

# Contents

## Acknowledgments — V

### Introduction: Humanitarian Identity and the Politics of Service — 1

Humanitarianism as History — 4

Humanitarianism and Religion — 10

Quaker Relief and American Empire — 14

Quaker Relief in the Age of Humanitarianism — 16

### 1 “Lay upon us the burden of the world’s suffering”: Quaker Humanitarianism before the First World War — 26

The Quakers in the United States — 26

The Humanitarian Quakers — 33

### 2 Constructive Service: The First World War and the Founding of the American Friends Service Committee — 38

A Sense of Unity and Purpose: Building a Quaker Relief Organization — 39

The AFSC in France — 47

“Silent Representatives”: Quakers and Humanitarian Mobilization in the United States — 59

The Real Work Has Just Begun: The AFSC after the Armistice — 70

### 3 A New Pennsylvania: The *Quäkerspeisung* in Germany 1919–1923 — 72

Fight the Famine! The AFSC and the Allied Blockade against Germany 1918/1919 — 73

Hoover Opens a Door: The AFSC as a Representative of the American Relief Administration — 84

Between American Effort and Service to the “Greater Fatherland” — 92

Selling German Relief — 105

Return to the Rhine and Ruhr — 111

### 4 Swallowed by Lions and Eagles: The AFSC in the Soviet Union 1921–1923 — 115

The Quakers in Russia — 116

Hoover Reloaded: The AFSC and the ARA Operation in Russia in 1921 — 121

Cold and Hunger in Every Eye: The AFSC Operation 1921–1922 — 133

The AFSC and the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Belarus — 136

- “An Amazing Campaign” — 139
- Selling “Red Relief” — 144
- The AFSC in Poland and Austria — 150

**5 What’s the Message? The AFSC between Home and Foreign Service 1919–1935 — 155**

- What Future for the AFSC? — 155
- From Hoover to the New Deal — 168
- International Work after Relief — 174

**6 The Quakerly Approach at Its Limits: The AFSC and Nazi Germany 1933–1939 — 187**

- The AFSC and the Nazi Seizure of Power — 188
- In the Eye of Terror: The Berlin International Center 1933–1935 — 194
- An Infrastructure of Aid — 207
- In Search for the Right Line of Service: The AFSC and Refugee Aid after 1938 — 215

**7 Contested Neutrality: The AFSC in the Spanish Civil War — 231**

- “A Tragic Picture” — 232
- The AFSC in Spain — 236
- The AFSC and the Spanish Civil War at Home — 239
- Going International — 248
- Selling Neutrality — 259

**8 Everyone’s Friend? The AFSC, the Second World War, and the Tensions of Humanitarian Aid Twenty-Five Years On — 271**

- Back at War — 272
- The “Fanaticism of Good” in Times of War: The AFSC Back on the Home Front — 277
- Quaker Aid in War — 283
- The AFSC after 25 Years — 294

**Archival Sources — 307**

**Bibliography — 311**

**Index — 327**