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The American Friends Service Committee and Confederated Humanitarianism

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Abstract

Often marked by the formation of the International Red Cross in 1863, modern Humanitarianism defines itself in idealized terms as an impartial, neutral, and independent institution that aims to relieve human suffering caused by war and natural disaster. The fallout caused by the First World War caused an incredible number of American Humanitarian organizations to travel overseas in Europe, including the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Although modern humanitarianism may use seemingly clear-cut motivations to rally volunteers, the Friends and non-Friends who worked for the AFSC did so during a time of increasingly complex and fragmented religious and political motivations. In the religious context, Evangelical Christian motivations which had exercised a strong influence for the past 50 years were giving way to secular motivations such as the concept of secular "human dignity." In the political context, the senses of national pride which had caused World War I clashed with the beginnings of the internationalism that would eventually be propounded by the United Nations decades later. In my work, I argue that the AFSC formed a paradoxical coalition of humanitarian motivation around an elusive Liberal Christian Spirituality and a divisional internationalism that both thrived and struggled during the religiously and politically fragmented interwar period.

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Introduction

Between 1917 and 1921, Joseph Haines carried out a spiritual mission by working for the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in war-devastated France. While the Evangelical Christians of the nineteenth century carried out spiritual missions by lecturing foreigners on the doctrinal specifics of Christianity, Haines' spiritual mission consisted of slating roofs and repairing barns. Was a hope that he could spread the belief in "love and mercy" central to Quakerism a major motivating factor for Haines' work in France?¹ In his November 24, 1918, letter, the reader finds a recognition that the French Madam Moret "appreciated very much" the books of Rufus Jones, the influential Quaker mystic, that Haines gave her.² However, the small victory for the Quaker doctrine is tucked in the middle of a much lengthier discussion of how the AFSC can procure relief supplies for their work in Verdun. One can conclude, at least, that Haines believed foreigners should learn about Quakers through their relief work first and their religious creeds second. Throughout Europe, the larger Quaker relief effort echoed Haines' peculiar approach to spreading faith. In Berlin, Germany, the AFSC's child-feeding work inspired many inquiries about the Quaker faith. While AFSC's child-feeding work in Berlin garnered a small number of Quaker converts, more impressively it inspired the formation of a significant number of "friends of the Friends," who remained interested in Quakerism but did not officially adopt the label of Quaker.³ One might argue that the work of Joseph Haines and the AFSC in Post-World War I Europe complies with the definition of an ideal humanitarian organization: an organization that places the immediate relief of human suffering above selfish motivations such as religious conversion. But throughout his own written record of his four-year

mission, the altruistic Quaker never ceases blending a secular discourse of a belief in “humanity” used by other twentieth century humanitarians with hints that he might be spreading some form of spirituality.

In addition to holding perplexing spiritual beliefs that tottered between religiosity and secularism, Haines also held political beliefs that abhor categories traditional to twentieth-century historical analysis. While nationalists hoped that reliance on tried-and-true nation-building would save an ethnically-scrambled Europe and internationalists dreamed of sharing in a common humanity, Joseph Haines thought of a different solution. “The different [European] nations are really more dependent on each other today than our thirteen states were in 1789 & are closer together & why the process should not be repeated is a mystery to me.”⁴ In short, Haines hoped that the League of Nations would inspire Europe to form a confederation of different ethnic groups, similar to the confederation of European colonies that eventually became the United States. Joseph Haines’ political views, which were remarkably similar to those of his AFSC colleagues, tread the middle-ground between international unity and national individualism.

Historical and Scholarly Context

The American Friends Service Committee was formed by Rufus Jones and other prominent Philadelphia Quakers in 1917 to provide young men with an alternative to military service. The AFSC first provided relief in France in collaboration with English Friends and the International Red Cross, and by 1920 it had become one of the primary private American aid organizations to provide aid to formerly antagonistic Germany.⁵ The tensions between internationalism and nationalism and secularism and spirituality in Joseph Haines' writings is mirrored by words of his fellow Friends and in the actions the AFSC as a larger entity took. Five years ago, Michael Barnett kick-started serious scholarly conversation of humanitarianism by pulling back the ideological veneer of the passive and pure humanitarian. Barnett wrote *Empire of Humanity* around the central argument that rather than providing impartial, neutral, and independent aid to sufferers of war, humanitarianism is the constant struggle to provide impartial, neutral, and independent aid. Following World War I, the AFSC navigated another tension central to the modern humanitarian institution. Living at the historical nexus of declining Christian social service and fledgling internationalism, the AFSC found itself attempting to piece together a unified relief coalition among a landscape of fragmented and often divisive humanitarian motivations. In the case of Joseph Haines, his peculiar method of spreading faith only after slating rooves and building barns reveals an AFSC attempting to craft a humanitarian spirituality in an increasingly, fragmented, secular age.

Scholars of humanitarianism characterize the early twentieth century as a time in which Western relief workers began to give up a Christian discourse for a secular discourse of humanity. In *Empire of Humanity, A History of Humanitarianism*, seminal humanitarian scholar

Michael Barnett casts nineteenth-century Evangelical Christian missionaries as the predecessors to twentieth-century humanitarians. European Evangelicals believed that all Christian or potentially-Christian souls possessed some sense of humanity and therefore deserved compassion.⁷ In the nineteenth-century, Christianity acted as a language of humanitarianism by motivating Evangelical missionaries to see the colonized and the imperialized as potential Christian-converts who deserved the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. But by the time of the interwar period, according to Barnett, humanitarians began to see fewer potential converts and instead began to see more human beings who deserved the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. While Barnett ends his discussion of the nineteenth-century with the 1910 World Missionary Conference, he ends his discussion of the interwar period with the 1931 Conference on the African Child. At the 1910 World Missionary Conference, political leaders and private missionaries discussed the spiritual well-being of imperialized populations. At the 1931 Conference on the African Child, a mixture of missionaries and secular humanitarians discussed how children deserved basic rights due to their nature as human beings.⁸ While the missionaries and their explicit references to a Christian God occupied a front row seat with the politicians prior to World War I, according to the current scholarly discourse, by the interwar period spiritual motivations had become diluted in a new obsession with a secular concept of human dignity, or what Bruno Cabanes calls new, universal “humanitarian rights.”⁹

Humanitarian scholars’ account of a fading Christianity in early twentieth century social service conflicts with the way in which scholars of religion emphasize the large role Christianity played in early twentieth century peace movements. In *Kingdom to commune: Protestant pacifist culture between World War I and the Vietnam era*, Patricia Appelbaum maintains that

the role of Protestantism in twentieth-century pacifism is often overlooked because the type of Protestantism that motivated this pacifism, Liberal Protestantism, is better understood as a culture rather than a doctrine. By culture, Appelbaum means that Liberal Protestant ideas motivated both Christian congregations as well as secular peace groups; Liberal Protestant texts were read by both official Christians and non-denominational relief workers. To quote Appelbaum, “the discourses of” Liberal Protestantism “resist complete identification with particular groups or individuals.”¹⁰ According to Appelbaum, while the Evangelical Christian discourse decreased in humanitarian influence, the influence of Christianity and spirituality did not. Instead, Christianity continued to exercise influence through the cultural discourse of Liberal Christianity. Likewise, Quaker Scholar Allan W. Austin corroborates that Liberal Christianity influenced early twentieth century pacifism through exercising “little interest in creeds” and allowing secular pacifists and professed Christians to share in a sense of a transcendent mission.

Unlike Humanitarian scholars who maintain that Christian humanitarianism gave way to secular humanitarianism, scholars of religion maintain that Christianity continued to exercise influence in the social sphere as a transformed ideology. Although Liberal Christianity bound together those who believed in pacifism because of commitments to a secular, universal humanity with those who believed in pacifism because of commitments to a Christian morality, a scholar of interwar religion might argue that Liberal Christianity was in no way less spiritual than Evangelical Christianity. At the end of the nineteenth century, Rufus Jones attempted to unite the Orthodox and the Hicksite Quaker, the creationist and the evolutionist with Liberal Quakers ideals. When one considers the Liberal Quakerism present in the words and actions of

the American Friends Service Committee and its members, the organizations' references to Christianity become parts of an encompassing spiritual ideology rather than an artifact of Evangelical Humanitarianism. By reading scholarship of religion alongside humanitarian scholarship, one wonders if Joseph Haines' peculiar method of spreading faith through slating roofs and building barns could indicate to an underlying faith that intentionally tottered between the explicitly religious and the seemingly secular.

Politically, scholars of humanitarianism cast the interwar period as a time in which the nationalism reverberating from World War I competed with a fledgling internationalism. Michael Barnett characterizes the interwar period as messy transition from nationalistic, "identity-based" humanitarianism to international, "need-based" humanitarianism.¹² Humanitarian idealists dreamt of not helping others because they were part of the same empire or nation, but instead of beginning to help others out of a secular concern for humanity that cut across identity lines. Specifically, Barnett cites organizations like the American Relief Administration and Save the Children as poster organizations for humanitarianism caught between late nineteenth century national and newly-introduced international aid.¹³ Despite having a heavy awareness of the American in its name, the ARA eventually intervened during the Russian famine and while Save the Children aspired to help all children internationally, the organization had to contend with the British public's fears of their German enemy.

In *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism 1918-1924*, Bruno Cabanes offers a similar political analysis to Barnett although he chooses to focus more on the rising internationalism rather than the remaining national divisions. The "need-based"¹⁴ humanitarianism that Barnett calls internationalism Cabanes calls the "transnational

community."¹⁵ In his book, Cabanes argues that the large-scale on the ground relief work of the Great War birthed a humanitarianism centered around networks of the relief workers and those they served rather than around networks of national identity. War veterans who wanted compensation, refugees who belonged to no state, and the global category of children began to compete with needy populations categorized by nationality. Unlike their overlooking of the significant twentieth-century humanitarian force of Liberal Christianity, Cabanes and Barnett pay adequate attention both nationalism and internationalism or transnationalism and their influences on twentieth-century aid. Building off the political analysis of Barnett and Cabanes, I plan to examine how the conflict between nationalism and internationalism ideologically motivated many Humanitarian organizations, such as the AFSC, during the interwar period. I also believe that the unfortunate misstep of Barnett and Cabanes' overlook of the role of Liberal Religion is magnified when one considers their insight into the early twentieth-century Humanitarian political context. The interwar period was a what Cabanes calls, a *sortie de guerre*, or post-war time in which existing religious and political institutions went through a process of restructuring. As a result, many of relief workers who negotiated a new humanitarian international politics were the same relief workers who negotiated a new humanitarian Liberal Religion. The resulting spiritual and political beliefs of these relief workers following World War I demonstrate a central tension of the modern humanitarian institution: the constant struggle between accepting divisive ideologies and claiming ideological unity. In the political context, this struggle expressed itself as many interwar humanitarians attempted to form an internationalism with the disparate national identities they had on hand.

Using the AFSC to Develop Confederated Humanitarianism as a Term for Analysis

In order to more clearly write about the politics of "*sortie de guerre*" humanitarianism, I must first clarify the terms national, international, and transnational. A dictionary defines international as an issue "between or among nations." But when Barnett talks of an international community he does not mean a humanitarianism that begins with nationality identity but a humanitarianism that begins with networks of need. When Barnett thinks of internationalism, he thinks of the way in which an organization like the AFSC provided aid to Germany children because of their existence in the global category of starving children. Barnett's internationalism is the transnationalism Cabanes invokes when *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism* talks of the post-war look to a rising, secular concept of humanity. A dictionary defines transnational as "going beyond national boundaries or interests." In short, Barnett and many other humanitarian scholars tie the term internationalism too closely to the idea of a global, human community and not closely enough to a weak, decentralized association of states. By conflating the words international and transnational, current humanitarian scholarship overlooks the way in which interwar humanitarians may have intentionally placed themselves in between divisive nationalism and a secular, global humanity. I believe that instead of reflecting hopes in a boundary-erasing secular sense of humanity or being tied down by remaining divisive nationalisms, the writing of AFSC members like Joseph Haines reflects a confederated political ideology held by the organization. By a confederated political ideology, I mean a political ideology that calls for the formation of a global association, but one in which individual states remain the basic units of identity.

The way in which the writings of AFSC members totter between secularism and spirituality mirrors the way in which these writings totter between the language of nationalism and internationalism. I argue that the work and words of the AFSC reflect a humanitarian ideology that resonated throughout the interwar period: a Confederated Humanitarianism that intentionally exposed itself to tension between ideological unity on one hand and ideological division on the other. In a religious context, the AFSC's Liberal Christianity operated around a central tension between the spiritual and the secular. Through a lens of ideological division, the experiences of relief workers spoke to a unique, human condition separate from the divine because of its profane and mundane nature. Through a lens of ideological unity, the experiences of relief workers spoke to a unique, human condition connected to the divine because of its profane and mundane nature. In a political context, the AFSC's confederated nationalism operated around a central tension between nationalism and internationalism. On one side of the coin the AFSC saw those they served as culturally-distinct national groups. On the other side of the coin, the AFSC saw the existence of these culturally-distinct national groups as evidence for global cooperation out of respect for all national identities. In the early twentieth century, confederated humanitarianism drew the AFSC to relief work and to explore tensions between secular and the spiritual, between the national and the international.

I believe that instead of reflecting hopes in a boundary-erasing secular sense of humanity or being tied down by remaining divisive nationalisms, Joseph Haines' writing reflect the confederation of nationalism employed by the AFSC. When Joseph Haines dreamed of a confederated Europe, he thought of what the United States claimed to be at the time of revolution and continues to claim to be today: a group of distinct, individual states who form a union that

honors their individuality. As Haines' colleague Gilbert MacMaster wrote in 1925, AFSC members hoped for a "United or Federated States [of Europe] in which there were to be different nationalities as citizens, but no minorities."¹⁷ Confederated nationalism intentionally places itself in the fraught middle in between nineteenth-century militaristic nationalism and mid-twentieth century transnational cooperation. I argue that in the course of their post-war relief work, the American Friends Service Committee intentionally appointed themselves as navigators of the tumultuous space between divisive, "identity-based" aid and unifying, "need-based" internationalism.

I also believe that Joseph Haines' writing reflects the AFSC's Liberal Quakerism that blended the spiritual and the secular. In *The Great War and The Origins of Humanitarianism*, Bruno Cabanes argues that the unifying, secular sense of humanity that emerged in the twentieth century "came about as a result of doing."¹⁸ First and foremost, Joseph Haines practiced his Liberal Quaker faith through the daily relief work that he performed. Haines' devotional vocabulary described the children the AFSC fed, the homes Haines' built, and the lives that the organization touched rather than containing elaborate phrases for God, salvation, and religious ceremony. The AFSC's Liberal Quakerism shared a secular discourse with early twentieth-century humanitarians who gestured to a unifying sense of humanity. By building its ideology and its ideological vocabulary around the experience of doing relief work, Liberal Quakerism attracted both professedly Christian relief workers and relief workers who did not explicitly subscribe to Christianity.

At the same time that the appeal of the AFSC's Liberal Quakerism cut across both explicitly religious and not explicitly religious demographics, however, it was also spiritual.

Liberal Quakers believed that the touching power of unique relief work experiences indicated a connection between the profane and the divine. When held to Liberal Quaker standards, Rufus Jones was a man who lived out his principles; he helped found the AFSC because he believed that the faithful should work within the world rather than withdraw from it. As he explained his 1917 *The Quaker Peace Position*, Quaker pacifism came from the belief that “There is something divine, something of God, in every person.”¹⁹ Although Jones’ explicitly religious language may appear to demarcate the existence of God, the underlying theme of his treatise is that human experience is spiritual, or divine through the very nature of its existence. In Jones’ eyes, Quakers were called to make peace in this world because this world, despite its flaws, contained a sacredness. When early twentieth century relief workers felt moved by the relief work they performed, they felt moved because they believed in something larger than themselves. When early twentieth century relief workers invoked a reference to a unifying sense of humanity, they invoked a reference to the spirituality of the secular world.

I argue that Confederated Humanitarianism was a subset of ideals held by many of the members and organizations within the interwar humanitarianism movement described by Barnett and Cabanes that warrants further investigation. Confederated Humanitarianism appeared throughout the interwar period whenever political leaders spoke of a unifying spirit of humanity constituted around a belief in the sacredness of individual human identities. Some of the ideals of elite political leaders, for example, contained tones of Confederated Humanitarianism. When US President Woodrow Wilson formed the League of Nations, he hoped to establish a peace-keeping organization that would protect the sovereignty of individual nation-states. By keeping the sovereignty of individual nation-states in mind, Wilson articulated a vision similar to a

confederated nationalism in which global unity would continue to rely on the individual state as the primary unit of identity. In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles established the International Labour Organization, or ILO in hopes of establishing world labor standards satisfactory with humanitarian ideals. As discussed by Cabanes, the ILO was part of the growing movement of long-standing international diplomatic institutions complete with a new category of international law scholars and politicians. However, these international diplomatic institutions possessed flavors of Confederated Humanitarianism as their members often found themselves caught between a desire to act as "international civil servants" and their own "national allegiances" (Cabanes 83). In addition to resonating at the level of elite politicians, Confederated Humanitarianism also resonated at the level of local, national, and international social reformers. After the revolutionary violence of the Great War, the international peace movement took off, especially in Protestant social reform circles. Although the war gave their movement a global impetus, international pacifists continued to primarily organize at the local and national level showing signs of a politically-split Confederated Humanitarian personality. Finally, one can also find gestures to Confederated Humanitarianism within the religious ideals of other interwar relief organizations besides the AFSC. Besides the Liberal Christian pacifism mentioned by Appelbaum that helped inspire my conceptualization of Confederated Humanitarianism, Barnett notes that prominent humanitarian founder of Save the Children, Eglantyne Jebb was "led...to various forms of spiritualism...which accommodated her belief in the oneness of the world and a transcendental humanity." (85) Following World War I, many relief workers like Jebb were drawn to the unifying power of the new secular concept of humanity being thrown around the humanitarian institution at the time, yet at the same time they also felt reverence

towards the familiarity of traditional Protestantism. Out of the gray space between this unifying secular concept of humanity and divisional Evangelical Christianity emerged Confederated Humanitarian spirituality.

I will analyze Confederated Humanitarianism primarily through the writings of AFSC relief workers. This study will not carve out the boundaries of Confederated Humanitarianism within interwar humanitarianism, but it does reference other individuals and organizations upholding Confederated Humanitarian ideologies during the time to demonstrate that these ideologies did not originate solely with the AFSC. My analysis of confederated humanitarianism begins with the story of Joseph Haines. Haines began his relief work in October 1917 building houses in Somme, France. The Quaker humanitarian worked in France until 1921 and spent his time traveling between Paris and rural, northern France to oversee and participate in reconstruction operations. Haines wrote on an almost weekly basis to his Quaker father back in Philadelphia. He provided the excuse of not talking too much about contemporary politics because “in the war zone & you can’t be too careful not to give offence,” yet even after the war he chose to fill his letters with seemingly mundane discussions about the number of trucks the AFSC hoped to receive from the Red Cross and his distaste for the cold, wet weather.²⁰ The personal, unedited format and seemingly mundane content gives an on-the-ground picture of a confederated humanitarian.

Through this on-the-ground picture I will attempt to demonstrate what Confederated Humanitarianism meant as a spiritual movement to its followers like Haines. Specifically, I will attempt to explain the connections between the daily practice of the spiritual movement, the guiding philosophy of the spiritual movement, and its historical moment. First, I will use

Haines' letters to his father to argue that confederated humanitarianism's spiritual practice consisted of mundane, everyday acts of relief work. Second, I will use Haines' letters to his father to argue that the spiritual philosophy of Liberal Christian Deliberation was central to the religious experience of Confederated Humanitarianism. Influenced by Liberal Christian Deliberation, conflicts in which confederated humanitarians simultaneously separated themselves from the political context in which they operated and established solidarity with the political context in which they operated became key moments of worship. Finally, throughout Haines' story, I will argue that the spiritual philosophy of Liberal Christian Deliberation helped Confederated Humanitarianism spread during a religious time of fragmented, bordering on secular, Christian relief work and during a political time of paradoxically competing and cooperating nationalisms. In short, the religious beliefs of Confederated Humanitarians attempted to find spiritual unity during a religiously and politically disorganized Humanitarian moment, but never successfully escaped the disorganization.

After analyzing the writings of Joseph Haines and discussing the spiritual practice and spiritual thoughts of AFSC humanitarians, I plan to more explicitly look at the politics of the AFSC through the memoirs of Gilbert MacMaster. From 1920 to 1923, MacMaster traveled back and forth between Germany's major cities, including Hamburg, Munich, Augsburg, and Rothenberg, to help manage the AFSC's efforts feeding German children. As the AFSC began to curtail child-feeding operations in 1925, Gilbert MacMaster attended multiple international peace conferences between long-time enemies such as Germany and Poland, and helped oversee the establishment of international Quaker embassies throughout Europe. Like Haines' letters, MacMaster's memoirs tell the story of the AFSC from the perspective of one of its on-the-

ground members. But in addition, MacMaster's memoirs incorporate the perspective of an AFSC administrator and diplomat who devoted large amounts of thought to what opinions his organization should hold of the politics that surrounded it. While Haines' spent a significant part of his letters avoiding explicit discussions of politics because he was "in the war zone" and did not want to "give offence," MacMaster provided his opinions on issues such as the plight of Europe's displaced ethnic minorities in official reports.²¹

I plan to use MacMaster's memoirs to argue that the AFSC's confederated nationalism intentionally drew together conflicting national identities and elevated these national identities to a spiritual level. For MacMaster, the political identity of the Germans he aided would always be tied to a history of nationalism and recent militarism. When Gilbert MacMaster arrived in Germany, he saw "a people...taught and trained and organized for one purpose...victory" who still wore "military caps, or coats...because they had no other clothes to wear."²² For MacMaster, celebrations of German cultural heritage wound together with celebrations of religious identity. When Gilbert MacMaster and his AFSC colleagues celebrated Christmas in Germany, they did so by "Falling in with a century old custom of Rothenburg" of "with the [German] people, young and old, in the market-place to hear sacred songs sung and to sing with them."²³ Gilbert MacMaster, and more largely the AFSC, did not envision an internationalism that created unity by erasing individual national identities; instead, MacMaster's and the AFSC's confederated nationalism simultaneously created national division and international cooperation.

Finally, I plan to look at the AFSC through an even broader lens by analyzing the letters of Beluah Hurley. Near the end of World War I, Beulah Hurley felt lead to serve overseas as a nurses' aid in France immediately following the war. By 1918, she advanced to performing

administrative work for the AFSC's general efforts for providing temporary food and shelter in Paris, and by 1919 she eagerly accepted an invitation to experience the agricultural side of relief work and wound up as the mistress of the farm in Grange Le Courte. Between the end of World War I and the early 1920s, she performed a multitude of relief activities in France, Germany, Poland, the destabilized Austro-Hungarian Empire, and finally the transitioning Soviet state. From her journey, Hurley left behind both personal letters to her parents and administrative letters to the AFSC headquarters in Philadelphia that sweep across topics from the mundane to the global.

I plan to use Hurley's wide-ranging letters as an organizational overview of the AFSC and demonstrate how the Confederated Humanitarianism of the Friends attempted to draw together a coherent spiritual identity out of fragments of a secular culture, attempted to draw together a single political identity out of fragmented national identities, and attempted to draw together a single vocational identity between humanitarians, civilians, and soldiers. More concisely, I plan to use Hurley to demonstrate how the AFSC and Confederated Humanitarians tried to form a single social identity among the daily chaos of the European battlefield and more largely during the religiously and politically-scrambled historical moment of the early twentieth-century. While traveling across the Atlantic, Hurley artificially formed a spiritual "family" with through seemingly secular, but thoroughly Liberal Christian, recognitions of the importance of the humanity of those she traveled. When she did arrive in France, the Friend continued to artificially construct a "family" of many different national identities. Finally, Hurley's family paradoxically extended across vocational boundaries as she even befriended military officers.

Neither Joseph Haines, nor Gilbert MacMaster, nor Beluah Hurley was a professional relief worker or a professional missionary or a professional politician. All hearing about the conflict in Europe and the chance to help from their friends and family, each of the three Quakers learned European languages and about how to feed starving populations through work in the warzone. The stories of Haines, MacMaster, and Hurley are not atypical; the interwar period saw the rapid growth of the position of humanitarian volunteer relief worker. A volunteer is a worker who temporarily subscribes to an organizational identity but is not part of the organization in a professional capacity. The profusion of the volunteer relief worker during the interwar period is emblematic of how humanitarians found themselves struggling to fully identify the time period's politically and religiously split personalities. The interwar period was a time of flux as much for humanitarianism as it was for the Western world as a whole. Humanitarians on the ground found themselves among muddled Christian and secular motives and among national animosities as well as gestures to an international unity. In addition to being a practice of attempting to relieve human suffering, the practice of interwar humanitarianism was a practice of attempting to embrace and unify the cauldron of religious and political beliefs. As shown by Joseph Haines, many interwar humanitarians found motivation from a spirituality that embraced tensions between the spiritual and the secular. As shown by Gilbert MacMaster, many interwar humanitarians found motivation from a politics that embraced tension between divisive nationalisms and global unity. And as shown by Beluah Hurley, many interwar humanitarians constructed a paradoxical identity group out of a vague alliance of "humanity." Those who thought of themselves as part of this vague alliance of "humanity" that oscillated between the universality and division were the Confederated Humanitarians of the early twentieth century.

Section 1: Joseph Haines' Elusive Spirituality: the Religious Practice of Confederated Humanitarianism

In January of 1918, AFSC worker Joseph Haines traveled from rural Gruny, France where he had been building houses to Paris to get a tooth filling replaced. While Gruny, closer to the front lines, reeked of the war with old bunkers, bombshells, and artillery strewn about, Paris remained France's patriotic center with untattered flags and inspiring parades. The "crowd of jolly [travelers]"¹ who surrounded Haines on his train trip to Paris sharply contrasted with Haines' romantic ideal of the perfect humanitarian. The young Friend recalled: "one of [them] suggested that France needed soldiers more than men to repair houses."² But on his trip to Paris Haines remained silent and cordial, refusing to "explain to [to those around him] [his] position or that [his] convictions [were] growing stronger every day and [he didn't] want to have anything to do with that business [of war] in any way that [he could] prevent."³ Whether spineless or saintly, Haines' reluctance to turn his trip into the center of militaristic nationalism into a preachable moment typifies the way he went about his humanitarian journey. Despite spending years in the warzone of one of the most deadly conflicts in human history, the young Christian did not turn the record of his experiences into an explicit sermon with theological discussions of sin and redemption. As a twentieth-century Liberal Christian, Joseph Haines did not use traditional religious language. Yet at the same time, Haines noted that his "convictions [were] growing stronger every day"⁴ and one would assume that he hoped to share these convictions with those around them. Perhaps in the mind of Joseph Haines, one could say more about his or her faith by riding the train silently than by speaking about it.

Joseph Haines left his Quaker family in Philadelphia and worked with the American Friends Service Committee in France beginning in September of 1917. After some waiting in Paris, Haines traveled out to the Somme department of northern France just in time for the harsh winter weather. In Somme, he was specifically located around the rural area of Gruny where he spent time building and repairing homes for the French villagers affected by the war. Around the time of the armistice, one year later, he attended some international peace conferences, but soon after he found himself once again drawn to "on-the-ground" work. In 1921 he returned to Philadelphia, leaving behind a paper record in the form of the casual, weekly letters he wrote to his father. In this section I will define the spiritual practices of Confederated Humanitarians and explain how one could see some of Joseph Haines' humanitarian work as examples of these spiritual practices. First, drawing on the concept of Liberal Christian mysticism, I will argue that for Confederated Humanitarians, mundane, daily humanitarian tasks served as spiritual rituals and replaced the liturgies full of Biblical references used by nineteenth-century Christian humanitarians. Second, I will discuss how one could define the actions of Haines and the AFSC as motivated by the spiritual philosophy of Liberal Christian deliberation, a belief in constantly creating and resolving tensions between two ideological entities. In a time of decreasing proselytizing humanitarianism, one could argue that the AFSC turned to Liberal Christian deliberation in attempt to retain some spiritual underpinnings. In a time of secularizing private relief organizations and secularizing states, Confederated Humanitarianism's spiritual philosophy tried to adapt the concepts of the "good of humanity" and the "good of the nation" into spiritual concepts.

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The Daily Practice of Confederated Humanitarianism's Spirituality

In “The practice of the Presence,” her seventh chapter of *Kingdom to Commune*, Patricia Appelbaum traces the religious practices of different Christians whose lives stretched over the course of 500 years and whose occupations varied from Carmelite monk to exercise guru. “The practice of the Presence” gives a window into the common, daily spiritual rituals employed by the varied members of Appelbaum's early-twentieth century Liberal Christian culture. She explains that Liberal Christian practice often involved mysticism, or a belief that one could be in constant connection with God or the divine into their personal, lived experience. In 17th century France, after having the realization that “it [was] not necessary for being with God to be always in church,” the Carmelite monk Brother Lawrence thought of every act he performed as serving God.⁵ Brother Lawrence's belief in a constant mystical connection with God allowed him to transform the most mundane parts of his daily life into moments of worship. Although he was an uneducated lay Brother who spent most of his monastic life working in the kitchen and repair sandals, in his mind, the domestic labor he performed created a life of following the spirit. In 20th century Protestant Europe and the United States, Liberal Christians, according to Appelbaum, romanticized the mysticism, or the “the practice of the presence” of laymen like Brother Lawrence and turned domestic and manual labor into religious rites. Early twentieth century Liberal Protestantism had a culture of worship with central figures such as Muriel Lester who wrote about being with God while riding the bus and washing the dishes, and athletic coach Glenn Clark who established a “spiritual 'calisthenics.’”⁶ The methodology of “The practice of the presence” came out of early Liberal Protestantism's need to exist as a culture. A faith that could be practiced out of any of the mundane experiences of everyday life was a faith that could

be adopted by people from varied institutional backgrounds living in a time in which traditional religious institutions were becoming increasingly fragmented. In “The practice of the Presence,” Appelbaum describes how early twentieth century Liberal Christian worship developed as a practice that celebrated a lack of explicit, traditional religious rituals as an abundance of spirituality.

I posit that similar to the way in which Appelbaum argues that early twentieth-century progressive Christian pacifism developed as a culture with religious practices deriving from daily, lived experience, Confederated Humanitarianism developed as a set of beliefs in which daily, lived humanitarian experiences became religious practices. Confederated Humanitarianism's version of mysticism could be practiced when a Liberal Christian humanitarian used nebulous positive terms like "accomplished," "pleasant...[and]...comfortable," or "moral boost" to describe the daily activities or organizational planning of relief work.¹ These nebulous positive terms reflected how, similar to Liberal Christian mystical worship, Confederated Humanitarian worship based itself on the paradox of humanitarian work being mundane, unremarkable and separate from the divine on one hand and spiritual and connected to the divine on the other.

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For Joseph Haines, the humanitarian relief communities and the humanitarian work performed in northern France became the sites and activities that fostered his religious practice. Haines' letters to his father take up 160 hand-written pages in Haverford College's Quaker and Special Collections. Of those 160 hand-written letters, the first 100 pages describe the first year the AFSC worker spent in France leading up to the armistice and favor discussions of his daily construction work over discussions of international politics. The last 60 pages of Haines' letters

cram together the next few years he spent in France, from the fall of 1918 to the summer of 1921, and even these post-armistice letters focus more on the AFSC's upcoming logistical plans—where the organization will obtain funding, which French departments need help the most—than on international politics. The content of the "on-the-ground" relief work that Haines so diligently reported in the first 100 pages of his letters can be easily summarized with a few main categories. His concise descriptions of the French countryside; its weather, and its architecture-- "winters here don't appeal to me a bit & I hope I may not have to pass another one,"⁷ Haines' discussions of where he will go next week or next month and what work he will be doing--"I am going to a place near the old lines on the Meuse 30 or 40 miles back of the present line where the chief work is the repair of damaged houses,"⁸ and Haines' succinct introductions of the people working with him:--"a Canadian is in charge of the agriculture."⁹

The majority of Joseph Haines' letters to his father center on his daily humanitarian work—the environment he is in, what type of work he does, and who he does it with instead of explaining his political or religious philosophies. By making most of his letters about the repetitive, physical labor that occupied his time, Haines makes it apparent that this labor most centrally occupied his life and thoughts while he was in France. Joseph Haines' humanitarian's field journal full of descriptions and logistics remind one of a journal of everyday meditative or mystical practices used by a Liberal Christian. | If one were a Liberal Quaker, Haines' dedication to his daily humanitarian work and his dedication to its daily toils could express a spirituality rooted in daily, lived experience. |

Haines spent most of his first year, as described in his 100 "on-the-ground" pages, at the construction site in Gruny. One needs to look no further than the first few letters he sent to his

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father after arriving in Gruny to find sections that could be classified as a Liberal Spiritual belief in the power of routine humanitarian practice. In fall of 1917, he enthusiastically wrote to his father, “tho’ I could take time off from work – I like to put what I can into the work & keep it going. I have been slating this week & if I keep at it much longer I shall be an accomplished workman.”¹¹ Only the next day, Haines boasted of how he and "Fred Murry...robbed an old German ammunition dug out of slatted board walk...[and]...lay[ed] it out in the garden so we can get around a little in the rain & wet.”¹² These extracts are typical; one finds Haines' correspondences during his time in Gruny repeatedly full of descriptions of his delight in becoming a craftsman and finding emotional satiety in the routine demands of physical labor. Haines felt emotionally satiated because of the mundane and tactile nature of his humanitarian work rather than in spite of it. In Appelbaum's terms, Haines had developed a Liberal Christian mysticism practice or a set of religious rituals in which he connected to a sense of the divine through his personal lived experience. More specifically, one could argue that Haines's letters express a humanitarian mysticism practice in which humanitarian tasks melded with spiritual exercises and allowed Haines to see the divine in terms of the tactile world immediately in front of him.

Liberal Christian Deliberation and the Historical Context of Confederated Humanitarian Spirituality

On one hand, the personal and banal nature of Haines' Humanitarian work made it a springboard for Liberal Christian spiritual moments; on the other hand, the personal and banal nature of Haines' Humanitarian work deluded its religiosity in the eyes of traditional Protestant Humanitarianism that relied on explicit references to God and faith. The process of Liberal Christian deliberation, central to the spiritual philosophy of Confederated Humanitarianism, motivated Joseph Haines to make basic humanitarian tasks into religious rituals. I define Liberal Christian deliberation as when a Liberal Religion such as Liberal Quakerism develops a method of worshiping out of the circular identification of and striving for resolution of disparate political or social entities. For example, in "The Problem of Quaker Identity," sociologist Peter Collins discusses how attempts to discern underlying tenants of Quaker identity are problematic in themselves. He opens his analysis by noting that the problem of "heterogeneity of Quaker belief" is often seen by Quakers themselves as "a solution or in any case as a cause for celebration."¹³ Despite the difficulties, Collins then proceeds to identify some central tendencies that unify Quakerism, such as the act of "plaining" by which Quakers repeatedly attempt to separate the plain from the ostentatious.¹⁴ Relating back to the problem of Quaker identity, Collins' tendency of "plaining" is a circular process in which Quakers first identify the ostentatious, separate the ostentatious from the plain, but then identify the ostentatious again; in short they explore a constant tension between disparate social concepts.¹⁵ Building on the thoughts such as those of Collins, I maintain that through what I call the philosophical process of Liberal Christian deliberation, Confederated Humanitarianism turned the constant process of

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exploring tensions between two political or social entities into one of its primary methods of worship. Labeling the philosophical process of Liberal Christian deliberation is key because it identifies ritual practices displayed by Joseph Haines on a micro level and the AFSC on a macro level as indicative of a common spiritual movement.

Joseph Haines' "practice of the presence" humanitarianism that turned daily experience into a set of paradoxical religious rites was used by the AFSC and other Confederated Humanitarian organizations because it naturally blended with the secularizing state of the early twentieth century private relief sector. As Bruno Cabanes explains in *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*, the early twentieth century West saw the development of a new category invoked in relief work: the secular category of human identity. In the nineteenth century, Evangelical Christian organizations composed a large amount of the civic society relief sector, and non-denominational organizations such as the International Red Cross were still highly influenced by explicit Christian values. In the nineteenth century, humanitarians believed that all souls deserved alleviation from suffering, whereas in the twentieth century they began to believe that all human beings deserved alleviation from suffering. Joseph Haines' "practice of the presence" humanitarianism existed at time when humanitarians looked towards a new, secularizing concept of "human dignity" but still looked back longingly on the days of a Christian motivating force.²⁴ Joseph Haines' spirituality thrived on the tension created by the similarity and difference between invoking a secular "good of humanity" and a explicitly religious "good of Christianity." Because the early-twentieth century served as liminal time between explicitly religious private relief organizations and secular private relief organizations, the Liberal Christian deliberation of Confederated Humanitarian organizations that constantly

tangled and untangled spirituality and secularism grew together with the historical moment. In the early twentieth century world, connecting the secular good of "slating" roofs and rebuilding "barns" to a larger sense of the divine appealed to many humanitarians who had shed Evangelical Christianity but not lost its religious aura.²⁵

In addition to existing in a time of fragmented religious identities, Joseph Haines' "practice of the presence" humanitarianism existed in a time of fragmented political identities. The political atmosphere in which US citizens traveled overseas to abate the World War I catastrophe is one which continues to provoke discussion among humanitarianism scholars today as to whether it marked the apex and end of nationalism or the early beginnings of internationalism. In the mind of Michael Barnett, for example, the forces of nationalism that had caused World War I also complicated the impartiality, neutrality, and independence of the humanitarian manifesto as national loyalties pushed on how humanitarian organizations received funding, found their volunteer forces, and decided who to help. Bruno Cabanes, in contrast, advances the argument that the interwar period was the beginning of a new humanitarianism organized around transnational networks of need rather than divisive national identities. I call the early twentieth century the time of Confederated Nationalism because humanitarians attempted to organize internationally but at the same time continued to prioritize their individual national identities. Politically, the early twentieth century was a time of global humanitarianism, but it was a time of a fragmented global humanitarianism in which a loose League of Nations stood in for the later and stronger United Nations. The same Liberal Christian deliberation that caused Joseph Haines to constantly navigate between the spiritual and the secular also forced him to constantly navigate between the national and the international. The AFSC adopted

Confederated Nationalism into its religious life as the politically unifying not quite politically unifying ideology fit together with a spirituality that was not quite spiritual. The AFSC's spiritual humanitarianism melded with the religious and political context of the early twentieth century and through spiritual concepts like Liberal Christian deliberation the fragmented political atmosphere of the early twentieth century became one of the centers of spiritual contemplation.

Liberal Christian deliberation motivated the way in which Haines paradoxically interfaced with French international politics. After making few references to political events in his letters to his father during his first few weeks in Gruny, Haines finally explained how his humanitarian position influenced his lack of explicit political discussion. On the first day of November, 1917, he explained to his father “I think I had better warn you against writing me any military or political news—or views on peace—especially the last. The most innocently meant expressions & questions have recently served to get one of the English Friends into most serious difficulties...I am in the war zone & you & I can't be too careful not to give offence.”¹⁶ During his first 100 pages describing his time in Gruny, Haines refrained from either praising or criticizing the French military action and the French nationalism that drove it. As a neutral humanitarian, Haines employed Liberal Christian deliberation by simultaneously separating himself from French militarism and nationalism on one hand and supporting French militarism and nationalism by not speaking out against it on the other. When they were in the war zone, Confederated Humanitarians placed themselves between two disparate political positions: supporting identity-based warfare and criticizing identity-based warfare. For Confederated Humanitarians like Joseph Haines, their mentioning and not mentioning of wartime politics was

not just a humanitarian institutional tendency, it was a part of a spiritual practice motivated by Liberal Christian deliberation.

When considered as part of the process of Liberal Christian deliberation, the international political beliefs of both Haines and the AFSC were also attempted expressions of religious beliefs. At the conclusion of his first year in Gruny Joseph Haines briefly traveled back to Paris in time for the French celebration of the allied victory. Alongside the thoughts of Liberal Christians, Haines' record of the allied victory appears as an emotional-spiritual mix of resignation and contentment that seems similar to Liberal Christian deliberation. He started out by writing that "The first few minutes of the fete were perhaps the most imposing and touching... a French officer and his wife with their little girl...the crowd around the statue sang."¹⁷ But then he continued to describe the day as it drew on: "I dropp[ed] into the office...and picked up Arthur Baxter and Ted Hotchkiss and took them out to supper, we couldn't get seats....we then wandered on to the opera where we saw...the singing of the Marseillaise by prima donnas...The crowd sang the Marseillaise chorus...but not very impressively and then we beat it for home..."¹⁸ Among the celebration of the allied victory, Haines found himself caught in a loop between endorsing and not endorsing French nationalism. The Confederated Humanitarian wanted to recognize elements of French nationalism that strengthened familial and community ties, but at the same time felt disgusted the by the meaningless, mass-market patriotism he saw at the opera. By constantly attempting to separate but also tangling up the benign and malevolent elements of nationalism, Haines acted similarly to when he had constantly spiritualized and despiritualized the mundane, daily elements of his humanitarian practice during his time in Gruny. Although Haines moved from talking about "repairing...barn[s]" to talking more explicitly about politics at

the conclusion of his first year in France, he his later actions still invoke thoughts of a humanitarian religion that relied on Liberal Christianity's process of exploring rather than resolving social tension.¹⁹ |

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After the armistice, in the last third of Haines' letters to his father, political discussions begin to show up more frequently despite continuing to occupy a secondary position to humanitarian logistics. President Woodrow Wilson's trip to France at the end of 1918, for instance, made Haines pause an overly-detailed discussion of whether or not he should buy a temporary chateau in France and briefly take notice of world events. Haines praised Wilson and his plan for "a real League that [might]...gradually come to...preserve the peace of the world...as other nations will have to pass on to such a league some sovereign rights..."²⁶ Through Liberal Christian deliberation, Confederated Humanitarianism lived on the edge between national division and international unity and intersected with the Wilsonian concept of a League that would balance individual state sovereignty and global sovereignty. In short, Wilson's fragmented global politics intersected with Confederated Humanitarian's spiritual beliefs. He enthusiastically described the president's arrival in the country by writing, "I caught a glimpse of him as he drove through the place de la Concorde. The place was tremendously crowded in fact the entire route was thronged with people and most of them wore American flags. It was very impressive to see the vast numbers of work people passing on their way to great him along the Rue de Rivoli."²⁷ Early Twentieth century Europe had plenty of ideological tensions to navigate, or with plenty of opportunities for Haines to practice what I call Liberal Christian deliberation. On one level, Haines' description of Wilson's arrival danced back forth between moments of international unity and individual nationalisms: American flags stood alongside French names of

tourist locales and gestured to an international cosmopolitanism but also reminded their citizens of their primary allegiance to either America or France. On another level, Haines' description of cheering and amiable crowds outwardly celebrated the new, secular identity category of humanity but also inwardly hinted at previous Christian beliefs in the sanctity of the spirit within humanity. Whether he wrote to his father about the seemingly trite humanitarian building of homes, or the celebrated arrival of political and diplomatic figures, Joseph Haines contemplated paradoxical ideologies and expressed a spirituality as defined by Liberal Christian deliberation.

Haines' letters to his father ended abruptly. Despite spending the past few years among the ashes of a war zone, the young Friend rarely talked to his family explicitly of religious experiences. Perhaps Haines believed that he could better invoke a sense of the spiritual by directly sharing with his family the number of stateless men and women he came in contact with, the volume of the food the AFSC required to operate, and the number of miles he traveled across Europe. In this section I have attempted to flesh out the spiritual philosophy and the spiritual practice of Confederated Humanitarians like Haines. Joseph Haines' religious sites were the sites at which he performed his daily humanitarian labors, and the religious and political atmosphere that surrounded him was an atmosphere in which the spiritual and the global existed in a liminal space with the secular and the national. Through a Liberal Christian deliberation that saw the navigation of ideological tensions as an act of worship, Haines practiced a spirituality deeply connected to this religious and political liminal space. In the early twentieth-century, Confederated Humanitarians practiced a religion that constantly tried to but never quite could turn a secularizing humanitarian culture into a religious culture and turn a fragmented political world into a unified political world.

Section 2: Gilbert MacMaster's Many Nationalisms: The Political Practice of Confederated Humanitarianism

Remarkably, when Gilbert MacMaster began his relief work in post-war Germany, he did anything but ignore the fact that he was working in the former Axis stronghold. Since the time of Henri Dunant, humanitarianism had found it hard to convince a nation at war that relief workers could help enemy civilians in an impartial and neutral manner. When the British navy blockade started starving German citizens in 1915, Eglantyne Jebb pulled together hunger relief for German children by reminding the British public that the child was a transnational category; innocent and not connected to the evil Axis identity.¹ After the war ended in 1919, the American Relief Administration provided relief to Germany, but did so while trying to put as much distance between the US and German governments as possible; the ARA funded private relief organizations rather than directly helping in Germany itself.² And yet, in his memoirs, Gilbert MacMaster emphatically described himself as "an American" helping a "German people and German governmental machinery" who had previously been "taught and trained and organized" for "victory" in war.³ While other relief philosophies shied away national identity, MacMaster's relief philosophy embraced it.

In 1920, Gilbert MacMaster started humanitarian work in Germany that he would undertake off and on for the rest of the decade. Between 1920 and 1925, he traveled back and forth between Munich and other major German cities to oversee the American Friends Service Committee's child-feeding program. When temporary relief work ended in Germany in 1925, he became an international Quaker ambassador and attended multiple peace conferences between the many nations and ethnic groups trying to stitch themselves back together after the war. MacMaster left behind over four-decades-worth of unedited letters and typed memoirs to the

internationally-accessible archives of Haverford College's Quaker and Special Collections. With more mention of contemporary political events, diplomatic conferences, and presidents and prime ministers than the writings of either Joseph Haines or Beulah Hurley, Gilbert MacMaster's memoirs best represent the politics of early twentieth-century confederated humanitarians. As made explicit by the "Report on the Minority Question" included in his memoirs, MacMaster believed that by forging respect for national and ethnic identities humanitarians could unite a war-torn Europe. To cultivate this respect for identities, he relied on a daily practice of child-feeding as well as an ability to turn secular histories into agrandized, spiritual narratives of nationalism. In the political context, Confederated Humanitarianism motivated interwar relief workers when they employed national identity labels in a celebratory way. Members of the AFSC spoke in the language of Confederated Humanitarianism when they mentioned multiple national identities in order to attempt to foster a sense of pride and respect for these multiple national identities. Careful reading of Gilbert MacMaster's memoirs separates the confederated nationalism of early twentieth century humanitarians like Woodrow Wilson and the leaders of the AFSC from identity-erasing transnationalism. During the course of his relief work, MacMaster found a motivating "love and mercy" from assembling distinct nationalisms into a universal politics and assembling varied fragments of a secular culture into a spiritual, pluralistic origins story.⁴

The Historical Moment of Confederated Humanitarian Politics

Many humanitarian and international studies scholars position the League of Nations as the high mark of interwar peace and diplomacy movements. Despite its inability to prevent future European conflict, the organization established the precedent of long-standing diplomatic infrastructure between nations. Even more significantly, its most prominent activist, Woodrow Wilson, used the league to articulate a political vision of confederated humanitarianism. Central to the philosophy of the League of Nations, one found the confederated humanitarian dream that "an agreement of states to offer guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to fellow members could form the core of a scheme of international co-operation."⁵ Unlike the United Nations that succeeded it, the League of Nations was authentically a league or confederation in the sense that it fragmented political power between different states, or between different national identities. Woodrow Wilson believed that a peaceful and united Europe would still have an ethnic or national cosmopolitanism; that it would find unity through the common denominator of unique identities. The lofty ambitions of the League of Nations are significant to the relief work of Gilbert MacMaster because the US President and his league came out of the same cultural moment as the young Philadelphia Quaker. The political philosophy of the League of Nations was the political philosophy of Gilbert MacMaster and it was the political philosophy of early-twentieth century humanitarians coming of age in a politically-fragmented world. At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, these humanitarians proclaimed to the Western world that they thought they could weave humanity back together by forging a network of nations.

Gilbert MacMaster, as well as Joseph Haines both directly referenced the political work of Woodrow Wilson in their personal writings. In his "Report on the Minority Question," MacMaster not only discussed the problem of established states vying for power in post-war

Europe, he also discussed the problem of states which lacked clear identities because they consisted of multiple disparate ethnic groups. He praised the proposed but not accepted Wilsonian idea of "Self Determination of Peoples " in which ethnically-fragmented areas formed "new...United or Federated States in which there were to be different nationalities as citizens, but no minorities."⁶ MacMaster and other confederated humanitarians wished to place ethnically-conflicting groups under a single republican roof and have them solve their problems through pluralistic dialogue. As Joseph Haines further explained, since "the different [European] [ethnicities] are really more dependent on each other today than our thirteen states were in 1789" they should repeat "the process" of the US constitutional convention and each give up some of their own power for the good of the group.⁷ Gilbert MacMaster subscribed to a political philosophy that continues to shape the ideological strivings of the United States today; the belief that the act of politics is a constant dialogue or a constant balancing of tensions between different identity groups. MacMaster and his fellow relief workers pictured a splintered pax Europaea in which different nationalities constantly gave and took political power to achieve stability. Confederated humanitarianism pictured a militaristically dormant Europe, but one that was still in constant tension.

Confederated humanitarianism began as a temporary relief movement but evolved into a major cultural force that lasted throughout Europe's interwar period. The AFSC established Quaker peace centers in principal European cities to continue humanitarian influence even as child-feeding and refugee assistant responsibilities transferred from private organizations back to European governments. As his child-feeding work began to slow down, MacMaster looked towards a diplomatic future and wrote, "By the end of the year Friends could speak of the Berlin Center as a link in the chain of centers of good-will of the Society of Friends in the capitals or

principle cities of many countries...⁸ Due to their separation between international capitals, the Quaker peace centers vision promoted peace through a network of separate national identities. Centers such as the Berlin Center were comprised of American and English Quaker staff but also a large number of local residents who formed their own home-grown Quaker-peace-humanitarian movements. MacMaster's fellow Friend Thomas Kelly added that "The maintenance of a chain of good-will-centers throughout the world, the erection of a net-work of such centers throughout Europe actually working , on the spot, for peace and brotherhood, is the actualization of the desire for international cooperation in Christian love that is unique... to work toward the realization in the power of that spirit, that is the history of the deepest experiences of the spirit which Christ has meant for men."¹⁰ The project of the AFSC's international peace centers demonstrated how the political philosophy of confederated humanitarianism's dream of a politically pluralistic Europe stretched beyond the interwar period and even into the spiritual and eternal. To the most spiritual of confederated humanitarians like Thomas Kelly, hopes for a constant dialogue of disparate nationalisms transformed into a spiritual belief that a higher power should oversee a constant dialogue of disparate identities. Early twentieth-century humanitarians like Gilbert MacMaster and Thomas Kelly wished for their philosophy of confederated nationalisms to stretch beyond the Paris Peace conference and throughout the rest of the human story.

Confederated Humanitarian Politics in Gilbert MacMaster's Daily Work

Now that I have discussed the macroscopic political and spiritual dimensions of Gilbert MacMaster's political philosophy, I will discuss how one finds evidence of this philosophy when reading about the daily relief work activities described in his memoirs. MacMaster began his relief work in January of 1920 and spent most of his time in southern Germany traveling between Munich and other historically-steeped cities such as Rothenberg and Augsburg. In his memoirs, MacMaster revealed how he was part relief worker and part tourist by spinning visits to secular tourist attractions into visits to spiritual heritage sites. No example better represents his aggrandized historical identity stories than the way in which he described the AFSC's base of operations in Munich, the elaborate, over half a millenium old Wittelsbach Residenz Castle. "My feelings upon entering this building are never to be forgotten. On the weather-beaten door, beneath the golden crown and the letter L, the insignia of former kings, Ludwigs of the Wittelsbach dynasty, was the small white enamel door plate of the American Friends Service Committee with the star and bearing in plain, clear black letters, a message to all who read," MacMaster wrote.¹¹ In his description of the AFSC's Munich headquarters, the Quaker articulated a narrative of historically-backed cosmopolitanism in which the identities of American Quakers and ethnic Germans had come to peacefully occupy the same space. While few of the Germans that MacMaster worked with may have actually been related to the Wittelsbachs, he drew upon a belief in that equated the concept of identity to a higher power or eternal plan and tied German identity to the medieval cultural symbols around him. In describing the AFSC's headquarters at Munich, MacMaster created pluralistic national narratives for the AFSC and for the Germans it served, and he created these narratives by turning the artifacts of a secular tourist attraction into indicators of a spirituality of historical identity.

MacMaster and his fellow Quakers commemorated the conclusion of their first year of relief work in Germany by celebrating Christmas in "Rothenburg ob der Tauber, the Mecca of all Americans who loved old towns and bastions and walls."¹² According to his memoirs, the Christmas of MacMaster and his colleagues was quintessentially German: "Falling in with a century old custom of Rothenburg, we went to church at four o'clock and afterwards gathered with the people, young and old, in the market-place to hear sacred songs sung and to sing with them. Then, this over, following a custom which we ourselves inaugurated, we returned to Hotel Eisenhut to a New Years Eve supper of green goose and applesauce."¹³ MacMaster and his colleagues did not celebrate the beginning of the Christian year in one the greatest tourist cities of Germany by mistake. Part international tourists, part spiritual pilgrims, and part relief workers, the confederated humanitarians had hoped to celebrate a religious holiday that mixed secular national histories with Christian spirituality. When MacMaster and his colleagues sang traditional German Christmas songs with the Germans around them, they sought to respect and cultivate German nationalism. MacMaster thought of the celebration of national identity as a religious event because he believed that a religious reverence for national origin stories could bring short-term holiday joy and long-term peace to Europe.

From the viewpoint of MacMaster and his colleagues, the tourist Christmas celebration was a religious ceremony in which different national identities greeted each by sharing historic traditions. After the Quakers returned to their lodgings from singing German Christmas songs, MacMaster recalled:

"a horn was sounded in the hallway and a second later an old night watchman stalked in loudly pounding his staff on the floor...and dressed in his old uniform and with his great lantern, all of which had been brought out of the museum for this occasion, to tell us that

the clock had struck ten and that we should take care in putting out our lights so that no fire resulted. Then, as was the custom in the middle ages, to bring a message from the city councilors, this time a greeting to the Quakers from the city..."¹⁴

For the AFSC workers, the Christmas celebration concluded with a sharing of national identity through performance. By paying much attention in his memories to the dramatic exchange between the foreign Quakers and the German living-history fanatic, MacMaster attempted to show a moment of confederated nationalism in which US and English and German identities occupied the same space. MacMaster's belief in individual nationalisms created grand narratives out of national histories. In the Christmas eve example, the Quaker took a single "custom" from the middle ages of greeting foreigners and connected it to modern German national identity.¹⁵ Although German national identity was a relatively recent invention credited to political elites like Bismarck, MacMaster thought of German national identity as transhistorical. He held a spiritual, humanitarian belief in a relationship between individual identities and the eternal, and from this spiritual belief, saw the secular, tourist attraction of Rothenburg Christmas as a sacred site at which different national identities coexisted.

The humanitarian philosophy of confederated nationalisms directly influenced events during the European scramble following World War I; both alleviating and creating tensions between disparate identity groups. Influenced by Wilson's confederated humanitarian pleas for the promotion of individual national identities and a decentralized power structure, The League of Nations struggled to calm violent conflicts between ethnic minority groups. In short, the league and confederated humanitarians supported opposing nationalist sentiments that often fueled conflicts between these ethnic groups. Even after three years performing relief work in Europe, Gilbert MacMaster continued to subscribe to a philosophy that struggled not to

legitimize nationalist tensions: "we might as well leave the matter alone because the problem is as old as history, as old as war... Many wars have been fought and many treaties have been made with a view of settling the question, and the results have been but new complications, renewed suffering and hatreds," he wrote in his analysis of the European refugee crisis, "Report on the Minority Question."¹⁶ At his most pessimistic, MacMaster believed that the historically-ingrained identities of different European national groups would always cause some degree of conflict. Confederated humanitarianism promoted a paradoxical form of political unity. Confederated humanitarians hoped to unite European identity groups through dialogue about their differences, but at its worst this dialogue turned into violence as solidarity became militant nationalism.

At the end of his on-the-ground relief work period, in 1925, MacMaster described his attendance at a series of peace conferences between Germany and Poland and by doing so chronicled the ups and downs of confederated humanitarian politics in a play by play example. Six years earlier, in 1919, the Treaty of Versailles had shrunk the territorial boundaries of the formerly expanding German Empire to create a smaller German Republic. A broken-down Germany estimated that as many as 30 million German-identifying Europeans lived outside the nation's boundary lines after the treaty.¹⁷ Of course, any discussion of European ethnic minorities was colored by nationalist desires for expansion and fears of contraction. In the west, Germany's smaller boarder gave more territory to Poland, the country that been fighting for national independence from Germany on and off for the past hundred years. Contradicting Germany, Poland felt liberated by the Treaty of Versailles and feared show of ease to Germany would lead to further domination by a former Polish oppressor.

At the peace conferences he attended between the two competing nations, MacMaster sympathetically recorded the words of the Polish representative who passionately explained that

"Poland's experience under German occupation [had] caused great hatred of Germany."¹⁸ A few pages later in his memoirs, however, MacMaster gave space to Dr. Stesemann, Germany's foreign minister, who proclaimed in that in opposing the treaty of 1919 Germany was "following the fate of those many millions of people of German origin who are bound to us by the bonds of blood and a common culture, but... are compelled to live as subjects of a foreign state."¹⁹ Confederated humanitarians like Gilbert MacMaster hoped to promote peace through the promoting the cooperation of individual national identities. In their diplomacy efforts, such as the Quaker International Peace centers, liberal Quakers sought to cultivate home-grown nationalist movements rather than erase them. As demonstrated by the messy collapse of the Ottoman Empire that occurred at the same time as the feud between Germany and Poland, however, national cosmopolitanism that once lead to cultural exchange could also lead to violence and disaster. By supporting and giving historical narratives both German and Poland national identities, MacMaster and his fellow confederated humanitarians contributed to moments of extreme political tension.

Despite chronicling the political clashes exacerbated by confederated humanitarian ideology, MacMaster chose to end his narrative of the peace conferences between Germany and Poland with a small moment of triumph. Intentionally painting a dramatic moment of Quaker-like reconciliation, he described how the peace conferences ultimately ended in constructive dialogue despite their bubbles of nationalist discord. MacMaster wrote, "I remember one evening when the legal advisor of the German minorities...and...of the Polish minority in Germany sat facing each other...The Polish leader spoke first...and waited expectantly for the German representative's statement...[but the German representative] simply said 'I came here to present the German standpoint on the minority question....but what I have just heard has

disarmed me...I can subscribe to practically everything that the Polish representative has said..."²⁰ MacMaster optimistically concluded that "the rest of the evening was devoted to a friendly, constructive consideration of the problem by the two leaders."²¹ In ending his tale of the German-Polish Peace conferences with the moment of reconciliation, the AFSC worker idealized what confederated humanitarianism considered its greatest achievement; an ability to create unity around a belief in the validity of individual identities. In a way, MacMaster's story of the German-Polish peace conferences was a continuation of the elaborate stories of German history he constructed during his first few years as a relief worker. While other humanitarians pushed German identity out of their minds, MacMaster kept it at the forefront of his because he hoped to achieve Allied sympathy for the German nationalist perspective and vice versa. When Germany and Poland set aside their political differences, in the eyes of the AFSC and confederated humanitarians, they embraced each other's national identities rather than forgetting about them.

Less than two decades after MacMaster described the moment of understanding achieved between the German and Polish minority leaders, Nazi forces crossed the German-Polish border and violently sacked Warsaw in less than one month. One on hand, the peace efforts inspired by confederated humanitarian politics seem irrelevant from the vantage point of the twenty-first century as World War II eventually covered them in blood and rubble. On the other hand, the peace efforts of confederated humanitarian politics tell the entire story of the interwar period; both its dreams for a multinational pacifism and the breakdown of that multinational pacifism into national hatreds. My analysis of Gilbert MacMaster's relief work and diplomacy ends in 1925, but the journey of the AFSC worker does not. Both MacMaster and American Friends Service Committee continued to work off and on in Germany through the course of the Nazi rise to power and Allied occupation after the war. Throughout the early twentieth century,

humanitarians like Gilbert MacMaster dreamed of a political system that worked to alleviate human suffering using a power structure of a loose confederation of nations. At the same time, Christian humanitarianism transformed from an explicit doctrine to a malleable culture as liberal Christians spiritualized the diverse elements of the secular culture around them. Gilbert MacMaster exaggerated national histories into spiritual identity narratives because he believed that nations in conflict could reach peace if they recognized the sanctity of each other's national identities. Confederated humanitarianism's endorsement of German and Polish nationalisms tells the tale of how Europe found peace and again lost it during the interwar period as the continent's politics swayed back and forth between romanticized stories of militant nationalism and romanticized stories of reconciliatory nationalism.

Section 3: Beulah Hurley's Humanitarian "Family": the Organization of Confederated Humanitarianism

Between 1917 and 1918, Beulah Hurley wrote weekly letters to her parents of her work with the American Friends Service Committee in war-devastated France. More accurately, between 1917 and 1918, Beulah Hurley set aside time each week to introduce her parents to the many international friends she made during her work with the American Friends Service Committee in war-devastated France. Before Hurley even arrived in France, she had already introduced her birth family in Philadelphia to her adopted "family" of Atlantic travel companions: the seven AFSC boys she took with her on her trip, her roommate on the boat—a Constance Cooke from California, a business man from New York named Mr. Paul, and even an army naval officer from Michigan.¹ When Hurley finally arrived in France she wasted no time in meeting and introducing to her parents a new set of extended relatives—the hundreds of refugees who poured into the Paris train station daily for whom she served as a canteen worker.² By the end of 1918, Mr. and Mrs. Hurley become acquainted with a variety of figures that included Quakers from California, traveling artists, elderly French women who reminded Beulah of “grandmother Hurley” and one-eyed military officers.³

Beulah Hurley was not a professional relief worker or a professional missionary or a professional politician. Hearing about the conflict in Europe and the chance to help from their friends and family, the Quaker learned European languages and about how to feed starving populations through work in the warzone. The story of Beulah Hurley is not atypical; the interwar period saw the rapid growth of the position of humanitarian volunteer relief worker. A volunteer is a worker who temporarily subscribes to an organizational identity but is not part of

the organization in a professional capacity. Along with the profusion of the volunteer relief worker during the interwar period, humanitarians like Hurley found themselves struggling to create a humanitarian coalition amidst a historical moment with politically and religiously split personalities.

Beulah Hurley spent her first year in Europe traveling between Paris and the Aube department of northern France to help refugees through a combination of on the ground relief work and administrative work. But the young Friend thought of her vocation within the AFSC as secondary to her spiritual purpose. During her time in France, Hurley adopted people from all walks of life into a single, confederated "family". During her time in France, Hurley gathered together a group of individuals for whom she loved both because of and despite the contradictory backgrounds they came from. Beulah Hurley assembled a unified spiritual "family" out of the disparate members of her outwardly secular early twentieth century relief culture. In gathering together elderly French women and one-eyed military officers into a familial unit, she assembled the same paradoxical epistemology that the AFSC did as a whole; the early-twentieth century belief that humanitarianism meant bringing together different, contradictory creeds to form a universal truth. The letters of Beulah Hurley demonstrate how Confederated Humanitarianism was practiced when a Liberal Christian used nebulous positive terms like "quite a help," "family," or "in love with" to describe those with whom they interfaced with while performing humanitarian work.

Attempts to Form a Spiritual Humanitarian Coalition

From the start Hurley thought of herself and her AFSC colleagues as part of an adopted "family". The first leg of Beulah Hurley's humanitarian journey lasted from March 31st 1918 until April 11th of the same year as she crossed the Atlantic by steamer. Hurley wasted no time in extending her relationship with the young AFSC men she saw beyond a personal one through a frequent use of familial language. She always referred to these young men as the "boys" or "our boys." On Thursday, April 4th, she wrote that "our boys are jolly good fun" although also noted that "we are all rather wising for our mothers..."⁴ The relief workers were a "family" bound together by their concern for each other and their common humanitarian mission. But at the same time, they were a constructed "family" whose members came from their own birth families with their own "mothers."⁵ The young Friend did not stop at the adoption of her AFSC colleagues. Her April 6th letter introduced Mr. and Mrs. Hurley to Beulah's newest "son[s]" which included "a business man from New York—a Mr. Paul" and "a young...sailor boy...[from]...Michigan" who was "also the best dancer on board."⁶ Through the use of terms like "son[s]" and "our boys," Hurley turned the foreign steamer she traveled on into the abode of her new relief "family". Her relief "family" consisted of members from often disparate backgrounds, such as the AFSC, business, and the military, yet Hurley relished in rather than glossed over these differences. In only a few weeks time, the young Friend crafted a humanitarian confederation that promoted paradoxical unity through the respect of multiple creeds and backgrounds.

Beulah Hurley's humanitarian confederation exemplifies the argument that in the early twentieth century humanitarian Christianity sought to gain renewed spiritual strength as it shifted from an explicit religious sect to a culture. Patricia Appelbuam explains that as a culture, early

twentieth century Liberal Christianity composed a faith out of traditional Christian texts and organizations as well as “nominally secular peace organizations” and “secular texts... written to appeal to religious people.”⁷ The Liberal Christian formed his or her spiritual world by drawing Christian values such as "peace" and "love" from distinct and differing sources; yet at the same time the sources retained their own distinctiveness. Early twentieth century humanitarian Christianity blossomed because it allowed Kirby Page's exercise worshipers to participate in the same spiritual project as a traditional congregation of Liberal Protestants while retaining their own distinct worship style.

During her trip across the Atlantic, Beulah Hurley's "love" and concern for the differing, secular identities of her travel companions appeared to coalesce into unifying, spiritual "love" and concern for her confederated "family". When Hurley expressed her joy to have met “a young...sailor boy...[from]...Michigan” who was “also the best dancer on board,”⁸ she aimed to create a spirituality centered around what Rufus Jones called the Quaker testimony of “personality,” or the belief that “There is something divine, something of God, in every person.”⁹ Liberal Quakers paradoxically believed that the profane was connected to the divine because of its unique, earthly, and “personal” nature. Beulah Hurley felt spiritual "love" and concern for the “young...sailor boy...[from]...Michigan” because of his secular “personality;” a secular “personality” which included his outside-the-Friends'-inner-circle military background. Working in the cultural way of early twentieth century spiritual humanitarianism, Hurley crafted a spiritual circle of "love" and concern for unique individuals from the secular world around her. Typifying the AFSC's spiritual doctrine, Hurley formed a spiritual "family" from her secular exchanges with the disparate individuals that surrounded her.

On Thursday April 11th 1918, the steamer of Beulah Hurley and her humanitarian "family" pulled into the port of Bordeaux. At the end of her voyage from the United States to France, Hurley regretted having to say goodbye to friends she may have never met if she had stayed in Philadelphia. Using the first person plural, she describes the day the steamer pulled into port as "a tremendous delight of a scene...with fair wells and exchanges of addresses...with the fellow passengers we had come to know and care a good deal about."¹⁰ To Hurley, the end of her journey across the Atlantic marked more than relief for her weary "sea legs."¹¹ Hurley saw the end of her journey across the Atlantic as the emotional culmination of the familial ties she formed with her fellow passengers. Although the humanitarian had not yet set foot in the warzone, she had already tapped into her humanitarian philosophy through a paradoxical "love" for the individuality of her fellow travelers that brought her closer to them.

Attempts to Form a Spiritual and Political Humanitarian Coalition

Hurley's feelings at the end of her journey with her boat "family" derived themselves from the larger political and spiritual forces at work within the American Friends Service Committee. Hurley attempted to bond with her fellow travelers because she was a humanitarian missionary who had been subconsciously instructed to piece together a "family" out of the inhabitants of a politically-fragmented, secular world. Hurley concluded her description of the arrival in France by noting that as the boat "family" members said goodbye to each other, they said hello to France with "old glory on the bow of our ship and the tricolor on the stern of [everyother]...ship."¹² The AFSC worker demonstrated her organization's political philosophy

by portraying the steamer's arrival as a time of intersection between American nationalism and French nationalism. Hurley knit together a "family" diverse in nationality as well as vocation, and she planned to continue to knit together a "family" of confederated nationalisms when she began work in France. AFSC humanitarianism pushed the Friend to hope for familial unity by emphasizing divisional national symbols rather than ignoring them. In the same way that Hurley saw the flying of multicolored flags as a celebration of friendship, the AFSC hoped Europe could achieve peace if nations respected each other's' historically-entrenched identities. Additionally, the AFSC's humanitarian spirituality inspired Hurley to see her moment of confederated nationalisms as a spiritual one. The Friend, like her parent organization, saw a spiritual moment as one which recognized individual "personalities," or in this case national identities.¹³

Humanitarian spirituality avoided single, explicit creeds and instead arose from an affect of "love" and unity that permeated moments of peaceful interaction between France and America or between a female Quaker and "a young...sailor boy...[from]...Michigan."¹⁴ Exemplified by Hurley's Atlantic journey, early twentieth century humanitarian spirituality sought to piece together a unified, spiritual "family" out of the estranged relations of a secularizing world.

Although Beulah Hurley had to say goodbye to her boatmates when she arrived in France, her confederated "family" continued to grow when she began her relief work. During her first month in France, she fed European refugees who arrived by train in Paris. The relief need and the relief efforts for the refugees that poured into Paris were impressive in both scale and organizational complexity. Beulah Hurley worked from 9 AM to 9 PM at one of many train stations which fed 100-150 refugees and slept 80 every night.¹⁵ The humanitarian force at the train station consisted of AFSC workers, Red Cross workers, YMCA men, and French soldiers to

“register the moving refugees.”¹⁶ By working at a train station for refugees, Hurley continued to play the role of a humanitarian “mother” or sister bringing together spiritual “family” member from many different walks of life.¹⁷ On one level, Hurley welcomed the lost, the persecuted, and the hungry from miles away into the AFSC’s humanitarian embrace. On another level, Hurley expanded the AFSC’s inter-organizational “family” by forming bonds with relief workers from different organizations and with soldiers-turned-relief workers. During her month in Paris, she paradoxically felt more at home by connecting with those from different vocational and international backgrounds.

Hurley’s work during her first few months in France especially brought to the surface the AFSC’s spiritually-motivated political philosophy; the organization’s belief in a confederated nationalism. The Paris train station at which she worked not only served as a stop on the transcontinental journey of the refugees; it also served as a stop on the humanitarian journey of relief workers from across the globe. The AFSC worker spent much of her April 21st letter to her parents describing the diverse national backgrounds from which her fellow relief workers came. She wrote that their “regular force” consisted of “A miss Holmes...and childrens’...workers of Boston and lately of New York....Mrs. Brophy a Strawbridge from Phila...Ms. Faghen a young Egyptian cotton merchant...[and]...Madame C. a French woman...”¹⁸ In the letters of Beulah Hurley, every person written about was identified by his or her place of origin. To the AFSC worker, the other humanitarians she met became part of a “family” where national and local identities described the genetic links between members. At the Paris train station, Hurley lived out the AFSC’s politics by forming a confederation that celebrated different nationalities but also sharply contrasted them with each other. At the Paris train station, Hurley lived out early-

twentieth century humanitarian spirituality by drawing together disparate, secular nationalities into a unified, spiritual confederation.

After working at the train station in Paris for a month, the young Friend made the 200-kilometer trip to Troyes in northern France to continue her work with refugees. On most days, Hurley rode her bike through the city. On her bike trips, she knocked on the doors of homes holding refugees to tally their numbers and needs. Hurley's work in Troyes continued to grow her transatlantic "family". On Sunday May 2nd, 1918, Hurley wrote: "I never realized the Frenchness of grandmother Hurley so keenly until now—one old lady who helped me hunt up some refugees I was looking for near her house was so much like grandma I just wanted to hug her."¹⁹ Hurley had met an elderly French woman whose French nationality may have literary caused her to be related to the young Friend. But Beulah Hurley's "family" of confederated nationalities extended beyond literal familial relations. Paradoxically, she thought of herself as sharing familial ties with French nationals because they possessed unique French nationalities similar to the way in which Hurley herself possessed a unique American nationality. Even if she was not literally related to them, Hurley felt close to all elderly French women because they possessed the unique "Frenchness" that early-twentieth century humanitarianism celebrated.

Like Gilbert MacMaster's romanticizing of German history, Beulah Hurley romanticized French history and revealed the way in which the AFSC's confederated humanitarianism built elaborate national identities through elaborate national histories. When Hurley met a French woman who reminded her of the "Frenchness of [her] grandmother," she not only constructed a concept of "Frenchness," she constructed a concept of "Frenchness" tied to a historical narrative.²⁰ To the young confederated humanitarian, the story of "Frenchness" was a story of

national pride and national struggle that stretched back to “the middle ages and...Joan of arc and knights and cavalries.”²¹ When the confederated humanitarian thought of French national identity, she thought of an identity justified by a medieval history, and she hoped that the other nations of Europe would respect and celebrate the French identity and its historical past. Hurley thought of the elderly French woman she met as part of her spiritual, humanitarian "family" because her historical national identity, like Hurley's own historical national identity, spoke to her uniqueness and humanity.

Attempts to Form a Spiritual, Political, and Vocational Humanitarian Coalition

Over the course of her first year of relief work, Beulah Hurley adopted strangers into her relief "family" who differed from her in many ways. She adopted Quakers younger than herself, she adopted those with very different occupations; businessmen and photographers, and she adopted international relatives from England and France. But most surprisingly, she adopted an incredibly large number of soldiers into her spiritual, humanitarian "family". After working in France for two months, Hurley complained, “Despite the fact that I had decided to do no souvenir collecting till the end of my stay I have had given me a French infantry helmet...and a bit of shell...spat into Paris on our second day.”²² Despite the AFSC's official pacifist stance, Hurley's life constantly intersected with the life of the French military. On August 6th, 1918, she took a day off from relief work and rode her bike out into the countryside surrounding Troyes in the summer sun. Upon coming close to the post-war American occupation zone, she “talked to a lot of American soldiers, mostly from Texas” and noted that “most of them wanted to know

where they were, how far from the front, how far to camp and some of them even thought they were on the Swiss border.”²³ Hurley’s common activity of making “friends” with the many soldiers she met speaks to the paradoxical heart of her humanitarian beliefs. Although vocationally she was a caretaker and these soldiers were fighters, she still thought of them as part of the human “family”. More remarkably, she thought of their different backgrounds as lending the human “family” spectacle and depth. During her first year in France, Beulah Hurley assembled a large and diverse humanitarian “family”, and as demonstrated by the case of her soldier friends, she often went out of her way to assemble a humanitarian “family” with contradictory members.

Like Beulah Hurley’s relief work, the relief work of the AFSC often intersected with the French military. As Michael Barnett emphasizes in *Empire of Humanity*, although the 20th century humanitarian creed was to provide independent, neutral, and impartial aid to sufferers of war, humanitarian practice frequently differed from such high idealism. On the ground, humanitarian organizations spent their time navigating a complex relationship with local governments and military forces rather than operating in a saintly sphere free from their influence. As is apparent in Hurley’s letters, the AFSC cooperated with the French military as its forces provided security against the hostile front lines and provided stability and organization to civilian areas outside of the front. Like she noted in her April 1918 letters, the humanitarian force that greeted refugees at the Paris train station also consisted of “French soldiers...and guards who register[ed] the moving refugees.”²⁴ French soldiers continue to show up throughout her letters not only because they were on leave away from the front, but because the military served as a major source of governance in wartime France. The AFSC’s forced cooperation with

military forces during their wartime and postwar time relief work exemplifies one of the practical tensions of 20th century humanitarianism, but additionally this cooperation arises out of the AFSC's core beliefs. Although a pacifist organization, the AFSC thought of itself as part of a spiritual "family" that also included politically-motivated governments and military forces who resolved conflicts through violence. To the AFSC, humanitarian unity and spirituality did not mean ignoring the ideological tension between its own pacifists and governments at war; it meant constantly navigating these tensions in a way that brought relief workers and soldiers closer together.

Like Joseph Haines and Gilbert MacMaster, Beulah Hurley mentioned God and quotes Biblical verse sparingly. When she created spiritual solidarity between herself and the soldiers around her, she did so with generic do-gooder words such as "good," "fine,"²⁵ and "wonderful."²⁶ The French soldiers who kept watch at the Paris train station were commended for being "fine jolly chaps," and the "one eyed" military officer she met when she moved to Troyes was described as "undoubtedly the most charming Frenchman [she] ever met."²⁷ The pacifist rarely met a military man she disliked. The soldiers, through Hurley's letters, were all fellow human beings with delightful, clichéd personalities. When one reads Hurley's letters, it becomes evident that her joy in meeting these delightful, clichéd personalities motivated her humanitarian work. By using generic do-gooder language to describe her soldier-friends, Beulah Hurley wrote epistles to her "family" back home that conveyed the spiritual impetus of her humanitarian mission. Hurley drew from the many pieces of a secular language and from the many different personalities she encountered in France to find "the light" in the face of wartime darkness.

Falling in line with her AFSC colleagues, Beulah Hurley turned her first Christmas in France into a symbolic celebration of nationalisms, humanitarianism, and spirituality. Ever the selfless relief worker, she emphasized in her letters that the heart of the celebration for her was the large gift drive for refugee children that took place a few days before Christmas. To organize the celebration for the children and fill “the 500 stockings,” Beulah’s entire “family” pitched in.²⁸ While “Ester came up with Chet and helped...with the four French assistants...to trim...the tree,” Beulah had “candy sent over from last Christmas.”²⁹ Thankfully, the candy consisted of “good hard candies and was still quite all right” despite being a year old.³⁰ In a particularly touching section of her Christmas letter, Beulah describes how her Quaker “family” at home pitched in as well. She thanked her Philadelphia “family” “big and little” who sent money to pay for the toys for the refugee children, especially the “little folk who sent [their] pennies.”³¹ At the end of 1918, Hurley called upon all of her humanitarian children, brothers and sisters, and aunts and uncles for one final commemoration of their year’s work. By scrapping together a mix of year-old hard candies and toys bought with American “pennies,” she was able to make the Christmases of “500” French children a little bit brighter.³² The success of Beulah Hurley’s Christmas celebration testified to her successful crafting of a diverse humanitarian “family”. By making friends with foreigners and outsiders, she wove together a network of close and dependable, if unconventional friendships. In war-torn France, during a time of supposedly secularizing relief work, Beulah Hurley wove together a spiritual reverence for the outwardly secular relationships between herself and her humanitarian colleagues. By emphasizing ideological pluralism and using everyday, informal language to preach its gospel, early twentieth

century humanitarianism rapidly inspired the residents of the early twentieth century to participate in relief work in whatever way they could.

Conclusion

Haines, MacMaster, and Hurley never called themselves Confederated Humanitarians. They all identified as members of the American Friends Service Committee, but their experiences working for the American Friends Service differed greatly because of the different war-torn or non-war-torn contexts in which they found themselves. Haines was more mindful of the construction of the homes on French front than the war that surrounded him; MacMaster on the other hand was constantly mindful of the history of the German state he occupied and the German identities of its residents. While both Haines and MacMaster spent their time in a single European nation, Hurley traveled across the continent from France to the Soviet Union. Although Haines, MacMaster, and Hurley never called themselves Confederated Humanitarians, I call them Confederated Humanitarians because each of them struggled to find some form of spiritual, humanitarian coherence among contexts of religious and political fragmentation. Haines tried to tie together the secular nature of his relief work with his Liberal Christian, humanitarian beliefs. MacMaster attempted to turn the divisional identifier of national identity into a humanitarian identifier that referenced a united confederation of humanity. And Hurley tried to find a common denominator she could use to describe the average interwar humanitarian worker; in other words, she tried to find similarities among all the people from the different vocations and geographies surrounding her who performed or interacted with humanitarian work.

Joseph Haines attempted to find spiritual, humanitarian coherence in interwar Europe by developing a Confederated Humanitarian religious practice. The letters of Joseph Haines demonstrate how Confederated Humanitarianism was practiced when a Liberal Christian used nebulous positive terms like "accomplished," "pleasant...[and]...comfortable," or "moral boost" to describe the daily activities or organizational planning of relief work.¹ In war-stricken France, Joseph Haines found himself in a situation that would frighten the nineteenth-century Evangelical Humanitarian: a situation in which humanitarianism was more focused on providing quick, emergency relief rather than ensuring that Christian conversion was the ultimate goal of relief work. As a Christian himself, Haines attempted to reconcile the lack of explicit Christianity with his desire for some form of spirituality by relying on a Liberal Christian "practice of the presence" that turned the mundane into the spiritual. When Haines used nebulous positive terms to describe the daily activities or organizational planning of relief work, he employed a religious practice that thought of uncerimous, not-differentiated moments and actions as the central components of an overarching spirituality. By paradoxically thinking of the mundane as the spiritual, Confederated Humanitarians like Joseph Haines tried to draw together some type of spiritual rituals out of a rapidly secularizing relief culture.

Gilbert MacMaster struggled to find spiritual, humanitarian coherence in interwar Europe by creating a confederated political philosophy. In the political context, Confederated Humanitarianism motivated interwar relief workers when they employed national identity labels in a celebratory way. For example, when MacMaster described the peaceful 1920 Christmas celebrations, he repeatedly emphasized his amazement that "Americans" could partake in the holiday traditions alongside Germans from "Rothenburg."² Members of the AFSC spoke in the

language of Confederated Humanitarianism when they mentioned multiple national identities in order to attempt to foster a sense of pride and respect for these multiple national identities.

Gilbert MacMaster lived out the drama of the interwar relief worker caught in between the divisional force of nationalism and new, unifying social movements driven by internationalism. As a response, MacMaster embraced an approach of confederated nationalisms that tried to create unity by promoting respect and cooperation among different national identities. At the same time, however, this approach of confederated nationalisms could also lead to an over-reverence for individual national identities returned to national competition. Like Haines, MacMaster struggled to find a unified, spiritual humanitarian impetus during the interwar period, however, his struggle primarily existed in a fragmented political context rather than a fragmented religious context.

Lastly, Beulah Hurley s attempted to find spiritual, humanitarian coherence in interwar Europe by attempting to create a humanitarian identity group out of people from the disparate vocations and geographies that interacted with the AFSC. The letters of Beulah Hurley demonstrate how Confederated Humanitarianism was practiced when a Liberal Christian used nebulous positive terms like “quite a help,” “family,” or “in love with” to describe those with whom they interfaced with while performing humanitarian work.³ For example, when she wrote that “the French soldiers...who register the moving refugees are fine jolly chaps” she referenced the close proximity between the coalitions formed to perform emergency relief work on one hand and the military on the other.⁴ During her time in interwar France, as well as later on when she traveled to Eastern Europe, Hurley found herself among a diverse group of relief workers and a diverse group of relief work organizations. Reflecting her Liberal Christian influences, Hurley

built a paradoxical spirituality that cultivated reverence for the different walks of life with which those around her who also occupied the relief zone came. During her time in interwar Europe, Hurley struggled to create a humanitarian coalition out of a fragmented group of emergency relief workers.

The way in which the writings of AFSC members totter between secularism and spirituality mirrors the way in which these writings totter between the language of nationalism and internationalism. I argue that the work and words of the AFSC reflect a humanitarian ideology that resonated throughout the interwar period: a Confederated Humanitarianism that intentionally exposed itself to tension between ideological unity on one hand and ideological division on the other. In a religious context, the AFSC's Liberal Christianity operated around a central tension between the spiritual and the secular. Through a lens of ideological division, the experiences of relief workers spoke to a unique, human condition separate from the divine because of its profane and mundane nature. Through a lens of ideological unity, the experiences of relief workers spoke to a unique, human condition connected to the divine because of its profane and mundane nature. In a political context, the AFSC's confederated nationalism operated around a central tension between nationalism and internationalism. On one side of the coin the AFSC saw those they served as culturally-distinct national groups. On the other side of the coin, the AFSC saw the existence of these culturally-distinct national groups as evidence for global cooperation out of respect for all national identities. In the early twentieth century, confederated humanitarianism drew the AFSC to relief work and to explore tensions between secular and the spiritual, between the national and the international.

Immediately following the 1920s and 1930s, Europe forgot its humanitarian struggles for global unity as the continent dissolved into World War II. However, the struggles of Confederated Humanitarians to paradoxically craft a unified spiritual movement out of a secularizing world as well as a politically fragmented one deserve a place in the historical memory because these struggles speak to tensions that continue to exist in the modern humanitarian institution today. In *Habitat for Humanity Building Private Homes, Building Public Religion*, Jerome P. Baggett provides an organizational study of Habitat for Humanity and focuses on what the state of the organization says about the state of Christian Humanitarianism. Founded in 1976 as a Christian organization dedicated to eliminating poverty housing, today the organization is one of the world's largest international civil society organizations. Although it no longer proselytizes or explicitly spread its Christian beliefs, Baggett argues that Habitat for Humanity instead spreads public religion by inspiring those who identify as Christians and those who do not identify as Christians to work together for "the good of humanity." Baggett holds that public religion is a form of Liberal Christian practice in which rituals of relief work replace rituals that explicitly reference God or theological doctrines. Habitat for Humanity faces the same challenge today that Beulah Hurley faced one hundred years earlier; Habitat for Humanity must walk the line between creating a single, unifying identity for its many different volunteer workers and remaining cognizant of their individual identities. The story of the Confederated Humanitarians of the AFSC in the 1920s and 1930s and the story of the volunteers of today's Habitat for Humanity demonstrate how late-nineteenth and twentieth-century humanitarianism has fought to define itself among shifting religious and political institutions. Since it has existed in the civil society sector separate from the government and private business and has also

gradually separated from organized religion, late-nineteenth and twentieth-century humanitarianism has had to form a piecemeal social movement and court members from other more clearly-defined social institutions. In one sense, one can see similarities between interwar Liberal Quakers dreaming up a new spirituality in a time of secularizing relief work and modern humanitarianism because one of the main tasks of modern humanitarianism is to create a "spiritual" movement out of a secular world. Like Confederated Humanitarianism, modern Humanitarianism has often succeeded when it has drawn together relief workers from many divisive religious and political identity groups, and at the same time it has often failed because it has only drawn together relief workers from many divisive religious and political identity groups.

Notes: Introduction

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6. Patricia Faith Appelbaum, *Kingdom to commune*, 118.

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11. Joseph Haines, *Papers*, 19.
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22. Gilbert MacMaster, *Papers*, 9.
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26. Joseph Haines, *Papers*, 125.

27. Joseph Haines, *Papers*, 112.

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3. Beulah Hurley Waring, The collection of Beulah Hurley Waring and Alston Waring, New Hope, PA (1225, Quaker and Special Collections, Magill Library, Haverford College), May 2nd 1918, 1.

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9. Rufus Jones, *The Quaker Peace Position*, 1.

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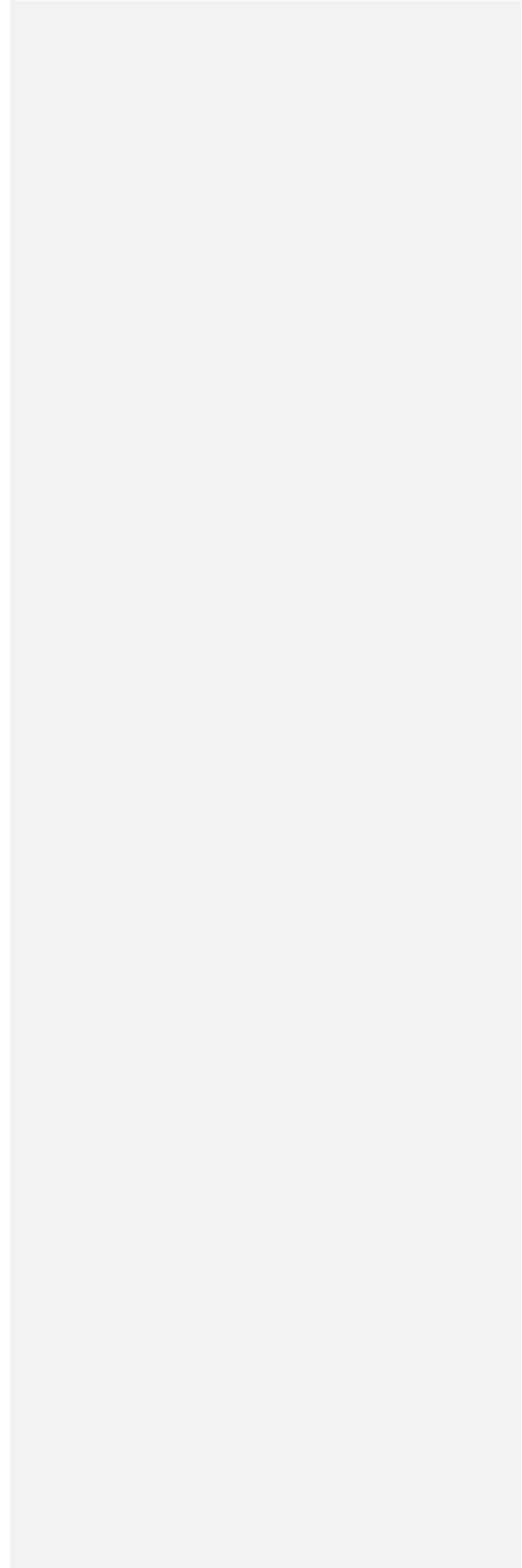
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