“Machine Age Humanitarianism”: American Humanitarianism in Early-20th Century Syria and Lebanon

Idir Ouahes

Historians of humanitarianism have increasingly scrutinized its social and political perspectives in the hope of defining a unitary field of study. One trend has sought to emphasize the pre-existing contexts prior to the formalization of humanitarian activity.¹ Other accounts, such as Michael Barnett’s, suggest that humanitarianism as a concept should be considered separately from traditional charity since it is a particularly modern, Western phenomenon that emerged from Enlightenment ethics (transcendentalism and universalism).²

In the Middle Eastern context, Ottoman-era massacres have generated the most attention.³ Historians of the Middle East have nevertheless also sought to emphasize the well-established Islamic charitable experience. Islamic *awqāf* (mortmain perpetuities) have been an intrinsic part of the region’s humanitarian activity.⁴ These Islamic financial instruments provided for a range of charitable activities, even for the protection of birds as was the case in a Fezzan *waqf*.

- 1 Peter Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religions, Empires, and Advocacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Stamatov and earlier historian Frank Klingberg nevertheless recognize the importance of the slavery abolitionists in giving impetus to humanitarianism and forging the domestic welfare state. See Stamatov, *The Origins*, 155–172; Frank J. Klingberg, “The Evolution of the Humanitarian Spirit in Eighteenth-Century England,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 66, no. 3 (July 1942): 260–278. David Forsythe notes the parallels between Henry Dunant’s International Committee of the Red Cross, set up in 1859, and London’s Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1839. See David P. Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 14–16.
- 2 Michael N. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).
- 3 Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, *Smyrna’s Ashes: Humanitarianism, Genocide, and the Birth of the Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2012); Davide C. Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).
- 4 Jamal Krafess, “The Influence of the Muslim Religion in Humanitarian Aid,” *International Review of the Red Cross* 87, no. 858 (June 2005): 327–342.

Addressing this range of activity, some historians have argued that they provided cover for rent-seeking urban elites holding rural land, while others have portrayed such legal instruments as the backbone of Islamic social welfare.⁵ What is clear is that this charity was not simply about “just giving”. As Nefissa Naguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug have noted: “[Islamic] welfare defined too restrictive as a bureaucratic or religious activity would simply be too narrow to grasp issues and realities”.⁶

Although these pre-existing charitable experiences and the difficulty in definitions should be carefully considered, there was a definite shift in the scope and character of Middle Eastern humanitarianism as the Ottoman Empire crumbled and European colonial mandates emerged in the region. Keith Watenpaugh’s recent work on post-World War I Middle East humanitarianism has emphasized the modernity of the American humanitarian response. Religious institutions coalesced their charitable and developmental efforts in the region during the War and became increasingly bureaucratized and technocratic, a theme that resonates in the present study.⁷ Although Watenpaugh’s research is an important overview of this phenomenon in the modern Middle East, it should be read as a call to further scholarly investigation rather than a “final word” on the phenomenon.

The present research both supports and refines Watenpaugh’s overview of modern humanitarianism. Unlike Watenpaugh’s contribution, it does not rely on an intrinsically modernist understanding of humanitarianism, drawn from Michael Barnett’s views. Instead, it suggests that there was plurality of constructions and understandings of humanitarianism; not only did the Ottoman and earlier Islamic approaches differ from the European ones, so too did the American “Machine Age” approach rolled out by Near East Relief show significant distinctions from its European peers due to the bureaucratization, limited Orientalism, and other factors discussed below. Finally, this study adds empirical knowledge relating to the case of French Mandate Syria during the Inter-War era; Watenpaugh’s work geographically focused on Turkey and other “core” Ottoman domains.

5 Jonathan Benthall and Jerome Bellion-Jourdan, *The Charitable Crescent: Politics of Aid in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 29–35; Michael Bonner, Mine Ener, and Amy Singer, *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2003).

6 Nefissa Neguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug, “Introduction,” in *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*, eds. Nefissa Naguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 4.

7 Keith David Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2015).

More broadly, one review of the humanitarian literature has noted that: "Humanitarianism intertwined religious and secular dimensions".⁸ Such a "modern" humanitarianism was also the result of the increasingly international public sphere emerging from the post-World War period.⁹ Watenpaugh also suggests that the League of Nations' efforts, which was the theoretical overseer of France's mandate, acted as a cauldron for the rise of modern, permanent and preventative, humanitarian missions.¹⁰

Organized U.S. humanitarian intervention enabled the creation of local constituents, including those involved with distributing aid to those receiving it. This led French mandatory authorities to suspect American intentions; with some justification. French fears were compounded due to the clashing culture between American welfare activity, with its emphasis on "scientific" management run by executives, and traditional French clientelism. On the other hand, the core economic burden taken on by the Americans was effectively relieving the French mandatory authorities from some of the welfare obligations that went hand-in-hand with the mandate's state-building mission.

The following analysis examines a range of U.S., French, and British diplomatic archives as a well as a range of U.S. humanitarian institutions' archives drawn from East Coast colleges and historical societies. This approach provides greater depth of examination of these religious and humanitarian institutions' activities in Syria during the 1920s; thus complementing existing coverage of their roles in the 19th century. The combination of state and non-state archives also brings to light the politically charged operating environment that humanitarian assistance in Syria and Lebanon represented. Though Ottoman-era humanitarianism would have inevitably been subject to Ottoman governmental scrutiny and U.S. diplomatic support, there was a marked increase in the level of political interest in the post-World War period.

Johannes Paulmann recently suggested that future analysis should: "further historical investigation of the fundamental structural dilemmas of aid ... the relationship between donors and beneficiaries ... the effects that moral, eco-

8 Johannes Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 4, no. 2 (2013): 217.

9 Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

10 Keith Watenpaugh, "The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920–1927," *American Historical Review* 115, no. 5 (2010): 1315–1339.

nomic, political ... aid ... had on the resilience ... of the societies ... [and] approach the history of humanitarian aid in a polycentric multilayered way ... from local/national and international perspective".¹¹ The present work answers this call by revealing how "Machine Age humanitarianism" in 1920s Syria and Lebanon encouraged the creation of connected constituents who could rely on U.S. aid while financially relieving the French mandate authorities from their League of Nations-approved task of building a functioning modern state. The longer-term impact on Syrian social relations with the state can be inferred, via further research along the lines of that undertaken by Ellen Fleischmann with respect to female identities can provide more concrete evidence.¹²

1 The American Humanitarian Impulse in Syria

Keith Watenpaugh's recent overview reveals the scope of American humanitarian engagement with the region. It provides an important corrective to a tendency to skip over 20th-century American humanitarian engagement with the region.¹³ The American humanitarians were united by an evident, if at times Orientalist, passion for supporting local peoples. American Protestant institutions founded schools, hospitals, and orphanages.¹⁴

The greatest of these institutions, the American University of Beirut (AUB), was founded in 1866 by the Presbyterian Bliss family.¹⁵ Although the AUB would evolve in complex ways, as Betty Anderson demonstrates, smaller Protestant

11 Paulmann, "Conjunctures," 230.

12 Ellen Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002): 411–426; Ellen Fleischmann, "Lost in Translation: Home Economics and the Sidon Girls' School of Lebanon, c. 1924–1932," *Social Sciences and Missions* 23, no. 1 (2010): 32–62.

13 Olivier Zurz only mentions Near East Relief twice in his overview. Olivier Zurz, *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012). See also Robert L. Daniel, *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820–1960* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1970); Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

14 See, for instance, Ellen Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830–1910)," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 263–280; Christine B. Lindner, "Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2009).

15 Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism & Liberal Education* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011).

institutions were primarily proselytizers. The earliest American humanitarian impulses sought to save Christian communities such as the Armenians. This was the case for the American Red Cross, which responded to late-Ottoman "Hamidian" massacres of Armenians in the 1880s and continued these efforts throughout the 1890s.¹⁶

Another sign of the religious impulse of pre-World War efforts is evidenced by the fact that humanitarian organizations did not circumscribe themselves according to national divides. A case in point concerns two British Quakers, Daniel and Emily Oliver, who ran a refugee school at Souq Al-Gharb in Lebanon.¹⁷ In 1914, Daniel Oliver, representing the Friends' Foreign Mission Association wrote to inform Herbert Welsh, an American Quaker in Westtown Pennsylvania, about the scholarly progress of a young Syrian boy he was sponsoring.¹⁸

Missionary humanitarians' diaries demonstrate a genuine zeal. One example is that of Charlotte Allen Ward, the wife of Edwin St John Ward, a missionary doctor first sent to the region by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. By 1920, Edwin was a professor of surgery at the AUB as well as a Red Cross doctor. Charlotte's correspondence with family members living in Springfield Massachusetts demonstrates evident human empathy for those under her care. In May 1916 she wrote warmly of "Aigule Kalfian ... an Armenian girl from the Adana region" who had co-starred in a school play.¹⁹

Alongside individual organizations' humanitarian activity, a broader public campaign for humanitarian aid was launched during World War I.²⁰ In 1915, the American Committee on Armenian Atrocities organized public fundraising events, such as a mass meeting at the Century Theatre in New York where the speakers included James L. Barton, the chairman of the Committee, and Rabbi Stephen Wise. The Committee had reportedly gained extensive publicity in the New York press.²¹ That year, Near East Relief (NER), was founded in the city; it

16 Mabel A. Elliot, *American National Red Cross Disaster Services, 1881-1918* (Washington D.C.: American National Red Cross, 1950).

17 Daniel Oliver, Friends' Foreign Mission Association London, to Thomas and Ethel Potts (August 13, 1920), The Daniel And Emily Oliver Orphanage Collection 1134 (Haverford College Archives, Haverford, PA).

18 Daniel Oliver, to Herbert Welsh, Westtown Penn (June 13, 1914), Herbert Welch Collection 702, Series 2 Box 71 (Historical Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA).

19 Charlotte Allen Ward, Springfield, to her family (May 30, 1916), Ward Papers MS 0595, Series B, Box 4 (Mount Holyoke College Archives, South Hadley, MA).

20 Watenpugh, *Bread From Stones*, 57-90.

21 Samuel T. Dutton, NER Secretary, New York, to William W. Rockwell, Professor, Colombia

was initially known as the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (ACASR) and the American Committee for Relief in the Near East (ACRNE).

In post-World War I Aleppo, the Near East Relief Foundation managed a school catering to 360 Armenian refugees.²² Near East Relief's scope provided it with an unprecedented capacity to respond humanely and rapidly to the wartime disasters. The Foundation's response to the 1922 Cilician crisis, when thousands of Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians had to flee as Turkey consolidated itself, was described in its report to Congress as an: "equally important, though less extensive relief service ... forced upon us".²³

In 1922 the director of National Armenian Union (NAU) praised NER's efforts in a letter to its Middle East director Harold B. McAfee. He wrote of how the organization had saved "orphans and refugees from perishing in the Syrian deserts. While all other sources of relief have for some time past been closed to us, the Armenians will always remember with deepest gratitude the work of the Near East Relief ... without which the remnant of the Armenian people in those countries would certainly have perished".²⁴

The NAU nevertheless warned that NER's planned departure from Aleppo would remove some 400 jobs that its factories provided as well as a school for refugee boys with 360 pupils.²⁵ Budgetary pressures became increasingly evident over the early 1920s as it struggled to cope with reduced income given that the World War spirit of mutual assistance dissipated. For instance, the considerable funds raised for NER's nationally coordinated "Golden Rule" Sunday, which organized local activities and clothes-gathering in December 1923, were actually used to reduce operational deficits.²⁶

College (October 18, 1915), Near East Relief Committee Records MRL2, Box 1 (Colombia University Burke Library, New York, NY).

22 Secretary & Vice-President of Armenian National Union to Howard B. McAfee, Director of Near East Relief in Syria (February 23, 1922), microfilm: Microscopy 722, Roll 14, Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Asia, 1910–1929, RG 59, Syria 890.d, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), College Park, MD.

23 Charles V. Vickery, *Near East Relief: A Review for 1922* (Annual Report to Congress) (New York: Near East Relief, 1923).

24 Dr A. Djebedjian, Secretary of Armenian National Union (ANU), and Gabriel Cassarian, Vice-President ANU, to Howard B. McAfee, Director NER Middle East (February 23, 1922), Microscopy 722, Roll 14, Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Asia, 1910–1929, NARA.

25 Dr A. Djebedjian and Gabriel Cassarian (February 23, 1922), Microscopy 722, Roll 14 Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Asia, 1910–1929, NARA.

26 Near East Relief, *Report of International Golden Rule Sunday Observance* (New York: Near East Relief, 1926).

In May 1924 the Beirut newspaper *Al-Lubnān* reported that NER was removing 1000 orphans from its boarding houses as a cost-cutting measure. *Al-Lubnān* called on Lebanese "men of will" to take the initiative in responding to this funding shortfall and to solve a problem that was testing the "dignity and authority of the nation".²⁷ On July 1, 1926, the U.S. Congress passed an Act to "relieve" Near East Relief of its outstanding debts.

Despite budgetary pressures, NER remained the most significant American organization in the region. It secured \$13 million from U.S. government agencies, the U.S. Grain Corporation and the American Relief Administration and gathered clothing, commodities, and medicine from private donors. Among such donors were emigrant Syro-Lebanese (also known as *Mahjaris*) sending supplies to their compatriots. For instance, in 1919 an ACASR warehouse supervisor Hana Sabogg, the secretary of the Syrian Mount Lebanon Ladies Relief Society in Boston, for multiple shipments of provisions sent to Syria via the U.S. Navy.²⁸

Between 1915 and 1922, NER had thus raised \$84 million of aid.²⁹ To give a sense of the scope of this genuine humanitarian impulse, in May 1921 Colonies Secretary Winston Churchill estimated Britain's yearly budget for military, humanitarian, and other spending in the Middle East at around £30 million (\$132 million).³⁰ A summary of NER activities in 1926 noted that it operated in three regions: Armenia, the Near East, and Greece and Istanbul. It ran 93 industrial centres, 82 hospitals, and clinics with 60 doctors and 142 nurses. It helped an overall of 60,092 children, of which 8183 were in Syria and Palestine. 380 boys and 300 girls had graduated from NER industrial shops and were supporting themselves independently.³¹

NER dwarfed the longer established Red Cross and Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). YMCA and NER were jointly supported by funding from the Presbyterian Church's American Board of Missions, though the former had smaller operations. YMCA's relief work was done throughout the Near East,

27 State of Greater Lebanon, Press Service, "Revue de la presse de Beyrouth des 11 & 12 Mai," (May 12, 1924), Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 1682 (Ministère des Affaires Étrangères—Centre des Archives Diplomatiques (hereafter CADN), Nantes).

28 Fred H. Houseman, New York, to Hana Sabogg, Boston (August 12, 1919), Lebanese Syrian Ladies' Aid Society (Boston, MA) records 1917–2005, box 3 (Harvard University Schlesinger Women's Library, Boston, MA).

29 In 2014 values.

30 "Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet Held at 10, Downing Street, s.w., on Tuesday, 31st May, 1921, at 11.30 a.m." (May 31, 1921), CAB/23/25, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), Kew.

31 Near East Relief, *Report of International Golden Rule Sunday Observance*.

from Turkey, through Armenia to Palestine. Cilician activities were attached to its Turkey mission. The YMCA's Syria mission had four stations at Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli. Funding problems were evident, though attempts were made to maintain coverage in Syria "proper". At one of its meetings, it was agreed that since the YMCA at Aleppo "had been and should continue to be a helpful adjunct ... the ... clerk of the Syria mission [should] send ... [a] telegram [to] ... YMCA Constantinople [and the] American Presbyterian Mission ... [to] unanimously urge continuance of Aleppo YMCA".³²

In Adana, then still part of French-controlled Cilicia before Turkish recon-solidation, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) also installed itself in April 1920 and recruited local upper-class ladies and girls of Greek and Armenian descent. It provided physical education and English lessons and provided food relief to local women employed by an English Lord Mayor's Fund's factory through a soup kitchen.³³ The American Red Cross was equally active. On June 14, 1922, it transported 400 Armenian girls and women to Aleppo to save them from troubles in Cilicia.³⁴ By March 1929, the U.S. Consul in Beirut noted that the American Red Cross had contributed \$12.5 million channeled through Geneva to support Armenians in Syria.³⁵

2 Orientalism and "Machine Age Humanitarianism"

Scholars have noted the deep Orientalism at the heart of Western public and official engagement with the Middle East.³⁶ Examining American humanitarian activity nevertheless paints a more complex picture. There certainly were religiously-motivated essentialisms of the objects of humanitarian action. Yet there were also efforts seeking to humanize those in need. Finally, the impact

32 "Minutes of the General Winter Meeting of the Syrian Mission, December 7th to 16th 1920," (January 1921), Record Group, Box 1 (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society Archives).

33 Administrative Services Cilicie, Délégué Administratif, "Etude d'ensemble sur les œuvres d'assistance scolaire et de tous autres ordres fonctionnant en Cilicie," (October 31, 1920), Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 1682 (CADN).

34 British Liaison Officer to the French Army in the Levant, Beirut, to General Staff Intelligence, Cairo (July 27, 1922), FO684/1 (TNA).

35 George L. Brandt, U.S. Consul Beirut to Secretary of State, Washington (March 28, 1929), microfilm Reel of 21, Confidential U.S. Diplomatic Post Records: The Middle East (Beirut, NARA).

36 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2006); Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones*, 7.

of organizational bureaucratization in a "Machine Age" further deepened tensions between the humanitarian impulse and a modern humanitarian bureaucracy penetrated by orientalist conceptions.

Some American humanitarians in the region reminded their donors and participants that theirs was a fundamentally humane work. In the words of Edward Raffety, chairman of NER's national Sunday school advisory committee: "Near East Relief, in its first humanitarian impulse ... serves a divine mission ... it has humanized the subject; it helped to make Syria and Palestine ... Armenia ... real ... the fact that Sunday school children of every denomination in the United States have contributed toward feeding, clothing, sheltering and education thousands of helpless children overseas has proved the efficacy of this united effort".³⁷

Despite Raffety's optimism, it has been noted that most aid went to crisis-hit and dislocated Assyrians, Greeks, and Armenians.³⁸ It is telling that no effort seems to have been made to interact with the aforementioned, well-established, Muslim charitable institutions.³⁹ Indeed, in 1924, the Sunni Beirut newspaper *Al-Kashkūl* suggested that not one of NER's orphanages hosted a Muslim child. It alleged that all of them were dedicated to converting Armenians to Protestantism. In addition, *Al-Kashkūl* complained that this situation held despite most of NER's funding was in fact coming from *mahjar* donations intended to aid all Syrians and Lebanese populations, not just Christians. It asked NER to provide a public account of its sources of funding.⁴⁰

NER posters (Figures 8.1 and 8.2) demonstrate typical stereotyping of beneficiaries, presumably to secure Americans' donations. This approach was not simply visual. A committee member of Near East Relief wrote to a New York donor asking for money for a 15-year-old Lebanese girl. He described the girl's harsh upbringing during the Ottoman period in simultaneously humane and subjectivizing terms:

We called her 'Bedi Tick' because she lisped this Arabic phrase 'I want a penny' to us. A lovely face, pinched with hunger, but bravely trying to

37 W. Edward Raffety, "Children and the New World," *The New Near East* 8, no. 12 (December 1923).

38 Watenpaugh, "The League of Nations."

39 Beth Baron, "Orphans and Abandoned Children in Modern Egypt," in *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*, eds. Nefissa Naguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

40 State of Greater Lebanon, Press Service, "Revue de la presse de Beyrouth du 19 Décembre," (December 19, 1924), Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 1682 (CADN).

FIGURE 8.1 A 1917 ACRNE poster depicting the compassionate, if Orientalist, efforts of American humanitarianism in the Middle East. Library of Congress collection, <https://lccn.loc.gov/2002711981>

smile ... That was in Beirut in 1916 ... [she] only lived because an American hid her and fed her at the risk of imprisonment for what the Turks called 'treason' or 'American propaganda'.⁴¹

41 H.S. Meredith, Committee for Near East Relief, New York, to Talcott Williams, New York, (September 13, 1927), Near East Relief Committee Records MRL2, Box 7 (New York: Columbia University Burke Library (hereafter CU-B)).

FIGURE 8.2 Another 1917 ACRNE poster asking for compassionate donations from American citizens. Library of Congress collection, <https://lccn.loc.gov/2002719422>

Some humanitarian institutions clearly sought to convert locals as *Al-Kash-kūl* had warned. In northern Syria, one report from the Presbyterian Board of Missions noted the education being provided by the Syrian Protestant Institute in Homs and the Tripoli Boys School in Tripoli. The Tripoli Girls' school was highly rated by locals, according to the report, with its alumni becoming "teachers in the village schools, wives of preachers and mothers of boys who have become teachers and preachers".⁴²

42 "Minutes of the General Winter Meeting of the Syrian Mission—December 7th to 16th

It suggested that Muslims had become increasingly interested in sending their girls to the school which was ideal because it would allow the school to fulfill 'her twofold function so to train the Christian girls of northern Syria ... and to lead the Moslem girls of Tripoli out of ignorance and the darkness of superstition into the light'.⁴³ Nevertheless, other American institutions such as the AUB were among the first in the region to institute non-denominational schooling.

In 1925, an American school for girls was founded in Damascus offering Arabic, French, and English instruction. Classical Arabic was also taught through a special arrangement with local Sheikhs. A great majority of students were Muslim with some Jews and Christians also in attendance.⁴⁴ When told that the school, while admirable, would "only be a drop in the bucket" with regard to the need for educating Syrians, the school's director, Christine Adamson Essenberg, retorted that her school would "not be the only drop ... others will add theirs until the bucket is overflowing full".⁴⁵

A profile of Essenberg in the *Pittsburg-Post Gazette* painted her work in heavily Orientalist imagery, yet Essenberg herself clearly expressed her respect for the local culture. She explained that: "it was never my purpose to endeavor to 'westernize' these girls ... my primary objective ... is to educate".⁴⁶

Alongside this ambiguity, U.S. humanitarian institutions introduced a capitalist-influenced bureaucratization. This approach had itself been preceded by American pragmatist thought which influenced American religious philanthropy during the post-Civil War domestic recovery.⁴⁷ Near East Relief embraced the "science of management" zeitgeist. As a large organization, it undertook careful monitoring, auditing, and outsourcing of its operations. This element of "sovereignty" over humanitarian "subjects" did not necessarily contravene existing Orientalist imagery.

1920," (January 1921), Record Group 90, Box 1 (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian Historical Society Archives).

43 Ibid.

44 Committee of Correspondence Records (CoC), Series v: Correspondents and Fieldwork, Box 39 (Northampton, MA: Sophia Smith Collection (SSC)).

45 Ibid.

46 Anne Weiss, "Education Removes Veil of Darkness for Women," *The Pittsburgh Press*, February 19, 1934, 22.

47 Michael Barnett, "Faith in the Machine? Humanitarianism in an Age of Bureaucratization," in *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*, eds. Michael Barnett and Janice Gross Stein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

However, it did introduce a new element of "managerial", as opposed to classic European, "romantic", oversight. As Alfred McCoy has shown, the American experience in policing the Philippines had depended on a vast surveillance regime using technological advances such as Alexander Graham Bell's telephone and Charles Flint's punch-cards. This distinguished American foreign rule from contemporary British and French colonial reliance on culturally specific and in-depth "romantic" Orientalist knowledge.⁴⁸

American humanitarians in the Middle East were aware of their technocratic approach. One article in NER's bulletin cheerfully explained that:

America has brought a new spirit to the Near Eastern countries ... our intervention in the Near East has been unofficial and mainly humanitarian in character ... the American people have been working, not for Mesopotamia's oil fields, not for the Baghdad railway ... but simply and purely for humanity ... there has come out of the West ... a force that acts from other motives than political selfishness ... It is the most modern thing ... we have brought to these age-old lands the shock of the machine age, the age of organization.⁴⁹

Chaired by corporate executives and armed with the slogan "hunger knows no armistice" (figure 8.3), Near East Relief was a modern organization with certified accountants and savings in operational expenses. NER general secretary Charles Vickery wrote to Talcott Williams in New York City to secure funds from the other charities such as the Carnegie Foundation.⁵⁰

An article in NER's magazine explained: "an important reorganization of our work ... for the purpose of securing greater economy and efficiency through consolidation. The offices, garages, warehouse, supply base, industrial department, personal service, and shipping operations were all concentrated into one general headquarters ... on the Bosphorus. This ... resulted in a saving of at least 25 percent in cost of operation".⁵¹

Despite this organizational and managerial directedness, NER also enabled the employment of those under its care, encouraging an element of autonom-

48 Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, The Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin University Press, 2009).

49 "Machine Age Humanitarianism," extract from the 1923 report of the Overseas Commission, *The New Near East* 8, no. 12 (December 1923).

50 Charles Vickery, Secretary of Near East Relief, to Talcott Williams, New York (March 3, 1920), Near East Relief Committee Records MRL2, Box 7 (New York, NY: CU-B).

51 Vickery, *Near East Relief*.

FIGURE 8.3

A later poster dating from 1919 and printed by ACRNE's successor organization; Near East Relief (NER). Library of Congress collection, <https://lccn.loc.gov/2002708879>

ous development.⁵² In NER's magazine, the *New Near East*, Charles Vickery described the 89,000 Armenian refugees located in Aleppo in 1922. These refugees were:

Industrious, ready for any kind of service if work is available but, under existing economic and political conditions, they are helpless ... they are among the most thrifty people in the world. Despite the fact that the

⁵² Davide Rodogno, "Beyond Relief: A Sketch of the Near East Relief's Humanitarian Operations, 1918–1929," *Monde(s): Histoire, Espace, Relations* 2, no. 6 (2014): 45–64.

refugees are chiefly women, old men and children, they quickly regain self-support if given the opportunity. Of the 27,000 that reached Beirut, Syria, in 1922, and were established in refugee camps, only 600 are now receiving aid from the Relief Committee.⁵³

In rhetoric and in practice, organizational coherence did not reduce empathy for the unfortunate. In July 1920, the New Jersey newspaper *Morning Call* reported that thanks to Near East, "Armenians took over the maintenance of relief stations, hospitals and orphanages".⁵⁴ NER's journal also advertised a small shop in New York City, the Flambeau Shop, which advertised goods made by Near East Industries and sold customers the: "perfect Christmas gift which combined 'individuality, utility and charm'".⁵⁵ Near East Industries was an NER project intended to create a distribution centre for refugee-made merchandise. In 1922, it sold \$23,000 worth of goods.⁵⁶

3 Convergence of Political Aims and Humanitarian Activity

Despite NER's attempts at being a scientifically managed organization and its aims to work with dispassionate interest, the political dimension of relief work in a strategic region undergoing European state-building was inexorable. The League, in practice if not in theory, allowed for a continuation of colonial power according to imperial interests. Susan Pedersen has summarized the League's Mandates Commission as being "a discursive arena and not an administrative system".⁵⁷ It is precisely this "discursive arena" that enabled powers other than the mandatory to establish a foothold in the territories; ultimately providing an alternative to colonial designs.

Aside from Soviet Russia, the United States was prominent in undertaking this task. It built on its previous engagement in Ottoman times by pursuing a so-called "open door" policy. A US-French deal was reached in July 1924, reaffirming Americans' special legal privileges on the same basis as those afforded to League of Nations member nations' citizens.⁵⁸ According to Keith Waten-

53 Vickery, *Near East Relief*, 27.

54 Erla Rodakiewicz, *Foreign Born: A Bulletin of American Service* (New York, NY: Young Women's Christian Association USA, 1920), 54.

55 "Machine Age Humanitarianism."

56 Vickery, *Near East Relief*, 32.

57 Susan Pedersen, "The Meaning of the Mandates System: An Argument," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 32, no. 4 (2006): 560–582.

58 Governments of the United States and France, "Convention between the United States

paugh the lack of a direct American mandate over Armenia had demonstrated “the real limits of American power in the early 1920s”.⁵⁹ Yet this could instead be read as a deliberate U.S. sidestepping of involving itself in costly and ugly Middle East imbroglios; as Iraq (rebellion in 1920), Syria (rebellion in 1925) and Palestine (rebellion in 1936) all proved to be. American strategic planners were more directly concerned with the economic domination of their hemisphere and the Pacific.

Colonial rivalries in the “Old World” could thus be balanced one against the other while America entrenched its economic capacity and dominance. One contemporary lecture given by the future president, young Wilsonian and then vice-presidential candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt, outlined this long-term strategic view. American circumvention of League and Mandates involvement did not mean it did not have a weak voice in this forum. Roosevelt believed that: “President Wilson slipped one over on Lloyd George when he was in Paris, because while England and her colonies are apparently getting six votes to our one, the United States has a lot more ... For instance, does anybody suppose that the votes of Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo, Panama, Nicaragua and of the other Central American states [in the League] would be cast differently from the vote of the United States?”⁶⁰

It is true that certain policy makers had advocated a full American mandate over Armenia; many of them had indeed been sponsors of the aforementioned humanitarian efforts. William H. Hall, who had led one of President Wilson’s Inquiry committees prior to the rise of Republican Turkey, had recommended that a Western power without colonial interests, with America’s experience in the Philippines as a model, should hold a direct mandate over the Turkish parts of the dismembered Ottoman Empire.⁶¹ Another Inquiry member, Columbia College professor Paul Monroe, explained the political capital to be gained from American humanitarian and educational engagement in the Levant. He wrote: “of all the foreign educational systems in the Empire, the American undoubtedly holds first place ... The schools should be closely correlated with

and France Respecting Rights in Syria and the Lebanon,” *The American Journal of International Law* 19, no. 1 (1925): 1–5.

59 Keith David Watenpaugh, “Between Communal Survival and National Aspiration,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*, eds. Cyrus Schayegh and Andrew Arsan (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 41.

60 “Speeches of FDR: Drafts and Reading Copies. Speech at Milwaukee” (August 12, 1920), Arthur M. Schlesinger Papers, Box 448 (New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts Division Public, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building).

61 Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 125.

the community ... in all of these respects the work of the Philippine school system would serve as a model".⁶²

Humanitarian executives and institutions were equally vocal in expressing hopes for greater American political involvement in the region. NER executive James L. Barton overtly encouraged an American mandate over Armenia. He wrote: "there are many who would shrink from such an undertaking because of the [difficult] experience which the French are now undergoing in attempting to pacify even a small section of Lesser Armenia [Cilicia]. There is every reason for believing that America's experience would be wholly different from that of the French".⁶³

NER's wartime predecessor, the ACASR, had called for the prohibition of European spheres of influence in order to ensure that the natural "riches should be reserved for the enrichment and the development by the people to whom they rightfully belong"; an echo of the findings of the U.S.' King-Crane Commission.⁶⁴

Writing in the *The New Near East*, Reverend Samuel Craver summarized the tensions between American visions for intervention in the region. He wrote that:

The humanitarian work ... is a symbol ... of America at its best. There are many Americas. A political America, which has not yet played its full part in preventing war and building up international co-operation. An economic America which has its eyes riveted on trade advantages ... But ... also an idealistic, a humanitarian, a religious America ... finding magnificent expression in its work of mercy in the Near East ... The boys and girls who are our wards in these orphanages are an important part of the coming generation ... in the higher life of this chaotic area of the world.⁶⁵

62 Paul Monroe, "The Ottoman Empire: Education," [n.d.], 42, MS8 The Inquiry Papers, Series III, Box 23 (Yale Manuscripts and Archives New Haven (hereafter YUMA)), Jonathan Zimmerman has noted the direct links between missionary schooling in the Philippines and those in Syria. Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 56.

63 James L. Barton, "Has America Responsibility for Protecting Armenia?" (n.d.), Near East Relief Committee Records MRL2, Box 7, CU-B.

64 American Committee for Syrian and Armenian Relief, *Recommendations for Political Reconstruction in the Turkish Empire* (November 1918), India Office Records, Series L/PS/1, Box 158 (London, British Library).

65 Reverend Samuel McCrea Craver, General Secretary of Federal council of Churches of Christ in America, "America and the Golden Rule," *The New Near East* VIII, XII (December 1923).

4 Politicization

The porosity between official and non-official U.S. planning, policy, and activity was suspiciously viewed by local administrations, leading to further politicization of humanitarianism. In 1916, the political director of the Ottoman police had contacted American diplomats to express concerns over Rockefeller Foundation worker Edward R. Stoeber. Stoeber was undertaking his Rockefeller work from within the American embassy.⁶⁶

During the post-World War interregnum, prior to the formal establishment of the mandate in 1920, a watchlist of suspects circulated by French military administrators included a local Beirut, Chehadé Chehadé, described as an agent of the American Red Cross.⁶⁷ This was likely because Chehadé had accompanied a British Major to greet the King-Crane commission's arrival in the Lebanese town of Zahlé.⁶⁸ The fears were not unfounded. In 1922, the British liaison officer to the French army in Beirut reported that an NER worker had been a British informant, passing information from correspondence going through NER's Urfa depot.⁶⁹

NER's operation in Cilicia also raised French suspicions. One French report suggested that NER's chief in Istanbul, Dr William Nesbitt Chambers, had been rude when discussing relief efforts with the chief of the *Service des Rapatriements et de l'Assistance* (Repatriation and Assistance Service). A competition in this region had developed between American and French relief providers, meaning that some of those in need had been helped twice over while others went unaided. Another flare-up occurred over the fate of the material left by German missionary sisters at Bahçe after their expulsion by the French. Their orphanage, its buildings, and goods were seized by French Colonel Edouard

66 Cornelius van Engert, Diary entry for Thursday (October 19, 1916), GTM.800320 Richard T. Crane Papers, Box 1 (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Lauinger Library); Rockefeller Foundation, *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report* (New York: Rockefeller, 1916): 329–330.

67 "Liste des personnes suspectes (Syriens)," (n.d.) Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 982.

68 Administration du Liban, délégué de Zahlé, "Compte Rendu du Lieutenant Leymarin," (July 12, 1919), Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 2372. The French High Commission's delegate in Zahlé intercepted the King-Crane convoy after an informant reported that Chehadé was planning on having them stay at his house. Chehadé had told the King-Crane convoy that the city was out of hotel rooms. Delegate Leymarin stopped the American Commission's cars and told them that rooms were awaiting them at the city's Hotel Kadri.

69 British Liaison Officer to the French Army in the Levant, Beirut, to General Staff Intelligence, Cairo (May 25, 1922), FO684/1 (TNA).

Bremond, who oversaw the region, though it had eventually been released to NER's Dr Chambers.⁷⁰ On another occasion, the region's economic bureau refused NER requests for authorization to chop wood and import peas though it did allow it to purchase dry wood.

Considering these tensions, Colonel Bremond wrote a report in which he explained that, though the Americans did not have a consul in Cilicia:

Under the cover of welfare or charity, they are undertaking an extremely active propaganda ... which has become clearly anti-French ... the work of welfare has become something more than a pure act of charity. It is a great proportion of the population that needs material aid ... [therefore] the one who provides welfare naturally exercises an influence ... of a political character.⁷¹

In a surrealistically childish manner, Bremond thought that the Americans were seeking to "steal" "French" orphans. After a YMCA orphanage offered summer courses, he claimed that the Americans were seeking to permanently incorporate the children. Bremond proudly proclaimed such an attempt to "tempt" the children had been "fought off" by improving local French educational facilities. He reserved praise for Mrs Gagneux, the wife of a French lieutenant and director of the Armenian orphanage in Adana, who had managed to retain her children by distributing toys which had "brought a delirious joy".

In contrast to Bremond's juvenile tone, a letter from the head of the YMCA, Olin Lee, to one of his subordinates, Lieutenant Gagneux, conveyed an entirely different tone. Lee thanked Gagneux for his support of the American summer school and provision of French teachers.⁷² In his reply, Gagneux told Olin Lee that "in a country like Cilicia where everything remains to be done for the education of the populations, the YMCA has a big role to play, you can be sure of the most complete support by the French authorities".⁷³

70 Armée du Levant, Délégué Administratif en Cilicie, "Note sur les relations des autorités françaises avec l'A.C.R.N.E. en Cilicie," (November 8, 1920), Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 1564 (CADN).

71 Colonel Bremond, Chef du Contrôle Administratif de Cilicie, "Rapport sur les empiètements des Américains en particulier au sujet des orphelins" (July 16, 1920), Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 1564 (CADN).

72 Olin P. Lee, General Secretary of the YMCA (Near East), to Lieutenant Gagneux, Chef des Services de Rapatriement et de l'Assistance, Adana (November 2, 1920), Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 1564.

73 Lieutenant Gagneux to Olin P. Lee, General Secretary of YMCA Adana (November 8, 1920), Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 1564 (CADN).

In fact, French funding for welfare and humanitarian aid lacked organization throughout the early years. In his wartime diary, State Department intelligence officer and former Standard Oil representative in Palestine Captain William Yale noted the absence of French relief. The NER council had “tried to discover a similar organization in France with which they could cooperate but had been unable to”.⁷⁴ During Christmas 1918, French foreign office officials discussed “assuring the relief of French expats in oriental countries” who needed luxurious commodities such as coffee and sugar for the holidays; while a famine was ravaging the Levant.⁷⁵

Despite these deficiencies, it should be noted that French officials did make efforts to increase humanitarian support as they secured their Levantine territories. French support for orphans grew from two orphanages housing 500 children before World War I to caring for over 9,000 orphans 1919. Around 1,000 women who were out of work and without housing were put in workhouses. Similar statistics are evident for the years from 1920 onward. Yet consulting the French mandate's budget archives gives some sense of the limited scale of the French humanitarian effort; a duty that was concomitant with League of Nations mandatory welfare state responsibilities.

In 1921, out of a 48.7 million Francs budget for Lebanon, all welfare spending (in the broadest sense to include education, healthcare, and so on) amounted to 4.2 million, less than 10%. The restive interior Syrian states such as Aleppo, which required greater security spending, demonstrated a lower ratio of welfare spending. In fact, statistics give a misleading picture since welfare was often blurred with security. For instance, the military intelligence officer in charge of the district of Al-Hasakah was also organizing food distribution.⁷⁶

Despite French suspicions of “Anglo-Saxon” interference, the presence of “Machine Age” American humanitarians provided materially, if not politically, welcome support for French administrators' efforts. A report by British Consul in Aleppo Norman Mayers outlined how French administrators maintained Ottoman-era privileges for foreign institutions, thus allowing British and American institutions to participate in educational and humanitarian activities. He wrote that:

74 William Yale Diary (September 19, 1917), MS658 William Yale Papers, Box 2, YUMA.

75 Under Secretary of State for Relief Works to Minister of Foreign Affairs (December 9, 1918), Series E-Levant, Box 59 (Ministère des Affaires Étrangères—Centre des Archives Diplomatiques, La Courneuve).

76 Service Des Renseignements, “Rapport Trimestriel 4ème Trimestre 1924: Situation Des Réfugiés,” (January 1925) Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/v, Box 1843 (CADN).

The French authorities show themselves very reasonable in ... governing privileges ... the only change ... is not the result of any cutting down of immunities, but ... the abolition of the capitulations ... [which] gave many privileges [to religious and charitable organizations] ... the presence of whom ... represented, perhaps, a net saving to the [Ottoman] exchequer [i.e. public finances].⁷⁷

A report on Armenian refugees in Aleppo from the High Commissioner's delegate to the Aleppo State in 1923 is revealing. It outlines how refugee aid for Armenians in Aleppo was provided by a mix of American Near East Relief contributions, the High Commissioner's Aleppo delegate (76,000 Francs) and a supplemental 60,000 Francs coming from the Syrian Federation (Syrian taxpayer-paid) budget.⁷⁸ This French policy of continuing the Ottoman tradition of allowing non-political humanitarian activity to enable a "net-saving to the exchequer" was recognized by NER, which sought to avoid naively shouldering French governmental burdens.

On the ground, in Beirut, NER's director Harold B. McAfee informed his superiors that he would avoid American providing funds via French High Commissioner Robert De Caix because:

The French Government is insolvent ... any appropriation made for the ... Armenian refugees will all be absorbed in graft ... the Government is spending more on this enormous standing army ... than it will ever get in Syria in taxes ... this abominable official class that is in control here is enough to rejoice the Devil.⁷⁹

5 Conclusion

American humanitarianism made a significant, and political, intervention in the early 20th century Levant. On the one hand, United States institutions and individuals demonstrated zeal in their humanitarian impulse which had

77 Norman Mayers, British Consul Aleppo, "Report on the Fiscal Immunities and Privileges in Syria of Patriarchs, Heads of Religious Bodies, Institutions, and Charitable or Other Organizations Deriving Thereof," (November 28, 1925) FO861/82/1358 (TNA).

78 Délégué-adjoint du Haut-Commissaire, Président de la Commission, "Rapport," (March 3, 1923) Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V, Box 996 (CADN).

79 Harold B. McAfee to Charles Vickery (March 15, 1922), Microscopy 722, Roll 14, Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Asia, 1910–1929, RG 59, Syria 890.d, NARA.

been established in the 19th century. In the 1920s, humanitarian outreach did continue to favour Christian minorities yet, despite Orientalist framing of the beneficiaries, there is little evidence of disdainful attitudes toward them. The response to World War I demonstrated an enthusiasm that combined with the managerial zeitgeist to produce what was self-consciously termed “Machine Age humanitarianism” by Near East Relief, the biggest of the U.S. operators.

Inevitably, the significant structure given to U.S.-Levant ties through humanitarian aid spilled into the political arena. U.S. officials and East Coast elites recognized the importance of this field for their growing influence in the region. French Mandatory authorities, who had taken over from the Ottomans after the World War, viewed such activity suspiciously, though they welcomed the income that enabled them to reduce their state-building obligations. Although the provision of healthcare has always been tied to symbolic power, the provision of state-directed social programs is particularly tied to the rise of the modern welfare state.⁸⁰ By assisting the French authorities in recovering from the devastation of the World War, the U.S. humanitarian agencies were simultaneously aiding locals while inadvertently impeding the development of a modern state system with relations to social groups.

Bibliography

Manuscripts and Archives

France

Centre des Archives Diplomatiques, Nantes (CADN).

Fonds Beyrouth, Cabinet Politique, Series 1SL/V.

Centre des Archives Diplomatiques, La Courneuve (CADL).

Series E-Levant.

United Kingdom

British Library, London (BL).

India Office Records, Series L/PS/1.

The National Archives, Kew (TNA).

Cabinet Office, CAB/23/25.

Foreign Office, FO684/1.

⁸⁰ The *marabouts* (French), wandering spiritual healers, were local power-holders in North African rural areas. These *murabītin* (Arabic) also migrated to the Lebanese mountains.

United States

Colombia University Burke Library, New York, NY.

Near East Relief Committee Records (MRL2).

Georgetown University Lauinger Library, Washington D.C.

GTM.800320 Richard T. Crane Papers.

Harvard University Schlesinger Women's Library, Boston, MA.

Lebanese Syrian Ladies' Aid Society (Boston, Mass.) Records 1917–2005.

Haverford College Archives, Haverford.

The Daniel And Emily Oliver Orphanage Collection (1134).

Historical Society of Philadelphia, Philadelphia.

Herbert Welch Collection (702).

Mount Holyoke College Archives, South Hadley, MA.

Ward Papers (MS 0595), Series B, Box 4.

National Archives and Records Administration, College Park MD (NARA).

Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Asia, 1910–1929, RG 59, Syria 890.d.

Confidential U.S. Diplomatic Post Records: The Middle East.

New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts Division, New York.

Arthur M. Schlesinger Papers.

Presbyterian Historical Society Archives, Philadelphia.

Record Group 90.

Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Northampton MA.

Committee of Correspondence Records (CoC), Series v: Correspondents and Field-work.

Yale University Manuscripts and Archives Division, New Haven, CT (YUMA).

MS8 The Inquiry Papers.

MS658 William Yale Papers.

Articles, Newspapers, and Books

Anderson, Betty S. *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism & Liberal Education*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011.

Barnett, Michael, and Janice Gross Stein, eds. *Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Barnett, Michael N. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.

Robert Khouri, "Histoire De La Médecine Au Liban," *Journal Médicale Libanaise* 58, no. 1 (2010): 28–44; Kwong-Leung Tang, *Colonial State and Social Policy: Social Welfare Development in Hong Kong 1842–1997* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998).

- Baron, Beth. "Orphans and Abandoned Children in Modern Egypt." In *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*, edited by Nefissa Naguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- Benthall, Jonathan, and Jerome Bellion-Jourdan, eds. *The Charitable Crescent: Politics of Aid in the Muslim World*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2003.
- Bonner, Michael, Mine Ener and Amy Singer, eds. *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2003.
- Caver, Samuel McCrea. "America and the Golden Rule." *The New Near East* 8, no. 12 (December 1923).
- Daniel, Robert L. *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820–1960*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1970.
- Elliot, Mabel A. *American National Red Cross Disaster Services, 1881–1918*. Washington D.C.: American National Red Cross, 1950.
- Fleischmann, Ellen. "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860–1950." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002): 411–426.
- Fleischmann, Ellen. "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, The American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830–1910)." In *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 263–280. SCM 32. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Fleischmann, Ellen. "Lost in Translation: Home Economics and the Sidon Girls' School of Lebanon, c. 1924–1932." *Social Sciences and Missions* 23, no. 1 (2010): 32–62.
- Forsythe, David P. *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Governments of the United States and France. "Convention between the United States and France Respecting Rights in Syria and the Lebanon." *The American Journal of International Law* 19, no. 1 (January 1925): 1–5.
- Grabill, Joseph L. *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.
- Klingberg, Frank J. "The Evolution of the Humanitarian Spirit in Eighteenth Century England." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 66, no. 3 (July 1942): 260–278.
- Krafess, Jamal. "The Influence of the Muslim Religion in Humanitarian Aid." *International Review of the Red Cross* 87, no. 858 (June 2005): 327–342.
- Lindner, Christine B. "Negotiating The Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 To 1860." PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2009.
- Makdisi, Ussama. *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- Manela, Erez. *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

- McCoy, Alfred W. *Policing America's Empire: The United States, The Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009.
- Near East Relief. "Machine Age Humanitarianism." *The New Near East* 8, no. 12 (December 1923).
- Near East Relief. *Report of International Golden Rule Sunday Observance*. New York, NY: Near East Relief, 1926.
- Neguib, Nefissa, and Inger Marie Okkenhaug, eds. *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Paulmann, Johannes. "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century." *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 4, no. 2 (2013): 215–238.
- Pedersen, Susan. "The Meaning of the Mandates System: An Argument." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 32, no. 4 (Oct-Dec. 2006): 560–582.
- Pedersen, Susan. *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Raffety, Edward. "Children and the New World." *The New Near East* 8, no. 12 (December 1923).
- Robert, Khouri. "Histoire De La Médecine Au Liban." *Journal Médicale Libanaise* 58, no. 1 (2010): 28–44.
- Rockefeller Foundation. *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report*. New York, NY: Rockefeller Foundation, 1916.
- Rodakiewicz, Erla. *Foreign Born: A Bulletin of American Service*. New York, NY: Young Women's Christian Association USA, 1920.
- Rodogno, Davide C. *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton New Jersey, 2012.
- Rodogno, Davide C. "Beyond Relief: A Sketch of the Near East Relief's Humanitarian Operations, 1918–1929." *Monde(s): Histoire, Espace, Relations* 2, no. 6 (2014): 45–64.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin, 2006.
- Schayegh, Cyrus, and Andrew Arsan, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.
- Stamatov, Peter. *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religions, Empires, and Advocacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Tang, Kwong-Leung. *Colonial State and Social Policy: Social Welfare Development in Hong Kong 1842–1997*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998.
- Tusan, Michelle Elizabeth. *Smyrna's Ashes: Humanitarianism, Genocide, and the Birth of the Middle East*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2012.
- Vickery, Charles V. *Near East Relief: A Review for 1922* (Annual report to Congress). New York: Near East Relief, 1923.
- Watenpugh, Keith David. "Between Communal Survival and National Aspiration." In

- The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*, edited by Cyrus Schayegh and Andrew Arsan (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).
- Watenpaugh, Keith David. *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2015.
- Watenpaugh, Keith. "The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920–1927." *American Historical Review* 115, no. 5 (2010): 1313–1339.
- Weiss, Anne. "Education Removes Veil of Darkness for Women." The Pittsburgh Press, February 19, 1934.
- Zimmerman, Jonathan. *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Zurz, Olivier. *Philanthropy in America: A History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.