} 1946-09-27 [no name] to Edith [Østlyngen], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {There is no sender's name. The document is one of the few in the FHT archive written in English and discusses issues regarding the management of FHT. It is probable that the sender was Myrtle Wright. Edith is almost certainly Edith Østlyngen, then in charge of administration at Kvalsund (see 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946).}

¹⁴ 1946-06-18 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the two senders. See footnote 12 for the identity of the recipient.} 1946-09-27 [no name] to Edith [Østlyngen], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 13 for the probable identity of the sender and the identity of the recipient.}

Dahl, Bergljot.....August-September 1946¹⁵

Dypdahl, Arne OlavJune-August 1946¹⁶

Eide, RoarJune-September 1946¹⁷

Engebrigtsen, CecilieJune 1946-March 1947¹⁸

Flatebö, DagnyJune-July 1946¹⁹

Folsland, OlavJune-July 1946²⁰

Forsberg, EdgarJune-August 1946²¹

Foss, AstridJanuary-July 1947²²

¹⁵ 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹⁶ 'Kort' [Cards]. No date for Arne Dypdahl's departure can be identified. However, he is reported to have travelled from Kvalsund to Karasjok on 3 August 1946, returning on 5 August 1946 (see [1946-08] 'Mandag 29/7 [Monday 29/7]', FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document gives day and month dates but no year. The year must be 1946 because some of the volunteers named in the document worked in Finnmark in that year only. For example, a volunteer called Eunice is mentioned. Eunice Jones is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. She left Finnmark in November 1946 (see FHT 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, 1, F-L0002 0004 {see footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively of the 1946-11-30 document}.) [1946-08] 'Lørdag 3.8 Sigrid [Lund] og Myrtle [Wright] reiste' [Saturday 3.8 Sigrid [Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] left], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document gives the day and month but no year. See 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 for confirmation that the year is 1946 and that Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright are correctly identified. It is assumed that the [1946-08] document was produced in August because it is a diary-style account of a few days' activity early in that month.}

¹⁷ 'Kort' [Cards].

¹⁸ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

¹⁹ 'Kort' [Cards].

²⁰ 'Kort' [Cards]. No date for Olav Folsland's departure can be identified. However, he is reported to have been in Talvik in late July 1946 in [1946]-07-28 Forste [*sic*] rapport Talvik [First report Talvik], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The year is not given in the document. However, the report is signed by Canby Jones, one of the American volunteers, who was preparing to leave Finnmark in early December 1946 (see 1946-12-06 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004 {see footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively of the 1946-12-06 document}), so the [1946]-07-28 document must have been written in 1946, not 1947.}

²¹ 'Kort' [Cards]. [1946-08] 'Mandag 29/7 [Monday 29/7]', FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 16 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

²² 1947-01-31 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {There is no sender's name or address on the letter. However, it was probably sent by Sigrid Helliesen Lund. The content covers issues concerning the management of FHT's work in Finnmark, such as ordering carpenter's benches to be sent to FHT (p1). In addition, the sender discusses (p2) the possibility of 'Diderichs bror, Wilhelm' [Diderich's brother, Wilhelm] travelling to Finnmark as a volunteer and outlines his characteristics in terms that suggest close personal acquaintance. Diderich is likely to have been Diderich Lund, Sigrid Helliesen Lund's husband. See footnote 13 for the identity of the recipient.} [1947]-07-06 Else [Schjöth] to [no name], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The year is not given in the document but it must be 1947 as it refers to 'de to finske' [the two Finns] being in

Frimann-Nergaard, Margit.....May-September 1946²³

Fürst, Mai Sewell.....June-August 1947²⁴

Gill, Signe Hirsch.....July-August 1946²⁵

Glad, Ulla.....May-August 1946²⁶

Hagemann, TorJuly-August 1946²⁷

Kvalsund. The Finnish girls were in Finnmark in summer 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {Helle Ruge is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material and still known to be involved with FHT work in 1947.}). While the sender of the [1947]-07-06 document does not give her family name, the handwriting is the same as in 1947-07-01 Else Schjøth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient of the 1947-07-01 document}. Astrid Foss, who is identified by first name only in the [1947]-07-06 document, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

²³ 'Kort' [Cards]. Margit Frimann-Nergaard's departure is given as 20 August [1946] but that is inaccurate. She left during September 1946 (see 1946-09-27 Edith [Østlyngen] to Myrtle [Wright], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004 {see footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively of the 1946-09-27 document}). Margit Friman-Nergaard is identified by first name only in the 1946-09-27 document, which makes clear that she had to leave Finnmark by 1 October. It is known that Margit Edling, the only other volunteer with the same first name, was still in Finnmark on 15 October (see 1946-10-15 'Finnmark Visit (2),' FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).

²⁴ 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The name Lolo Tresvig is given in 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Karen-Elise Tresvig is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. See footnotes 22 and 8 for the identities of the first named sender and the recipient respectively.} The volunteer, Mai Sewell Fürst, is identified in the letter by first name only and the entry for her in 'Kort' [Cards] is filed in the 1949 section, ie, the section referring to FHT activities following the closure of work in Finnmark. However, she is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. The home address given in 'Kort' [Cards] was in Aker kommune, then close to but outside the city of Oslo (see Juvkam, 'Historisk oversikt [Historical overview],' 13, so it is probable that she was Norwegian. The woman identified as Mai worked in the FHT-run nursery in Hammerfest (see 1947-06-13 letter cited above in this footnote) during which period she is also described as Norwegian (see 1947-10 Rapport fra FHTs arbeid 1947 [Report from FHT's work 1947], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).

²⁵ 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-08-27 Gruppe möte [*sic*] [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. Signe Hirsch Gill, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that name identifiable in the archive material.

²⁶ [1946]-05-21 Myrtle [Wright] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 8 for information about the date ascribed to the document and for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1946-08-01 Referat for gruppemöte [Minutes of the group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. In both documents Ulla Glad is identified by first name only. However, it is known that Ulla Winblad, the only other individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material, did not arrive in Finnmark until January 1947 (see footnote 115).

²⁷ 'Kort' [Cards]. Tor Hagemann's departure is given as 1 September [1946] but that appears to be inaccurate. He had arranged to leave on 24 August (see 1946-08-13 Margit F.-N. [Margit Frimann-Nergaard] to FHT Kvalsund, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {Margit Frimann-Nergaard is the only individual with that first name and those family name initials identifiable in the archive material. Both this letter and the later letter, 1946-08-31 Margit Frimann-Nergaard to FHT Kvalsund, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003, are handwritten in the same hand. The latter is signed 'Margit Frimann-Nergaard' in full.}).

Hansen, Asbjørn KonradJuly 1947²⁸

Haugland, GunnarJune-August 1946²⁹

Heldal, BjörgJune-July 1946³⁰

Hoel, ArneJuly-August 1946³¹

Holmboe, AdlerJuly-August 1946³²

Jacobsen, Eli LotheJuly-September 1947³³

Jensen, ReidarJune-August 1946³⁴

²⁸ 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 10, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The sender uses only her first name. However, the distinctive handwriting is the same as that used in 1947-07-01 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.} 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} In the 1947-07-31 letter Asbjørn Hansen is identified by first name and the fact that he came from Bergen. Asbjørn Hansen is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material and his home address was listed as being in Bergen in 'Kort' [Cards].

²⁹ 'Kort' [Cards]. No date for Gunnar Haugland's departure can be identified. However, as he was the only Norwegian with that first name and as his work location was given in 'Kort' [Cards] as 'Russnes [sic]', ie, Russenes, it seems likely that he was the individual identified as leading the group there on 7 August 1946 (see 1946-08-13 'July 30: My last day,' 7, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 (page numbers in the 11-page 1946-08-13 document are not consecutive so page numbering for citation purposes has used the 1-11 sequence)).

³⁰ 'Kort' [Cards]. FHT: [1946]-07 'Vanlig arbeide [sic] i leiren' [Usual work in the camp], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 11 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

³¹ 'Kort' [Cards].

³² 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-08-29 Rapport nummer 1B fra Talvik gruppen [Report Number 1B from the Talvik group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Adler Holmboe, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that name identifiable in the archive material.

³³ [1947]-07-04 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The year is not given in the letter. However, it must be 1947 as the first sentence refers to 'de to finske pikene' [the two Finnish girls] being in Kvalsund. The Finnish girls were in Finnmark in summer 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru (Mrs) [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1947-07-31 document}. See footnote 86 for the identity of the recipient of the [1947]-07-04 letter.} No date for Eli Jacobsen's departure can be identified. She is described as a nursery teacher in 'Kort' [Cards]. She and Hjelen Hansen (see 'Nationality not known' section below) went to Alta in July 1947 apparently to run two nurseries there (see p2 of the [1947]-07-04 letter cited in this footnote). Eli Jacobsen is listed as a nursery teacher in 'Kort' [Cards]. In early 1948, FHT prepared an invoice, presumably for submission to the Finnmark Office, although that is not stated, to claim expenses for 'Two volunteers who were in Alta in the summer as nursery teachers, one from 6/7-1/9, the other from 6/7-13/8' [To hjelpearbeidere var i Alta i sommer some barnehagelærere, den ene fra 6/7-1/9, den andre fra 6/7-13/8] (see 1948-01-02 'Regnskap for FHT Alta for juli og august 1947' [Accounts for FHT Alta for July and August 1947], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). Hjelen Hansen is not included in any surviving listing of FHT volunteers and there is very little information about her. For the purposes of this list, it has been assumed that Hjelen Hansen left Finnmark in August 1947 and that Eli Jacobsen stayed until September of that year.

³⁴ 'Kort' [Cards]. [1946-08] 'Lørdag 3.8 Sigrid [Lund] og Myrtle [Wright] reiste' [Saturday 3.8 Sigrid [Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] left], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 16 for information about the date ascribed to the document and for confirmation of the identities of 'Sigrid' and 'Myrtle'.} Reidar

Jørgensen, Hanne MarieJune-August 1946³⁵
 Keyser, TrygveJune-August 1946³⁶
 Knutsen, KlaraMay-September 1946³⁷
 Kyllingstad, Borgny.....May-August 1946³⁸
 Lange, JørgenJuly-August 1947³⁹
 Langkass, HenryJune-July 1946⁴⁰
 Lilleengen, Dagny.....May-August 1946⁴¹
 Lindbæk, JankaNovember 1946⁴²
 Meyer, GidskenMay-August 1946⁴³

Jensen is identified in the [1946-08] document by first name only. However, Reidar Bryne, the only other individual with the same first name identifiable in the archive material, is known to have been part of the Alta group during August 1946 (see 1946-08-31 Margit Frimann-Nergaard to FHT Kvalsund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).

³⁵ 'Kort' [Cards]. [1946]-08-12 Gruppemøte mandag [Group meeting Monday] (with Gruppemøte torsdag [Group meeting Thursday]), FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {See footnote 7 for information about the date ascribed to the document.} Hanne Marie Jørgensen, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

³⁶ 'Kort' [Cards].

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid. 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} Jørgen Lange is identified by first name in the 1947-07-31 document as one of 'the two Bergen boys, Asbjørn and Jørgen' [de to Bergensguttene, Asbjørn og Jørgen]. Although no family name is given, it is confirmed in 'Kort' [Cards] that Jørgen Lange's address was in Bergen and that he was in Finnmark in 1947.

⁴⁰ 'Kort' [Cards]. n.d. 'Følgende hjelpearbeidere drar til Talvik mandag den 15de juli' [The following relief workers are going to Talvik on Monday 15th July], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {No date is given. However, the year must be 1946 as none of the eight volunteers listed was in Finnmark in July 1947.}

⁴¹ 'Kort' [Cards].

⁴² 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Janka Lindbæk is not listed in 'Kort' [Cards]. However, she can be identified as the daughter of Lise Lindbæk (see 1946-11-16 Elise Thomsen to Myrtle Wright, MS archive, 31-32, folder 3 (in which the family name is given as 'Lindbeck')). Lise Lindbæk was Norway's first woman war correspondent (see Store Norske Leksikon, 'Forfatter og journalist Lise Lindbæk' [Author and journalist Lise Lindbæk], 2009, accessed 20 August 2020, https://nbl.snl.no/Lise_Lindb%C3%A6k). Janka Lindbæk was born in Norway (see Lise Lindbæk, *Brennende jord* [Burning earth], 2nd ed. (Norway: Tiden, 2006), 76. Lise Lindbæk's biographer writes that, after the war ended, Janka 'lived in a hut town in Hammerfest with the "friends of peace", volunteers from Denmark among other [countries]' [budde i brakkeby i Hammerfest saman med "fredsvennene", frivillige frå blant anna Danmark] (see Sigrun Slapgard, *Krigens penn: ein biografi om Lise Lindbæk* [War's pen: a biography of Lise Lindbæk] (Norway: Gyldendal, 2002), 221-223).

⁴³ [1946]-05-21 Myrtle [Wright] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 8 for information about the year ascribed to the document and the identities of the sender and the recipient.} 1946-08-05 'Circular' 6 FAU & IVSP Finnmark,' 2, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. In

Myrann, GunnarJune-July 1946⁴⁴

Nansen, MaritJune-August 1946⁴⁵

Nesland, Aslaug SyltevikJune-August 1946⁴⁶

Nesland, Knut SyltevikJune-August 1946⁴⁷

Olden, Ingeborg MarieSeptember 1946-February 1947⁴⁸

Olden, Ole F.September 1946-March 1947⁴⁹

Redse, Finn WernichJune-July 1946⁵⁰

Ruge, HelleJuly-August 1947⁵¹

Sand, ElseJune-October 1946⁵²

Schjöth, ElseMarch-May 1946; June-August 1947⁵³

both documents Gidsken Meyer is referred to by first name only (in the forms 'Gisken' and 'Gidsken') but is the only individual with that name identifiable in the archive material. The correct spelling of the first name is 'Gidsken' (see 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003).

⁴⁴ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document confirms that Gunnar Myrann and Thormod Nielsen left Kvalsund on 23 June 1946 to travel to Karasjok. 1946-07-17 Rapport til FHA [Report to FHA], 1, MS archive, 31-32, folder 4. The report, written by Thormod Nielsen, confirms that 'we arrived in Karasjok, a Norwegian and I, to help to set up a group with two Norwegian women' [ankom vi her til Karasjok, en Nordmand og mig, for at være med at oprette en Gruppe her sammen med to norske Damer]. Gunnar Myrann is not named but it seems reasonable to assume that it was he.

⁴⁵ 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-08-29 Rapport nummer 1B fra Talvik gruppen [Report Number 1B from the Talvik group], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁴⁶ 'Kort' [Cards].

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. 1947-02-11 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {For both documents, see footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

⁴⁹ 1946-09-08 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁵⁰ 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁵¹ [1947]-07-04 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 33 for information about the date ascribed to the document. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.} 1947-08-09 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

⁵² 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-10-19 'Finnmark visit (3),' 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁵³ 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge møte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Möte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Möte [Meeting]), 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. At the 2 April 1946 meeting it was noted that 'Else Schöth's first report from Kjöllefjord [was presented]' [Else Schöths förste rapport fra Kjöllefjord [ble fremlagt]], so it is reasonable to assume that Else Schöth had been in Kjöllefjord in the previous month. [1946]-04-28 Else Schjöth to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, 6, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {No year is given. However, it must be 1946 as a similar letter written by the

Smith, Anne MargretheJune-December 1946⁵⁴

Storaker, Öyvind.....June-July 1946⁵⁵

Stranderud, Johanne.....July-August 1946; July-August 1947⁵⁶

Tresvig, Karen-EliseJanuary-July 1947⁵⁷

Vie, Arnodd.....July-August 1947⁵⁸

Ystad, Arne.....May-June 1946⁵⁹

Zernichow, Inger.....July-September 1946⁶⁰

sender a week earlier and which gives the year as 1946 (1946-04-21 Else Schjöth to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004) refers in both letters to the same topics, such as the school teaching she was doing and a highly praised Swedish colleague who was helping her. {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with the family name Helliesen Lund identifiable in the archive material.} 1947-07-01 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.} [1947]-07-16 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {No year is given on the document. However, it refers to 'de finske' [the Finns] then with FHT in Finnmark. They were there from late June to early August 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1947-07-31 document}). See footnotes 22 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively of the [1947]-07-16 document.}

⁵⁴ 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-12-12 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

⁵⁵ 'Kort' [Cards]. Öyvind Storaker is listed as having arrived on 28 June although the year is not stated. There is no other mention of his presence in the surviving archive material. If his arrival was so late in June, it seems likely that he remained in Finnmark during at least part of July. For the purposes of this list, it has been assumed that he worked with FHT in 1946 when most volunteers took part.

⁵⁶ 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-08-27 Gruppe möte [*sic*] [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} Johanne Stranderud, a dentist, arrived in Kvalsund in late July 1947 and her assistant joined her several days later. Helle Ruge makes specific mention of the very long hours Johanne Stranderud worked so it is reasonable to assume that she stayed at least into August 1947.

⁵⁷ 1947-01-16 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Karen-Elise Tresvig is identified, as she usually is in the archive material, simply as 'Lolo'. See footnote 24 for confirmation of her identity. [1947]-07-06 Else [Schjöth] to [no name], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 22 for information about the date ascribed to the document and for the identity of the sender.}

⁵⁸ [1947]-07-16 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 53 for information about the date ascribed to the document. See footnotes 22 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Arnodd Vie, who is identified by family name only, is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. There is slight ambiguity in the document but close examination shows that it identifies him as Norwegian. 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient}.

⁵⁹ 'Kort' [Cards].

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Østlyngen, EdithJuly 1946-March 1947⁶¹
 Aas, GunvorJune-November 1946⁶²
 Aasbö, HåkonAugust 1946; July-August 1947⁶³

Danish volunteers

Danish listing withheld until 2030.

Swedish volunteers

<i>Name</i>	<i>Time as a volunteer in Finnmark</i>
Almroth, Ernst <u>Gunnar</u>	August-November 1946 ⁶⁴
Ammundsen, Solveig	June-September 1946 ⁶⁵
Andersen, Greta	April 1947-unknown date in 1948 ⁶⁶

⁶¹ Ibid. 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁶² 1946-06-26 Gidsken Meyer to FHT Oslo, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {The document does not give a year. However, it refers to FHT work being done in Kåfjord that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). It is reasonable to assume that the document records a meeting held in 1946.}

⁶³ [1946-08] 'Mandag 29/7' [Monday 29/7], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 16 for information about the date ascribed to the document.} Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, 1, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 9-10, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 28 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-08-09 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1-2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

⁶⁴ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {See footnote 62 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

⁶⁵ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁶⁶ [1947-04-07] Greta [Andersen] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The letter is headed 'Børselv [sic], annandag Påsk' [Børselv, Easter Monday]. In 1947, Easter Monday fell on 7 April, see United States Census Bureau, 'Easter Dates from 1600 to 2099,' 2017, accessed 11 September 2017, <https://www.census.gov/srd/www/genhol/easter500.html - easter1900>. The letter is signed 'Greta'. It is known that Greta Andersen was working in Børselv from April 1947 (see 1947-04-29 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient of the 1947-04-29 document}). Both the [1947-04-07] and the 1947-04-29 documents are in the same distinctive handwriting so it is reasonable to assume that they were written by the same person. Greta Anderson is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the

Andersson, Tore Evald.....June-September 1946⁶⁷
 Barthelson, Bengt.....July-December 1946⁶⁸
 Braathen, Kai Lars Otto.....June-August 1946⁶⁹
 Bremer, Bror.....October-December 1946⁷⁰
 Carlsen, Carl-EmilJuly 1946-January 1947⁷¹
 Carlsson, Folke SixtenAugust-November 1946⁷²
 Edling, Margit Dorotea.....July-October 1946⁷³
 Edström, MauritzJuly-August 1946; November-December 1946⁷⁴

archive material. By 29 April 1947 she had a sewing course with 30 participants arranged so it is unlikely that she had just arrived. See footnote 12 for the identity of the recipient of the [1947-04-07] document.} [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {The document, which is not dated, is a report on FHT's activities in 1948 the first sentence of which makes clear that it was written late that year.}

⁶⁷ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 1946-12-19 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Bengt Barthelson, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

⁶⁹ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁷⁰ 1946-10-26 'Prøvekluten nr. 5' [Guinea Pig no. 5], FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

⁷¹ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 9, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. Carl (or, in the document, Karl) Emil Carlsen, who is identified by first names only, is the only individual with those first names identifiable in the archive material. Writing in January 1947, Carl-Emil Carlsen expressed his intention to remain in Kvalsund until 'the school has finished here at Easter' [skolen har afsluttet [*sic*] til Paaske]. The boys' courses finished in March 1947 (see 1947-03-25 O. F. [Ole] Olden and Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Herr Avdelingsingeniør Arild [Departmental Engineer Arild], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0002). However, there is no evidence of his being in Finnmark after January 1947.

⁷² n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Folke Carlsson, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

⁷³ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-10-15 'Finnmark Visit (2),' 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁷⁴ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-08-16 Gruppemøte [Group meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-12-12 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Mauritz Edström, who is identified by first name only in the 1946-08-6 and 1946-12-12 documents, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

Ekholm, Tyra Karin MargaretaAugust-October 1946⁷⁵

Eriksson, Anna-LiseMay-September 1946⁷⁶

Fahlberg, Tor Engelbrekt.....May-August 1946⁷⁷

Frisk, Sven EinarMay-September 1946⁷⁸

Gilljam, Per Åke.....May-August 1946⁷⁹

Gustavsson, Gösta Walentin.....August-November 1946⁸⁰

Hansson, Harald.....July 1946-February 1947⁸¹

Horseholm, Karl Johan.....July-October 1946⁸²

Hällqvist, Hans Olof.....July-October 1946⁸³

Johansson, EdgarMay-November 1946⁸⁴

Johansson, Sixten RobertMay-August 1946⁸⁵

Johansson, Sam.....July-September 1946⁸⁶

⁷⁵ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Tyra Ekholm, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

⁷⁶ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁸¹ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1947-02-01 'Byggaren nr. 2' [The Builder no. 2], 11, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. Harald Hansson, who is identified by family name only, is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material.

⁸² n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. Karl Horseholm's date of departure is given in the document as 15 October [1946], which may be correct as there is no evidence of his presence in Finnmark after that date. However, the date has to be treated with some caution. It is stated on the document that 'for those who have not travelled home the time [they spent in Finnmark] is calculated to be to 15/10' [för dem som ej rest hem har tiden räknats till och med 15/10]. There are volunteers listed in the document –for example, Gösta Gustavsson (see footnote 80) – whose departure date is given as 15 October but who can be shown to have been in Finnmark after then.

⁸³ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁸⁴ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁸⁵ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Jonsson, Sture Karl Fredrik.....July-October 1946⁸⁷

Josephson, JohanMay-August 1946⁸⁸

Karlsson, Filip.....August-November 1946⁸⁹

Kindgren, Erik Valfrid LennartJuly-November 1946⁹⁰

Landquist, Dagny/Dagne.....November 1946-May 1947⁹¹

Lindström, Birger Gerhard Tryggve.July-October 1946⁹²

Ljungberg, Carl Bertil WaldemarAugust 1946-May 1947⁹³

Lundin, John Allan.....August-November 1946⁹⁴

Lundvall, Karl Harry.....June-September 1946⁹⁵

Malmberg, Bror.....November 1946-March 1947⁹⁶

Nilsson, Johan Gideon Holger.....May-September 1946⁹⁷

⁸⁷ Ibid. Sture Jonsson's date of departure is given in the document as 15 October [1946], which may be correct as there is no evidence of his presence in Finnmark after that date. {See footnote 82 for information about the caution to be exercised with regard to the recorded departure date.}

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid. [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {See footnote 62 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

⁹⁰ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁹¹ 1946-11 Rapport fra S[igrid]. H[elliesen]. Lunds reise til Kvalsund [Report from S. H. Lund's trip to Kvalsund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with those initials and that family name identifiable in the archive material.} 1947-05-05 Astrid [Foss] and Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 22, 24 and 8 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient respectively.} Dagny (also given as Dagne) Lindquist, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name in either form identifiable in the archive material.

⁹² n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. Birger Lindström's date of departure is given in the document as 15 October [1946], which may be correct as there is no evidence of his presence in Finnmark after that date. {See footnote 82 for information about the the caution to be exercised with regard to the recorded departure date.}

⁹³ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1947-05-28 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.}

⁹⁴ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁹⁵ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁹⁶ 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-02-28 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 13 and 6 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

⁹⁷ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked] FHT archive, F-L0004.

Nyström, Karl.....July 1946-January 1947⁹⁸
 Ohlsson, August GerionJune-September 1946⁹⁹
 Persson, John ValterJuly-November 1946¹⁰⁰
 Persson, Per HerjeJune-September 1946¹⁰¹
 Pettersson, Erik BertilAugust-October 1946¹⁰²
 Pettersson, Rune Olof HenryAugust 1946-April 1947¹⁰³
 Rudin, Elsa Viola MonicaAugust-October 1946¹⁰⁴
 Rudin, Sven NatanaelAugust-October 1946¹⁰⁵
 Sahlin, Karl ElisJune 1946-February 1947¹⁰⁶
 Sandin, LinneaMay-July 1947¹⁰⁷
 Strömblad, Kerstin.....July-October 1946¹⁰⁸
 Svanberg, Rolf Bernhard.....May-July 1946¹⁰⁹

⁹⁸ Ibid. 1947-01-16 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Karl Nyström is identified in the document as Kalle Nystrøm. 'Kalle' is a diminutive for 'Karl' and Karl Nyström/Nystrøm is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material.

⁹⁹ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The latter document lists a 'Walter Pettersson' as having been in Ifjord on 15 November 1946. While the surname is inaccurate although similar to the correct form, no other individual identifiable in the archive material is called 'Walter' or 'Valter' (both spellings would be pronounced in Norwegian as if the initial letter were 'v', see Språkrådet, 'Bokstaven w i norsk' [The letter w in Norwegian], n.d., accessed 4 August 2021, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/?CurrentForm.SearchText=w>). Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the individual is John Valter Persson.

¹⁰¹ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁰⁴ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 1947-02-11 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹⁰⁷ 1947-05-28 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 6 for the identity of the recipient.} 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

¹⁰⁸ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Svensson, Maria Kristin.....July-December 1946¹¹⁰

Tholin, John Rune Adolf.....August-December 1946¹¹¹

Tollemann, John Lennart.....November 1946-June 1947¹¹²

Wallin, PerJune-October 1946¹¹³

Widegren, Olga AdeleMay-September 1946¹¹⁴

Winblad, UllaJanuary-May 1947¹¹⁵

Ågren, Stig.....February-May 1947¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 1946-12-07 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named and there is no sender's address. The letter is almost certainly from Sigrid Helliesen Lund. The sender covers issues such as discussions on FHT's behalf with government bodies about grant funding, a function which Sigrid Helliesen Lund carried out (see 1946-04-17 Steve Cary to Julia Branson, 3, AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946). In addition, the sender refers to a telephone conversation with 'Diderich' about difficulties in obtaining fuel in Finnmark. Diderich Lund, Sigrid Helliesen Lund's husband, was then Director of the Finnmark Office and responsible for overseeing the reconstruction of Finnmark. See footnote 13 for the identity of the recipient of the 1946-12-07 document.} Maria Svensson is referred to in archive material as 'Maja', usually without the family name. 'Maria Svensson' is listed in n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked] FHT archive, F-L0004, with 'Maja Svensson' listed in 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. She is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material.

¹¹¹ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004. 1946-12-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹¹² 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 22, 24 and 8 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient respectively.}

¹¹³ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. A question mark is set against her departure date in the document but there is no other evidence for when Olga Widegren left Finnmark.

¹¹⁵ 1947-01-31 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 24 and 13 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-05-28 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.} Ulla Winblad is identified in the document by first name only. However, it is known that Ulla Glad, the only other individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material, was working in Finnmark in the summer of 1946 and left northern Norway in August of that year (see footnote 26).

¹¹⁶ 1947-02-11 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

British volunteers¹¹⁷

<i>Name</i>	<i>Time as a volunteer in Finnmark</i>
Atkinson, Ronald	May-December 1946 ¹¹⁸
Andrews, <u>Donald</u> (John H.)	June-December 1946 ¹¹⁹
Barlow, Dudley J.	June-December 1946 ¹²⁰
Cooper, Giles B.	May-November 1946 ¹²¹
Cue, Kenneth B.	June 1946-January 1947 ¹²²
Davis, <u>Donald</u> Stanley B.	June-December 1946 ¹²³

¹¹⁷ The first confirmation of the British men's presence in Finnmark that gives volunteers' full names is in 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. However, it is clear that Myrtle Wright arrived in Kvalsund with a party of 10 FAU PWS and two IVSP men in late May 1946, although there is no unambiguous listing of the men's names in either of the following documents which otherwise confirm the arrival: 1946-05-22 Report of British Teams [sic] visit to Oslo, 3, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7; and 1946-05-27 Myrtle Wright to Dear Friends, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. The numbers and names of the first FAU PWS group to leave Britain to travel to Finnmark are confirmed in n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). Where May 1946 is given as the date of arrival in Finnmark, for simplicity the footnote cites n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580) for the 10 FAU PWS men and 1946-05-22 Report of British Teams [sic] visit to Oslo, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7 for the two IVSP men.

¹¹⁸ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). 1946-12-12 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹¹⁹ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1946-12-06 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Donald Andrews' name is listed as 'Andrews, John H. (Donald)' in n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). He is referred to as 'Don' (rather than 'Donald' or 'John') in other archive documents including 'Kort' [Cards], the surviving listing of volunteers who served with FHT in Finnmark.

¹²⁰ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1946-12-17 Dudley [Barlow] to Mim and Dada, 1, LSF, Dudley Barlow Papers, MSS 1007/3. {Dudley Barlow is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.}

¹²¹ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹²² 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 11, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹²³ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. Donald Davis was still in Finnmark in early December 1946 (see 1946-12-03 'FAU PWS Occasional Information No. 5,' 4, LSF, PERS B/F7/AMB/2) but on leave, ie, no longer in Finnmark, in mid-January 1947 (see 1947-01-11 'FAU PWS Occasional Information No. 6,' 6, LSF, PERS B/F7/AMB/2; please note that the document is dated '1946' in error, corrected by hand on the file copy to '1947'). It has therefore been assumed that he left Finnmark during December 1946.

Eames, Ralph MichaelMay 1946-January 1947¹²⁴

Eveleigh, John B.May-November 1946¹²⁵

Gaffee, Derek WilliamJune-November 1946¹²⁶

Goldsmith, PhilippaMay-July 1947¹²⁷

Gould, StephenMay-October 1946¹²⁸

Hudson, John EdwardJune-December 1946¹²⁹

Jackson, Peter H.May-November 1946¹³⁰

King, John Arthur.....June-December 1946¹³¹

Lee, Michael O'CallaghanMay-October 1946¹³²

McLaren, FinlayMay-October 1946¹³³

¹²⁴ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). Ralph Eames was still in Finnmark in mid-January 1947 (see 1947-01-11 'FAU PWS Occasional Information No. 6,' 6, LSF, PERS B/F7/AMB/2 {see footnote 123 for information about the correct date of the document}). There is no later mention of him in the archive material. It has therefore been assumed that he left Finnmark during January 1947.

¹²⁵ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). John Eveleigh arrived back in London on 2 December 1946 (see 1946-12-03 'FAU PWS Occasional Information No. 5,' 1, LSF, PERS B/F7/AMB/2). It has therefore been assumed that he left Finnmark in late November 1946.

¹²⁶ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹²⁷ 1947-05-05 Astrid [Foss] and Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 22, 24 and 8 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient respectively.} 1947-07-12 Else [Schjöth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 8, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 28 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} The reference is to 'Pip Goldsmith'. Philippa Goldsmith is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material.

¹²⁸ 1946-05-22 Report of British Teams [sic] visit to Oslo, 3, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. 'Kort' [Cards].

¹²⁹ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 'Kort' [Cards].

¹³⁰ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹³¹ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 'Kort' [Cards].

¹³² n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). 'Kort' [Cards].

¹³³ 1946-05-22 Report of British Teams [sic] visit to Oslo, 3, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. 'Kort' [Cards].

Murphy, Jock (John).....June 1946–January 1947¹³⁴

Newhouse, Joan.....May-July 1947¹³⁵

Nickalls, Christopher John.....June 1946–May 1947¹³⁶

Rutter, David Kingsley.....June 1946-January 1947¹³⁷

Sarfis, Alan JosephMay 1946-January 1947¹³⁸

Soar, Geoffrey K.....May-November 1946¹³⁹

Steele, EricMay-November 1946¹⁴⁰

Stevens, Sam (Thomas).....June-December 1946¹⁴¹

Wills, David KingsleyMay-August 1946¹⁴²

Woods, RolloMay 1946-January 1947¹⁴³

¹³⁴ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1947-01-31 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 22 and 13 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

¹³⁵ 1947-05-21 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 8, 24 and 22 for the identities of the sender and the two recipients respectively.} 'Kort' [Cards]. Joan Newhouse, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Her participation in FHT's work in Finnmark is confirmed in Joan Newhouse, *Reindeer Are Wild Too*, 2nd ed. (London: The Travel Book Club, 1954), 2, 5, 8, 10-13.

¹³⁶ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1947-05-05 Astrid [Foss] and Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 22, 24 and 8 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient respectively.} Chris Nickalls, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

¹³⁷ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10-11, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹³⁸ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). Alan Sarfif was still in Finnmark in mid-January 1947 (see 1947-01-11 'FAU PWS Occasional Information No. 6,' 6, LSF, PERS B/F7/AMB/2 {see footnote 123 for information about the correct date of the document}). There is no later mention of him in the archive material. It has therefore been assumed that he left Finnmark during January 1947.

¹³⁹ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴⁰ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴¹ 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1946-12-03 'FAU PWS Occasional Information no. 5,' 4, LSF, Pers B/F7/AMB/2.

¹⁴² 1946-06-08 'FAU PWS Disposition of Personnel,' LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 'Kort' [Cards].

¹⁴³ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10-11, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

Wright, Myrtle AldrenMay-August 1946¹⁴⁴

American volunteers

<i>Name</i>	<i>Time as a volunteer in Finnmark</i>
Burks, Harry	July-December 1946 ¹⁴⁵
Burks, Patricia	July-December 1946 ¹⁴⁶
Jones, Canby	July-November 1946 ¹⁴⁷
Jones, Eunice.....	July-November 1946 ¹⁴⁸
Maisano, Andrew.....	June-November 1946 ¹⁴⁹
Riner, Warren.....	July-August 1946 ¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ 1946-05-27 Myrtle [Wright] to Ellen, 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 8 for the identity of the sender. I have been unable to identify the recipient.} 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁴⁵ 1946-07-15 'Circ[ular] 3 FAU & IVSP Finnmark,' 2, LSF, Rollo Woods papers, MSS 1045. 1946-12-06 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} The document states 'Pat and Harry will travel today or in the next few days' [Pat og Harry skal reise idag eller en av de første dager]. Pat and Harry Burks were an American married couple, and one of the very few married couples of any nationality both of whom volunteered with FHT in Finnmark.

¹⁴⁶ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1946-12-06 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 9 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively. See footnote 145 for more information about Patricia Burks.}

¹⁴⁷ 1946-07-27 Myrtle Wright to Roderick Ede, 2, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7. 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Canby Jones, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

¹⁴⁸ 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnotes 13 and 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.} Eunice Jones, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

¹⁴⁹ 'Kort' [Cards]. 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁵⁰ There is no clear evidence as to when Warren Riner arrived in and left Finnmark. I have therefore assumed that he arrived in July as did all but one of his compatriots. In 1946-10-31 'AFSC Program in Norway: Periodic Summary #2,' AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946, it is stated that he 'was transferred soon after his arrival [in Finnmark] to Jyvaskyla in Finland, where it was felt that there was a greater need for his services.' Accordingly, I have assumed that he left northern Norway in August 1946.

Finnish volunteers

<i>Name</i>	<i>Time as a volunteer in Finnmark</i>
Lankinen, Rauha	June-August 1947 ¹⁵¹
Tarvainen, Lulu.....	June-August 1947 ¹⁵²

Volunteer whose nationality is not known

<i>Name</i>	<i>Time as a volunteer in Finnmark</i>
Hansen, Hjelen.....	July-August 1947 ¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 2, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 22 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} Rauha Lankinen, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

¹⁵² Ibid., 1, 2, 3. Lulu Tarvainen, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

¹⁵³ [1947]-07-04 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 33 for information about the date ascribed to the document. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.}. No date for Hjelen Hansen's departure can be identified. She is not listed in 'Kort' [Cards]. See footnote 33 for information about why it has been assumed that she left in August 1947.

APPENDIX 2: THE VOLUNTEERS – NATIONALITIES AND SKILLS

This appendix considers the evidence about the volunteers who came to Finnmark to work with FHT in 1946 and 1947. It seeks to establish the numbers of men and women who came, their ages and what prior occupational experience, if any, they brought to the work which FHT undertook. It investigates the volunteers' periods of service and the numbers of volunteers present in Finnmark over the period May 1946 to December 1947 (see also Appendix 3).

Volunteers' countries of origin

FHT's relief workers came from six countries: Norway; Denmark; Sweden; Britain; the USA; and Finland. The volunteers from the first five were selected by FHT, FHA, IAL, the FAU PWS and IVSP for Britain, and the AFSC respectively.¹ It is less clear how the Finnish volunteers were selected. An FHT printed leaflet states that they were selected by KVT, which was founded in 1947, the year in which the Finnish volunteers went to Finnmark.² There is also evidence that they may have been involved in the relief work organised by the AFSC in Finland in 1946 and the first part of 1947 and that their presence in Finnmark in 1947 was arranged through contacts between the AFSC and FHT.³

¹ 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge møte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Möte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Möte [Meeting]), 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. n.d. 'FHT Fred og Hjelp' [FHT Peace and Aid], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

² n.d. 'FHT Fred og Hjelp' [FHT Peace and Aid], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

³ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Helle Ruge is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material and still known to be involved with the FHT work by 1947.}

Establishing a listing of volunteers

It is not possible to establish a wholly reliable listing of who went to northern Norway and when. However, the evidence suggests that 180 volunteers worked with FHT in Finnmark in the period 1946-1947, 117 men and 63 women. The surviving FHT archive includes a card index listing the volunteers – Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, British, American and Finnish – who went or who probably went or who applied to go to Finnmark in 1946 and 1947.⁴ The portion of the index which refers to the work in Finnmark contains 180 cards. The Danish section includes two entries for one of the Danish women volunteers.⁵ The adjusted total number of individuals listed in that portion of the index is therefore 179.

While the card index provides much useful information, work on the FHT archive as a whole makes clear that the index alone does not give an entirely reliable overview of who did, or did not, take part in FHT's relief project. There are few other ordered listings of volunteers within the archive. Most of those that exist provide names of volunteers in Finnmark at a given date and none provides a complete picture over the period in 1946 and 1947 during which work continued. Some give the location in Finnmark where the individual was stationed at a given date and the work he or she was doing there. One document, probably originally produced by IAL, the organisation which recruited Swedish volunteers for FHT's project, usefully lists those

⁴ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁵ Her name is given as Kamma Aakjær on the card which also includes her home address. The second card lists only her name and gives that as Kamma Aaskjær. That 'Aakjær' is correct is confirmed by her signature on 1946-07-27 Kamma Aakjær to Hanne Zeuthen, 4, MS archive, 31-32, folder 4.

of its volunteers who participated in 1946. Unfortunately, it gives only the name and period of service in 1946 for each person listed. In addition, and, for reasons not explained in the document or elsewhere, it states that any volunteer still in Finnmark in October 1946 was deemed to have left by 15 October, even when other evidence in the archive shows that they had not.⁶ There is no equivalent listing for Swedish volunteers who worked in Finnmark after 15 October 1946. Most of the detail about which volunteers were working where and when has to be gleaned from letters, reports and occasional sets of minutes of committee meetings held in either Kvalsund or Oslo. A further difficulty is that, in such documents, volunteers are frequently referred to by either their first or their family names rather than by both. There is surprisingly little duplication of names within the cohort of volunteers so a first or family name alone is frequently enough to identify an individual with confidence, although in some instances a reference may have to be supplemented by information from other documents. Inevitably, however, there is some duplication of first or family names which means that it is at times not possible to determine which one of a small number of possible volunteers was in a given location on a given date.

Issues encountered in confirming volunteers' identity

The difficulties caused by the lack of a single reliable listing of the volunteers who served in 1946 and 1947 can be illustrated by looking at the case of one of the Swedish male volunteers. What at first might be considered to be references to two Swedish men with the same surname seem on balance to be references to one

⁶ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

individual. He is not listed in the FHT card index and, because he appears to have been in Finnmark in the period November 1946-June 1947, his name is not in the list of IAL volunteers who served during the summer and early autumn of 1946.⁷ There are 26 relevant references to him in the FHT archive and one identified in the archive of the Friends Service Council, a committee of British and Irish Quakers dedicated to working for peace and relief of suffering. Of the 27, 18 use only the family name 'Tolleman(n)' (both spellings are used).⁸ Of the remaining nine, one uses the family

⁷ n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁸ 1947-02-03 'International Cooperation in Relief for Northern Norway,' 2, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/6. 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {This and eight other documents in this footnote are from the same sender to the same recipient. Some of the other documents cited are from/to one or other of them. In all instances where a sender or recipient is identified as 'Edith [Østlyngen]' or 'Sigrid [Helliesen Lund]' the following information is relevant. Edith is almost certainly Edith Østlyngen, then in charge of administration at Kvalsund (see 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946). Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} 1946-12-12 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. 1946-12-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. 1947-01-16 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-01-25 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-01-31 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-02-11 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-02-16 SHL [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with those initials identifiable in the archive material.} 1947-02-21 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-02-28 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-03-01 'Byggaren nr. 4' [The Builder no. 4], 2, 7, 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-05-28 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-06-05 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The name Lolo Tresvig is given in 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. Karen-Elise Tresvig is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. Astrid Foss is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} 1947-06-06 SHL [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Kjäre venner i Kvalsund [Dear friends in Kvalsund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see above in this footnote for the identity of the sender}. 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see above in this footnote for the identities of the senders}. [1947-04-07] Greta [Andersen] to Signe [Hirsch Gill], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The document is headed 'Børselv [sic], annandag Påsk' [Børselv, Easter Monday]. In 1947, Easter Monday fell on 7 April, see United States Census Bureau, 'Easter Dates from 1600 to 2099,' 2017, accessed 11 September 2017, <https://www.census.gov/srd/www/genhol/easter500.html - easter1900>. The document is signed 'Greta'. It is known that Greta Andersen was working in Børselv from April 1947 (see 1947-04-29 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. Both the [1947-04-07] and the 1947-04-29 documents are in the same distinctive handwriting so it is reasonable to assume that they were written by the same person. Greta Anderson is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. By 29 April 1947 she had a sewing course with 30 participants arranged so it is unlikely that she had just arrived. Signe Gill (also known as Signe Hirsch Gill) is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.} [1946] 'Finnmarksglimtar' [Glimpses of Finnmark], 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0002. {No date is given. However, the content suggests that the

name 'Tolleman' on one page and the (apparently) first name 'Lennart' on another page, one uses the (apparently) first name 'Lennart', five use 'Lennart Tolleman(n)' and two use 'John Tolleman'.⁹ None uses the forms 'John Lennart Tolleman(n)' or 'Lennart John Tolleman(n)'. The two references to 'John Tolleman' occur in minutes of the FHT management committee in Oslo, in other words in formal documents produced by people who knew of the individual but are unlikely to have met him.¹⁰ The five references that refer to 'Lennart Tolleman(n)' occur in documents produced either with a contribution from the individual himself or, in one instance, by a fellow FHT volunteer who worked with him in Finnmark. Three are found in issues of 'The Builder' [*Byggaren*], the newsletter produced by FHT volunteers in Finnmark, which was originally called 'The Guinea Pig' [*Prøvekluten*]. Two issues of 'The Builder' list 'Lennart Tolleman' [*sic*] as the editor.¹¹ One reference occurs in a letter written by Ole Olden, then working as a volunteer in Kvalsund, to the FHT committee in Oslo.¹² The fifth is found in an article in the newspaper *Verdens Gang* in which 'Lennart Tolleman' [*sic*] had spoken to an unnamed journalist about his time in Finnmark.¹³

document was written in late 1946, the writer referring in the final paragraph (p2) to the 'young people's school' [ungdomsskolan, ie, the vocational courses for young people] that began on 1 October (see 1946-10-05 'Prøvekluten nr. 4' [The Guinea Pig no. 4], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005).}

⁹ 1947-03-31 'Byggaren nr. 6' [The Builder no. 6], 4, 7, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-03-15 'Byggaren nr. 5' [The Builder no. 5], 5, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-02-01 'Byggaren nr. 2' [The Builder no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-02-12 Ole Olden to fru [Mrs] Sigrid Helliesen Lund, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. 1947-02-15 'Byggaren nr. 3' [The Builder no. 3], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-04-22 'Svenskenes frivillige hjelpearbeid i Finnmark' [The Swedes' voluntary relief work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0003 0006. 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁰ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹¹ 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-02-01 'Byggaren nr. 2' [The Builder no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. 1947-02-15 'Byggaren nr. 3' [The Builder no. 3], 2, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005.

¹² 1947-02-12 Ole Olden to fru [Mrs] Sigrid Helliesen Lund, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005.

¹³ 1947-04-22 'Svenskenes frivillige hjelpearbeid i Finnmark' [The Swedes' voluntary relief work in Finnmark], FHT archive, F-L0003 0006.

‘Lennart Tolleman(n)’ and ‘John Tollemann’ are described as having been in Børselv in February and March 1947 respectively, and both are described as Swedish. Archival evidence suggests that by February 1947 there were only 21 FHT volunteers in Finnmark, the number decreasing to 18 in the following month. It seems probable, but cannot be stated with certainty, that there was one man named John Lennart Tolleman who normally chose to be called Lennart.

Evidence from FHT's card index and from other sources

In seeking to determine which individuals participated in the FHT relief project in Finnmark, information from the card index has been used together with evidence from elsewhere in the FHT archive and from the archives of most of the other participating organisations.¹⁴ Given the gaps in the available evidence, it is not possible to identify all the FHT volunteers with complete confidence nor to be entirely precise about periods or locations of service. Using information from across the archive, I have compiled a list (Appendix 1) which includes the names of those in the card index who are known to have gone to Finnmark (the great majority). It also includes the names of 13 individuals who were clearly involved in relief work in Finnmark, either definitely or probably with FHT, who are not listed in the card index.¹⁵ They are assumed to have participated. A further three individuals, Eivind Braut, Mai Sewell Fürst and Olga Widegren, are also assumed to have participated. The index entry for each is filed in the section referring to work FHT undertook in

¹⁴ Relevant information has been found in the archives of FHT, FHA, IAL, the FAU and the AFSC. As discussed in 3.2, it has not been possible to access documents in the IVSP and KVT archives.

¹⁵ Those 13 are: Stig Ågren; Greta Andersen; Hjelen Hansen; Thomas Johannesen; Sam Johansson; Dagny (or Dagne) Landquist; Janka (also written Jancha) Lindbæk (also written Lindbeck, Lindbäk or Lindbæck); Warren Riner; Linnea Sandin; John Lennart Tolleman; Inge Lise Vestin; Arnodd Vie; and Ulla Winblad.

1949, well after the Finnmark project had ended. However, a reference for each suggesting their presence in Finnmark, can be found in the FHT archive.¹⁶ While the references use only the first names, there is no evidence of other volunteers with the same first names. The list in Appendix 1 does not include the names of those in the index whose cards indicate that they served in Finnmark but for whom there is no evidence that they worked with FHT.¹⁷ In addition, the list does not include the names of those in the index for whom there is no evidence of any period spent in Finnmark.¹⁸ While the index is not wholly reliable, it is the single most comprehensive source and, in most cases, the only source of information about volunteers' ages and prior experience or qualifications, if any. By late July 1946 Kvalsund was FHT's main administrative base and it is likely that a more comprehensive listing of the volunteers was held there and was among the papers lost during the fire in 1947 (3.3).¹⁹

An examination of the card index suggests that the FHT ideal was to record the following eight items of information for each volunteer: name; date of birth; nationality; home address; occupation; the date on which the individual started working for FHT; the date on which the individual finished working for FHT; and the

¹⁶ *Eivind Braut*: [1946]-05-21 Myrtle [Wright] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {No year is given but it must be 1946 as the document makes clear that Myrtle Wright is travelling north by boat with a group that includes English volunteers (see 1946-06-08 Journal letter from Myrtle Wright, 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 for confirmation of the year of the letter). Myrtle Wright is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.} *Mai Sewell Fürst*: 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient.} *Olga Widegren*: 1946-07-05 'Rapport fraan resa med grupp till Hestnes' [Report from the trip with the group to Hestnes], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

¹⁷ *Danish*: Elisabeth Skov Andersen; Asbjörn Christiansen; Uffe Kjems; Alf Larsen; Hans Kaj Larsen; Gurli Römer Mogensen; L Römer Mogensen; and Ebba Wonsild. *Swedish*: Grethe Stårmoose.

¹⁸ *Finnish*: Sisko Huttunen and Anja Laurikainen. *Swedish*: Jane Gerhansen and Harry Lindrall.

¹⁹ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 [Report no. 1], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-05-26 Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] and Astrid [Foss] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the two senders and the recipient.}

location(s) in Finnmark where the individual worked. On only one card, for a Danish volunteer, are all eight items recorded. In a few instances, a card records only an individual's name. In those cases, other evidence makes clear that that cannot be taken as an indicator that the individual did not undertake relief work in Finnmark. Most cards include only some of the items referred to above with considerable variation in which items are present. There is variation between cards for individuals and, to some degree, between national cohorts. For example, the index cards for the Norwegian volunteers rarely include a note of nationality while the cards for the British volunteers include nationality in nearly every case. The cards are divided into bundles by nationality, though, as noted, nationality is not necessarily stated on each card. However, in most instances, it is possible to assume nationality partly through inclusion in a particular national bundle and partly from the home address where given. Occupations are listed for almost all the Danish volunteers while occupations are given for virtually none of the British or American volunteers. The occupation, where listed, includes 'housewife,' 'student' and 'pupil' as well as descriptions such as 'electrician', 'dental technician' or 'nursery teacher.' Housewifely skills were directly relevant given that a main element of women's work with FHT was seen as undertaking the domestic tasks needed for the care of groups of volunteers. FHT was specifically looking for women with abilities in the housewifely skills associated with group life.²⁰ I have regarded 'student' and 'pupil' as descriptors for individuals who were not likely yet to have developed skills relevant to specialist tasks needed in, for example, construction work or nursing.

²⁰ n.d. 'FHT Planer for våren 1946' [FHT Plans for spring 1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004. 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 fra arbeidet til FHT i Finnmark [Report no. 1 from FHT's work in Finnmark], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

In the discussion of the volunteers that follows, the absolute number of volunteers calculated for each national cohort is derived from consideration of the card index and other archival material as described above. However, information about individual volunteers such as age and occupation is usually available only for those included in the card index; it is generally not available for those who are not listed but for whom other evidence exists for their presence with FHT in Finnmark.

Norwegian volunteers

The Norwegian section includes the card for one of the male Danish volunteers, Knud Larsen (possibly because he subsequently married a Norwegian woman volunteer, Karen-Elise Tresvig), and the card for Myrtle Wright, the British Quaker.²¹ She had spent much of the war in Norway and may have been regarded as an 'honorary' Norwegian. As discussed in 4.1, she helped lead FHT's work. She also worked in Finnmark as a volunteer from late May to early August 1946.²² Those two

²¹ [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {The document, which is not dated, is a report on FHT's activities in 1948 the first sentence of which makes clear that it was written late that year.} The document refers to Lolo Tresvig. See footnote 8 for her identity.

²² 1946-05-29 [Myrtle Wright] to Diderich [Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The writer of the letter is not named but is almost certainly Myrtle Wright. It is one of the few documents in the FHT archive in English and is written by someone with an apparently native command of the language. The writer is clearly well acquainted with the recipient, which would not have been true of any of the native English speakers other than Myrtle Wright, and is conscious of management issues regarding FHT's coming work in Finnmark, a topic with which she was closely acquainted. The recipient is almost certainly Diderich Lund. No other individual with that first name is identifiable in the archive material. The writer refers to the recipient being in Harstad. At the time Diderich Lund, the Director of the Finnmark Office, was based in the town (see 1946-06-18 Allan Wahlberg to Didrich [sic] Lund, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003).} [1946-08] 'Mandag 29/7' [Monday 29/7], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document gives day and month dates but no year. The year must be 1946 because some of the volunteers named in the document worked in Finnmark in that year only. For example, a volunteer called Eunice is mentioned. Eunice Jones is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material and she left Finnmark in November 1946 (see FHT 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, 1, F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1946-11-30 document}).}

apart, 57 volunteers can be identified as Norwegian. The card for one of those volunteers, Eivind Braut, was filed in the 1949 section of the index, but archival evidence indicates he also worked in Finnmark.²³ Similarly, the one for Mai Sewell Fürst was filed in the 1949 section, although she appears to have worked with FHT in Hammerfest during the summer of 1947.²⁴ Card index entries exist for all the Norwegian volunteers identified as having served in Finnmark. Nationality is stated explicitly for only two of the group. Norwegian nationality is assumed for a further 53 either because the relevant cards are filed in the Norwegian section or, more significantly, because Norwegian home addresses are recorded in almost all cases. Of the remaining two, the nationality of one is confirmed in a letter.²⁵ The other individual, identifiable as the daughter of a well-known Norwegian journalist, is confirmed to have been in Finnmark at the relevant time in autobiographical and biographical accounts written by and about her mother.²⁶ Fourteen of the cards lack

²³ [1946]-05-21 Myrtle [Wright] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 16 for information about the date ascribed to the document and for the identity of the sender. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.} Eivind Braut, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

²⁴ 1947-06-13 Astrid [Foss] & Lolo [Karen-Elise Tresvig] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the senders and the recipient.} Mai Sewell Fürst, who is identified by first name only, is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

²⁵ [1947]-07-16 Else [Schjøth] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {No year is given on the document. However, it refers to 'de finske' [the Finns] then with FHT in Finnmark They were there from late June to early August 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 3 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1947-07-31 document}). While the sender of the [1947]-07-16 document does not give her family name, the distinctive handwriting is the same as in 1947-07-01 Else Schjøth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005 {see footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient of the 1947-07-01 document}. Arnodd Vie, who is identified by family name only in the [1947]-07-16 document, is the only individual with that family name identifiable in the archive material. There is slight ambiguity in the document but it seems to identify him as Norwegian. 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 3 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

²⁶ 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. Janka Lindbæk is not listed in 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards]. However, she can be identified as the daughter of Lise Lindbæk (see 1946-11-16 Elise Thomsen to Myrtle Wright, MS archive, 31-32, folder 3, in which the family name is given as 'L[indbeck]'). Lise Lindbæk was Norway's first woman war correspondent (see Store Norske Leksikon, 'Forfatter og journalist Lise Lindbæk' [Author and journalist Lise Lindbæk], 2009, accessed 20 August 2020, https://nbl.snl.no/Lise_Lindb%C3%A6k). Janka Lindbæk was born in

only one of the eight items of information referred to above (usually nationality) and only seven have four or fewer. Two have only two items of information (name and home address) but that may be attributable to the fact that the individuals in question were Ole Olden and his wife, Ingeborg, both Quakers. Ole Olden was one of the FHT's founders, and he and his wife spent some months in Finnmark working as volunteers. There may have been an assumption that detailed information was not needed for them, not least because those leading the work would have known both prior to its start.

Thirty-three of the 57 volunteers were women and 24 were men. FHT had planned to have a preponderance of men, given the emphasis that they intended to give to physical tasks such as manual labour.²⁷ Little evidence has been found of the procedures used for recruiting Norwegian volunteers, other than that FHT received application forms, minuted at the FHT Oslo Committee meeting on 2 April 1946, and that, on 25 April 1946, the same committee authorised Sigrid Helliesen Lund to select volunteers.²⁸ However, there is evidence that FHT had difficulty in finding enough Norwegian relief workers, which may explain why the proportion of women was markedly higher than had been intended.²⁹ Dates of birth are recorded for 52 (91%) of the Norwegian volunteers, the youngest of whom was 18 and the oldest 58.

Norway (see Lindbæk, *Brennende jord* [Burning earth], 76. Lise Lindbæk's biographer writes that, after the war ended, Janka 'lived in a hut town in Hammerfest with the "friends of peace", volunteers from Denmark among other [countries]' [budde i brakkeby i Hammerfest saman med "fredsvennene", frivillige frå blant anna Danmark] (see Slaggard, *Krigens penn* [War's pen], 221-223).

²⁷ n.d. 'FHT Planer for våren 1946' [FHT Plans for spring 1946], 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004.

²⁸ 1946-04-02 FHT for Nord-Norge møte [FHT for northern Norway meeting] (with 1946-04-15 Møte [Meeting] and 1946-04-25 Møte [Meeting]), 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

²⁹ 1946-10-14 FHT Referat av møte [Minutes of the meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

Twenty-nine (51%) of the volunteers were 24 years old or younger, while 17 (30%) were 40 years old or older.

Volunteers' occupations are given for all but five individuals and, of those, one had recently retired. Twenty-three of the 57 Norwegians were either students or pupils. Only one Norwegian, Eivind Braut, an electrician, is listed as having skills relevant to building work and the evidence that he worked in Finnmark is slender. He is included in the FHT card index, without start or end dates for, or location of, work in Finnmark and is mentioned in only one document in the FHT archive.³⁰ However, there are 21 men, if Eivind Braut is included, who were between the ages of 18 and 40 years and who, whatever their occupational background, can be assumed to have been fit enough to undertake less skilled but important building work such as clearing sites and digging foundations. One of the men, Arne Hoel, was a dental technician. He may have been the technician who was recorded as having come to Finnmark to assist Johanne Stranderud, a dentist. The card index indicates that he was in Finnmark in July and August 1946.³¹ The only clear evidence of a dental technician accompanying the dentist is dated 1947.³² However, Johanne Strandrud mentioned that someone called Hoel helped her for four days during her time in Finnmark in 1946, although did not describe that person as a technician.³³ Among the women,

³⁰ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004. [1946]-05-21 Myrtle [Wright] to Sigrid [Helliessen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 16 for information about the date ascribed to the document and for the identity of the sender. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.}

³¹ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

³² 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliessen] Lund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 3 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

³³ [1946] Johanne Strandrud to Fru [Mrs] Signe [Hirsch] Gill, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The letter is undated and is addressed to Signe Gill in Kvalsund. Signe Hirsch Gill worked in Finnmark from July to late August/early September 1946 (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-

four were housewives: Sophie Stibolt Christiansen; Margit Frimann Nergaard; Aslaug Nesland; and Else Schjõth. Sophie Stibolt Christiansen was one of the women who provided domestic support for the FHT group in Lebesby.³⁴ Margit Frimann-Nergaard was housemother at Kvalsund for a period in 1946.³⁵ Aslaug Nesland served with the group in Ifjord but there is no evidence of her role there.³⁶ Else Schjõth ran a children's school in Kjøllefjord in early 1946 before FHT's other work in Finnmark had started and led the Kvalsund camp for a period in 1947, probably July and August.³⁷ There were three nursery teachers: Cecilie Engebrigtsen; Eli Jacobsen; and Else Sand. Cecilie Engebrigtsen and Else Sand worked with local children, in Kvalsund and Hammerfest respectively, for at least part of their time in Finnmark.³⁸ Reading two archive documents in conjunction with information given about Eli Jacobsen in

L0004, and 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] F-L0002 0004 {see footnote 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1946-08-20 document}).

³⁴ 1946-08-01 Sophie [Stibolt Christiansen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Sophie Stibolt Christiansen is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient.}

³⁵ 1946-07-25 Rapport nr. 1 [Report no. 1], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

³⁶ [1946]-08-12 Gruppemøte mandag [Group meeting Monday] (with Gruppemøte torsdag [Group meeting Thursday]), FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {No year is given. However, it must be 1946. Reference is made to FHT's work at Kåfjord and that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005).}

³⁷ *Kjøllefjord*: 1946-04-12 Else Schjõth to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, 3-4, 6-7, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with the family name Helliesen Lund identifiable in the archive material.} Note that the original is handwritten on both sides of each sheet and numbered by sheet. The numbering given here is for each side, not for each sheet. *Kvalsund*: [1947]-07-04 Else Schjõth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {No year is given but it must be 1947 as the first sentence refers to 'de to finske pikene' [the two Finnish girls] being in Kvalsund. The Finnish girls were in Finnmark in summer 1947 (see 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru (Mrs) [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 3 for the identities of the sender and the recipient of the 1947-07-31 document}). See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient of the [1947]-07-04 letter.} 1947-08-29 Referat fra styremøte [Minutes from the management committee], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

³⁸ *Cecilie Engebrigtsen*: [1946-08] 'Lørdag 3.8 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] og Myrtle [Wright] reiste' [Saturday 3.8. Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] and Myrtle [Wright] left], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {The document gives the day and month but no year. See 1946-08-12 Rapport nr. 2 [Report no. 2], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 for confirmation that the year is 1946 and that Sigrid Helliesen Lund and Myrtle Wright are correctly identified. It is assumed that the [1946-08] document was produced in August because it is a diary-style account of a few days' activity early in that month.} Cecilie is identified in the document by first name only. Cecilie Engebrigtsen is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. *Else Sand*: 1946-08-20 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

the card index, it seems probable that she did likewise in Alta but it is not certain.³⁹

Another woman, Edith Østlyngen, had an occupational background in office work in hotels. That experience seems to have been put to good use in that, for eight months, she was in charge of administration at Kvalsund and, therefore, responsible for the day-to-day management of FHT's work in Finnmark.⁴⁰

Danish volunteers

The Danish organisation, FHA, sent volunteers to Finnmark in 1945 before FHT had begun its work there.⁴¹ The card index includes entries for 22 Danish volunteers already present in Finnmark before late May 1946 when FHT set up its main work camp in Kvalsund.⁴² Based on evidence gathered from documents in the FHT archive, only 13 of those who were in Finnmark before FHT's work started there in

³⁹ [1947]-07-04 Else Schjøth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 37 and 8 for information about the date ascribed to the letter and the identity of the recipient respectively.} 1948-01-02 'Regnskap for FHT Alta for juli og august 1947' [Accounts for FHT Alta for July and August 1947], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁴⁰ 1946-08-11 'Notes on Finnmark Project of FHT – August 1946,' 2, AFSC Archive, Finnmark Project Reports, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946. Edith Østlyngen and Sigrid Helliesen Lund knew each other before they worked on the FHT project. Both were involved in a small group of women who helped Jews to flee from occupied Norway (see Friheten, 'Kvinner, i solidaritet med jøder som sto i fare for å bli deportert' [Women in solidarity with Jews who were in danger of being deported], 2019, accessed 15 April 2019, <https://www.friheten.no/arkiv/bruker-artikler/747-friheten/1390-kvinner-i-solidaritet-med-joder-som-sto-i-fare-for-a-bli-deportert>).

⁴¹ 1945-10-05 DL [Diderich Lund] to Herr Statsråd Gabrielsen [Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen], F-L0002 0002. {The letter, a carbon copy, is unsigned but there is a reference 'DL/KT' at the head of the sheet, the location of writing is given as Harstad and the content concerns Danish volunteers' work in clearing and cleaning Trondenes camp to make it fit for use as a transit camp for Finnmark inhabitants returning north. 'DL' is almost certainly Diderich Lund, the Director of the Finnmark Office, which was based in Harstad close to the camp.} At the date of the letter, Gabrielsen was the Cabinet Minister [Statsråd] responsible for the reconstruction of Finnmark (see Diderich H. Lund, *Fra Norges fjell* [From Norway's mountains], 154, 155).

⁴² Elisabeth Skov Andersen, Svend Zedergreen Bech, Asbjörn Christiansen, Uffe Kjems, Anton S Kruse, Alf Larsen, Hans Kai (or Kaj) Larsen, Carl Mervald, Gurli Römer Mogensen, L Römer Mogensen, Henny Fogtmann Nielsen, Mads Nielsen, Sven Aage Nielsen, Tormod Nielsen, Vagn Nielsen, Edith Olsen, Inger Marie Pedersen, Birthe Rörbye, Ivar Salomonsen, Vagn Sörensen, Lis Truelsen and Ebba Wonsild.

late May 1946 have been considered to be participating directly in FHT's work.⁴³ Of the other nine, two, Alf Larsen and Ebba Wonsild, left Lakselv in June 1946 about the same time that the FHT group started working there.⁴⁴ The remaining seven worked in Alta, leaving variously between July and September 1946.⁴⁵ FHA had had a group there over the winter of 1945/1946.⁴⁶ FHT knew the FHA group was likely to leave in August 1946, which accords with the dates of departure listed for the relevant individuals in FHT's card index.⁴⁷ One member of FHA's group in Alta, Uffe Kjems, helped the FHT group in Alta with a specific task but there is no other evidence of the two groups working on shared projects.⁴⁸ Two Danes not listed in the card index, Bodil Egeland and Nils Egeland, left Kjøllefjord during April 1946 and there is no evidence that they worked with FHT.⁴⁹ One Dane, Thomas Johannesen, also not listed in the index, is clearly identified elsewhere in the archive as working with FHT in Russenes.⁵⁰

⁴³ Svend Zedergreen Bech, Anton Kruse, Carl Mervald, Mads Nielsen, Sven Aage Nielsen, Tormod Nielsen, Vagn Nielsen, Edith Olsen, Inger Marie Pedersen, Birthe Rörbye, Ivar Salomonsen, Vagn Sörensen and Lis Truelsen.

⁴⁴ n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁴⁵ Elisabeth Skov Andersen, Asbjörn Christiansen, Uffe Kjems, Hans Kaj Larsen, Gurli Römer Mogensen, L Römer Mogensen and Henny Fogtmann Nielsen (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004).

⁴⁶ [1945] 'Glimt fra landet' [A glimpse from the region], 3, FHT archive, F-L0003 0004 {The document is undated but the content suggests that it was written in autumn 1945 after liberation but before widespread reconstruction work had begun.} 1946-06-19-22 Rapport fra reise til Alta-Talvik-Langfjordbotten-Burfjord [Report from the trip to Alta-Talvik-Langfjordbotten-Burfjord], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁴⁷ 1946-07-27 Referat av møte i Gruppekomiteen [Minutes of the Group Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005.

⁴⁸ 1946-08-13 Margit F.-N. [Margit Frimann-Nergaard] to FHT Kvalsund, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Margit Frimann-Nergaard is the only individual with that first name and those family name initials identifiable in the archive material. Both this letter and the later letter, 1946-08-31 Margit Frimann-Nergaard to FHT Kvalsund, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003, are handwritten in the same hand. The latter is signed 'Margit Frimann-Nergaard' in full.}

⁴⁹ 1946-04-12 Else Schjøth to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, 6, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 37 for the identity of the recipient and for information about the page numbering used in the citation.}

⁵⁰ 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

Of the 34 Danish volunteers known to have worked with FHT in Finnmark, 10 were women and 24 men. Dates of birth are known for only nine individuals and five of those were between 25 and 29 years of age. The known age range was 17 to 45 years. However, one Dane, Anton Kruse, is described as a retired train driver and his age is given as 68 years in an extract from a diary letter written by an unnamed person, probably an AFSC representative, who visited Finnmark in 1946.⁵¹

Occupations are given for 31 individuals. That most of the volunteers had work experience and presumably in many cases prior training, suggests that the Danish cohort were rather older than their Norwegian colleagues and generally had more experience and work skills. Seven of the Danes are described as having skills in carpentry, plumbing, painting or working with concrete, while three are nurses.⁵²

Such skills were very useful in northern Norway at the time. Other occupations, such as agricultural work, may also have been useful in the remote locations where FHT work camps were situated given that the local population was having to re-establish cultivation of crops and care of farm animals as well as rebuilding their homes.

Rigmor Sørensen is listed as a housekeeper. She worked with FHT for 10 months from June 1946 to March 1947.⁵³ She spent much of the period working in the camp

⁵¹ 1946-08-13 'July 30: My last day...', 6, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document is an 11-page extract from what appears to be a much longer diary-style letter. There are handwritten page numbers on the sheets. However, these are not consecutive throughout the 11-page extract so page numbering for citation purposes has used the 1-11 sequence. The letter writer's name is not given. Some of the content indicates that the writer was associated with the AFSC (p10). The writer arrived in Kvalsund via Hammerfest on 3 August (p4) and gave a talk about AFSC work to the FHT volunteers there on 5 August (p5), which suggests that he was Irwin Abrams (see [1946-08] 'Mandag 29/7' [Monday 29/7], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003 {see footnote 22 for information about the date ascribed to the [1946-08] document}).

⁵² *Building-related skills*: Knud Larsen; Jörgen Markussen; Carl Mervald; Sven Aage Nielsen; Tormod Nielsen; Ludvig Thomsen; and Lis Truelsen. *Nurses*: Inger Marie Pedersen; Birthe Rörbye; and Else Marie Voldbjerg.

⁵³ 1946-06-26 FHT Kvalsund, 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. 1947-03-22 Sigrid [Helliesen Lund] to Myrtle [Wright], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 8 and 16 for the identities of the sender and the recipient respectively.}

at Børselv but latterly used her occupational skills as the cook in the main Kvalsund camp.⁵⁴ Birthe Gad was a nursery teacher. It was intended that she should go in early 1947 to help with the nursery in the camp at Trondenes for returning refugees.⁵⁵ However, she became ill and had to return to Denmark.⁵⁶ Trondenes camp, situated near Harstad in Troms, the county [*fylke*] immediately south of Finnmark, was a former German army barracks which could house up to 1,500 people. It was used as a transit camp for Finnmark inhabitants travelling back north after liberation. Early in the planning of FHT's work in Finnmark, it had been intended that FHT volunteers would spend up to a fortnight at the camp, though there is no evidence that that happened.⁵⁷ However, Erling Kjekstad, one of FHT's original founders, worked for a period as Deputy Head of the camp.⁵⁸ In addition, Danish volunteers, who were sent to Norway by FHA in 1945 and at least one of whom, Svend Zedergreen Bech, subsequently worked with FHT, had done highly praised work in getting the barracks, which had been very run-down, in a fit state to be a reception centre and transit camp for Finnmark inhabitants returning north following liberation.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ 1947-02-11 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} Rigmor is identified by first name only. Rigmor Sørensen is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material.

⁵⁵ 1946-12-07 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named and there is no sender's address. The letter is almost certainly from Sigrid Helliesen Lund. The sender covers issues such as discussions on FHT's behalf with government bodies about grant funding, a function which Sigrid Helliesen Lund carried out (see 1946-04-17 Steve Cary to Julia Branson, 3, AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946). In addition, the sender refers to a telephone conversation with 'Diderich' about difficulties in obtaining fuel in Finnmark. Diderich Lund, Sigrid Helliesen Lund's husband, was then Director of the Finnmark Office and responsible for overseeing the reconstruction of Finnmark. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient of the 1946-12-07 document.}

⁵⁶ 1947-02-21 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

⁵⁷ 1945-10-06 Referat fra moete [Minutes from meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ 1945-10-05 DL [Diderich Lund] to Herr Statsråd Gabrielsen [Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen], FHT archive, F-L0002 0002. {See footnote 41 for the identity of the sender of the letter and for information about Cabinet Minister Gabrielsen's area of responsibility.}

Swedish volunteers

Fifty-three Swedish volunteers have been identified. Of those, 45 are listed in the Swedish section of the card index. Another volunteer, Olga Widegren, is listed in the section of the index that refers to volunteers who worked on FHT projects from 1949, after the organisation's work in Finnmark had been completed. Her name appears in the IAL listing of volunteers and an Olga is named as having worked in Kjøllefjord in June-July 1946.⁶⁰ No-one else with that first name is identifiable as having worked with FHT in Finnmark. Sam Johansson's name does not appear in the card index but is included in the IAL listing. Six other Swedes are not listed in either the index or the IAL listing of volunteers but can be identified from other archive material as having worked with FHT in northern Norway.⁶¹ One volunteer listed in the card index, Grethe Stärmose, is not named on the IAL list and is mentioned elsewhere in the archive only as having stayed at the Kvalsund camp from 29 to 31 July 1946 with two other women, neither of whom can be identified as an FHT volunteer.⁶² She has been assumed not to have worked with FHT.

⁶⁰ 1946-07-05 'Rapport fraan resa med grupp till Hestnes' [Report from the trip with the group to Hestnes], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. n.d. 'Antal dagsverken' [Number of days worked], FHT archive, F-L0004.

⁶¹ *Greta Andersen*: 1947-08-29 Referat fra styremøte [Minutes from the management committee], FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. *Dagny (or Dagne) Landquist*: 1946-11 Rapport fra S[igrid]. H[elliesen]. Lunds reise til Kvalsund [Report from S. H. Lund's trip to Kvalsund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {Sigrid Helliesen Lund is the only individual with those initials and that family name identifiable in the archive material.} *John Lennart Tolleman*: 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. *Inge Lise Vestin*: 1946-04-12 Else Schjøth to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid] Helliesen Lund, 4, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 37 for the identity of the recipient and for information about the page numbering used in the citation.} *Ulla Winblad*: 1947-03-12 FHT møte [FHT meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004. *Stig Ågren*: 1947-02-12 Ole Olden to Fru [Mrs] Sigrid Helliesen Lund, 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005.

⁶² [1946-08] 'Mandag 29/7' [Monday 29/7], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 22 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

There are 41 men and 12 women. Dates of birth are given for 38 of the volunteers and their ages range from 19 to 57. Half of them are aged between 20 and 29 years. Occupations are given for 39 individuals. Of those, 11 have experience and presumably training in building-related skills such as carpenter, bricklayer, painter and building engineer.⁶³ Three volunteers, Tyra Ekholm, Eric Pettersson and Monica Rudin, are described as being nurses but there is no evidence in the FHT archive that those skills were used in their work with FHT, which is not what might have been expected given that there were few medical personnel in Finnmark at the time and a great need for medical services. Only one of the women, Olga Widegren, is described as a housewife. Assuming that she is the Olga mentioned in a report of a visit to Kjøllefjord in July 1946, and as noted above no other Olga is identified as having worked for FHT, she was going to do laundry for the group there.⁶⁴

British volunteers

Twenty-seven British volunteers went to Finnmark, 24 men and three women. Twenty-one of the men were members of the FAU PWS and two were members of the IVSP.⁶⁵ David Wills was the twenty-fourth man. A Quaker and a psychiatric social worker, he was not a member of the FAU PWS, having worked throughout most of the war as Warden of Barns Hostel School, a children's evacuation hostel in the Scottish borders.⁶⁶ Before taking a similar position at Bodenham Manor School, he

⁶³ Gunnar Almroth, Tor Fahlberg, Sven Frisk, Gøsta Gustasson, Harry Lundval, Gideon Nilsson, Gerion Ohlsson, John Valter Persson, Herje Persson, Karl Sahlin and Per Wallin.

⁶⁴ 1946-07-05 Rapport fraan resa med grupp till Hestnes [Report from the trip with the group to Hestnes], 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁶⁵ n.d. Friends Ambulance Unit WW2, Personnel cards, LSF, TEMP MSS 876/Personnel cards (MICS 578-580). 1946-05-22 Report of British Teams [*sic*] visit to Oslo, 3, LSF, YM/Mfs/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7.

⁶⁶ Quakers in the World, 'Therapeutic Communities in Britain,' n.d., accessed 13 July 2017, <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/91/Therapeutic-Communities-in-Britain>. Quakers

was invited by Sigrid Helliesen Lund to join the relief work in Finnmark.⁶⁷ The three women were Philippa Goldsmith, Joan Newhouse and Myrtle Wright.

Nationality is given for all the British except two of the women, Joan Newhouse and Myrtle Wright. The card index indicates that Joan Newhouse had completed her degree studies in geography followed by a postgraduate diploma in anthropology at Newnham College, Cambridge, and worked with FHT in Finnmark in June-July 1947. An entry in the *Newnham College Register* confirms that she was 23 years old in 1947, and that she was in Norway from 1946 to 1948, first as a temporary lecturer at Oslo University and later as a 'soc. [social] worker in Finnmark 1947-48'.⁶⁸ Myrtle Wright was born in 1903 in Cambridge and worked all her life for Quaker-related peace causes.⁶⁹ The card index gives dates of birth for 12 of the men and for Philippa Goldsmith. FAU PWS records provide the information for all the FAU PWS men. From other sources it is known that David Wills was born in 1903 and the two IVSP men, Stephen Gould and Finlay McLaren, were described as being 'both over 30' in 1946.⁷⁰ The age range was 19 years to 42 or 43. Of the twenty-seven, two were 19 years old and 12 were between 20 and 22 years old.

in the World, 'Barns Hostel School,' <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/181>. Both websites accessed 13 July 2017.

⁶⁷ W. David Wills, 'Autobiography: Part Three: Fulfilment,' David Wills Archive, PP/WDW 3B1/1, Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archives and Special Collections, The Mulberry Bush Third Space. Quakers in the World, 'David Wills 1903-1981,' n.d., accessed 13 July 2017, <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/182/David-Wills>.

⁶⁸ Newnham College, *Newnham College Register*, 255.

⁶⁹ Cambridge and Peterborough Monthly Meeting, 'Myrtle Aldren Wright Radley Testimony,' 155-158.

⁷⁰ Quakers in the World, 'David Wills 1903-1981,' n.d., accessed 13 July 2017, <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/182>. 1946-05-22 Report of British Teams [*sic*] visit to Oslo, 3, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/7.

Philippa Goldsmith is the only Briton for whom an occupation is given. She is described as a student nurse, useful for work in Finnmark although it is not clear from the archive material whether her occupational skills were called upon. As noted above, David Wills was a psychiatric social worker but there is no evidence that his skills and experience in that field were required during his time in northern Norway. The fact that just over half of the cohort were 22 years old or younger suggests that many of the Britons had not had the opportunity to acquire training or experience that would have fitted them for skilled work, although their youth can be assumed to have equipped them for jobs requiring physical fitness and stamina.

American volunteers

Five American volunteers are listed in the card index, but it is known that six arrived in Finnmark.⁷¹ The man not listed, Warren Riner, was transferred shortly after his arrival to work in Jyväskylä in Finland as part of the relief effort there led by the AFSC.⁷² Of the five who remained in Finnmark, two were women and three men. Nationality is stated for all five of them. The two individuals for whom dates of birth are given, Eunice Jones and Andrew Maisano, were in their late 20s and there is a suggestion elsewhere in the FHT archive that a third, Harry Burks, was also.⁷³ Occupation is given for only two of the group: Harry Burks was an engineer and Eunice Jones was a music teacher. The AFSC described all the men as being 'skilled

⁷¹ 1946-10-14 FHT Referat av møte [FHT minutes of the meeting], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0004.

⁷² Ibid., 1. 1946-10-31 'AFSC Program in Norway: Periodic Summary #2,' AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946. The name is written as 'Jyvaskyla' in the latter document.

⁷³ n.d. 'En kort liten beretning om turen min til Finnmarken' [A short little account of my journey to Finnmark], 3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

in construction trades,' which would have been of direct relevance to FHT's relief work.⁷⁴

Finnish volunteers

Very little is known about the Finnish volunteers. Four are listed in the card index but such evidence as exists confirms the presence of only two of them, Rauha Lankinen and Lulu Tarvainen, in Finnmark in summer 1947. Their names, dates of birth, nationality and home addresses are recorded. There is no information about their occupations. They seem to have arrived in Finnmark in late June 1947 and left in early August. Both worked in Kvalsund. As young women in their early 20s, they caused considerable surprise by helping to dig a site ready for a house to be built together with a channel for a water pipe. Rauha Lankinen also went to Børselv and Lulu Tarvainen worked in Russenes for two weeks.⁷⁵

Nationality not known

There is one volunteer whose nationality cannot be determined from the available records. Hjelen Hansen is not listed in the FHT card index or the IAL listing. Her participation in FHT's work can only be established from other documentary

⁷⁴ 1946-10-31 'AFSC Program in Norway: Periodic Summary #2,' AFSC Archive, Reports General, Administration, Norway, Foreign Service, 1946.

⁷⁵ 1947-07-31 Helle [Ruge] to fru [Mrs] [Sigrid Helliesen] Lund, 1, 2-3, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. {See footnote 3 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} The letter refers to Rauha Lankinen and Lulu Tarvainen by first name only. Both are the only individuals with their respective first names identifiable in the archive material.

evidence.⁷⁶ There is no information about her age or nationality but there is evidence that suggests that she was a nursery teacher.⁷⁷

Periods of service in Finnmark

It is frequently difficult to establish volunteers' periods of service with certainty. FHT's card index does not provide relevant information for all those listed. The IAL listing of many of the Swedish volunteers gives start and finish dates for those named.

However, as referred to above, a final finish date of 15 October quoted for 24 of the volunteers has to be regarded with some scepticism as 16 of the 24 can be shown to have been in Finnmark after that date.⁷⁸ In calculating the time individuals spent in

⁷⁶ [1947]-07-04 Else Schjöth to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnotes 37 and 8 for information about the date ascribed to the letter and the identity of the recipient respectively.}

⁷⁷ Ibid., 2. No date for Hjelen Hansen's departure can be identified. She is not listed in 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards]. She and Eli Jacobsen (see 'Norwegian volunteers' section above) went to Alta in July 1947 apparently to run two nurseries there (p2 of the [1947]-07-04 letter cited in this footnote). Eli Jacobsen is listed as a nursery teacher in 'Kort' [Cards]. In early 1948, FHT prepared an invoice, presumably for submission to the Finnmark Office although that is not stated, to claim expenses for 'Two volunteers who were in Alta in the summer as nursery teachers, one from 6/7-1/9, the other from 6/7-13/8' (see 1948-01-02 'Regnskap for FHT Alta for juli og august 1947' [Accounts for FHT Alta for July and August 1947], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003). For the purposes of the thesis, it has been assumed that Hjelen Hansen left Finnmark in August 1947 and that Eli Jacobsen stayed until September of that year.

⁷⁸ {In all instances in this footnote where a sender or recipient is identified as 'Edith [Østlyngen]' or 'Sigrid [Helliesen Lund]', see footnote 8 for the relevant identity/identities.} *Gunnar Almroth and Filip Karlson*: [1946]-11-05 Komitemøte [Committee meeting], FHT archive, F-L0001 0005. {The document does not give a year. However, it refers to FHT work being done in Kåfjord and that ended in early 1947 (see 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 10, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005). It is reasonable to assume that the document records a meeting held in 1946.} *Bengt Barthelsen*: 1946-12-19 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. *Carl-Emil Carlsen*: 1947-01 'Byggaren nr. 1' [The Builder no. 1], 9, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. *Folke Carlsson*: 1946-11-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. *Gösta Gustavsson, Lennart Kindgren, Allan Lundin and Valter Persson*: 1946-11-15 'Gruppene' [The groups], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. *Harald Hansson*: 1947-02-01 'Byggaren nr. 2' [The Builder no. 2], 11, FHT archive, F-L0003 0005. *Bertil Ljungberg*: 1947-05-28 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. *Karl Nyström*: 1947-01-16 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. *Rune Pettersson*: 1947-12-30 'Utdrag av kassakladden for FHTs regnskap for mars, april og mai 1947' [Extract from the draft cash book for FHT's accounts for March, April and May 1947], FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. *Karl Sahlin*: 1947-02-11 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. He is named as Kalle Sahlin, Kalle being a diminutive for Karl. *Maria Svensson*: 1946-12-07 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Edith [Østlyngen], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. {See footnote 55 for the identity of the sender.} *John Tholin*: 1946-12-30 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 3, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004.

Finnmark, information from the FHT card index and the IAL listing has been supplemented by information derived from other documents in the archive. In practice, many people arrived or left partway through a month. Where that occurred, it has been assumed that they served for the complete month, not least as it is not always possible to establish a specific date of arrival or departure. As a result, conclusions outlined below regarding periods of service may err on the side of generosity. Detailed information about lengths of service can be found in Appendix 1.

When FHT were planning the relief work in Finnmark, they were keen that volunteers should commit to serve for at least three months.⁷⁹ That was not invariably achieved. From the information available, 26 people (14% of the total of 180 volunteers) seem to have spent less than three months working with FHT. Given the paucity of reliable personnel records, it is difficult to judge whether that figure is accurate or whether the relatively high number of short service workers is inflated simply because at least some individuals may not have been mentioned by name in surviving reports, letters or sets of minutes with the result that their periods of service have been underestimated because of lack of relevant evidence. The most frequent length of stay was three months and 68 people (38% of the total of 180 volunteers) stayed for six months or longer, although that figure includes five Danes who had started work in northern Norway before the FHT project had begun.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ 1946-01-17 Myrtle Wright to Brian, 1, LSF, FSC/SC/1/7. Brian may be Brian Groves to whom, with Eric Hayman, Myrtle Wright had written in December 1945 about the planned relief work in northern Norway (see 1945-12-24 Myrtle [Wright] to Brian Groves and Eric Hayman, LSF, YM/MfS/FSC, FSC/SC/1/4. {Both letters were sent from the same address so the sender of the 1945-12-24 letter can be assumed to be Myrtle Wright.}

⁸⁰ Svend Zedergreen Bech, Edith Olsen, Inger Marie Pedersen, Birthe Rörbye and Lis Truelsen (see n.d. 'Kort over arbeidstakere' [Workers' cards], FHT archive, F-L0004).

Variations in numbers of volunteers in Finnmark

While the total number of volunteers has been calculated as 180 (see above), the highest number at any one time was 134 volunteers in Finnmark during August 1946. During August 1947 there were 17 volunteers left in northern Norway, the following month there were five and the work effectively ended then. However, Greta Andersen, who led handcraft courses in Børselv, stayed well into 1948.⁸¹ Rasmus Dall was also in Børselv in November 1947 and there was an unidentified volunteer still in Kvalsund that month although there is no evidence as to when either left northern Norway.⁸² Figure A2.1 plots the total numbers of volunteers, and the numbers in each national cohort, in Finnmark between May 1946 and December 1947. The precise figures on which the graph is based can be found in Appendix 3. Because there is no surviving evidence to identify the last volunteer remaining in Kvalsund, I have logged that individual as 'nationality not known' from September to November 1947 inclusive for the purposes of the figures given in Appendix 3 and, consequently, the graph in Figure A2.1.

⁸¹ [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 21 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

⁸² 1947-10-24 Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 5, FHT archive, F-L0002 0004. [1947-11] Greta Andersen to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {The [1947-11] letter is not dated. At the top of the first page 'Sendt 25/11-47' [sent 25/11-47] is handwritten in pencil in different handwriting. Content in the document suggests that the letter was written at least some days after 9 November and before 4 December, indicating that the November 1947 date is likely to be correct. See footnote 8 for the identity of the recipient of the 1947-10-24 and [1947-11] documents.} Rasmus Dall is identified by first name only in the [1947-11] document. He is the only individual with that first name identifiable in the archive material. In addition, the work he is described as doing in the later document accords with his work as described in the earlier one in which his full name is given. 1947-11-17 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontoret [Finnmark Office], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

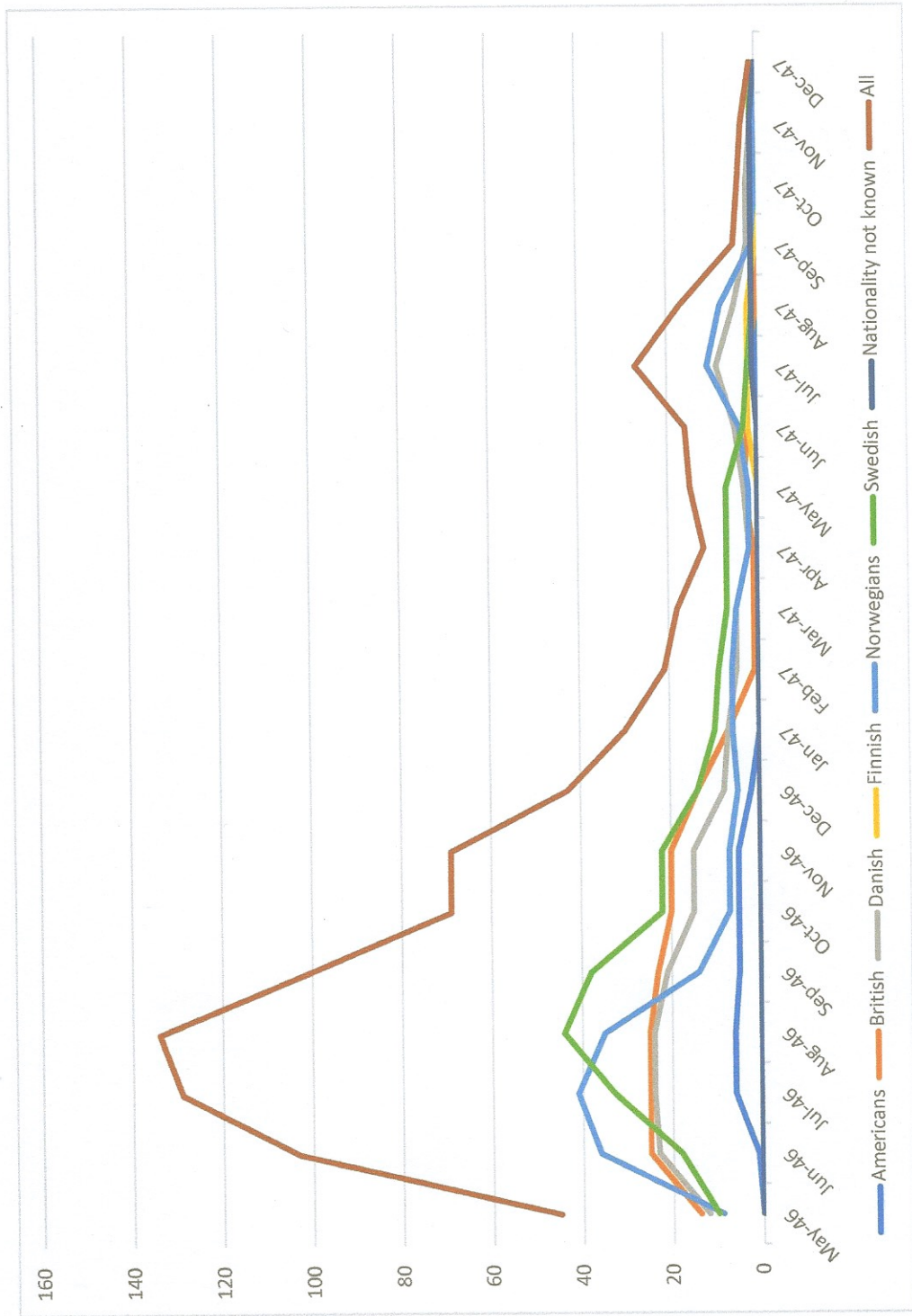


Figure A2.1: Numbers of FHT volunteers in Finnmark May 1946-December 1947

As has been described in 5.4, a main focus of FHT's work in 1946 was helping to build both temporary and some permanent houses.⁸³ Given climatic conditions in northern Norway, outdoor work cannot be undertaken during the winter. Figure A2.1 shows that the overwhelming majority of volunteers were present during the summer of 1946 with a much smaller secondary peak in the summer of 1947. The very considerable fluctuation in numbers may well have added to the difficulty of initiating and maintaining projects over a period of time. However, the 1946 peak enabled FHT to make a contribution at a time when there was still a place and a need for voluntary physical labour. The diminution in numbers of people in the Kvalsund camp between autumn 1946 and spring 1947 was clearly seen as making it easier to run the 1947 short vocational courses more effectively than had been possible the previous autumn when there were more people in the camp (5.4).⁸⁴

Sigrid Helliesen Lund was disappointed that there were relatively few Norwegian volunteers in Finnmark after summer 1946. However, just over half of those who came were 24 years old or younger and she was aware that they were anxious to resume and complete their studies to make up for time lost during the war.⁸⁵ As

⁸³ [1946-10] 'Statement about "FHT" for organisations meeting at Brussels, October 20th-22nd, 1946,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {Although the document is undated, the fact that it was prepared for a meeting in late October 1946 suggests that it is reasonable to date the document to the same month.} The content and the use of language (for example, 'we' and 'our') suggest that the document was prepared by an individual/individuals within FHT. The Brussels meeting was a conference organised by Service Civil International and attended by representatives from a number of different peace organisations (see [1946-10 or -11] Rapport fra det internasjonale møte i Bryssel 21-22.10.1946 [Report from the international meeting in Brussels 21-22.10.46], FHT archive, F-L0002 0003. {The [1946-10 or -11] document is undated but the fact that it is a report on the meeting suggests that it is reasonable to date the document to either October or November 1946}).}

⁸⁴ 1947-01-16 Edith [Østlyngen] to Sigrid [Helliesen Lund], 2, FHT archive, F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the identities of the sender and the recipient.}

⁸⁵ 1946-09-04 [Sigrid Helliesen Lund] to Ole Olden F-L0002 0004. {The sender is not named. However, the sender's address, Tuengen alle 9, Vinderen i Aker, was Sigrid Helliesen Lund's home address (see Wright, *Norwegian Diary*, 32.)}

noted above, virtually none of the Norwegians had the practical construction skills found among the Danish and Swedish cohorts. The American men could offer building skills but, in the main, the British contingent were too young to have acquired equivalent experience.⁸⁶ As the need for voluntary physical work diminished, FHT concentrated its efforts on social and cultural work, especially educational courses (5.4). Fewer people were needed for such work and, for the most part, only volunteers with good language skills in Norwegian or the closely-related languages, Danish and Swedish, could contribute. FHT was eager for its courses for young people to be taken over by the local authorities and, once that had been achieved, their work in Finnmark effectively came to an end.⁸⁷ Greta Andersen, a Swedish volunteer who had led handcraft courses in Børselv from April 1947, was the last volunteer to leave when she went home at some time well into 1948, long after FHT had officially ceased its work in northern Norway.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ 1946-10-06 Ole Olden til Oslokomiteen [Ole Olden to the Oslo committee], 4, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁸⁷ 1947-10 Rapport fra FHTs arbeid [Report from FHT's work], 1, 2, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003.

⁸⁸ [1947-04-07] Greta [Andersen] to Signe [Hirsch Gill] F-L0002 0005. {See footnote 8 for the date ascribed to the document, and for the identities of the sender and the recipient.} [1948] 'FHT 1948,' 1, FHT archive, F-L0003 0001. {See footnote 21 for information about the date ascribed to the document.}

APPENDIX 3: NUMBERS OF FHT VOLUNTEERS IN FINNMARK

MAY 1946-DECEMBER 1947

	<i>May</i> 46	<i>Jun</i> 46	<i>Jul</i> 46	<i>Aug</i> 46	<i>Sep</i> 46	<i>Oct</i> 46	<i>Nov</i> 46	<i>Dec</i> 46
Americans	0	1	6	6	5	5	5	2
British	14	25	25	25	23	23	20	14
Danish	12	23	24	24	21	18	15	8
Finnish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norwegians	9	36	41	35	14	7	7	5
Swedish	10	18	33	44	38	29	22	14
Nationality not known	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
All	45	103	129	134	101	82	69	43

	<i>Jan</i> 47	<i>Feb</i> 47	<i>Mar</i> 47	<i>Apr</i> 47	<i>May</i> 47	<i>Jun</i> 47	<i>Jul</i> 47	<i>Aug</i> 47	<i>Sep</i> 47 ¹	<i>Oct</i> 47 ¹	<i>Nov</i> 47 ¹	<i>Dec</i> 47
Americans	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
British	7	1	1	1	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Danish	7	5	5	2	3	5	9	5	2	2	1	0
Finnish	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
Norwegians	6	6	5	2	2	4	11	8	1	0	0	0
Swedish	10	9	7	7	7	3	2	1	1	1	1	1
Nationality not known	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0
All	30	21	18	12	15	16	27	17	5	4	3	1

¹ 1947-11-17 Sigrid Helliesen Lund to Finnmarkskontoret [Finnmark Office], 1, FHT archive, F-L0001 0003. The document states that three FHT volunteers, not named, remained in Finnmark at the time of writing, one in Kvalsund and two in Børselv. While it is possible to identify the latter two, there is no surviving evidence for the identity of the Kvalsund-based relief worker. That being the case, I have logged that individual as 'nationality not known' and assumed a departure date of November 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 Where appropriate, alphabetical order in the listing below takes into account the 27th, 28th and 29th letters of the Norwegian, Danish and Swedish alphabets:

Norwegian Æ, æ; Ø, ø; Å, å;

Danish Æ, æ; Ø, ø; Å, å;

Swedish Å, å; Ä, ä; Ö, ö.

The letters ü, Ö or ö are regarded as variants of y, Ø or ø respectively.¹

The listing also takes account of the additional letters of the German alphabet:

Ä, ä; Ö, ö, Ü, ü.

The name of one Norwegian author starts with 'Aa'. In Norwegian 'aa' is an older form of the letter 'å'. The name is therefore listed as if it started with 'Å'.²

- 2 'Mac' and 'Mc' are ordered in one sequence.

Primary sources

Unpublished

American Friends Service Committee archive, American Friends Service Committee Archives, USA.

Archives, Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre, Birmingham, Great Britain.

Dudley Barlow papers, Library of the Society of Friends, London, Great Britain.

Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste archive, Riksarkivet, Oslo, Norway.

Friends Ambulance Unit archive, Library of the Society of Friends, London, Great Britain.

¹ Språkrådet, 'Tødlar og alfabetisering' [Dots and alphabetical order], n.d., accessed 8 October 2020, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/?CurrentForm.SearchText=%C3%B6&CurrentForm.KategoriFilter=T%C3%B8dler>.

² Språkrådet, 'Haakon eller Håkon?' [Haakon or Håkon?], 2022, accessed 31 January 2022, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/sporsmal-og-svar/haakon-7.-eller-hakon-7/>.

Friends Service Council archive, Library of the Society of Friends, London, Great Britain.

Internationella Arbetslag archive, Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Sweden.

Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke archive, Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Rollo Woods papers, Library of the Society of Friends, London, Great Britain.

Wills, W. David. 'Autobiography. Part Three: Fulfilment.' David Wills Archive, Planned Environment Therapy Trust Archives and Special Collections, The Mulberry Bush Third Space, Toddington, Gloucestershire.

Published

American Friends Service Committee. 'Annual Report 1937.' Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d. <https://www.afsc.org/document/1937-annual-report>.

American Friends Service Committee. 'Annual Report 1945.' Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d. <https://www.afsc.org/document/1945-annual-report>.

American Friends Service Committee. 'Annual Report 1946.' Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d. <https://www.afsc.org/document/1946-annual-report>.

American Friends Service Committee. 'Annual Report 1947.' Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d. <https://www.afsc.org/document/1947-annual-report>.

American Friends Service Committee. 'Bulletin No. 16: The First Year of American Friends' War Relief Service.' Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, n.d. <https://www.afsc.org/document/1918-annual-report>.

Barnard, Clifford. *Binding the Wounds of War: A Young Relief Worker's Letters Home 1943-47 from the Friends Ambulance Unit and British Red Cross in North-West Europe: With a Revised Version of Sandbostel Revisited*. London: Pronoun Press, 2010.

Bush, Roger. *FAU: The Third Generation: Friends Ambulance Unit Post-War Service and International Service 1946-1959*. York: Sessions, 2007. First published 1998.

Davies, A. Tegla. *Friends Ambulance Unit: The Story of the F.A.U. in the Second World War, 1939-1946*. [London]: Allen & Unwin, 1947.

- Fry, Ruth A. *A Quaker Adventure: The Story of Nine Years' Relief and Reconstruction*. London: Nisbet, 1926.
- Groves, Naomi Jackson. *Winter into Summer: Lapland Diary 1945-1946*. Waterloo, Ontario: Penumbra Press, 1989.
- Hoëm, Sverre. 'Evakueringen av Finnmark og Nord-Troms' [The evacuation of Finnmark and northern Troms]. *Kvekeren* no. 1 (1945): 12-14.
- Lindbæk, Lise. *Brennende jord* [Burning earth]. 2nd ed. Norway: Tiden, 2006.
- Lolo, Knud, Cicilie [sic] and Edith. 'Olden og Finnmark' [Olden and Finnmark]. *Kvekeren* no. 9-10 (1963): 15.
- Lund, Diderich H. *Fra Norges fjell til fjerne kyster* [From Norway's mountains to distant shores]. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1972.
- Lund, Diderich H. 'The Revival of Northern Norway.' *The Geographical Journal* 109, no. 4/6 (1947): 185-197. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1789438>.
- Lund, Sigrd Helliesen with Celine Wormdal. *Alltid underveis* [Always on the move]. Oslo: Tiden, 1981.
- Løkken, Johanne. *'Herregud hvor her ser ut!': hverdag og fest i brakkebyen Hammerfest: brev fra Johanne Løkken i Hammerfest til sin søster i Oslo 1945-1946* ['Dear God, what does this place look like!': daily life and celebrations in the town of huts, Hammerfest: letters from Johanne Løkken in Hammerfest to her sister in Oslo 1945-1946]. Edited by Knut Bjerck and Gjenreisningsmuseet. Hammerfest: Gjenreisningsmuseet for Finnmark og Nord-Troms, 2007.
- McNeill, Margaret. *By the Rivers of Babylon: A Story of Relief Work among the Displaced Persons of Europe*. London: Bannisdale Press, 1950.
- Newhouse, Joan. *Reindeer Are Wild Too*. 2nd ed. London: The Travel Book Club, 1954.
- Palmer, Marion. *Bare kirka sto igjen: fortellinger om krigen i Finnmark* [Only the church was still standing: accounts of the war in Finnmark]. Oslo: Spartacus, 2010.
- Tatham, Meaburn and James E. Miles, eds. *The Friends' Ambulance Unit 1914-1919: A Record*. London: Swarthmore Press, [1920].
- Wilson, Francesca. *Aftermath: France, Austria, Germany, Yugoslavia 1945 and 1946*. West Drayton; New York: Penguin Books, 1947.
- Wilson, Francesca. *In the Margins of Chaos: Recollections of Relief Work in and between Three Wars*. London: John Murray, 1944.

Wilson, Roger C. *Quaker Relief: An Account of the Relief Work of the Society of Friends 1940-1948*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1952.

Wright, Myrtle. *Norwegian Diary 1940-1945*. London: Friends Peace International Relations Committee, 1974.

Secondary sources

Unpublished

Aksamit, Nerissa K. 'Training Friends and Overseas Relief: The Friends Ambulance Unit and the Friends Relief Service, 1939 to 1948.' PhD thesis, West Virginia University, 2019. <https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/etd/7405>.

Andersson, Ola Goverud. 'Utviklingen av den lokal- og regionalhistoriske forskningen i Nord-Norge og Nord-Russland i perioden 1972–2015' [The development of local and regional historical research in northern Norway and northern Russia in the period 1972-2015]. PhD thesis, UiT Norges arktiske universitet, 2019. <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/16544>.

Augestad, Ragnar Haraldsson. 'Organisering og gjennomføring av tvangsevakueringa hausten 1944: arbeidet til evakeringskommisjonen i Tromsø' [The organisation and carrying out of forced evacuation in autumn 1944: the work of the Evacuation Commission in Tromsø]. Master's dissertation, UiT Norges arktiske universitet, 2016. <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/9314>.

Carson, Jennifer. 'The Friends Relief Service – Faith into Action: Humanitarian Assistance to Displaced Persons Camps in Germany, 1945-1948.' PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2009. <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.498855>.

Dohnálková, Eva. 'Nansenhjelpens historie og aktiviteter: en norsk humanitær organisasjon i tsjekkisk perspektiv' [Nansen Relief's history and activities: a Norwegian humanitarian organisation from a Czech perspective]. Master's dissertation, Masarykova univerzita, 2013. https://is.muni.cz/th/168373/ff_m/.

Finstad, Bjørn-Petter. 'Finotro: statseid fiskeindustri i Finnmark og Nord-Troms: fra plan til avvikling' [Finotro: state-owned fish industry in Finnmark and northern Troms: from planning to winding up]. PhD thesis, Universitetet i Tromsø, 2005. <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/4314>.

Herrington, Ian. 'The Special Operations Executive in Norway 1940-1945: Policy and Operations in the Strategic and Political Context.' PhD thesis, De Montfort University, 2004. <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.516070>.

- Holmes, Benjamin. "'To Love One's Enemy': British Humanitarian Relief for German Civilians, c1914-1925.' PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2019.
<http://hdl.handle.net/10871/37154>.
- Holmes, Rose. 'A moral business: British Quaker work with refugees from fascism, 1933-1939.' PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2015.
<http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/54158>.
- Manasseh, Pamela. 'The Brynmawr Experiment 1928-1940: Quaker Values and Arts and Crafts Principles.' PhD thesis, University of Plymouth, 2009.
<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=9&uin=uk.bl.ethos.510578>.
- Mann, Matthew Christopher. 'British Policy and Strategy towards Norway, 1941-1944.' PhD thesis, King's College, University of London, 1998.
<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.285187>.
- Mendlesohn, Farah. 'Practising Peace: American and British Quaker Relief in the Spanish Civil War.' PhD thesis, University of York, 1997.
<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.493726>.
- Roberts, Siân. 'Place, Life Histories and the Politics of Relief: Episodes in the Life of Francesca Wilson, Humanitarian Educator Activist.' PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010.
<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.519052>.
- Seemann, Anika. 'Law and Politics in the Norwegian "Treason Trials" 1941-1961.' PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2019.
<https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.36703>.
- Skanche, Kristian Husvik. 'Redningsoperasjonen på Sørøya: bakgrunn og strategisk kontekst' [Rescue operation on Sørøya: the background and strategic context]. Master's dissertation, Universitetet i Tromsø, 2010.
<https://hdl.handle.net/10037/2507>.
- Storr, Katherine. 'Excluded from the Record: Civilians – Refugees and Rescuers, 1914-1925.' PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2003.
<https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.406617>.
- Varhaug, Ruth Miriam Kolstad. 'Den kirkelige gjenreisningen i Finnmark etter 2. verdenskrig, med særlig fokus på årene 1945-1952' [The reconstruction of churches in Finnmark after the Second World War, with particular emphasis on the years 1945-1952]. Master's dissertation, VIT vitenskapelige høgskole, 2016.
<http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2440187>.
- Aarek, Hans Eirik. 'Part IV: 1920-1945: The Years of Transformation.' Unpublished manuscript, 2013. Microsoft Word file.

Published

- Alexander, Horace G. 'Old Woodbrookers.' In Davis, *Woodbrooke 1903-1953: A Brief History of a Quaker Experiment in Religious Education*, 140-158.
- Andrews, Malin Bergman. *Whirlwind of Life: The Story of Emilia Fogelklou*. London: Quaker Books, 2004.
- Archer, Clive. 'The Lessons of War: Norway in Post-War Allied Strategy.' In Salmon, *Britain & Norway in the Second World War*, 238-344.
- Armstrong-Reid, Susan. *China Gadabouts: New Frontiers of Humanitarian Nursing, 1941-1951*. Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2018.
- Arweck, Elisabeth and Martin D. Stringer, eds. *Theorizing Faith: The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Ritual*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 2002.
- Avina, Jeffrey. 'The Evolutionary Life Cycles of Non-Governmental Development Organizations.' *Public Administration & Development* 13, no. 5 (1993): 453-474. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/194685936?accountid=8630>.
- Back, Lyndon S. 'The Quaker Mission in Poland: Relief, Reconstruction, and Religion.' *Quaker History* 101, no. 2 (2012): 1-23. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rh&AN=ATLA0001931273&site=ehost-live>.
- Balsvik, Randi Rønning. *Vardø: grensepost og fiskevær* [Vardø: border settlement and fishing village]. 2 vols. Vardø: Vardø kommune, 1989.
- Barnett, Michael. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Barnett, Michael and Janice Gross Stein. 'Introduction: The Secularization and Sanctification of Humanitarianism.' In *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, edited by Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein, 3-36. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Baughan, Emily, and Juliano Fiori. 'Save the Children, the Humanitarian Project, and the Politics of Solidarity: Reviving Dorothy Buxton's Vision.' *Disasters* 39, no. 2 (2015): 129-145. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/disa.12151>.
- Baumann, Stephen Patrick. 'Quaker Relief and Rehabilitation: The Bengal Famine 1942-45.' *Quaker Studies* 25, no. 1 (2020): 95-112. <https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.2020.25.1.6>.
- Best, Ethelwyn, and Bernard Pike. *International Voluntary Service for Peace, 1920-1946: A History of Work in Many Countries for the Benefit of Distressed Communities and for the Reconciliation of the Peoples*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1948.

- Black, Maggie. *A Cause for Our Times: Oxfam: The First 50 Years*. Oxford: Oxfam and Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Blom, Ida. 'Foremothers: "To Women in the Year 2000": Norwegian Historians of Women, c.1900-c.1960.' *Gender & History* 19, no. 3 (2007): 581-597. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0424.2007.00493.x>.
- Booth, William. *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Cambridge Core. (The ebook does not identify the original place of publication or the original publisher. It was first published in 1890.)
- Borge, Baard. 'NS, Nasjonal Samling' [NS, National Union]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 304-305.
- Bottolfsen, Øystein. *Finnmark fylkeskommunes historie 1840-1990* [Finnmark county's history 1840-1990]. Vadsø: Finnmark fylkeskommune, 1990.
- Brantenberg, Terge, Marit Anne Hauan and Nils M. Knutsen. 'Myter om nord-Norge og nordlendingen gjennom tidene' [Myths about northern Norway and the northern Norwegian throughout time]. In *Det gjenstridige landet* [The stubborn land], ed. Drivenes, Hauan and Wold, 386-445. Vol. 1 of *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* [Cultural history of northern Norway].
- Bratrein, Håvard Dahl and Einar Niemi. 'Inn i riket: politisk og økonomisk integrasjon gjennom tusen år' [Into the kingdom: political and economic integration during one thousand years]. In *Det gjenstridige landet* [The stubborn land], ed. Drivenes, Hauan and Wold, 146-209. Vol. 1 of *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* [Cultural history of northern Norway].
- Bruland, Bjarte and Mats Tangestuen. 'The Norwegian Holocaust: Changing Views and Representations.' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 36, no. 5 (2011): 587-604. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2011.631066>.
- Cabanes, Bruno. *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-1924*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Cambridge Core.
- Cambridge and Peterborough Monthly Meeting. 'Myrtle Aldren Wright Radley Testimony.' In *London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends Proceedings 1994*. London: London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 155-158.
- Carson, Jenny. 'The Quaker Internationalist Tradition in Displaced Persons Camps, 1945-48.' In Gatrell and Baron, *Warlands: Population Resettlement and State Reconstruction in the Soviet-East European Borderlands, 1945-50*, 67-86.
- Christophersen, Egil. 'Den midlertidige Kirkeledelse' [The interim Church leadership]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 67.

- Cohen, G. Daniel. 'Between Relief and Politics: Refugee Humanitarianism in Occupied Germany 1945-1946.' *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 3 (2008): 437-449. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40542969>.
- Collins, Peter. 'Connecting Anthropology and Quakerism: Transcending the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy.' In Arweck and Stringer, *Theorizing Faith*, 77-95.
- Cornelis, M. E. 'The Scottish Women's Hospitals: The First World War and the Careers of Early Medical Women.' *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* 36, no. 2 (2020): 174-194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13623699.2020.1748320>.
- Dahl, Hans Fredrik. *Quisling: A Study in Treachery*. Translated by Anne-Marie Stanton-Ife. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Dahl, Hans Fredrik. 'Quisling, Vidkun.' In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 335-338.
- Dahl, Hans Fredrik, Guri Hjeltnes, Berit Nøkleby, Nils Johan Ringdal, and Øystein Sørensen, eds. *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45]. [Oslo]: J.W. Cappelen, 1995.
- Dancke, Trond M.E. *Opp av ruinene: gjenreisningen av Finnmark 1945-1960* [Up from the ruins: the reconstruction of Finnmark 1945-1960]. Oslo: Gyldendal, 1986.
- Davey, Eleanor, John Borton and Matthew Foley. 'A History of the Humanitarian System: Western Origins and Foundations.' HPG Working Paper, Humanitarian Policy Group. London: Overseas Development Institute, 2013. <https://www.odi.org/projects/2547-global-history-modern-humanitarian-action>.
- Davies, Katherine. 'Continuity, Change and Contest: Meanings of "Humanitarian" from the "Religion of Humanity" to the Kosovo War.' HPG Working Paper, Humanitarian Policy Group. London: Overseas Development Institute, 2012. <https://www.odi.org/publications/6737-continuity-change-and-contest-meanings-humanitarian-religion-humanity-kosovo-war>.
- Davis, Robert, ed. *Woodbrooke 1903-1953: A Brief History of a Quaker Experiment in Religious Education*. London: Bannisdale Press, 1953.
- Donovan, Peter. 'Neutrality in Religious Studies.' In McCutcheon, *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion*, 235-247.
- Drivenes, Einar-Arne, Marit Anne Hauan, and Helge A. Wold, eds. *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* [Cultural history of northern Norway]. 2 vols. Oslo: Gyldendal, 1994.
- Dunseath, Tessa. 'Teachers at War: Norwegian Teachers during the German Occupation of Norway 1940-45.' *History of Education* 31, no. 4 (2002): 371-383. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00467600210131720>.

- Ellingsen, Anne. *Odd Nansen: arvtageren* [Odd Nansen: the heir]. Oslo: Historie & Kultur, 2015.
- Eriksen, Knut Einar and Terje Halvorsen. *Frigjøring* [Liberation]. Vol. 8 of *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], edited by Magne Skodvin. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1987.
- Fagertun, Fredrik. 'UiT og historieforskning på landsdelens okkupasjonshistorie' [UiT and history research on the [wartime] occupation of the area]. *Nordlys*, 26 May 2020. <https://nordnorskdebatt.no/article/uit-historieforskning-pa>.
- Fehrenbach Heide and Davide Rodogno. *Humanitarian Photography: A History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Fehrenbach Heide and Davide Rodogno. 'Introduction: The Morality of Sight.' In Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, 1-21.
- Feldman, Ilana. 'The Quaker Way: Ethical Labor and Humanitarian Relief.' *American Ethnologist* 34, no.4 (2007): 689-705. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2007.34.4.689>.
- Ferris, Elizabeth. 'Faith and Humanitarianism: It's Complicated.' *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011): 606-625. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/jrefst24&i=613>.
- Finne, Øyvind. *Krigen som aldri slutter: Krigstraumer i et livstidsperspektiv: eksemplet Finnmark 1940-1946* [The war that never ends: wartime trauma in a lifelong perspective: the example of Finnmark 1940-1946]. [Karasjok]: Davvi Girji, 2005.
- Forsythe, David P. and Barbara Rieffer-Flanagan. *The International Committee of the Red Cross: A Neutral Humanitarian Actor*. 2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.
- Frank, Matthew. 'Working for the Germans: British Voluntary Societies and the German Refugee Crisis, 1945-50.' *Historical Research* 82, no. 215 (2009): 157-175. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.2008.00455.x>.
- Frost, J. William. "'Our Deeds Carry Our Message": The Early History of the American Friends Service Committee.' *Quaker History* 81, no. 1 (1992): 1-51. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41947206>.
- Fuller, Pierre. 'Changing Disaster Relief Regimes in China: An Analysis Using Four Famines between 1876 and 1962.' *Disasters* 49, no. s2 (2015): 146-165. <https://doi-org.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/10.1111/disa.12152>.
- Gatrell, Peter. 'Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War.' *Immigrants & Minorities* 26, no. 1/2 (2008): 82-110. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02619280802442613>.

- Gatrell, Peter, and Nick Baron, eds. *Warlands: Population Resettlement and State Reconstruction in the Soviet-East European Borderlands, 1945-1950*. London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Gibbins, Margaret. *Sigrid Helliesen Lund: Portrait of a Friend*. London: Friends World Committee for Consultation; Quaker Home Service, 1980.
- Gilchrist, Ruth and Tony Jeffs. 'Introduction.' In *Settlements, Social Change, and Community Action: Good Neighbours*, Gilchrist and Jeffs, 9-18.
- Gilchrist, Ruth and Tony Jeffs, eds. *Settlements, Social Change, and Community Action: Good Neighbours*. London; Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley, 2001. ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Gill, Rebecca. *Calculating Compassion: Humanity and Relief in War, Britain 1870-1914*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Gilmour, John and Jill Stephenson, eds. *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Golding, Vladislav I. 'Pomorje (Ru. literally meaning "the land along the sea").' In *Encyclopedia of the Barents Region: Volume II N-Y*, edited by Mats-Olov Olsson, Fredrick Backman, Alexey Golubev, Björn Norlin and Lars Ohlsson, 190-194. Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2016.
- Grant, Peter. *Philanthropy and Voluntary Action in the First World War: Mobilizing Charity*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2014. ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Green, Abigail. 'Humanitarianism in Nineteenth-Century Context: Religious, Gendered, National.' *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 4 (2014): 1157-1175. Cambridge Core.
- Greenwood, John Ormerod. *Quaker Encounters: Volume 1: Friends and Relief: A Study of Two Centuries of Quaker Activity in the Relief of Suffering Caused by War or Natural Calamity*. York: William Sessions, 1975.
- Greve, Tim. *Verdenskrig [World war]*. Vol. 3 of *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945 [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945]*, edited by Magne Skodvin. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985.
- Grimnes, Ole Kristian. 'Felttoget i 1940 i Norge' [The 1940 campaign in Norway]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45 [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45]*, 94-96.
- Grimnes, Ole Kristian. 'Hitler's Norwegian Legacy.' In Gilmour and Stephenson, *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*, 159-177.
- Grimnes, Ole Kristian. *Overfall [Assault]*. Vol. 1 of *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945 [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945]*, edited by Magne Skodvin. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984.

- Hage, Ingebjørg. 'Helseinstitusjoner i Nord-Norge: "trekt opp av havet"' [Health institutions in northern Norway: "dragged up from the sea"]. In *Rom for helse: hovedtrekk i spesialisthelsetjenesten bygningshistorie* [Space for health: principal features of the building history of the specialist health service], edited by Erlend Hammer and Marte Oftedal, 169-180. [Norway]: Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet, 2012. <http://lvph.no/filer/RFH-side.php>.
- Hage, Ingebjørg. 'Reconstruction Housing in North Norway: Gender and the Reception of the Modern Era.' *Acta Borealia: Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies* 24, no. 1 (2007): 26-43.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/08003830701321754>.
- Hage, Ingebjørg. *Som fugl fønix av asken? gjenreisingshus i Nord-Troms og Finnmark* [As a phoenix from the ashes? reconstruction houses in northern Troms and Finnmark]. [Oslo]: Ad notam Gyldendal, 1999.
- Hagtvet, Bernt. 'Det ukjente landet mot nord' [The unknown country in the north], *Aftenposten*, 29 May 2021.
<https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikk/i/mBApaL/vi-trenger-en-norgeshistorie-paa-verdenspraakene-for-utlendinger>.
- Hamran, Torunn. 'Foreningsliv – Samfunnsliv' [Committee life – community life]. In *Sykdom: Nord-Norge før 1940* [Disease: northern Norway before 1940], Ingunn Elstad and Torunn Hamran, 168-209. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2006.
- Hamran, Torunn. 'Kvinneforeningene, institusjonsbyggingen og den nasjonale velferdspolitikken: Nord-Norge før 1940' [Women's organisations, building institutions, and national welfare policy: northern Norway before 1940]. *Historisk Tidsskrift* 86, no. 3 (2007): 411-430.
<http://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/1217/paper.pdf?sequence=1>.
- Hamran, Torunn. 'Kvinnene, byen og helsepolitikken: Narvik før 1940' [The women, the town and health policy: Narvik before 1940]. In *I spissen for utviklingen: høyere utdanning i Narvik* [Leading the way in development: higher education in Narvik], edited by Ellen Margrethe Julin, 1-22. Narvik: Høgskolen i Narvik, 2005. Page numbers refer to the electronic copy of the chapter available from the Munin database at <https://hdl.handle.net/10037/1732>.
- Hartmann, Christopher. *Operation Barbarossa: Nazi Germany's War in the East, 1941-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Hatton, Helen. *The Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland 1654-1921*. Kingston; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Hauglid, Anders Ole, Knut Erik Jensen and Harry Westrheim. *Til befolkningen! brannhøsten 1944 – gjenreisningen etterpå* [To the people! the autumn of fire 1944 – the reconstruction afterwards]. Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1985.

- Heid, Bernt. 'Vennen Erling Kjekstad (9.3.1895-17.5.1977)' [Friend Erling Kjekstad (9.3.1895-17.5.1977)]. *Kvekeren*, no. 1 (1978): 8-10.
- Heiene, Gunnar. 'Kirkekampen' [The church struggle]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 211-212.
- Hilton, Matthew, Emily Baughan, Eleanor Davey, Bronwen Everill, Kevin O'Sullivan and Tehila Sasson. 'History and Humanitarianism: A Conversation.' *Past & Present* 241, no. 1 (2018): e1-e38. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gty040>.
- Hinshaw, David. *An Experiment in Friendship*. New York: Putnam, 1947.
- Hinson, E. Glenn. *Love at the Heart of Things: A Biography of Douglas V. Steere*. Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 1998.
- Hjeltnes, Guri. 'Binders' [Paper clips]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 41.
- Hjeltnes, Guri. 'Evang, Karl.' In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 87-88.
- Hjeltnes, Guri. *Hverdagsliv* [Everyday life]. Vol. 5 of *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], edited by Magne Skodvin. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1986.
- Hjeltnes, Guri. 'Illegal presse' [The illegal press]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 193.
- Hjeltnes, Guri. 'Murmansk-konvoiene' [The Murmansk convoys]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 278-280.
- Hjeltnes, Guri. 'Rasjonering' [Rationing]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 342.
- Hjeltnes, Guri. 'Svenskehjelpen' [Swedish aid]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 408.
- Holmes, Philip and Ian Hinchliffe. *Swedish: An Essential Grammar*. 2nd ed. Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Holton, Sandra and Robert J. Holton. 'From the Particular to the Global: Some Empirical, Epistemological and Methodological Aspects of Microhistory with regard to a Women's Rights Network.' In *Performing Global Networks*, edited by Karen Fricker and Ronit Lentin, 8-24. Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007. ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Homan, Gerlof D. "'Ayuda a los niños": Mennonite Relief Work in Spain, 1937-1939.' *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 86, no. 3 (2012): 353-370. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rft&AN=ATLA0001908832&site=ehost-live>.

- Hubbard, William H., Jan Eivind Myhre, Trond Nordby and Sølvi Sogner, eds. *Making a Historical Culture: Historiography in Norway*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995.
- Hufford, David J. 'The Scholarly Voice and the Personal Voice: Reflexivity in Belief Studies.' In McCutcheon, *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion*, 294-310.
- Huitfeldt, Tønne. 'Between the Lines: North Norway 1944-5.' In Salmon, *Britain & Norway in the Second World War*, 232-237.
- Høidal, Oddvar K. 'Vidkun Quisling and the Deportation of Norway's Jews.' *Scandinavian Studies* 88, no. 3 (2016): 270-294.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/scanstud.88.3.0270>.
- Immonen, Ingrid. "'I Learned to Trust Myself". An Oral History of Professional Nurses' Wartime Practice in Finnmark.' *Nordlit* 37 (2015): 1-22.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.7557/13.3639>.
- Immonen, Ingrid. 'Nursing during World War II: Finnmark County, Northern Norway.' *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 72 (2013): 1-6.
<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/23630668>.
- Immonen, Ingrid. 'Sykepleie i Finnmark: krig, evakuering og gjenreising' [Nursing in Finnmark: war, evacuation and reconstruction]. HiF-Forskning 1999: 10. [Norway]: Hogskolen i Finnmark, 1999. <http://hdl.handle.net/10037/6755>.
- Ingle, H. Larry. 'The American Friends Service Committee, 1947–49: The Cold War's Effect.' *Peace & Change* 23, no. 1 (1998): 27-48. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0149-0508.691998035>.
- Jacobsen, Sigurd. "'Inn i det store alt'" [Into the great everything]. *Kvekeren* no. 2-3 (1963): 1-2.
- Jaklin, Asbjørn. *Brent jord: 1944-1945: heltene, ofrene, de skyldige* [Scorched earth: 1944-1945: the heroes, the victims, the perpetrators]. [Oslo]: Gyldendal, 2016.
- Jaklin, Asbjørn. *Historien om Nord-Norge* [The history of northern Norway]. [Oslo]: Gyldendal, 2004.
- Jaklin, Asbjørn. *Nordfronten: Hitlers skjebneområde* [The northern front: Hitler's area of destiny]. [Oslo]: Gyldendal, 2006.
- Jalagin, Seija, Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Maria Småberg. 'Introduction: Nordic Missions, Gender and Humanitarian Practices: From Evangelizing to Development.' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 3 (2015): 285-297.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2015.1043695>.
- Jensen, Hege and Karen Anne Buljo. *På vei til de åtte årstidens land* [On the way to the land of eight seasons]. Oslo: SpråkJensen [sic] forlag, 2014.

- Johansen, Per Ole. 'Jødeaksjonene' [The actions [against] the Jews]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 203-204.
- Jones, Heather. 'International or Transnational? Humanitarian Action during the First World War.' *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 16, no. 5 (2009): 697-713. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13507480903262702>.
- Juul, Kjeld. *Mod nye grænser: fra europæisk genopbygning til u-landssamarbejde* [Towards new borders: from European reconstruction to co-operation with developing countries]. [Copenhagen]: Mellemlfolkeligt Samvirke, 2002.
- Juvkam, Dag. 'Historisk oversikt over endringer i kommune- og fylkesinndelingen' [Historical overview of changes in municipality and county boundaries]. Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå, 1999. https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/rapp_9913/rapp_9913.pdf.
- Kelly, Luke. *British Humanitarian Activity in Russia, 1890-1923*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Kent, Neil. *The Sámi Peoples of the North: A Social and Cultural History*. London: Hurst, 2014.
- Kirby, David. *A Concise History of Finland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Klausen, Kurt Klaudi, and Per Selle. 'The Third Sector in Scandinavia.' *Voluntas* 7, no. 2 (1996): 99-122. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27927508>.
- Knudsen, Anne Merete. *Flyktninger i eget land* [Refugees in their own country]. [Alta]: Alta Museum, 1995.
- Korvald, Lars, ed. *Frivillige organisasjoner* [Voluntary organisations]. Norges offentlige utredninger, 1988: 17. Oslo: Forvaltningstjenestene, 1988. https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digibok_2018030107173.
- Kraglund, Ivar and Arfinn Moland. *Hjemmefront* [The home front]. Vol. 6 of *Norge i krig: fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the foreign yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], edited by Magne Skodvin. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1987.
- Kristiansen, Tom. 'Closing a Long Chapter: German-Norwegian Relations 1939-45: Norway and the Third Reich.' In Gilmour and Stephenson, *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*, 73-99.
- Kroglund, Nina Drolsum. *Hitlers norske hjelpere: Nordmenns samarbeid med Tyskland 1940-45* [Hitler's Norwegian helpers: Norwegians' collaboration with Germany 1940-45]. Oslo: Historie & Kulture, 2012.
- Langholm, Sivert. 'The Infrastructure of History.' In Hubbard et al., *Making a Historical Culture: Historiography in Norway*, 82-107.

- Lidchi, Henrietta. 'Finding the Right Image: British Development NGOs and the Regulation of Imagery.' In Fehrehbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, 275-296.
- Liddington, Jill. 'Britain in the Balkans: The Response of the Scottish Women's Hospital Units.' In *Aftermaths of War: Women's Movements and Female Activists, 1918-1923*, edited by Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe, 395-417. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011. ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Little, Branden. 'An Explosion of New Endeavours: Global Humanitarian Responses to Industrialized Warfare in the First World War Era.' *First World War Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2014.901184>.
- Loga, Jill. 'Civil Society and the Welfare State in Norway: Historical Relations and Future Roles.' *Community Development Journal* 53, no. 3 (2018): 574-591. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsy027>.
- Lorentzen, Håkon and Per Selle. *Norway: Defining the Voluntary Sector*. Norway: Institutt for Samfunnsforskning, 2000. <http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2501701>.
- Lowe, Keith. *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II*. London: Penguin Books, 2013.
- Luihn, Hans. *Finnmark: en økonomisk analyse* [Finnmark: an economic analysis]. [Oslo]: Arbeidsdirektoratet, 1952.
- Lund, Sigrid Helliesen. 'Else Bull.' *Kvekeren* no. 8 (1964): 5.
- McCutcheon, Russell T., ed. *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader*. London; New York: Continuum, 2005. ProQuest Ebook Central.
- McFadden, David. 'The Politics of Relief: American Quakers and Russian Bolsheviks, 1917-1921.' *Quaker History* 86, no. 1 (1997): 1-23. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41947342>.
- Mageli, Eldrid. *Med rett til å hjelpe: historien om Norges Røde Kors* [With the right to help: the history of the Norwegian Red Cross]. Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2014.
- Manthorpe, Jill. 'Settlements and Social Work Education: Absorption and Accommodation.' *Social Work Education* 21, no. 4 (2002): 409-419. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615470220150375>.
- Maul, Daniel. 'American Quakers, the Emergence of International Humanitarianism, and the Foundation of the American Friends Service Committee, 1890-1920.' In *Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Johannes Paulmann, 63-87. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Maul, Daniel. 'The Politics of Neutrality: The American Friends Service Committee and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939.' *European Review of History/Revue*

européenne d'histoire 23, no. 1-2 (January 2016): 82-100.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2015.1121972>.

- Meinander, Henrik. *A History of Finland*. Translated by Tom Geddes. London: Hurst, 2011.
- Mendl, Wolf. *Prophets and Reconcilers: Reflections on the Quaker Peace Testimony*. London: Friends Home Service Committee, 1974.
- Mendlesohn, Farah. 'Denominational Difference in Quaker Relief Work during the Spanish Civil War: The Operation of Corporate Concern and Liberal Theologies.' *Journal of Religious History* 24, no. 2 (2000): 180-195.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9809.00108>.
- Mendlesohn, Farah. 'The Ethics of Friends' Relief Work in Republican Spain.' *Quaker History* 88, no. 2 (1999): 1-23. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41947416>.
- Meyer, Jessica. 'Neutral Caregivers or Military Support? The British Red Cross, the Friends' Ambulance Unit, and the Problems of Voluntary Medical Aid in Wartime.' *War & Society* 43, no. 2 (2015): 105-120.
<https://doi.org/10.1179/0729247314Z.00000000050>.
- Michelet, Marte. *Den største forbrytelsen: ofre og gjerningsmenn i det norske Holocaust* [The greatest crime: victims and perpetrators in the Norwegian Holocaust]. Oslo: Gyldendal, 2014.
- Moorehead, Caroline. *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland and the History of the Red Cross*. New York: HarperCollins, 1998.
- Möller, Esther, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig. 'Gender Histories of Humanitarianism: Concepts and Perspectives.' In Möller, Paulmann and Stornig, *Gendering Global Humanitarianism in the Twentieth Century*, 281-300.
- Möller, Esther, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig, eds. *Gendering Global Humanitarianism in the Twentieth Century: Practice, Politics and the Power of Representation*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Möller, Esther, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig. 'Gendering Twentieth-Century Humanitarianism: An Introduction.' In Möller, Paulmann and Stornig, *Gendering Global Humanitarianism in the Twentieth Century*, 1-32.
- Mølmann, Nina Planting, Bjarne K. Jacobsen and Ingunn Elstad. 'Infant Mortality and Epidemic Diseases: Wartime Finnmark in a Comparative Perspective.' *Nordlit* 37 (2015): 1-36. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7557/13.3637>.
- Nesbitt, Eleanor. 'Quaker Ethnographers: A Reflexive Approach.' In Arweck and Stringer, *Theorizing Faith*, 133-154.

- Newnham College. *Newnham College Register, 1871-1971*. 2nd ed. [Cambridge]: [Newnham College], 1979.
- Nissinen, Sanna. 'Dilemmas of Ethical Practice in the Production of Contemporary Humanitarian Photography.' In Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography: A History*, 297-321.
- Norum, Charles. *Med kjærlighetens våpen: Frelsesarmeen i Norge 100 år: 1888 – 22. januar – 1988* [With the weapon of love: 100 years of the Salvation Army in Norway: 1888 – 22nd January – 1988]. Oslo: Salvata kristelig forlag, 1987.
- Næshagen, Ferdinand Linthoe. 'Norway's Democratic and Conservative Tradition in Policing.' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 25, no. 3 (2000): 177-196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03468750050156505>.
- Nøkleby, Berit. 'Barbarossa.' In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 34-35.
- Nøkleby, Berit. *Holdningskamp* [Patriotic struggle]. Vol. 4 of *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], edited by Magne Skodvin. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1987.
- Nøkleby, Berit. *Josef Terboven: Hitlers mann i Norge* [Josef Terboven: Hitler's man in Norway]. [Norway]: Gyldendal, 2008.
- Nøkleby, Berit. 'Lærersambandet' [Teachers' union]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 258-259.
- Nøkleby, Berit. 'Narvik.' In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 284-285.
- Nøkleby, Berit. *Nyordning* [Changes]. Vol. 2 of *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], edited by Magne Skodvin. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985.
- Nøkleby, Berit. 'Telavåg.' In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 416.
- Nøkleby, Berit. 'Terboven, Josef.' In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 417-418.
- Nøkleby, Berit. 'Tysklands-fanger' [Prisoners in Germany]. In Dahl et al., *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940-45* [Norwegian war dictionary 1940-45], 429.
- Nøkleby, Berit and Guri Hjeltnes. *Barn under krigen* [Children during the war]. Oslo: Aschehoug, 2000.
- Okkenhaug, Inger Marie. 'Gender and Nordic Missions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28, no. 2 (2003): 73-82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03468750310001778>.

- Okkenhaug, Inger Marie. 'Religion, relief and humanitarian work among Armenian women refugees in Mandatory Syria, 1927–1934.' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 3 (2015): 432-454.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2015.1043641>.
- Oldfield, Sybil. "'It Is Usually She": The Role of British Women in the Rescue and Care of the Kindertransport Kinder.' *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 23, no. 1 (2004): 57-70. [doi:10.1353/sho.2005.0032](https://doi.org/10.1353/sho.2005.0032).
- Oldfield, Sybil. *Women Humanitarians: A Biographical Dictionary of British Women Active between 1900 and 1950*. London; New York: Continuum, 2001.
- Oppenheimer, Melanie, Susanne Schech, Romain Fathi, Neville Wylie and Rosemary Cresswell. 'Resilient Humanitarianism? Using Assemblage to Re-evaluate the History of the League of Red Cross Societies.' *The International History Review* 43, no. 3 (2020), 1-19.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2020.1810100>. Pagination and year of publication refer to the online, not the printed, version of the article.
- O'Sullivan, Kevin, Matthew Hilton and Juliano Fiori. 'Humanitarianisms in Context.' *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 23, no. 1-2 (2016): 1-15. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2015.1117422>.
- Ottosen, Kristian. *I slik en natt: deportasjon av jøder fra Norge* [On such a night: the deportation of Jews from Norway]. Oslo: Aschehoug, 2008.
- Palfreeman, Linda. 'The Friends' Ambulance Unit in the First World War.' *Religions* 9, no. 5 (2018): 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9050165>.
- Palfreeman, Linda. *Friends in Flanders: Humanitarian Aid Administered by the Friends' Ambulance Unit during the First World War*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2017.
- Papadopoulos, Renos K. 'Refugees, Home and Trauma.' In *Therapeutic Care for Refugees: No Place Like Home*, edited by Renos K. Papadopoulos, 9-39. London; New York: Routledge, 2019. ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Parkin, Simon. *The Island of Extraordinary Captives*. London: Sceptre, 2022.
- Paulmann, Johannes. 'Humanitarianism and Media: Introduction to an Entangled History.' In *Humanitarianism & Media: 1900 to the Present*, edited by Johannes Paulmann, 1-38. New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2019.
- Petterson, Arvid. *Fortiet fortid: tragedien Norge aldri forsto: tvangsevakueringen og overvintring i Nord-Troms og Finnmark 1944-1945* [The concealed past: the tragedy Norway never understood: forced evacuation and overwintering in northern Troms and Finnmark 1944-1945]. Hammerfest: Gjenreisningsmuseet for Finnmark og Nord-Troms, 2008.

- Peuraca, Branka. 'Can Faith-Based NGOs Advance Interfaith Reconciliation? The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.' Special Report 103. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2003. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2003/03/can-faith-based-ngos-advance-interfaith-reconciliation-case-bosnia-and-herzegovina>.
- Prochaska, F. K. 'Philanthropy.' In *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950: Volume 3: Social Agencies and Institutions*, edited by F. M. L. Thompson, 357-394. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Cambridge Core.
- Proctor, Tammy M. 'An American Enterprise? British Participation in US Food Relief Programmes (1914-1923).' *First World War Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 29-42. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19475020.2014.906317>.
- Reid, Fiona and Sharif Gemie. 'The Friends Relief Service and Displaced People in Europe after the Second World War, 1945–48.' *Quaker Studies* 17, no. 2 (2013): 223-243. <https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.17.2.223>.
- Reinisch, Jessica. 'Internationalism in Relief: The Birth (and Death) of UNRRA.' *Past and Present* 201, Supplement 6 (2011): 258-289. <https://doi.org.ezproxy.bham.ac.uk/10.1093/pastj/gtq050>.
- Reinisch, Jessica. 'Introduction: Relief in the Aftermath of War.' *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 3 (2008): 371-404. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40542966>.
- Ringdal, Nils Johan. *Mellom barken og veden: politiet under okkupasjonen* [Between the devil and the deep blue sea: the police during the occupation]. [Oslo]: Aschehoug, 1987.
- Riste, Olav. *Utefront* [The front line outside Norway]. Vol. 7 of *Norge i krig: Fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the alien yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945], edited by Magne Skodvin. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1987.
- Roberts, Siân. "'A Position of Peculiar Responsibility": Quaker Women and Transnational Humanitarian Relief, 1914-24.' *Quaker Studies* 21, no. 2 (2016): 235-255. <https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.2016.21.2.6>.
- Rose, Michael. 'The Secular Faith of the Social Settlements: "If Christ came to Chicago."' In *Settlements, Social Change, and Community Action: Good Neighbours*, Gilchrist and Jeffs, 19-33.
- Ryymän, Teemu. "'Civilizing the "Uncivilized": The Fight against Tuberculosis in Northern Norway at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.' *Acta Borealia: Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies* 24, no. 2 (2007): 143-161. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08003830701661779>.
- Ryymän, Teemu. 'Creating Kvenness: Identity Building among the Arctic Finns in Northern Norway.' *Acta Borealia* 18, no. 1 (2001): 51-67.

- Ryymin, Teemu and Astri Andresen. 'Effecting Equality: Norwegian Health Policy in Finnmark, 1945-1970s.' *Acta Borealia: Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies* 26, no. 1 (2009): 96-114. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08003830902951565>.
- Salmon, Patrick, ed. *Britain and Norway in the Second World War*. London: HMSO, 1995.
- Salmon, Patrick. 'The Nordic Countries and the Second World War: A British Perspective.' In Gilmour and Stephenson, *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*, 39-43.
- Salvatici, Sylvia. "'Fighters without Guns": Humanitarianism and Military Action in the Aftermath of the Second World War.' *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 25, no. 6 (2018): 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2017.1374354>.
- Schiøtz, Aine. 'De frivillige organisasjonene og helsebyggeriet i Norge' [The voluntary organisations and health construction in Norway]. In *Rom for helse: hovedtrekk i spesialisthelsetjenestens bygningshistorie* [Space for health: principal features in the construction history of the specialist health service], edited by Erlend Hammer, 99-113. Oslo: Helse- og Omsorgsdepartementet, 2012. <http://www.lvph.no/filer/RFH-side.php>.
- Selle, Per. 'The Transformation of the Voluntary Sector in Norway: A Decline in Social Capital?' In *Social Capital and European Democracy*, edited by Jan W. van Deth, Marco Maraffi, Kenneth Newton and Paul F. Whiteley, 144-166. London; New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Skancke, Kristian Husvik. 'Reetableringen av sivil administrasjon i Finnmark, 1943-1945' [The re-establishment of civil administration in Finnmark, 1943-1945]. In *Krig og frigjøring i nord* [War and liberation in the north], edited by Fredrik Fagertun, 39-49. Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk, 2015.
- Skeie, Karina Hestad. 'Gender, Mission and Work: The Complex Relationship between Formal Rights and Missionary Agency in the Norwegian Lutheran China Mission Association.' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 3 (2015): 332-356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2015.1042034>.
- Skodvin, Magne, ed. *Norge i krig: fremmedåk og frihetskamp 1940-1945* [Norway at war: the foreign yoke and the fight for freedom 1940-1945]. 8 vols. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984-1987.
- Skogheim, Dag. *Med slukte lanterner: de som aldri kom tilbake* [With lanterns extinguished: those who never came back]. Gjenreisningsmuseets skriftserie no. 1. Hammerfest: Gjenreisningsmuseet for Finnmark og Nord-Troms, 1998.
- Slappgard, Sigrun. *Krigens penn: ein biografi om Lise Lindbæk* [War's pen: a biography of Lise Lindbæk]. Norway: Gyldendal, 2002.
- Soleim, Marianne Neerland. *Sovjetiske krigsfanger i Norge 1941-1945: antall, organisering og repatriering* [Soviet prisoners of war in Norway 1941-1945: number, organization and repatriation].

numbers, organisation and repatriation]. Oslo: Scandinavian Academic Press, 2018.

Soltvedt, Kjartan. 'Innledning' [Introduction]. In *Folketellinger gjennom 200 år* [The census throughout 200 years], edited by Kjartan Soltvedt, 5-18. Oslo; Kongsvinger: Statistisk sentralbyrå, 2004.
<https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/sos109/sos109.pdf>.

Spielhofer, Sheila. *Stemming the Dark Tide: Quakers in Vienna 1919-1942*. York: William Sessions, 2001.

Storli, Inger and Helge A. Wold. 'Naturen som ressurs og erfaringsramme' [Nature as resource and framework of experience]. In *Det gjenstridige landet* [The stubborn land], ed. Drivenes, Hauan and Wold, 18-81. Vol. 1 of *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* [Cultural history of northern Norway].

Sulek, Marty. 'On the Modern Meaning of Philanthropy.' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (2009): 193-212.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764009333052>.

Sveen, Esther. 'Agnes Broch.' *Kvekeren* 31, no. 9-10 (1967): 77.

Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History*. 5th ed. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.

Tuominen, Marja, T.G. Ashplant and Tiina Harjumaa, eds. *Reconstructing Minds and Landscapes: Silent Post-War Memory in the Margins of History*. New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2021.
<https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/search?author=tuominen&title=reconstructing+minds+and+landscapes&publisher=&publisher-place=&isbn=&date=&subject=&map-scale=&keyword=>.

Ulfby, Inez Boon. *Et håndslag til Finnmark: Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste under gjenreisningen 1946-47* [A helping hand to Finnmark: Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste during the reconstruction 1946-47]. 2nd rev. ed. [Norway]: Kvekerforlaget, 2006. The first edition was published in 1982 by Tiden Norsk Forlag who gave permission for the publication of the 2006 edition. Page references are to the Kvekerforlaget edition.

Ulstein, Ragnar. *Jødar på flukt* [Jews who had to flee]. 2nd ed. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 2006.

Viksveen, Thor. *Folk forandrer verden: Norsk Folkehjelp 75 år* [People change the world: Norwegian People's Aid 75 years]. Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2014.

Watenpaugh, Keith. 'The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920–1927.' *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 5 (2010): 1315-1339.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.115.5.1315>.

- Watts, Inger Selven. *De kom til oss: tvangsevakueringen av Finnmark og Nord-Troms* [They came to us: the forced evacuation of Finnmark and northern Troms]. Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2016.
- Welling, Jacalynn Stuckey. 'Mission.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, edited by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, 306-320. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Westrheim, Harry. *Landet de brente: tvangsevakueringen av Finnmark og Nord-Troms høsten 1944* [The land they burned: the forced evacuation of Finnmark and northern Troms, autumn 1944]. [Bodø]: Nordnorsk Forfatterlag/Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1978.
- 'What About Those Clothes?' *The Friend* (16 November 1945): 781.
- Wilson, Roger C. *Authority, Leadership and Concern: A Study in Motive and Administration in Quaker Relief Work: Swarthmore Lecture 1949*. [London]: Quaker Books, 2007.
- Winge, Harald. 'Local History.' Translated by Eamonn Noonan. In Hubbard et al., *Making a Historical Culture: Historiography in Norway*, 240-260.
- Wood, Herbert G. 'The First Director of Studies.' In Davis, *Woodbrooke 1903-1953: A Brief History of a Quaker Experiment in Religious Education*, 19-30.
- Wynter, Rebecca. 'Conscription, Conscience and Controversy: The Friends' Ambulance Unit and the "Middle Course" in the First World War.' *Quaker Studies* 21, no. 2 (2016): 213-233. <https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.2016.21.2.6>.
- The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain. *Quaker Faith & Practice: The Book of Christian Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain*. London: The Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain, 2013.

Websites

- Alta Museum. 'The Rock Art of Alta.' n.d., accessed 24 March 2021, <https://www.altamuseum.no/en/the-rock-art-of-alta>.
- Arkitektur N. 'Opp av ruinene – på gjenreiste stier?' [Up from the ruins – on reconstructed paths?]. 2020, accessed 15 September 2020, <https://arkitektur.no/bokomtaler/opp-av-ruinene-pa-gjenreiste-stier#>.
- Arkivportalen: Arkivverket Riksarkivet. 'PA-1487 – Fredsvennenes Hjelpetjeneste.' n.d., accessed 7 December 2018, <https://www.arkivportalen.no/entity/no-a1450-0100000007275?ins=RA>.

- Arkivverket. 'Hva inneholder landssvikarkivet?' [What does the treachery archive include?]. 2017, accessed 6 November 2018, <https://www.arkivverket.no/utforsk-arkivene/andre-verdenskrig/landssvikarkivet>.
- Arkivverket Statsarkiv i Tromsø. '1 – Amtmannen/Fylkesmannen i Finnmark: Arkivet SATØ/S-1120/1' [1 – Council leader/council leader i Finnmark: Archive SATØ/S-1120/1]. n.d., accessed 25 September 2019, <https://www.arkivportalen.no/entity/no-a1450-09000000135049>. (Please note that 'amtmannen' and 'fylkesmannen' are synonyms, with the former being an older form replaced by the latter in 1919 and being replaced in turn by 'statsforvalter' in 2020 (see Store Norske Leksikon, 'Amtmann' [Council leader]. 2021, accessed 16 March 2021, <https://snl.no/amtman>).)
- Bank of England. 'Inflation Calculator.' 2021, accessed 25 May 2021, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.
- BBC Bitesize. 'The Story of China – The Rise of Mao ZeDong.' 2021, accessed 17 February 2021, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/clips/zcfdrdm>.
- Dansk Sprognævn. '§ 3. Å og dobbelt-a' [§ 3. Å and double-a]. 2022, accessed 31 January 2022, <https://dsn.dk/ordboeger/retskrivningsordbogen/%c2%a7-1-6-bogstaver-og-tegn/%c2%a7-3-aa-og-dobbelt-a/>.
- Finnmark Fylkeskommune. 'Finnmarksfakta' [Finnmark facts]. 2018, accessed 16 February 2018, <https://www.ffk.no/om-fylkeskommunen/finnmarksfakta/>.
- Fircroft College. 'Who We Are.' n.d., accessed 1 November 2018, <https://www.fircroft.ac.uk/who-we-are>.
- Friheten. 'Kvinner, i solidaritet med jøder som sto i fare for å bli deportert' [Women in solidarity with Jews who were in danger of being deported]. 2019, accessed 15 April 2019, <https://www.friheten.no/arkiv/bruker-artikler/747-friheten/1390-kvinner-i-solidaritet-med-joder-som-sto-i-fare-for-a-bli-deportert>.
- Hammerfest Turist AS. 'A Brief History of Hammerfest.' n.d., accessed 26 February 2020, <https://www.visithammerfest.net/history>.
- Health Careers. 'Healthcare Assistant.' n.d., accessed 8 February 2018, <https://www.healthcareers.nhs.uk/Explore-roles/wider-healthcare-team/roles-wider-healthcare-team/clinical-support-staff/healthcare-assistant>.
- Historicalstatistics.org. 'Historical Currency Converter (Test Version 1.0).' n.d., accessed 26 May 2021, <https://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html>.
- Hull History Centre. 'International Voluntary Service Archive: 1920s-1990s.' n.d., accessed 23 August 2019, <http://catalogue.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/files/u-divs.pdf>.

- Human Rights House Foundation. 'Bernt Hagtvet, Chairperson.' n.d., accessed 8 June 2021, <https://humanrightshouse.org/contact/bernt-hagtvet/>.
- ICO Information Commissioner's Office. 'Exemptions.' n.d., accessed 7 March 2022, <https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/guide-to-data-protection/guide-to-the-general-data-protection-regulation-gdpr/exemptions/#ex16>.
- Institute for the Languages of Finland. 'On Language.' n.d., accessed 27 January 2021, https://www.kotus.fi/en/on_language/languages_of_finland.
- International Voluntary Service. 'Our History.' n.d., accessed 17 April 2019, <https://ivs.gb.org/history/>.
- Irwin Abrams. 'Bio.' n.d., accessed 16 January 2020, <http://www.irwinabrams.com/bio/index.html>.
- Irwin Abrams. 'Irwin Abrams, 1914-2010.' n.d., accessed 12 September 2019, <http://www.irwinabrams.com/>.
- Irwin Abrams. 'The Multinational Campaign for Carl von Ossietzky.' 1991, accessed 1 November 2017, <http://www.irwinabrams.com/articles/ossietzky.html>.
- Kainun institutti/Kvensk institutt. 'Om Kainun institutti' [About the Kven institute]. n.d., accessed 19 January 2022, <https://www.kvenskinstitutt.no/om-kainun-institutti/>.
- Kartverket. 'Stadnamn/stedsnavn' [Place names/place names]. n.d., accessed 13 February 2018, <https://www.kartverket.no/til-lands/stadnamn>. (Please note that 'stadnamn' and 'stedsnavn' are synonyms in Nynorsk and Bokmål, respectively the two officially recognised forms of Norwegian (see Språkrådet. 'Jamstillingsvedtaket' [The equality resolution], 2020, accessed 28 July 2021, <https://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/hva-skjer/Aktuelt-ord/jamstillingsvedtaket/>.)
- KF. 'Om KF' [About KF]. 2018-2019, accessed 15 May 2019, <https://kf.se/om-kf/>.
- KVT Kansaivälinen vapaaehtoinen ry. 'KVT – an international peace organisation.' n.d., accessed 11 December 2020, <https://www.kvtfinland.org/en/what-is-kvt/>.
- Lapin Yliopisto. 'FEENIKS: Art and culture in the mental and material reconstruction process following the Lapland War.' n.d., accessed 24 March 2021, <https://www.ulapland.fi/EN/Webpages/-FEENIKS-%E2%80%93-Art-and-culture-in-the-mental-and-material-reconstruction-process-following-the-Lapland-War>.
- Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke. 'ActionAid Denmark.' n.d., accessed 14 August 2019, <https://www.ms.dk/en>.
- Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke. 'MS' historie' [MS's history]. n.d., accessed 9 April 2019, <https://www.ms.dk/om-ms/historie>.

- Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke. 'Rejs ud i verden' [Travel in the world]. n.d., accessed 9 April 2019, <https://www.ms.dk/rejs-ud-i-verden>.
- Museene for kystkultur og gjenreisning i Finnmark IKS. 'Living the war – Barents area during WW2 and aftermath [sic].' 2020, accessed 3 August 2020, <https://www.kystmuseene.no/living-the-war-barents-area-during-ww2-and-aftermath.5338843-406356.html>.
- Museene for kystkulture og gjenreisning i Finnmark IKS. 'The Museum of Reconstruction for Finnmark and Northern Troms.' 2021, accessed 15 January 2021, <https://www.kystmuseene.no/?cat=107297>.
- National Army Museum. 'Special Forces: Special Operations Executive.' n.d., accessed 12 October 2020, <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/SOE>.
- Norges Bank. 'Historical exchange rates.' 2009, accessed 31 December 2020, <https://www.norges-bank.no/en/topics/Statistics/Historical-monetary-statistics/Historical-exchange-rates/>.
- Norsk Folkehjelp. 'Om Norsk Folkehjelp: fagbevegelsens humanitære solidaritetsorganisasjon' [About Norwegian People's Aid: the trade union movement's humanitarian solidarity organisation]. 2020, accessed 29 September 2020, <https://folkehjelp.no/om-norsk-folkehjelp>.
- Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening. 'Historie' [History]. n.d., accessed 2 December 2020, <https://sanitetskvinnene.no/historie-0>.
- Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening. 'Om oss' [About us]. n.d., accessed 2 December 2020, <https://sanitetskvinnene.no/om-oss>.
- The Northern Lights Route. 'The Pomor Trade.' 1999, accessed 24 January 2020, <https://www.ub.uit.no/northernlights/eng/pomor.htm>.
- NRK. 'NRKs historie' [NRK's history]. 2019, accessed 28 January 2020, <https://www.nrk.no/organisasjon/nrks-historie-1.6589747>.
- NRK TV. 'Finnmark mellom øst og vest' [Finnmark between east and west]. 2020, accessed 6 August 2020, <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/finnmark-mellom-oest-og-vest>.
- NSD Forvaltningsdatabasen. 'Finnmarkskontoret i Harstad' [The Finnmark Office in Harstad]. n.d., accessed 24 April 2014, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/polsys/data/forvaltning/enhet/10204/endringshistorie>.
- NSD Forvaltningsdatabasen. 'Forsynings- og gjenreisningsdepartementet' [The Department of Supply and Reconstruction]. n.d., accessed 7 December 2017, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/polsys/data/forvaltning/enhet/10000/endringshistorie>.
- Oxford History: Mayors and Lord Mayors, 'Henry Tregelles Gillett (1870-1955): Mayor of Oxford 1938/9.' 2021, accessed 3 March 2022, https://www.oxfordhistory.org.uk/mayors/1836_1962/gillett_henry_1938.html.

- Philadelphia Area Archives Research Portal (PAARP). 'Douglas V. and Dorothy M. Steere Papers, MC.1174.' n.d., accessed 9 March 2021, http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/pacscl/HAVERFORD_HCColl1174.
- Quaker Meeting 2015 Rovaniemi. '[Presentation by] Jonathan Lutz.' 2015, accessed 18 January 2016, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCL5w3diDAZ124MIYj_onBOA.
- Quaker Strongrooms. 'Creating a World without War: New Project to Open Up World War Two Research Materials.' 2019, accessed 10 September 2019, <https://quakerstrongrooms.org/2019/09/05/creating-a-world-without-war-new-project-to-open-up-world-war-two-research-materials/>.
- Quakers in Britain. 'Our organisation.' n.d., accessed 13 May 2020, <https://www.quaker.org.uk/our-organisation>.
- Quakers in the World. 'Barns Hostel School.' n.d., accessed 13 July 2017, <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/181>.
- Quakers in the World. 'David Wills 1903-1981.' n.d., accessed 13 July 2017, <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/182>.
- Quakers in the World. 'Therapeutic Communities in Britain.' n.d., accessed 13 July 2017, <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/91/Therapeutic-Communities-in-Britain>.
- Radley Charitable Trust. 'The Radleys.' n.d., accessed 19 August 2019, <https://www.radleycharitabletrust.org.uk/the-radleys/>.
- Redd Barna. 'Vår historie' [Our history]. n.d., accessed 2 March 2022, <https://www.reddbarna.no/om-oss/organisasjon/historikk/>.
- Regjeringen.no. 'Johan Nygaardsvold: Statsminister 1935-1945' [Johan Nygaardsvold: Prime Minister 1935-1945]. 2013, accessed 30 March 2020, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/om-regjeringa/tidligere-regjeringer-og-historie/historiske-artikler/embeter/statsminister-1814-/johan-nygaardsvold/id463389/>.
- Regjeringen.no. 'Nye fylker' [New counties]. 2019, accessed 20 January 2020, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kommuner-og-regioner/regionreform/regionreform/nye-fylker/id2548426/>.
- Regjeringen.no. 'Nye kommune- og fylkesnummer' [New municipality and county numbers]. 2020, accessed 15 December 2020, <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/tema/kommuner-og-regioner/kommunereform/nye-kommuner/id2470015/>.
- Reis, J. and Tereso, J. D. Counties of Norway, with ISO 3166-2:NO code and legend [online]. 2005, accessed 25 April 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Norway_counties.svg.

- Rigsarkivet: Daisy. 'Arkivskaber eller arkivserie: Teknisk Hjælpe Kolonne' [Archive creator or archive series: Technical Relief Group]. n.d., accessed 24 August 2018, [https://www.sa.dk/daisy/arkivskaber_eller_arkivserie_liste?d=1&e=2016&c=Teknisk Hjælpe Kolonne](https://www.sa.dk/daisy/arkivskaber_eller_arkivserie_liste?d=1&e=2016&c=Teknisk%20Hjælpe%20Kolonne).
- Rigsarkivet: Daisy. 'Arkivskaber: Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke' [Archive creator: ActionAid Denmark]. n.d., accessed 11 May 2018, https://www.sa.dk/daisy/arkivskabers_arkivserier?a=mellempfolkeligt+samvirke&b=&c=&d=1&e=2018&f=&g=&h=&ngid=1494596&ngnid=1494606&heid=&henid=&epid=&faid=&meid=&m2rid=&side=&sort=&dir=&gsc=&int=&ep=&es=&ed=.
- Riksarkivet. 'Sök i arkiven' [Look in the archive]. n.d., accessed 9 July 2018, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad?Sokord=ial&EndastDigitaliserat=false&BegransaPaTitelEllerNamn=false&Arkivinstitution=&Typ=&Huvudkategori=&Ik=Ladda+kategorier&DatumFran=&DatumTill=&AvanceradSok=False&typAvLista=Standard>.
- The Royal Mint. 'Story of Decimalisation.' 2017, accessed 7 September 2017, <http://www.royalmint.com/discover/decimalisation/the-story-of-decimalisation>.
- Rädda Barnen. 'En historia att vara stolt över' [A history to be proud of]. n.d., accessed 2 March 2022, <https://www.raddabarnen.se/om-oss/historia/>.
- The Salvation Army International. 'About Us.' 2021, accessed 15 March 2021, <https://www.salvationarmy.org/ihq/about>.
- SCI International Archives. 'Historical Development [*sic*] of SCI in the 20th Century.' 2004-2019, accessed 8 March 2019, <http://archives.sci.ngo/history/development-of-sci.html>. [SCIIA - Service Civil International - International Archives, Bibliothèque de la ville, La Chaux-de-Fonds (Switzerland).]
- SCI International Archives. 'Willy Begert.' 2004-2019, accessed 1 May 2019, <http://archives.sci.ngo/volunteers/begert-willy.html>. [SCIIA - Service Civil International - International Archives, Bibliothèque de la ville, La Chaux-de-Fonds (Switzerland).]
- Service Civil International: International Archives. 'International Civilian Service and Mutual Aid.' n.d., accessed 9 February 2018, http://archives.sci.ngo/uploads/documents/Ceresole/PCeresole_1924_International%20Civilian%20Service%20and%20Mutual%20Aid.pdf. [SCIIA - Service Civil International - International Archives, Bibliothèque de la ville, La Chaux-de-Fonds (Switzerland).]
- Service Civil International Sverige. 'Om SCI Sverige' [About SCI Sweden]. 2021, accessed 10 November 2021, https://ial.se/wordpress/?page_id=45.

- SLS Förvaltningshistorisk ordbok. 'Finlands folkhjälp' [Finnish National Aid]. n.d., accessed 27 January 2021, <https://fho.sls.fi/uppslagsord/18562/finlands-folkhjalp/>.
- Sogn og Fjordane Fylkeskommune: Fylkesbibliotek. 'Forfattarar frå Sogn og Fjordane: Mimi Sverdrup Lunden' [Authors from Sogn and Fjordane: Mimi Sverdrup Lunden]. 2016, accessed 1 November 2017, <http://forfattarar.sfj.no/mimi-sverdrup-lunden/>.
- Språkrådet. 'Bokstaven w i norsk' [The letter w in Norwegian]. n.d., accessed 4 August 2021, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/?CurrentForm.SearchText=w>).
- Språkrådet. 'Haakon eller Håkon?' [Haakon or Håkon?]. 2022, accessed 31 January 2022, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/sporsmal-og-svar/haakon-7.-eller-hakon-7/>.
- Språkrådet. 'Jamstillingsvedtaket' [The equality resolution]. 2020, addressed 28 July 2021, <https://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/hva-skjer/Aktuelt-ord/jamstillingsvedtaket/>.
- Språkrådet. 'Kvifor har vi æ, ø og å i det norske alfabetet?' [Why do we have æ, ø and å in the Norwegian alphabet?]. n.d., accessed 5 March 2021, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/?CurrentForm.SearchText=aa&CurrentForm.KategoriFilter=Bokstaver+og+tegn>.
- Språkrådet. 'Tødlar og alfabetisering' [Dots and alphabetical order]. n.d., accessed 8 October 2020, <https://www.sprakradet.no/svardatabase/?CurrentForm.SearchText=%C3%B6&CurrentForm.KategoriFilter=T%C3%B8dler>.
- Statistisk sentralbyrå. 'Population.' 2018, accessed 6 November 2018, <https://www.ssb.no/en/statbank/list/folkemengde>.
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Amtmann' [Council leader]. 2021, accessed 16 March 2021, <https://snl.no/amtman>.
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Finnmark – tidligere fylke [Finnmark – former county].' 2022, accessed 18 January 2022, <https://snl.no/Finnmark-tidligere-fylke>.
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Forfatter og journalist Lise Lindbæk' [Author and journalist Lise Lindbæk]. 2009, accessed 20 August 2020, https://nbl.snl.no/Lise_Lindb%C3%A6k.
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Kistrand.' 2020, accessed 16 December 2020, <https://snl.no/Kistrand>.
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Kjelvik.' 2020, accessed 16 December 2020, <https://snl.no/Kjelvik>.

- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Kristiania.' 2020, accessed 19 July 2021, <https://snl.no/Kristiania>.
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Kvalsund – tidligere kommune' [Kvalsund – former municipality]. 2020, accessed 16 December 2020, [https://snl.no/Kvalsund - tidligere kommune](https://snl.no/Kvalsund_-_tidligere_kommune).
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Mimi Sverdrup Lunden.' 2017, accessed 6 November 2017, [https://snl.no/Mimi Sverdrup Lunden](https://snl.no/Mimi_Sverdrup_Lunden).
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Norges flagg' [Norway's flag]. 2019, accessed 31 January 2020, [https://snl.no/Norges flagg](https://snl.no/Norges_flagg).
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Sørøysundet' [Sørøya channel]. 2020, accessed 16 December 2020, <https://snl.no/S%C3%B8r%C3%B8ysundet>.
- Store Norske Leksikon: Norsk Biografisk Leksikon. Lyche, Lise. 'Clæs Gill.' 2009, accessed 21 November 2017, [https://nbl.snl.no/Claes Gill](https://nbl.snl.no/Claes_Gill).
- Store Norske Leksikon. 'Redd Barna' [Save the Children]. 2021, accessed 2 March 2022, [https://snl.no/Redd Barna](https://snl.no/Redd_Barna).
- Stortinget. 'Broch, Theodor' (1904-1998). n.d., accessed 13 October 2017, <https://www.stortinget.no/no/Representanter-og-komiteer/Representantene/Representantfordeling/Representant/?perid=THBR>.
- Troms og Finnmark fylkeskommune. 'Fylkestinget vedtok oppstart av oppdeling' [The county council approved the start of the de-merger]. 2021, accessed 18 January 2022, <https://www.tffk.no/aktuelt/fylkestinget-vedtok-oppstart-av-oppdeling.38399.aspx>).
- UiT Norges arktiske universitet. 'Den andre verdenskrigen i nord' [The Second World War in the north]. 2020, accessed 3 August 2020, https://uit.no/prosjekter/prosjekt?p_document_id=590183.
- UiT Norges arktiske universitet. 'C – Hverdagsliv og minoriteter i nord: sammenligning og perisentrisme' [C – Everyday life and minorities in the north: comparison and pericentrism]. 2019, accessed 3 August 2020, https://uit.no/prosjekter/prosjektsub?p_document_id=590210&sub_id=591432.
- UiT Norges arktiske universitet. 'I en verden av total krig: Norge 1939-1945' [In a world of total war: Norway 1939-1945]. 2020, accessed 3 August 2020, https://uit.no/prosjekter/prosjekt?p_document_id=590210.
- ung.no. 'Hva er konfirmasjon?' [What is confirmation?]. n.d., accessed 22 August 2017, [www.ung.no/konfir/929 Kirkelig eller Humanistisk konfirmasjon – hva velger du.html](http://www.ung.no/konfir/929_Kirkelig_eller_Humanistisk_konfirmasjon_-_hva_velger_du.html).

- United States Census Bureau. 'Easter Dates from 1600 to 2099.' 2017, accessed 11 September 2017, <https://www.census.gov/srd/www/genhol/easter500.html - easter1900>.
- University of Cambridge, Cambridge University Libraries. 'The Rising Tide: Women at Cambridge: #WomenAtCambridge.' n.d., accessed 7 October 2020, <https://www.cam.ac.uk/TheRisingTide>.
- War Resisters' International. 'Conscientious Objection in History.' 2015, accessed 20 May 2019, <https://www.wri-irg.org/en/cobook-online/co-in-history>.
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. 'Our Movement: History.' 2018, accessed 30 May 2019, <https://www.wilpf.org/our-movement/>.
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. 'WILPF Membership.' 2018, accessed 9 July 2019, <https://www.wilpf.org/membership/>.
- Woodbrooke. 'About Woodbrooke.' n.d., accessed 16 November 2018, <https://www.woodbrooke.org.uk/about/about-woodbrooke-2/>.
- World Bank, 'Land area (sq. km).' 2018, accessed 16 February 2018, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/AG.LND.TOTL.K2?name_desc=false.
- Yad Vashem, 'Home: The Righteous Among the Nations: FAQs.' 2017, accessed 6 November 2017, <http://www.yadvashem.org/righteous/faq>.
- Yad Vashem, 'Righteous Among the Nations Awarded by Yad Vashem by 1 January 2017: Norway.' n.d. accessed 6 November 2017, <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/pdf-drupal/norway.pdf>.

Photographs of Hammerfest

- Nerlien. 'Midtbyen og Molla 1934' [Town centre and Molla 1934]. 1934, accessed 1 May 2014, http://www.hammerfest.folkebibl.no/cgi-bin/websok-bilde?mode=vt&pubsok_txt_0=Midtbyen%20Og%20Molla&pubsok_kval_0=/. Courtesy of Hammerfest Historielag.
- 'Ruinbyen fotografert fra Salsida mot Haugen [1945]' [The ruined town, photographed from Salsida looking towards Haugen [1945]]. 1945, accessed 1 May 2014, [http://www.hammerfest.folkebibl.no/cgi-bin/websok-bilde?mode=vt&eccl=\(%26quot;ruinbyen+fotografert+fra+salsida+mot+haugen*%26quot;+eller+\(ruinbyen*+og+fotografert*+og+fra*+og+salsida*+og+mot*+og+haugen*\)\)&st=p](http://www.hammerfest.folkebibl.no/cgi-bin/websok-bilde?mode=vt&eccl=(%26quot;ruinbyen+fotografert+fra+salsida+mot+haugen*%26quot;+eller+(ruinbyen*+og+fotografert*+og+fra*+og+salsida*+og+mot*+og+haugen*))&st=p). Courtesy of Hammerfest Historielag.