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Introduction: Humanitarianism and Biography

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The celebrity journalist Stacey Dooley's selfie holding a bemused Ugandan child prompted comments that the world did not need any more white saviours.[1] Such self-representations are instantly familiar, for celebrity humanitarian as mediator of compassion has deep historical roots.[2] Humanitarian activists and organisations have always relied upon narratives of the self to promote their work. Their accounts of self-realisation, emotional awakening and spiritual or quasi-spiritual quests for meaning offer a means to self-accountability and function also to promote ideals, causes and organisational identity. Our contention in this Special Issue is that humanitarian biographies – understood here as both life writings and life histories – are crucial to understanding the formation of humanitarianism as a field of cultural production with its own (often highly gendered) genres, emotional repertoires and performativity. On the one hand, as Dal Lago and O'Sullivan have suggested, the life history of the individual can illuminate the contradictions and contingencies in humanitarian action and illustrate the transnational dimensions of their work.[3] On the other hand, personal narratives of spontaneous compassion, spiritual quest and professional values are the means by which moral reason is bestowed upon interventions in strangers' lives and given social value.[4] Notably, this is a field in which prominent biographies can be made to stand for the consistency of organisational ideals even where the nature of humanitarian work and its funding-base has undergone significant change.[5] An exploration of the interplay between biography as the 'lived life' and biography as self-representation is germane to our agenda of critically re-examining the production of the sources of knowledge and authority upon which humanitarian narratives are written, public appeals are made and individual and organisational humanitarian action is undertaken and explicated.[6]

The articles in this Special Issue consider the life histories and life writings of individuals in Britain and British-colonial and missionary-imperial settings, at times as lone actors and at others as members of humanitarian organisations, each with distinctly different public profiles and biographical traces, and each instantiating multiple imperial, international and national layers of humanitarian action. These include considerations of the construction of the humanitarian self in female pacifist accounts in our article on Emily Hobhouse and the 1899–1902 South African War and in Bertrand Taithe and Adam Millar's article on Huddersfield Famine Relief Committee (Hudfam) founder Elizabeth Wilson. Analysis of

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the role of autobiographical writing in the negotiation of humanitarian and political commitment features in Rosemary Cresswell's investigation of British Red Cross Chair Lord Woolton, while a biographical inquiry into the speaking silences of the archive is pursued in articles by Robert Burroughs on redeemed slave Lena Clark and by Melanie Oppenheimer on Lady Helen Munro Ferguson (later Viscountess Novar) President of the Australian Red Cross. Joy Damousi analyses the role of celebrity biographies in publicising the humanitarian ideals of the League of Nations in Australia.

These histories of the humanitarian self contribute to the 'conjunctures' of the late-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century humanitarianism identified by Johannes Paulmann, in particular, the overlapping of missionary activity and late-nineteenth century anti-slavery campaigning and the foundation and wartime work of national and international organisations, such as the Red Cross, the Save the Children Fund, the humanitarian agencies of the League of Nations, Oxfam and its sister organisation Hudfam.[7] For Paulmann, 'emphasis needs to be placed on conjunctures and contingencies, namely the coming together of different forces, events and structures at particular times'.[8] Our focus on biography allows us to consider the relationship between historical conjunctures and humanitarian cosmologies: the meaning humanitarian action was given by the individuals and groups involved, their relationships, self-representations and experiences. In this way, we can adapt the microhistorian's attention to the, 'dynamic practices to which ordinary people contributed, rather than as impersonal structures or forces' and focus on the, 'moments of exchange, reinforcement, and transformation of norms and relationships'.[9] This allows for a history of humanitarianism which restores the intentions of human actors and their emotional practices of life writing to the realm of everyday politics and ethics, foregrounding the individual agency missing in the ideological and political economic grand narratives of histories of humanitarian globalisation, modernity and neo-imperialism or an overly impersonal analysis of conjunctures.[10]

We thus treat biographical narratives less as evidence of abstract processes than as means to make sense of how moral authority and purpose are constituted in time and place and of how humanitarian life writing has served a variety of political and organisational purposes. Taking a biographical approach to humanitarianism can thus shed new light on activist and practitioner identities and locate humanitarianism more firmly as a social, emotional and literary practice. This can reveal alternative humanitarian cosmologies and the reasons for their marginalisation, as well as reception, revivals and celebration in other contexts and periods. For example, Emily Hobhouse was written out of both British suffrage and humanitarian historiography in her lifetime for her radical pacifist views but was celebrated by nationalist women's organisations in South Africa and subsequently lauded by British feminist pacifists of the 1980s.[11]

The inclusion of a preponderance of female biographies in this Special Issue is instructive.[12] Krista Cowman, while reflecting on the suffragettes, noted the dearth of female autobiography.[13] By exception, humanitarian work was one area in which there was a convention of female biographers and memoirists using life writing to publicly account for their feelings and actions at a time when women had few vocational options and their presence in the 'backwash of war' or in overseas charity work was far from conventional.[14] Biography allowed them to write new conventions of their role and enter into debates on the appropriate form of humanitarian action. Ruth Fry's memoir of her relief work in Europe after the First World War is a prime example of a quest for spiritual and organisational accountability which also functioned to champion personal over too

great an emphasis on efficiency.[15] With their careful adjudication of 'fellow feeling' (often underscored with an implicit class sensibility of refined sympathy) and social-scientific objectivity, humanitarian biographies such as Fry's were not only narratives of self-actualisation and awakened conscience but also acts of advocacy and didactic educations in virtue, providing documentary evidence of suffering and the most appropriate emotional and practical response. Here, we can see similar features in the memoirs of male humanitarians, including Henri Dunant and Marcel Junod of the Red Cross, and also in the proliferation of autobiographical accounts of First World War nurses, such as Vera Brittain, for whom feminine sympathy offered an available, though at times subversively critical, wartime trope and role.[16]

For those women without institutional support or a public platform, biographical texts provided the imaginative reach for new humanitarian causes, shaped humanitarianism's most appropriate form and human modality and justified claims to expert knowledge. Often they borrowed from familiar literary genres, such as the travelogue or adventure novel. Balkan relief workers from the late nineteenth century, such as Paulina Irby or Edith Durham, whose accounts mix ethnographic description and picturesque detail, demonstrated qualities of discernment and refinement that both signalled an appropriately modulated humanitarian sensibility and furthered the cause of Balkan nationalism.[17] Even where biographical accounts detailed exhaustion and personal suffering, these served to burnish humanitarian credentials and functioned as critiques of either an instrumentalised humanitarianism or political intransigence and callousness. Narratives of caring *too* much, as Bertrand Taithe has argued elsewhere in his analysis of compassion fatigue, are part of the history of humanitarianism, performing 'a key role to explain or justify behaviour, shape or condition responses to genuinely observable symptoms, or allow causes and consequences to be defined by embodied emotions'.[18] Emily Hobhouse's account of her own physical and moral suffering captured in 'a portrait of semi-starvation' during her involvement in a school-feeding scheme in post-First World War Germany, stressed the 'test of character' that such sympathetic concern had forced her to undertake and the emotional solidarity she felt with Boer women who had suffered in the concentration camps of the South African War.[19] Narratives of personal struggle and idealism in autobiographical accounts told of profound commitment and self-sacrifice; they also functioned to perpetuate the notion of humanitarian action as a naturally reoccurring and spontaneous act of individual compassion. These could be coded variously as vigorously masculine or, as will be demonstrated across this Special Issue, femininely nurturing.

Hobhouse's life writing is also useful for what it tells us of the role of biography in the origin stories of humanitarian organisations. Following her work in Germany, where she represented the Save the Children Fund (SCF), she was sidelined from this organisation owing to her pacifist sympathies for the 'enemy' child at a time when the SCF was re-orientating itself as a universal child-relief and advocacy organisation.[20] The biography of Eglantyne Jebb, who advocated for non-political relief for all children, has subsequently stood for its ideals of the SCF in its various iterations (including its later dependence on British state funding), while other founding members and their networks, including Hobhouse and Jebb's sister Dorothy Buxton, have been obscured.[21] *A Memory of Solferino*, Henri Dunant's account of his sympathetic, but practical, response to suffering on the battlefield, has a similar foundational status in the institutional memory of the

International Committee of the Red Cross, despite Dunant's early expulsion from the Red Cross movement and the Swiss elite's role in shaping its trajectory.[22] A focus on biography can here help to reveal the networks of non-state actors and individuals outside of organisational structures whose activities contribute to humanitarian conjunctures and to the complicated and multifaceted origins of humanitarian action, while also revealing the pivotal role of founders' biographies in the organisational identity of large relief organisations.

The reverses of institutional biographies such as Eglantyne Jebb or Henri Dunant are those 'foot soldiers' of humanitarian work who never gained prominence, or those who were deliberately excluded from the record as was the case for Lena Clark. Explorations of the 'hidden' humanitarian biographies and unpublished writings of little-known or little-documented figures are important for a consideration of how humanitarian biographies rely upon structural privileges. They demonstrate how the classical liberalism of radically free human action which underwrote humanitarian autobiography should not blind us to how human agency within humanitarian encounters is circumscribed for certain individuals and groups. Such work is critical if we wish to understand that while the autobiographical genre appears to represent the recurrence of spontaneous sympathy in the face of suffering, each biography needs to be situated in time and place to appreciate the quotidian power relations, emotional practices and social assumptions which constitute humanitarian action, not least the cultural capital required to write an autobiography. This also involves questioning how and why some activists sought to document for posterity their own lives through personal archives and publications and the multiple forms this can take, including the deliberate curation of personal papers and the equally deliberate curation of archival silences and the historical processes that conditioned their reception and commemoration. These questions are taken up by Oppenheimer in her article on Helen Munro Ferguson, who left no published or private record of her life. Oppenheimer's article is less a 'rescue' biography than a consideration of both how women's identities were formed and articulated through humanitarian action, and how life history tracked here through archival records of committee minutes can make sense of seemingly contradictory aspects of humanitarian work where no written autobiography exists.

When memoirs and autobiographical writings do exist, as in the case of Emily Hobhouse, Elizabeth Wilson and Lord Woolton, we can study the relationship between text and referent, and this can vivify our understanding of the human experience of humanitarian encounters and enrich our appreciation of the interconnected factors, feelings and networks on which they rest. Thus, we can answer recent calls to recognise that 'there is no such thing as a nonembodied memoir' and to bring a 'critical embodiment lens' to auto/biographical studies.[23] This does not, of course, avoid the difficulty of accounting for past subjectivities, and this is particularly true for spiritual, emotional and moral feelings which can elude the social and cultural methodological approaches of microhistory.[24] As our article and Taithe and Millar's contribution suggest, such approaches can be usefully augmented through utilising recent scholarship on the history of feeling which attend to emotions (most relevantly sympathy, empathy and love), as historically contextual and habituated rather than ahistorical entities, and investigate the historical self as itself a form of practice that depends upon different notions of interiority and actualisation.[25]

A biographical approach allows consideration of how organisational logic and humanitarian forms of knowledge are felt, embodied and expressed by both practitioners and recipients of aid, raises questions about the qualitative as well as quantitative experience of humanitarian power dynamics, in particular, the intersections and reproductions of class, race and gender norms.[26] This is particularly useful for gaining a more nuanced understanding of humanitarian action at its point of convergence with the changing nature of missionary enterprises, shifting imperial relations and new international organisations. Here, Damousi's analysis of how female celebrity humanitarians were featured in the press to mediate Australia's role at the League of Nations and overcome divisions in the women's movement is instructive. In revealing something about humanitarians' moral and cultural capital, we can acknowledge that humanitarian action and humanitarian narrative meet a variety of needs, not simply – or even primarily – those of suffering strangers, but can be the means of self-realisation, spiritual awareness and the galvanising of existing networks, careers, campaigns and political positions.[27] In how, they narrated their qualifications for such roles – their moral qualities, their cosmopolitan credentials or disciplinary expertise – we learn more about the nature of the selections they made, explicit or otherwise, about who to assist.

A biographical approach can thus help us delve into instances of how the humanitarian self and other was imagined and actualised. This approach is explored in Taithe and Millar's article on psychoanalytical 'sciences of the self' and spiritual conscience in the life writings of Elizabeth Wilson. For beneficiaries who were also themselves humanitarian actors (as is common for local employees), this self/subject dynamic reveals not only the ironies of humanitarian assistance, but also some of the personal and political identity formation (and crises) that might ensue, as revealed by the biography of Lena Clark, who was both redeemed slave and humanitarian activist. Responding to recent calls by historians of humanitarianism to attend to the histories of the recipients, we cite this as an example of how humanitarianism is relational and multidirectional, with the subaltern biography forming a microhistory able to expose the intimate and everyday, the personal and the political and shifting configurations of power and authority.[28]

Focusing on Lena Clark, Burroughs centres on an obscure life caught in the ebb and flow of humanitarian history. He gives a micro-historical account of the development of church and humanitarian activity in King Leopold II's Congo Free State as it shaped Clark's life. Redeemed by missionaries from slavery in the Lower Congo, she was educated in Scotland and the USA before venturing to Central Africa to begin her own evangelical career. At the Ikoko mission station, she raised up girls whose lives had been ripped apart by colonialism and helped in the humanitarian campaign against the Congo Free State, before facing a crisis of her own which would lead to her abrupt departure from the service. With her husband Clarence Whitman, she had three children while living in Britain and the USA before finally returning to mission life with her husband as part of the United Sudan Mission among the Jukun people of northern Nigeria. In her movements between Africa and Europe, and in and out of mission service, Lena Clark's life captures some of the motivations, frustrations and ironies of religious and humanitarian interventionism in the Congo Free State. The circumstances surrounding her departure from missionary service reveal the pressures felt by Protestant missions in Central Africa as locally based critics of the state whose humanitarian criticisms of Leopold's regime had become public knowledge. Burroughs considers Lena Clark's biography as a 'normal exception' in (micro-) history, a figure whose experiences and auto-biographical

writings in a Spelman College newsletter both conform to and reveal new questions on what is known about Protestant missions and humanitarian campaigning.

Taking the interplays between biography and autobiography – hence, auto/biography – as its starting point, our own paper explores the auto/biographical traces of Emily Hobhouse (1860–1926), pacifist, suffragist and humanitarian. Following her rise to public prominence during and after the 1899–1902 South African War, including her work for the SCF in 1919 and up until her death in 1926, Hobhouse made a sustained attempt to testify to her humanitarian work in a number of different auto/biographical forms. We explore the role of sympathy in Hobhouse's auto/biographical accounts in order to draw out the authority both with which she constructs herself as a humanitarian and by which women's accounts of wartime suffering that she brings to publication themselves become 'untouchable' testimonies. In examining Hobhouse's multi-layered personal archive, the many iterations of her life writing and her various publications we try to understand her urge to personal accountability, as well as exploring how Hobhouse's biography was taken up in South Africa during the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the ways in which her writings were repurposed and made to stand for new colonial nationalist assertions. This enables us to shed further light on the politics of memory and how the biography of an individual can be made to stand for the values of humanitarian movements and 'moral' causes, while the biographies of others can disappear.

The case of a seemingly vanished humanitarian biography is taken up by Oppenheimer, who considers the intersection of biography and humanitarianism to explore the life and transnational career of Lady Helen Munro Ferguson, who played a significant leadership role in many areas of women's activism in Britain in the first decades of the twentieth century and made an indelible mark on the Red Cross Movement in Scotland and Australia. Labelled a 'woman of influence', she was a well-connected individual whose oratory, writing skills and astute political judgement were renowned in her lifetime. Yet, this influential leader has received limited attention from historians and her life and work remains largely unknown outside of Australia where she was the foundational President of the Australian Red Cross (1914–1920). Oppenheimer grapples with how a historian constructs a biographical narrative of a leading female humanitarian when a personal collection does not exist, where there is no memoir or autobiography to consult, but rather the haphazard remnants of a life scattered through the papers of male members of her family including that of her husband, Ronald Munro Ferguson, and her father, Lord Dufferin. How does the use of official humanitarian organisational records, such as minutes and reports of the Red Cross, affect our understanding and interpretation of such a humanitarian reformer and practitioner? What role does gender play? The article asks if speculative biography can provide us with some of the tools required to assist us in bringing to life an individual of note but lost to time.

Even where the activities of humanitarians have been well documented and their records well preserved, their contributions have not always been fully understood nor the use of their biographies in standing for the ideals of an organisation recognised. Damousi considers the case of six women who were Australian substitute delegates to the League of Nations, who all became media celebrities for humanitarian campaigns: Jessie Webb (1880–1944), Margaret Dale (1883–1963), Ethel McDonnell (1876–1961), Roberta Jull (1872–1961), Freda Bage (1883–1970) and Stella Allen (1871–1962). All university educated women active in university life and women's organisations prior to representing Australia at the League, they encapsulated the modern middle-class, educated women

of the 1920s, fostering a pride in an international, global outlook. Damousi characterises the reception these Australian women at the League received in Australia as creating a form of celebrity status. She considers these women collectively, through the approach of prosopography, to analyse the attention they attracted as Australian substitute delegates to the League of Nations. This generation of white, middle-class women born in the 1870s and 1880s had by 1920, when the League was formed, established flourishing careers, extensive women's networks and in some cases had embedded themselves in policy positions within government agencies. While there has been increasing interest in the League and women's role within it, many of these women have rarely been discussed extensively in League accounts, both in terms of their activities within the League, and then beyond it when they returned to Australia.

Biographies can function to provide a narrative for the relationship between international humanitarian agencies and national bodies – and in this way can reconcile what could be competing agendas into a coherent life story. Intersections and overlaps between peace work, humanitarian campaigning, voluntarism and charity work are also evident in Cresswell's study of Frederick James Marquis, Lord Woolton, the Chair of the Executive Committee of the British Red Cross between 1943 and 1963. Cresswell examines why the Director of a Liverpool department store, Lewis's, who became a member of the Conservative Party's Cabinet, became the spokesman for the British Red Cross at such a key time in its history – the reframing of the charity after the Second World War and the launch of the National Health Service. Woolton had experience not only in retail but also in politics, having served as a non-party member of the government as Director-General of Equipment and Stores in the Ministry of Supply, the Minister of Food and then Minister of Reconstruction during the Second World War. His work with the Red Cross is much less well known than his role as Minister of Food. From 1946 to 1955, the time when he more actively took over the leadership of the BRC's Executive Committee, he served as Conservative Party chairman, as well as holding roles such as Minister for Materials. The article takes a biographical approach, utilising Woolton's memoir, his personal papers at the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford and the archives of the British Red Cross, to explore the choices and key strategies Woolton made as Chairman. Expanding research on voluntarism by Matthew Hilton, the paper furthers our understanding of how a charity mitigating suffering by working in health care and welfare in peace, war and during disasters, continued within the British Welfare State, particularly focusing on the role of elite figures within the organisation who chose to donate extensive time. Woolton's work is compared with that of other Chairs of the BRC and explores his necessary reliance on the Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee, Angela, the Countess of Limerick.

Grappling with stories of the humanitarian self and the insights these give us into the motivations for humanitarian intervention is also central to the paper by Taithe and Millar on Elizabeth Wilson (1909–2000), founder of Hudfam, long-term activist of CND and member of Oxfam's decision-making committee, who wrote two volumes of her autobiography later in life. The first volume was published by the Quaker press Sessions of York in 1998, while the second remained unpublished. Taken together with her journalism for the local press and for Hudfam and Oxfam publications, her writings cover the period between 1942 and 1999. These volumes belong to an abundant literature of 'do gooder' testimonials and Quaker memoirs.[29] It mingles with the accounts of the organisations she supported and to a large

extent ran with more complex narratives of her 'encounters on the way'. What sets apart her writing from many other narratives of very local internationalists, is her constant and idiosyncratic reference to her spirituality and to her vivid dreams. Some of her dream diaries survived and provide the material for this article.

Combined with her other writings, in particular, her engagement with Eastern philosophies and religions (Buddhism and Zen in particular), Wilson's dreams, which she analysed using Jungian methods, were the material for self-examination and for the exploration of universal spiritual themes. While remaining a local activist firmly anchored in her local community, Elizabeth Wilson developed forms of universalist activism which chimed with broader intellectual movements of her era. Using historiography and the sociology of emotions and dreams, Taithe and Millar analyse afresh the spiritual grounding of localised humanitarian work and internationalism. Credited by Matthew Anderson as the pioneer of humanitarian fair trade, Elizabeth Wilson was a significant activist in British humanitarian circles who deliberately expressed her humanitarian self in terms of provincial life and domesticity.[30] This expression of a feminine consciousness of suffering evokes Hobhouse's earlier expression of feminine sympathy as a form of humanitarian knowledge, demonstrating two different configurations of women's politics and the pacifist movement in the twentieth century.

In this Special Issue, we have intended to show that humanitarianism has developed through a series of conjunctures but is always predicated on intellectual, psychological and spiritual projects of self-realisation and genres of self-reflection. Approached as microhistories, we encounter the familiar question of what is exceptional and what is typical. Our intention is not to disavow the usefulness of organisational histories or the explanatory power of historical conjunctures, but rather to foreground the relationship between human agency and narratives of the self in shaping circumstances and giving expression to historically circumscribed emotional and behavioural norms. In uncovering these, we not only encounter a richness of emotional need and quest and narrative patterns and tropes of self-realisation and spontaneous compassion but also begin to see in outline a group biography of our subjects where we can begin to ask how one becomes a humanitarian and see some of the answers in the individual cosmologies and narratives of the self and privileges and emotional practices that allow one to assert moral authority over the pain of others. By applying the insights of social, cultural and emotional history, particularly to life writing, we argue for an approach to the history of humanitarianism as a dynamic field of cultural production in which we appraise how the humanitarian self and other are co-constituted and reproduced and analyse the ways in which humanitarian biography serves a variety of organisational and political purposes.

Notes

1. See, for example, Sarah Young, 'Stacey Dooley in "white saviour" row with David Lammy after visit to Uganda for Comic Relief', *The Independent*, 28 February 2019.
2. More recently, Rojek has coined the term celanthropist (celebrity philanthropist) and critiques 'the transformation of causes into *cause celebres* via the public involvement of celebrities'. See Chris Rojek, '"Big Citizen" celanthropy and its discontents', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17: 2 (2014): 127–141.
3. Enrico Dal Lago and Kevin O'Sullivan, 'Review Article: Prosopographies, Transnational Lives, and Multiple Identities in Global Humanitarianism', *Moving the Social*, 57 (2017). See

also, Jessica Reinisch, 'Introduction: Agents of Internationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 25: 2 (2011).

4. For a discussion of the social value of pain and compassion (and its literary and political manifestations), see Rachel Ablow, *Victorian Pain* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2017).
5. On Henri Dunant, see, for example, John Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross* (Oxford: Westview, 1997); on Eglantyne Jebb see Clare Mulley, *The Woman who Saved the Children: A Biography of Eglantyne Jebb* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2009). For a nuanced reading of how biography can stand for the values of an organisation, see Marion Moser Jones, *The Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013) and the review of this work by Rebecca Gill in the *Social History of Medicine*, 26 (2013).
6. We take the lead from Ken Plummer in his seminal *Documents of Life 2* (London: Sage, 2001 [1983]). Plummer advocated for moving beyond approaching life writings as 'repositories of facts about the past' and called for much closer attention to be paid to questions concerning truth claims, authenticity, memory, narrative and moral authority.
7. Johannes Paulmann, 'Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century', *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 4: 2 (2013): 215–238.
8. Paulmann, 'Conjunctures, 223.
9. Brad S. Gregory, '*Is* Small Beautiful? Microhistory and the History of Everyday Life', *History and Theory*, 38: 1 (1999): 101 and 103.
10. For examples of macro-historical and narrative approaches to the political economics of aid and the origins of humanitarian modernity, see, for example, Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011); Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Keith Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015).
11. See Jill Liddington, *The Road to Greenham Common: Feminism and Anti-militarism in Britain since 1820* (London: Virago, 1989).
12. On gender and humanitarianism, see Delores Martín-Moruno, Brenda Lynn Edgar and Marie Leyder, 'Feminist perspectives on the history of humanitarian relief', *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 36: 1 (2020): 2–18; Esther Möller, Johannes Paulmann and Katharina Stornig, *Gendering Global Humanitarianism in the Twentieth Century: Practice, Politics and the Power of Representation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).
13. Krista Cowman, 'A footnote in history? Mary Gawthorpe, Sylvia Pankhurst, the suffragette movement and the writing of suffragette history', *Women's History Review*, 14: 3–4 (2005): 447–466.
14. The evocative phrase 'backwash of war' is taken from the title of the memoir of the First World War nurse Ellen La Motte. Ellen N. La Motte, *The Backwash of War, An Extraordinary American Nurse in World War I* edited with an introduction by Cynthia Wachtell (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2019 [orig. 1934]).
15. Ruth Fry, *A Quaker Adventure, the Story of Nine Years Relief and Reconstruction* (London: Nisbet, 1927); on the conflicting approaches of British Quaker relief workers and their American colleagues see, Tammy Proctor, 'An American Enterprise? British participation in US food relief programmes (1914–1923)', *First World War Studies*, 5: 1 (2014), 29–42.
16. Henri Dunant, *Un souvenir de Solférino* (Genève: Impremerie Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1862); Marcel Junod, Le troisième combatant: De l'ypérite en Abyssinie à la bombe atomique d'Hiroshima (Lausanne: Payot, 1947); Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth. An Autobiographical Story of the Years 1900–1925* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1933); see also Rebecca Gill, *Calculating Compassion: humanity and relief in war, Britain 1870–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 168–197.
17. For example, see the analysis of the writings of Balkan volunteers such as Paulina Irby in Gill, *Calculating Compassion*, pp. 93–95.

18. Bertrand Taithe, 'Compassion Fatigue: The Changing Nature of Humanitarian Emotions', in Delores Martín-Moruno and Beatriz Pichel, *Emotional Bodies: The Historical Performativity of Emotions* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2019), p. 243.
19. Hobhouse to Mrs Steyn, 14 January 1921, A156, Free State Archives Repository; Hobhouse 'To the Women of the Orange Free State, August 131,911', A156, Free State Archives Repository.
20. Tatjana Eichert and Rebecca Gill, 'Children and the "Hunger Politics" of 1919–20: Food aid to German children and the founding of the international Save the Children movement', in Elisabeth Piller and Neville Wylie (eds), *Humanitarianism and the Greater War* (MUP, forthcoming).
21. Linda Mahood, 'Eglantyne Jebb: remembering, representing and writing a rebel daughter', *Women's History Review*, 17:1 (2016): 1–20; Emily Baughan, 'Save the Children, the humanitarian project, and the politics of solidarity: reviving Dorothy Buxton's vision', *Disaster* 39 (2015): 129–145.
22. François Bugnion, 'From Solferino to the birth of contemporary international humanitarian law', International Committee of the Red Cross, online article, 22 April 2009. From Solferino to the birth of contemporary international humanitarian law – ICRC.
23. Sasha Kruger and Sayantini DasGupta, 'Embodiment in [Critical] Auto/biography Studies', *Auto/Biography Studies*, 33: 4 (2018): 483.
24. Gregory, '*Is* Small Beautiful?, p 107; for a discussion of writing about the spiritual life of Alice Clark, who collaborated with Emily Hobhouse in relief work in post-First World War Europe, see Sandra Stanley Holton, 'Feminism, history and movements of the soul: Christian science in the life of Alice Clark (1874–1934)', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 13: 28 (1998): 281–294.
25. Monique Scheer, 'Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history?) A Bourdieuian approach to understanding emotion', *History and Theory*, 51 (2012): p. 200; Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 54–6.
26. For a recent call to be more attentive to how 'the modern aid sector has fashioned knowledge and how it has used "expertise" as power' and the social scientific and disciplinary underpinnings of humanitarian authority see Emily Baughan, Eleanor Davy, Bronwen Everill, Kevin O'Sullivan and Tehila Sasson, 'History and Humanitarianism: A Conversation', *Past and Present*, 241 (Nov 2018), e.30.
27. For a recent example of this tendency to search for epistemic origins, see Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918–1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
28. For the need to integrate a recipient perspective see, Eleanor Davey, John Borton and Matthew Foley, 'A History of the Humanitarian System: Western Origins and Foundations', *HPG Working Paper* (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2013).
29. See for instance Reginald Poole, *Confessions of a Do-Gooder, A Worm Eye's View of Social Progress, 1930–1960* (Birkenhead: Appin Press, 2010). Poole also combined charity work, social work and eventually charity work abroad for the Rowntree Trust.
30. Matthew Anderson, *The History of Fair Trade in Contemporary Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), chapter 1.

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