"Assisting in many other ways": An Examination of the Work Undertaken by Scottish Women Humanitarians in Support of Belgian Refugees in the First World War

Abstract

Belgian people displaced following the German invasion of their country in 1914 were supported, supervised, and medically treated by female health care professionals, humanitarian volunteers, and ladies' refugee committee members during their wartime stay in Scotland. This article focuses on the exercise of "soft power" while supporting Belgian refugees by these middle-class female care givers who were all associated with the Glasgow Corporation Belgian Refugee Committee (GCBRC). Additionally, the actions of the women here considered form part of what Gatrell has described as a constructed "refugee regime" organized by local and nationwide relief providers. Although the women here assessed delivered crucial everyday support for displaced Belgians, including children, their role was underreported and marginalized in the contemporary record of First World War humanitarian aid in Scotland, and more widely, Great Britain.

Key words: Women humanitarians, Belgian refugees, First World War, Glasgow Corporation Belgian Refugee Committee

Introduction

The first Belgian families, groups and individuals arrived in Scotland within days of their mass displacement following the German military advance to the Belgian coast in October 1914, and the last remaining refugees stayed until April 1919.[1] The all-male Glasgow Corporation Belgian Refugee Committee (GCBRC) raised funds around Scotland throughout the war years to finance the displaced Belgian people who were accommodated, educated, and employed in the country. Scotland housed ca. 19,000 of the ca. 250,000 Belgian refugees who came to Britain during the war. [2] The committee was an offshoot of the city council's magistrates' committee. The Glasgow Corporation committee was unique in administering care and raising funds to support Belgian refugees not only for the city, but for the whole of Scotland. Post-war, members of the main committee and several of it ladies' committee members received national honors from both the British and Belgian states.[3]

Two women from contrasting backgrounds who were associated with GCBRC, and for whom vastly different forms of record survive, were selected as case studies for this article: one came from the leisured, affluent middle class, and the other was a professional nurse. Mary E. Boyle, an author, prehistorian, and

paleontologist who was fluent in several continental European languages, was appointed by the GCBRC as a matron in one of its Belgian refugee homes.[4] Boyle's time working in the home was described in an ego document, a journal written in the form of letters to a friend in which she recorded her frank views on her humanitarian endeavors, on the refugees under her protection, and on her colleagues. While Boyle's opinions and character come through in her 89-page journal, no personal detail has been discovered on Nurse Glen. Glen volunteered for, or was employed by, the GCBRC and provided the first point of contact between displaced Belgians and local Scottish medical and welfare services. She attended, supported, and accompanied refugees as they negotiated this process, as she applied for their admission into medical institution care. Nurse Glen is not recorded in the extensive surviving records of the GCBRC; however, by analyzing the administrative records of the Poor Law medical and welfare cases in which she is mentioned, by surname only, it was found that Glen's caseload included displaced Belgians and ranged from supporting abandoned children, to adult and elderly hospital admissions, as well as mental health institution transfers for individuals traumatized by their war experiences.[5] Boyle's personal thoughts and opinions are well detailed in her journal, while Nurse Glen is identified only in passing references in the formal records of local authority medical and welfare referrals.

Additionally, and located in between these extremes of surviving personal record, the activities of the distinct ladies' committee of the GCBRC will be discussed. The tasks delegated to the ladies' committee by the all-male executive committee echoed the domestic roles traditionally assigned female philanthropists, and encompassed inspecting Belgian homes, supervising lacemaking workrooms staffed by female Belgian refugees, and overseeing sales of their work.[6] The interventions and activities of the women associated with the patriarchy-controlled GCBRC explored in this article were crucial in the everyday care of Belgian displaced people who came to Scotland, including support for vulnerable children, yet their role was underreported and undervalued in the male-dominated contemporary record of First World War humanitarian aid.

The work undertaken by Boyle as matron of a Belgian home and Nurse Glen is absent from the regular minuted discussions of the Glasgow committee. Only the ladies' committee actions are briefly discussed in the GCBRC minutes, and in the local press in a handful of feature reports on their activities. These sparse references to the ladies' committee are completely overshadowed by the regular press coverage from newspapers around Scotland on the nationwide fundraising activities of the GCBRC.[7] When they are mentioned, the members of the ladies' committee are identified by their married title and husband's surname. This was usual for the time; however, it also underlines the fact that the ladies' committee

members' humanitarian work was viewed through the lens of their husbands' prominent roles in Glasgow Corporation magistrates' committee, rather than on their own merits.[8]

This article contributes to the field of refugee studies by arguing that the actions of the women here considered helped construct a "refugee regime", a concept identified by Gatrell as part of an "organized programme of humanitarian assistance devised by non-governmental organizations" which became more ubiquitous during the twentieth century.[9] These Scottish female charity workers collaborated with the male committee members of the GCBRC in constructing such a regime. They have been selected as case studies to explore the question of what role women humanitarians played within the organized central and local relief systems created to support Belgian displaced people and to consider how they were managed and marginalized by the all-male GCBRC.

Amara's comparative work on Belgian refugees settled in Britain, France, and the Netherlands demonstrated that there was more room for volunteer humanitarian action to assist Belgian refugees in Britain than, for example, in France. [10] France saw an increase in Belgian refugee arrivals year on year during the war, reaching a peak of 325,000 by 1918. In contrast, refugees often moved on from both the Netherlands (which in October 1914 housed up to one million

refugees, falling to around 100,00 by 1916), and Britain (250,000 in total, but around 150,000 at any one time).[11] French government intervention was manifest and included an allowance for destitute Belgian refugees. France as a fellow invaded nation supported its own displaced civilians and extended these arrangements to Belgian refugees, as Amara noted: "Remarkably, no distinction between French and Belgian citizens was made."[12] In contrast, British government assistance was indirectly provided. It funded the War Refugees Committee, the Britain-wide non-governmental organization created by volunteers to assist Belgian refugees, through payments made by the government department associated with state welfare provision, the Local Government Board. Funding was initially provided behind the scenes, but after 1915 direct payments were made. The arm's length position adopted by the British government left the ground clear for humanitarian endeavor, and as highlighted in this article, specifically Scottish voluntary efforts, to construct a refugee regime in caring for displaced Belgian people.

In his consideration of refugee relief Gatrell argued that "relief reports were at times infused with a sense of displacement as a gendered calamity, persuading humanitarians of the need to provide for female refugees and orphaned children…"[13] Gatrell's use of the term "gendered calamity" is worth unpacking since propaganda and reality were often at odds. Displaced Belgian refugees

arriving in Britain were both female and male and of all ages. For instance, of 8,219 Belgian refugees officially registered in Glasgow in the first months of the war, 4,512 were male and 3,707 were female. Their ages ranged from less than a year old to 86.[14] Yet, in the initial stages of the War "poor little Belgium" and those fleeing from that country to seek refuge were feminized. British military recruitment posters published by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee portrayed the Belgians seeking refuge as women and children in urgent need of protection. For instance, poster number 19 titled "Remember Belgium - Enlist To-day" features a (male) British infantry soldier in the foreground. He is pictured ready for action with a bayonet attached to his rifle, while behind him is a Belgian woman, fleeing uphill, with a baby enfolded in her shawl, and holding the hand of a small child. The woman is looking back over her shoulder at her burning village.[15] Such imagery supports the argument of Kinsella whose study of international humanitarian law usefully discussed the "equivalence of *women and children* with *civilian* such that all women and children are civilians and that civilians are, in part, women and children."[16]

The actions of the Scottish female care-givers discussed in this article are viewed via the feminist perspective on late nineteenth- to mid-twentieth-century humanitarian relief developed by Martin-Moruno et al., who concluded that "the work of women humanitarians was organized around a wider notion of care, the

moral dimensions of which were intimately connected to the vulnerability of affected populations…"[17] Storr has similarly indicated that since the nineteenth century "women's public activities had been concerned with the well-being of other women and care had become a gendered activity."[18]

The portrayal of the displacement of Belgian civilians as a gendered calamity was met with a gendered response. As Martin-Moruno et al. indicated, "Women established their place in the humanitarian movement based on this gendered notion of altruistic emotions, expressing themselves as 'the voice of care.'"[19] Storr used a similar term "caring power," defined as "a mode of power that operates through a commitment to the well-being of others."[20] Watson specifically considered the wartime care-giving roles played by female humanitarians assisting displaced Belgian people, as well as their constrained positions within local voluntary relief committees: "Women formed the majority, if not the leadership, of myriad groups which sprang up to help Belgian refugees in England [sic]; to find them housing, food and clothing, medical treatment and work."[21]

The GCBRC Ladies Committee and Postwar Recognition of Their Work

The exercise of "caring power" by well-to-do and well-connected female humanitarians, such as Boyle and members of the ladies' committee of the GCBRC, is well illustrated in a book published in 1917 to raise funds for the British Red Cross and Order of St John Joint War Organisation titled *Women of the War*. It was authored by Barbara McLaren, a wealthy charity and welfare worker, who was at the time married to Liberal MP Charles McLaren.[22]

McLaren described the decisive role Lady Flora Lugard, a prominent Conservative and Unionist Party activist, and London *Times* newspaper journalist, had played in establishing the non-governmental organization which assisted displaced Belgians, the War Refugees Committee (WRC). In an echo of the 1914 British military recruitment poster, McLaren identified civilian women and children as the WRCs main priorities: "Quick to grasp the significance of the German advance through Belgium, Lady Lugard in the first week of the War, turned her thoughts to the plight of the unfortunate women and children driven from their ruined homes with nothing left to them save life itself."[23] Contrary to McLaren's evaluation, Lugard's focus increasingly was on the welfare of "refugees of a different class." This included "families of high social position… suddenly snatched from circumstances of prosperity and ease and confronted with the problems of bare existence."[24] For these families and

individuals Lugard was able to secure payments and comfortable accommodation from the War Refugees Committee.

The post-war government report on the wartime reception and care of displaced Belgians described Lugard's work supporting the "better class refugees, members of the aristocracy and those who had occupied superior positions in Belgium." Lugard secured "several large furnished and unfurnished houses in the West End of London" to be used as up-market hostels "to alleviate the distress and provide for the comfort of her Belgian guests." The British government made grants to the War Refugees Committee to offset the costs of supporting the wealthy Belgians not covered by charitable donations, and this amount increased as the war progressed when donations for this specific cause declined.[25] Amara has usefully identified the ways in which social class determined the support offered displaced Belgians in Great Britain and in the Netherlands, noting that in both countries refugees of a "better class received preferential treatment." According to Amara this two-tier approach bore the hallmarks of traditional charitable relief.[26]

McLaren's account asserted that Lady Lugard was preeminent among humanitarian women supporting displaced Belgians, on account of her "promptitude, her imagination and her inspiring gifts of energy and devotion

she stands out amongst the throng of splendid volunteers in the service of Belgium."[27] The ladies' committee members of the GCBRC were also among this "throng of splendid volunteers in the service of Belgium."

The provision of Belgian refugee relief in Scotland created fresh opportunities for female humanitarians to dispense caring power to the most vulnerable in society. In November 1915, the Glasgow Corporation Belgian Refugee Committee minutes briefly recorded the formation of the ladies' committee: "Ladies Committee appointed - Mrs Irwin, Mrs Davidson, Mrs Cairns and Mrs McMillan, with power to add to their number and particularly to supervise the workrooms, etc." The women listed and identified by their husband's surnames were married to Glasgow city magistrates who were members of the GCBRC, for instance Thomas McMillan, was the organization's treasurer.[28]

The announcement of the formation of the ladies' committee in 1915 was framed in a way that reflected its specific purpose: to oversee the employment of Belgian refugee women in traditional handicraft and sewing occupations. This is further evidenced by a report in the *Glasgow Herald* in July 1916 which provided an update on the progress of two work rooms: "one in the old German church in Woodlands Road where a sale of lace and embroidered articles recently raised £200. The second in Portland St where women alter and mend

'cast off' clothing for use of the refugees – mainly children's wear."[29] The workrooms were set up to provide charitable occupation rather than remuneration for the Belgian women thus employed. Another ladies' committee sale of "lace and embroidery work made by the Belgians" in the Woodlands Road workroom was noted in the Glasgow Corporation minutes in April 1917.[30] In the affluent village of Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire, fifteen miles from Glasgow, displaced Belgian women and children living in a home located in the former Ranfurly Hotel, were similarly occupied; Reid recorded that the women made pajamas and socks for British soldiers, while the children knitted "mufflers" [long scarves]. Reid also mentioned in passing that Belgian women assisted the local Red Cross Society.[31]

In April 1920, a feature retrospective report of the GCBRC's wartime work in the *Bailie*, a weekly illustrated newspaper which covered local Glasgow business and political affairs, underlined the subsidiary role delegated to the ladies' committee and categorized its work in line with the socially accepted domestic duties of the volunteer female middle class. "This committee did much work in carrying on the Belgian work rooms, organizing the various sales of Belgian work, visiting and supervising Belgian hostels, and **assisting in many other ways** (my emphasis**)**."[32] This 1920 summary exemplifies the subordinate role of women in the hierarchy of humanitarianism. As previously indicated,

women did not fill any official positions in the GCBRC, since it was an offshoot of the existing pre-war all-male magistrates' committee of Glasgow Corporation.

Storr, while acknowledging that men "might be in the majority in Executive Committees" indicated that "many committees had men and women serving on them."[33] Watson stated that although denied leadership roles, women were in the majority of the "myriad groups which sprang up to help Belgian refugees."[34] While this was not true of the GCBRC, in other Scottish Belgian refugee committees the involvement of local female humanitarians was central to the actions of these committees. For example, women members were prominent in the Paisley Belgian Relief Committee, albeit once again serving in roles in keeping with a domestic ideology. Its secretary, lawyer William Dickie, in winding up the committee in July 1919 thanked the "workers, particularly the Ladies Committee and the people who had helped to put Barshaw [House] in order and to furnish it. The young ladies of the Red Cross, he understood, did a lot of valuable work."[35] The Perth and Perthshire Belgian Refugees Committee which cared for and supported 166 Belgian refugees had seven female committee members, including three women who acted in turn as honorary secretary during its existence. Additionally, Lady Georgina Home Drummond served as both the committee's vice convener and its honorary treasurer.[36]

Underlining the actions of wealthy and middle class women exercising caring power over vulnerable populations, the local press noted that Home Drummond (1848-1944) was well known in the Perthshire community for her work for the welfare of women and children.[37] Home Drummond's close association with the Perth and Perthshire Belgian Refugees Committee was recognized at the end of the war. In the committee's 1919 final report, its convener, Perth's Lord Provost Charles Scott, recorded: "The good work done for the Belgians by the Lady Georgina Home Drummond was suitably recognised in August 1918 when the Belgian Vice-Consul on behalf of the Queen of the Belgians presented her with the medal of Queen Elisabeth."[38]

In fact, within days of the arrival of Belgian refugees in Scotland in October 1914, Home Drummond had a letter published in the *Scotsman* newspaper requesting donations of "house furnishings of every sort" so that "we can at once receive more of the refugees who are being driven out of Belgium by starvation and total desolation of their country."[39] Aristocratic Home Drummond was the daughter of the 5th Marquess of Hertford who served as Lord Chamberlain 1874-1879 (that is, the senior officer for the Royal Household) under Conservative Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. Georgina moved to Scotland on her marriage in 1877 to a local landowner, Lieutenant

Colonel Henry Edward Stirling Home Drummond of the Scots Guards, who was briefly Conservative MP for Perthshire 1878-1880. Home Drummond was also politically active. She was a campaigner against women's suffrage before the war and President of Perth Women Unionists after it.[40] Fellow Conservative, Lady Flora Lugard, War Refugees Committee co-founder, was another notable anti-suffrage campaigner.[41] However, supporters of women's suffrage were also prominent in providing humanitarian aid for refugees, displaying organizational skills on the home front in the hopes of achieving enfranchisement after the war. Storr suggested that "many women engaged in refugee care were suffragists."[42] This can be illustrated via the example of the Glasgow Committee of the Women's Liberal Suffrage Union, which decided at the outbreak of the war "to cease all political effort and focus on relief work." In December 1914 it organized a dolls' fair in the city's McLellan Galleries, with the proceeds of the sale going to aid Belgian refugee children.[43]

The April 1920 *Bailie* retrospective report on Glasgow corporation's arrangements in support of Belgian refugees recorded the award of a royal honor, the MBE—membership of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire—to four members of the ladies' committee of the GCBRC.[44] The report also noted that the women had previously been awarded the Belgian medal of Queen Elisabeth.[45] The recognition for some members of the ladies' committee

of the GCBRC reflects Watson's assessment that: "The work these women did met with almost universal approval, because it resembled pre-war social work..."[46] The *Bailie* report covered a full page in its regular feature column "Men You Know" without any apparent recognition of the irony of this title. The article opened with a substantial survey of the achievements of the GCBRC, taking up more than half of the page, noting the role played by prominent magistrates, and the amount of money raised "a total of about half a million [pounds]" before belatedly adding, "In connection with the work a committee of ladies was also appointed." The *Bailie* article incorporated a black and white portrait sketch titled "Glasgow Lady MBEs". The women were captioned under their husband's names as: "Mrs Thomas Irwin, Mrs James Stewart, Mrs Thomas McMillan, Mrs Alexander Walker."[47] Irwin and McMillan were original members of the ladies' committee. Stewart and Walker had a long association with Belgian refugee relief and had been present when child refugees were given toys at Christmas in 1914.[48] The report's focus was on the magistrate husbands, hence, only a passing mention was given to more than one visit to war-torn Belgium by the four "very active" ladies' committee members. The report also firmly identified the women's care-giving activities as subordinate and an extension of their domestic duties:

> Mrs Walker is the wife of Mr Alex. Walker, City Assessor, who acted as honorary secretary and treasurer of the committee, and the Bailie has his authority for saying that without the assistance of his wife, it would be impossible for him to have carried out the work. During the time the Belgians were in Glasgow, her home was always open to them.[49]

On the Record: Charting the Humanitarian Work of Boyle and Glen

While the everyday relief work undertaken by the ladies' committee members was portrayed as an extension of their domestic role in GCRBRC minutes and in the press, Mary Boyle's personal account provides a detailed recollection of the lived experience of female humanitarians. For example, Boyle accompanied members of the Glasgow Committee on a formal trip to London to bring additional refugee families back to the city. Here she encountered members of the WRC.

> I was introduced to the Central Committee in London [the War Refugees Committee]. In our city the heads of departments were all businessmen, here they were all ladies… The ladies in charge sat at their various desks, I just frankly own what struck me most was the

> amount of valuable jewellery they wore. One finds in dealing with Belgians, that to be rather well dressed is a help to anyone in authority, and perhaps the pearls and diamonds were put on with the same idea. From the point of view of taste (my ideas of what is fitting may be prehistoric) it seemed to me distinctly out of place. However, there they sat, fine ladies at five desks in one room, and endless little wooden partitions screening more ladies, more desks, and not quite so much jewellery.[50]

The scene that Boyle described is quite different in tone from the *Bailie* report and underscores a class differentiation and power dynamic in female refugee relief work absent from contemporary newspaper coverage. Boyle's portrayal, including reference to the use of attire to further distinguish between the relief worker and the recipient of relief, exemplifies the "soft power" exercised by independently wealthy female humanitarians. Martin-Moruno et al described the exercise of this power as an "opportunity for upper-class Western women to gain recognition in the public sphere" as well as to "exert control over populations such as prostitutes and the poor."[51]

Boyle's personal account, including her unguarded remarks on the excessive jewelry adorning female WRC volunteers in London, reveals her attitudes both

to displaced Belgians and to the refugee regime developed by the GCBRC to support them. Mary E. Boyle (1881–1974), known to her family and friends as May, was raised in a comfortable upper-middle-class Victorian environment. Boyle was born at Pittacher in Perthshire, central Scotland. Her 1891 census entry shows Boyle alongside two brothers and two sisters living in the port town of Greenock, Renfrewshire, attended by a governess and four domestic servants.[52] Her father, Robert Hornby Boyle, was a rear admiral in the British Royal Navy. Her mother Agnes died in 1885. When her father remarried, Boyle gained a stepbrother, David, who was eight years her junior. Boyle's father died in 1892, and her stepmother died in 1899. The adult Boyle lived a leisured lifestyle, staying with friends or extended family, or in rented holiday homes and traveling in continental Europe.[53]

Boyle published books of poetry in the 1910s and 1920s. The best known was her 1916 series of sonnets *Aftermath*, prompted by the death of her stepbrother David at the Western Front three weeks into the war on August 26, 1914. In the 1920s and 1930s Boyle wrote three books on prehistory following her studies and collaborations, first with Cambridge archaeologist Miles Burkitt, and later with Abbé Henri Breuil, a renowned French prehistorian. Boyle also traveled to the United States of America on public speaking engagements based on her observations of prehistoric cave paintings in France and Spain.[54] Boyle, who

was thirty-three at the time of the outbreak of the First World War, and her variety of life experiences, place her within the majority (Oldfield says two-thirds) of female humanitarians ca. 1900–1950 were from the prosperous, professional, and educated middle class.[55] Boyle also fits with Storr's assessment of wartime female humanitarians: "most were mature, middle-class, and childless; many were single; this made relief possible."[56]

Boyle's detailed personal journal was written in the form of extended correspondence with an anonymized American friend. Begun sometime in mid-1915, it was abruptly curtailed sometime in 1917, due to "a wave of family affairs which has swept us away from our Belgian household."[57] Following a request to Belgian refugee committees around Britain by Agnes E. Conway, one of the home front collection curators at the nascent Imperial War Museum, London, to deposit records they wanted preserved for posterity, Boyle wrote directly to Conway in early 1918. She stated that although the GCBRC had invited her to write an official account of the committee, "I fancy the unofficial one is more my line." Boyle added that she was seeking a publisher for her journal and would donate a copy of the book to the museum collection.[58] However, a year later Boyle deposited the unpublished account of her time as a Belgian home matron with the museum collection, stating: "I have not tried to publish the letters being doubtful if they are of any general interest."[59]

Boyle's journal is an ego document in which she reflects on her day-to-day duties as a matron at a Glasgow home for Belgian refugees. Bessel and Wierling have identified ego documents as "written or oral texts which, voluntarily or involuntarily" reveal "personal perceptions, reasoning, emotions, and ascriptions of meaning to what befell their authors in the course of the war." [60] Hébrard has noted that personal testimony becomes interesting to the historian "in proportion as they relate events … that the witnesses themselves often know to be part of history." [61] Boyle was aware of the historical significance of the events in which she played a role, and her journal relayed eyewitness testimony by Belgian residents of the home recounting the events leading up to their displacement from their homeland. However, she provided no dates or place names for the instances described in her account, which adds some challenges to its use.

The outbreak of the First World War saw Boyle residing with her aunt Henrietta Pelly (1865–1943) in the latter's Perthshire residence, "which was too big for our party…Finding we could use these vacant rooms we went to the Committee for Belgian Refugees and asked if there was a family we could house." [62] The local Perth and Perthshire Belgian Refugees Committee accepted Pelly and Boyle's offer. Soon, "a Belgian family lived on the ground floor. They came

from Louvain, an old cabinet-maker, his two sons, a daughter-in-law and a little grandchild."[63] From this single, by no means unusual humanitarian act of opening their doors to a family of Belgian refugees in the winter of 1914, Boyle and Pelly expanded their endeavors. "Henrietta has come back having found us both work. We are to be Belgian matrons! We don't know the work, we don't know the city, we don't know the members of the Corporation for whom we work, but we are to be Belgian matrons… Tomorrow we start for the city…"[64]

The city to which Boyle referred was Glasgow. Providing sufficient suitable housing in Glasgow was a priority for the GCBRC. The accommodation costs were financed by subscriptions and one-off donations gathered from people throughout Scotland, including those living in areas of the country where Belgian refugees could not settle due to military restrictions. Group accommodation was found in church buildings, hotels, and hostels. By 1916 the GCBRC had also secured hundreds of houses in Glasgow for Belgian refugee families to live in: "There are over 500 Belgian homes which are being maintained largely by people resident in parts of Scotland that are debarred from housing refugees. These homes vary in size from town and country mansions to humble room-and-kitchen houses…"[65] Small houses were provided for families to live by themselves, while large mansion houses were administered directly by the GCBRC with paid staff, including cooks and

domestic servants, overseen by a matron. Boyle's work as matron was intense and demanding, as she recorded: "The primitive wants of 40 people are continually in one's mind, they must be fed, clothed, soothed, reasoned with, occupied, listened to, advised."[66] Boyle's viewpoint reflects Gatrell's analysis that "British charity workers and sympathetic newspaper columnists were wont (at least initially) to describe Belgian refugees as frightened, needy and depressed."[67]

Boyle did not give the address of the home where she worked, however, reference to the cash books of GCBRC, for example, for deliveries of coal and furnishings, show that the Belgian home that Boyle and Pelly ran as matrons, and which accommodated around forty displaced Belgians, was situated in the prosperous west end of the city at 6 Park Gardens.[68] The four-floored mansion, built in 1855, was later the location of the offices of the Scottish Football Association from 1954–2001, and is now a Category A listed building, given this status to ensure its preservation.[69] The Home run by Pelly and Boyle was the Dundee Belgian Home, named after the Scottish northeast coast city whose residents gave regular donations to financially support its running costs.

> With the money raised and still to be raised in the city on behalf of Belgian refugees, the Dundee Belgian Home has been established in

> Glasgow... Mrs Pelly of Garscadden House, Drumchapel, and her niece, Miss Boyle, have very kindly undertaken to go and live in the house and take charge of it.[70]

Belgian homes, also known as hostels, were also set up in other unrestricted areas in west central Scotland. In Bridge of Weir, "Miss Romanes of Edinburgh" was engaged as matron for a Belgian refugee hostel set up in the Ranfurly Hotel which its owners had temporarily loaned for the purpose. The hostel was furnished through local donations and was opened on March 1, 1915; by May that year it had over sixty Belgian residents.[71] The hostel was repurposed as an auxiliary hospital for wounded British soldiers in February 1918 and the Belgian residents were moved to a house in Glasgow which the Bridge of Weir Belgian Refugee Committee continued to support.[72]

The desire for service in a worthy cause in the First World War shown by Boyle, Pelly and Romanes fitted an established pattern of female middle-class humanitarianism. According to Watson, "The outbreak of war did not introduce new ideas of service for middle and upper class women; it merely shifted their focus, whereas before the war, women visited poor families, worked in girls' clubs, and worried about the health of infants, after August 1914 they collected

supplies for hospitals and helped Belgian refugees and needy soldiers and their families."[73]

Boyle's journal provides a first-hand account of the practical exercise of soft power, for example, in the selection process of displaced Belgians for their homes by GCBRC-employed matrons:

> I wish you could be here on Thursday morning, the time that refugees arrive in this city. Some come from London, others straight from Holland. They are all taken to the Christian Institute and given a solid breakfast. Any matron whose house is not full goes to this breakfast to choose **suitable guests** (my emphasis) for her home … one scans faces. Is there anyone likely to be comparatively amiable, clean, with a desire to do more than idle away the days, and above all who can get on with their companions in misfortune? These do not seem high qualifications, but after a few weeks you know how seldom they are realized.[74]

Boyle continued, "There is also the point of view of the refugee, and you see many anxious glances cast at the group in the middle of the room, and the matrons' faces are scanned as eagerly as we scan those of our prospective guests."[75] The selection process that Boyle outlines supports Gatrell's

contention that among humanitarian organizations there was: “an energetic attempt to distinguish and to classify refugees as a pre-condition of providing assistance.”[76]

Boyle’s account also describes the regimented lifestyle and close monitoring of the displaced people accommodated in the Belgian homes, providing evidence of a functioning refugee regime at ground level. “By the time they arrive the beds are made, extra provisions served out to cook, their table in the dining room prepared. It only remains to enter their names in the day book, inspect their passports and identification papers, and introduce them to the household… On the walls hangs a copy of the rules of the house, punctuality at meals, cleanliness in bathrooms, entrance before 10 p.m., and no smoking in the bedrooms, one of the points insisted on… All the refugees clean their own rooms, and I must say take a pride in it… The days for the middle aged women particularly, would be long without this little interest.”[77] Further evidence that this care giving via supported living was part of a wider regime is provided by the fact that residents of the Belgian homes are referred to as “inmates” in the GCBRC minutes.[78]

Once the first refugees were settled in the home run by Boyle and Pelly in October 1915, it was inspected by “The Secretary, his wife and a Belgian guest.”[79] The homes were thereafter regularly checked, initially by “the Committee,” but by the

end of 1915 this task was assigned to members of the GCBRC ladies' committee.[80] Boyle's journal makes no reference to her working relationship with the ladies' committee members or other matrons. Additionally, although integral to the process of providing supported living for Belgian refugees, the work of Boyle and other matrons of the Belgian homes, such as Romanes in Bridge of Weir, were seldom recorded in the records of the GCBRC. There are only a few brief general references to "matrons" as a body within the GCBRC minutes, while the cash books list payments to individuals, whom research for this article identified as matrons.[81]

Similarly, Nurse Glen's role in the GCBRC is omitted from the committee's records. Nor is she mentioned in Boyle's journal, which does refer to visits by Boyle to the GCBRC central offices, where Glen was based. Instead, Glen's work is traceable through the narrative of applications for hospital admission by sixty-six Belgian refugees contained in the Glasgow local authority records of Poor Law applications.[82] Glen's nursing role incorporated supporting Belgian refugees and directing them into the wider public health care system. Nurse Glen also personally accompanied displaced Belgians who were seeking admission to local authority hospitals. Nurse Glen's activities exemplify the gendering of the refugee regime in practical terms and illustrate Martin-Moruno et al.'s notion of "women operating in a discrete sphere of action, separate from

that of men."[83] Although no other source of information on Nurse Glen has been identified, the Poor Law admission records show that she played a key part in ensuring Belgian refugees living in Glasgow received in-patient medical care. For example, in February 1916, Nurse Glen attended the Poor Law office with Marie Christine Lens and requested her admission to hospital. Lens, aged 36, with two children, Albert, 7 and Joseph, 8, was from Brussels. She was described in her admission record as a "housewife" (a description indicating that Lens did not need to work for a living). Lens was diagnosed as suffering from "neurasthenia." This term was often used in cases of middle-class sufferers of poor mental health instead of the more common "insanity." Lens was treated in the mental observation ward of Govan poorhouse hospital for four weeks from February 28, 1916.[84] Underlining the couple's middle-class status, Lens's husband, August Hanssens, an engineer earning over 67 shillings (£3.38) per week, paid the cost of his wife's medical care.[85] Hanssens also made a regular weekly payment to the GCBRC out of his earnings to contribute to his family's living costs.[86] Who cared for Albert and Joseph while their mother was hospitalized in not recorded.

Glen supported Belgian refugees suffering from a range of general cases of illness. For instance, in May 1915, Nurse Glen applied for admission to hospital for Leonard Slabbaert, a 44-year-old weaver from Ghent, a widower with no

children, who had arrived in Glasgow six days earlier from the Earl's Court camp in London. Diagnosed with influenza, he was removed from the Poor Law office by stretcher to the hospital. He was released "cured" a week later.[87] Sometimes in the Poor Law records too, Nurse Glen was a peripheral, unnamed figure, as in this instance: "Application made from nurse Belgian Committee for this lad's removal to hospital very ill suffering from pleurisy." The "lad" was Petrus Van Veere, an 18-year-old general laborer, from Terhagen near Antwerp who was admitted to hospital in October 1915. Van Veere had been living in Glasgow for a year with his father, mother, and three other family members.[88]

Despite playing a key role in bringing Belgian refugees for treatment and hospital care, Nurse Glen was on the margins of the records detailing the refugee regime that was developed in Glasgow. The same records refer to an unnamed Belgian home matron who applied in March 1917 for the removal from the Broomhill Belgian Home of Louisa Van der Borght, a 29-year-old domestic servant born in Aarschot. Van der Borght, whose husband was serving in the Belgian army, was diagnosed with "nervous debility." After an initial stay in Govan Poorhouse hospital for observation she was detained in Hawkhead asylum.[89] Her 5-year-old daughter Josephine, who was "not very strong," was taken into care a few weeks later, on the recommendation of Mr. Baillie of the GCBRC. Initially Josephine was admitted to Govan Poorhouse alongside her

mother but was removed to Belvidere Infectious Diseases Hospital a few days later.[90] The cost of care for Van der Borght and Josephine was claimed from the Glasgow Belgian Consul. No final outcomes for mother and daughter were recorded in the Poor Law records.

The Care of Displaced Belgian Children

The care of Belgian child refugees such as Josephine was often implicit in the actions of women humanitarians explored in this article. Supporting child refugees, separated from parents by circumstance including illness and death, reveals a level of personal intervention by female humanitarians in aid of the most vulnerable. The care of abandoned and sick children went beyond the usual charitable action of fundraising efforts and involvement in finding temporary homes for displaced Belgian families.

Nurse Glen participated in the care and support of a family of young Belgian children who came before the Glasgow Poor Law authorities three times in 1915, 1916, and 1917. The Laureys family fled Antwerp during the German siege of the city and arrived in Britain on October 6, 1914.[91] The family consisted of mother, Marie Kestiment, 28; father, Alphonsus Laureys, 34, a

dock worker; and four children; two girls, Jeanne, aged 8, Louisa, 2, and their brothers, Josef, 7 and Frans, 4.[92] The Laureys family were initially transferred to Glasgow on October 18 and, after two days in temporary accommodation in a local hotel, were moved to the small Irish town of Dromore, County Tyrone, where they lodged with a local woman, Mrs McCusker. The mother, Marie, died in Ireland on June 30, 1915. Alphonse Laureys and his two young daughters returned to Glasgow in August that year; the boys did not return to Glasgow until months later. Even then the family remained separated, split across three residences. Alphonse obtained a job as a laborer in the Harland and Wolff shipyard on the south side of the city, but stayed in a hotel in the city center, while his daughters were housed separately a mile away in a Belgian home. On their return to Glasgow, his sons were accommodated at another Belgian home, Crosspark House, a further five miles distant.

The family was supported by the Glasgow Corporation Belgian Refugee Committee throughout their time in Scotland. On October 22, 1915, Nurse Glen took Jeanne to the Poor Law authority to request hospital treatment: “Nurse Glen (from Belgian Committee) applies for Jeanne’s admission to hospital.” Jeanne was described as having “swollen glands, etc.” Jeanne remained in the poor house hospital for more than six weeks, until December 6, 1915.[93] The next time the family was in contact with the local authorities it was the Glasgow

sanitary authority which applied for the admission of the two boys, Joseph, and Frans, as they both had ringworm, a contagious skin disease caused by sharing contaminated clothing. The boys stayed in the poorhouse, initially in its hospital, from February to August 1916. While the boys were in the poorhouse, the Laureys girls were moved to yet another home in Queens Park, Glasgow.[94] In their various hospital and poorhouse admissions the children were described as "deserted" dependent orphans since their one living parent, their father Alphonsus, had left and was not supporting them. He had joined the merchant navy in March 1916 and by 1917 was based in Canada. However, while the Laureys boys were in the poorhouse infirmary their support costs were reclaimed from their father.[95]

In 1917 a member of the central committee of the GCBRC, local magistrate, Mr. McInnes, applied for Frans, now aged 8, and having spent close to half his life in Britain, to be moved to a children's home. Nurse Glen was not mentioned in this instance, perhaps because this was a behavioral rather than medical issue. Frans was reported as stealing money daily from a fellow Belgian named Madame Menarsis, who had been keeping the two boys at yet another Glasgow address, this time at 465 St Vincent Street — the same street as the head office of the GCBRC.[96] Frans was sent to the Stevenson Home, a Roman Catholic residential home for disadvantaged children on the Isle of Bute, Argyllshire for

ten weeks from July to September 1917.[97] The GCBRC paid the home's costs.[98] It is unclear from these later records what long-term role Nurse Glen played as the Laureys children experienced bereavement, abandonment, illnesses, constantly shifting residences, and a pattern of poor behavior in the years following their forced departure from Belgium.

Humanitarian care for displaced Belgian children in Scotland included providing toys. Boyle's journal notes: "A telegram came at Christmas announcing the arrival at the station of a box of toys for the children, from the children of the city which supports the Home. They were sent for immediately and after dinner were unpacked and distributed amongst great excitement."[99] Toys for Belgian refugee children also came from further afield. Tait's pictorial history *Glasgow in the Great War* includes a captioned unidentified newspaper photograph of two women, described as wives of members of the GCBRC committee, at a handover of toys: "Belgian refugee children were presented with Christmas gifts in 1914 in Glasgow during December. The gifts were generously donated by the children of the United States of America. The presentation was organized through the Corporation of Glasgow Belgian Refugee Committee. The children are pictured with Mrs Alexander Walker and Mrs James Stewart."[100] As previously mentioned, Stewart and Walker were later members of the ladies' committee of the GCBRC.

The oversight of toy distribution to Belgian refugee children was in keeping with the roles adopted by or assigned to middle- and upper-class women during the war. Women's designated caring role fitted well with the development of charitable intervention on behalf of refugees. According to Gatrell, "the humanitarianism they embody was an essential component in fashioning the modern refugee as a passive and 'traumatized' object of intervention as compared to the active, purposeful … relief worker."[101] Boyle's description of Belgians in the home in which she was matron made clear her own views on their dependency and her position as their protector: "Once you have some Belgians in your house you feel like a hen with chickens anxious to defend them from any bird of prey, even of their own nation."[102]

Although pressing family concerns forced her premature departure from her role as matron at the Belgian home in 1917, Boyle remained committed to voluntary humanitarian endeavor. During the Second World War Boyle returned to Scotland to work as a secretary to her aunt Henrietta Pelly who was then raising a local Home Guard and collecting clothes for refugee children.[103] As in the First World War, Boyle assumed more than one wartime role. Her language skills were again deployed during the Second World War when, after passing a

language test in Edinburgh in July 1940, Boyle became a translator for British Imperial Censorship of Posts and Telegraph.[104] Boyle worked initially in the Liverpool head office before a transfer to Bermuda, the central location for all Imperial Censorship monitoring of transatlantic communications. Female staff were known locally as "censorettes." Although Boyle's specific role is unknown, significantly there was a section dedicated to monitoring the communications of Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations.[105] Boyle remained with Imperial Censorship until 1942, after which she returned to her paleontology work with the Abbé Breuil in France and South Africa.[106]

Conclusion

This article has shown that middle-class women volunteers in Glasgow were not constrained by the subsidiary role expected of and assigned to them in providing humanitarian relief in the First World War. However, contemporary sources which recorded their actions placed them below their male counterparts in the humanitarian hierarchy. While four ladies' committee members received both Belgian and British official royal recognition via the postwar award of medals, the work they did to support displaced Belgians seldom appears in Glasgow Corporation Belgian Refugee Committee records or local press coverage, beyond a few sparse references to the assistance they provided their husbands in the main

committee by opening their homes to refugees, supervising Belgian women in handicraft workrooms, and raising funds through sales of their work.

The care-giving undertaken by Boyle from the affluent middle class and by medical professional Nurse Glen is absent from the formal records of the GCBRC. Their actions emerge from two distinct record forms: via Boyle's own thoughts incorporated in her journal; meanwhile the medical and welfare support provided by Nurse Glen was gleaned from the pages of Glasgow Poor Law applications. These distinct record forms exemplify the leisured middle-class status of Boyle and the professional background of Nurse Glen. Although their roles and activities diverged, the recorded everyday care-giving provided by Boyle and Glen was in keeping with areas of activity traditionally considered acceptable for middle-class humanitarians.

Advancing beyond a local case study of class and gender constraints on women humanitarians, this article contributes to the field of refugee studies by discussing the way the routinized actions the women undertook in supporting, monitoring, and linking displaced Belgians to hospital care contributed to the development of a "refugee regime," a concept first identified by Gatrell. Finally, this article has challenged the symbolic portrayal of martyred Belgians for wartime propaganda purposes by exploring the everyday care given to individual refugees, including

vulnerable child refugees, through the work undertaken by members of the GCBRC ladies' committee, by Nurse Glen, and by Mary Boyle.

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[1]. For detailed discussion on the stay of Belgian refugees in Scotland see Jacqueline Jenkinson "Administering Relief – Glasgow Corporation's support for Scotland's c. 20,000 Belgian Refugees," in *Belgian Refugees in First World War Britain*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkinson (London: Routledge, 2017), 171-91, and Jenkinson, "Refugees Welcome Here: Caring for Belgian Refugees in the First World War," *History Scotland* 18, no. 3, (2018): 35-42.

[2]. Jenkinson, "Administering Relief," 174-79.

[3]. *The Bailie*, "Men you Know," April 14, 1920, 3.

[4]. Matron is a term used in the United Kingdom to describe "a woman who is in charge of the domestic or medical arrangements in an institution." *Collins Dictionary (online)*, accessed March 24, 2024, https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/matron

[5]. Under the Victorian Poor Law, the destitute poor (paupers) were housed in workhouses (poorhouses in Scotland) and were given basic meals and clothing. Children residing in the workhouse received some schooling. Medical care was provided within the institution. In return for this support, workhouse paupers would have to work for several hours each day. For more information on the Poor Law in Britain see Jeremy Seabrook, *Pauperland: Poverty and the Poor in Britain* (London: Hurst & Company, 2013), 90-103.

[6]. These duties were a continuation of the philanthropic roles considered acceptable for women in the Victorian era, as outlined in 1863 by feminist campaigner and author Frances Power Cobbe: "Whatever else may be doubtful respecting women's "general worth and particular missionariness" it is pretty well conceded that she is in her right place teaching the young, reclaiming the sinful, relieving the poor, and nursing the sick." Frances Power Cobbe, *Essays on the Pursuits of Women* (London: Emily Faithfull, 1863), 102.

[7]. See for example "Belgian Refugees - What Glasgow has done," *Glasgow Herald*, October 23, 1914, 8; "District War News," *Aberdeen Journal*, September 27, 1915, 9; and "Appeal on behalf of Belgian Refugees," *Dundee Courier*, December 16, 1915, 4.

[8]. The ladies' committee's role in inspecting the city's Belgian homes is briefly mentioned in the Glasgow Corporation Belgian Refugee Committee (GCBRC) minutes recorded within the Glasgow Corporation minute book, November 1915-April 1916, January 4, 1916, Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell library, Glasgow, hereafter GCA, C1/3/4.

[9]. Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 8. See also Gatrell, "Introduction," in *Europe on the Move: Refugees in the Era of the Great War,* ed. Peter Gatrell and Liubov Zhanko (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 3.

[10]. Michaël Amara, "Belgian refugees during the First World War (France, Britain, Netherlands)," in *Europe on the Move*, 197-214; and "Refugees – Belgium," 1914-1918 Online, International Encyclopaedia of the First World War, accessed March 31, 2024 Belgian%20refugees%20-%20my%20conference%20papers/Amara%201914-1918-Online-refugees_belgium-2015-10-26.pdf.

[11]. Amara, "Refugees – Belgium."

[12]. Amara, "Belgian Refugees during the First World War," 201.

[13]. Gatrell, *Making of the Modern Refugee*, 8-9.

[14]. All figures obtained from the Glasgow Register of Belgian Refugees, 1914/5, GCA, D-CA12/2-4.

[15]. "Remember Belgium – Enlist To-day," British Army recruiting poster no. 19, 1914 Online Collection, National Army Museum, accessed March 15, 2024, https://collection.nam.ac.uk/images/960/42000-42999/42790.jpg

[16]. Helen M. Kinsella, *The Image before the Weapon: A Critical History of the Distinction Between Combatant and Civilian* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 8.

[17]. Dolores Martin-Moruno, Brenda Lynn Edgar, and Marie Leyder, "Feminist Perspectives on the History of Humanitarian Relief (1890-1945)," *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* 36, no. 1 (2020): 2-18, 5.

[18]. Katherine Storr, *Excluded from the Record: Women, Refugees and Relief 1914-1929* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), 7.

[19]. Martin-Moruno, Edgar, and Leyder, "Feminist Perspectives," 6.

[20]. Storr, *Excluded from the Record*, 7.

[21]. Janet S.K. Watson, "Khaki Girls, VADs, and Tommy's Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain," *International History Review* 19, no. 1 (1997): 32-51, 36.

[22] . Barbara McLaren, *Women of the War* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917), preface.

[23]. McLaren, *Women of the War*, 141.

[24]. McLaren, *Women of the War*, 141.

[25]. *Report on the Work Undertaken by the British Government in the Reception and Care of the Belgian Refugees* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), 27.

[26]. Amara, "Belgian Refugees during the First World War," 202.

[27]. McLaren, *Women of the War*, 141.

[28]. GCBRC minutes, November 16, 1915, Glasgow Corporation minute book, April 1915-November 1915, GCA, C1/3/53.

[29]. "Belgian Refugees – What Scotland has done – Glasgow Committee's work," *Glasgow Herald*, July 29, 1916, 9.

[30]. GCBRC minutes, April 4, 1917, Glasgow Corporation minute book, November 1916-April 1917, GCA, C1/3/56.

[31]. Walter Reid, *Supreme Sacrifice: A Small Village and the Great War - Bridge of Weir* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2016), 47.

[32]. "Men you Know," 3.

[33]. Storr, *Excluded from the Record*, 80.

[34]. Watson, "Khaki Girls," 36.

[35]. *Paisley Daily Express*, "Paisley Belgian Relief Committee ends its work," July 3, 1919, 5.

[36]. Charles Scott, Convener, "Report of the Work undertaken by Perth and Perthshire Belgian Refugees Committee," 1919, 1, Imperial War Museum Archive Collection, London, hereafter IWMAC, BEL 6 189/3.

[37]. *Dundee Courier*, "Notable Perth Lady Dies," July 24, 1944, 2.

[38]. "Report of the Work undertaken by Perth and Perthshire Belgian Refugees Committee," 5. The Queen Elisabeth medal was instituted in 1916 by Belgian royal decree and was awarded to those who had given exceptional service for a year or more to relieve the suffering of Belgians during the war. "Identify Medals," accessed March 31, 2024, https://www.identifymedals.com/database/medals-by-country/belgium/the-queen-elisabeth-medal/.

[39]. *Scotsman*, "Belgian Refugees: Perth and Perthshire," October 31, 1914, 6.

[40]. *Scotsman*, "Anti Suffrage Meeting at Perth," October 18, 1913, 11 and *Scotsman*, "Perth Women Unionists – Duchess of Atholl entertained," February 8, 1924, 8.

[41]. Storr, *Excluded from the Record*, 43.

[42]. Storr, *Excluded from the Record*, 5.

[43]. *Glasgow Herald* "Dolls' Fair in Glasgow – Aid for Belgian Children," December 5, 1914, 4. For more on Scottish women's suffrage campaigns see Leah Leneman, *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991).

[44]. The MBE was one of a series of British awards instituted in 1917 to recognise outstanding individual public service. "The Gazette – Awards and Accreditation," accessed April 29, 2024, https://www.thegazette.co.uk/awards-and-accreditation/content/100982.

[45]. "Victorian Periodicals," accessed March 24, 2024, https://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series3/single_sample.asp?id=123704

[46]. Watson, "Khaki Girls," 37.

[47]. "Men You Know," 3.

[48]. Derek Tait, *Glasgow in the Great War* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword: 2016), https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=JV8qDQAAQBAJ&pg=GBS.PP1&hl=en_US

[49]. "Men You Know," 3.

[50]. Mary E. Boyle personal journal, "The Actual Account," 58, Glasgow Belgian Refugee Committee, n.d., MS, Women, War and Society, 1914-1918: The Women at Work Collection, IWMAC, BEL 6 100/5.

[51]. Martin-Moruno, Edgar, and Leyder, "Feminist Perspectives," 4, 6.

[52]. "1891 Scotland Census," entry for Mary Boyle, living at "Dungallon", 30 Newark Street, Greenock, Renfrewshire, Scotland, accessed March 31, 2024,

https://www.ancestry.co.uk/search/collections/1108/?name=mary_Boyle&birth=_pittacher&father=robert+hornby_boyle&gender=f.

[53]. Alan Saville, "From Poetry to Prehistory: Mary Boyle and the Abbé Breuil," in *In Between History and Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Jacek Lech*, ed. Dagmara H. Werra and Marzena Woźny (Oxford: Archaeopress, Archaeology, 2018), 381-2.

[54]. Saville, "Poetry to Prehistory," 391.

[55]. Sybil Oldfield, *Women Humanitarians: A Biographical Dictionary of British Women Active between 1900 and 1950* (London: Continuum, 2001), xiv.

[56]. Storr, *Excluded from the Record*, 27.

[57]. Boyle, "Account," 84.

[58]. Boyle to Agnes E. Conway, correspondence "Re: request for information, Glasgow Belgian Refugee Committee," January 15, 1918, IWMAC, BEL 6 100/2.

[59]. Boyle to Conway, January 25, 1919, IWMAC, BEL 6 100/3.

[60]. Richard Bessel and Dorothee Wierling, "Introduction," in *Inside World War One? The First World War and its Witnesses,* ed. Richard Bessel and Dorothee Wierling (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 9.

[61]. Jean Hébrard, "The Writings of Moïse (1895-1985): Birth, Life and Death of a Narrative of the Great War," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 2 (2002): 263-292, 263.

[62]. Boyle, "Account."5.

[63]. Boyle, "Account," 5.

[64]. Boyle, "Account," 5.

[65]. *Glasgow Herald*, "Belgian Refugees – What Scotland has done – Glasgow Committee's work," July 29, 1916, 9.

[66]. Boyle, “Account,” 70.

[67]. Gatrell, *Making of the Modern Refugee*, 35.

[68]. Glasgow Corporation Belgian Refugee Committee (GCBRC), cash book, disbursements, November 13, 1915, “Boyle, 6 Park Gardens, £20 6s 4d,” GCA, D-CC4/7/1, and December 14, 1915, “Miss Mary Boyle, 6 Park Gardens, £10,” GCA D-CC4/7/2.

[69]. “British Listed Buildings,” accessed April 6, 2024, https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/200373941-6-park-gardens-glasgow-glasgow#.YxtiQHbMI2w

[70]. *Dundee Courier*, “Dundee Home for Belgian Refugees,” October 6, 1915, 6.

[71]. Reid, *Supreme Sacrifice*, 45.

[72]. Reid, *Supreme Sacrifice*, 49.

[73]. Watson, “Khaki Girls,” 36.

[74]. Boyle, “Account,” 16.

[75]. Boyle, “Account,” 17.

[76]. Gatrell, *Making of the Modern Refugee*, 49.

[77]. Boyle, “Account,” 17-18.

[78]. GCBRC minutes, February 19, 1918, noted a discussion on “allowances for the inmates” of hostels. Glasgow Corporation minutes, November 1917-April 1918, GCA, C1/3/58.

[79]. Boyle, “Account,” 19.

[80]. GCBRC minutes, January 4, 1916, Glasgow Corporation minutes, November 1915-April 1916, GCA, C1/3/4.

[81]. “It was remitted to Bailie Davidson to meet with the matrons of the several homes regarding allowances for the inmates.” GCBRC minutes, February 19, 1918, GCA, C1/3/58.

[82]. For discussion of Poor Law cases involving Belgian refugees see: Jacqueline Jenkinson and Caroline Verdier, "War Trauma among Belgian Refugee Women in Scotland in the First World War," *Women's History Review* 28, no. 7 (2019): 1057-1077.

[83]. Martin-Moruno, Edgar, and Leyder, "Feminist Perspectives," 6.

[84]. Govan, dominated by its world-leading shipyards, had been an independent burgh until its amalgamation into Glasgow under the passage of the Glasgow Boundaries Act of 1912. "How Glasgow Annexed Govan and Partick, 100 years Ago," accessed March 31, 2024, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-19168940.

[85]. Glasgow Poor Law records, February 28, 1916, Application Number 186677, Marie Christine Lens, GCA, D-HEW 17/784. Hanssens' 1916 earnings of 67 shillings per week were at the top end of the British wartime average wage. In 1914, the average wage ranged from 24 shillings to 68 shillings. By 1919 average wages had risen to between 54 shillings and 83 shillings. House of Commons debates, August 11, 1919, "Wages (1914 and 1919)," written answer by Sir Robert Horne, Minister of Labour, volume 118 cc. 2436-7, "Hansard 1803-2005," accessed April 6, 2024, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/written-answers/1919/aug/01/wages-1914-and-1919.

[86]. For example, see, GCBRC cash book, donors, December 28, 1915, "Aug. Hanssens, 72 Hospital Street, 6s 6d," GCA, D-CC4/7/2.

[87] . Glasgow Poor Law records, May 12, 1915, application number 51698, Leonard Slabbaert, GCA, D-HEW 16/13/345.

[88]. Glasgow Poor Law records, October 26, 1915, application number 53016, Petrus Van Veere, GCA, D-HEW 16/13/354.

[89]. Govan Poor Law records, March 7, 1917, application number 183200, Louisa van der Borght, GCA, D-HEW 17/797.

[90]. Govan Poor Law records, March 31, 1917, application number 183637, Josephine Duchene, GCA, D-HEW 17/798.

[91]. The heavy artillery bombardment of Antwerp began on September 28 and ended with the surrender of the Belgian military garrison on October 10, 1914. "The Great War, 1914-1918," accessed April 6, 2024, http://www.greatwar.co.uk/battles/yser/antwerp-siege.htm.

[92]. Glasgow Register of Belgian Refugees, 1914/5, register entries 300-3, the Laureys family, GCA, D-CA 12/2-4.

[93]. Govan Poor Law records, October 22, 1915, application number 173899, Jeanne Laureys, GCA, D-HEW 17/778.

[94]. Note regarding Alphonsus Laureys, Central Register of War Refugees 1917, May 19, 1917, National Archives of Belgium, Brussels, hereafter NAB, I 420 413.

[95]. Govan Poor Law records, February 4, 1916, application number 176151, Joseph Laureys, and application number 176152, Frans Laureys, GCA, D-HEW 17/782.

[96]. Corporation of Glasgow Offices for Belgian Refugees, List of Removals of Refugees, Frans Laureys, June 28, 1917, and December 20, 1917, NAB, 1 420 413.

[97]. The Stevenson Residential School complex was established in 1900 by Bute philanthropist Agnes Patrick Stevenson to provide "fresh-air fortnight" holidays for under-privileged children from Glasgow. Boys and girls were housed separately. "Canmore National Record of the Historic Environment," Historic Environment Scotland, accessed April 6, 2024, https://canmore.org.uk/site/233431/bute-rothesay-ascog-agnes-patrick-stevenson-residential-school.

[98]. Glasgow Poor Law records, July 4, 1917, application number 58481, Frans Laureys, GCA, D-HEW 16/13/390.

[99]. Boyle, "Account," 44.

[100]. Tait, *Glasgow in the Great War*, https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=JV8qDQAAQBAJ&pg=GBS.PP1&hl=en_US.

[101]. Gatrell, *Making of the Modern Refugee,* 8.

[102]. Boyle, "Account,"17.

[103]. Saville, "Poetry to Prehistory," 391.

[104]. Saville, "Poetry to Prehistory," 391.

[105]. "A Study of Imperial Censorship in Bermuda," accessed May 1, 2024, https://bermudacollectorssociety.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/A-Study-of-Imperial-Censorship-in-Bermuda.pdf.

[106]. Saville, "Poetry to Prehistory," 382.