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## **Ladies 'doing their bit' for the war effort in the north-east of Scotland**

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My son's primary school class recently undertook a project on the First World War. One of the topics that the children could choose to study was 'Women in the War' and the usual subjects were included – nurses, VADs, munitionettes and the women's auxiliary services. As was obvious from the wall displays, such contributions to the war effort were mostly undertaken by unmarried, younger women, although of course many of the organisations were under the (nominal at least) leadership of older men. There were very few photographs or descriptions of older women in the children's project. As Braybon points out, it is young and photogenic women who were most likely to receive attention and become part of the photographic record of the war.<sup>1</sup> This led me to ask where the older married women were during the war. What was their contribution to the war effort and how has it been perceived by posterity?

Looking at the history books, it seems that the contribution of older women can be summed up in one word – socks. And, as Ward points out, the outbreak of knitting in the summer of 1914 has been treated with ridicule.<sup>2</sup> Marwick tells us, 'one very widespread female response to the outbreak of war was the knitting of "comforts" for the troops: socks, waistcoats, helmets, scarves, mitts and bodybelts. It was said that many men in the trenches used these unwanted and often unsuitable items for cleaning their rifles and wiping their cups and plates'<sup>3</sup> Turner talks of there being such an outbreak of sock knitting that the government had to intervene. He refers to the organisers of the knitters as 'hard-driving society dames'.<sup>4</sup>

Women's contribution to the war effort has frequently been linked to post-war political change – with the idea that, through their involvement with the war effort, women had somehow 'proved' themselves and could now be trusted with the vote. However, the achievement of women's suffrage in 1918 was limited and those young women who worked in the munitions factories, or as nurses or who joined the women's services did not actually win the vote until 1928. In fact it was women over the age of 30 who were married to or were property owners in their own right – in other words the scorned sock-knitters – who achieved

the vote in 1918. Nonetheless, women's wider involvement in the public sphere of the war effort has been seen as game-changing by some scholars, leading to increased self-confidence and new job opportunities, at least during the war.<sup>5</sup> However, others, such as Braybon, have criticised the idea of a 'watershed moment' for women during the war. Instead, some scholars have identified a backlash at the end of the war focusing on the reconstruction of more traditional gender roles.<sup>6</sup>

Women's experiences during the First World War differed dramatically in respect of region, class and age. This paper investigates the varied and unpaid contributions to the war effort of older women in the county of Aberdeenshire in Scotland. Less is known about the activities of such women, possibly because of a perceived lack of evidence for their activities during wartime. However, local newspapers such as the *Aberdeen Daily Journal* and *Free Press* offer an abundance of material for such a study.<sup>7</sup> Women's activities included the raising of funds for a wide variety of war-related causes, the organisation of comforts for the troops and the collection of sphagnum moss. Such fund-raising was important for the war effort – Grant estimates that 17,899 war charities raised funds of at least one million pounds between 1914 and 1918.<sup>8</sup> They were led in these activities by established ladies from the upper and middle classes with life-long experience of leading charitable good works at parish, county and national levels, which was now brought to bear on the war effort. As scholars such as Watson and Monger have pointed out, the outbreak of war did not introduce new ideas of service for such women, it merely shifted their focus to other groups such as war refugees, the troops and their families.<sup>9</sup>

The First World War is often seen as the last flowering of the ideal of aristocratic ladies leading the way in charitable good works, and it is certainly true that many of the voluntary efforts undertaken by women in Aberdeenshire were led by the aristocracy. A particularly good example of this is the indefatigable Lady Sempill of Fintray House, in her mid-forties at the outbreak of the war, who stated that 'all parishes will work if they are organised and led'.<sup>10</sup> Gwendolyn, Lady Sempill, was a Welshwoman by birth, but moved to Fintray House,

Aberdeenshire, on her marriage to the 18<sup>th</sup> Lord Sempill in 1892. The Sempill family was of a proud military tradition and Lord Sempill and his three brothers served in the military, while his heir was an early member of the air force. Lord Sempill commanded a battalion of the Black Watch until being severely wounded at the Battle of Loos.

As befitted the wife of a military commander, Lady Sempill was at the forefront of the voluntary activity in Aberdeenshire during the war, and reports on her energetic activities are frequent in the newspapers. She was a divisional president of the Aberdeenshire Red Cross War Fund and raised funds to support four ambulances and two motor launches for the transport of the wounded. She also ran Fintray House as a military hospital and found time to organise treats for the children of soldiers and sailors. The majority of such charitable activities may be seen as an extension of the usual expectations of upper-class ladies.

What may not come through in such a list is the intensely *localised* nature of Lady Sempill's activities. In the first weeks of the war we find her running a recruitment campaign on the family's estates.<sup>11</sup> Her aim was to raise men specifically for the battalion commanded by her husband, and she held out the inducement of extra weekly payments to these men and their families. When she first wrote to the newspapers as divisional president of the Aberdeenshire Red Cross War Fund in August 1914, she promised readers that all funds raised would be applied *exclusively* to assisting Red Cross work within the county.<sup>12</sup> The four ambulances that she raised funds for were given names that proclaimed their provenance, such as 'City of Aberdeen', 'Bon Accord' (the motto of the city) and, of course, 'Lady Sempill'. The motor launches, sent to the Dardenelles in 1916, were called 'Aberdeenshire' and 'Lady Sempill'.<sup>13</sup> Such self-publicity was a frequent occurrence during the war where aristocratic ladies or the wives of military leaders would attach their names to a particular fund that they wished to promote.<sup>14</sup> The ambulances were painted blue instead of the usual khaki so that they would stand out in the field.<sup>15</sup> Regional rivalry was stirred up by fund-raisers with stories in the newspapers about how Dundee had raised far more money for ambulances than Aberdeen.<sup>16</sup>

Such a focus on a local response has been seen as characteristic of the early years of the war, being replaced in the later years by a more nationalised response led by the Lloyd George government.<sup>17</sup> However, there is evidence of this localised approach throughout the war years in the Aberdeen newspapers. Right up to 1918 there are letters and reports of fund-raising and other collections to be sent directly to local men fighting at the front, and evidence also of the positive impact on morale that these donations brought.

While aristocrats like Lady Sempill made up the ranks of the divisional commanders and chairs of volunteer groups, every woman in Aberdeenshire was made aware of numerous opportunities to contribute to the war effort through news stories and appeals in the local newspapers. Fundraising for groups such as the Red Cross, the Scottish Women's Hospitals or the Belgian Relief Fund was never-ending, and women volunteers can be found on the pages of the newspapers participating in fundraising galas, concerts, teas, *café chantants* and sales of work, or selling flowers and souvenirs such as regimental badges in the streets. Sales of work required the production of cakes, jams, needlework, etc., to be sold on the stalls. Alternatively, women might send such products directly to their local hospital or to the troops. What was important was that such activities were publicly acknowledged in the pages of the newspapers.

Each week the newspapers would print lists of contributions to the various war funds. Some contributions were monetary – mostly from the upper and upper-middle-class families in the county, each contributing ten shillings or a few pounds to the latest fund to send tobacco to local men at the front,<sup>18</sup> to raise money for an 'Aberdeenshire' bed in a hospital in France,<sup>19</sup> or to buy bagpipes for the Gordon Highlander regiments.<sup>20</sup> However, the majority were long lists of contributions in kind, giving full details of the giver's name and address and precisely what had been submitted. It should be remembered that such contributions would have come out of a housewife's domestic budget, which would have become increasingly tight as the war continued and rationing was introduced.

A typical example comes from a report published on Christmas Day 1914, listing the contributions to the local general hospital full of injured servicemen from France. In the long list

we learn about contributions such as 'Miss Davidson, 8 Queen's Gardens, tea bread'; 'Miss Reid, 37 Albyn Place, jellies and cream', 'children of Berefold School, Ellon, 7 fowls, currant loaf, scones, eggs, cocoa, jam, matches' and, of course, 'Lady Sempill, Fintray, 20 rabbits'.<sup>21</sup> The list is extensive and must have served not only to acknowledge those who did contribute but also to prick the consciences of those who did not.

Acknowledgements might also come from further afield. Letters of thanks from the fundraising wives of military commanders, such as Lady French, were forwarded by the recipient to the newspapers for wider publication.<sup>22</sup> So too were letters of thanks directly from the front. In May 1915 Lady Sempill forwarded a letter to the *Journal* that had been sent to her by a corporal in the Royal Army Medical Corps to tell her about the arrival of 'her' ambulances.<sup>23</sup> Again, the focus on the local nature of her fundraising was made explicit. The letter starts by stating, 'Being native of Aberdeenshire, and knowing the keen interest you take in the work of the British Red Cross in France during this war, I thought it was the least I could do to send a few lines from the scene of operations'. The corporal then describes how 'It caused a little excitement amongst the staff (a large number of same being Scotchmen) when the Scottish cars made their first appearance ... It gave them good encouragement to go on with the work although almost exhausted, knowing the great help the cars were, which had been given by their friends in " Bonnie Scotland."'

A similar letter to Lady Sempill from Sir Alexander Ogston, who was with the First British Ambulance Unit in Italy, was published in January 1917.<sup>24</sup> Ogston was the 70 year-old Professor of Surgery at Aberdeen University who had already served in the Boer War and had been instrumental in the creation of the RAMC. Having described the joy of his ambulance drivers at the arrival of the new vehicle, his final line to Lady Sempill simply stated, 'To me it will always feel like a friend's warm greeting'. The provision of such ambulances demonstrates the continuing reliance of parts of the war effort – as late as 1917 – on the fundraising of volunteers, and the continued emphasis on local and personal relationships, although Grant

points out that the provision of ambulances from different sources and of different makes and types meant that maintenance became a serious problem.<sup>25</sup>

As well as supplying local hospitals and fundraising events with the products of their labour, women also contributed to sending 'comforts' to the troops. While this euphemistic word suggests the sending of parcels of chocolate, tobacco and reading materials overseas, the ubiquitous 'comforts' actually covered far more than this. At the start of the war an appeal was sent out to members of Queen Mary's Needlework Guild to supply certain items of clothing for men in the trenches. Such items were not just socks, but also shirts, hats, belts, gloves, underwear, sweaters, bed linen, operation gowns, surgeon's coats, surgical dressings, pyjamas, bed jackets and shrouds. All garments were made to military specifications and contributions were checked for quality before being sent to hospitals and troops at the front. The production of these garments, and the raw materials, was supplied entirely by volunteer labour. Such commitment demonstrated women's willingness to participate in the war effort.<sup>26</sup> Queen Mary's Needlework Guild had over 680 branches worldwide, including India, Ceylon, Jamaica, the Gold Coast and British Guinea, and continual demands were made on this 'dispersed, world-wide assembly line' of women.<sup>27</sup> Grant states that the total production of the Guild amounted to 15,577,911 articles by 1918, with an estimated value of £1,194,318, although he also notes that the enthusiasm of the significant work force of the guild exacerbated the unemployment situation of working-class women in the textile industries.<sup>28</sup>

Again the Aberdeen newspapers frequently published lists of garments produced by branches of the Guild throughout Aberdeenshire and despatched to the front. Such contributions came from small groups of women all over the county, such as the Kintore Church Work Party, the Ellon Needlework Guild, and the Oldmeldrum War Relief Ladies Working Party. Such groups offered women a social as well as a national activity.<sup>29</sup> All organisers' names were listed – Lady Sempill had organised and funded a work party at Fintray Manse. (In March 1917 she also passed on to *Journal* readers the instruction she had given to churchgoers in the village of Echt to 'knit during the sermon'.<sup>30</sup>) Thus the provision of comforts was far more than the

inundation of the front line with poorly knitted socks. Instead it was a more organised and very necessary provision of a wide selection of garments, including materials needed in the hospitals. In the Aberdeen newspapers it was frequently framed as a response to requests by military commanders themselves. For example, Julia Stewart, of Banchory House, Aberdeenshire, wrote to the *Free Press* in February 1915 to share the contents of a letter sent to her by General Sir James Willcocks, commanding the Indian Expeditionary Force in France, in which he asked for more socks for his troops.<sup>31</sup> Later that year, Sophia Carr of Aboyne, who had written to urge women to continue to knit socks in the summer months, added, 'Since writing the above I have received a note from an officer in the south asking if I have any socks to spare, telling me he has spent pounds himself in providing them for his men, and so preventing them from going without.'<sup>32</sup> Two ladies from Nairn wrote to the *Journal* in March 1916 enclosing a letter they had received from a dug-out close to the Belgian firing-line thanking them for their contributions: 'The socks are lovely. So many men come to us with their stockings soaked through, and then we can give them a fresh pair and send them back to the trenches with dry feet.'<sup>33</sup>

Over the four years of the war, repeated appeals for socks and other comforts were submitted to the two newspapers. Some correspondents encouraged knitters to place little letters with names and addresses in their socks so that the soldier in receipt of the gift might write back in thanks. And this did happen. In August 1915 the *Aberdeen Evening Express* reported that 'Little Miss Maggie Adams' had just received a letter of thanks from a Belgian soldier in hospital in France telling her that her socks were much appreciated.<sup>34</sup>

In her discussion of the knitters of Newfoundland,<sup>35</sup> Duley suggests that such knitting gave women a heightened sense of the importance of their domestic skills, highlighted the economic value of such products, and gave recognition to the type of charitable work that many had carried on all their lives with little thanks. Thus such contributions to the war effort both placed women within their proper, domestic, sphere, but also allowed them to be involved in the public sphere of warfare, making a womanly contribution to a war that therefore involved the whole country. It should also be noted that many of the appeals were again framed in terms



of locality – with women being urged to produce comforts to be sent to local soldiers in regiments such as the Seaforth or Gordon Highlanders and campaigns being run by the wives of local officers.

Some historians have seen such voluntary activity as static and predominantly a phenomenon of the first stages of the war, being replaced by a more centralised approach after the end of 1915.<sup>36</sup> However, as described below, the letters to the Aberdeen newspapers offer evidence of such activity continuing throughout the war, changing in response to new needs, such as prisoners of war, and adapting itself to new structures imposed from above. One local campaign that ran in the early years of the war was Mrs Niven's Fund for Prisoners of War, and in the history of this fund we do see the impact of the centralisation of the war effort after 1915. Mrs Niven, wife of the Professor of Natural Philosophy at Aberdeen University and in her late forties at the outbreak of war, started her fund for Prisoners of War from the Aberdeen area in 1914.<sup>37</sup> Using donations of money and in kind she sent comforts to the men, but also offered support to their families. As 'A Prisoner's Mother' wrote in a letter to the *Journal* in January 1917, 'When anything went wrong in Germany the first thing one did was to write to Mrs Niven, and never once did she fail one. By return would come the kindly and sympathetic letter saying she had taken the matter up and was writing about it. Only those who have appealed to her know the help and comfort she has been in many a dark hour.'<sup>38</sup>

Mrs Niven's personalised approach, however, ran into difficulties after 1916 when all such funds were required to be registered under the aegis of a national organisation. Mrs Niven refused to register because of the paperwork that this would require, and was refused exemption by the magistrates.<sup>39</sup> Her fund should therefore have been closed down and all donations sent instead to the official Prisoners of War Bureau. However, letters to the newspapers throughout the rest of the war demonstrate that she continued to receive donations, from as far afield as America, from donors that 'expressly stated that they wished her to take charge of the money'<sup>40</sup>. A news article in the *Journal* from February 1916 quoted a letter from Private Riddoch, of the Gordon Highlanders, who was a prisoner of war at Sennelager,

Germany. He had written to his mother asking her to thank Mrs Niven for the New Year's gifts sent to him and to other Gordons in camp. "“Tell Mrs Niven,” he adds “that the boys are very glad at having got her boxes. It is very good of her.””<sup>41</sup> Such a letter again demonstrates the personal approach of such funds and their impact on the morale of soldiers.

Thus local charities that started in the first months of the war were, by the end of 1915, being pressured to come into line with national organisations or to close down. In early 1916 the War Office Organisation Scheme formed the County of Aberdeen War Work Association. This was part of the first direct state control of charities.<sup>42</sup> A letter was published in the *Journal* in January 1916<sup>43</sup> explaining that the Association had been formed because of the amount of ‘overlapping’ that was evident with the voluntary organisations. Instead, a Central Depot for the whole county would be instituted for the receipt of comforts, and, while individual organisations were encouraged to continue to meet and work for the war effort, they would now be told what to make or collect, how much was needed from them, and would have no say in where their products went.

By this time, Aberdeenshire had a new focus for its war effort – the collection and processing of sphagnum moss for surgical dressings, and almost from the start this was centrally organised. The absorbance, availability and cheapness of the moss meant that it was a suitable replacement for cotton gauze dressings, although, as Riegler points out, this cheapness was only because the labour-intensive making of the dressings was dependent on the volunteerism of women.<sup>44</sup> The moss grows in boggy areas, along seacoasts and on moors, and a plentiful supply could be found in Aberdeenshire. It had to be collected, picked over to remove material like twigs and dirt, dried and then made up into dressings. From 1916, when the moss was placed on the list of materials approved by the War Office as official surgical dressings,<sup>45</sup> the newspapers were full of reports of moss-collecting work, particularly during weekends in the summer and autumn. Large parties would go to the moors for the day, for example troops of boy scouts and girl guides.<sup>46</sup> Some ministers even conducted church services on the moors in

order to get as much moss collected as possible.<sup>47</sup> Lady Sempill, of course, was involved in such activities, as she outlined in a letter to the *Free Press* in January 1917:

It may interest your readers to hear that I started a two-hour Saturday afternoon class here (of course attending regularly personally) last September gathering moss whenever weather permits and drying it in a laundry loft in cricket nets. So popular was this meeting, resulting in one bag weekly cleaned moss, that I started an evening class ... the result being fully two cleaned sacks weekly. Several workers, including children, are so keen that they attend both classes.... It is merely a matter of getting someone to take the trouble to start the movement, and he or she will be as ably supported as I have been. An occasional tea party, marks for attendance, and homework brought in, with little prizes, all help to stimulate interest.<sup>48</sup>

Once processed, the moss would be sent to a number of war-dressings depots in Aberdeen, where it was made into pads and dressings, packed and despatched to hospitals. The vast majority of the labour here was again voluntary, and the work was mostly manual, although some machinery was introduced in the last few months of the war. The continued appeals in the newspapers for volunteers to process the moss suggests that it was difficult to obtain sufficient numbers of volunteers for what was a very labour-intensive task.<sup>49</sup> The honorary secretary of the Aberdeen depots, and author of many of such appeals, was Constance Ogston, daughter of Sir Alexander Ogston.

The involvement of local ladies such as Constance Ogston and Lady Sempill in the collection and processing of sphagnum moss demonstrates that the centralisation of war work did not necessarily mean the replacement of local volunteers. Instead, those who were willing to co-operate with a centralised authority continued to lead the voluntary effort in Aberdeen and its county. While Mrs Niven could not work under a bureaucratic system that required her to fill in paperwork, it is evident that not all ladies were of the same opinion and that those who had

proven their abilities in the early years of the war continued to contribute and to offer local leadership in the later years. And the groups that they led continued to be local ones – as Lady Sempill’s work in her parish demonstrates. A more centralised approach was placed over a very local structure, using the same local leaders and structures rather than replacing them.

Voluntary work for the needy had always been seen as part of women’s traditional domestic sphere, but during the First World War women’s voluntary work for the war effort became important for a number of reasons. It enabled older women, who were not able to desert their domestic duties, to feel a useful part of the war effort, but it also *was* a useful part of the war effort. Their fundraising for wartime charities and provision of comforts was necessary for both the provisioning and morale of the troops and for the better running of medical services. Whilst the first years of the war saw a very voluntary and localised approach to such voluntary efforts, from 1916 onwards the voluntary war effort became much more organised and nationalised. However, this did not mean the replacement of the local networks and expertise that had been built up, but rather its better use.

Because such work was already an established part of middle-class women’s lives it has not been perceived in the same way as other types of war service undertaken by women, such as joining the auxiliary services, the police services or nursing. However, for many women who had domestic responsibilities or were older and less fit, this type of voluntary activity was an important way of demonstrating their commitment to the war effort, and a way in which they could demonstrate their patriotism and citizenship that was not possible before the war.<sup>50</sup> The involvement of these upper and middle-class, middle-aged, ladies in the types of war service discussed in this paper demonstrates that the First World War was total war – all sections of the population were engaged in the war effort in one way or another – and it is important to examine the often-neglected experience of these local volunteers rather than ignore it because it does not fit a more transformative picture.

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- <sup>1</sup> Gail Braybon, 'Winners or losers: women's symbolic role in the war story', in *Evidence, History and the Great War: historians and the impact of 1914-1918*, ed. Gail Braybon (Oxford, Berghahn, 2003).
- <sup>2</sup> Paul Ward, "'Women of Britain say go': Women's patriotism in the First World War', *Twentieth Century British History*, 12/1 (2001), 23-45.
- <sup>3</sup> Arthur Marwick, *Women at War 1914-1918* (London, Fontana, 1977) 35.
- <sup>4</sup> Ernest S. Turner, *Dear Old Blighty*. (London, Michael Joseph, 1980), 31 and 44.
- <sup>5</sup> See for example Marwick, *Women at War*, or Sandra M. Gilbert, 'Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War' in *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, ed. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1989), 258-323
- <sup>6</sup> See for example Braybon, *Winners or losers.*; Krisztina Robert, 'Gender, class and patriotism: Women's paramilitary units in First World War Britain', *The International History Review* 19/1 (1997), 52-65;
- <sup>7</sup> See, for example, Sarah Pedersen, 'A Surfeit of Socks? The impact of the First World War on women correspondents to daily newspapers', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 22/1 (2002), 50-72.
- <sup>8</sup> Peter Grant, 'Mobilising charity: non-uniformed voluntary action during the First World War' (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, City University London, 2012).
- <sup>9</sup> Janet S. K. Watson, 'Khaki girls, VADs and Tommy's sisters: Gender and class in First World War Britain', *The International History Review*, 19/1 (1997), 32-51. David Monger, 'Nothing special? Propaganda and women's roles in late First World War Britain', *Women's History Review*, 23/4 (2014), 518-42.
- <sup>10</sup> Lady Sempill, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Free Press*, 29 January 1917.
- <sup>11</sup> 'County lady acts as recruiting officer', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 31 August 1914.
- <sup>12</sup> Gwendolen Sempill and Grace Coltman, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 10 August 1914.
- <sup>13</sup> 'Red Cross launches', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 27 June 1916.
- <sup>14</sup> For more examples see Ward, 'Women of Britain say go', 32.
- <sup>15</sup> 'Aberdeen's ambulance car', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 11 February 1915.
- <sup>16</sup> 'Red Cross hospital in France appeal for motor ambulances', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 26 October 1914.
- <sup>17</sup> Grant, *Mobilizing charity*; Marwick, *Women at War*.
- <sup>18</sup> Lady Lumsden's Penny Tobacco Fund, *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 29 December 1916.
- <sup>19</sup> 'For Verdun zone wounded', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 9 January 1917.
- <sup>20</sup> 'Bagpipes for the Gordons', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 1 October 1914.
- <sup>21</sup> '1<sup>st</sup> Scottish General Hospital', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 25 December 1914.

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- <sup>22</sup> 'Lady French's gratitude to Millbank teachers', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 16 June 1915.
- <sup>23</sup> 'Motor ambulances at the front', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 18 May 1915.
- <sup>24</sup> 'British ambulances on Italian front', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 12 January 1917.
- <sup>25</sup> Grant, *Mobilizing charity*, 271.
- <sup>26</sup> Ward, 'Women of Britain say go', 31.
- <sup>27</sup> Margot I. Duley, 'The unquiet knitters of Newfoundland: from mothers of the regiment to mothers of the nation' in *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service: Women and Girls of Canada and Newfoundland During the First World War*, ed. Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2012), 51-74.
- <sup>28</sup> Grant, *Mobilizing charity*, 167-68.
- <sup>29</sup> Ward, 'Women of Britain say go', 31.
- <sup>30</sup> Lady Sempill, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 27 March 1917.
- <sup>31</sup> Julia Charlotte Stewart, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Free Press*, 27 February 1915.
- <sup>32</sup> Sophia B. Carr, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Free Press*, 16 June 1915.
- <sup>33</sup> Florence Mackintosh, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 16 March 1916.
- <sup>34</sup> *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 17 August 1915.
- <sup>35</sup> Duley, *The unquiet knitters*.
- <sup>36</sup> Marwick, *Women at War*.
- <sup>37</sup> C. Niven, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 19 October 1916.
- <sup>38</sup> 'A Prisoner's Mother', 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 26 January 1917.
- <sup>39</sup> L. B. and M. S. Niven, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 24 January 1917.
- <sup>40</sup> Professor Niven, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 19 October 1916.
- <sup>41</sup> *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 7 February 1916.
- <sup>42</sup> Grant, *Mobilizing charity*.
- <sup>43</sup> County of Aberdeen War Work Association 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 11 January 1916.
- <sup>44</sup> Natalie N. Riegler, 'Sphagnum moss in World War I: The making of surgical dressings by volunteers in Toronto, Canada, 1917-1918', *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 6/1 (1989) 27-43.
- <sup>45</sup> Riegler, 32.
- <sup>46</sup> 'Sphagnum moss: urgent requirement. Work in the Aberdeen area', *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 21 August 1918.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>48</sup> Lady Sempill, 'Letters to the Editor', *Aberdeen Free Press*, 29 January 1917.

<sup>49</sup> Riegler (1989) found similar problems in Canada.

<sup>50</sup> Ward, 'Women of Britain say go', 31.