CHILDREN AS A TOOL OF OCCUPATION IN THE FRENCH ZONE OF OCCUPATION OF GERMANY, 1945-49

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For all the triumphalist rhetoric of economic and military retribution issued by France towards defeated Germany in May 1945,[1] one of the first decisions made by senior officers in the French zone of occupation was to invite French children over to Germany for some recuperative holidays. Popular impressions persisted of a Germany in the wake of the Nazi defeat in 1945 as a country flattened from bombing, stricken by shortages and bristling with dissembling former Nazis.[2] So it is noteworthy, at the very least, that the French military authorities set about inviting not just a few, but tens of thousands of children who would be accommodated for weeks at a time every summer, including that very first summer after liberation in May 1945.

This article forms part of my ongoing work on the French zone of occupation (Zone Française d'Occupation, ZFO) in Germany after the Second World War, to which I bring a gendered, intersectional, social and cultural historical approach. As such, I am interested both in the types of encounter experienced in the occupied zone, and in their implications for our consideration of the history of the immediate post-war period and of Franco-German and Allied-German relations more broadly. Rather than taking the perspective of the child, here I explore the endeavour from the point of view of the military, and will suggest that the establishment of a special military sector to run these holidays for children indicates more than simple benevolence on the part of the French army of occupation in Germany. Instead, I propose that these holidays formed part of the

renegotiation of power between France and Germany, both of which had been defeated and occupied by the other, and whose relations on the ground, officially at least, were frosty.[3] French soldiers arriving in Germany learnt that the Nazi project had been one of racial extermination of all the French, not solely French Jews,[4] which was a common-enough view at the time. One might read the welcoming of children into Germany, therefore, as part of the reinvigorated imperial project that General de Gaulle, among others, was insisting would form an important context for the re-establishment of a greater France on which the rest of the victorious world would bestow its admiration. It was thus into a domain of political tension that the children would be invited. That they came at all is because children formed an important part of the vision to reinvigorate a greater, colonial France,[5] and while there were sceptics among the Allies, many in France regarded the French occupation of Germany as rightful and just.[6]

Before its exploration of the holiday camps themselves, this article will offer some historical context concerning both the French zone of occupation and the organisation of children's mass tourism. The dangers that faced French children in the form of 'moral abandonment' as well as the lack of physical care and nourishment became a special concern to the Third Republic from the 1880s.[7] Thus, French people, particularly from the working class, had become used to the idea that children could be sent away for their own health. The long-standing tradition of dispatching children to the countryside to a *nourrice* (or, for the wealthiest parents, employing a live-in wet nurse)[8] that had existed at least since the seventeenth century,[9] evolved in several ways: first, into the current system of foster-parenting

(*familles d'accueil*),[10] and, second, into the more organized framework of the *colonies de vacances* which provided care over several summer weeks for working-class and lower middle-class children. The ideological framing of these summer camps was clear from the outset, given that the largest providers were, on the one hand, left-wing movements including the Parti Communiste Français, trades unions and left-wing local authorities, and on the other hand, the Catholic Church.[11] A third aspect of the *nourrice rurale* that was especially important during the German occupation of France after 1940, was the way that its existing links provided ready-made networks for urban parents who wanted their children to experience the war in safer, rural environments within France.[12] Hundreds of children, Jewish and non-Jewish, were consigned to the safety of rural carers in order to remove them from all sorts of dangers.[13]

As for the military, the French zone of occupation summer camps did not represent their first foray into the organisation of *colonies de vacances* either. Both before and during the German occupation of France, the army had offered places in mainland France to the children of military personnel serving in the colonial army – the only part of the armed forces permitted under the terms of the armistice that Vichy France had signed with Nazi Germany. These holiday camps operated under a strict hierarchy of entitlement, with priority being given to the children of officers and *sous-officiers*. In 1941, some children were also sent to foster families and holiday centres. The army liked the home-based holidays, as they were cheaper and easier to organize, but the children did not. They preferred the *colonies de vacances*, which at the time functioned on a military division by

division basis, an extremely onerous and costly enterprise. Nor were these *colonies de vacances* an improvement on the civilian ones that often ran right alongside them, and whose staff were trained in childcare, rather than being soldiers seconded from their usual military duties.[14] The limited numbers of military children also meant that *colonies* had to be mixed, not single-sex, a bizarre paradox for armed forces under Vichy's strictly gender-segregated ideology. But so important did the army consider these holidays, that the military authorities ran them until 1943 – despite desperate shortages of youngsters who could serve as *moniteurs*,[15] and a lack of suitable sites, since the French armed forces were barred from the reserved zone in the Pyrenees, and the German occupiers had established areas at all the coastlines and borders to which access was permitted only with a special pass. Even in accessible areas, German and Italian forces had requisitioned most of the suitable buildings and materials. To cap it all, a polio outbreak in southern France meant that those few summer camps which did open, had to promptly close again.[16] The army abandoned its *colonies de vacances* altogether in 1943.

By 1945, then, many French working-class parents were not only accustomed to the idea that they should entrust their children to others for a period of several weeks over the summer, but had frequently done so during the war under a sometimes obligatory system of evacuations,[17] which Downs argues reveals a specifically French social understanding of child development, that did not view separation from the mother as inevitably damaging.[18] The military also had some rather limited, though not very successful, experience in organizing summer camps, as noted above. The

enterprise in the ZFO, however, was on a different scale entirely and, as I have indicated, was in part for reasons in addition to children's wellbeing.

As the smallest of the four zones into which Germany was divided after its defeat, the French zone also had the lowest density of population, with just 125 people per square kilometre; in contrast, the density of population of the British zone in the industrial north-west was 228 per square kilometre, while the US zone in the south, and the Soviet zone in the east each had densities of population between those two.[19] There was little heavy industry and the Zone contained no significant cities (the US contrived that Stuttgart, liberated by French troops, and Karlsruhe, ended up in their zone), which meant that it suffered far less bomb damage than other parts of Germany. Apart from viticulture and stone fruit, there was little extensive agriculture either. Timber and tourism were the main drivers of the local economy, and much of the Zone featured hills and mountains, meadows and pastures, and natural spas. The area was dotted with smaller rivers and lakes, and bordered by the vast Lake Constance in the south, and the River Rhine in the west.

[FIGURE 1, MAP OF ZONES, HERE]

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a9/Germany_occupation_zones_with_border.jpg

To date, the historiography of children in the French Zone of Occupation in Germany has focused on child refugees,[20] and on children born to French fathers (prisoners of war, forced labour and, eventually, serving soldiers) and German mothers.[21] French policy regarding children covered quite a range of circumstances, but was always governed by

concern for national interests, in particular, a future French population. During the German occupation of France and under the Vichy regime, the question of nationality, including that of children, had become an issue of tension and conflict, most notoriously to the extent that Jewish children became subject to deportation, along with adults.[22] On the other hand, the Vichy regime made strenuous efforts to educate and indoctrinate the children of whom it approved.[23] After Liberation, nationality and citizenship were again in focus, though with the added urgency of rebuilding the French nation. Immigration, within strict limits, was seen as key to this, and certain nationalities were regarded as more suitable and 'assimilable' than others.[24] The abundance of children regarded as 'partly French' – i.e. those who had been born in Germany to German women and French fathers, (often forced labourers) came to the attention of those policy-makers keen to increase the metropolitan population. Not only were these children viewed as at least partly French, but they were considered to be exactly the right kind of progeny to form the future French population. Embedded within that belief was a none-too-hidden admiration for what were regarded as the special German qualities of strength and organisation that pro-natalists wanted to foster in France.[25] With this kind of biologistic pro-natalism in mind, such children, having been born in Germany, were (often unwillingly) given up for adoption and taken to France, frequently with no knowledge of their original parentage.[26]

While such children were being taken out of Germany to improve a future France, French children themselves were being taken into Germany for quite similar reasons. Just as French policymakers 'used relief as a tool

of diplomacy' in the treatment of displaced persons and humanitarian aid in the French zone,[27] so the establishment of children's holiday camps, as well as rural retreats for children suffering from tuberculosis where they would stay for several months,[28] served a greater purpose than to provide children with something to do during the summer, although it did that too. If anyone was under-occupied, in fact, it was the French military who, even as their numbers were reduced in 1946, now at a stroke acquired a function for much of the year.[29] Moreover, invitations to French children to spend their holidays in the French zone provided the occupation forces with a highly original means with which to embed their occupation into the territory that they occupied.

Orders to establish the holiday camps came from the very top, the commander-in-chief General Koenig himself, and no less a rank than a general was detailed to take charge of what the military termed each summer's 'campaign'.[30] With up to 40,000 children per annum crossing the Rhine – its bombed bridges notwithstanding – from France into the French zone of occupation, the organization of holiday camps required large numbers of personnel from the top of the military chain of command to the lowest ranks; large numbers of properties; and the acquiescence of large numbers of local Germans – one for every twenty children – who worked directly for the holiday camps or supplied requisitioned goods and accommodation.[31] The second half of 1945 was spent devising the system that would operate over the next three years,[32] as a result of which the ZFO, already split into a northern and a southern zone, was unhelpfully subdivided into further zones for the purposes of the *colonies de vacances*.[33]

Initial plans were for some of the *colonies* to be held within military encampments themselves, though this plan seems to have faded in practice.[34]

Teams of officers, paid at specific levels according to their rank,[35] would scout for suitable holiday properties in each geographical sector during January and February, and requisition them and all the necessary fixtures and fittings, furniture and other supplies during the spring, ready for children to arrive in five-weekly relays during June, July and August. The clearing-up operation, including making good the disturbed relations with the local population, was undertaken in the autumn. This alone required considerable effort. One hotelier south-east of Baden-Baden, for example, undertook extensive correspondence in order to reclaim his 'fourteen polished walnut bedsteads, fourteen bed bases, fourteen blue feather beds, fourteen blue pillows, twelve coloured bedcovers, two white bedcovers, eight coloured pillowcases, six white pillowcases, seventeen white towels, ten large mattresses and three small mattresses', as well as the five pfennig per washed item he had been promised.[36] Worries over this type of minutiae were repeated across the ZFO, before the whole cycle would start again in the new year. By June 1946, the holiday camps were located in seventy-four districts across the French zone, each district using up to ten different buildings such as hotels and guest houses, but also schools and convents, to accommodate the children.[37] The following year, in the northern sector of the zone alone, 184 establishments, ranging from spa hotels to police training academies and mother and baby homes, were inspected in 1947 before being reserved for the French children's summer holidays.[38] The

entire effort required the attention of large numbers of army personnel for much of the year.

The organizational effort was just as arduous in France itself. Government agencies funded the rail transport to Germany, while other costs were met by the dozens of separate organizations which sent children to the holiday camps.[39] Thousands of children were sent by local authorities in and around Paris, as well as from the Marseille and Provence regions, Alsace and Lorraine, and the Nord and Pas-de-Calais. Dozens of civilian and military charitable and welfare organisations such as the Union Nationale des Associations Familiales (UNAF) and the Comité des Oeuvres Sociales des Organisations de la Résistance (COSOR), factories and industries such as Peugeot and SNCF, and even individual schools and tiny local groups sent children to Germany for the summer.[40] In May 1946, an organisation of senior former resisters informed the authorities of its intention to send 6,000 children on holiday a month or two later.[41] It is a mark of the respect anticipated by resisters that they assumed their demands would be satisfied.

Once an organization's application for places had been accepted, there began the arduous task of getting children and camp leaders from France to Germany. Each person working at a *colonie* needed a passport to enter Germany, which in 1948 cost 500 francs, and had to supply five copies each of a multitude of documents – their identity card, two photographs, recent proof of domicile, a birth certificate for unmarried workers, a marriage certificate for married women, or a demob certificate or other military evidence for men.[42]

Children required a medical inspection before being permitted to join the summer camp, and these revealed the very poor state of children's health after the war. Studies of a group of 2,000 Parisian children showed that around a third suffered from untreated dental cavities, more than that number from rickets, and there were large numbers of ear, nose and throat illnesses, as well as hernias, lung and heart problems. In what might be regarded as the gendered attention paid to children's health, boys showed worse outcomes than girls (and there was great concern for testicular health, but no record of girls' reproductive organs), except when it came to 'bad attitude', when more than a quarter of girls were assessed with this problem, against a fifth of the boys.[43] Parisian children's health in any case was a particular cause for concern.[44] Those suffering and recovering from tuberculosis, as well as those with learning disabilities (*enfants déficients*), were barred from these holidays, and could apply instead for longer-term placements at separate centres known as *préventoria* and *aéria*.[45]

As well as medical records, parents had to supply their child's birth certificate, legal proof of domicile, legal paternal authorization, even if the parents were divorced, or the father's death certificate if he was no longer living. They would need all their ration cards for the duration of the holiday, food to last the twenty-four hours of the journey, and a first aid kit.[46] A typical journey would depart Paris by rail in the evening, to arrive around thirteen hours later in Baden-Baden. From there, children would be transported in military lorries to their destination.[47]

It was not necessarily always easy for the different interests to coordinate with each other.[48] In one of the *colonies de vacances* zones in the

ZFO, the army found that the camp leaders who came from France were largely unsuited to their task and, having no military training, refused to take orders from the soldiers in charge.[49] Some French military objected to the very the installation of holiday camps themselves, and attempted to keep their locality free of boisterous children.[50] Camp leaders complained that groups from different areas of Paris were supposed to lodge together, while those from a single Parisian *banlieue* had to inhabit separate locations two kilometres apart.[51]

I remarked above that the children's wellbeing was not the sole objective of the holidays; it did constitute, however, a vital element of the children's weeks in Germany. A typical day lasted around twelve hours: up at 8am, the children would be washed and dressed by 9 and ready for breakfast. At 9.30 they would gather for the flag-raising ceremony[52] before an hour of 'corrective physical education' and 'hébertisme' (the exercise system devised by Georges Hébert to connect body and mind with nature),[53] just as youths in Vichy's *chantiers de la jeunesse* had done.[54] At 11am they were allowed an hour's playtime before lunch at midday, followed by an afternoon nap and time to write letters home. Afternoon tea would be followed by hikes, organised games or swimming. Dinner was at 7pm, and bedtime at 8pm.[55] Soldiers would occasionally join the children around the campfire.[56] The children's improvement was intended on all levels, via spiritual, intellectual and physical exercise. To this end, children would receive instruction on the history, geography and natural history of the region of their holiday, and dozens of the surviving records include detailed

accounts of every meal provided to the children, and the changes to each child's weight and height.

Notwithstanding the difficulties with food supply for everyone in the French zone, the officer in charge of each camp, known as the *parrain*, was to 'assurer aux enfants venant de France, le maximum de laitage, fruits, legumes frais qu'il sera possible de trouver dans la région'.[57] Local inhabitants feared that a greater quantity of foodstuffs than were available in the region would be demanded. For example, the local authorities in the Saulgau area were sent into a panic in July 1945 by the imminent arrival of 300 French children who would be spending between four and six weeks in a nearby castle. Of particular concern was the large quantity of eggs and full-fat milk that the children would consume on a daily basis, as well as the question of where enough beds and bedding would be found, given that French soldiers who had already occupied the castle seemed to have made off with some of the linens.[58]

Acquisition of these generous rations was nothing if not complex. In 1946, food, and fuel for heating and vehicles were to be supplied either by the military supplies agency, OCADO; bought direct from local suppliers against coupons supplied by the army; or, particularly in the case of fuel and the services of German personnel for cooking, cleaning and caretaking, provided by the *parrains* themselves.[59] It was they who would ensure that each camp received the necessary supplies on a weekly basis, and they who would keep a detailed record of the daily numbers of residents and full accounts of income and expenditure.[60] As for the German labour, it, like the accommodation and equipment, was requisitioned, meaning that it was a

requirement of the military occupiers that local inhabitants comply with orders and in many cases had a lengthy wait before they were compensated.

For all that official regulations insisted that requisitions be made only if their need was absolutely necessary,[61] the *colonies de vacances* were one means by which requisitioned property – both accommodation and other necessities such as furniture, bedding and catering equipment – could be justified. This could also drift into the longer term. For ease of organization, the military administrator of the Ahrweiler district, for instance, suggested that the 973 beds, 3,487 sheets, 1,460 blankets, 918 mattresses, 1,414 spoons, 11,440 forks, 1,291 knives, 2,907 plates, 508 teacloths, 542 towels and 1,008 glasses that had been requisitioned in 1945 be placed on permanent requisition instead of being returned to their owners and re-requisitioned each year for the children expected to holiday in his district.[62] This type of involuntary long-term loan led to significant discontent. Indeed, hostility to the arrival of the children persisted long after military control ended. One local historian claimed (with little supporting evidence) that 'the occupiers of the little town of Miesenheim whose population numbered just 2,000, put 1,000 recuperating French children into private quarters, so that bedrooms and beds were simply requisitioned and the German children had to sleep on straw'.[63] On the other hand, hoteliers whose properties had been requisitioned would later attempt to profit from what they had regarded as misfortune, by claiming for costs for renovation dating from before the war, that would have been required in any case.[64]

Unlike the army's earlier efforts at summer camp organization, those in the post-war French zone of occupation were explicitly for needy,

working-class children from France. French Children who lived in the ZFO themselves, mainly because their officer fathers were stationed there, were considered unsuitable as they were spoilt (although it allowed them a break from the 'depressing' climate of Baden-Baden where the French military had its headquarters, otherwise considered ideal for spa-goers),[65] while middle-class children living in mainland France from 'more comfortable milieus who are used to being spoilt at home and want for nothing […] are very demanding and difficult to accommodate en Colonie'.[66]

The *colonies de vacances* were far from genteel, but the children were offered a lifestyle completely out of the ordinary, and certainly what the 'ordinary' had become in occupied France. This was not simply a matter of giving city kids a taste of the countryside, but a chance to fatten up physically and culturally on the fruits of what the zone had to offer, and to participate in the remaking of Germany. In terms of physical health, the French authorities expected extremely generous rations to be provided for their occupiers, particularly those undertaking hard physical labour such as woodcutters.[67] If anything, the anticipated rations for visiting children were more generous still. In Saulgau, for instance, 240 twelve-to-fifteen-year-olds were each expected to be supplied with daily rations of one litre of milk, an egg, 100 grams of butter, forty grams of cheese, 250 grams of meat, 400 grams of potatoes and green vegetables, fifty grams of honey or jam, and three-quarters of a litre of beer.[68] This was in the summer of 1945, when Germans across all zones were complaining of shortages (although in the British zone, in a bid to pacify any latent Nazi sympathy, they were allocated more calories than the population of Britain at home).[69] It is of

little surprise then, that food supply was a perennial problem at the camps,[70] and many leaders reported that early on during their stay there had been too little food.

Still, as is indicated by the exercise books kept by each holiday camp to record the children's height and weight on arrival and departure (and sometimes in between), a good half of the children gained weight and grew taller as was intended. It seems unlikely, however, that the children received their full complement of rations. Few went as hungry as the visitors to the Bonndorf holiday camp in 1947, where they were fed inadequate and boring meals of 'split peas and boiled potatoes, lentils and boiled potatoes, broad beans and boiled potatoes, or cabbage and potatoes' every day. Of the sixty-seven kilos of jam anticipated, only ten appeared, and far from getting an egg per day, the children at this camp received little more than one egg each for the duration of their entire stay.[71] Elsewhere, food deliveries were hindered not only by local German producers but by the French military supply organisation, OCADO, itself.[72] Despite having tonnes of carrots in stock, for example, one OCADO would deliver only eighty-nine kilos to the local *colonies de vacances*, 'environ une demi carotte par tête de pipe' as the military *parrain* complained, with similar problems with potatoes, and other perishables.[73]

While children were of enormous social concern in France after the war, as might be indicated by the many shifts to welfare, education and social practice concerning children in the second half of the 1940s, it can be argued that the movement of children from France into Germany during the summer months of 1945-49 stemmed not only from solicitude for their

welfare. The military intended to transmit a strong ideological message that the children would carry home. This would be implanted in the children via the daily flag-raising and lowering, but also a specifically Christian message.[74] Alongside this aim, at least one *colonie* was established specifically for Jewish orphans, and this too aimed to inculcate a strong message of French citizenship.[75]

All the children at one of the 'colonies israélites' were Holocaust orphans from the working-class district of St Ouen outside Paris, organized by the well-established Oeuvre israélite des Séjours à la campagne.[76] At the start, the children's health was 'très déficient' and they only gained on average just over two kilos each over the 45 days of their visit, which was considered 'moyenne'. Food was sufficient in calories but dull and lacking in fresh vegetables according to the director, as the daily menus reveal.[77] Nor were the activities very interesting or as varied as at other holiday camps: there were daily prayers at the flag-raising ceremony, and prayers on Friday evenings. Otherwise, the children went for a few walks, did some drama and singing, and everyone had a bath on Friday morning. On Tuesdays they did 'gymnastique corrective' with a nurse from Paris, with special exercises for the 35 per cent of the children considered 'déficient'. The children invited a neighbouring girls' *colonie* to dinner one evening, and the neighbouring boys' *colonie* to a football and a handball match. On the eve of their departure the children presented a performance for Mme de Rothschild and the Jewish chaplain in Germany and Austria, Rabbi Eichiski.[78]

These Jewish children were still deeply affected by the war. On their arrival, they were exhausted and anaemic, and some had scabies; a further outbreak of infection hospitalized several children in nearby Freudenstadt. Nevertheless, the camp director, Madame Nabet, was able to create a real *colonie de vacances* from a disparate set of lodgings whose preparation was incomplete on the children's arrival. Working hard with the tutors and the children, they formed their own identity, calling themselves 'Feu de joie au coeur d'un carrefour', a name perhaps giving voice to their lost identity. She commented that the French military did a marvellous job in training 'de bons Français, sains et énergiques'.[79]

This particular camp, then, would appear to fulfil the expressed desire for all the *colonies de vacances* to develop an 'attitude noble, courageuse et fière que doit avoir le français en Allemagne où il a une mission à remplir, car les Allemands jugent les Français d'après des petits Français qu'on leur envoie' and 'l'honneur et la fièreté d'être Français'.[80] To this end, the directors of another camp, at Wallmerod (40 km north-east of Koblenz), sent to the *mairie* of Boulogne-Billancourt pictures drawn by the children as well as some leftover Nazi-era publicity to show where they were staying.[81] The tenor of the summer camp can be gleaned from an essay written by one thirteen-year-old, posted with others to the town hall of his working-class banlieue which had organized his trip.

> Wallmerod, tel est le nom de la localité où 130 petits Français sont venus recherchés [sic] l'air pur des montagnes ainsi qu'une nourriture saine et abondante. Wallmerod, ce village aux maisons

> gracieuses et confortables, loge environ 900 habitants. […] Quatre hôtels où [sic] villas sont réquisitionnés pour permettre aux moniteurs et aux colons de dormir confortablement; une grande salle gracieuse sert de réfectoire et le soir quelquefois une veillée avec jeux et chants nous rassemble dans le réfectoire après le repas. Parfois au cours d'une promenade, l'escalade d'une montagne nous permet d'admirer le site grandiose qui s'offre à nos yeux; Wallmerod au creux d'une vallée surmonté du drapeau Français qui flotte au vent; et s'étendant a l'infini toutes ces montagnes derrière lesquelles nous devinons notre chère patrie que nous n'oublions pas malgré nos jeux.[82]

The connection between the Germany over which the French flag fluttered, and the distant France itself could not be clearer in this neatly handwritten adolescent essay. Collective spirit would also endure after the holidays were over, for example at the Christmas party organised by the Troupes françaises d'occupation en Allemagne for children who had been in the Black Forest.[83] This was a way in which support for the occupation could be fostered back home via 'soft propaganda', and among children whose parents might not, for reason of their socialist politics, be entirely supportive of the French military endeavour in Germany.[84]

The summer camps campaign ended in 1949, when the military role across the western part of occupied Germany shifted, and the three zones became the Federal Republic. It had persisted despite evident difficulties of transport and finance, and some scepticism from within the military sector

itself. It was neither simple expediency nor benevolence that led the French military to organize holiday camps for tens of thousands of impoverished, hungry and traumatized children, but another means by which they could embed their occupation in their corner of occupied Germany, to which resistance could only appear churlish.

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France: the French military archives at Vincennes, Service Historique de la Défense (hereafter, SHD); the Archives Nationales at Pierrefitte (AN); the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs at La Courneuve, Archives Diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (MAE), in particular the section relating to the Haut Commissariat en Allemagne (HCA), Affaires Budgétaires (AB); and the Archives Municipales (AM) of the suburb to the west of Paris, Boulogne-Billancourt (BB).

Germany: two sections of the Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (LBW): the Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen (StSig) and the Staatsarchiv Freiburg (StFrei).

[1] *Les Français en Allemagne*, news film, 1 January 1946.

[2] Exemplified in the movie, *A Foreign Affair*, dir. by Billy Wilder. USA: Paramount, 1948.

[3] Norbert Ohler, 'Franzosen in Deutschland - Freiburg als Beispiel', in *Die 'Franzosenzeit' im Lande Baden von 1945 bis heute/La Présence française dans le Pays de Baden de 1945 à nos jours* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1992), pp. 65–82 (p. 65).

[4] Gouvernement Militaire de la Zone Française d'occupation: Direction de l'Information, *La Revue de la Zone française* 3 15 January 1946, p. 69.

[5] General de Gaulle famously called for 12 million bonny babies within ten years. Assemblée Nationale, 2 March 1945.

[6] Claude-Albert Moreau and Roger Jouanneau-Irriera, *Présence française en Allemagne, essai de géographie cordiale de la Zone française d'occupation* (Baden-Baden: Régie autonome des publications officielles avec le concours des éd. H. Neveu, 1949), p. 35.

[7] Sylvia Schafer, *Children in Moral Danger and the Problem of Government in Third Republic France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[8] Colin Heywood, *Growing up in France: From the Ancien Régime to the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 124, 127–32.

[9] Fanny Faÿ-Sallois, *Les Nourrices à Paris au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Payot, 1980).

[10] Flore Capelier, 'Des « nourrices » aux assistants familiaux : retour sur la construction d'une profession', *Journal du droit des jeunes*, 2014, 11–15.

[11] Laura Lee Downs, *Childhood in the Promised Land: Working-Class Movements and the Colonies de Vacances in France, 1880-1960* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2002).

[12] Dominique Veillon, *Vivre et survivre en France (1939-1947)* (Paris: Editions Payot & Rivages, 1995).

[13] Nicole Dombrowski Risser, *France under Fire: German Invasion, Civilian Flight, and Family Survival during World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 42.

[14] 'Fonctionnement des colonies de vacances en 1941', n.d.: SHD 9 R 46-2.

[15] Rapport de Place, Vichy, 17 March 1943: SHD 9 R 46-2.

[16] 'Note de synthèse concernant la fonctionnement des colonies de vacances en 1943', Vichy, 28 October 1943: SHD 9 R 46-2.

[17] Laura Lee Downs, 'Les évacuations d'enfants en France et en Grande Bretagne (1939-1940)', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2011, 413–48 (p. 437).

[18] Laura Lee Downs, 'Au Revoir Les Enfants: Wartime Evacuation and the Politics of Childhood in France and Britain, 1939–45', *History Workshop Journal*, 82.1 (2016), 121–50 (p. 124).

[19] Commandement en Chef Français en Allemagne, *Principaux résultats du recensement démographique du 29 octobre 1946* (Fribourg-en-Brisgau: Service de Statistiques, 1949), p. 3.

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