The American Friends Service Committee’s Aid During the Spanish Civil War: Children and Art Amidst War

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The American Friends Service Committee’s Aid During the Spanish Civil War: Children and Art
Amidst War

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A Thesis in the Field of History
for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

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Abstract

This thesis reveals and uncovers how the American Quakers were instrumental in relief efforts during the fall of the Spanish Republic and through Franco’s Spain. The purpose is to show that the American Quakers strived to help those in need while still maintaining their religious identity during times of crisis and conflict. My research draws upon primary sources, letters, artwork, committee reports, memos, diaries, memoirs, and direct commentary from Quakers in the relief effort, as recorded by newspapers and journals. The totality of these sources suggests that the relief that the American Friends provided was, and still is, celebrated as a monumental achievement in humanitarian work. By focusing on the Quakers as they dealt with Spanish children, this research highlights the important role the Friends took on in ensuring the health and welfare of many refugee and displaced children before, during, and after the Spanish Civil War.
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Background Information

The Quakers

The religious movement that would eventually provide relief work in twentieth-century Spain has its roots in seventeenth-century England. The Society of Friends often referred to themselves as “Friends in the Truth,” and yet, by 1650, “Quakers” had become a common nickname for the Friends, on account of George Fox’s followers trembling and quaking, “...under the stress of strong religious feeling.”¹ In 1660, the movement announced themselves and proclaimed their pacifism to Charles II, declaring that,

We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever; and this is our testimony to the whole world. The spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it; and we do certainly know, and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.²

This declaration solidified the Society of Friends as pacifist Christians that were separated from their other Christian counterparts not only by their abhorrence of violence, but also by their belief that humanity had within them a presence of God—a concept commonly referred to as the

“Inward Light” or “Inner Light.”³ Fox avoided the adoption of any title or position, and the Quaker movement itself had no set hierarchy or creed.⁴ The concept of an Inner light led to early egalitarian practices, such as believing that anybody could preach, which, in turn, led to Quakers altogether shunning the need for an ecclesiastical hierarchy. The belief in pacifism and the Inward Light of Christ would later become the cornerstones of twentieth-century Quaker relief work.

During the eighteenth century, many Friends in New England found prosperity as they thrived in mercantile positions.⁵ Friends embraced a set of egalitarian ideals known as the “Peace Testimony,” believing that peace led to—and maintained—the favorable economic conditions for trade and prosperity.⁶ William Penn enacted his notion of the Peace Testimony into Pennsylvania’s constitution, writing into it:

...next to the power of necessity, (which is a solicitor, that will take no denial) this induced me to a compliance, that we have (with reverence to God, and good conscience to men) to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government, to the great end of all government, viz: To support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the almost of power; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable, for their just administration: for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.⁷

⁵ Farah Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace: American and British Quaker Relief in the Spanish Civil War” (PhD diss., University of York, 1997), 20.
However, as the colonial struggle with the institution of slavery ensued, this framework of government in Pennsylvania began to expose the conflict that arose from these early Quaker principles clashing with the harsh realities of early colonial American society. The economic, political, and social conditions in colonial America promoted practices such as chattel slaveholding, which began to pose a moral dilemma to these developing Quaker communities. In 1688, four Quakers submitted a petition to the Society to abolish slavery, believing that the golden rule forbade it: “We shall doe to all men licke as we will be done ourselves; macking no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are.” The Germantown Protest Petition goes on to state that,

Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse towards us, then if men should robb or steal us away, & sell us for slaves to strange Countries, separating housband from their wife and children. Being now this is not done at manner we will be done at, therefore we contradict & are against this traffic of men body. And we who profess that it is unlawfull to steal, must lickewise avoid to purchase such things as are stollen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possibel.

In 1776, South Carolina’s Society of Friends concluded that one could not be both a slaveholder and a member of the Society. By 1779, many Quaker communities were freeing slaves—doing so not under any legal pressure, but purely due to the social pressure stemming from within their religious communities. By 1788, after lobbying for Manumission laws in Virginia, the Society of Friends deemed that members would not be permitted to own any slaves under the threat of

9 Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College. “Quakers and Slavery: Early Protests.”
expulsion from the Society.  

The threat of expulsion was far from just being an innocuous deterrent. The policy was, in fact, strictly enforced, and was even extended to those in prominent ranks, such as Dorothea Madison. Raised in a strict Quaker family, Dorothea Madison’s father, John Payne Jr., was regarded by his Virginia contemporaries as a religious “fanatic” for freeing his slaves. Payne moved his family to Philadelphia in order to strengthen his Quakerism, and after over a decade of living in a Quaker community, Dorothea Madison chose to return to the world of chattel slaveholding. By marrying James Madison, a religious outsider and slaveholder, Dorothea stated she would be “read out of the Meeting.” Dorothea Madison’s marriage and subsequent decision to participate in—and once again benefit from—chattel slaveholding shows how Quaker communities struggled with bringing to terms their peaceful and pacifist beliefs with the political ramifications of practicing (or not practicing) slavery.

The internal religious conflict brought about by the institution of slavery continuously increased between the American Revolution and the rise of the Civil War. This rising tension brought about the doctrinal debate that eventually shaped early the American Friends into a more well-defined and dogmatically-political religious organization. Both the American Revolution and the Civil War presented a moral quandary for Quaker communities, as many Friends were confronted with the struggle between their political engagement and their Quaker principles. The Society questioned whether “Just Wars” existed, and their answer to this question was contextually contingent. During the American Revolution, a majority of the Quakers deemed that taking up arms against the British was morally wrong, favoring a peaceful solution to colonists’ grievances. An example of this peaceful-action ideology can be seen when, in 1775, during a

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12 Sheppard Wolfe, Race and Liberty in the New Nation, 34.
14 Allgor, A Perfect Union, 31.
15 Allgor, A Perfect Union, 31.
time of revolt and riot, Moses Brown led New England Quakers in the mass distribution of five thousand pounds of relief aid to the people of Boston.\textsuperscript{16} The Commissary General of Prisoners of War attests to Quaker relief work being balanced, noting that he saw Quakers also distributing aid to British enemies, and stating that, “the miserable prisoners not only felt the happy effects of their exertion in his favor, but participated in their money, their food and their clothing.”\textsuperscript{17}

William Rotch, a Friend from Rhode Island, regarded the American Revolution as, “our Testimony against War...as this very instrument was a severe test.”\textsuperscript{18} In 1776, Rotch was put to this test as he was ordered to relinquish his bayonets for the war effort. He responded by throwing the bayonets into harbor waters, believing that his religion commanded it. Rotch reported that, “...this instrument is purposely made and used for the destruction of mankind, I can put no weapon into a man’s hand to destroy another, that I cannot use myself in the same way.”\textsuperscript{19}

Although members of the Quaker communities were politically active in protesting what they perceived as British tyranny, only those who adhered strictly to pacifism were allowed to remain in the Society.\textsuperscript{20} However, by 1865, one thousand, and two hundred Friends from Indiana had joined the Union army, believing that the Civil War was a Just War and that risking their lives to end slavery was a worthy cause.\textsuperscript{21} Southern Quakers who were drafted into the Confederate army were placed in non-combatative positions because they refused to carry weapons.\textsuperscript{22} Regardless, any Friends who participated in the confederate army were immediately disavowed. In stark

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{17} Mekeel, “The Relation of the Quakers,” 18.
\textsuperscript{18} New England Yearly Meeting of Friends Quakers, “Peace and Non-Violence.”
\textsuperscript{19} New England Yearly Meeting of Friends Quakers, “Peace and Non-Violence.”
\textsuperscript{20} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 21.
\textsuperscript{22} “Guilford College:Quakers During the War,” Youtube, accessed January 22, 2018, 4:19, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E5U2sRIwhdY.
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contrast to the treatment of Confederate Quakers, of the thousands of Union Quakers, a mere one hundred, forty-eight Friends were expelled from the Society.\textsuperscript{23}

In the aftermath of the Civil War, revivalist Quakers movements began to gain momentum, which, in turn, led to the promotion of greater relief programs. The ramifications of the Civil War forced Quakers to once again debate the notion of pacifism and their role in religious activism. With the added pressures of the quest for sanctification, the Society experienced a major fracture into several subgroups, including the Hicksites, Wilburites, and Orthodox.\textsuperscript{24} This separation was viewed as “disastrous” by the Society.\textsuperscript{25} By the 1890s, the “holiness” movement, emerging from the Orthodox American Quaker sect, concluded that, “Universal peace could come only after Christ returned to Earth.”\textsuperscript{26} Orthodox and Evangelical Quakers argued that religious activism was, “overly worldly and political.”\textsuperscript{27} The reaction against the “holiness” movement and its radical departure from traditional Quakerism could be seen in Quaker relief work conducted in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{28} The Young Friends Movement (YFM) advocated Friends towards a, “spiritual renewal,” calling upon the Society to have a personal commitment to activism.\textsuperscript{29} These Quakers rebelled against “holiness” by participating in relief aid during the Russian famine and the First World War with the ideal of “good works” imprinted onto their minds. This notion of the ideal Quaker volunteer is outlined clearly in Rufus Jones’ pamphlet, titled, “The Kinds of Men Who Should Go to France.” In his pamphlet, Jones argues that technical skills were not enough and explains that “conviction, faith, loyalty for

\textsuperscript{23} Nelson, “Military And Civilian Support of The Civil War By The Society Of Friends Of Indiana,” 52.
\textsuperscript{24} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 21.
\textsuperscript{25} American Friends Service Committee, Civilian Public Service, 21.
\textsuperscript{26} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 22.
\textsuperscript{28} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 23.
\textsuperscript{29} Maul, “The Politics of Neutrality,” 83.
ideals, the spirit of sacrifice and desire to help bear the world’s suffering, are no less important than efficiency and skill.” In 1917, the American Friends Service Council (AFSC) formed and began efforts to distribute aid in France by overseeing farm work and hospitals. In less than two months time, the AFSC had consulted with the Red Cross, rebranded itself as a new, autonomous organization, and renamed itself the American Friends Service Committee. The AFSC invited other religious sects, such as the Mennonites and Brethren, into their work, but still insisted that all workers be conscientious objectors. This, in turn, allowed the AFSC to encompass and embody a wide range of theological views in their relief work in France. Even so, the AFSC was not without some controversy. With their belief in the sanctity and dignity of human life, the AFSC took it upon themselves to oversee the conditions of forced laborers (German prisoners of war) in France and paid twenty marks per day on the behalf of these German laborers to their families. This, at the time, was extremely controversial, as anti-German sentiment ran high. Angered by the fact that Germans were not receiving the same aid as other European nations devastated by the First World War, the AFSC implemented a feeding program which, at its peak, fed one million German children per day.

Days after the end of the First World War, the Society of Friends adopted a new mission statement in regards to the future of the American Friends Service Committee. The horrors of WWI and the desire to address differences in religious dogma filled the Friends with a desire for

a new “stage and epoch” of their relief work.\textsuperscript{35} Quakers were looking to engage in relief work that had “world importance,” looking to locations such as Russia, Serbia, Palestine, and Italy.\textsuperscript{36} The horrors of European hostilities had compelled Friends to go “one mile,” and by 1918, the American Friends Service Committee stated, “it is our privilege for the sake of others to go the second mile.”\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36}American Service Friends Service Committee, “Minute in Regard to the Future of AFSC, 1918.”
\textsuperscript{37}American Service Friends Service Committee, “Minute in Regard to the Future of AFSC, 1918.”
Spanish Political Ideologies

By the close of the nineteenth century, Spain found itself devastated by the political unrest caused by the Carlist Wars. The Spanish-American War of 1898 only served to intensify the struggle of Spanish modernization. The result of the Spanish-American War led the Spanish towards further political turmoil as they lost their prized empire of Cuba, Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. The subsequent rise of disparate political groups, each with its own idea of what the country should embody, led to fierce clashes of ideology. This, along with the devastating loss to the United States, mobilized the Spanish military into a powerful political lobby. They were able to successfully establish a role for themselves in which they deemed the Spanish military as the sole defenders of “Spanish Unity.” This militaristic narrative painted politicians as being incompetent during the war, and laid the blame for defeat at the politicians’ feet rather than at the military’s.

Spain’s neutrality in the First World War did little to alleviate the effects of accelerating unrest that the devastating global events of the twentieth-century brought about—especially in a state that was already struggling internally with political and social reform. The Spanish socio-political parties that arose from these conditions were the leftist groups—the anarchists, communists, libertarians, republicans, Trotskyists, and socialists—and the radical right groups—the Carlists, conservatives, fascists, and traditionalists. These liberal and conservative parties not only clashed with parties on the other side of the political spectrum, but were also fragmented.

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40 Graham, The Spanish Civil War, 3.
41 Payne, Fascism in Spain, 20.
and subject to in-fighting.\textsuperscript{42} The \textit{Falange Espanola} worked to keep their movement “pure” from both the left and other right-wing ideologies, even if that resulted in fewer members and less political power.\textsuperscript{43} The Falange, led by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, worked towards a reconciliation of the Spanish workers with the service of the Catholic Church, regarding itself not as a political party, but as a “movement”, stating, “you could almost call [the Falange] an anti-party.”\textsuperscript{44} The left also experienced this internal strife as the National Confederation Labor (CNT) fought against the Republican government, viewing the new government as nothing short of repressive due to the republicans’ suppression of protesters, eviction of rent strikers, and prosecution of street vendors.\textsuperscript{45} In 1919, socio-political conditions worsened in cities as the CNT gunned down numerous political opponents in Barcelona, leading to the rise of the militant Catholic workers group, the \textit{Sindicatos Libres}.\textsuperscript{46}

The aftermath of the First World War continued to drastically affect Spanish workers. Inflation wreaked havoc on the Spanish economy, and by 1929, the devalued \textit{peseta} had lost more than a third of its value and was continuing to fall.\textsuperscript{47} Right wing groups were viewing the rise of leftist groups as a threat to their livelihood and to Spain, herself.\textsuperscript{48} The Russian Revolution served as a cautionary tale to the world (including to the Society of Friends, who found communism inconsistent with their religion), and by 1923, the Spanish solution to the unrest, under approval of King Alfonso XII, was the implementation of the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera.\textsuperscript{49} Establishing a dangerous military precedent, in 1930, the

\textsuperscript{42} Payne, \textit{Fascism in Spain}, 20.
\textsuperscript{44} Paxton, \textit{The Anatomy of Fascism}, 57.
\textsuperscript{45} Graham, \textit{The Spanish Civil War}, 15.
\textsuperscript{46} Payne, \textit{Fascism in Spain}, 18.
\textsuperscript{47} Payne, \textit{Fascism in Spain}, 36.
\textsuperscript{48} Graham, \textit{The Spanish Civil War}, 5.
\textsuperscript{49} Graham, \textit{The Spanish Civil War}, 6.
military participated in ending the seven year Primo dictatorship. On April 14, 1931, via municipal elections, Spain was declared a Republic with the help of military intervention.\textsuperscript{50} With only the support of the Catholic Church, the Spanish King fled into exile without formally abdicating.\textsuperscript{51} The creation of a republic provided familiarity to American Quaker relief workers and inspired hope to various leftist groups. However, it also inspired fear in Spanish conservatives, as the Republic attempted drastic leftist reforms of numerous aspects of Spanish life.

1936 was a bloody year in Spain, with Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, Calvo Sotelo, and Ruiz de Alda being but a few of the high-profile killings among the nearly three hundred political assassinations between February and mid-July.\textsuperscript{52} Manuel Azaña’s accession to the presidency on May 10th, 1936, was plagued with issues. In addition to his failure in maintaining public order while political assassinations frequently occurred, Azaña’s administration also faced accusations of major political abuses, including violent suppression of protesters, illegal seizures of Southern farmland, destruction of private property, arbitrary and unjust arrests, and accusations of coercive elections.\textsuperscript{53} The republic, determined to maintain control over the issues that plagued Spain, issued a statement to the Supreme War Council that the new government would no longer entertain or accept military interference in Spanish politics.\textsuperscript{54} Aware of the looming military conflict, just three days into his presidency, Azaña’s administration attempted to remove and disconnect the military.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{50} Graham, \textit{The Spanish Civil War}, 6.
\textsuperscript{51} Payne, \textit{Fascism in Spain}, 41.
\textsuperscript{52} Payne, \textit{Fascism in Spain}, 190.
\textsuperscript{53} Payne, \textit{Franco}, 117.
\textsuperscript{54} Payne, \textit{Franco}, 104.
\textsuperscript{55} Payne, \textit{Franco}, 105.
In 1936, the Society of Friends entered a politically charged climate in Spain that saw various political, cultural, religious, and secular sects, each distinct with their own beliefs, clashing with each other. By the time the Quakers departed Spain, it was a much-changed country. Francisco Franco had taken over and was regarded as the Caudillo (leader) after he transformed the country into an authoritarian regime where those in military, business, and Church services dominated.\(^{56}\)

\(^{56}\) Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, 150.
The Road to War

Born in 1892, Francisco Franco grew up in and fully embraced the myth of Spanish homogeneity through militarism. After joining the military academy at the age of fifteen, Franco quickly rose through the ranks. By the age of thirty-three, Franco was believed to be Europe’s youngest recorded general, and thus, became the recipient of much admiration. With Spain lacking a civic identity for the majority of the nineteenth century, Franco and the Spanish military was able to capitalize on this newfound sense of Spanish imperial duty. By the time the Society of Friends arrived in Spain in 1936, the Spanish political sects that had emerged out of the early twentieth-century were seeking to fill this void with a version of Spain crafted in their image with their symbols, songs, flags, historiographies, and colors. Franco, General Emilio Mola, and the religiously-aligned military were but one of these sects.

The republicization of Spain had caused deep vexation within the Spanish Catholic Church. In Madrid, shortly after the election of 1931, half a dozen convents were looted and burned, demonstrating the deep resentments held by leftist members towards the Church. The Republic aggravated Catholics, with the newly established government failing to act against this mob violence that was being viewed as a slight towards the Church. In fact, the Ministry of War responded that, “All the churches in Spain are not worth one Republican life.” Fears of the new system of government rattled the Catholic Church, and as early as 1931, bishops were calling for the mobilization of the Spanish people, declaring that the Republic was a “triumph of error and

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Although the Vatican did not officially break its ties with the Spanish Republican government, Pope Pius XI issued statements against “red” Spain. The Pope personally supported Franco and believed that the upheaval in Spanish society was stirring due to a “Communist menace.” This fear was felt by conservatives far beyond the borders of Spain. For instance, Nazi-member Gustav Staebe published “Great Anxiety in Fulda” as a dire attempt to get German Bishops involved in the anticlerical state of Spain. He states,

Where is the pope, where is the battle cry of the Dulda Conference of Bishops, where is the conspicuous, audible activity of the church and all her organs? But the pope does not weep, the German bishops don’t weep either. At present they have no time for it. They hold multiple meetings on confessional schools questions, which at the moment is without doubt the most important thing in September 1936.

Spanish Bishops and Cardinals documented their fears by writing letters of their increasing persecution—a persecution they claim began with the 1931 Constitution. By 1936, Catholics perceived that the very fabric of the Church was under attack, claiming that the anticlerical massacre amounted to the loss of 6,832 church members.

The issue of Catholicism set into motion a political pendulum with the electoral victory of conservative Jose Maria Gil Robles in 1933. Robles led the Jefe Nacional party and was able to drastically shift the government to the right. By 1936, leftist groups banded together to form

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61 Graham, The Spanish Civil War, 9.
64 Rossi, Wehrmacht Priests, 42.
65 Mary Vincent, “The Spanish Civil War as a War of Religion,” in “If you tolerate this--: the Spanish Civil War in the age of total war, ed. Martin Baumeister, and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (New York: Campus Verlag, 2008), 78.
Popular Front, shifting the government back to the left. Spain was in total chaos due to this back-and-forth war of ideologies seesawing the government, leaving each successive government less and less capable of maintaining order. These conflicting ideologies eventually manifested themselves as quasi-wars. These smaller conflicts led the Spanish people into the Spanish Civil War, a full-blown, three-year war, which erupted on July 17th, 1936, in Spanish Morocco. Azaña and the Spanish Republic mistakenly assumed that the military rebellion could be isolated from mainland Spain. However, by the next day, Seville was revolting. Azaña and Diego Martínez Barrio attempted to reach an agreement with the military without plunging the state into a civil war, but General Mola, as leader of the insurgent army, refused any type of compromise. There was no other option for Mola but to bring his men into the war. Mola states, “It is necessary to create an atmosphere of terror, we must leave the feeling of dominance...to everyone who does not think like us. We have to make a big impression, everyone who is openly or secretly a defender of the Popular Front must be shot.”

At the close of the war, the Nationalists had prevailed and Franco was installed as the military dictator. When the American reporter, Jay Allen, asked Franco if the high-profile assassination of Calvo Sotelo led to the cause of the Civil War, Franco responded that this one assassination had little to do with the timing of the coup. Franco claimed that Sotelo’s assassination,

...was merely another symptom of the disintegration of the state. We rose because if we had waited two months longer we would have no army or navy and Spanish economy

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69 Payne, *Franco*, 125.
would have been in a state of collapse. We have started in time and there is enough left
for us to build a new Spain.\textsuperscript{71}

Historian Robert Paxton regarded Franco’s Spain as “more Catholic than fascist” due to his
ability to suppress the Falange party into irrelevance.\textsuperscript{72} Although the Falange party was the only
legal party in Spain after the war, it had no administrative power, as evidenced the arrest of
Manuel Hedilla, the Falange party’s leader, in 1937. The party only existed as an “amorphous
umbrella”, uniting the Conversative Spain under the \textit{Falange Espanola Tradicionalista y de las
juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista}.\textsuperscript{73} When Allen asked Franco if Spain would ever reach
a compromise, Franco stated, “No. No, decidedly, no. We are fighting for Spain. They are
fighting against Spain. We will go on at whatever cost.” To ascertain these costs, Allen inquired
if Franco would shoot half of Spain, to which Allen reported that Franco “shook his head, smiled
and then looking at [him] steadily: ‘I said whatever the cost.’”\textsuperscript{74}

These were the sets of conditions that Quakers were working with in the mid-to-late
1930s. American Friend relief worker, Francesca Wilson, reported her observations on the
political climate, stating, “What startled me in Spain was to see so much that was extremely
modern and advanced, side by side with dirt, degradation and medieval conditions. It was light
struggling with darkness. The Republic had committed a thousand errors, but it was on the side
of light.”\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{72} Paxton, \textit{The Anatomy of Fascism}, 217.
\textsuperscript{73} Paxton, \textit{The Anatomy of Fascism}, 149.
\textsuperscript{74} Allen, “Franco Orders: ’No Let- Up in Drive on Madrid.’”
\textsuperscript{75} Mendlesohn, “\textit{Practicing Peace},” 105.
Chapter I. The Quakers Approach

Initial Inquiries And Incursions

On November 10th, 1936, British Quakers published a memo calling upon their members to donate to, volunteer for, and be educated on, Spain, whose conflict had previously been regarded by both the English and American public as a fleeting skirmish. In September, 1936, Alfred Jacob, Norma Jacob, and John W. Harvey’s investigation revealed that the people of Spain were in desperate need of aid. The investigation immediately noted that the root of instability was food scarcity resulting from the dislocation of the Spanish populace, which was increasing at an alarming rate. Quakers observed that on a single day, October 12th, 1936, one thousand, two hundred persons entered Barcelona and, by the middle of February, 1937, as many as twenty-two thousand refugees arrived. The massive and unpredictable movements of refugees occurred as Spanish cities shifted between “loyalist” and “nationalist” flags and forces. After Republican-controlled cities fell under Nationalist control, the result was the loss of critical food supplies. When Santander fell to the Nationalists, the rest of the Republic lost its access to the country’s main supplier of dairy. The dire need of food was apparent to Quakers, who reported that,

In the street this afternoon there were long lines of women waiting for food shops to open at four after the mid-day interval. One queue was forty-five paces long. In the shops there

76 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 59.
77 Norah Curtis and Cyril Gilbey, Malnutrition (Oxford: University Press, 1944), 44.
is no sign of cheese or tinned milk...Each dairy has a long line outside and the cafes no longer serve milk at all.\textsuperscript{79}

Jacob realized early on that milk was the key to aid, believing that the distribution of milk would eliminate hardships and, thus, earn the Society the, “...everlasting thanks of the authorities, the parents and the children...”\textsuperscript{80} Before mobilizing a massive European relief effort, the American Friends Service Committee’s main focus was on domestic aid, establishing missions, and providing peace education for the public. This approach towards promoting world peace was noncontroversial, as entering the Spanish conflict entailed entering a problematic international arena of politics and war. However, the November 1936 report by Jacob, Jacob, and Harvey pushed the AFSC to discuss the prospect of setting up a fundraising drive for the Spanish.\textsuperscript{81} Members of the AFSC were apprehensive of a full and rapid Quaker intervention into the Spanish conflict. When pressed by members Inez Munoz and Lydia Morris to offer a Quaker witness in Spain, the Committee stated they were merely monitoring the Spanish conflict.\textsuperscript{82} The AFSC often deemed their methods as being slow, yet harmonious, stating,

There were three sisters—the gray Sisters—in Greek mythology, who had one eye in common. They pooled their insights. Whichever one of the sisters had the eye and made a discovery passed the eye on to the others until they all saw what the one had seen. Something like that has been the method of procedure in the Service Committee decisions. When anyone has had an eye that saw he has transmitted his wisdom until all

\textsuperscript{79} Curtis and Gilbey, \textit{Malnutrition}, 47.
\textsuperscript{80} Curtis and Gilbey, \textit{Malnutrition}, 48.
\textsuperscript{81} Mendlesohn, \textit{“Practicing Peace.”}, 110.
\textsuperscript{82} Mendlesohn, \textit{“Practicing Peace,”} 109.
could see what he saw. Thus the work throughout these years of activity has shown a fine blending of individual leadership and harmonious corporate action.\textsuperscript{83}

By early December, the AFSC hosted a series of meetings to assess their course of action in Spain, ultimately deciding that they needed to send their own representative, Sylvester Jones, to Spain for three weeks to investigate.\textsuperscript{84} By selecting Jones, the AFSC demonstrated its inclusiveness of the midwestern Quaker base, and the mission showcased its search for a personal and “distinct Quaker witness, “one that could be “understood, rather than defined on paper.”\textsuperscript{85}

This initial foray into Spain was not without its setbacks. The Spanish were apprehensive of foreign intervention in their country, with a “Quaker Presence” not being welcomed in the Nationalist capital of Burgos.\textsuperscript{86} Assuming the worse, the Quakers established the Committee of Spain in preparation for the massive amount of aid that Jones was going to request. Oddly, once it was established, the Committee of Spain immediately suspended its fundraising, with the Committee and the AFSC choosing to wait to hear Jones’ testimony in person, despite receiving numerous telegrams from Jones requesting urgent assistance.\textsuperscript{87} Jones arrived in Spain on January 3, 1937, and reported that, “Spain is stretched upon a cross.”\textsuperscript{88} Over a month later, on February 8th, Jones was finally able to present his testimony to the Joint Meeting of the Board of Directors and the Committee of Spain, which united the AFSC, Mennonites, Church of Brethren, and

\textsuperscript{83} Mary Hoxie Jones, \textit{Swords, Into Ploughshares: An Account of The American Friends Service Committee 1917-1937} (New York: Macmillan, 1937), IX.
\textsuperscript{84} “Drive Begun To Aid All Spain Suffers: Friends Group Calls on All Creeds to Donate to Fund of $100,000.” \textit{New York Times}, Feb. 12, 1937.
\textsuperscript{85} Mendlesohn, \textit{“Practicing Peace,”} 110.
\textsuperscript{86} Mendlesohn, \textit{“Practicing Peace,”} 59.
\textsuperscript{87} Mendlesohn, \textit{“Practicing Peace,”} 111.
Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in providing aid to Spain. Some members were still apprehensive with regards to the AFSC engaging in Spain, with Patrick Malin reporting that, “From the first I have been skeptical, not of the absolute need, but of our special responsibility...before we permitted people to give us great sums of money, we should investigate, more thoroughly than was possible for Sylvester Jones last winter.” Despite Malin’s concerns, the AFSC proposed that one worker would be sent to Spain as soon as the first ten thousand dollars was raised. In the meanwhile, more delays came about, such as those encountered in the process of securing permission for volunteers from the Foreign Office and State Department, with their passports not being issued until March of 1937. Two graduate students at Columbia University provide first hand accounts of the difficulties and delays in Spanish operations. They state that they had extensive interviews with the, “...American embassy to Spain at St. Jean de Luz, the French authorities at Bayonne, and the Spanish Consuel at Hendaye,” to all of whom they had to prove that their visit was not in, “violation of the American neutrality nor the the non-intervention agreement, nor of the interests of Loyalist Spain.” This posed a major problem as, with food scarcity increasing, timing and aid was crucial. Without any supplies in Spain, the Spanish government was unclear which demographic, if any, the Quakers intended on helping.

There was an underlying fear of potential Quaker partiality and bias from the beginning. Alfred Jacob supported the policies of the Spanish Republic, but these policies fueled AFSC

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89 Jones, Into Ploughshares, 297.
90 Report to the Committee on Spain and to the American Friends Service Committee by Patrick Murphy Malin, 11, Box: General Files Foreign Service Country- Spain: Finance Mailing Lists to Supplies, Folder: Individual: Malin, Patrick Reports, American Friends Service, Philadelphia, PA.
91 Jones, Into Ploughshares, 297.
92 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 57.
fears of the mission, as Jacob and his likeminded Quakers were already viewed by their Western and non-regional counterparts as being “too political” due to their ties with the American Democratic Party.\textsuperscript{95} The underlying political tensions that existed throughout Europe and America resulted in Quakers creating relief programs that were, by nature, as, “uncontroversial as possible.”\textsuperscript{96} Believing it to be uncontroversial, children became the focal point for Quaker relief programs. Alfred Jacob further justified the decision based on its practicality—the Friends Service Council often cited the need to give children preference over adults due to their susceptibility to malnutrition.\textsuperscript{97} Nobody would be against aiding children, Jacob believed. He states,

We have begun with the children, because no one regard children as red or anti-reds, and they can be fed and clothed without in the least helping the progress of war….by mobilizing masses of public opinion on behalf the children we cut across barriers of party and creed both outside Spain and inside.\textsuperscript{98}

Quakers often viewed children as neutrals and unwilling participants in war. Alfred Jacob embodies this Quaker principle by stating, “Men have no right, even in the midst of war, to create lifelong problems that children in no way have brought on themselves.”\textsuperscript{99}

As neutral recipients of the relief, the children promoted the Society’s Peace Testimony and alleviated fears of potential political and religious partisanship. This was important for Quakers as they had to perform a circus-level balancing act of keeping their principles in line with the support of various governments, media outlets, and private donors. Children allowed the AFSC to advertise that their motives were purely neutral and, thus, gain wider acceptance and

\textsuperscript{95} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 41.
\textsuperscript{96} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 69.
\textsuperscript{97} Curtis, and Gilbey, Malnutrition, 48.
\textsuperscript{98} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 69.
\textsuperscript{99} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 67.
support from both the Quaker and international communities. Focusing on children, however, did not provide a clear path towards avoiding controversy.
Chapter II. The Children of the Spanish Civil War

Complications In Aid, Provisions, and Childhood

AFSC and FSC relief workers were given the difficult task of selecting which children would receive relief supplies. Friends defined childhood as ranging from the time of birth to about six years of age.\(^\text{100}\) They used this narrow view of what constitutes childhood as a filter to eliminate many of whom would traditionally be considered children. Even then, the Friends went further and physically weighed children as a means of finding the undernourished, therefore narrowing the field even more, all in the process of selecting the “needier” children.\(^\text{101}\) Spanish children became a major focus not only for Quaker relief groups, but also for the Republican and Nationalists forces that targeted them for political gains.\(^\text{102}\) Both left and right Spanish political factions were eager to prove that children would thrive under their economic and sociopolitical governments, equivocating children with the legitimization of their government.\(^\text{103}\)

The war devastated Spanish youth, with many thousands being displaced from their homes. In September 1936, Madrid was tasked with housing sixteen-thousand of these displaced children.\(^\text{104}\) Nationalists were also faced with the displacement of children belonging to Republican families – in Galicia and Old Castile. However, children displaced in Nationalist Spain were significantly less numerous than those in Republican-controlled areas.\(^\text{105}\) When the military, under General Mola, captured San Sebastian, its population significantly dropped, as

\(^{100}\) Curtis, and Gilbey, Malnutrition, 48.
\(^{101}\) Curtis, and Gilbey, Malnutrition, 50.
\(^{102}\) Till Kössler, “Children in the Spanish Civil War,” in “If you tolerate this–: the Spanish Civil War in the age of total war, ed. Martin Baumeister, and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (New York: Campus Verlag, 2008), 101.
\(^{103}\) Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 106.
\(^{104}\) Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 106.
\(^{105}\) Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 106.
eighty-thousand people fled to other areas of Spain. It was reported that many families were often reluctant to abandon their homes, with one newspaper stating,

It is natural that anybody should hate to leave home, perhaps never to return, but with the Spaniards it is particularly hard, for there are few peoples more attached to familiar surroundings than they. It is a genuine personal tragedy in almost every case, and the government has to use great pressure to induce the people to go.

The families who decided not to face displacement and remain in conquered cities fared no better. One girl, who was four at the time of San Sebastian’s capture, reported the mistreatment by the army towards her sister who was shaved bald and was ordered by the insurgents to clean the soldiers’ urinals. Her father, once an official in the banco Guipúzcoa, transferred funds to Bilbao, thus causing his remaining family members to be put under close watch by the police. She reports, “Finally, the Falange released my mother [from prison] to a convent, where she was put to sewing military shirts.”

My mother got work sewing. There we stayed until my father sent us word to go to France. He sent us a smuggler, who took us over the border in a taxi. The smuggler’s son drove, a Carlist requete, a red beret and all, but the money for this “cargo” was good, and they put politics aside. In France, the people were very cold, insulting us as the, “Scum of Spain” and “Red Spaniards.” My mother found work and we three were later sent to adoptive homes, good ones, in Belgium.

The AFSC reported that in July of 1936, there were four-hundred thousand children who required assistance, and it was estimated that one-hundred thousand of those children were

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106 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 15.
108 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 15.
109 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 15.
110 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 16.
approaching starvation. One child from Bilbao recalls the hunger, stating, “My mother was desperate: I became thinner and thinner. Finally, she enrolled me in a school for deaf-mutes, to ensure that I received one meal a day. They kept me for three months before they found out I could hear and talk.”

When the AFSC toured dining rooms run by the Auxilio Social, the workers noted how the children there drew, “their symbol of a dagger in hand killing the dragon of hunger.” In a children’s colony Laureano Rodriguez Bujeiro spoke on the constant hunger the children faced stating that once he had left he had left more tears in Tarragone than the hairs on his head. It had become clear that to the incoming Friends that there was not enough for the children of the war-torn nation.

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Children and Weaponry

Although food and the scarcity of it was central in the discussion of children, it was the military weaponry that seemed to dominate the minds of young children.

Bombs devastated various Spanish cities and children often reported sighting German planes.\textsuperscript{115} Franco had to rely on Italian and German aircraft because a majority of the Spanish air

\textsuperscript{115} Legarreta, \textit{Guernica Generation}, 23.
force had remained loyal to the Republic. A nine-year-old resident of Durango recounted the infamous bombers, stating,

It was a clear day, full of sun, which made the bombs shine brilliantly as they fell—a spectacle. We watched from the top of our house—the bombs were bright, silvery white. The church right there was destroyed as Don Carlos said Mass. Many were killed, including my aunt, and we watched them be buried the next day.

Figure 2. Postcard with reprinted Child War Drawing


Republican Spain, on the other hand, had a small, inefficient air force. One child witness recalls the outdated weaponry in Northern Spain: “We had one old plane everyone called El Abuelo as it

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was so old and slow.” The Republican government’s small air force was led against the Italian, German, and insurgent military by nineteen-year old Felipe Del Rio. Witnesses recall how, as young boys, they would watch Del Rio become a national hero: “To us, he symbolized the war in the north: the few against the Fascists.” These young children eagerly watched their hero Del Rio in various skirmishes:

I once saw some 14 or 15 black bombers, German Heinkels, as I was coming home. We had about five fighters planes, but they didn’t come out at first, only their bombers, dropping their bombs, “Boom, boom, boom.” Then all of a sudden, our fighters, led by our adored Felipe, were on the top of the bombers, shooting them down. It was tremendous. What a brave young man.

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118 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 34.
119 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 33.
120 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 34.
121 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 34.
Apart from the entertainment these skirmishes provided, a twelve year old also recounts the fear the bombs created: “I volunteered to help clear away rubble from a few houses in my barrio which had been hit. Til I die, I’ll never forget the horror of finding pieces of the children who lived there among the bricks and debris.” AFSC relief worker, Esther Farquhar, personally witnessed the general state of fear some children were in, stating, “Some of the children come in creeping along as if they were afraid of the whole world.”

When Columbia graduate students surveyed Southern Spain, they came across recently bombed Aragon villages and towns and regarded the destructive scenes as a, “sad spectacle,” recalling the “broken mud walls, roofs open to the sky, streets full of rubble, and the hot air full of the smell of death.” In March, 1938, the Joneses regarded enemy planes in Southern Spain much more “real” than in Barcelona, stating that in Barcelona,

...we had experienced frequent night raids, always with the same pattern, which never seemed very close or real– first, the sirens, then the extinguishing of all the city lights, finally the show of searchlights and the firing of anti-aircraft guns with perhaps the protracted thud of bombs exploding in the distance. Still more unreal was the fascist bomber which flew low over the heart of the city in broad daylight, probably taking photographs while the guns fired away at it. But the raid on Valencia was as real as anything we experienced in Spain.

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122 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 23.
124 Jones and Jones, War Relief in Spain, 7.
125 Jones and Jones, War Relief in Spain, 8.
In Valencia, the graduate students observed as fifteen planes bombed the city. They claimed that the underside of the planes, “...became bright with little white puffs and the exploding shells of the anti-aircraft fire, while the distant thudding sound of their exploding bombs was almost continuous. It was a beautiful show.”\textsuperscript{126} In contrast, machine-gunner David McKelvy White, recalled the horror of such bombs up-close, stating, “We saw tough guys crack up and babble like babies, wild-eyed. We saw boys grow to resolute maturity in a day. We felt the hot air from bomb explosions and saw men burst into flame before our eyes.”\textsuperscript{127}

For many Spaniards, their new reality was that they would have to spend their days sheltering from the bombs. In the Bilbao region, women and children reported that they had become accustomed to spending most of the day in shelters due to the frequency of the air raids.\textsuperscript{128} One survivor recalls,

“I was only nine then. Our days were lived around the air raids sirens, the race to the shelters. Our first shelter, a big warehouse, burned after a direct hit. We took to the train tunnels. But they weren’t safe either, as we soon learned. The hours and days we spent in the refugees were endless, and we never knew what we would find when the raid was over and we could come out.”\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{126} Jones and Jones, \textit{War Relief in Spain}, 9.
\textsuperscript{127} Hochschild, \textit{Spain in Our Hearts}, 228.
\textsuperscript{128} Legarreta, \textit{Guernica Generation}, 30.
\textsuperscript{129} Legarreta, \textit{Guernica Generation}, 30.
Figure 4. Postcard with reprinted Child War Drawing.


The various shelters for air raids were makeshift—the people took refuge in churches, basements of municipal buildings, and railroad tunnels. Tunnels, however, became unpopular in the Bilbao region when news spread that a train killed sheltering women and children. However, for many Spanish children, this was the new normal.

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130 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 30.
131 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 30.
Child Militarization

For some, the children of Spain provided an opportunity to advance a political agenda. The children soon became objects of Republican and Nationalist propaganda campaigns.

The Loyalists believed the Nationalists’ air raids on Republican cities demonstrated reckless barbarity—a violence that indiscriminately took the lives of children. The Republican ministry of propaganda depicted Spanish children and the toll aerial warfare had taken on them in political posters. It was these images that artistically and succinctly informed the international community of childhood suffering under Nationalist forces. In contrast, the portrayal of children by Nationalist Spain predominantly depicted male children in a “heroic” manner. Both political sides were engaged in showing how children were a part of the war and political landscape.

In Madrid, the push for the militarization of children was apparent as children were photographed dressed as little communists. In January 1937, the Communist Party and Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas (JSU) opened Alerta in Madrid. This was a school that mixed a basic primary education with military training, including shooting exercises. The existence of this school offers insight on how some political groups on the left advocated for a militarized childhood. This was not an issue solely confined to communist or left wing parties, as children in Nationalist Burgos were dressed as little soldiers. Similar to Alerta, the Nationalists also pushed for the militarization of childhood in schools as instruction focused on reviewing war

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135 Preston, *La Guerra Civil*, 172.
victories and conducting daily prayers on the behalf of the army. In 1937, students in the private catholic school, Colegio del Apóstol Santiago, were led by military captain José González Ferrades in the weekly instruction of Falangist politics. These students were taught in rooms decorated with the portraits of Franco and Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera and after their assignments were completed, the boys would practice musical instruments and pre-military excursions during their spare time. Coeducation was banned as Nationalists were determined to have young girls and women fit into a pristine model. By the summer of 1938, the girls were organized into the Falangist Organización Juvenil Femenina. The segregation of girls and boys also extended to their studies. In school, young girls focused on sewing and religious classes, while in appearance they were forbidden to wear pants and, thus, were required to dress in long skirts and modest shirts.

The militarization of children disturbed the AFSC and also drew opposition from both Republican and Nationalist sects. In 1938, Nationalist Doctor, González Pons, lectured against the militarization of children in Spain, stating, “We have to be careful not to bring the child in contact only with the brutal aspects of warfare.” He pushed for a “Catholic understanding” of a pure child being damaged by the exposure to the brutalities of the civil war. Republicans also voiced their concern on the destructiveness of the concept of militarized children.

Disgusted by the celebration of “the heroic child,” journalist Victoria Priego observed five-year old boys reenacting the execution of traitors, which she regarded as “the immense and

136 Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 116.
137 Hochschild, Spain in Our Hearts, 39.
138 Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 117.
139 Hochschild, Spain in Our Hearts, 38.
140 Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 117.
irreparable spiritual deformation of the Spanish children.”¹⁴¹ She goes to state that this mimicking would bring about destruction:

our [educational] plans have been destroyed. The fight, the war, cruel, inhuman, terrible has enveloped even the child…We cannot, nobody can, rescue these children from their desire to simulate the soldiers…the future of these children, who suck destruction and death as their mother’s milk, is undecipherable.¹⁴²

Politician Victoria Kent also echoed this sentiment during her publicized radio-lecture, urging, “Women of Spain: Do not create children’s armies, do not raise belligerent children! Let us build a Spain with a pure heart. The hatred awakened by our enemies…let it buried by this generation.”¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 112.
¹⁴² Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 112.
¹⁴³ Kössler, Children in the Spanish Civil War, 114.
Evacuation And Life Thereafter

The Spanish Civil War, with its violence increasing day by day, and with no end in sight, led government officials to come together to negotiate the evacuation of children.

Republicans urged parents to ensure their children’s safety and, in Bilbao, one-thousand, eight-hundred children were registered to be evacuated to various countries.\(^{144}\) Nationalists, however, were against the evacuation of Spanish children. Franco proposed a neutral zone for women and children under the supervision of the International Red Cross. However, the Basque

\(^{144}\) Legarreta, *Guernica Generation*, 38.
government rejected the plan, citing Nationalist atrocities against civilians in Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya.\textsuperscript{145} Evacuations were carried out thereafter. On April 26, 1937, the English government accepted 3,840 Basque Children.\textsuperscript{146} In April, 1939, Pope Pius XII spoke out against the Republican evacuation program. In a radio address to Spain, he stated,

We cannot hide our bitter pain as we remember so many innocent children taken from their homes and carried off to far away lands, often with such dangers of apostasy and perversion: we yearn for nothing so ardently as to see them restored to the bosom of their families, where they will find once again the fervent and Christian love of their own.\textsuperscript{147}

Friends also expressed their concern of the psychological challenges that could arise from children being exported to foreign countries. Friends generally viewed the evacuation and transportation of children as “favoritism” towards a select number of children, as the resources spent on the evacuations rivaled that of other aid, depriving the remaining Spanish children of their basic needs.\textsuperscript{148} Patrick Malin also stressed the political motivations in these evacuations and reported,

All in all, I think we as a committee should take no part in the actual evacuation; if there is to be evacuation, it should be done by the Spanish authorities themselves or by foreign groups unembarrassed by that peculiar point-of-view which leads us to do relief work on both sides. We should give no aid of any sort to the transporting of children…\textsuperscript{149}

\textsuperscript{145} Legarreta, \textit{Guernica Generation}, 41.
\textsuperscript{148} Mendlesohn, “\textit{Practicing Peace},” 259.
\textsuperscript{149} Report to the Committee on Spain and to the American Friends Service Committee by Patrick Murphy Malin, 20. American Friends Service Committee Archives.
Alfred Jacob also argued against such a notion. He pointed to the impracticability, arguing, that it was cheaper to, “bring food to the children than the children to the food.”

Figure 6. Evacuation by Pepa Alonso.

The Spanish Child Welfare Association of America, They Still Draw Pictures, 35.

Despite these concerns and the disadvantages of sending children to distant countries, with the dangers of war increasing and no compromise in sight between the Republican and Nationalists, parents began the application process of sending their children to foreign homes. A father recalls the anguish in such a decision, stating,

By the spring of 1937, medicine, as well as food, was very scarce. My poor wife’s tuberculosis became much worse...Each day, I took my boys to my mother’s house in La

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Pena where I had been born and reared. By April, they were spending all day in the air raid shelter. One day, rumor reached them that a bomb had destroyed the building where I worked, and my ten-year old ran to me, three kilometers away, saying he wanted to die with me. By then, I knew it was the only salvation. Days later, my boys were given their identity tags, with their number on the expedition list.  

One child recalls how the evacuation and war robbed him of his childhood, stating,

> As the Insurgent troops came in at Archanda, he[father] put me, alone, on a train bound for Santander, over one hundred kilometers away. He wanted to pin the pass in my pocket, but I told him I would guard it myself. I was just past twelve; that day, I became an adult.”

Other children commented on how they were unaware that their parents were planning on evacuating them. One child states how her parents,

> ...lovingly told us that an expedition was going to France, and that they had signed us up to go, as the situation here was so bad. That same afternoon….my father took us to the embarkation point. His good-byes were full of manliness: ‘We are in a war and we are confiding you to be good people. Don’t worry, it will very soon be won, and we will be together again.’ I didn’t see him against until 1957, twenty-years later.

Evacuated children were given an octagonal cardboard tag that contain their number. This number replaced their names onboard the ship and in foreign countries came to correspond with the child’s personal identity papers. A witness speaks of the sense of loss with the number system, stating, “I was old enough to feel resentment for being stripped of my identity for the

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151 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 45.
152 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 47.
153 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 52.
154 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 39.
evacuation abroad. Instead of my name, quite well known here, from both my father and mother, I became a *tripito con numero* (a little stomach with a number.) I became a *tripito con numero* (a little stomach with a number.) Another child told his father that, “...they have put labels on us, the same as sacks of garbanzos.” The number provided convenience to foreign administrators who would prefer numbers than long Spanish last names.

A major problem among those traveling by sea was the children’s propensity for seasickness. Merely nine years old, one child recalls how his mother made him responsible for his two sisters. He recalls how he, “...carried my five-year-old sister on board the ship, and came back to help my crippled older sister up the gangplank. I lined up to get food for them both, and wiped them when they vomited.” Herminio Martinez and his older brother Victor were also bound for Southampton. Herminio recalls his experience during the evacuation: “I remember saying goodbye to my father, who was very upset, he just handed us over and left. Downstairs it was quite disconcerting because it was absolutely crowded with children.” Martinez comments how children suffered when crossing the Bay of Biscay during a storm: “Most of us were downstairs, sleeping on the floor, rolling about and being sick all over ourselves and each other. I remember a girl crying and saying, ‘Tell the captain to go back. I want to go back home to my parents.’”

Once evacuated, the children’s experiences varied. In foreign lands, the logistics of keeping siblings together in a household was difficult and often impossible. Many adoptive families, with Belgium being the only exception, did not take more than one child. Efforts

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159 Jones, “Forgotten Children of Spain’s Civil War Reunited 75 Years After Exile.”  
were made to keep siblings in the same in the same vicinity, yet this was undoubtedly difficult for these young children. Some children speak of the joys of entering foreign lands. Upon entering France, once child remarked on the ample food, stating, “I could have all the white bread I wanted. I remember eating very slowly, so as to really taste it. They gave us hot milk, too, so hot it burned my tongue. I drank four glasses anyway. What a sensation of joy and satisfaction came over me.” Other children found their experience in France hostile as the children report that they were called, “Little Basque Pigs,” “Scum of Spain, and “Red-Separatists.” In addition to this verbal abuse, one child recalls of the discrimination they faced, stating,

We even had to sit in a separate section at Mass in the village, and take Communion after everyone else, as though we children would somehow contaminate the good French families. The mayor was pro-Franco and despised us. He always complained of the amount of water our little colony used, saying that pigs they raised deserved it more than we did...the villagers did nothing for us: even at Christmas, we orphans received nothing from them. An unfeeling people.

In England, there were examples of political differences among the children. This was undoubtedly a byproduct of the Spanish Civil War. Once in colonies in England, a few children were reputed to be “pro-Franco,” and reportedly were assaulted with a hammer by children who had just left their “Leftists parents.” Local officials segregated and had each child sleep in different tents so no further reprisals would ensue. One child witness recalls being separated, which caused “rivalry” and “resentment.” He goes on to state that certain children had access to,

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161 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 55.
162 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 69.
163 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 69.
164 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 111.
“chapels, priests, movies dancing, everything you could think of, but we savages had almost nothing.”

These testimonies from children abroad greatly disturbed various members of the Catholic Church. Monsignor Mathieu viewed the treatment of Basque children by French Catholics as heartless and, thus, arranged a private meeting with Pope Pius XI. In December, 1938, Msgr. Mathieu appealed to Pope Pius XI to help rectify the “scandalous neglect and disdain shown to the Catholic Basque refugees” and successfully raised one thousand pounds sterling in Rome for the Basque refugee children colonies.

Conclusion

Both the children who were displaced and the children who remained with their families in Spain struggled to understand their situation. For many of these Spanish children, their new reality was difficult to fathom, let alone comprehend.

Herminio Martinez, just six years of age when evacuated to England, provides testimony regarding the way that children understood the war. Martinez stated, “People were saying the war is starting because all the stars in the sky are rushing around. I would look up in the sky but I couldn’t see the stars rushing around.”

In a national television address, Francisco Franco’s daughter, Carmen Franco, also addressed the way she understood the war and the children within it:

I hope that the children everywhere don’t go through the suffering and sadness of the children who are still in the hands of the enemies of my country. I wish that all Spanish

165 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 111.
166 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 73.
167 Jones, “Forgotten Children of Spain’s Civil War Reunited 75 Years After Exile.”
children have a happy home with love and toys. And so I send a kiss to all the children of
the world. 168

As a child herself, Carmen’s comment grants perspective towards how children regarded their
condition and understood their prolonged suffering. Furthermore, it shows that children were
aware of the notion that one’s parents’ politics made families distinct. Both Carmen and
Herminio were trying to understand the war and not be mere passive bystanders, however,
children are not generally adept in understanding politics. 169

Now an adult, Herminio Martinez, believes that the Spanish Civil War robbed him. He
states, "I am of that Spanish generation that never was. The Spain that never flowered because it
was cut off. Life has been very interesting, but I still have within me a sadness, a loneliness. In
essence, I don't belong." 170 A refugee child in Mexico testifies to the incredible hardship, stating,
“Nobody helped us after we left school. Least of all the Basque colony. Not even to give us a
peso piece! Only the Quakers helped us or were interested.” 171 Those children who stayed in
Spain reflect upon a similar pain. Uxenu Alvarez comments on his experiences with the Auxilio
Social, stating, “They robbed everything from me. My childhood...They killed me in 1936.” 172

With the knowledge of this pain, the AFSC began their mobilization to enter the Spanish
conflict as advocates for, and relief providers to, Spanish children.

168 “The Spanish Civil War: Franco and the Nationalists,” Youtube, last modified 2013, 41:11
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iUZRlaSjN0A.
169 Assal Adel and Edwin Farrel, “Attempts to Make Meaning of Terror: Family, Play, and School in Time
170 Sam Jones, “Forgotten Children of Spain’s Civil War Reunited 75 Years After Exile,” Guardian, May 11
171 Legarreta, Guernica Generation, 199.
172 “Los niños perdidos del franquismo,” Youtube, last modified 2002, 9:59
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c05-psMgiHU&t=502s.
Chapter III. Mobilization in Spain

Figure 7. The Society of Friends: Quakers in their Religious Session.

Spanish Children's Drawings 1938. American Friends Service Committee Archives.

Mobilization Begins

In April, 1937, the AFSC arrived in Southern Spain to begin administering aid to the Spanish children. In comparison to their British counterparts, this was considered late, as, by December 20th, 1936, the British had already delivered five tons of milk to young children in

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Catalonia. The Quakers found the initial work arduous and the conditions of the set-up to be occasionally unwelcoming. Observing American graduate students commented on the “psychological tension” in their particular area of Spain, reporting that, “discussion was not so free nor criticism so outspoken.” The lack of reliable data further added to this challenge. Relief workers were constantly trying to assess the levels of need, and often found that Nationalists provided falsified data. Unfortunately, these discrepancies in data were commonplace and not limited to the Nationalist government. Elsa Castendyck openly admits to the flaws of the League of Nation’s research as she states that the organization lacked the facilities for gathering accurate and non-conflicting information during the impending crisis. Relief workers described many of the regions as ones that were “untouched by the Republic.” These places were remote enough that the AFSC came to regard their methods of providing relief to children as more “progressive” and “scientific” than the rudimentary relief employed by locals.

After much hesitation on the part of Spain towards allowing foreign relief agencies to enter, Wilfred Jones negotiated an agreement that enabled the AFSC to operate in Nationalist Spain. The AFSC believed that a Quaker presence in Nationalist Spain was vital for their image of neutrality, and they strived to provide each location with workers and supplies that were carefully tailored to the needs of the area. The challenges of conducting charity work in an active war zone forced a restructuring of the AFSC workforce. A total of twenty-seven Americans were stationed in Spain—a result of the cooperation of the diverse staff of Catholic

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174 Curtis and Gilbey, Malnutrition, 48.
175 Jones and Jones, War Relief in Spain, 8.
177 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 106.
179 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 145.
Spaniards, members of the SCIU, Unitarians, Brethrens, and Mennonites.\textsuperscript{180} Regardless of the differences between Friends and Non-Friends, American and non-American, or liberals and conservatives, all workers had to adhere to two basic principles in the AFSC: a belief in peace, and the belief of an “Inner Light” in humanity.\textsuperscript{181} Although their relief work contained elements of Quakerism, the AFSC was against religious proselytizing in the work space.

In Burgos, the AFSC found that the pressures of war and authoritarianism created a constant lack of participants and a high turnover rate of AFSC staff.\textsuperscript{182} As the Friends engaged in the Spanish conflict, the Society reflected upon their motives. They regarded them to be an expression of their love for the Spanish people and their pathway to promoting their principals of peace on the international stage, stating, in the New York Times:

\begin{quote}
We hope that our efforts to supplement the feeding of children will provide Americans an opportunity to demonstrate to the people of Spain the love and sympathy which goes out of this country to all people suffering catastrophes. This is a spiritual as well as a material approach to the Spanish difficulties.\textsuperscript{183}
\end{quote}

Despite the challenges they faced, the AFSC did find success in Spain. The relief workers were able to not only help fund children’s meals, schools, hospitals, and games, but they also eventually immersed themselves in the entire community, becoming well-regarded among the Spanish.

\textsuperscript{180} Clarence Pickett, \textit{For more than Bread: An Autobiographical Account of Twenty-Two years’ Work with The American Friends Service Committee} (Boston: Little Brown, 1953), 114.
\textsuperscript{182} Mendlesohn, \textit{“Practicing Peace,”} 145.
\textsuperscript{183} “Drive Begun to Aid All Spain Sufferers.” \textit{New York Times} February 12, 1937, 12.
Murcian Aid

While the Friends Service Council (FSC) provided aid in Barcelona, the American Quakers focused on the remote agricultural Loyalist city, Murcia.\textsuperscript{184} In Burgos, the AFSC found no evidence of the need for additional food, and thus moved to primarily provide children with blankets and clothing. In Murcia, however, the AFSC found a scarcity of food and supplies. Francesca Wilson witnessed as the local population struggled to sustain the influx of twenty thousand refugees.\textsuperscript{185} With the Spanish government allocating a mere two pesetas per day, these refugees only had the means to eat one meal per day.\textsuperscript{186} The Murcian townspeople fared no better as town supplies were depleted due to the local hospital receiving priority.\textsuperscript{187} As a result, Wilson moved to immediately provide milk and chocolate to small children and nursing mothers.\textsuperscript{188}

The AFSC employed the aid of Murcian Protestant pastors Miguel Aguilera and Sebastian Villar to coordinate and help with the transportation of the supplies.\textsuperscript{189} The AFSC opened their breakfast program for children under the name of Gota de Leche (Drop of Milk) in Pablo Iglesias.\textsuperscript{190} Pablo Iglesias was originally a nine-story factory in Murcia that had been turned over to the AFSC. The turning over of buildings or former convents was a common practice by local authorities to enable the AFSC to administer aid.\textsuperscript{191} Pablo Iglesias was described as bare with “concrete floors” and sandboxes being provided in corners in place of any

\textsuperscript{184} Jones and Jones, \textit{War Relief in Spain}, 24.
\textsuperscript{185} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,”, 105.
\textsuperscript{186} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,”, 122.
\textsuperscript{187} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 105.
\textsuperscript{188} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 105.
\textsuperscript{190} Donald S. Howard, \textit{Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France} (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943), 17.
\textsuperscript{191} Jones, \textit{Swords into Ploughshares}, 300.
modern plumbing.\textsuperscript{192} The refugees were described by observing Columbia graduate students as, “dirty and verminous,” and they were reportedly told that, at one time, Pablo Iglesias housed upwards of nine thousand refugees. Fortunately, by the time the students had arrived, the number had reduced to two thousand persons, thus meeting the basic requirements of clothing, soap, food, and hospice care.\textsuperscript{193} In such an environment, simple supplies were prized. It was said that when soap supplies arrived, the children, reportedly, “often reach for the soap as eagerly as though it were a toy or a sweet.”\textsuperscript{194}

In July of 1936, there were four-hundred thousand children who required assistance, and it was estimated that one-hundred thousand of such children were approaching starvation.\textsuperscript{195} The AFSC often found calcium and iron deficiencies in children, and thus, the three basic foods that were always provided were milk, wheat, and chocolate.\textsuperscript{196} The AFSC also provided other foods when available, such as preserved meat, cheese, dried vegetables, peanut butter, egg powder, cod liver oil, and dried fish.\textsuperscript{197} The relief effort grew continually as the need for it rose. By October, 1938, the AFSC was managing sixteen \textit{Gota de Leche} canteens.\textsuperscript{198} In a collaboration with school directors and the mayor, AFSC workers reported that they had eleven tons of milk and two tons of flour available and were able to provide milk and cookies to various refugee and local children.\textsuperscript{199} In December, 1938, each child under the AFSC Murcia feeding program on average received 30 grams of milk powder, 12 grams of sugar, 2.5 grams of cocoa, and 100 grams of

\textsuperscript{192} Jones and Jones, \textit{War Relief in Spain}, 24.
\textsuperscript{193} Jones and Jones, \textit{War Relief in Spain}, 25.
\textsuperscript{195} Howard, \textit{Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France}, 3.
\textsuperscript{196} Howard, \textit{Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France}, 10.
\textsuperscript{197} Howard, \textit{Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France}, 10.
\textsuperscript{198} Howard, \textit{Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France}, 17.
\textsuperscript{199} Mendlesohn, “\textit{Practicing Peace},” 125.
One girl recalls how the provided bread was round, brown, and as large as the size of her palm. She goes to states that the, “... bread was good like a cake!” Josep Maria Ainaud de Lasarte was a child who also received Quaker aid during the war and attests to the Quaker method of food distribution as fair, noting that there was no complaints of discrimination.

Even after an immense amount of set-up and preparation, the AFSC had some immediate issues in its first feeding program in Murcia. There was a language barrier as the local and refugee populace of Murcia did not understand English. However, it was reported that “hunger” often overcame any major communication problems. At the opening of Pablo Iglesias, locals warned relief workers of attempting to have lines in their breakfast program, claiming that, “Malagans were too wild.” Such comments highlight the tensions of the local populace with the refugees and offers insight into the large volume of people affected by the war. Wilson reported that the ratio of need to available aid was so immense that desperate mothers were often violent. These women knocked down doors, with Wilson once stating, “That was not a breakfast, it was hell.” With the onslaught of cries from numerous hungry people, the AFSC found itself understaffed and in desperate need of additional assistance in the distribution of 27,000 tons of concentrated milk. On May 23, 1938, the AFSC was trying to manage the breakfasts, but was unable to feed the children because the team was not large enough to handle the volume of work. This day came to be known to the relief workers as, “Milk Madness,” as they struggled to feed

References:

Howard, *Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France*, 17.


Sala, “L’ajuda humanitària dels quàquers als infants de Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil,” 303.

Botías, “El hambre que en la Guerra quitaron los cuáqueros.”

Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 105.

Botías, “El hambre que en la Guerra quitaron los cuáqueros.”

Howard, *Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France*, 17.
four thousand school children in Murcia. The AFSC realized that it took a team of eight workers, beginning their work at half-past six, to mix one thousand liters of milk, and serve twice, once at 9 A.M. and again at 10:30 A.M. The strain on AFSC resources eventually led to AFSC struggles with poor bookkeeping. In a letter, an AFSC worker reports that:

I am frequently asked how many people are being fed daily. I always reply that the number varies and that we are attempting a qualitative rather than a quantitative job; however, I would be glad to get statistics wherever they are available.

Over time, with difficulties in bookkeeping and the smooth distribution of supplies, the AFSC came to find that personal outreach was just as valuable to material aid. They gradually changed their approach towards relief as the efforts went on. At the start of the Gota de Leche program, Wilson had a local man survey the town to create a list of, and hand out tickets to, hungry children. The surveyor noted the inherent distrust between the community and foreign agencies, stating that the townspeople, “... saw you going up and down the other day and they thought you looked a little foreign, so the rumour went around that every child on the list will be taken to Mexico or to North America or to Russia.” The AFSC relief workers realized that the parents and children were traumatized by the war and were thus reluctant to be separated from each other. The solution was to have a colony that catered to children part-time. The act of keeping families together as the war raged on illustrates the level of understanding employed by the AFSC, and this led to a natural and a better working relationship with the locals and refugees. In one case, the AFSC came across a refugee family with two sick, young boys on the roadside.

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208 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 125.
After foraging for food, the children had consumed contaminated goat milk, causing Mala fever and delirium.\textsuperscript{212} The mother was afraid to give her children to the American strangers, only finally consenting when the AFSC extended an invitation to the mother to accompany the children in the hospital.\textsuperscript{213} Such understanding, compassion, and sympathy led to a good working relationship with those in need. Wilson even established a relationship with the local authorities, having the Mayor of Murcia commit support to the AFSC with funds, medicines, and supplies for Wilson’s workshops programs, including the donation of two sewing machines.\textsuperscript{214}

The Murcia unit had grown, which allowed AFSC relief workers to expand their charity work towards other members of Spanish society. For instance, the Murcia unit moved to provide older children with food, starting with raw tomatoes.\textsuperscript{215} As their funds became assured, Farquhar began to serve soups and rice puddings to older children.\textsuperscript{216} Eventually, AFSC relief workers in Spain moved to consider the elderly population as neutrals.\textsuperscript{217} By April, 1938, breakfasts for the elderly were provided in Almería, consisting, at first, only of cocoa, and then steadily increasing their meals by adding two biscuits and bread.\textsuperscript{218} The colony of Crevillente was another example of the diversification of relief work, as the colony catered solely to a segment of the Spanish population that fell out of the scopes of most relief agencies: fourteen year old boys.\textsuperscript{219} As fourteen year olds, these young men were deemed too old for most children’s colonies and often they gravitated towards gangs or militias, which disturbed these

\textsuperscript{212} Lyne, “Behind the Battle Lines in a Devastated Spain, Testimonies in Art & Action: Igniting Pacifism in the Face of Total War.”
\textsuperscript{213} Lyne, “Behind the Battle Lines in a Devastated Spain, Testimonies in Art & Action: Igniting Pacifism in the Face of Total War.”
\textsuperscript{214} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 107.
\textsuperscript{215} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 114.
\textsuperscript{216} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 118.
\textsuperscript{217} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 119.
\textsuperscript{218} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 120.
\textsuperscript{219} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 109.
AFSC relief workers.\textsuperscript{220} This demonstrated conflict between the strict rules and conditions as set by the relief workers in Pennsylvania and the concessions that relief workers in Spain had to make when faced with the nature of the civil war. In addition to this difference of opinion with regards to locality, the progression of the war shows how Quaker field workers became increasingly involved in helping more of the local community as conditions became more dire. Although, over time, the AFSC moved to help a wider segment of the population than initially intended, the field workers eventually found their limits when it came to prisoners of war and political prisoners.\textsuperscript{221} The AFSC decided against helping the relatively small number of political prisoners, believing that such a move for the committee would, “jeopardize the opportunity to bring relief to some thousand of Spaniards…”\textsuperscript{222}

In addition to providing basic aid, the AFSC, under Wilson, further expanded their relief efforts to establish workshops. The intent of these workshops was to teach the Spanish people methods of establishing independence.\textsuperscript{223} Ruth Fry, a British Friend, commented on the general Quaker fear of dependence versus teaching self-reliance in charity work, stating, “The insidious danger of charity becoming a means to a sense of power, and the opposite evil of the degrading effect of receiving something for nothing, are both well known.”\textsuperscript{224} In Burgos, AFSC workers proposed that the orphanage be provided with materials for crafting shoes so that the children could provide for themselves as well as other Spanish children with essential supplies.\textsuperscript{225} In Murcia, Wilson perceived “idleness” and thus pushed for refugee operated clothing

\textsuperscript{220} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 109.
\textsuperscript{221} Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 6.
\textsuperscript{222} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 107
\textsuperscript{223} Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 7.
\textsuperscript{224} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 107
\textsuperscript{225} Ruth Fry, A Quaker Adventure: The Story of Nine Years’ Relief and Reconstruction (New York: Frank-Maurice, 1927), 80.
workshops.\textsuperscript{226} This perceived idleness stemmed from the AFSC’s frustrations in finding local volunteers to assist with administering relief aid in Murcia. Wilson states, “the handful of enterprising women in Murcia were run off their feet and my suggestion that others who were doing nothing might come and help their countrymen was received with a contemptuous smile.”\textsuperscript{227} There was also an element of fear, as one news reporter writes, that these workshops provided, “...some escape from the drabness and degradation of their surroundings. Many [women] were being driven into the streets and there was danger of prostitution on a large scale.”\textsuperscript{228} In 1937, several workshops were established in Alicante and Murcia and educational elements were added to combat women’s illiteracy.\textsuperscript{229} These workshops did not remain a priority for funding as they did not receive international sponsorship, and were not viewed as a pressing issue amidst the chaos of war. However, the concept of self-help and a strong work ethic resonated highly with the American public.\textsuperscript{230} The AFSC kept these workshops afloat by arguing for their essentialness as both material and moral aid.\textsuperscript{231} Wilson recalls their impact, observing,

They were rough and noisy and used awful language, and left everything in a mess when they took their chocolate in the morning or afternoon. Already there is a great transformation. It sounds an exaggeration, but anyone who went in and saw the cupboard full of pretty dresses, many of them smocked and cross-stitched, and the pleasant manners of the girls, could not fail to be impressed. We scarcely thought when starting

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{226} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 106.
\textsuperscript{227} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 106.
\textsuperscript{228} Lyne, “Behind the Battle Lines in a Devastated Spain, Testimonies in Art & Action: Igniting Pacifism in the Face of Total War.”
\textsuperscript{229} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 107.
\textsuperscript{230} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 107.
\textsuperscript{231} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 120.
\end{flushright}
that the Workshops would have such a civilizing effect, as well as their other uses, but such is the case. 232

In September of 1937, there were three workshops active, one of which made fine embroideries to fund additional relief work. 233

Despite the positive efforts made by the AFSC, a change in leadership eventually came about. Wilson, having to return to the United States to her teaching position, left her post as head of relief aid. Esther Farquhar assumed responsibility of Wilson’s relief projects in June, 1937. 234 Farquhar, a trained social worker, actively worked for a structured, “scientific” method of providing aid. 235 Caring for one hundred newborns, the AFSC under Farquhar moved to provide tinned milk from powdered milk in April, 1938. Despite the extra weight, tinned milk kept better and the AFSC recycled the empty tins for heating water. 236 In an effort to have locals involved in relief decisions, Farquhar moved to have local doctors select which children were to be fed. 237 This “delighted” the AFSC and Farquhar believed the inclusion of doctors was a “scientifically” appropriate way of conducting relief work. 238

Expanding Aid

By 1938, the AFSC grew to want to provide more than medical care and basic assistance to children and, thus, Emily Parker, a play specialist, was sent to Spain. 239 Parker’s role was to

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232 Jones and Jones, War Relief in Spain, 27.
237 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 114.
239 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 122.
provide the Spanish children with a semblance of what was deemed a normal childhood. She noted that she had to teach many Spanish children how to play games, remarking that perhaps Spanish people lacked a culture of playtime. Parker was but one part of the effort to restore childhood to many of the Spanish children affected by the war.

With the donations provided by the Committee for World Fellowship, Parker passed out small suitcases with the slogan “Friendship and goodwill–Our sure defense” printed on them and filled them with clothes and toys. Some suitcases contained materials that were unavailable in Spain: pencils, pens, paper, and crayons. These materials were prized and kept in safe storage for use by teachers and for group projects at the school established at the hospital. Parker was determined to have all bed-bound children with toys while the remaining children shared. Parker was also determined to run her playtime in a cooperative manner, rather than having the children engage in any games that were deemed competitive. Emily Parker often asked herself, “How can we transform our houses of worship into real refuges for those in social and spiritual need? How can we make our religion an aid toward facing reality rather than an emotional escape from it?” Parker and Farquhar answered this by striving to entertain and give Spanish children more of a childhood. These relief workers viewed the task of playing with children as valuable work that had to be carried out by the “right people.” Farquhar commented, “the International Brigade has started a playground, and I think she [the Inspector of the Refugee Evacuation

244 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 122.
245 Parker, “From The Devotional Diary of a Relief Worker in Spain.”
246 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 118.
office] is afraid they will also start a nursery if someone else does not, and naturally she would rather it be in the hands of social workers rather than soldiers.”

As the Quakers moved to help more children and the elderly, the need for food increased in the face of continuing challenges regarding the distribution of their existing supply. This was a result of strict neutrality laws which created difficulties in the import of supplies from America, and so the AFSC often purchased supplies through European companies, the British Friends, or the Save the Children International Union (SCIU.) The same delays slowing the distribution of food also affected AFSC correspondences. Letters between Spain and Philadelphia took anywhere from two week to two months to arrive. Although the AFSC were receiving adequate funding, the poor communications, difficulties of lorry transportation, and increasing havoc of war effectively halted aid. The AFSC went on to report that, “Transport was and is one of our great problems.” The AFSC reported that even before the civil war broke out, Spain had a relatively small capacity for food production and a poor transportation system. As the war ensued, these issues became exacerbated and led to the disintegration of normal transportation. Even purchasing milk from Europe did not guarantee the AFSC they would receive the goods. Additionally, as it became apparent that the food supplies would need to become more varied to meet the dietary needs of the children, it also became apparent to the

247 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 118.
248 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 123.
250 Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 9.
252 Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 3.
253 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 123.
relief workers that it would be increasingly harder and harder to fund anything but, “milk and bread.”

Despite the relative success of the relief efforts, back in Philadelphia, the AFSC became frustrated with Esther Farquhar. The AFSC stated that this frustration stemmed from her being, “careless [in] bookkeeping.”  In 1938, this led to the replacement of Farquhar with Alfred and Ruth Cope, who had experience in business and management. Farquhar’s departure marked a turning point in relief aid, as this led to the AFSC appointing additional workers to the cause, such as nurse Martha Rupel and businessman Clyde Roberts. Clarence Pickett, Executive Secretary for the AFSC, stated that these changes in relief workers would move the AFSC into a, “greater closeness within the [Murcia] unit.” With these additional workers added, the AFSC hoped that their professional skills would legitimize and professionalize the organization and, thus, reframe the discourse of AFSC involvement in Spain.

Clyde Roberts reorganized the operations of relief work in Southern Spain. As Emily Parker and Levi Hartzler left, the AFSC American staff was entirely renewed and announced, “...better control...and a better administration.” Roberts moved to have the workers file detailed reports and workers also saw a shift in personalized work performance, as Roberts declared that, “Each staff member should expect to have some part of the work that can be considered as their very own for which they shall receive credit or blame.” Staff interacted with one another by having the general staff approve vacation time or limiting the authority of

256 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 129.
257 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 129
258 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 129.
staff members’ projects and locations.\footnote{Clyde Roberts, Semi-Annual Report of C.E. Roberts, American Friends Service Committee Archives, 5.} This was done in part to, “...distribute the burden, to divide the responsibility, to get wider participation by all staff members...”\footnote{Clyde Roberts, Semi-Annual Report of C.E. Roberts, American Friends Service Committee Archives, 5.} By March 18th, 1939, Robert wrote in his semi-annual report that the AFSC needed, “...to consult each other more but cannot stop too much to talk when people around us are suffering as they are; neither can we afford to be arbitrary nor act upon snap judgement.”\footnote{Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 180.} Roberts was aware of his surroundings and reported that he maintained perspective of the situation in Spain when he faced difficulties, stating,

...I wore the same clothes for twelve days straight...I lived in a hotel that had one side blown in with bombs but was assured that they have a good cellar now in case the bombers return. None of those discomfords hurt me a bit. What made my hair feel grey was the anxiety of having 14,000 sacks of good flour exposed, on the docks, to rain and bombs for the several days necessary to getting it moved toward hungry children.\footnote{Clyde Roberts, Semi-Annual Report of C.E. Roberts, American Friends Service Committee Archives, 3.}

Despite the general havoc of war, the AFSC changes in staff proved to be immediately beneficial for the Spanish communities in which they were embedded. The AFSC had demonstrated a noticeable impact in relief aid as the Murcia unit had become the main relief group. The AFSC’s working corridor extended from Alicante to Almería, spanning approximately two hundred miles.\footnote{Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 122.} The Murcia unit continued to steadily grow in work projects, even with the readjustments of AFSC personnel. By August, 1938, they impressively managed three hospitals and were able to distribute food to newborns, school children, and the
By 1939, the AFSC acknowledged that their hospitals, colonies, baby clinics, workshops, schools, warehouse, and school breakfasts were now popular among the Spanish. Ultimately, Roberts reflected upon the relief work, stating, “We need modesty to confess that our work is relatively small as compared to the need: its importance depends greatly upon the spirit that we bring to it.” Roberts continued the efforts towards helping the entire community, as Farquhar had done before him, writing that his team was, “...finding it more and more difficult to confine our help to the children...To discriminate between the town’s people and refugees is almost inhuman...” Brazilian coffee was distributed to the civil population and to “druggists for medicinal purposes.” The number of children being fed by January, 1939 had increased as the AFSC was then operating twenty-six canteens and was distributing ten thousand breakfasts. One child recalls his mother constantly thanking the Quakers, stating, "We are alive thanks to the milk powder." Many struggling families during the Spanish Civil War referred to the AFSC workers not only as Friends but as, “salvadores” or “saviors.”

Ethics And Conduct

The AFSC set to maintain professionalism and ethics when conducting themselves in Spain. Workers were conscientious of their appearances and actions due to scrutiny from both their overseers back in the United States, and from locals who were weary of foreigners. The

266 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 181.
269 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 182.
271 Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 17.
273 Botías, “El hambre que en la Guerra quitaron los quáqueros.”
AFSC went to great lengths to establish themselves as friends and equals of the Spanish people. For instance, when traveling in Spain, Friends often rode in the third-class on trains.\textsuperscript{274} When Spanish workers displayed a discomfort with a Quaker silent meeting before work started, Friends immediately discarded the practice.\textsuperscript{275} This demonstrated that the Friends were empathetic and sensitive to the communities that they were serving. Finding the good in everyone was a major component to the Friends’ work and, without this aspect, their work was without purpose, as Farquhar states,

> My concern at the moment is the personnel of the American staff and the philosophy of relationship with the Spanish people, especially with those that have offered us their time and services. The Spaniard is…as different from the traditional Puritan American as any of the European peoples. Without a rather deep understanding of this difference and of Spanish and character, foreigners in Spain are very apt to be so impressed by what they see as weaknesses and deplorable characteristics that they lose faith in them although. And so I should say that the first perquisite for a good worker is an understanding and appreciation of the Spanish race...\textsuperscript{276}

And thus, this established the ideal mindset for a AFSC relief worker—something they tried to imprint on new workers as they embarked to a government and state they were so fundamentally opposed to.

\textsuperscript{274} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 268.  
\textsuperscript{275} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 280.  
\textsuperscript{276} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 290.
Relief Work in Nationalist Spain

The AFSC faced great socio-political pressure in many of the regions they entered. In June, 1937, Earl Smith and Dan West arrived in the Nationalist stronghold city of Burgos. In Burgos, the AFSC workers were forced to register with the police and the *Banca de Bilbao*, with Sylvester Jones recalling the difficulty when he, “had to register at Police Headquarters…Three trips of considerable distance and one short trip accomplished the object.”277 Additionally, they were obliged to synchronize AFSC work with the Nationalists’ women’s relief organization, the *Auxilio Social*.278 This coordination was extensive, as it included the storage, transportation, and administration of relief supplies with the *Auxilio Social*. AFSC workers among the Nationalist stronghold city of Burgos were quick to distinguish themselves, often wearing the eight-pointed black and red Quaker star and printing “*Sociedad de Amigos Quaquaros: Servicio Internacional*” on the trucks they borrowed.279 In the greater Burgos region, the AFSC focused on the import of blankets, clothing, and some medical supplies. Their relief focused on children, from newborns up to the age of fourteen.280 The AFSC found that the *Auxilio Social* ensured that most urban areas were well-cared for, and thus, they were often directed by the *Auxilio Social* to isolated regions of Spain where they could care for needier persons. In an unmistakably Quaker car, the Burgos unit traveled across Spain, providing mobile aid to children devastated by the war. These workers often faced socio-political pressure: whether it be via suspicion from Nationalists or disdain from pro-Republicans who were disgusted by the measures these workers took towards remaining neutral in the conflict.

278 Mendlesohn, “*Practicing Peace,*” 146.
279 Mendlesohn, “*Practicing Peace,*” 147.
280 Mendlesohn, “*Practicing Peace,*” 151.
Although the AFSC’s mobile aid covered a wide area in a rapid amount of time, this rapid expansion often did not allow for proper surveying, which negatively affected the relief efforts. The AFSC reported that both governments and foreign relief agencies were often inaccurate on the number of persons in need and the amount of food available, stating, “It was hard to get correct information.” The assessed ratio of supplies to the number of needy children often led to disappointed children. There were instances where workers found communities that only needed nominal assistance, such as a self-sustaining orphanage in Santander, and thus the AFSC only requested that vitamin supplements be sent there. Other times, their supplies were completely inadequate, as seen in Bilbao, when the Red Cross complained that the sixteen bales of children’s clothing provided by the AFSC were unusable. In totality, the complaints regarding unusable supplies were not widespread, and it was often the complaints about the lack of supplies that were the bulk of the issues reported. In Ubidea, with only nineteen pairs of shoes, a dozen pairs of underwear, and eight blankets, the AFSC handed out these supplies to seventy-five children. AFSC workers Earl Smith, Dan West, and David Blickenstaff felt that handing out these supplies was urgent regardless of the vast amount of children who were not going to receive anything, stating, “It cut deep to have to refuse the appeals of those who got nothing, but we felt we had to do it. We are not here to meet all the needs of everybody; we want our limited supplies to go to the neediest.” At Oviedo, however, the outlook and tone of the relief workers became somber as the reality of providing limited supplies to swelling amounts of children changed them:

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281 Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 3.
282 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 150.
284 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 152.
One of our experiences that tugged at our heart strings was that of giving out forty blankets to 652 children. Several of them little ones who did not get blankets walked up to them and felt them; one child petted the blankets and then walked outside into the night cold. Forty--or more likely eighty--no doubt slept warmer that night; but we fear that nearly six hundred must have passed an even less comfortable night than before.\footnote{Pickett, \textit{For More Than Bread}, 111.}

Despite the limited amount of supplies, the AFSC embarked on their work nonetheless. On February, 1938, the Burgos AFSC unit, with the material support of the SCIU, handed out three hundred baby garments and several bolts of cloth to residential houses, the local \textit{Auxilio Social}, and to nuns in orphanages in Bilbao.\footnote{Mendlesohn, \textit{``Practicing Peace,''} 154.} By late April, 1938, the unit had distributed one-thousand-five hundred pounds worth of blankets and clothing and were coordinating the distribution of food, such as in Aragon, where they were feeding two thousand children.\footnote{Mendlesohn, \textit{``Practicing Peace,''} 155.}

The Burgos workers conducted themselves differently than other AFSC workers. Workers in the Burgos region rarely returned to villages and they often did not make a direct personal connection with the locals, which is in stark contrast to the localized outreach of AFSC workers in Murcia and the FSC in Barcelona. In addition to merely providing temporary one-time relief, this lack of connection could have also stemmed from the lack of AFSC worker presence in the distribution of the supplies. Often, these workers merely handed over the supplies and left distribution as an effort for others to take up. For instance, in Dima, AFSC workers left children’s clothing and shoes with the Mayor’s secretary.\footnote{Mendlesohn, \textit{``Practicing Peace,''} 153.} This occurred again when the Mayor at Ochandiano selected the neediest children and handed out the AFSC’s clothing supplies. Quakers such as Alfred Jacob were against this approach to relief work. Jacob argued that the
Society should, with help of locals, build a Quaker goodwill and have a strong Quaker program there, stating, “...we cannot raise funds if the only report we can make is ‘200 cases of milk turned over to the authorities…’ We wanted to know the children and regard them as our special charges.” The Burgos unit justified their actions as making the most of local cooperation.

By 1947, the AFSC had embraced Jacob’s method as the preferred method for distributing and administering relief aid. This was made apparent when Henry Cadbury accepted the Nobel Peace Prize for the AFSC’s work, and he reflected that the work that was of the utmost importance was the contact workers established and maintained with war victims, showing them that, “...somebody cares.”

Ultimately, in May, 1938, the Burgos unit had their funding cut from one thousand-five hundred dollar to one thousand dollars per month. Expecting to feed five thousand children within Nationalist lines and with crop failings in Zaragoza, the AFSC looked for solutions rather than cutbacks. The Burgos unit successfully secured supplemental funds through a Geneva based Quaker organization, the International Commission. With the additional funds, relief worker Earl Smith was pleased and reported that the AFSC participated in helping provide two meals each day to approximately 150,000 children—a rather positive comment on the efficiency of their cooperation between the, AFSC, SCIU and Nationalist authorities. However, once outside the scope of censorship laws, Earl Smith later sent a letter to the International Commission reporting that their food preparations had been suddenly halted by authorities, believing that the action stemmed from the Auxilio Social’s jealousy and, above all, their desire

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290 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 73.
293 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 156.
294 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 156.
for Nationalist Spain to appear like it was able to meet the needs of the Spanish population.\textsuperscript{295}

Those among the Falangists were in despair with regards to the politics affecting the lives of the children, with one relief worker speaking on this specific difficulty, stating,

...in one of those districts where of the bread winners are missing...there is a Phalangist canteen where they feed some 250 children per day. There is need for food for at least 500 children in addition to these 250...We intended to provide one meal a day for 300 children...When we got to Burgos we heard that several days before all preparations had been suspended because world had been received from headquarters that the Red Cross would not be permitted to have a canteen there without the aid of the Phalangist Aid. Later they said specifically that they would not allow a canteen there...That is political. It is part of the program that all people must be taken care of and so the pretenses are that all people are being cared for...this man came and told us there was no need for Franco is the father of us all.\textsuperscript{296}

The Toll On Workers

Working with persons so politically opposed to Quaker ideology took its toll on workers. To overcome the personal animosity directed towards the workers, relief worker Earl Smith found that, “Eating together is always a good thing for it pulls down the barriers and makes one group of many differing people.”\textsuperscript{297} However, this connection did not last long and the Nationalists pressed the AFSC. When Smith was invited and, subsequently uninvited, to speak on behalf of the AFSC at Santiago University, the reason for the removal became clear when the

\textsuperscript{295} Mendlesohn, "Practicing Peace," 156.
\textsuperscript{296} Mendlesohn, "Practicing Peace," 157.
\textsuperscript{297} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 147.
Spanish ambassador expressed that he was disappointed that this relief worker would not publicly support the Spanish Civil War. Smith recalls, “...I said I was with him politically but not militarily. They told me they were unable to get the auditorium. And I believe them. But if I had supported their war, they would have found some place.”

This interaction shows how relief workers were under immense pressure and control by the Francoist forces to abandon their most distinguishing feature: pacifism.

The issue of pacifism was pressed upon the AFSC in various ways, as they observed that Nationalist feeding stations were overly political and militaristic, with propagandist depictions of the Falangist party and hanging portraits of General Franco on the walls. In an orphanage, the AFSC commented that many children entertained visitors with songs from the Falangist party. The AFSC workers also observed how Auxilio Social interacted with children, believing that, “Fifty per cent of the purpose of the Phalangist canteens is to educate children at the table to get them to be good Phalangists...” Although the AFSC acknowledged that there were “many fine people” within the Auxilio Social, the method by which this organized operated led the AFSC to believe that,

...it is an organization for the purpose, primarily, of furthering a political movement.

Children sometimes go hungry where this purpose would not be served. Our opportunity to be of service has been in such “gaps” in the Auxilio Social program. Due to their adherence to Quaker principles, AFSC workers faced constant suspicion from Nationalists. Many locals believed that, as Americans, these relief workers were solely sympathetic to the Republican cause. One relief worker recalls, “We have had to explain that we

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299 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 147.
300 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 147.
302 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 159.
are the Quakers and we are doing work on the ‘White’ side too…” Relief workers reported that their nationality or any perceived “liberal” tendencies were suspicious in this authoritarian and highly regulated society. AFSC workers, however, worked to dispel the lack of trust between the locals and their motives, believing that, “...our mission is spiritual and we are willing to let them realize that though we are helping them we are not endorsing entirely the Phalangist regime.”

By September, 1938, the AFSC in Philadelphia began to show concern regarding the civil war’s toll on their workers. There were letters sent by the AFSC’s Geneva representative that reported concern over David Blickenstaff loneliness and the signs that Blickenstaff was beginning to be influenced by Francoist propaganda. Blickenstaff’s colleague, Dan West, argued to John Reich that Blickenstaff should be sent home, but since Blickenstaff was not able to be replaced, the AFSC never forced him to go back. The Murcia unit were also subjected to concern. John Reich, the AFSC’s publicist, pushed this notion further when he told these new relief workers, “Please remember that we want you to be comfortable and to take time off for recreation. Do not allow yourselves to get run down from overwork or worry.”

Due to the challenges that came with working with Nationalists, the AFSC found that there was a dearth of workers and recruits willing to go to the Burgos area. In fact, only three Quakers were sent to Nationalist Spain as the AFSC relied on the Mennonite and Brethren members for the work in that area of Spain. When Smith’s work contract ended, Clarence Pickett personally appealed to the Methodist Episcopal Mission Board, writing,

307 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 166.
I know that we are asking a good deal of you to accede to our request. We only feel justified in making it because of the unusual contribution that Earl Smith is making but since we are all attempting to bear a Christian testimony to a pagan world, we felt that it was at least right to state our concern to you…

Regardless of the AFSC plea, the Methodist Board refused to extend Smith’s contract beyond June of 1938, and thus, Quaker Clyde E. Roberts replaced Smith. In November, 1938, the AFSC pivoted its workforce towards a business motive and moved to appoint workers with backgrounds in managing business rather than missionary work in the hopes it would improve communications with the Nationalist authorities. Improved relations never came to fruition as it became apparent to the AFSC that their organization was not welcome in Nationalist Spain, despite amicable relations with its officials.

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308 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 163.
311 Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 19.
Chapter IV. Funding Relief Work: Children’s War Art

The Art

Figure 8. Photograph in “Gets Children’s Pictures of War in Spain”


The American Friends Service Committee’s headquarters was located in a, “small old-fashioned brick building,” in Philadelphia. In 1945, it employed a staff of approximately three-
hundred and forty people and reported that their annual budget of three million dollars primarily came from donations outside of the Society of Friends.\textsuperscript{312} The AFSC perceived themselves as an independent corporation, one that had a self-perpetuating Board of Directors, and thus, regarded themselves not as an official denominational organization in “the usual sense.”\textsuperscript{313} The AFSC allowed individuals outside of the Society of Friends into its ranks in an attempt to include “concerned” citizens from around the United States into its Friends’ work. The AFSC does not view itself as a mere, “secular social service agency,” stating in 1945 that it was,

...an agency through which members of the Society of Friends and other of like interests carry into action their deepest religious insights in ministering to suffering...the AFSC is a religious organization, committed to the principles of the Society of Friends... Men of all faiths are invited to join in the effort to realize the aims outlined in this statement, remembering that the method is father to the end result.\textsuperscript{314}

The AFSC had experimented with various methods of fundraising. One such abandoned service was direct relief delivery to specific individuals in Spain. This was a service that accepted donations (often five or ten dollars) and the name and address of the specific family or individual in Spain that needed assistance. Although the AFSC received hundreds of such requests, they found that the cost of the worker’s time and transportation made the practice inefficient and impractical. Workers reported that the cost of searching for a single family would have fed twenty or thirty people.\textsuperscript{315} Abandoning certain fundraising practices while keeping others highlights how the AFSC was always seeking a more practical approach to aid.

\textsuperscript{312} American Friends Service Committee. \textit{Civilian Public Service}, 26.
\textsuperscript{314} American Friends Service Committee. \textit{Civilian Public Service}, 96.
\textsuperscript{315} Howard, \textit{Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France}, 18.
The AFSC preferred to approach large institutions or wealthy individuals for donations. The AFSC employed a number of methods in securing funds, one of which was collecting drawings from children in Spain and selling them in art shows and in published books. Wartime artwork by children was hardly a new phenomenon, as Montmartre school-children during World War One drew, and the AFSC collected drawings from children from German and Russian tragedies in the twentieth-century. Partnering with the Carnegie Institute, Spanish Child Welfare Association, and Jose A. Weisberger, the AFSC collected and exhibited these war drawings to the public. In 1938, the art exhibit and accompanying book, entitled, “They Still Draw Pictures,” toured the United Kingdom and United States. The New York press was impressed with the art on display and covered it extensively. An article reported that these drawings came from Madrid, Valencia, and Alicante, then went into grim detail, stating,

It is reasonable to suppose that since they did their work, a few weeks ago, some of them have been killed or wounded by Franco’s planes. The rest, you be sure, are steadily hungry… Six dollars will keep going for a month one of the little artists who industrious crayon scribblings I saw at Lord and Taylor’s. It seems not a bad investment.

Another newspaper reported that these children created, “...a message which goes deeper and reaches further than any political propaganda.” The press stressed the importance of the war art, arguing that, “Both armies profess to struggle for the preservation of civilization. The pens and pencils of their children belie them.”

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316 Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 40.
319 “They Still Draw Pictures” New Republic June 1, 1938. American Service Friends Committee Archives.
320 Isaac Don Levine “So Runs the World,” Evening Journal May 18 1938. American Service Friends Committee Archives
down the exhibit of children’s drawings, but the AFSC worked hard to have it displayed in other cities. John Reich states,

    We would be very happy if the Philadelphia Art Alliance would help us exhibit these drawings in this city. Needless to say, our interest in Spain is entirely non-partisan. The experiences of Lord and Taylor was that no one took exception to the presentation on political grounds. In fact, so popular did it prove in New York that it was held over for an additional week.”

The New York Times covered the art show, reporting that the young artists varied in age from fourteen to the tender age of four. The article takes notices of the children’s graphic depiction of aerial-warfare and bombing raids, stating that, “...some of the young artists have exerted all their ingenuity in an effort to make these bombings attacks as graphic as they appeared at first hand or as real as they seemed when described.”

The art on display did not always follow a gloomy tone as the New York Times reports that, “Peaceful village scenes recur at intervals and pursuits such as children enjoy anywhere under conditions of normal living have not been overlooked.” This variation allowed for wider appeal to audiences and patrons who may have turned away from the more graphic art. Some artwork was sold as low as 10 cents and all the proceeds went towards relief work. In all, over

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321 Correspondence from Lillian Traugott to Jane Terrill, June 13, 1938, Box: General Files 1938 Foreign Service Country- Spain, Gifts to supplies. Folder: Spanish Children’s Drawings 1938. American Service Friends Committee Archives, Philadelphia, PA.


six-hundred war drawings were collected from various schools within Republican lines.\textsuperscript{326} Josep Salvador Colladoque, a child during the Spanish Civil War, recalls how the Quakers organized a drawing competition.\textsuperscript{327} He entered and recalls his allegorical drawing of an English and Republican flag.\textsuperscript{328} The practice of selling drawings for raising funds had grown in both popularity and acceptance. Children’s drawings were also sold as souvenirs by the locals (often in the form of a postcard) to foreign visitors to Barcelona and Valencia.\textsuperscript{329} The sellers located in street carts or in bookshops urged their buyers to, “\textit{Acordaros de los ninos refugiados}” (remember the Refugee children).\textsuperscript{330} Stradling argues that these drawings created great interest and stir and, thus, inspired Aldous Huxley to write the introduction in the celebrated volume, “They Still Draw Pictures.”\textsuperscript{331} Aldous Huxley even signed the first hundred copies of the first edition in an attempt to further contribute to Spanish relief, stating that this Spanish wartime art, “evokes our admiration for the childist artists and our horror at the elaborate bestiality of modern war.”\textsuperscript{332} The editor’s note explains how these children worked with “inferior paper” and goes on to say that these remarkable works of art were produced on, “...Empty stomach, frostbitten fingers...”\textsuperscript{333} The editor concluded that despite these hardships, the children have produced something remarkable, stating, “Their drawings are more eloquent than their words, better than their syntax.”\textsuperscript{334} 


\textsuperscript{327} Sala, “L’ajuda humanitária dels quàquers als infants de Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil,” 306.

\textsuperscript{328} Sala, “L’ajuda humanitária dels quàquers als infants de Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil,” 306.

\textsuperscript{329} Stradling, \textit{Your Children Will be Next}, 154.

\textsuperscript{330} Tuneu, Flores, Prat, Viñolas, Bardolet, and Mundó, “The Spanish Civil War as seen through children’s drawings of the time,” 487.

\textsuperscript{331} Stradling, \textit{Your Children Will be Next}, 154.


\textsuperscript{333} The Spanish Child Welfare Association of America, \textit{They Still Draw Pictures}, 9.

\textsuperscript{334} The Spanish Child Welfare Association of America, \textit{They Still Draw Pictures}, 10.
Despite the success of the program, it was not without controversy. Stradling argues that children’s war drawings are the results of “managed propaganda operations,” stemming out of Republican Spain. The question of whether these drawings are solely the work of children have recently surfaced. One surviving artist, Alfonso Ortuño, was asked about the actual circumstances in which he executed his drawing. He felt that, “probably someone told me to draw what I had seen in Madrid” We do not know to which extent these drawings were created or constrained by adults. For these children, their illustrations were likely not meant for the public to see, nor was it likely that they would have drawn these images without encouragement from facilitating adults. The collection being released to the public and having explicit meaning attributed to it was out of the children’s control. The attribution of meaning has more to do with the relief agencies publishing the art under the umbrella of specific meanings than with children themselves. A child, Manuel Izquierdo, from the Quaker colony La Rouviere, was one of the child illustrators who was brought to the United States and later grew up to become an artist. His life was an example of the Quakers’ relief efforts tapping into artistic potential and directing lives towards towards a positive direction.

Whatever the circumstances, these drawings brought the events of the Spanish Civil War vividly to life for those not involved in the war. The AFSC believed that depictions of first-hand experiences that the art brought to the American republic would be “illuminating” and could substantially help in raising funds. The AFSC had sent the drawings out, “largely as an experiment, to determine the interest that might be aroused by them,” and when Reich sent them out for display at the State Teachers’ College, he tried to gauge their success, asking the Head of the Department of Art, “Would you drop me a line stating your reaction to the drawings, and

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335 Stradling, *Your Children Will be Next*, 155.
336 Stradling, *Your Children Will be Next*, 155.
337 Howard, *Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France*, 5.
how they were received by the public?... Any information that would help us would be most appreciated.” Francis James replied stating, “The drawings were received and created considerable interest. They were enthusiastically received by the students and such public as came to our gallery.” Ultimately, the AFSC reported it a major success, as by 1939, over 5,300 copies of the books were sold and the art collection toured Columbia University, Harvard College Library, and the Institute of Modern Art in Boston. The presentation of these drawings occurred nationwide, from the Museum of Modern Art and Museum of Costume art in New York, to the other side of the country in the Los Angeles City Library and the Public Library in San Diego, California. The fundraising program, and the art itself, had become an unmitigated success.

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341 Children’s Drawing and Other Exhibitions, American Friends Service Committee Archives.
Figure 9. Manuel recalls his flight from enemy planes by Manuel Garcia.

Figure 10. Everybody to Shelter by Francisco Torres Marcos.

Figure 11. My Vision of the War by Jesus Esquerro.

Perception

The AFSC pushed to have the American public understand the importance of their work, and in addition to having the children’s art to vividly bring the war to life, Quakers asked the public, “Will you act today to save a child’s life in Spain? Write your check now—hunger cannot wait.”342 In the pamphlet, “Have you any Clothing for Spain’s Children,” the AFSC educated the American public on the dire condition of Spanish children, claiming that children were, “hungry, ill-clad, and dirty.” They urged the American public to donate: “…our workers can not work unless we at home help them. Our money buys the food to appease the children’s hunger; our

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342 The Spanish Child Welfare Association of America, They Still Draw Pictures, 1.
clothing warms them; our soap cleans them. And with all our message of Peace tells them that there is a better way.” Photographs often accompanied the emotional pleas in the AFSC pamphlets. John Reich pushed for photographs that would illustrate to the American public, “...the joy of giving as well as that or receiving.”343 Much like the children’s war drawings, photographers were published mostly from the Republican areas than from the Nationalist cities.344 If one did not have cash, the AFSC also accepted clothing and blankets. On top of the emotional appeal to help children, the AFSC urged Americans to help on part of their neutrality, stating,

We have fed the Spanish children on both sides. Quakers have no prejudices, no hatreds, no ideologies that interfere with the humanities. A hungry child is to be fed. And feed it we do, whether the bombs that fall near by come from government or Rebel planes. Our workers have gone freely through Spain, blessed by the common people of both sides.345

The AFSC were quite close with their contributors and often kept in touch through letters, informing them of their impact in establishing dining rooms for refugees, infants’ milk clinics, and hospitals for the vulnerable on both sides of the war. The public responded enthusiastically to the AFSC’s neutrality stance. The organization grew in prominent circles (both internationally and domestically), even receiving stellar endorsements, one of which was by President Herbert Hoover: “No group has proved more capable in the administration of relief funds than has the A. F. S. C. I have no hesitation in commending the work it is doing In Spain.”346 The U.S. Ambassador to Spain, Claude G. Bowers, stated, “The A.F.S.C. has done a very fine thing that

345 Jones, Swords into Ploughshares, 314.
346 Give For Spain’s Refugees. Testimonies in Art & Action
cannot but be appreciated by the Spanish people.” Eleanor Roosevelt, a close friend of Clarence Pickett, often lent her name and personal finances for AFSC fundraising. Their methods in fundraising and relief work proved successful. Their methods gained momentum, and thus, the supplies to Spain became assured. Despite their noble intentions, and their massive push towards positive public relations, their attempts in fundraising eventually brought about a world of controversy.

The AFSC encountered difficulty when political groups wanted to unite in aiding Spanish children, yet the AFSC was apprehensive. In January, 1937, Clarence Pickett refused an invitation from the American Friends of Spanish Democracy based on their incompatible principles and one-sided politics. Pickett stated that the AFSC provided Spanish relief, “...irrespective of political affiliation,” to which various leftist groups, such as the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, responded by accusing the AFSC of being, “a thinly veiled form of collaboration with the nationalists.” Thus, the AFSC began to compete with some of these leftists organizations for donations. In another instance, Pickett noted that the American Communists set aside their political agenda and began to collect money on the behalf of the AFSC mission, which placed the Quakers in an awkward position. Such a collaboration would have dampened the AFSC’s reputation. Not willing to collaborate with Communists could have been deemed as being hypocritical, as John F. Reich had already commented on the AFSC’s willingness to work with all others, stating in a New York Times article, “In this work the American Friends Service Committee seeks the support of all organizations and associations, religious, social and otherwise. It is an appeal to all Americans.

347 Give For Spain’s Refugees. Testimonies in Art & Action
348 Hochschild, *Spain in our Hearts*, 205.
351 Pickett, *For More than Bread*, 108.
irrespective of race or religion.” Ultimately, the AFSC decided to not accept the money, but did comment on the difficulty in turning down donations when, “one is aware of the critical need of little children.” In another public relations disaster, the AFSC disclosed that *They Still Draw Pictures* was being sold at many workers’ bookshops, reviewed by the “New Masses”, and published by the Saxon Press, which happened to be the publisher of “Soviet Russia Today.”

These actions gave the general public an impression that the AFSC’s directives were an, “...indictment against Franco's Spain.” This political entanglement was problematic to the AFSC, as Reich writes that, “Since the Catholic journal ‘America’ already is strongly opposed to our relief service in Spain, I am afraid that the left-writing character of the publicity for this book may embarrass us. I shall be relieved when the S.C.W.A. closes up, to avoid this kind of publicity and affiliation.”

The AFSC faced a difficult balancing act of maintaining their principals with that of various governments, the media, and of individual donors. Clarence Pickett commented on the general climate of American society, finding that the general Catholic opinion in the United States supported Franco, although he did know of Catholics who did not. This sharp division made the solicitation of funds for the AFSC, “doubly difficult throughout the Spanish operation.”

All these complications ultimately led to a decline in AFSC fundraising. In 1939, the Quakers lost a significant number of their funds as their contributors were disgusted by the

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352 New York Times, “Drive Begun to Aid All Spain Sufferers.”
353 Pickett, *For More than Bread*, 108.
355 Office Memorandum from John F. Reich to Clarence Pickett, American Friends Service Committee Archives.
Quakers’ direct donations to Nationalists.\textsuperscript{357} Clarence Pickett recalls how “liberals” began attacking the AFSC for feeding children that had recently had become Nationalists instead of Republican children. He recalls that, “We might be feeding the very same children.”\textsuperscript{358} This shows the immense pressure of public opinion that the Quakers faced, which Pickett believed shaped a resilient personal discipline.\textsuperscript{359} This resilient personal discipline conveyed that their pacifism was not to be confused with passivity; Patrick Murphy Malin explaining that,

...to me pacifism does not mean that exact neutrality between two sides to a social dispute....it does not mean an ethic of abstract absolutism as against real consequences; it does not mean timidity. It means simply that, recognizing how intermixed good and evil are in all men, we should be always concerned about the maximum conservation of good wherever it is found (even in those with who on balance we disagree); and that we should refuse to employ a method which does more harm than good to our set of values as a whole. But to show others (and, more important, ourselves) that we are sincere...\textsuperscript{360}

\textsuperscript{357} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 73.
\textsuperscript{358} Pickett, For More than Bread, 108.
\textsuperscript{359} Pickett, For More than Bread, 108.
\textsuperscript{360} Report to the Committee on Spain and to the American Friends Service Committee by Patrick Murphy Malin, Box: General Files Foreign Service Country- Spain: Finance Mailing Lists to Supplies, Folder: Individual: Malin, Patrick Reports, American Friends Service Committee Archives, 28.
Chapter V: Legacy and Reflections

The End Of The War

By the end, the Spanish Civil War had claimed an estimated forty-nine thousand civilians lives in Republican Spain and one-hundred-fifty thousand Nationalist lives, while an additional twenty-thousand lives were also lost after the war as a result of starvation and political repression.\textsuperscript{361} Within the proceeding hour after the fall of the Republic, the AFSC witnessed several priests on the street of Murcia and found it peculiar, since their religious garb was absent during the war.\textsuperscript{362} The AFSC staff also noted the influx of Italians and Germans:

We saw a great many Italians when the Franco people came in...the only Germans I saw were in San Sebastian, though some were reported to have arrived in Murcia and other centers before we left, apparently as administrative or police advisors. The Germans kept discreetly in the background. However German and Italian flags were displayed freely.\textsuperscript{363}

The AFSC had many issues with this new incoming government. The Nationalists’ subsequent actions of seizing AFSC relief food and supplies and, in extreme cases, jailing AFSC Spanish volunteers and employees, greatly alarmed Friends.\textsuperscript{364} It was clear that Nationalists wanted to boost their image and reputation by providing for citizens who fit into their ideal model of society. Despite these political disagreements and hardships, the AFSC pressed onto

\textsuperscript{361} Hochschild, \textit{Spain in our Hearts}, 64.
\textsuperscript{363} Cope, Confidential Memorandum on Religious and Political Conditions in Spain, American Friends Service Committee Archives, 3.
\textsuperscript{364} Howard, \textit{Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France}, 19.
the Nationalists that the AFSC was committed and willing to provide aid to Spain.\textsuperscript{365} The AFSC fiercely debated whether they should remain in Spain, but ultimately decided to move their operations to France in response to the growing hostilities from the Nationalist government.

Although the AFSC’s spirit was willing, the Friends had limitations. Howard Kershner negotiated for the AFSC to have their relief supplies admitted duty-free, and stressed that such supplies would be completely under the control and administration of the AFSC. In reality, the new government often intervened in Quaker operations in order to project the appearance of being a strong, Catholic nation, capable of maintaining control over their population.\textsuperscript{366} This power struggle proved itself problematic in various ways, with Clyde Roberts stating that the Nationalists, “still cling too much to the theory that they can feed everybody while actually they cannot.”\textsuperscript{367} Clarence Pickett reported to Eleanor Roosevelt that the Auxilio Social, “...has been extremely difficult for us to work…our Organization found that the Loyalist Government had a more intelligent and more dedicated relief set-up than the Auxilio Social. The latter is pretty much politics at its worse.”\textsuperscript{368} In this scramble for power in Murcia, the governorship constantly shifted. In a span of several days, four people rotated into the Murcian governor’s role, and the AFSC found it troublesome to establish and maintain contact with the government and provide documents for the assured security of their lives, property, and right to work in Murcia.\textsuperscript{369} The Quakers found that each governor they encountered bartered for food (or rather demanded bribes) in exchange for “promised assistance,” and such practices had relief workers feeling that

\textsuperscript{365} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 207.
\textsuperscript{366} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 207.
\textsuperscript{367} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 221.
\textsuperscript{368} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 305.
the Nationalists had, “vanished the way of all good things.” It was clear to the Quakers that their presence and assistance was not welcomed in Franco’s Spain, as the AFSC found that their relief supplies were being used to bolster the “glory” of the new government, as, “…neither the American Friends Service Committee nor the American people are given any credit in connection with the flour…” The social conditions of the cities also dampened workers’ spirits and resolve. Florence Conard spoke of Madrid being repulsive, stating,

I pay 10 pesetas for a meal of meat, fish, cheese, etc…in the Hotel, and M. can’t find 1.90 for a tin of milk of her baby...When anyone with money can have anything to eat and drink, when the soldiers are fed more than they can eat and ¾ of the city goes hungry—hungrier than during the war...when the stores are full of food and lean, sunken-eyed children press their noses against the panes...well—what about it? I for one, lose my appetite.

The fall of the Republic and the relations with the Nationalist government continued to create a hopelessness within the AFSC, as eighteen out of the thirty-one administrators left Spain. In a New York Times article, Alfred Cope accused Franco of stealing AFSC relief supplies amounting to a total of, “six or seven shiploads of food.” Under the circumstances of taking aid that was intended for children, Cope tells the reporter, “it would simply be dishonest to continue in Spain,” Cope concluded that Franco, “...wants the food, not us. There is no way of being sure where the food is likely to go.” The feeding stations in Murcia also contributed towards the massive walk-off of these dedicated workers. Cope spoke on the Auxilio Social

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374 Times World Wide, “Says Franco Took Child Relief Food.”
375 Times World Wide, “Says Franco Took Child Relief Food.”
overtaking the child canteens, stating that when it was turned over, there was enough food for a month, and yet the *Auxilio Social* had it shut down after only ten days.\(^{376}\) The *Auxilio Social*’s recklessness with food was not the only thing that irked the AFSC. Cope goes on to describe the *Auxilio Social*’s treatment of the children, reporting that,

> the official orders in the clinic were that children had to sing the Franco nationalist songs before they were fed. We never asked them to sing Loyalist songs when the Loyalists held that territory, and we do not now like to ask them to sing Nationalist songs in thanksgiving for our food.\(^{377}\)

Josefine Sanchez Pedreno, an *Auxilio Social* delegate, overtook operations of children’s canteens and immediately replaced the canteen staff with her own people, many of whom the Friends regarded as “inexperienced.”\(^{378}\) The AFSC found that new authorities created chaotic and unpredictable working conditions, finding that one agency would be, “friendly,” while others were, “hostile and confiscatory in attitude.”\(^{379}\) With these tensions brewing, the AFSC was apprehensive of the incoming director of the *Auxilio Social*, stating, “we wanted to see more of her abilities as an administrator before we...turned over to her the responsibility for thousands of dollars worth of food...”\(^{380}\) In addition, Miss Pedreno ordered children’s hospitals be closed, taking over the building and its staff for her own use as a children’s home.\(^{381}\) This angered the AFSC as they reported that “...some of the children were likely to die on account of being

\(^{376}\) Times World Wide, “Says Franco Took Child Relief Food.”

\(^{377}\) Times World Wide, “Says Franco Took Child Relief Food.”


\(^{381}\) Mendlesohn, *Practicing Peace*, 213.
moved.” By May 5th, 1939, the Alicante hospital closed, forcing children to either return to their parents, or to orphanages run by *Auxilio Social*. The AFSC bore witness as petty theft began in their former relief centers. The AFSC were confident in their abilities to serve Spain, and even more confident that the new incoming staff was inefficient, as reports came in of relief supplies being sold off and of sick children being unnecessarily transported. They found that even among the Nationalists, they had supporters who aided the AFSC, often at risk, for the hope that the AFSC might continue and have full control of their relief organization.

Despite his staff reports, Howard E. Kershner, director of the AFSC, denied Franco’s ill intentions in the New York Times. Kershner claimed that a few shipments were taken out of confusion. With these growing tensions between AFSC members and its director, one relief worker commented, “Little did we think that we would come to having a Friend posing as an apologist of the Franco regime.” In the New York Times, Kershner went on to state, “There is no reason for believing that the Spanish Organization, *Auxilio Social*, discriminates against children on account of the political views of their parents.” Kershner states that thirteen workers remained. When asked about the working conditions under Franco, Mr. Kershner had a vastly different perspective than that of Cope, stating,

> The present government has restored discipline and is proceeding in an orderly manner to the execution of what it considers justice. One may differ with this conception of justice, but at least it is not mob violence...While I disagree with the authoritarian government at Madrid, I have great sympathy for it on account of the difficulties it faces and the highest

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admiration for the sincerity of the many military, civil, and Auxilio Social officials with whom I am personally acquainted. They are trying hard to restore justice, good government and prosperity to Spain.\textsuperscript{386}

By June 22, 1939, the New York Times reported that the Quakers had decided to remain in Spain, with the sensational headline: “Decide to Give Him ‘Another Chance’ as He Agrees to Restore $300,000 Food.” John F. Reich, Secretary of the AFSC, reflected on the Cope vs. Kershner statements and concluded to the press that,

You have an example of honest and sincere men speaking truthfully from different points of time and view. One described the chaos and passion of the weeks immediately following the war. He spoke of what he saw in a most violently disrupted part of the country. The other spoke from an acquaintance with the entire country…One was expressing bitterly his distress that the welfare of children should have been ruthlessly disregarded in days of hunger and political upheaval. The other was defending honest men and women in Spain who are trying to correct an admittedly terrible wrong.\textsuperscript{387}

Reich later “vouched” for Kershner’s statements and goes on to express his deep regrets for the conflicting statements coming from the AFSC, stating that, “parts of statements by our workers should have been used for controversy by persons of strong partisan feeling.”\textsuperscript{388}

The AFSC’s conflicting statements and public bickering did not end there, as yet another controversy broke out. The Friends were able to purchase a large quantity of surplus flour from the stores of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation and were tasked by the Secretary of

\textsuperscript{388} The New York Times, “Quakers to Stay on Franco Pledge.”
State, Cordell Hull, with providing 250,000 barrels of flour to Spanish Children.\(^{389}\) This transformed the AFSC into a professional and internationally recognized relief aid organization, gaining a quasi-official status with the United States.\(^{390}\) However, shortly after gaining international attention, the Philadelphia office were made aware of the problematic rumor that Nationalists were selling Quaker wheat and flour to Germany in exchange for ammunitions. After an official investigation, it was revealed that the Nationalists had not technically sent Quaker relief supplies to Nazi Germany, instead it had sold its own reserves of wheat and flour as a “…greatest necessity to secure foreign exchange.”\(^{391}\) The AFSC responded that it could not import food supplies into Nationalist Spain while the Nationalists were exporting their own, and, with that, officials promised to stop exporting.\(^{392}\)

Despite the AFSC’s hope of fulfilled promises from Franco’s government and the practical measures the AFSC took, such as Howard Kershner’s orders for all relief workers to carry copies of the AFSC agreement with Nationalist Spain, the military moved to seize supplies and arrest Quakers anyways.\(^{393}\) The AFSC was attacked directly, being accused of, “communism, partiality, incompetence, laxness of morality, political bias of employees and of generally being unfit to exist in liberated Spain…”\(^{394}\) In Albacete, all AFSC supplies were confiscated, with David Luscombe and Maria Ecroyd being given twenty-four hours to leave the city or face imprisonment.\(^{395}\) Emmet Gulley reported that storehouses were locked up by the

\(^{391}\) Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 13.
\(^{392}\) Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 13.
\(^{393}\) Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 211.
military as the Auxilio Social overtook all trucks and food supplies.\textsuperscript{396} The police raided offices and attempted to arrest the entire AFSC staff, which included Gulley and Alfred Cope. Only with the intervention of David Blickenstaff, who had maintained connections in his long work in Nationalist Spain, were the arrests prevented.\textsuperscript{397} Such practices highlight the complete disarray and patronage system Spain was operating under. Despite his pending arrest, Cope regarded the faith and fortune of Clyde Roberts as the worst of all AFSC staff, stating, “he apparently won out at first against incompetence and graft, only to be defeated in the end.”\textsuperscript{398} AFSC staff were asked to cut all communications with Spanish colleagues as soon as news broke that Quaker communications incriminated Spaniards: “One of Cope’s former drivers received a letter from Alfred Cope a short while ago and was promptly put in gaol.”\textsuperscript{399} The writing was on the wall, and AFSC instinctually reacted to protect their Spanish colleagues by burning AFSC records.\textsuperscript{400} Ruth Cope wrote on how the conditions of Spain were dismantling the core morality of the Friends’ work, stating, “…But it is not a virtue to be merely neutral any more, it seems.”\textsuperscript{401} Gulley concluded that the “new totalitarian state” would not, “...permit foreign organizations to function.”\textsuperscript{402} This disfunction led to constant rumors of arrests and killings in Murcia. Cope recalls how the nurses in the Quaker hospital reported hearing nightly gunshots from the local jails. When Cope had to sleep near the hospital, he too heard the shots, stating, 

\begin{quote}
I once slept in our cars near the hospital which was about three blocks from the jail and was awakened on the night…by shots which occurred between twelve and two in the
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\textsuperscript{396} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 211.
\textsuperscript{397} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 211.
\textsuperscript{399} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 318.
\textsuperscript{400} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 211.
\textsuperscript{401} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 212.
\textsuperscript{402} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 215.
\end{small}
morning. This should not of course be considered as conclusive evidence, but one is compelled to control his imagination quite a bit, if rather obvious conclusions are not to be drawn.\textsuperscript{403}

Norma Jacob wrote in her memoirs, “...there was a fundamental incompatibility between Quakerism and [Franco’s] theory of society, we were wasting our time.”\textsuperscript{404} And so, shortly thereafter, the AFSC left Spain without a formal announcement.\textsuperscript{405}

Aftermath And The Transformation of AFSC Work

The conditions of Franco’s Spain forced the AFSC into southern France, where they provided relief to approximately 300,000 asylum-seeking Spaniards.\textsuperscript{406} The AFSC embarked on this area of work under Howard Kershner, who managed the AFSC and was the acting director of the International Commission.\textsuperscript{407} In southern France, the AFSC witnessed thousands of children becoming separated from their parents in the mad rush to leave Spain.\textsuperscript{408} In one instance, Mrs. Kershner found two young girls, one who was nine and could only say, “Rufina is my name,” and a three year old whose name was pinned to her dress.\textsuperscript{409} Howard Kershner regarded this moment as a “tragedy,” stating,

The fugitives were worn by hunger and utter weariness. Those who had come from as far south as Malaga had been walking for weeks. Day after day they had trudged on with

\textsuperscript{403} Cope, Report of the Spanish child Feeding Mission from August 1938 to May 15th, 1939, American Friends Service Committee Archives, 4.
\textsuperscript{404} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 225.
\textsuperscript{405} Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 225.
\textsuperscript{406} Howard Eldred, Kershner, Quaker Service in Modern War (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), 30.
\textsuperscript{408} Howard, Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France, 19.
\textsuperscript{409} Kershner, Quaker Service in Modern War, 59.
little food and no shelter. At that moment their clothes were wet from the rain that had fallen in the night while they lay in the open and tried to sleep.\textsuperscript{410}

As the suffering mounted, the International Commission successfully persuaded governments to donate food and financial aid to the displaced Spanish children. Unfortunately, the nature of the mission changed rapidly as World War II displaced two million French people. The issue of displaced Spanish was merged with the issue of the larger, European conflict and migration of displaced citizens.\textsuperscript{411} As the AFSC worked shifted into France, the fundraising practices remained the same. John Rich asked Howard Kershner to urgently send,

...photographs of the buildings, the staff, and each individual child. I realize this is a large undertaking, but it is most important because the Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas will launch a campaign on receipt of this material and will be able to undertake the care of an additional one hundred children as soon as funds begin to flow.\textsuperscript{412}

The AFSC ultimately decided to hire an experienced reporter, Margaret Frawley, to gather information and report on their Quaker colony, using “story-writing techniques” to raise funds.\textsuperscript{413} Frawley’s talents were widely valued, as Frawley put it plainly: “Philanthropy is a fickle woman, pouring out her pennies as the headlines show the shift of the battle.”\textsuperscript{414}

In the midst of World War II, German forces entered France in May of 1940. By December, 1942, the Germans had completed their occupation of France.\textsuperscript{415} Official warnings were posted for Americans to evacuate, and yet, the AFSC decided to stay.\textsuperscript{416} Despite the

\textsuperscript{410} Kershner, \textit{Quaker Service in Modern War}, 21.
\textsuperscript{411} Mendlesohn, “\textit{Practicing Peace},” 230.
\textsuperscript{412} Célia, “Autobiographies of Spanish Refugee Children at the Quaker Home in La Rouvière,” 6.
\textsuperscript{413} Célia, “Autobiographies of Spanish Refugee Children at the Quaker Home in La Rouvière,” 7.
\textsuperscript{414} Mendlesohn, “\textit{Practicing Peace},” 238.
\textsuperscript{415} Howard, \textit{Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France}, 21.
\textsuperscript{416} Mendlesohn, “\textit{Practicing Peace},” 229.
AFSC’s decision, the International Commission withdrew from France in July, 1940. This action distressed the AFSC, with John Rich stating,

    The withdrawal of practically all foreign relief agencies from French territory leaves our Quaker workers alone with the burden of supporting the many thousands of Spanish refugee children formerly maintained with help from abroad. One of the last acts of the Raynaud Government was to place 6,500 Spanish children in our care.\(^{418}\)

The American Friends Service Committee maintained workers in France until the ultimate fall of the country in 1942.\(^{419}\) Howard Kershner describes how a children’s colony in southern France, Pax, severed as a splendid home that catered to children’s art expression and even secured a popular artist, Juan Bonafe, to teach children how to draw.\(^{420}\) Kershner noted how the children documented their “stark little autobiographies” as they illustrated “their trek out of Spain, the wrecks they saw, the bombs and other dangers.”\(^{421}\) Kershner then argued that the children’s colony was bringing peace to these children, as their illustrations shifted to “pleasant scenes,” ones that consisted of, “birds and flowers and children playing. That expression in word and picture of the experiences suffered during their flight may well have released them from continued dwelling on the horrors of those experiences.”\(^{422}\) The Pax colony took in one particular child, Vera, from Austria, who, at sixteen years old, was older than most of the accepted children, but whose need was deemed by the colony to be dire.\(^{423}\) When she was transferred to a Jewish group near Paris, Kershner states how Quakers requested and advocated for Vera to be brought into the United States. Kershner recalls how they were able to gain the

\(^{418}\) Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 241.
\(^{419}\) Mendlesohn, “Practicing Peace,” 226.
\(^{420}\) Kershner, Quaker Service in Modern War, 62.
\(^{421}\) Kershner, Quaker Service in Modern War, 62.
\(^{422}\) Kershner, Quaker Service in Modern War, 62.
\(^{423}\) Kershner, Quaker Service in Modern War, 61.
necessary permissions and, a few months later, her children’s colony had been sent to Poland. Kershner later concluded that, “it is probable that Vera is the only survivor of that group.”\(^{424}\) The mounting death toll of World War II hurt the Quakers, but the act of saving one life would have soothed that pain.

As their work came to a close in 1939, many AFSC and FSC workers viewed the end to their work as devastating, an event which, “virtually brought to an end two and a half years’ effort.”\(^{425}\) Norma Jacob testified on the damaging effects of the war and their part in altering her Quakerism, stating,

> I went into the war as a pacifist, and I’ve never been as good a pacifist since because Barcelona was heavily bombed, usually on Sunday mornings…You’d go up on the roof and you’d watch the bombers coming in and the defending fighters going out to get them. It’s not possible to wish, you know, that they would miss…I’m not as good a pacifist, since then, as I had been.”\(^{426}\)

Alfred Jacob acknowledged the difficulties of the end of their work, but took an optimistic view of the situation, stating,

> We are almost tempted to feel that all our work has gone for nothing …we hope and believe that for some of our most valuable fellow-workers contact with the ideas of Quakerism has opened up new possibilities of service…we have learned how fine human nature can be even in the midst of cruelty and destruction, and how imperishable are the things for which men think it worth while to die.\(^{427}\)

\(^{424}\) Kershner, *Quaker Service in Modern War*, 61.
\(^{426}\) Mendlesohn, “*Practicing Peace,*” 328.
\(^{427}\) Mendlesohn, “*Practicing Peace,*” 327.
Despite the challenges, the Friends found that their deeds were not forgotten. When the Germans entered Bordeaux, the Friends were greeted by two soldiers who had been recipients of German Quaker feeding programs in 1919. Friends reported that these soldiers helped with the Friends’ work, remarking that, “That gratitude over two decades is something to treasure in these hard days.” The Society of Friends were never outlawed in Nazi Germany, as Franz von Hammerstein, a German Protestant pastor, explains that Germans often viewed Quakers as, “...trustworthy. Their readiness to help, and help even people who were not actually their friends, left a great impression and smoothed paths— even with the Nazis. Not only did they not send the Quakers to the camps but astoundingly allowed them to keep working.” Similarly, Spaniards often expressed their appreciation of the AFSC work, as demonstrated through dozens of local Murcians’ newspapers. For instance, in June, 1938, the school, la Dirección Provincial de Primera Enseñanza, thanked Friends for their generous initiative in providing school children with breakfasts. In De Bilbao a Oviedo pasando por el penal de Burgos, José María Laso Prieto recalls how American Quakers helped children in La Sellera, citing the abundance of food and cookies received without religious conscription. Surgeon Moisès Broggi remembers Quaker relief workers as effective. Broggi also noted their civility, stating that the Friends were always generous with their Spanish colleagues. In 1938, Francesc Cortès began working

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431 Botías, “El hambre que en la Guerra quitaron los cuáqueros.”
433 Sala,”L’ajuda humanitària dels quàquers als infants de Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil,” 285.
434 Sala,”L’ajuda humanitària dels quàquers als infants de Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil,” 287.
for the Quaker relief workers at the age of sixteen.\textsuperscript{435} Similar to Broggi, Cortès regarded working with Quakers as pleasant, stating, “I have very good memories of that time, and I am very happy of having collaborated. They were a good and very effective people.”\textsuperscript{436} Yet, there were times where the AFSC was met with harsh criticism. Frida Stewart, an assistant of Wilson, bashed Wilson as a woman who came out of a “sordid” Dickens story, going on to state that, “It seemed incredible that this could exist in 1937.”\textsuperscript{437} Contemporary Spanish culture views the Friends in a more positive light. In 2011, the Ministry of Culture moved to digitize historical files in order to shed light on the Friends’ work in Spain. The city of Murcia plans to place a plaque in the municipal building on Puerta Nueva Street in memory of the service provided in the Children’s Hospital. Two former workers, José Castaño and Elisa Smilg, continue to give testimony to Quaker work during the Years of the Spanish Civil War. The Ministry and former workers noted the Quakers’ work was significant and that their aid in helping a vulnerable population during a contentious time was conducted in a structured and diplomatic nature.\textsuperscript{438}

In an interview with writer Rosa Serra Sala, contemporary Spaniards reflected upon Quaker work and regarded the Friends as a group of people who constantly asked themselves difficult questions and traveled to aid those in need.\textsuperscript{439} The Spanish article goes on to state that the AFSC asked for permission to help, which Rosa Serra Sala considered as a great testament to their deep ethics. In her research, Rosa found that children reported that the AFSC programs not only fed them, but also made them feel as though they were “worthy” and “well-treated.”\textsuperscript{440}

When Rosa published \textit{L’ajuda humanitària dels quàquers als infants de Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil}, she highlighted the significant role played by the Friends during the Spanish Civil War. Her research, conducted in collaboration with former workers, provided valuable insights into the nature of Quaker relief work, emphasizing the importance of diplomatic and structured assistance in helping vulnerable populations.

\textsuperscript{435} Sala, “L’ajuda humanitària dels quàquers als infants de Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil,” 296.
\textsuperscript{436} Sala, “L’ajuda humanitària dels quàquers als infants de Catalunya durant la Guerra Civil,” 297.
\textsuperscript{437} Botías, “El hambre que en la Guerra quitaron los cuáqueros.”
\textsuperscript{439} Tramullas, “Rosa Serra: “ A los cuáqueros los metían en prisión por ser honrados.”
\textsuperscript{440} Tramullas, “Rosa Serra: “ A los cuáqueros los metían en prisión por ser honrados.”
Guerra Civil, the contemporary AFSC celebrated and toasted to Rosa Serra Sala’s, “long, fruitful dedication and those others who were in Spanish relief 70 years ago.” They regarded the AFSC in the Spanish Civil War as hidden Quaker history, one which was, “destined to come into the light.”

The Spanish relief effort was the largest single endeavor and feat of effort the Society of Friends ever attempted. By 1947, the Nobel Committee recognized AFSC and FSC work, stating,

The Quakers have shown us that it is possible to carry into action something which is deeply rooted in the minds of many: sympathy with others; the desire to help others…without regard to nationality or race; feelings which, when carried into deeds, must provide the foundations of a lasting peace. For this reason, they are today worthy of receiving Nobel’s Peace Prize.

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441 Gerard, Negelspach, “Quaker Relief During the Spanish Civil War,” last modified, May 1, 2008. https://www.friendsjournal.org/2008046/
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