

The Agency of Wives of Diplomats through Charity

The Belgian Relief Fund in First World War
Japan

Katelijne Voorbij

Presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Language and area studies: Japanese studies

Supervisor: prof. dr. Jan Schmidt
Academic year 2023-2024

240,227 characters



I hereby declare that, in line with the Faculty of Arts' code of conduct for research integrity, the work submitted here is my own original work and that any additional sources of information have been duly cited

De Agency van Vrouwen van Diplomaten door Middel van Liefdadigheid: Het Belgian Relief Fund in het Japan van de Eerste Wereldoorlog

Tijdens de Eerste Wereldoorlog waren er veel verschillende liefdadigheidsorganisaties actief om hulp te bieden bij het leed dat de oorlog veroorzaakte. Sommige van deze organisaties zijn nog altijd relatief bekend, zoals het Rode Kruis en de Commission for Belgian Relief. Maar andere, zoals het Belgian Relief Fund, lijken in de vergetelheid te zijn geraakt. De Japanse afdeling van deze organisatie was werkzaam vanaf het najaar van 1914 tot eind 1919, en werd bestuurd door vrouwen van Belgische diplomaten werkzaam in de Belgische Legatie in Tokyo. Dit fonds wordt hier gebruikt als casestudy voor het onderzoeken van liefdadigheid georganiseerd door vrouwen van diplomaten in de Nieuwste Tijd. Hoewel kort vermeld in enkele studies, ontbreekt een gedetailleerde beschrijving van hoe liefdadigheid in de praktijk werd gebracht door diplomatieke vrouwen in hun gastland. Deze thesis hoopt hieraan bij te dragen door middel van een diepgaand onderzoek naar het Belgian Relief Fund in Japan.

De onderzoeksresultaten van deze thesis zijn gebaseerd op hermeneutisch onderzoek uitgevoerd op meer dan tweehonderd primaire bronnen, waarvan een selectie hier beschreven wordt. Deze bronnen zijn opgesteld in het Engels, Frans en Japans, en bestaan voornamelijk uit krantenartikelen en diplomatieke dispatches afkomstig uit het Belgisch Diplomatiek Archief van de Federale Overheidsdienst Buitenlandse Zaken. Gebruik makend van dit materiaal bekwam deze thesis in de eerste plaats een gedetailleerde beschrijving van hoe deze vrouwen verschillende evenementen en initiatieven organiseerden. Daarnaast toonde het aan dat er netwerken bestonden tussen verschillende Belgische diplomatieke missies die elkaar ondersteunden bij het organiseren van liefdadigheid. Vervolgens lijkt het dat het zonder de hulp van het gastland praktisch onmogelijk was om succesvolle liefdadigheidsactiviteiten te organiseren, en dat dit fonds gebruikt werd voor het onderhouden van bilaterale relaties tussen België en Japan. Daarnaast verradt het al dan niet betrekken van mensen van bepaalde nationaliteiten in de evenementen de intenties die de Belgische Legatie had op vlak van internationale relaties. Tot slot speelde diplomatie een rol in het plannen van deze evenementen, en waren de vrouwen politiek betrokken door dit fonds, enerzijds via culturele diplomatie, anderzijds door het organiseren van pro-Belgische propaganda waarbij ze ingeschakeld werden in het beroep van hun echtgenoten. Via dit onderzoek maakt deze thesis dus, naast het bijdragen aan kennis over liefdadigheid door vrouwen van diplomaten, een eerste stap in het verduidelijken van diepere lagen in dit soort liefdadigheid in een diplomatieke context.

<日本語要旨>

チャリティによるの外交官夫人のエージェンシー:

第一次世界大戦中の日本でのベルギー救済会

(Belgian Relief Fund)

第一次世界大戦中、戦争が引き起こした苦しみを救うため、多くの慈善団体が活動していた。赤十字社やコミッション・フォア・ベルジャン・レリーフ (Commission for Belgian Relief) のような慈善団体はいまだに比較的知られているが、ベルギー救済会 (Belgian Relief Fund) をはじめとする他の慈善団体が忘れ去られたようである。ベルギー救済会の日本支部は1914年の秋から1919年の末まで活動しており、東京の駐日ベルギー公使館に駐在していたベルギー外交官の夫人によって運営されていた。本稿では、ベルギー救済会をケーススタディとして用い、現代史における外交官夫人の慈善活動を研究する。これまでの研究論文では、外交官夫人の慈善活動が簡単に言及されているに過ぎないが、彼女たちがどのように開催国で慈善活動を組織したかに関する詳細な研究は行われていない。そこで、本稿の目的は、ベルギー救済会の日本支部を詳細に検討することで、外交官夫人の慈善活動についての知識を深めることにある。

本稿の研究方法としては、200以上の一次資料を解読し、外交官夫人の慈善活動に関する記述を深く分析する。本稿に使われた一次資料はそれぞれ英語、フランス語、日本語で作成されたもので、主に新聞記事や「ベルギー連邦政府サービス外交文書館」に所蔵されている外交史料を用いた。これにより、外交官夫人がいかにして多くのチャリティイベントや慈善活動を組織したかが明らかになった。また、慈善活動を組織する中で、ベルギーの様々な外交使節団が互いに支え合うネットワークが存在していたことも示された。さらに、開催国の支援がなければ、積極的な慈善活動を組織することはほぼ不可能であったことが分かった。また、ベルギー公使館がベルギー救済会を日・ベルギー間の関係を維持するために利用していたことも示された。さらに、この活動に特定の国籍の人々を関与させるかどうか、駐日ベルギー公使館の国際関係に関する意図を反映していたことも明らかにした。その上、外交が慈善活動の組織において重要な役割を果たしていたことが示された。最後に、外交官夫人がこれらの慈善団体を通じてベルギーの文化外交やプロパガンダに関与したから、政治にも関与していたことが示された。つまり、外交官夫人は夫の職務を通じて、政治的な領域に深く関与していたのである。

以上のことから、外交官夫人による慈善活動に関する知識の深化に寄与することが確認できた。また、このように慈善活動が外交の文脈でどのように機能していたかについて、より深い理解が得られると結論付けられる。

Table of Contents

Note to the Reader.....	iii
Note about Reuse of Previous Work.....	iv
1. Introduction.....	1
2. Historical Background.....	4
2.1 The First World War and Japan.....	4
2.2 Aristocratic Women and Charity.....	9
3. The Belgian Relief Fund.....	13
3.1 The International Belgian Relief Fund.....	14
3.2 The Japanese Belgian Relief Fund.....	17
3.2.1 1914: The Incentive of the Belgian Relief Fund.....	18
3.2.2 1915: The Belgian Relief Fund as Large-Scale Charity Organization.....	23
3.2.3 1916 and 1917: Insights and Developments.....	27
3.2.4 1918 and the Postwar Period: Dismantling of the Fund.....	32
4. Charity and Diplomacy.....	36
4.1 Efforts to Raise Money.....	36
4.1.1 Charity Bazaars.....	37
4.1.2 Charity Performances.....	48
4.1.3 Individual Donations.....	51
4.1.4 Other Initiatives.....	56
4.1.5 Intermediate Conclusion.....	58
4.2 Forming Networks.....	60
4.2.1 The Internal Network of the Belgian Diplomatic Corps.....	60
4.2.2 Relations With the Host Country.....	63
4.2.3 Socio-political Motivations Within Charity.....	70
4.3 Charity, Diplomacy and Propaganda.....	76
4.4 A Vision into the Future.....	85
5. Conclusion.....	88
6. Bibliography.....	90
6.1 Primary Sources.....	90
6.1.1 Newspaper Articles.....	90

6.1.2	Dispatches and Other Diplomatic Documents.....	98
6.1.3	Other Primary Sources.....	100
6.2	Secondary Sources.....	101
6.3	Tertiary Sources.....	104
7.	Appendix.....	105
7.1	Appendix of Page 50.....	105
7.2	Appendix of Page 52.....	107

Note to the Reader

All translations provided in this paper, whether from French or from Japanese, have been made by the author. Given that the Japanese examples in this thesis are often from sources written during the First World War period, it has been decided to use the 新字体 ('Shinjitai', New form) of the characters rather than the 旧字体 ('Kyūjitai,' Old form). The same applies to the bibliographical references of said sources. The romanization has been made according to the Modified Hepburn System, in combination with the reading way that the original source proposed, even if this differed from the normal reading way of the characters. For example, a word that has frequently been used throughout sources in this thesis is 慈善市 ('Jizenshi' or 'Jizen'ichi,' Charity bazaar). However, the sources would often prefer that their readers read this word as バザー ('Bazā,' Bazaar). In the very rare cases that this proposed reading way was a mistake in the source, this has been indicated in the footnotes. Furthermore, all Japanese names in this thesis are displayed as last names before first names, while all Western names are written as first names before last names. Moreover, this thesis will make use of the term 'wives of diplomats' or its variants rather than 'ambassadors,' because in the case of diplomatic representation of Belgium in Japan during the First World War, there was not yet an embassy, but a legation. The term 'ambassador' also excludes the wives of diplomats who rank lower than an ambassador. However, it is understood that the term 'wives of diplomats' takes away agency from these women, but due to a lack of alternatives, there was no choice but to opt for this descriptive term. Lastly, this thesis will often make use of the word 'minister', as in a minister to a legation. This is not to be confused with a minister who seats in a government, for example, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. If both terms are used near each other, the difference will be made clear. However, in general, the word 'minister' is always referring to the diplomatic rank.

Note about Reuse of Previous Works

The introduction to subchapter ‘3.2 The Japanese Belgian Relief Fund’ has been partially based on an updated version of a presentation the author of this thesis presented at the research seminar of Professor Naraoka Sōchi 奈良岡聰智 at Kyoto University on January 15, 2024 in the context of the Master of Arts in Language and area studies: Japanese studies. It has been included with permission of the supervisor of this thesis.

1. Introduction

When the First World War (July 28, 1914 – November 11, 1918) broke out and armies violently fought each other, many charity organizations were active in addressing the numerous humanitarian crises that arose as a result of the violence. Some of these are still well known nowadays, for example, the Red Cross Society, the Commission for Relief in Belgium or the War Refugees Committee. Others, however, seem to have fallen into oblivion, as appears to be the case with the Belgian Relief Fund, the organization on which this thesis will focus, with most emphasis on its branch in Japan. The Fund was active in Japan from the fall of 1914 to the end of 1919, stretching out over the whole war and the first year of the postwar period. The Belgian Relief Fund in Japan was for the most part run by three wives of Belgian diplomats, Baroness d'Anethan, Baroness de Warzée and Countess della Faille, whose involvement this thesis will study in detail.

After an extensive literature study on secondary sources available on the subject of wives of diplomats, it is possible to conclude that charity in this context is a very under-researched topic. A couple of studies that focus on wives of diplomats in the Late Modern Period do briefly address the charity they organized.¹ However, the most significant attention spent on this topic was by historian Jennifer Mori in her journal article *How Women Make Diplomacy: The British Embassy in Paris, 1815–1841*, in which she wrote less than a page about charity.² Thus, as far as is known, no other research studies provide more detailed descriptions of how these women organized charity in their host countries. Therefore, using the case study of the Belgian Relief Fund, this thesis devotes its subject to an in-depth study of charity by the wives of diplomats to contribute to knowledge in the field of women's history.

This thesis thus aims to fulfill the following objectives: in the first place to contribute to the lack of knowledge on charity as it was organized by the wives of diplomats. With this goal in mind, its main objective is to study the workings of the Belgian Relief Fund in order to provide more information on how these women were involved in charity. Furthermore, it will focus on socio-political and gender-related layers that existed within the Belgian Relief Fund. More specifically, it argues that networks existed between different diplomatic representations of Belgium when it comes down to charity. This thesis furthermore shows how the Fund rested heavily on the help of the host country, but also how this two-sided relationship was used by both nations in the light of bilateral

¹ See for example: Marina Soroka, "Diplomats' Wives and Foreign Ministry," 150, 153, 157-158, 161-162. Molly M. Wood, "Diplomatic Wives: The Politics," 142, 146, 151-152.

² 149-150.

relations. Moreover, the way in which the foreign community in Tokyo was involved in the Belgian Relief Fund gives more insight into how charity was used by the Belgian Legation to contribute to international relations and thus betrays the political intentions of the Legation. Lastly, it focuses on the political agency of wives of diplomats and hopes to show how these women got involved in the profession of their husbands on a new level.

To examine these objectives, this research study has been based on hermeneutics conducted on over two hundred primary sources, of which a selection was eventually used to compose the body of this thesis. These sources provide a combination of three languages: French, English and Japanese, and of different types: mainly newspaper articles and dispatches, but also a minority of other sources. The newspaper articles have been found in the following newspapers: the *Japan Advertiser* (English), *Yomiuri Shinbun* (Japanese), *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun* (Japanese), *La Métropole* (French), *Jiji Shinpō* (Japanese), and *Kokumin Shinbun* (Japanese). The newspaper articles from the first four newspapers are accessible online and have been found through extensive searches conducted in their respective databases. The articles from the *Jiji Shinpō* and *Kokumin Shinbun* used in this thesis can be accessed on microfilms located in the Main Library of Kyoto University. For these respective newspapers, it was thus necessary to manually go through the complete newspaper editions according to a selection of dates based on the articles found in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* and *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*. The dispatches and other diplomatic documents used in this thesis are located in four different files of the Belgian Diplomatic Archive of the Federal Government Service Foreign Affairs (FGSFA). More specifically, the political files concerning Japan during the period 1914-1920 ('Japon 1914-1915' and 'Japon 1916-1920'), and the personal files of the two diplomats with the most importance in the Japanese branch of the Belgian Relief Fund ('Pers. 1426' and 'Pers. 1404'). Other sources include images, a flyer, a government document and so on.

Due to the limited time period during which the research for this thesis was conducted, there are certain limitations as to what could be studied. The above-introduced source materials focus mainly on Tokyo, which prevented providing more details about other parts of Japan that every so often will be mentioned. Furthermore, the Belgian Relief Fund will primarily be explained from the point of view of the Belgian diplomats and their wives, given that more archival research would be necessary to attempt to understand the visions of this charity organization by other non-Belgian actors. The time period on which this thesis zooms in is also restricted to the First World War and the immediate postwar period due to its case study, even though other events before or after the First World War could be the basis for further research studies on this topic.

This thesis is composed of three parts. The second chapter will provide a historical introduction to the First World War and the internal socio-economic situation in Japan during this period, and charity as it was organized by aristocratic women. In the third chapter, the focus will be on the Belgian Relief Fund, where this charity organization and its main contributors will be addressed in detail to give an overview of its overall developments. Finally, the fourth chapter makes up the main part of this thesis and addresses in detail how these three diplomats' wives organized charity activities for the Belgian Relief Fund, before analyzing its socio-political and gender-related characteristics. This thesis concludes with a brief vision into the future, providing closure about the lives of the different actors in this Fund.

2. Historical Background

The following chapter will introduce two important topics for this thesis: the First World War and charity as aristocratic women practiced it during the Late Modern Period. The subchapter about the First World War will primarily focus on Japan's role in the global conflict. It will briefly introduce general military developments throughout the war and Japan's internal economic and social situation.

2.1 Japan in the First World War

Acting upon the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan conveyed to the German Empire an ultimatum on August 15, 1914. It requested Germany to dismantle its warships that were located in Chinese waters, to capitulate in Shandong,³ and to give Japan the rights they were holding in said province. The ultimatum was left unanswered, thus Japan went to war with Germany on August 23. However, given that Germany had not prepared a war plan in the case of East Asia, combined with Japan's supremacy in the area, the offensives in China and against German warships that were sailing the Pacific did not last long. Concentrated on swiftly taking hold of the fortress that was located in Kiaochow, Shandong, the Japanese Navy obstructed Kiaochow Bay in late August, with soldiers disembarking from September 2. After a week of bombardments, the Germans capitulated. Japan took 8.000 prisoners, and Germany's surrender was delivered on November 7, 1914. As a result of the campaign, Japan obtained the colonial rights that were in place in Shandong Province.⁴

When it came to the Asian continent, the war was a favorable chance regarding Japan's imperialism. When the war had come to an end, the Japanese influence would have greatly expanded in East Asia, and the Japanese Navy would be in control of German Micronesia, to which areas belonging to the Pacific Rim were added by 1919. Crucial in this process was Japan's victory in Shandong, given that the country was able to gain control of the Pacific islands where Germany was in charge, and push Beijing even more since Japanese politicians were trying to recreate their imperial policy that had been implemented in Korea prior to 1910. Only because the Western powers

³ Shandong is located at the East coast of China.

⁴ Frank Jacob, *East Asia*, 59-61.

got caught up in the war, did the possibility arise for Japan to aim at creating a Japanese protectorate out of China. In 1915, the Twenty-One Demands were released by Japan. The Demands stated that China's change to a colony should have been finalized by the following years, and of which Japan was to become its only colonial power. Only because of American diplomatic interference as well as the push that was given by a nationalist wave in China, its government managed to obtain adaptations to the Demands. The final group in the Demands, which could have been harmful to the country's national integrity, tried to undermine China's sovereignty, conflicted with the privileges of the British that were in place, and was eventually abandoned. This imperialist endeavor harmed the international perception of Japan, particularly because there were opinions in the West that the country gave little assistance to the Allies as well as that Japan had a selfish and more and more anachronistic view on international affairs while the world obtained a new meaning according to Wilsonian internationalism.⁵

In 1917, the United States joined the First World War, became an ally of Japan, and both countries concluded the Ishii-Lansing agreement. Japan would abide by the independence of China, and would not hinder the United States' uniform commercial access the country had into China. The United States acknowledged the 'special interests' that Japan had in Manchuria. Thus, both nations acknowledged the imperialist position the other party held in Asia. A year later, Japan gave China nominally loans under the name of 'Nishihara Loans,' which were provided by private Japanese banks and were to be used for economic undertakings, for example, to construct railways. These broadened Japan's 'special interests,' and were actually given to support a Chinese leader in opposition to warlord rivals for the price of additional economic privileges provided in the areas of Manchuria and Shandong.⁶

The Japanese government proceeded with its policy with regards to trying to utilize each chance to expand the Japanese Empire, no matter the hostilities these expansionist actions caused abroad. One of these chances was the Russian Revolution together with foreign involvement in opposition to the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War. The same year, during February and October, the Russian Revolution occurred because of which the Czarist Empire withdrew from the war and stopped existing, while a Bolshevik party regime which received direction from Lenin (1870-1924) took its place. The French and British governments started an intervention in opposition to the Bolsheviks, on the one hand in the interest of a Czech Legion that had decided to become part of the Czar's army in order to return home via Vladivostok and America, on the other hand, to contain

⁵ Ibid., 61-63.

⁶ Andrew Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 179.

communism. Upon demand, Japan and the United States approved an intervention and dispatched 7,000 soldiers, while in the end, 9,000 Japanese soldiers left for Russia in August 1918. On August 23 at Kraevski, Ivan Kalmikoff⁷ directed an army consisting of Japanese, Czech, British and French soldiers to battle with the Bolshevik Red Army. More men were dispatched from Manchuria and Japan who were met with assumingly 30,000 Red Army soldiers at the Siberian Transbaikalian province. In September, the Japanese accomplished progression to Chita (Russia), and besides small-scale problems with Russian adherents that were ongoing in the area during the next weeks, Japan gained stronger control when it came to the Amur and Chinese Eastern railway lines that were running through the province. Over 70,000 Japanese soldiers would have been dispatched to Eastern Siberia before November 1918. Throughout the following winter, the international troops kept control over and remained in Eastern Siberia's three provinces unchallenged.⁸

However, the Siberian Intervention was quite the catastrophe for Japan: Japanese soldiers caught the Spanish flu and brought it back home, and the international intervention together with the Japanese, French, Italian, British Empire and Chinese soldiers did not manage to avert the Russian Civil War from becoming a triumph for the Bolsheviks. Although these military operations were thus an expensive waste, they were unmissable to Minister of Foreign Affairs Uchida Yasuya (1865-1936)'s wartime strategy. He aimed at making Japanese interests stronger when it came to both China and Northern Manchuria by means of Japan's participation in the intervention and the Twenty-One Demands. Both events thus exhibit the general strategy employed in the time period of the First World War by Tokyo: "to use it to further extend and strengthen the Japanese Empire on the Asian continent, where Korea (since 1910) and the railway rights in Southern Manchuria only provided the necessary bridgeheads for the further expansion of Japan's imperialist ambitions."⁹

At the peace negotiations of 1919 that took place at Versailles, the Japanese delegation wished primarily to receive confirmation of the country's control over what used to be the Shandong leasehold of Germany, together with the islands that formed the German part of Micronesia. Furthermore, they expressed a strong desire to have the 'racial equality clause' integrated into the founding covenant that was to belong to the League of Nations. In agreement with the leaders of the allied countries, Woodrow Wilson, the president of the United States, accepted Japan's possession of the Shandong leasehold. Moreover, with regards to Micronesia, following contentious negotiations a League of Nations 'mandate' was provided to Japan that permitted the country to have administrative

⁷ Unknown date of birth and death.

⁸ Jacob, *East Asia*, 63-64

⁹ Ibid., 64-65

control. The ‘racial equality clause,’ however, was denied. Historian Andrew Gordon adds that “these decisions undermined the idealistic claims of the Western powers that principles of equality and self-determination should anchor the postwar international order. They fueled strong Japanese anger at the hypocrisy of the Western governments.”¹⁰

The disruption the war caused the world economy at first increased Japan’s difficulties, but the conflict changed the economic climate after 1915. Because Japan participated in the fighting only to a small extent, the country’s economy profited from the production of ammunition and other items for the Allied, along with how the Japanese as well as Asian continental markets encountered a withdrawal of competition from the West. During the war, Japan experienced a growth of 40 percent of its real gross national product, together with a sudden increase in private industrial investment, and a huge turnaround when it came to international trade and payments. However, due to large parts of the output being put back into investment and exports, together with the falling behind of output in the consumption goods industries, the profits that were achieved for the average living standards as well as personal consumption were significantly lower. Thanks to the boom, certain speculators and investors were able to achieve high profits, but people receiving more or less set incomes experienced a decrease in living standards which was caused due to inflation, both happenings giving rise to an increase in the inequality of income distribution. However, private companies that focused on trade and modern industry, which had been very reliant on government support, abruptly changed to be very lucrative, and with that, the modern business establishment became more assured and politically influential.¹¹

The economic surplus caused a rise in factories, and because of the rapid economic growth, a growing urban workforce had to make the manufactured articles that were making up the biggest share of Japan’s exports. This caused the cities to become larger, with migrants coming from the countryside in order to obtain work in a factory. Prices had namely risen, which along with the increased cost of living had caused the wages to rise. The cities furthermore gave hope for an opportunity to live a modern life. The lower classes, however, lived in poverty while laboring during lengthy working hours. The Rice Riots (1918) show how these exploited, poor workers in the end manifested a big risk for social unrest.¹²

Because of their profits, a lot of wealthy landowners decided to go live in the cities, leaving their rural properties’ administration in the hands of custodians. This caused the owners to start

¹⁰ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 179.

¹¹ E. Sydney Cawcours, “Industrialization and Technological Change,” 101-102. For more information on Japan’s economy in the First World War period, please refer to this book.

¹² Jacob, *East Asia*, 73-75.

estranging from their tenants, while the custodians were not familiar with them. Because of this the relationship of tenants with the land often deteriorated, particularly if payments would be late. This change also encouraged smaller farmers to decide to move to the city, while rises in prices for necessary supplies in the course of the war contributed to the increasing number of tenants organizing themselves for the sake of a decrease in rent. This caused tenant conflicts that became more and more numerous when the war came to an end. In time, tenant unions would start representing the farmer tenants of wealthy landowners, making this conflict increasingly publicly known. Likewise, because the cost of living in the city had increased from 1914, the workforce, such as teachers, industrial workers and female office workers, organized themselves in an increasing number of unions to request higher wages.¹³

The authorities were confronted with a powerful, ably organized working class, and with unrest among farmers and protesting fishermen in 1918. During early August 1918, the increase of rice prices with 300 percent since 1915 went from protest to a furious crowd attacking rice speculators, other merchants, and the nouveaux riches in Kobe. Troops had to be dispatched to prevent the violence from spreading even more throughout the city. Although Kobe was the highlight of it, rice riots were happening throughout the whole of Japan, with the protestors calling for a moral economy rather than capitalist exploitation. Military intervention was necessary in twenty areas, with a minimum of about a hundred protesters who got killed, and numerous others were put in prison during and after, receiving severe punishments including the death penalty. In the wake of the events, the discussions about them caused the resignation of Prime Minister Terauchi Masatake (1852-1919).¹⁴

In sum, the First World War was a period of much change for Japan, not only in the sense of military developments but also in the socio-economic domain, which clearly shows much societal turbulence. Although the historical developments are naturally important to understanding the domestic situation of the Japanese Empire, the role charity took in the lives of Late Modern aristocratic women also deserves some attention.

¹³ Jacob, *East Asia*, 77-78.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

2.2 Aristocratic Women and Charity

To understand better the framework of which the women that will be discussed in this thesis made use of when organizing charity, this subchapter briefly addresses charity organized by aristocratic women. In the book *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*, K. D. Reynolds¹⁵ discusses three types of charitable activities when it comes to aristocratic women: personal charity, organized philanthropy, and these women's parts in public causes and crises on a national level.¹⁶

Personal charity typically involved direct contact between giver and receiver, and therefore this direct charity was predominantly restricted to the country estates of aristocratic women. Personal knowledge was stressed, and since cities and towns usually did not provide involvement with individuals and communities, they were prevented from organizing direct charity in these places. In rural areas, however, rituals of visiting kept up personal contact, for example through visiting the poor, doing this themselves or by making their agents or daughters visit them. Regular visiting also permitted to locate the need for aid and to decide upon the best form of this help. Furthermore, charity was an aristocratic duty, and taking care of indigents was taught as a woman's responsibility. When they were absent from the estate, staff would be in charge of regulating charity. On top of that, different types of patronage were given by aristocratic women, but most usual were in-kind donations for short-term, instant requirements. This patronage also included providing the poor with work, for which they used their networks.¹⁷ Reynolds here also argues that "the absence of rigid boundaries in the bestowal of patronage once again indicates that the personal charity of the aristocratic woman was part of a general web of social relations and not an isolated response to the particular problem of charity."¹⁸ Moreover, the relationship between these women and their tenants existed in a paternalist manner, and their land agents and clergymen reporting on the estate's indigents regularly stuck to the belief that indigence equaled moral failing, thus should not obtain their relief. Lastly, aristocratic women received applications asking for support, often substantiated by personal ties. However, by the 1900s, the aristocrat's participation in personal charity had made place for their involvement in philanthropic organizations.¹⁹

There were hardly any aristocratic women who actively worked in charities managed by the middle class prior to the 1880s. Although middle-class women would partake in ladies' committees,

¹⁵ The names behind these initials could not be found.

¹⁶ K. D. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women*, 102.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 103-109.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 106-107, 109-110, 118.

aristocratic women (with some exceptions) did not take up a supervising role in institutions, and both social groups would not be present at or act as chairpersons for public meetings. Furthermore, paying visits on a daily basis to the urban indigent was, due to other obligations and moving around, unfeasible for aristocratic women, which, together with other factors, kept them from becoming a patron in the same manner as to the rural poor. Still, they helped active philanthropists in three distinct manners.²⁰

The first one was donating money, as they continuously received requests for subscriptions and donations. As this indicated a distance between the giver and receiver, it distinguished organized from personal charity. This money was not always readily available, however, as not many unmarried women earned a high, independent income, and those married received quarterly allowances from their partners. And besides that, priority went to the estate's poor, over who they had personal responsibility. Secondly, they arranged for social events to have philanthropic goals, for which they consecrated much time and energy towards raising funds. To acquire supporters, aristocratic women drew upon their social circle and extensive relatives. Their sizeable residences enabled them, contrary to the middle class, to host big fund-raising events such as bazaars and holding meetings.²¹

Lastly, aristocratic women would allow the association of their names to good causes. Prominent aristocrats or members of the royal family patronizing an event was thought to guarantee the presence of élite and others who wanted to be spotted in their presence.²² Thus, "titled women formed one of the largest groups of recognizable 'names' who could be called upon to add glamour to an event."²³ Nevertheless, they did not permit the use of their names for philanthropies to which they had no personal connection and understood that using their name too often would cause a lack of interest. At last, prior to 1880 and compared to women, many aristocratic men took part in charity committees as president, a position in which one may actively participate in policy formulation. This changed, however, after 1880, when aristocratic women massively occupied more active positions in organizations put under their support.²⁴

It is also of significance for this thesis to have a brief look at how nationwide problems were addressed in charity. In the last subchapter, 'National Causes and Crises', Reynolds discusses two case studies: 'campaigns for the abolition of slavery', and 'the Irish Famine.' When the Irish Famine

²⁰ Ibid., 111-112.

²¹ Ibid., 112-114.

²² Ibid., 112, 117.

²³ Ibid., 117.

²⁴ Ibid., 118-119.

took place in the 1840s, except for public works-programs, organized state response was nonexistent. Furthermore, a general hesitance to acknowledge that any possibility or obligation existed to do something was predominant, and the Irish were greatly blamed. Therefore, in numerous locations, the sole relief at disposal was personal charity. Relief came in the shape of, for example, public works or soup kitchens, which thus took the form of relief traditionally employed in difficult periods and rested heavily on the landlords' initiative. Apart from that, other forms of relief organized more distantly were for example bazaars. However, because of the small scale and hesitation of the majority of landowners to ever be in Ireland, these charitable practices had little impact on halting the Famine. Moreover, an example given by Reynolds portrays a lack of ability to understand unless when being present in the area, which seriously cut back every response. The relief organized by aristocratic women was therefore limited to the types provided on their property, lacking, however, the personal familiarity with the receiver. It was furthermore a paternalist, restricted form of relief.²⁵

When discussing the 'campaigns for the abolition of slavery', Reynolds focuses on the role of the Duchess of Sutherland, called Harriet (1806-1868), in the campaign. On one hand, she was a patron for multiple organizations, but on the other hand, she was also actively involved: she, for example, organized for British politicians and important abolitionists to meet, released an address written on the topic of slavery, and let her residence be used to hold anti-slavery meetings. However, her activities for the movement also received public criticism, which, due to women's protected status connected to usually not being present in public discourse bestowed on them, was out of the ordinary and inappropriate.²⁶ Reynolds adds that "the adoption of middle-class lobbying tactics by an aristocratic woman on an issue which could not be explained in terms of personal, paternal conduct, and which...took place outside the protective boundaries of her class, made personal criticism and public debate of her activities possible."²⁷ It is also important to indicate that, where middle-class women were compelled to fight in order to claim to their right of access to a public platform, because of her social position, Harriet already benefitted from this.²⁸

It is against this background of international conflict on a never-seen scale, and from this framework of aristocratic women's social expectations, that wives of Belgian diplomats in Japan started organizing charity. As can be noticed mainly in Chapter Four, when placing this framework of charity in the context of diplomacy, and in the spirit of time of the twentieth century, many similarities can be found, but equally as many differences can be spotted. The next chapter will

²⁵ Ibid., 119-121.

²⁶ Ibid., 122-123.

²⁷ Ibid., 125.

²⁸ Ibid.

introduce the Belgian Relief Fund, and discuss in detail the case study of this research project, which will zoom in on the Belgian Relief Fund in Tokyo.

3. The Belgian Relief Fund

This chapter will set the context for the case study of this thesis by first introducing the establishment and main activities of the Belgian Relief Fund before moving on to the Japanese, so to speak, ‘branch’ of the Belgian Relief Fund. In that subchapter, the activities of the Japanese Belgian Relief Fund will be discussed year by year throughout the First World War and in its immediate aftermath. It will introduce the persons connected to the charity that were of most importance in the organization of its activities and aims to shape an image of the general developments through which this Fund went.

Before doing so, it is important to briefly focus on the issue of Belgian refugees during the First World War, given that these Belgians were one of the targeted audiences of the organizations discussed in the following subchapters. Most Belgians would flee in October 1914. After the city of Antwerp was lost to the German army on October 10, 1914, about a million refugees had fled to the Netherlands. Most of them, however, would not stay, and in 1916 only about 100.000 Belgian refugees remained in the Netherlands. Many of them would instead cross the Channel to Great Britain. Besides them, refugees already fled to the country from August 1914, a number which was increased by over 35.000 Belgians that arrived from September 20 until October 24. During 1915, refugees would continue travelling from the Netherlands to Great Britain, which would expand their numbers to 210.000. Once more, because of migrations to France, only 150.000 refugees remained. France saw their numbers rise from about 205.000 on July 1, 1915, to 325.000 just before the armistice. An estimated 600.000 Belgians lived outside of Belgium during a long-term period, about 90 percent of the Belgians stayed in Belgium. Some refugees fled to the unoccupied Westhoek from mid-October 1914. On request of the Belgian government, many left to France in the spring of 1915, but thousands of refugees decided to stay in the Belgian villages located in the French border area. Furthermore, the Belgian Front Relief Fund²⁹ started to evacuate thousands of Belgian children from October 1914 to Switzerland. It also put almost 6.000 children who were former residents of the Yser region into school colonies that were located close to Rouen and Paris from May 1915.³⁰

In October 1914, the Dutch government had decided to send every poor refugee to tent or barrack camps and other shelters. But the living conditions in the camps and shelters were very bad. The government founded ‘Belgian villages,’ in Nunspeet, Gouda, Ede and Uden, between November

²⁹ As far as is known, this Fund and the Belgian Relief Fund were two separate organizations.

³⁰ Michaël Amara, *Exodus*, 16, 19-20.

1914 and December 1915. Besides cafeterias and dormitories, the villages were equipped with churches, medical consultation offices, post offices, and schools, giving reasonable living circumstances in exchange for limited freedom. Furthermore, over 30.000 Belgian soldiers crossed the Dutch border after Antwerp was lost, where they were held captive in camps. Their wives and children came to the area around the camps, where reasonable accommodation was hard to obtain. From 1916 onwards, seven villages were created by the Dutch government for them. Moreover, from December 1914 until the armistice, financial support was provided by the French government to every Belgian and French refugee in France, initially only to their host families, but later on also to refugees upon request.³¹ The fate of Belgian refugees during the First World War is a history on its own that is too complex to focus on in this thesis. It is, however, of importance to keep in mind the size of this group of refugees that was in need of help, which it would receive to some extent from the charities discussed below.

3.1 The International Belgian Relief Fund

With the start of the First World War on July 28, 1914, many different charity organizations saw the light of day to address the various humanitarian crises this war brought along. Among them was the Belgian Relief Fund, which crossed paths with two other initiatives: the Commission for Relief in Belgium and the War Refugees Committee. Although it is possible that more research should be conducted on the Belgian Relief Fund before an exhaustive overview can be given of this charity organization, the description below hopes to provide some information based on available secondary sources.

Founded in August 1914, the Belgian Relief Fund received support from the Belgian Government and was given Belgian diplomatic auspices.³² The Fund originated with Count de Lalaing (1856-1919), the Belgian minister to London. The headquarters of the organization could be found at the Legation, which was located at 15 West Halkin Street, S.W., and it was put under patronage of H.R.H. the Duchess of Vendôme.³³ Someone called ‘Major Gordon’ was the secretary of the Belgian Relief Fund. Furthermore, already at the beginning of the organization, special offices

³¹ Ibid., 18-19, 24-27.

³² George I. Gay and H. H. Fisher, *Public Relations*, 237.

³³ Paul Lambotte et al., *Belgium's Gratitude*, 28. Her brother was the Belgian King.

were required to be founded at Apsley House and in parts of the Alexandra Hotel,³⁴ which were used for the processing of donations and conveying the Fund's gratitude to the donors. The donated money was brought to a bank, and the Belgian Minister of Internal Affairs had the responsibility over allocating the funds.³⁵

The Belgian Relief Fund was in the first place founded to provide relief to relatives of Belgian soldiers and to the injured and ill civilians.³⁶ When issues concerning emergencies and refugees arose during the first months of the First World War, the Belgian Government used the funds from this organization to solve many of them.³⁷ In a later stage, the government chose to include every Belgian family in the Fund as potential beneficiaries, and provide hospitals and the Belgian Red Cross with subsidies. For the winter of 1914,³⁸ a special bureau was established that occupied itself with providing clothes to Belgians alongside Belgium's coast, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, they managed to ship provision and clothes to Antwerp before the city was lost, supplied clothes and flour to the cities of Ghent and Ostend while there was still communication with these areas, and provided refugees who could not leave the coast with money to be used with regards to their first needs. The Fund also enabled favorable money exchanges in London and Folkestone for Belgian refugees by providing money in advance until a better solution could be provided.³⁹

Minister Lalaing contacted the Belgian consuls in the United Kingdom for participation in collecting contributions for the Belgian Relief Fund, which brought forth results from Dublin, Manchester, Belfast, and many other cities. The British colonies also joined in with their donations.⁴⁰ Apart from that, his colleague, the Belgian minister to Washington, Minister Havenith (1868-1936), also greatly contributed to the Fund. Furthermore, the Fund's seat in New York was actively collecting money and food, to which the Rockefeller Foundation lend a helping hand by providing transportation and room for storage. The USA and the British Empire contributed heavily to the 100,000 pounds assembled through the Belgian Relief Fund, which were transmitted to the Commission for Relief in Belgium by the Belgian Government in November 1914. A month later, the Commission received from the Belgian Relief Fund another 60,000 pounds, coming from New

³⁴ Amara, *Exodus*, 29. Upon arrival in London, refugees would first go to the Alexandra Palace.

³⁵ Lambotte et al., *Belgium's Gratitude*, 28, 31, 37.

Gay and Fisher, *Public Relations*, 237.

³⁶ Lambotte et al., *Belgium's Gratitude*, 28.

³⁷ Gay and Fisher, *Public Relations*, 237.

³⁸ Lambotte et al., *Belgium's Gratitude*, 30. The text does not specify which winter, but it is assumed that it is about the winter of 1914.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 29-32.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

Zealand as well as Australia. More gifts would be following from Australasia throughout the First World War. To give some indications of the scale of these donations, in the period from 1914 to 1919, the Commission for Relief in Belgium received 485,000 dollars from the Belgian Relief Fund, of which most were donated by British and American donors.⁴¹

However, similar to other types of organizations and initiatives, the Belgian Relief Fund did not only result in virtuous outcomes. No matter its contributions to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the Belgian Relief Fund came into conflict with another organization: the War Refugees Committee. Some persons involved in the War Refugees Committee were persuaded that substantial sums donated to the Belgian Relief Fund were meant to go to them. Lalaing did not elucidate that the Belgian Relief Fund and the War Refugees Committee were two separate organizations and that the money donated to the Belgian Relief Fund was solely used for aid in Belgium, which infuriated them. It also resulted in Lalaing being accused of exploiting public sympathy towards Belgians fled to England by the War Refugees Committee. However, the Belgian government had no restrictions to employ the money how it saw fit, due to terms of reference connected to a high number of donations, along with the large scope of Belgium's suffering. Regardless of the distress in Belgium and the Netherlands, and demands for relief in England, the government jealously prevented the use of this money. Because of extensive irritation on behalf of Lalaing, together with Belgium depending more and more on Britain, Lalaing was replaced by Paul Hymans (1865-1941), who became ambassador in February 1915. It was not the end of the problems, however, as the War Refugees Committee joined hands with the Repatriation Fund in opposition to the Belgian Relief Fund in 1916. The Belgian Relief Fund in time joined the Belgian government in Le Havre, and ended up providing large amounts of money to the government donated to be completely or partially employed for aid to those fled to Britain. On top of all this, it was also proposed by the Belgian government to launder official funds destined for relief in the Netherlands via the Belgian Relief Fund, in order to not endanger the Netherlands' neutrality. It is however unknown whether or not this actually happened.⁴² Historian Branden Little also describes that the Belgian Relief Fund openly condemned Germany, which obstructed them from being allowed to conduct feeding operations in occupied Belgium, contrary to the Commission for Relief in Belgium.⁴³

This thesis can only provide a brief introduction of the Belgian Relief Fund and its functioning in London, the United States of America, and in other parts of the world, and surely,

⁴¹ Gay and Fisher, *Public Relations*, 237-239, 260, 296-297.

⁴² Peter James Cahalan, "Treatment of Belgian Refugees," 51-52, 123-124, 129, 131-132, 479-480.

⁴³ Branden Little, "The Humanitarian Mobilization," 126.

much more can be found about this charity organization. However, the anglophone world was not the only part of the globe in which the Belgian Relief Fund was active, as the rest of this thesis will discuss this Fund's branch in Japan in detail. Please notice that from now on, when the Belgian Relief Fund is mentioned, unless indicated differently, this is always referring to the Belgian Relief Fund in Japan.

3.2 The Japanese Belgian Relief Fund

This chapter aims at introducing the Japanese branch of the Belgian Relief Fund and its major developments throughout the First World War and of the immediate postwar period. Before discussing this, however, two comments have to be made. In the first place, there has never been found one continuously used name for the Belgian Relief Fund throughout the available sources in Japanese. This has always caused significant doubt as to whether or not the charity case discussed in every single newspaper article was indeed linked to the Belgian Relief Fund. Therefore, much care has gone into verifying every time whether or not persons that were part of the organization of the Fund were mentioned, if involvement of the Belgian Legation was described throughout the article, or if there was a logical connection to the Belgian Relief Fund. If this was not the case, the article was not incorporated into the list of sources that has eventually made it into this thesis.

Secondly, when focusing on the Belgian Relief Fund, there are already some minor research studies existing. However, without any knowledge of the Belgian Relief Fund, it is very difficult to understand about which specific charity organization these secondary sources are writing. For example, the book *Nihon • Berugī kankeishi*, 日本・ベルギー関係史 (A History of Japan-Belgium Relations) quotes an article of the newspaper *Jiji Shinpō*, and explains that “this article is at the same time based on the campaign of the Belgian Legation in Japan informing about the disastrous scene of Belgium and appealing to donations” (Kono kiji wa, tōji, chūNichi Berugī kōshikan ga okonatta Berugī no sanjō wo shirasete gien wo uttaeru kyanpēn ni motozuite iru, この記事は、当時、駐日ベルギー公使館が行ったベルギーの惨状を知らせて義捐を訴えるキャンペーンに基づいている。).⁴⁴ In addition, a second important secondary source is the MA thesis of Hanne Deleu on “Japanese Humanitarian Aid for Belgium During the First World War: Charity as a Tool for

⁴⁴ Isomi, Tatsunori 磯見辰典, Kurosawa, Fumitaka 黒沢文貴 and Sakurai, Ryōjyu 櫻井良樹, “*Nihon • Berugī kankeishi*” 日本・ベルギー関係史 [A History of Japan-Belgium Relations], 287-288.

International Acknowledgement.” She focusses on the motivations for the humanitarian relief supplied in the period between 1914 and 1924 by Japan in favor of Belgium, and on numerous occasions describes sources that have a link to the Belgian Relief Fund.⁴⁵ The research in her thesis related to the Belgian Relief Fund has also been used to, on the one hand, collect articles cited in the thesis on this topic, and on the other hand, add the dates of these articles to the list compiled to be used for manually going through the national daily newspapers *Jiji Shinpō* and the *Kokumin Shinbun* in the search for more information about this Fund.

This subchapter is split up into four parts: ‘1914,’ ‘1915,’ ‘1916 and 1917,’ and ‘1918 and the immediate postwar period’ until 1920. Without going into much detail about the activities of the Fund,⁴⁶ the following subchapters will focus on introducing the figures that were primarily involved in its management, and describe the general developments of this charity organization.

3.2.1 1914: The Incentive of the Belgian Relief Fund

The very first trace of the Belgian Relief Fund in Japan is an article in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* named ‘For the Fatherland: The Noble Undertaking of Both Belgian Ladies’ (Kokoku no tame ni: Hakukoku ryōjoshi no gikyo, 故国の為に：白国両女史の義挙) and dated October 21, 1914. It announces the search for donations to be given to Belgians by the widow of former Belgian Minister, Mary d’Anethan (Marī Danetan, マリーダネタン), together with the wife of the Belgian chargé d’affaires, Dorothy de Warzée (Dorôte, do, Waruze, ドローテ・ド・ワルゼ).⁴⁷ Similar articles appear in the following days, for example in the *Jiji Shinpō* and *Kokumin Shinbun*.⁴⁸ Apart from these donations, the Belgian Relief Fund was likely involved in one other event in December 1914, a musical

⁴⁵ Hanne Deleu, “Japanese Humanitarian Aid”, 16, 39-40, 44-46, 53.

This part of the paragraph, included with permission of the supervisor of this thesis, is an updated version of a part of a research presentation held at Professor Naraoka Sōchi’s research seminar at Kyoto University on January 15, 2024.

⁴⁶ This will be addressed in detail in Chapter Four.

⁴⁷ “Kokoku no tame ni: Hakukoku ryōjoshi no gikyo” 故国の為に：白国両女史の義挙 [For the Fatherland: The Noble Undertaking of Both Belgian Ladies], 5. Throughout the analysis of the source materials of this thesis, it became clear that names of foreigners in Japanese sources are often written in different katakana variations depending on the source, probably because of misunderstandings or abbreviations for readability. Before articles were thus attributed to the Belgian Relief Fund, a lot of care has gone into establishing with certainty that the persons mentioned were truly linked to the Fund.

⁴⁸ “Utsukushiki gien no kuwadate: Hakukokumin no hisanji ni taishi” 美しき義捐の企て：白国民の悲惨事に対し [A Beautiful Plan for Donations: The Disastrous Circumstances of the Belgians], 7. de Warzée ド・、ーワルゼ and d’Anethan ーダネタン, “Fukō naru Hakukokumin no tame ni” 不幸なる白国民の為に [For the Unfortunate Belgians], 5.

This will be discussed in more detail in subchapter 4.1.

performance, held among others for Belgian relief, which advertisement mentions the wife of the Belgian Minister.⁴⁹ The exact date of establishment of the Belgian Relief Fund can thus only be guessed to be somewhere in the fall of 1914, which is furthermore confirmed in an article of the newspaper *La Métropole* published in London on December 17, 1918. In this article, it is also indicated that the Belgian Legation in Tokyo gave this Fund its auspices.⁵⁰

It is not clear what the exact reason for the start of the Belgian Relief Fund was, as no information could be found about its origins in the files of the diplomatic archive or newspaper articles. Maybe the organization started because news about the Fund in London or other parts of the world reached Japan and the Belgian Legation decided to also participate. Another theory could be that the orders to participate were given to the diplomats on post in Japan by the Belgian government. Or perhaps Minister Lalaing or someone else from the Belgian diplomatic corps decided to contact all of his colleagues. However, keeping in mind the logistics that go into the organization of a large-scale charity fund, it was likely the second or third possible explanation that was the incentive to join in. Furthermore, in this chapter, multiple dispatches will be discussed for the reconstruction of the Fund's developments, which makes it likely that its founding was indeed an instructed assignment of the Belgian government.⁵¹

Even though seemingly very little can be understood from sources about the developments of the Belgian Relief Fund throughout 1914, it is possible to find out a bit more about the persons mentioned in the article above. E. Mary d'Anethan, also known as Baroness d'Anethan, went ashore at Kobe on April 27th, 1914, according to the *Japan Advertiser* to see friends who were living in Japan.⁵² She was born in 1858 in Norfolk as the daughter of a barrister who belonged to the rural gentry.⁵³ Married to Belgian diplomat Baron Albert d'Anethan in 1886, the couple arrived in Japan

⁴⁹ 慈善音楽会 'Jizen ongakukai' [Charity Recital], advertisement, 7.

As will become clear soon, it is impossible that the wife of the Belgian Minister was there. The article thus likely meant Baroness de Warzée or Baroness d'Anethan.

⁵⁰ "Les Sympathies Japonaises [The Japanese Sympathies]," 3. As the text under the name of the newspaper explains, *La Métropole* originally published in Antwerp, but due to the war seems to have moved to London and continued its activities there.

⁵¹ It is however a weak point of the political files in the Belgian Diplomatic Archive consulted for this thesis, that they rarely ever contain dispatches or other documents sent towards diplomats on post, and this one-sidedness thus makes it difficult to get insights into the original instructions from the government.

Its incentive for foundation, as well as intrinsic motivation for wives of diplomats to participate in charity, will be addressed further at a later stage.

⁵² E. Mary d'Anethan, *Fourteen Years*, 4.

"No Title," 6. The article has no title or author.

⁵³ "Convert Baroness," 10. The article, published in 1935, mentions she was 77 when she passed away. This would thus make the year of her birth 1858.

Who's Who, 68.

Lorraine Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers*, 142.

in October 1893 where the Baron took post as Minister Resident, and as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from 1894.⁵⁴ He was minister in Japan until July 25, 1910, when he passed away.⁵⁵ The Baroness was *doyenne* of the diplomatic corps over a period of nine years until 1906, which put her in a very significant position during Japanese as well as European social events and provided a privileged way of contact with the local nobility together with the Imperial family. This meant that she, apart from being often asked to attend other social activities that were held by the wider community, had to be present at every important Imperial or diplomatic social occasion. It is furthermore important to mention, in order to understand her activities in the Belgian Relief Fund, that she also was a writer of novels and poetry.⁵⁶



Figure 1: Baroness d'Anethan
Reprinted from: Bassano Ltd, Eleanora Mary, Baroness d'Anethan (née Haggard)
© National Portrait Gallery, London

⁵⁴ "Convert Baroness," 10.

d'Anethan, *Fourteen Years*, 15, 19.

⁵⁵ George Alexander Lensen, *The d'Anethan Dispatches*, 5.

⁵⁶ d'Anethan, *Fourteen Years*, 463. Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers*, 143, 149, 179.

For more details about Baroness d'Anethan's biography, see Sterry, *Victorian Women Travellers*, 142-168, 179-182, 186-193.

Given the date of her arrival in Japan, the reason as to why she came back has nothing to do with the Belgian Relief Fund. However, due to the outbreak of the First World War in the middle of her trip, she seems to have decided to stay longer than planned in Japan and contribute to the Belgian Relief Fund. Maybe she saw this cause as a worthy one and something she could contribute to. Or maybe the war caused difficulties for her to return home and she decided to pass the time in Japan by helping the Belgian Relief Fund. No matter her motives, it is true that, as a widow, she was not part of the Belgian diplomatic circles anymore at the time she became active in the Belgian Relief Fund, and therefore cannot be seen as a ‘wife of a diplomat’ in the strict sense of the concept. But the Baroness had a background in ‘culture of diplomacy’ so to speak, and had already before conducted her own charity work in Japan (for example, she organized theatre performances together with Madame Sannomiya in favor of the Red Cross Society in 1894. Madame Sannomiya’s husband was the Vice-Master of Ceremonies in 1893).⁵⁷ Moreover, the Belgian Relief Fund stood in relation with the Belgian Legation in Japan which she had thus strong connections to, having been an active member of the Legation for 17 years. It would therefore be too strict to exclude her from this case study, as in the end the lack of her title only indicates the passing of her husband, and certainly not a rupture in the knowhow in moving about diplomatic circles that formed the background which she brought when participating in this Fund.

Although there is quite a lot known about Baroness d’Anethan’s personal history, the same cannot be said of Baroness de Warzée, whose parents were American, but who was born in England.⁵⁸ Her marriage to Léon Lemaire de Warzée d’Hermalle was announced to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on April 22, 1902, which says that her name is Dorothy Davis. In this letter of announcement, the following is written: “I dare to hope, Mister the Minister, that you do not have any objection to this union that does not in any way interrupt the career to which you have kindly admitted me.”⁵⁹ How intruding into the personal sphere this might sound, needing ministerial authorization in order to marry is something that can also be seen with Russia’s diplomatic service.⁶⁰ The couple does not give the minister much time for objection, however, as the wedding took place in London two days later, on April 24th 1902.⁶¹ They had two children together: Diana, who would

⁵⁷ d’Anethan, *Fourteen Years*, 43, 97.

⁵⁸ “Baroness de Warzee,” 6.

⁵⁹ FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, L. Lemaire de Warzée d’Hermalle to Minister of Foreign Affairs, April 22, 1902.

“J’ose espérer, Monsieur le Ministre, que vous ne venez aucun empêchement à cette union qui n’interrompra en rien la carrière dans laquelle vous avez bien voulu m’admettre.”

⁶⁰ Soroka, “Diplomats’ Wives and Foreign Ministry,” 151.

⁶¹ FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, Marriage Announcement of L. Lemaire de Warzée d’Hermalle and D. Davis, n.d. [April 24, 1902].

marry the French diplomat Jean Chauvel, and Guy, who would follow in his father's footsteps and also enter the diplomatic service.⁶² Furthermore, similarly to Baroness d'Anethan, Dorothy was also a writer, having published her memoirs *Peeps into Persia*.⁶³



Figure 2: Baroness de Warzée
Reprinted from: "Baroness de Warzee," August 19, 1923, 6.

A little more is known about the background of her husband, Baron Léon Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle.⁶⁴ Born on November 10, 1877, he graduated from the University of Louvain in commercial and consular sciences in 1901. He entered the diplomatic service on March 31, 1902, with the position of Vice-Consul, and consecutively served in Lima, Tehran and Sofia between 1903 to 1909.⁶⁵ In 1913, serving once more in Tehran, he was chosen for the position of secretary at the Belgian Legation in Tokyo.⁶⁶ He presented himself in Tokyo on April 7th 1913,⁶⁷ presumably thus

⁶² "Social and General," April 14, 1926, 5. The article is thus wrong when claiming she was an only child.

"Social and General," July 29, 1931, 5.

⁶³ Dorothy de Warzée, *Peeps into Persia*.

⁶⁴ FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, L. Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle to Minister of Foreign Affairs, April 22, 1902. Here, he signs this letter with "Léon Le Maire de Warzee", but dispatch FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, April 7, 1913. writes about "M. ["Monsieur", Mister] Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle". "Baroness de Warzee," 6. Confirms he is a baron.

⁶⁵ FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, L. Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle to Davignon, 12 November 1909.

⁶⁶ FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, Anonymous to L. Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle, January 17, 1913.

⁶⁷ FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, April 7, 1913.

taking his wife and children along to Japan. He, together with his wife and daughter, stayed in Japan until 1921.⁶⁸

Before moving on to the year 1915, one more question has to be addressed. The very first article discussed in this subchapter, ‘For the Fatherland: The Noble Undertaking of Both Belgian Ladies,’ states the following: “The only Belgian women who are currently staying in Tokyo are both ladies, the wife of the chargé d’affaires of this country, Dorothy de Warzée, and widow of former Belgian minister Mary d’Anethan” (現時東京に在留されて居る白耳義婦人は同国代理公使夫人ドロテー、ド、ワルゼと前白耳義公使未亡人マリーダネタンの両女史のみであります, Genji Tōkyō ni zairyū sarete oru Berugī fujin wa dōkoku dairi kōshi fujin Dorôte, do, Waruze to zen Berugī kōshi mibōjin Marī Danetan no ryōjoshi nomi de arimasu).⁶⁹ It is by now known that both Baroness d’Anethan and Baroness de Warzée were English. However, wives of Russian diplomats, for example, took the nationality of their partner once they got married,⁷⁰ which makes this part of the sentence not that remarkable. The real question lays in the fact that the article indicates that, besides these two women, there are none with Belgian nationality present in the capital of Japan. If this would indeed be true, then where was the wife of the Belgian minister herself?

3.2.2 1915: The Belgian Relief Fund as Large-Scale Charity Organization

The first significant event for the Belgian Relief Fund in 1915 was the return of Minister Georges della Faille de Leverghem from what had seemingly become a disastrous home leave. Having started the journey to Belgium in July 1914, he found himself in Brussels a week before the start of the war. While his wife and children fled to the coast, he only left the city for Antwerp one day before the capital was occupied by German troops. On October 7th, he left for ‘Lappāre’ (ラッパレー), making his way to Folkestone via Ostend.⁷¹ The correct meaning of ‘Lappāre’ is unknown, but it is very likely that ‘La Panne’ or ‘De Panne,’ a Belgian coastal city, which would be logical in the context of

⁶⁸ “M. de Warzee,” 1.

⁶⁹ “Kokoku no tame ni: Hakukoku ryōjoshi no gikyo” 故国の為に：白国両女史の義挙 [For the Fatherland: The Noble Undertaking of Both Belgian Ladies], 5.

両女史 (Ryōjoshi, both women) has been correctly copied from the original.

⁷⁰ Soroka, “Diplomats’ Wives and Foreign Ministry,” 151.

⁷¹ “Doitsu ni tai suru Hakukoku no urami: Hakukoku kōshi kinin; mankō no tekigaishin” 独逸に対する白国の恨み：白国公使帰任；満腔の敵愾心 [The Resentment of Belgium against Germany: Return to His Post of the Belgian Minister; Heartfelt Hostility], 7.

this article, was meant. Once in England, he left his conjugal family there and boarded a boat to New York which departed from Liverpool, falling ill during the crossing. The newspaper article claims that he had scarlet fever, but a letter written by Minister della Faille and found in the diplomatic archive indicates that he contracted typhoid fever.⁷² Only after two months of recovering, he was able to make the crossing from New York to Japan via San Francisco, starting the journey on December 28th and going ashore in Yokohama on January 27th, 1915.⁷³ To make matters even worse, his wife had to undergo life-threatening surgery which was performed in Folkestone at some point in the period that the minister stayed in New York.⁷⁴ Although back in Japan in July, she must have left and returned to Japan with their sons on November 24, 1915.⁷⁵ However, her whereabouts during the First World War period are in general very obscure.

Count Georges della Faille de Leverghem was born on August 18, 1869.⁷⁶ He obtained candidate degrees in letters and philosophy before obtaining the post of attaché of the legation in 1892.⁷⁷ On April 18, 1911, della Faille reached Tokyo and became in charge of the Belgian Legation,⁷⁸ thus also presumably bringing his wife and children along to Japan. Very little is known about his wife: her name was Simone Maskens, and her father was the Belgian minister in Cairo during the time of their engagement in 1903.⁷⁹ The Countess was born on November 24, 1876 in Brussels.⁸⁰ The couple had two sons together, of whom the eldest was called Jack.⁸¹

The first (still existing) dispatch about the Belgian Relief Fund in Japan was sent to the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs in April 1915, together with two copies of the same (now lost)

⁷² Ibid.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Minister [Davignon], 25 Unknown [December] 1914.

⁷³ “Doitsu ni tai suru Hakukoku no urami: Hakukoku kōshi kinin; mankō no tekigaishin” 独逸に対する白国の恨み: 白国公使帰任; 満腔の敵愾心 [The Resentment of Belgium against Germany: Return to His Post of the Belgian Minister; Heartfelt Hostility], 7.

⁷⁴ FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, February 6, 1915.

⁷⁵ “Kōkekka wo osamete: Nihon Fujin Hakukoku Dōjōkai no kaisan” 好結果を収めて: 日本婦人白国同情会の解散 [Achieving a Good Result: The Dissolution of the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society], 6. She poses on the picture added to his article.

“Sokoku no senka wo kataru: Berujūmu kōshi fujin no kichō” 祖国の戦禍を語る: 白耳義公使夫人の帰朝 [Talking about the damages of war in her homeland: The wife of the Belgian minister returning from abroad], 5.

⁷⁶ FGSFA, Pers. 1404 / II, Obituary of Georges, Alphonse, Hubert, Marie, Joseph Comte della Faille de Leverghem, December 15, 1944.

⁷⁷ FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / I, Appointment of Georges della Faille de Leverghem by Minister of Foreign Affairs, January 17, 1892.

⁷⁸ FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, April 19, 1911.

⁷⁹ FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / I, Anonymous to de Faverau, 29 May 1903.

⁸⁰ Obituary of Comtesse della Faille de Leverghem Jeanne, Alice, Simone Maskens, October 5, 1946, Documentatiecentrum Familiekunde Vlaanderen regio Aalst, Bak034. This document has been kindly contributed by the “Documentation Centre Genealogy Flanders Region Aalst”

⁸¹ “Social and General,” January 30, 1919, 5. This article mentions that they have two children, and “Social and General,” December 5, 1920, 9., mentions their eldest son.

“Social and General,” December 5, 1920, 9.

brochure that was available for purchase in order to raise money for the Fund. These brochures contained the text of a speech by Baroness d'Anethan about Belgium, which she gave in Tokyo and Yokohama.⁸² Another dispatch that was sent to the Belgian Government on December 24, 1914, should have conveyed information about this conference,⁸³ but this document does not exist any longer, and it is therefore unknown if the government was already aware of the Belgian Relief Fund.

In a dispatch of May 19, 1915, della Faille addresses an article of *La Métropole*, which was a Belgian newspaper that, around the time the dispatch was sent, was located in London. The minister presumed that the consul general on post in Yokohama, called Bastin,⁸⁴ was, at the least, the source of inspiration if not the author of this article.⁸⁵ He added:

“I would not see any inconvenience if this article was not drawn up with the obvious intention to present to the public opinion the actions of the consulate as much more active than those of the Legation and especially if he would not attribute to the Consulate having received gifts that in reality have been handed over to the Legation. The influence of this to the eyes of the readers of similar articles could pass to be completely eclipsed by those of the consulate of Yokohama”⁸⁶

The article in question can be found attached to the dispatch as ‘annex 23,’⁸⁷ or in *La Métropole* of March 28, 1915.⁸⁸ It contains a description of donations given to the consulate in Yokohama from the ‘Belghi Kwai,’⁸⁹ the ‘Japanese Red Cross Society,’ and the ‘Central Association of Tea in Japan,’ and gives more information about the ‘Yokohama Ladies’ Relief Fund.’ On the topic of charity in Tokyo, a ‘Franco-Belgo-Japanese Relief Committee’ is mentioned, and the Belgian Relief Fund, although not named, alongside the ‘Nipon Fujin Hakoku Dojo Kwai’ are touched upon.⁹⁰ The ‘Nipon Fujin Hakoku Dojo Kwai’ 日本婦人白国同情会, or ‘Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society’ as it would have been called in English and its link with the Belgian Relief Fund will be mentioned shortly. In reaction to this, the minister decided to send three different texts to *La Métropole*, *XXième*

⁸² It is unclear what exactly she said about Belgium.

⁸³ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, April 30, 1915.

⁸⁴ His date of birth and death are unknown.

⁸⁵ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

“Je n’y verrais aucun inconvénient si cet article n’était pas rédigé avec l’intention évidente de présenter à l’opinion publique l’action du consulat comme bien plus active que celle de la Légation et surtout s’il n’attribuait pas au Consulat d’avoir recueilli des dons qui en réalité ont été remis à la Légation. L’influence de celle-ci aux yeux des lecteurs d’articles semblables, pourrait passer pour être complètement éclipsée par celle du consulat de Yokohama.”

⁸⁷ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 23.

⁸⁸ “L’Aide Japonaise. [The Japanese Help],” March 28, 1915, 1.

⁸⁹ This is a transliteration of ベルギー会 or “Bergī Kai”, which would mean “Belgium Club.”

⁹⁰ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 23. Originating from French, the names of these organizations are: “La Société de la Croix-Rouge du Japon”, “L’association centrale du thé au Japon”, and the “comité de secours franco-belgo-japonais”.

Siècle and *L'indépendance belge*,⁹¹ which have also been included in the dispatch. In the case of the texts to *La Métropole* and *L'indépendance belge*, della Faille puts forward the request to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to send on the texts to the journals in question if he gives his approval. The other text was mailed by della Faille to the *XXième Siècle*.⁹²

According to the article destined to *La Métropole*, the donations made by the 'Japanese Red Cross Society' and the 'Central Association of Tea in Japan,' were made in the first place to the Belgian Legation, which only gave the donated goods to the consulate for shipment to France. The same goes for the money contributed by the 'Belghi Kwai,' which was also only put into the care of the consulate to buy and transport bandages to Europe.⁹³ It is thus quite logical that Minister della Faille was not all too happy with the consul in Yokohama.

The reason as to why the dispute of two diplomats is mentioned here is because due to their quarrel, more is known about the situation of the Belgian Relief Fund until May 1915. In the article destined for *La Métropole*, it is confirmed that Baroness de Warzée and Baroness d'Anethan were responsible for the formation of the Belgian Relief Fund, which the Belgian Legation had given its auspices.⁹⁴ It is not mentioned here, but Baroness de Warzée was also the treasurer of the Belgian Relief Fund.⁹⁵ Furthermore, as declared in the article for *La Métropole*, those targeted to receive money from the Fund were "Belgians, [among who] refugees and those residing in Belgium".⁹⁶

Due to the success the Belgian Relief Fund had, some Japanese women who originally helped with the organization established the 'Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society,' which also obtained the Legation's auspices. Furthermore, the Belgian consul in Kobe named Casteur⁹⁷ was able, after being asked to assemble sums by the Belgian Relief Fund, to get the *Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun* to start a subscription list. All three initiatives together managed to obtain a sum of almost 200,000 francs.⁹⁸ Furthermore, Baroness de Warzée was, alongside the English ambassadress, active in the management of the Queen Mary's Guild in Tokyo.⁹⁹ The Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society, the

⁹¹ Amara, *Exodus*, 32. *Le XXième Siècle* and *L'Indépendance Belge* were two Belgian newspapers. During the war, the first one published in France, and the second one in Great Britain.

⁹² FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915.

⁹³ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ "Big Audience Enjoys Entertainment," 10.

⁹⁶ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.

"Des Belges, réfugiés et ceux résident en Belgique"

⁹⁷ His date of birth and death are unknown.

⁹⁸ It is assumed that these are Belgian Francs, the currency that was in use before the Euro.

⁹⁹ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.

involvement of the consulate in Kobe in the internal network of the Belgian diplomatic corps, and the Queen Mary's Guild will later be discussed in more detail.¹⁰⁰

The article eventually made it into *La Métropole* on June 22, 1915,¹⁰¹ which means that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did give its approval for publication. Compared to the newspaper article, however, the original version included a paragraph about a donation of the 'Belghi Kwai' that was in the first place made available to the Belgian Legation and not to the consulate in Yokohama.¹⁰² Why this was not included in the eventually published article, or if it was the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the newspaper editors that decided to not include it, is unknown. It was in any case deemed irrelevant, as the contents of this paragraph does not seem to be sensitive information that could not be disclosed to the public.

Furthermore, the Belgian Relief Fund organized two major activities in 1915: a bazaar on June 19th and 26th, and a 'benefit entertainment' on Oktober 30th.¹⁰³ Thus, 1915 was for the Fund a year shaped by on the one hand conflict and personal problems, while on the other hand one of development and results. Making its appearance to the European readership, the Fund continued its activities with 1916 in prospect.

3.2.3 1916 and 1917: Insights and Developments

A dispatch was sent to the Belgian government on June 14, 1916, which recalls the contents of a dispatch sent on January 27, 1916. The prevailing dispatch revealed that all the charitable initiatives organized in Tokyo for Belgians who experienced effects of the war ceased to exist except for the Belgian Relief Fund.¹⁰⁴ Presumably, the minister is thus referring to the other initiatives mentioned in the dispatches of 1915. The dispatch sent on January 27 furthermore should have discussed the difficulties the Fund was confronted with, "not because of a lack or decrease in sympathy towards us, but principally because the Japanese public has already done a considerable effort for us in the

¹⁰⁰ See subchapter 4.2.

¹⁰¹ "L'Aide Japonaise. [The Japanese Help]," June 22, 1915, 1.

¹⁰² FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.

¹⁰³ "Daibazā kaisai: Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō nite" 大慈善市開催: 赤坂溜池三会堂にて [Holding a big bazaar: At the Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō], 4. "Big Audience Enjoys Entertainment," 10.

¹⁰⁴ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

previous year and because in this moment it is too much solicited from other sides.”¹⁰⁵ This dispatch was however not found in the archival file.

The dispatch of June 14 seemingly wants to remind the reader about unfavorable circumstances concerning the Fund,¹⁰⁶ apparently thus adding to the dispatch of January 27 and hoping to defend the outcomes of the Belgian Relief Fund against the judgment of the receiver. One of those difficulties that for example presented itself was the competition of the Amateur Dramatic Club that was located in Yokohama, and with Bastin. Towards the end of February 1916, an *opéra comique* with the title *La Mascotte* was performed three times in Tokyo by the Amateur Dramatic Club for the Belgian Orphans Fund. Furthermore, a *fête* was given on April 8th, which took place in Yokohama and was orchestrated by Bastin, with Belgian military hospitals as the charitable goal. Thus, the Belgian Relief Fund was not able to organize anything in the period between February and April, since organizing something to benefit a Belgian fund would likely fail and bore the public. Due to this competition, they only managed to organize events in the name of the Belgian Relief Fund in May: a charity bazaar opened from May 18th to 20th, and on the 26th a performance shown at the Imperial Theatre. These again had their problems: once more the existence of many charities that saturated the public. Furthermore, the ‘English colony’ held in the same month parties of which profits would be donated to the British Red Cross. Besides competition, those representing the Belgian Relief Fund did not want to exasperate the colony by simultaneously organizing something similar. Lastly, because the summer season would start soon, they could not wait any longer to realize their projects.¹⁰⁷

Anyone with personal experience of a Japanese summer will understand that it is indeed not ideal to hold an event during blazing hot and humid days, and while this certainly played a significant role, it was not the whole reason this part of the text is about. Due to Tokyo’s hot summer, a lot of expatriates left on vacation to for example Hakone, Nikkō or Chiba.¹⁰⁸ Baroness d’Anethan also describes, for example, going to Nikkō on June 27, 1896, staying at Chūzenji during the summer, before returning to Tokyo on September 23. Although her husband seemingly got called back to Tokyo, staying there from September 8 to 13,¹⁰⁹ the same thus counted for diplomats and

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

“Non pas du fait d’un manque ou d’une diminution [Sic : diminution] de sympathie à notre égard, mais principalement parce que le public nippon a déjà fait pour nous un effort considérable l’an dernier et parce qu’en ce moment il est trop sollicité de plusieurs autres côtés.”

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

¹⁰⁸ Olive Checkland, *Britain’s Encounter*, 98.

¹⁰⁹ d’Anethan, *Fourteen Years*, 144, 153, 156.

their families. The summer months, therefore, meant a significant reduction of the Legation's social circle due to simultaneous vacation, and consequently also a considerable decrease in the guests they could expect during their events. Possibly, the whole Legation also wanted to leave on vacation, too, which would have weakened the motivation for the organization of activities during this period. This seasonality is reflected in the events organized for the Belgian Relief Fund: all took place during the spring, fall or winter, and none during the summer (from July onwards). The second difficulty will be addressed at a later point when diplomatic layers in charity will be discussed.¹¹⁰

The problem with the competition by the English holding *fêtes* for their Red Cross could be solved by the presence of the Japanese Red Cross Ladies Committee. They were established after the Russian embassy solicited them to do so, and were active in looking for funds in the name of the Serbs. The Belgian Relief Fund was considering cooperating with this organization since it would give them coverage which would keep them from running against the English. They eventually went through with this, as both groups cooperated at the before-mentioned charity bazaar and performance. The French helped with the charity bazaar, which meant that the French embassy supported them. The English were also asked to join but wanted to solely work on their aforementioned parties. However, in both events, embassy staff and other English lent a helping hand.¹¹¹

Furthermore, it is indicated that all the revenues of the Belgian Relief Fund were coming from foreign residents and Japanese and that it was mainly operating in Tokyo. However, in cooperation with the Belgian consul, Casteur, the Fund organized a concert which took place in Kobe. It also arranged for collection boxes in provincial schools and were given local subscriptions, for example from Shimonoseki.¹¹² This was complemented by similar boxes for the Belgian Relief Fund in a hundred universities and universities of applied sciences,¹¹³ made available thanks to the consent and support of the Japanese Minister of Education. Lastly, all originally included 21 annexes,¹¹⁴ are missing in the file that keeps this dispatch. This dispatch is therefore the last document with information about the Belgian Relief Fund in the diplomatic archive.

¹¹⁰ See subchapter 4.3.

¹¹¹ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

¹¹² Shimonoseki is a city located in the South of Japan.

¹¹³ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

In French: "d'écoles supérieures et universités de l'Empire."

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Apart from the events described above, on January 29 and 31, 1916, in favor of the English Retired Soldiers Relief Society (Eikoku Taishoku Gunjin Kyūgokai, 英国退職軍人救護会) and Belgium Relief Society (Berugī Kyūenkai, 白耳義救援会), Baroness d'Anethan played one of the parts in a performance of which tickets could be obtained among others from the Belgian Legation.¹¹⁵ The dispatch of June 14, 1916, described that they held the play for big audiences.¹¹⁶ Moreover, on November 18, 1916, a concert for Belgian mutilated soldiers was held.¹¹⁷

More information about the activities of the Fund in 1917 can be found in an article of *La Métropole*, which describes that during this year, most of the attention of the Fund went to Belgian children. Originally started by someone called Mister Renault who came from Liège (Belgium) but had settled in Kobe, and supported by the Belgian consulate in the same city, a subscription for Belgian children saw the light of day in 1916. Its contributions coming from schoolchildren living in the southern prefectures of Japan, the Belgian Relief Fund took over the initiative in the north. In total, 192,000 francs or more than 7.700 pounds were raised by the end of 1918, for the largest part by children who were in primary school. By the time the article was published on December 17, 1918, they were still continuing the initiative.¹¹⁸ According to the Bank of England's 'Inflation Calculator,' these 7.700 pounds would have a value of almost 370.000 pounds in June 2024.¹¹⁹ Although its accuracy should be accepted with precaution, it does give some rough idea of the value that these collected sums would have had.

Besides this newspaper article, however, nothing more could be found about this subscription, even though it does seem to be quite a big initiative. One possible reason might be that this was partially held in the south, and the Japanese newspapers browsed for this thesis were all published in Tokyo. Furthermore, although it does not have an author, the article has been published in *La Métropole*,¹²⁰ and given the previous newspaper article that Minister della Faille wrote to this newspaper, he or someone else from the Legation was likely the author. This does give credibility to the article and to the fact that this subscription did indeed take place. Moreover, the article also mentions that:

¹¹⁵ "Yūrakuzo no kyūengeki" 有楽座の救援劇 [Relief Play of the Yūrakuzo], 7.

¹¹⁶ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

¹¹⁷ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Beyens, November 22, 1916, Special Number 113.

¹¹⁸ "Les Sympathies Japonaises [The Japanese Sympathies]," 3.

¹¹⁹ "Inflation Calculator."

¹²⁰ Ibid.

“The ‘Belgian Relief Fund’ of Tokyo has occupied itself at the same time with other works of war; this is how it already contributed more than two hundred forty sterling pounds, close to six thousand francs, to the King Albert Fund; an important sum, to the fonds the secours belge,¹²¹ and lesser sums, to works for asylums for mutilated soldiers, assistance to prisoners of war, to the Belgian Orphan Fund, League of Belgian Artists in London, etc. It also reunited a considerable number of bandaging objects and clothes destined to Belgian hospitals, as well as clothes destined to refugees.”¹²²

Due to this quote, it is believed that charity events organized in the Tokyo area in favor of the mentioned works of war were thus in fact organized by the Belgian Relief Fund, which would then contribute the profits to said works of war. The latter can be confirmed, for example, by a newspaper article named ‘Belgian Relief Fund’ published in the *Japan Advertiser* that shows that profits of a musical bazaar go partially to the Belgian Relief Fund, and partially to the King Albert’s Fund and to the ‘Asile des Soldats Belges’ (Asylum of Belgian Soldiers).¹²³

On a different note, some other activities were organized in 1917. A performance of Russian dances in favor of children from Serbia, Belgium, and other countries who were on their way to seek refuge in France, and for the Serbian Red Cross, was organized in January 1917.¹²⁴ Furthermore, Countess della Faille participated in a charity bazaar in February, and lastly, in November, a charity entertainment took place for among other the King Albert’s Fund.¹²⁵

One last remarkable event for the Fund is that in March 1917, Baroness d’Anethan was suddenly lecturing in favor of the Belgian Relief Fund in Victoria, British Colombia.¹²⁶ The reason as to why she decided to leave Japan for Canada is unknown. But given that, as indicated above, the heyday of donations for the Belgian Relief Fund seemed to be over by 1916, she may have thought that she could make a bigger difference by migrating to Canada and contributing to the local branch

¹²¹ A literal translation of this fund would be the ‘Belgian Relief Fund.’ But the chance is deemed small that they once more meant the Belgian Relief Fund. Thus the name of the fund was kept in its French original.

¹²² “Les Sympathies Japonaises [The Japanese Sympathies],” 3.

“Le ‘Belgian Relief Fund’ de Tokio s’est en même temps occupé des autres œuvres de guerre ; c’est ainsi qu’il a déjà contribué pour plus de deux cent quarante livres sterling, près de six mille francs, au Fond du roi Albert ; pour une somme importante, au fonds de secours belge, et pour des sommes moindres, aux œuvres d’asiles des soldats mutilés, d’assistance aux prisonniers de guerre, du Belgian Orphan Fund, League of Belgian Artists in London, etc. Il a aussi réuni un nombre considérable d’objets de pansement et de vêtements destinés aux hôpitaux belges, ainsi que des vêtements destinés aux réfugiés.”

¹²³ de Warzée, “Belgian Relief Fund,” May 2, 1918, 10.

¹²⁴ “Rashian bare” 露西亞舞踊 [Russian Ballet], 5.

¹²⁵ “Beikoku fujin no kōsha na akinaifuri: Utsukushiku nigiyaka na Teikoku hoteru no bazā; Kon’ya wa butō mo arusō na” 米国婦人の巧者な商振り：美しく賑やかな帝国ホテルのバザー；今夜は舞踏もあるさうな [An American Woman’s Clever Business Method: A Beautiful and Crowded Bazaar of the Teikoku Hotel; It Is Said That There Will Also Be Dancing Tonight], 5. “Shichi denka no gotairin: Kyō teigeki ni kaisai no jizen engeikai he” 七殿下の御台臨：けふ帝劇に開催の慈善演芸会へ [Visit of Seven Imperial Highnesses: Opening of a Charity Entertainment Today at the Imperial Theatre], 4.

¹²⁶ “Baroness d’Anethan to Speak,” 5.

there. Nevertheless, her endeavors beyond Japan make too much of a deviation from the topic of this thesis to follow her across the globe. Therefore, more important to focus on would be the doings of the Belgian Relief Fund during the year the armistice took place.

3.2.4 1918 and the Postwar Period: Dismantling of the Fund

Not much is known about the Belgian Relief Fund in 1918 except for the events the Fund organized. In April, a musical bazaar took place in favor of Belgian war funds and was organized by Baroness de Warzée.¹²⁷ Furthermore, they gave two concerts: one at the Seiyoken Hotel in June which profit also went to the Allied Red Cross institutions.¹²⁸ And a second one in November at the Tokyo Academy of Music was held in favor of Belgian soldiers that had become disabled together with injured soldiers of the allied that were located in Siberia. Interesting is that during this event, movies were shown on the topic of “life at the Belgian front.”¹²⁹ In October, they started raising funds for the King Albert’s Fund.¹³⁰ Lastly, in December, Diana de Warzée also organized a bazaar for the Belgian Relief Fund as well as the American Red Cross together with two other girls.¹³¹

With the armistice on November 11, 1918, the Belgian Relief Fund seemingly lost its relevance, which can be seen reflected in an immediate stop of activities in 1919. They did receive some minor donations but announced the abolishment of the Fund on December 29, 1919. The remaining sums were sent to the Foreign Office of Belgium.¹³² The exact reason why the Belgian Relief Fund ceased to exist is unknown, given that further relief would surely have been welcomed to help improve the situation that the war had left Belgium in. Maybe they got orders from the Belgian government to stop their activities? Maybe there was less need for relief from overseas compared to during the war? Or maybe public interest in the Fund faltered completely during 1919? However, this is not the end of the Fund in the afterwar period.

On February 1, 1919, 37 women, both Japanese and foreign, received the Medal of Queen Elisabeth.¹³³ The Belgian Government established an order, in favor of which the decoration with the name ‘Queen Elisabeth’s Medal’ was fabricated in September 1916. The medal was made in bronze

¹²⁷ “3 to 6 P.M,” 1.

¹²⁸ “Concert Here Sunday,” 10.

¹²⁹ “Social and General,” November 13, 1918, 5.

¹³⁰ de Warzée, “King Albert’s Fund,” 6.

¹³¹ “Social and General,” December 20, 1918, 7.

¹³² de Warzée, “Belgian Relief Fund,” December 30, 1919, 4.

¹³³ “Belgium Honors Women,” 12.

and created by Victor Rousseau, a sculptor from Belgium. He designed it to contain the in profile imagery of Queen Elisabeth's (1876-1965) head together with the text "Elisabeth, Queen of the Belgians."¹³⁴ The other side of the medal is illustrated with a nurse who bends before a lit lamp. The Queen Elisabeth's Medal could only be conferred on "women, without distinction of nationality or class, who, during the whole war, have shown personal devotion and have done useful work for the Belgian war funds. It is not bestowed for gifts of money but solely to reward all personal and hard work."¹³⁵ Furthermore, in addition to the medal, a certificate was given stating:

(Kingdom of Belgium. The Minister of Foreign Affairs. Has the honor to make it known to – (Name of recipient) – that to recognize the dedications she demonstrated in works of war have pleased the King to bestow on her by a decree dated October 5, 1918. The Medal of the Queen Elisabeth).¹³⁶

The ceremony was held at the Belgian Legation, and accompanied by a speech by Minister della Faille in French, which was repeated in Japanese by General Satow and in English by Baroness de Warzée. The list of women receiving the medal includes names of Japanese women,¹³⁷ who will later reappear when discussing the activities of the Belgian Relief Fund. It was not only given to women active in Tokyo, but also in Korea, Yokohama and Kobe.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ "Belgian Decoration," 10.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ "Belgium Honors Women," 12.

"Royaume de Belguque. Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres. A l'honneur de faire connaitre a – (Name of recipient) – que pour reconnaitre le devouement dont elle a fait preuve dans les œuvres de guerre il a plu au Roi de lui conférer par arrete en date du 5 October, 1918. La Medaille de la Reine Elisabeth."

This French quote contains many mistakes which have been quoted as they appeared in the original source. Any mistake in this quote is thus not due to incorrect copying of the text.

¹³⁷ "Belgium Honors Women," 12.

¹³⁸ "Belgian Decoration," 10.



Figure 3: A reproduction of the Queen Elisabeth's Medal
Reprinted from "Belgian Decoration," January 31, 1919, 10.

In his speech, Minister della Faille said: "there are still some people in Japan whose name is not on the list that has reached me and who nevertheless deserve reward. I hope sincerely that they will figure in a future distribution."¹³⁹ Whether or not this was a hidden message of consolidation to his wife, Baroness de Warzée, and Baroness d'Anethan remains unknown. They are, however, not included in the names of the women who received the medal in 1919.¹⁴⁰ Their recognition for the work they had done in Japan only arrived more than a year later, in May 1920, and does not concern Countess della Faille. Alongside Baroness d'Anethan and Baroness de Warzée, only three other women received the medal this time: Madame Bribosia, Madame Bastin and Madame Polain.¹⁴¹ Consul Bastin has already been discussed before, but Madame Bribosia was the wife of the Consul General who was stationed in Seoul, and Madame Polain was the wife of Vice-Consul Polain.¹⁴²

The part of these three women in the Belgian Relief Fund will be discussed at a later stage, but the fact that all five of them mentioned were wives of Belgian diplomats is very telling about

¹³⁹ "Belgium Honors Women," 12.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ "Social and General.," May 22, 1920, 5.

¹⁴² FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915.
FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.
The dates of birth and death of both diplomats and their wives are unknown.

Belgian's foreign policy in regards to charity. Clearly, the Belgian government wanted to in the first place have its gratitude conveyed towards women around the globe that did not have any direct link to its foreign officers. Quite likely, this was with the intention of maintaining or improving the opinion of the public towards the country, or possibly encouraging further charity funds for relief after the material and personal damages caused by the war. On top of that, the government would also have considered it obvious for these five women to participate in charity works, which would diminish any need for recognition. Furthermore, it is very likely that Baroness de Warzée had been in charge of drafting the list with names of women that would receive the medal, given that she was very involved in charity works and would thus have been well informed about who had contributed and to which extent. Therefore, she would have purposely excluded herself and the other diplomat's wives.

In any case, as the rest of this thesis can attest for, the women who took the lead in organizing a significant part of large-scale charity works in the Japanese Empire in favor of Belgium had to watch others gain recognition from their own government and employer of their husbands while having to patiently wait for more than a year to obtain acknowledgements for their laborious efforts. Could this abnegation be considered as an attribute or obligation to their role as wife of a diplomat and representant of Belgium in Japan? It would in any case be of interest to look at examples of the Belgian Relief Fund in other countries to see if similar phenomena took place in order to study their part in possibly being a type of international role model.

With the framework about the Belgian Relief Fund Chapter Three provided in mind, there is possibility to dive into a detailed analysis of its activities and different socio-political layers. Chapter Four will answer to certain topics raised in this chapter, but above all, provide much more information about charity as it was organized by Countess della Faille, Baroness de Warzée and Baroness d'Anethan.

4. Charity and Diplomacy

This chapter will zoom in on different types of characteristics that can be connected to the Belgian Relief Fund in order to understand charity organized by the wives of Belgian diplomats on a deeper level. In the first part, it hopes to provide a comprehensive description of the different types of charity activities the Belgian Relief Fund organized, with the aim to create a better historical overview of the range of events these women set up to raise funds. Using the materials discussed there, the second and third subchapter will analyze certain aspects throughout these events, which will be complemented with other documents that provide information that was much more inaccessible to the general public. Both chapters focus on social networks, international relations, diplomatic aspects and propaganda. The fourth subchapter will conclude with a brief description of the lives of the main actors in this thesis after the dismantling of the Fund.

4.1 Efforts to Raise Money

The following subchapter will zoom in onto different charity events organized by the Belgian Relief Fund. Among these, the following types can be distinguished: charity bazaars, charity recitals and balls, individual donations, and other initiatives that were not common enough to form a separate category. However, it is important to make one remark before heading into the discussion of these charity activities. An ambassadress would fulfill certain duties within an embassy: invite and visit, be part of the *grand monde* of the host country, attend court, hold at-homes, go to concerts as well as theatre performances, schedule the daily activities for the stay of their country's royals together with her husband, host events such as dinners and luncheons, be on good terms with the diplomatic staff, organize national celebrations if there were many fellow countrymen where she was stationed, and be heavily involved in charity if there were disasters in her home country.¹⁴³ Although part of these duties, charity was thus only one of them. The exacting responsibility of managing a charity and being in charge of organizing its activities was thus an occupation that could not be taken lightly, as this was added to a whole list of tasks to be taken care of.

¹⁴³ Soroka, "Diplomats' Wives and Foreign Ministry," 153.

4.1.1 Charity Bazaars

Before describing the bazaars held in First World War-Japan, a brief introduction to the format is in order. By the 1820s, charity bazaars were a widespread phenomenon in England. Primarily a women's event, men very likely never took initiative in managing and running a bazaar, hence its synonym, 'ladies' sale.' The displayed goods were handmade, came from shops which were thus resold, or had been donated by shopkeepers. One quote given in the journal article discussed here sums up objects like children's petticoats, tea-cosies, pen-wipers as well as sealed envelopes. Bazaars could be held indoors, for example in concert halls, hotels and chapels, or outdoors, like in gardens or on open fields. During the nineteenth century, the charity bazaar was brought abroad by English women, occurring in different parts of the world. If there was a possibility to do so, products manufactured in Britain would be exported to be sold at these sales.¹⁴⁴

A charity bazaar had, due to its temporary character, to be organized from zero, which was potentially quite large a task, taking weeks to months.¹⁴⁵ For example, "Once the date was set, the hall had to be prepared, the catering looked after, tickets printed and sold, transport considered, opening celebrations planned, patrons and stallholders recruited, and advertising arranged."¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, distinguished stallholders and patrons, ideally of the nobility, would guarantee a growth of sales. These bazaars were also a form of upper class-entertainment, the organizers coming up with new ways to entertain and attract such as palmists, magicians, and wild animals. Moreover, these events facilitated romance and flirting. The phenomenon itself also implied little political or religious characteristics.¹⁴⁷ In sum, charity bazaars were consequently an ideal match for diplomacy: a neutral ground and an opportunity for networking. In this subchapter, two of the bazaars organized by the Belgian Relief Fund will be discussed in detail: the bazaar of June 1915 and May 1916.

The bazaar of June 19th and 26th, 1915 took place at the Akasaka Sankaidō (赤坂三会堂)¹⁴⁸, a building situated in front of the American embassy. Starting on June 19th, the event was held until the 21st.¹⁴⁹ Visitors were welcomed from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. The bazaar was an idea of Baroness de Warzée, the daughters of the Russian and British ambassadors, and the wife of the French

¹⁴⁴ Frank K. Prochaska, "Charity Bazaars," 62, 64, 69-71, 83.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 77.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 78.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 71, 73-74, 79-80."

¹⁴⁸ "Bazā no kaisai" 慈善市の開催 [Opening of a Bazaar], 4.

¹⁴⁹ "Daibazā kaisai: Kakkoku taishi reijō no hakki" 大慈善市開催: 各国大使令嬢の発起 [Opening of a Big Bazaar: An Idea of the Young Women of Various Countries' Ambassadors], 4.

ambassador and others.¹⁵⁰ Baroness de Warzée was already introduced in Chapter Three as one of the women essential in the history of the Belgian Relief Fund. Furthermore, the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Fund was also among the organizers.¹⁵¹ To access the event, adults had to pay 50 sen, but a 30 sen discount was given to children and students.¹⁵² However, once it turned 6 ‘o clock, the public could decide how much they wanted to contribute.¹⁵³ For the one that took place on the 26th, the price was lowered to 20 sen, soldiers and children paying only half of the amount. This article also indicates that there was no admission fee after six.¹⁵⁴ Leaving contributions to choice thus might have been implemented for every evening, and can be considered a somewhat foul trick: people could feel obliged to turn up only after six in order to be able to make bigger contributions in sake of social duty. Apart from that, it is also possible that the American embassy was asked to participate, but instead helped them with finding a location to hold the bazaar.

According to one article, the bazaar was held in favor of the “Red Cross hospitals of Allied England, Russia France and Belgium” (Ei Ro Futsu Haku Rengōgun no Sekijūji byōin, 英露仏白連合軍の赤十字病院).¹⁵⁵ But four other articles indicate that it was for aiding the ‘allied nations’ or ‘warring nations.’¹⁵⁶ Is it therefore possible to confirm that this bazaar has indeed connections to the Belgian Relief Fund? In this specific case, there is no complete certainty, but a couple of arguments lead to the belief that portions of the raised money were indeed going to this fund. To start, Belgium was part of the allied nations, which relates to the goal of the bazaar as described above. Secondly, this bazaar had been announced in the article destined for *L’Indépendance belge* and attached to the dispatch of May 19, 1915, which indicates that the bazaar should be held for the Belgians.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, Chapter Three indicated that the Fund also donated to other organizations, which might

¹⁵⁰ “Daibazā kaisai: Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō nite” 大慈善市開催：赤坂溜池三会堂にて [Opening of a Big Bazaar: At the Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō], 4.

¹⁵¹ “Daibazā kaisai: Kakkoku taishi reijō no hakki” 大慈善市開催：各国大使令嬢の発起 [Opening of a Big Bazaar: An Idea of the Young Women of Various Countries’ Ambassadors], 4.

¹⁵² “Daibazā kaisai: Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō nite” 大慈善市開催：赤坂溜池三会堂にて [Opening of a Big Bazaar: At the Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō], 4.

¹⁵³ “Atsusa mo itowazu bazā no oshitaku: Kakukoku taikōshikanin no reijō fujin ga daikatsudō” 暑さも厭はず慈善市のお仕度：各国大使館員の令嬢夫人が大活動 [Preparing the Bazaar Without Disliking the Heat: Each Country’s Embassies’ and Legations’ Daughters and Wives Are Doing Great Activities], 6.

¹⁵⁴ “Dainikai no jizenshi” 第二回の慈善市 [The Second Bazaar], 7.

¹⁵⁵ “Daibazā kaisai: Kakkoku taishi reijō no hakki” 大慈善市開催：各国大使令嬢の発起 [Opening of a Big Bazaar: An Idea of the Young Women of Various Countries’ Ambassadors], 4.

¹⁵⁶ “Sasuga ni tokkuni rashī kanji ga suru: Sankaidō no daibazā” 有繋に異国らしい感じがする：三会堂の大慈善市 [Giving the Impression of a Foreign Country As One Would Expect: A Big Bazaar At the Sankaidō], 7. “Dainikai no jizenshi” 第二回の慈善市 [The Second Bazaar], 7. “Honjitsu no daibazā: Akasaka Sankaidō ni kaisai” 本日の大慈善市：赤坂三会堂に開催 [Today’s Big Bazaar: Opening at the Akasaka Sankaidō], 4. “Daibazā kaisai: Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō nite” 大慈善市開催：赤坂溜池三会堂にて [Opening of a Big Bazaar: At the Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō], 4.

¹⁵⁷ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 25.

explain why the Japanese press is inconsistent about the goal of this bazaar, and could thus indicate that the Belgian Relief Fund was planning on donating money to another organization. Lastly, Baroness de Warzée, the treasurer of the Belgian Relief Fund, was involved in this bazaar. Due to these reasons, it seems unlikely that at least a part of the profits would not be given to the Fund.



Figure 4: The Belgian stall

Reprinted from “Rekishi Shashin” 歴史写真 [Pictures of History], August 1915, 11.

Kindly contributed from the private collection of Prof. Dr. Jan Schmidt.

What did bazaars look like when they were held in First World War-Tokyo? The picture above gives an example of women busy with preparing the Belgian stall for the bazaar of June 19, 1915. In the upper-left corner, a plaque shows the beginning of the word ‘Belgium/Belgique,’ or 白耳義 (Berugī) in Japanese, as written underneath. This is further signified with the Belgian flag that covers the front side of the tables. In the right corner, the flag of the United Kingdom and the Japanese flag can be seen. In the middle part of the background, the drapes hanging down from the ceiling likely represent the Russian flag. It is also difficult to identify anyone that is present on this picture, but at least one Japanese woman and a younger girl participated in the preparations. According to the caption, this sale would take place from June 9th onwards,¹⁵⁸ which is therefore a mistake in the magazine the picture is coming from, unless it would actually be the date on which the picture was taken. In that case, it would consequently show that the bazaars had to be put together well in

¹⁵⁸ “Rekishī Shashin” 歴史写真 [Pictures of History], August 1915, 11.

advance before their openings. It is also interesting that this plaque is hanging above the stall to clearly indicate that the booth was representing Belgium, or was maybe exclusively raising funds for Belgium. Possibly, since the bazaar was held with other countries together, it thus could have provided some help to the visitors as to which country they were contributing with their purchase.

The bazaar was held on the upper floor of the building, and was decorated with evergreen, autumn leaves and the national flags of each country.¹⁵⁹ Where the autumn leaves came from in the middle of June is unknown, but they were maybe created from fabric or paper. When entering the room and starting on the right, was the English booth, to their left the French stall, the Canadian one in the center of the room, on the left stood the Russians and the Belgians to their right. Behind the Canadian stall, there was a fortune teller and one could see a magic performance, and upon descending the stairs, one would find the cafeteria and entertainment hall.¹⁶⁰ More specifically, the entertainment included:

“場内には喫茶店が設けられます、尚余興としては外国演劇シーンス、フロム、ゼ、スクール、フォーワ、スキヤンダルが午後三時、四時三十分、九時の三回開演され、音楽演奏もある由、又最も奇なるはト者（フォーチュンテラー）の出場で、トランプを繰りつつ吉凶の判断をすると云ふのも一興でせう。手品奇術、三越呉服店寄附の少年音楽団の演奏等は無料観覧されとの事定めし繁昌する事でありませう”¹⁶¹

(Jōnai ni wa kissaten ga mōkeraremasu, nao yokyō to shite wa gaikoku engeki shīnsu, furomu, ze, sukūru, fōwa, sukiyandaru ga gogo sanji, yoji sanjūpun, kuji no sankai kaien sare, ongaku ensō mo aru yoshi, mata mottomo ki naru wa bokusha (fōchuntērā) no shutsujō de, toranpu wo kuritsutsu kikyō no handan wo suru to iu no mo ikkyō deshō. Tejina kijutsu, Mitsukoshi gofukuten kifu no shōnen ongakudan no ensōtō wa muryō kanran sareru to no koto sadameshi hanjō suru koto de arimashō.)

On the premise a tearoom has been set up. Furthermore, as performance, the foreign drama ‘Scenes From the School for Scandal’ will start three times at 3 p.m., 4.30 p.m. and 9 p.m., and it is said that there will also be a musical performance. Moreover, the most odd [thing] is the appearance of a fortune teller (fortune teller),¹⁶² which is also said to be an amusement by judging your fortune while turning western cards. Magic, and the performance of the boy’s band by contribution of the Mitsukoshi Department Store and so on, which can be seen for free, will surely be prosperous things.

¹⁵⁹ “Atsusa mo itowazu bazā no oshitaku: Kakukoku taikōshikanin no reijō fujin ga daikatsudō” 暑さも厭はず慈善市のお仕度：各国大公使館員の令嬢夫人が大活動 [Preparing the Bazaar Without Disliking the Heat: Each Country’s Embassies’ and Legations’ Daughters and Wives Are Doing Great Activities], 6.

¹⁶⁰ “Honjitsu no daibazā: Akasaka Sankaidō ni kaisai” 本日の大慈善市：赤坂三会堂に開催 [Today’s Big Bazaar: Opening at the Akasaka Sankaidō], 4.

¹⁶¹ “Daibazā kaisai: Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō nite” 大慈善市開催：赤坂溜池三会堂にて [Opening of a Big Bazaar: At the Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō], 4.

¹⁶² The Japanese text first gives the Japanese word for a fortune teller, and then the English word in katakana. It thus both translates as the same word.

Furthermore, children could partake in a treasure hunt for a price of 10 sen, and Japanese festival music was being played by a band performing on the stage.¹⁶³ On the right side of the above picture, a part of this stage is visible. Taken all together, this therefore also portrays the entertainment aspect of bazaars as described above.

It is not clearly visible on the picture what was sold, but the *Kokumin Shinbun* describes that “the Belgian stall had the biggest scale, and pictures of their Majesties,¹⁶⁴ glass objects from this country, cosmetics, bags and pouches, children’s aprons, hair tools, instigate sympathy” (Berugī no baiten wa ichiban kibo ga ōkiku ryōheika no shashin ya okunimono no garasuki ya keshōhin fukuromono kodomo no epuron kamidōgu ga ippai ni dōjōshin wo sosori, 白耳義の売店が一番規模が大きく両陛下の写真やお国品の硝子器や化粧品袋物子供のエプロン髪道具が一杯に同情心を^{そそ}喚り).¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, it is also important to briefly have a look at what the other booths sold:

“階段を上がつた右手が英国の売店で、英国一流の美しく手提袋や、褄口、玩具、それから小さな国旗が山と飾られてあります。その奥が仏国ので何が扱て同国は化粧品の本場とて、石鹸、香水、香油、其他あらゆる化粧品や綺麗な空気枕が處狭きまでに列べられ、また中央の加奈陀の売店では奇妙な形の玩具の船や、陶器の土瓶や種々の品物か面白く^{いろ}拵げられてゐました。また左手は露国の売店で、其処には沢山の玩具が露国特有の元始的な而かも憂鬱な色調を帯びて、人々の芸術心を唆つてゐます。”¹⁶⁶

(Kaidan wo agatta migite ga Eikoku no baiten de, Eikoku ichiryū no utsukushiku tekige bakku ya, gamaguchi, omocha, sorekara chīsana kokki ga yama to kazararetearimasu. Sono oku ga Futsukoku no de nani ga sate dōkoku wa keshōhin no honba tote, sekken, kōsui, kōyu, sonota arayuru keshōhin ya kirei na kūkimakura ga tokoro semaki made ni naraberare, mata chūō no Kanada no baiten de wa kimyō na katachi no omocha no fune ya, tōki no dobin ya iroiro no shinamono ga omoshiroku hirogerarete imashita. Mata hidarite wa Rokoku no baiten de, soko ni wa takusan no omocha ga Rokoku tokuyū no genshiteki na shikamo yū’utsu na shikichō wo obite, hitobito no geijyutsushin wo sosotteimasu.)

At the right-hand side when ascending the stairs is the British stall, which is decorated like a mountain with beautiful, British, first-class, handbags, coin purses, toys, and little flags. At the end was the French [stall], [and] well, because said country is famous for cosmetics, soap, perfume, perfumed oil, and all other cosmetics and beautiful air cushions are

¹⁶³ “Sasuga ni tokkuni rashī kanji ga suru: Sankaidō no daibazā” 有繋に異国らしい感じがする：三会堂の大慈善市 [Giving the Impression of a Foreign Country As One Would Expect: A Big Bazaar At the Sankaidō], 7.

¹⁶⁴ Assumingly the Belgian King and Queen.

¹⁶⁵ “Bokoku wo omou sekishin no daibazā: Rengōkoku kifujinren no moyōshi” 母国を想ふ赤心の大慈善市：連合貴婦人連の催し [A Sincere Bazaar Thinking of One’s Home Country: An Event of a Group of Ladies from the Allied Nations], 4.

¹⁶⁶ “Honjitsu no daibazā: Akasaka Sankaidō ni kaisai” 本日の大慈善市：赤坂三会堂に開催 [Today’s Big Bazaar: Opening at the Akasaka Sankaidō], 4.

arranged in a narrow space, and at the central booth of Canada, oddly shaped toy boats, and earthenware teapots and all sorts of articles have been interestingly spread around. In addition, at the left-hand side is the Russian stall, where a lot of toys have the original yet depressing color tone [which is] characteristic for Russia, which tempt the artistic heart of people.

In the quote above, it is apparent that these booths sold objects that had a link with the country that they were representing. Bazaars thus did not only serve the goal of fundraising, but also held significance as a method of presenting one's culture to the host country and trying to raise interest of the locals towards its cultural assets through articles available for purchase and by personal contact with people from these foreign countries. The other way around, for the visiting public, such a bazaar held an international character and was an opportunity to get into touch with and learn more about cultures of different countries, and possibly obtain an object from one of them. Therefore, apart from the importance of enlisting the types of articles typically offered during these events to gain more insight into these bazaars, this also shows another specific characteristic of bazaars held by the wives of diplomats. This event portrays how these women were contributing to cultural diplomacy by means of a charity bazaar.

Additionally, girls from the ages of six to thirteen also participated by carrying around folding fans and little flags while saying “イカガデス、キュレイナハタ” (Ikagadesu, kyurei na hata, How is this, bjewtiful flags). The wife of an ambassador is described exclaiming “ジオゴセン、ハイハイ” (Jiogosen, hai hai, Fiveteen sen, yes yes).¹⁶⁷ The typos in the translations of these quotes are intentional, aiming at showing how the Japanese quotes try to mimic the mistakes these persons made in their Japanese pronunciation. However, mainly due to daily intimate communication with domestic staff, wives of diplomats often were faster with learning a language compared to the diplomats themselves.¹⁶⁸ These quotes are of course no indication about the level of Japanese of each of these individuals, but they nevertheless illustrate that they made efforts to overcome the language barrier towards the Japanese that were visiting. Furthermore, according to the picture that has been added to one of the articles, at least eleven kids were present during the bazaar, nine girls and two boys, who, judging by the picture, were there to help out.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ “Bokoku wo omou sekishin no daibazā: Rengōkoku kifujinren no moyōshi” 母国を想ふ赤心の大慈善市：連合国貴婦人連の催し [A Sincere Bazaar Thinking of One's Home Country: An Event of a Group of Ladies from the Allied Nations], 4.

¹⁶⁸ Wood, “Diplomatic Wives: The Politics,” 157.

¹⁶⁹ “Sasuga ni tokkuni rashī kanji ga suru: Sankaidō no daibazā” 有繋に異国らしい感じがする：三会堂の大慈善市 [Giving the Impression of a Foreign Country As One Would Expect: A Big Bazaar At the Sankaidō], 7.

The lighthearted atmosphere that was seemingly present with the Belgians during the first bazaar makes a 180 degree turn in 1916. As already announced when the before mentioned dispatch of June 14, 1916 was discussed, a “Sympathy Bazaar for the Three Countries France, Belgium and Serbia” (Futsu Haku Sai Sankoku Dōjō Jizenichi, 仏白塞三国同情慈善市) took place from May 18 to 20 on the third floor of the Mitsukoshi Old Building.¹⁷⁰ The Mitsukoshi Department Store was, and still is, a renowned department store, which is somewhat an indication towards the type of public that was expected to attend the event. However, they charged the visitors with only five sen.¹⁷¹ In total there were ten booths, representing England, Belgium, France and the United States. Countess della Faille had her own stall, and Baroness de Warzée supervised the entertainment that took place in the area around the booths.¹⁷² The same dispatch of June 14, 1916, furthermore mentioned that the French Embassy supported this event, which was also already discussed in Chapter Three.

So why can this bazaar be considered rather gloomy compared to the previous one? The answer lays, at least for the Belgians, mainly in the objects that were sold at their stall:

“敵弾の為に破壊されたイーブルの寺院の鐘の青銅で作った指輪や、兵士が塹壕
 の中で描いた美しい絵葉書などがある、又緑色美しい白耳義特有の陶器の花瓶
 や美しく編まれたレースもあり、日用品としては薬莢で作ったペン軸や砲弾の頭
 を利用したインキ壺などがある、就中物の哀れを感じしむるのは一卷のレースで、
 それはイーブルで一人の娘がそれを作りつつあった時、敵弾来つて彼の女を倒し
 たので、彼の女の母はそのレースを携へ避難したのであるが、それが今遠く日本
 へ来たのである”¹⁷³

(Tekidan no tame ni hakai sareta Īpuru no ji'in no kane no seidō de tsukutta yubiwa ya, heishi ga sangō no naka de egaita utsukushī ehagaki nado ga aru, mata midori iro utsukushī Berujūmu tokuyū no dōki no kabin ya utsukushiku amareta rēsu mo ari, tachiyōhin toshite wa yakkyō de tsukutta penjiku ya hōdan no atama wo riyō shita inki tsubo nado ga aru, nakanzukumono no aware wo kanzeshimuru no wa ichimaki no rēsu de, sorewa Īburu de ichinin no musume ga sore wo tsukuritsutsu atta toki, tekidan kitatte kanojo wo taoshita node, kanojo no haha wa sono rēsu wo tazusae hinanshita node aruga, sore ga ima tōku Nihon he kita no de aru)¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ “Dōjō bazā: Futsu Haku Saikoku no tame ni; Kyō kara Mitsukoshi de” 同情慈善市：仏白塞国の為に；今日から三越で [A Sympathy Bazar: For France, Belgium and Serbia; From Today Onwards at the Mitsukoshi], 5.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² “Aware sanyāru: Mitsukoshi kyūkan sangai no bazā; Sakujitsu yori mikkakan 哀れ三碼：三越旧館三階の慈善市；昨日より三日間 [Three Pitiful Yards: The Bazar of the Third Floor of Mitsukoshi's Old Building; From Yesterday Onwards for Three Days], 5.

¹⁷³ “Futsu Haku ryōkoku kara kita nichiyōhin bazā” 仏白両国から来た日用品バザー [A Bazaar of Daily Necessities That Came From Both Countries of France and Belgium], 7.

¹⁷⁴ The provided furigana for 日用品 (“Nichiyōhin”, daily necessities) is “たちようひん” (“Tachiyōhin”) which is very likely a mistakenly placed moveable type.

There are rings made of the bronze of a bell of a church of Ypres that was destroyed as a result of enemy fire, beautiful picture postcards drawn by soldiers in the trenches, and so on. In addition, there are also lovely, green vases of characteristically Belgian ceramic and beautifully bobbed lace, and as daily necessities, there are penholders made of cartridge cases and heads of shells that have been used as inkpots, and so on. What especially causes one to feel a strong aesthetic sense is one roll of lace, that was, because at the time one daughter was making this in Ypres, enemy fire came and she was killed, her mother took the lace along and fled, and this has now come to distant Japan.

The quoted article from the *Jiji Shinpō* does not describe that these articles were indeed displayed at the Belgian booth, but this is confirmed by the *Yomiuri Shinbun*. This newspaper also writes that some of the rings were created from a bell of a church in Nieuwpoort, and from German cannons. Apparently, the rings were available at ten times a lower price than in Paris where they were much in demand.¹⁷⁵ An example of them can be seen on the picture below. Furthermore, when looking at the booth, “a picture [on which] a bird that symbolizes France tramples down an eagle that signifies Germany, drawn by the wife of Belgian Vice-Consul Polain, was noticed” (Berujūmu fukuryōji Pōran fujin no kaita Furansu ni katadotta tori ga Doitsu wo arawashita washi wo fumitaoshite iru e ni me wo tome, 白耳義副領事ポーラン夫人の書いた仏蘭西に象つた鶏が独逸を表はした鷲を踏み倒して居る絵に目を止め).¹⁷⁶ Thus, Mrs. Polain was creating pro-French propaganda posters.

¹⁷⁵“Mare ni miru gurēdo bazā: Jūhachinichi kara mikkakan Mitsukoshi kyūkan nite; hana to kisobu kakkoku gaikōka fujin reijō no baiten” 稀に見る大慈善市：-十八日から三日間三越旧館にて-；花と競ぶ各国外交家夫人令嬢の売店 [An Extraordinary Great Bazaar: -From the Eighteenth for Three Days at the Mitsukoshi Old Building-; The Stalls of the Wives and Daughters of Various Countries’ Diplomats who Compete with Flowers], 4. The ぶ (“bu”) in 競ぶ (“Kisobu”) is likely an error of the newspaper.

¹⁷⁶“Waihaku ga nioibukuro wo katte nikoniko: Mitsukoshi de kaisai sareta daibazā no dai’ichinichi” 隈伯が匂袋を買って嬌々：三越で開催された大慈善市の第一日 [The Beauty of Count Kuma buying a scent bag: The First Day of the Big Bazaar That Was Held at Mitsukoshi], 7.



Figure 5: An example of the above discussed rings. The text next to the picture reads:
“A variety of the articles on display”

Reprinted from: ““Futsu Haku ryōkoku kara kita nichiyōhin bazā” 仏白両国から来た日用品バザー
[A Bazaar of Daily Necessities That Came From Both Countries of France and Belgium], May 10, 1916, 7.

Is it possible to believe these stories? Would anyone bother to take metal with them from two cities that were taken under enemy fire, and in such quantities that it would be available in Paris and Japan? Would a grieving mother care about lace when fleeing her home? Or were these simply tricks of the women organizing the bazaar to spice up the goods and increase the interest in this event, taking the risk that their lies might be discovered? And above all, how would these goods eventually end up in Japan of all places? However, if it would indeed be true, it does showcase how much movement of goods there was in the middle of a world war, even reaching the far corners of the world. Moreover, with these descriptions, there can be seen a sudden, quite morbid, interest in war tourism. This must also indicate that, at least to some extent, there was a demand for these types of products in Japan.

Furthermore, the entertainment included fortune telling, musical performances, an art exhibition, a cafeteria, and moving pictures which depicted imagery of the European War, which all were of course not for free.¹⁷⁷ It is known by now that Baroness de Warzée supervised the entertainment in the area surrounding the booths, but there is of course no certainty that she was the one who contributed the movies. However, it seems logical that she would likely have been the one to permit it to be shown during the bazaar. But why would they show them? The interest of the

¹⁷⁷ “Dōjō bazā: Futsu Haku Saikoku no tame ni; Kyō kara Mitsukoshi de” 同情慈善市: 仏白塞国の為に; 今日から三越で [A Sympathy Bazar: For France, Belgium and Serbia; From Today Onwards at the Mitsukoshi], 5.

general public could be one option, going hand in hand with the news value it could have. Some gentle psychological manipulation of the visitors could also be a factor, encouraging the viewers to purchase more articles out of sympathy. However, can there not be seen a red thread throughout this bazaar? Background stories and objects reminding of violence and misery in Belgium, the creation of a propaganda poster for an ally of Belgium, and movies depicting the First World War. And is it not a bit too coincidental that these examples have ties to women with a strong connection to the Belgian Legation? To which extent was this bazaar, at least for the Belgians, a cover-up for pro-Belgian propaganda? This will be addressed at length in a later part of this thesis.¹⁷⁸

Which type of public attended these bazaars? It is difficult to find out much about the visitors that were expected to visit to these kinds of charity events. However, the *Jiji Shinpō* describes a public consisting of both Japanese and foreign nationalities, which also included, for example, elderly women from the countryside.¹⁷⁹ This shows that these events were not exclusively for upper-class visitors. Before noon on May 18th, around a thousand people came to visit the bazaar. On top of that, Count and Countess Ōkuma stopped by.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, Marchioness Nabeshima (鍋島), the wife of Prime Minister Ōkuma (大隈), the wife of Marshall Ōyama (大山), the wife of Count Ogasawara (小笠原), the mother of Duke Mōri (毛利), and other persons gave their support to this event. Moreover, more than eight Japanese women specifically pledged their support to the booth of Countess della Faille: the wife of Count Terajima (寺島); wives of the court ceremony officials Watanabe (渡邊), Matsudaira (松平) and Katō (加藤); Mitsui Isoko (三井いそ子); the wife of Miyaoka Tsunesaburō (宮岡常三郎); the wife of Minister Adachi (安達); and Yamawaki Fusako (山脇房子).¹⁸¹ These women are all listed here because it is important to keep in mind that certain Japanese, especially from the upper-class, had a role in the Belgian Relief Fund. In a later part of the thesis, this will be discussed in detail, since there is much more to be said about their involvement.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ See subchapter 4.3.

¹⁷⁹ “Waihaku ga nioibukuro wo katte nikoniko: Mitsukoshi de kaisai sareta daibazā no dai’ichinichi” 隈伯が匂袋を買って嬌々：三越で開催された大慈善市の第一日 [The Beauty of Count Kuma buying a scent bag: The First Day of the Big Bazaar That Was Held at Mitsukoshi], 7.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ “Mare ni miru gurēdo bazā: Jūhachinichi kara mikkakan Mitsukoshi kyūkan nite; hana to kisobu kakkoku gaikōka fujin reijō no baiten” 稀に見る大慈善市：-十八日から三日間三越旧館にて-；花と競ぶ各国外交家夫人令嬢の売店 [An Extraordinary Great Bazaar: -From the Eighteenth for Three Days at the Mitsukoshi Old Building-; The Stalls of the Wives and Daughters of Various Countries’ Diplomats who Compete with Flowers], 4.

The following dates of birth and death could be found: Marchioness Nabeshima (1855-1941), the wife of Marshall Ōyama (1860-1919), and Yamawaki Fusako (1867-1935).

¹⁸² See subchapter 4.2.

It was already touched upon that, during the bazaar of 1915, children were also present. For the bazaar of 1916, the *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun* describes that Diana, the daughter of Baroness de Warzée, also participated.¹⁸³ Her presence there is an example of what Mori also describes in her previously mentioned article *How Women Make Diplomacy*: daughters assisting their mother in an embassy.¹⁸⁴ Helping alongside her mother during this bazaar was training: as mentioned before in Chapter Three, in December 1918 Diana will organize a bazaar herself together with two other girls in favor of the Belgian Relief Fund and the American Red Cross. The experience she gained in this way would have come in handy when she eventually became a wife of a diplomat herself. One could also speculate whether the girl in the picture shown at the beginning of this subchapter might be Diana? Nevertheless, examples such as these thus showcase how even something as frivolous as a bazaar was an opportunity to educate girls on the tasks of aristocratic women, but also wives of diplomats first-hand, a role they might take on themselves in their adult life.

Lastly, the French ambassador and ambassadress invited the hundred foreign and Japanese women who lent a helping hand during this bazaar to a garden party in June 1916.¹⁸⁵ This example demonstrates in the first place how big of a social happening this bazaar was, but also how much womanpower went into the organization of such an event. It was an effort that was being made by the whole community. On top of that, it shows how the couple aimed at maintaining the relationship with everyone involved in the event, and thus indirectly also tried to positively influence their opinion about the French embassy.

To conclude this subchapter, charity bazaars were thus an opportunity for these women to contribute to cultural diplomacy. Furthermore, they were a type of charity event in which much social contribution was necessary to successfully organize it, but which also had many other social layers connected to it. Moreover, they show that these events were organized together with women from other countries, and seem to have split the profits, so money could go to different charity goals. Lastly, propaganda plays a role in these types of events. These elements are a red thread throughout subchapter 4.1, but will be discussed in more detail at a later stage. However, these bazaars were not the only thing that the Belgian Relief Fund organized.

¹⁸³ “Utsukushī bazā” 美しい慈善市 [A Beautiful Bazaar], 5.

¹⁸⁴ Mori, “How Women Make Diplomacy,” 149.

¹⁸⁵ “Futsukoku taishikan no en’yūkai” 仏国大使館の園遊会 [A Garden Party at the French Embassy], 7.

4.1.2 Charity Performances

Among the many events executed by the Belgian Relief Fund during its existence and described in Chapter Three, the Fund organized or was involved in 10 performances over the period of 1914 to 1918, thus many more than the bazaars they held. In other words, performances were the most recurring type of events to obtain money. Due to various repetitive elements, however, this subchapter will address only a couple of them to give an idea about characteristics, for example, the types of performances, the attendees, and the expenses and profits.

On October 30, 1915, a ‘varied program’ was held for the Belgian Relief Fund at the Imperial Hotel. The event received the promotion of Baroness de Warzée and Baroness d’Anethan, and Minister della Faille gave it his patronage.¹⁸⁶ Tickets for this event could be obtained from the Imperial Hotel, or from Mrs. Swift¹⁸⁷ and Baroness de Warzée.¹⁸⁸ Mrs. J. T. Swift was the one who oversaw the program, but Baroness de Warzée is said to have taken on a big part of the task.¹⁸⁹ According to what the newspaper article thus insinuates, it seems obvious that Baroness de Warzée took responsibility for everything else that had to be arranged except for the program.

Held in the theatre room, the audience consisted of 500 persons, including almost everyone belonging to the diplomatic corps. The program was made up of a one-act play named ‘What Dreams Are Made Of’, two humorous impersonations, performances of the ‘butterfly dance’ and a dance done in Irish costume, and four songs. Furthermore, Baroness d’Anethan read the reply that was sent to Germany by a Belgian minister when the first had requested to not be stopped when marching through Belgium, and also gave a recital of a poem with the title ‘How Liège Held the Road.’¹⁹⁰ The *Maitland Weekly Mercury* published this poem a year earlier, on October 17, 1914. According to this Australian newspaper, it was written by an American journalist, whose poem made an appearance in a newspaper from London. It describes how the men of Liège attempted to stop the German advance.¹⁹¹ The program was closed with a word of thanks by Minister della Faille, followed by the *Brabançonne* and the national anthem of Japan.¹⁹² In total, the event raised 1,309.60 yen for the Belgian Relief Fund.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ “Social & General,” October 19, 1915, 5.

¹⁸⁷ Her date of birth and death are unknown.

¹⁸⁸ “For Belgian Relief,” 1.

¹⁸⁹ “Big Audience Enjoys Entertainment,” 10.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ “How Liege Held the Road.,” 11.

¹⁹² “Big Audience Enjoys Entertainment,” 10.

¹⁹³ “Social & General,” November 6, 1915, 5.

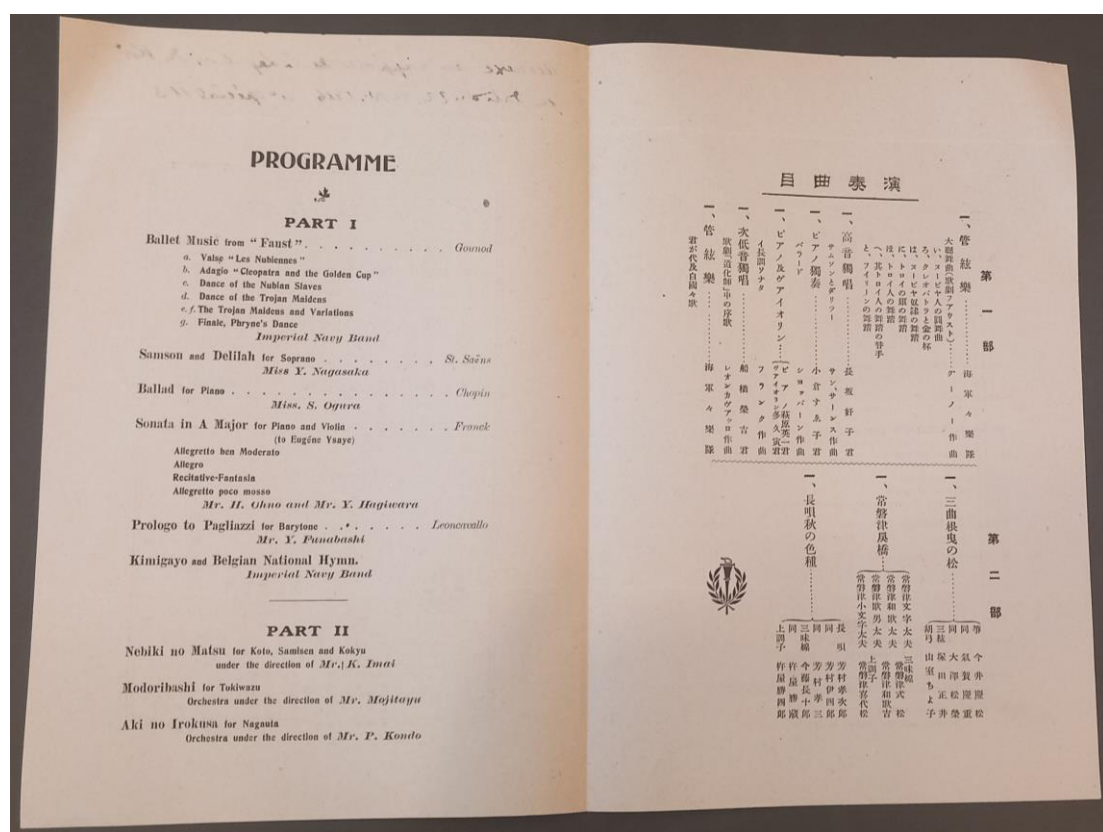


Figure 6: The inside of the flyer
Picture made by the author

On November 18th, 1916, a concert for Belgian Disabled Soldiers took place at the Tokyo Academy of Music. The distributed program shows the promoters and the address to obtain tickets. When opening the flyer, the inside, which can be seen on the picture above, describes the complete program: pieces of music which are partially European and partially Japanese, and the national anthems of Belgium and Japan. Important to notice is that the Imperial Navy Band was performing. The other side of the flyer contains the translation of the program in Japanese. For the Japanese readers, the flyer thus opened the other way around.¹⁹⁴ This would have been ideal given that Japanese is often read from right to left. It thus catered to both of the target audiences. It could be tentatively suggested that it is quite rare to find similar flyers in archives nowadays, especially if they are printed in both English and Japanese. Because of its value, it was therefore decided to obtain permission from the Diplomatic Archive to include the full flyer in this thesis.¹⁹⁵

Moreover, on April 13, 1918, the Imperial Hotel became the location for a ‘musical bazaar’ in favor of Belgian war funds. The event, organized by Baroness de Warzée, thus included a bazaar,

¹⁹⁴ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Beyens, November 22, 1916, Special Number 113, Unnumbered Annex.

¹⁹⁵ Please refer to the appendix for the other sides of the flyer.

dancing and music, and tea. Furthermore, the *Japan Times* announced that 15 prominent Japanese women expressed their interest in the event beforehand, including Princess Tokugawa, Baroness Shibusawa and Marchioness Nabeshima.¹⁹⁶ This announcement is important to discuss in more detail. For example, if the Queen of England was responsible for a booth of a charity bazaar, it was assured that many aristocrats would attend.¹⁹⁷ The same concept was likely going on here: these 15 women announced that they might attend the event and thus other individuals of the high society would show up, perhaps to interact with them or simply to be seen in their presence. This is no doubt why most newspaper articles on events of the Belgian Relief Fund mention who the patrons were and who organized or attended the event. It could also have been possible that middle- or lower-class figures who could afford to attend these events were interested in catching a glimpse of Marchioness Nabeshima or Princess Tokugawa, so there was a form of ‘celebrity tourism,’ so to speak. But to confirm this, more information about the attending public would be necessary which is unavailable as of now.

Furthermore, the entrance fee was 2 yen which also covered the performance and tea.¹⁹⁸ The initiative was thus a cross-over between a bazaar and a concert. Over 650 persons attended the event, which consisted of a Scotch Fling, a Pierette Dance, three Spanish dances, three songs, and: “then came along Mr. Moran¹⁹⁹ with an American dance, that is, a Southern jig, which caused rapturous applause. At first he seemed to have caught the notion that he was on a steamship deck in an awful storm, but finally settled down to the foot work and made the loose boards and the auditor’s ears ring.”²⁰⁰

Special to this event is that the *Japan Advertiser* later published the financial details of the musical bazaar. Because of this account, it is known that donations together with the selling of objects were more profitable than the money raised by selling tickets. In total, these initiatives combined raised 3,244.12 yen. The most expensive expense was ‘purchases,’ which made a total cost of 976.33 yen. Followed by other expenses such as for tea, tipping the hotel boys and the stage, the total came down to 1,297.27 yen. The profit, 1,946.85 yen, was donated to the Belgian Relief Fund, the Asile des Soldats Belges (Asylum of Belgian Soldiers), the King Albert’s Fund, and the Tokyo

¹⁹⁶ “3 to 6 P.M,” 1.

The dates of birth and death are unknown for Baroness Shibusawa and Princess Tokugawa.

¹⁹⁷ Prochaska, “Charity Bazaars,” 79.

¹⁹⁸ “3 to 6 P.M,” 1.

¹⁹⁹ His date of birth and death are unknown.

²⁰⁰ “650 Enjoy Life,” 1.

Men's Bandage Club.²⁰¹ This example thus once more shows that one charity event could raise money for multiple different charity organizations.

As can be read in the above descriptions, these charity performances constituted of many artistic varieties, ranging from music to theater, dance and recitations. Some of these were composed of a combination of the arts, for example, the benefit entertainment held on October 30, 1915, or the musical bazaar on April 13, 1918. But others focused on one specific form of entertainment, as the concert of November 18, 1916 can attest to. Nevertheless, these events bear witness to how music and the arts held the strength and ability to bring together a multicultural audience in favor of the Belgian Relief Fund. Light-hearted in nature as they were, however, this approach for funds conflicts with how individual donations were assembled.

4.1.3 Individual Donations

As already described in the third chapter, the first type of charity initiative that the Belgian Relief Fund undertook was a fundraising. The first traces of this can be found in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* of October 21, 1914, which describes that Baroness d'Anethan and Baroness de Warzée are gathering money for Belgians and are sharing the prospectus for this initiative. Donations should be sent to both women.²⁰² On the 23rd, the *Kokumin Shinbun*, *Jiji Shinpō* and the *Yomiuri Shinbun* published the text of this prospectus.²⁰³ The text read:

“The big European War broke out? Us fellow countrymen staying in the Japanese Empire face the national crises, and there are no more Belgian women staying in Tokyo right now except the two of us. Furthermore, we are watching our native land day and night, and we remember thinking about our beloved fellow countrymen, cruelly overran by the horse hooves of the German army, [it] pressing on our distressed hearts. This Belgium is a minuscule, small country in Europe, and regardless of its peace and happiness being barely guaranteed due to treaties of major powers, the feared German army invaded like the flood,

²⁰¹ de Warzée, “Belgian Relief Fund,” May 2, 1918, 10.

²⁰² “Kokoku no tame ni: Hakukoku ryōjoshi no gikyo” 故国の為に：白国両女史の義挙 [For the Fatherland: The Noble Undertaking of Both Belgian Ladies], 5.

²⁰³ “Utsukushiki gien no kuwadate: Hakukokumin no hizanji ni taishi” 美しき義捐の企て：白国民の悲惨事に対し [A Beautiful Plan for Donations: The Disastrous Circumstances of the Belgians], 7. de Warzée ド・、ーワルゼ and d'Anethan ダネタン, “Fukō naru Hakukokumin no tame ni” 不幸なる白国民の為に [For the Unfortunate Belgians], 5. “Ketsurui wo shibori dōjō wo uttau: Hakukoku fujin no bikyo” 血涙を絞り同情を訴ふ：白国婦人の美挙 [Crying Bitter Tears and Appealing to Sympathy: The Praiseworthy Undertaking of Belgian Women], 5.

Compared to each other, however, there are differences between each text. But which newspaper is correct would be difficult to track down.

violated its neutrality, burned cities, destroyed the palace, and the [most] extreme, raped women, shot down or slaughtered civilians without separating children and the elderly; these inhumane barbaric deeds become clear in publications of the Belgian government and in what is indicated in correspondences of the correspondent of the New York Herald as well as the Daily Chronical newspapers, Alexander Pauwel. In this way, our beloved country has lost the sunshine of its peace, is laid to waste by the storm of battle, houses became the camps of enemy soldiers, the fields have changed into seas of blood, and old and young, men and women cry of starvation, and the misery of the sight of [people] wandering here and there has not yet been encountered in all times and places. We heard rumors of the disastrous scene of our native country, unable to ban our feeling of grieve, appeal to the chivalrous ladies and gentlemen of the Japanese Empire's sympathy, collect some donation money, and send it to our countrymen that received miserable sufferings because of inferior enemies, desiring to comfort their worn out spirits. [What we] hope is that the public's philanthropists, chivalrous, and ladies and gentlemen understand our minute sincerity, and regardless of the amount, donate [to us].

Oktober, Taishō 3 [1914]

Wife of the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires
Dorothy de Warzée
Wife of former Belgian Minister
E. Mary d'Anethan²⁰⁴

This prospectus serves as evidence of multiple important facts. In the first place, when looking at this quote, it is impossible to state that any objectivity is in place. The text bluntly describes the war crimes committed by the German soldiers and how Belgium suffered from it. It is a perfect example of the general linguistical tendency that was adopted by the Belgian Relief Fund in articles concerning fundraising. Of all the different types of charity events and initiatives that have been and will be described in this subchapter, the documents about these fundraisings are the most politically subjective and biased and also possess an underlying layer of pro-Belgian propaganda.

Secondly, the prospectus is signed by both Baroness d'Anethan and Baroness de Warzée, which is important for two reasons. The first one is that they are putting themselves out into general publicity targeting the Japanese public, openly exposing that they were involved in fundraising. They were likely hoping that their names would ring a bell with the Japanese readership and cause a bigger surge in donations than when publishing in anonymity. But more importantly, they allow themselves to be connected to politics, which is also quite striking and important for a later part of this thesis.

The type of public they were able to reach should not be underestimated. Before the twentieth century had begun, almost the complete Japanese population was literate.²⁰⁵ The exact readership

²⁰⁴ Translated from: "Ketsurui wo shibori dōjō wo uttau: Hakukoku fujin no bikyo" 血涙を絞り同情を訴ふ: 白国婦人の美挙 [Crying Bitter Tears and Appealing to Sympathy: The Praiseworthy Undertaking of Belgian Women], 5. Due to the length and in order to not take up too much space, the original Japanese text and its romanization have been added as appendix.

numbers for Japanese newspapers during the First World War specifically are difficult to track, but some close numbers can be found. In 1906, the *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun* had approximately 96,475 subscribers, and the *Yomiuri Shinbun* about 38,000. For the other two newspapers, there are numbers available for 1911: the *Kokumin Shinbun* had approximately 130,000 subscribers, and the *Jiji Shinpō* reached almost 70,000.²⁰⁶ Although newspapers could easily be passed along, and some readers might buy multiple newspapers on the same day, these articles would reach about 330,000 individuals. This number excludes the *Japan Advertiser*, and thus foreign readership numbers, and other Japanese newspapers that might have published about the Belgian Relief Fund. Even though not everyone who could read was in the financial situation to buy newspapers regularly or sporadically, it can safely be concluded that these articles were thus available, and probably known, to a diverse audience of Japanese readers.

Both women pushed their appearance into the public domain much further in the coming days. On October 25, the *Yomiuri Shinbun* published an interview with Baroness d'Anethan. She expressed her gratitude towards the Japanese who had contributed to the fundraising, which by then had already raised about 1,200 yen. The article also explained how she, and Baron d'Anethan, loved Japan and introduced *Otakesan* (お竹さん), the by Japan inspired book that the baroness wrote. Furthermore, while crying, she also confided how she lost one of her eight nephews who were fighting in the war. The interview concluded with an expression of hatred of her towards Germany.²⁰⁷

The next day, an interview with Baroness de Warzée appears in the *Jiji Shinpō*. While knitting socks, she conveys her thanks for the donations, giving examples of Japanese who made donations. Drawing on her own personal example, the baroness describes that several letters to her family in Spa (Belgium) did not arrive due to a cessation of postal services and the press. She thus had the intention to print the letters that accompanied the donations in the Belgian newspapers after the war. She finishes the interview by explaining how goods can be bought cheaper in Japan compared to Belgium, which makes low donations also important. The article furthermore features pictures of her and of Baroness d'Anethan.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 165.

²⁰⁶ James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public*, 316-317, 494.

²⁰⁷ “Sobo no tame ni moyuru ai: Otokomasari no Da fujin” 祖母の為に燃ゆる愛：男勝りのダ夫人 [A Love Burning for a Grandmother: The Strong-Minded Mrs. Da], 5.

²⁰⁸ “Kishinbun wo tsūjite: Nihon zenkoku no tankata ni kansha wo!; Hakukoku gienkin no sakan naru dōjō; kutsushita amute isogashiki; Berugī dairikōshi fujin to kataru” 貴新聞を通じて：日本全国の御方に感謝を！；白国義捐金の盛んなる同情；靴下編む手忙がしき；白耳義代理公使夫人と語る [Run It in Your Newspaper: Gratitude to the

Both examples portray which techniques both women used to catch the attention of the Japanese public. Baroness d'Anethan talks about her long-standing relationship and familiarity with Japan, uses her fame as a writer, and emotionally describes how she is first-hand experiencing losing family to the war. Baroness de Warzée, who does not have almost two decades of experience with living in Japan, uses her gratitude to form a connection with the Japanese and also talks about the situation at home. It is also important to notice how both women were well aware of what they were doing during the interview. Both encounters seem very staged, addressing the correct topics to encourage further donations: it is almost impossible that Baroness de Warzée was not on purpose knitting when the reporter came to interview her, proving to the public how concerned she herself was with those struck by the war, and how involved she was in charity.²⁰⁹ And although Baroness d'Anethan of course did not have any hand in the passing of her nephew, she did choose to very emotionally incorporate the story into the interview. Both women are thus heavily claiming the emotions of the Japanese public to encourage further donations.

Also worth noticing in all of this, is that both women did not have the Belgian nationality until their marriage. As wives of Belgian diplomats, and certainly in a war in which Belgium was directly involved, it would naturally have been necessary for them to declare themselves as Belgians in the public sphere. But given that diplomats are more on post than in their home country, they probably never lived in Belgium for longer periods at a time. Yet they have such a deep-rooted concern over the Belgians who in one way or another were affected by the war. Where would this sentiment be coming from? Did marrying a Belgian diplomat and working for the Belgian Legation have such an impact on them that they identify as much as they do with the Belgians and the Belgian nationality? Or were they both so driven in their charity work that they would have stated anything in favor of Belgium in the public sphere? It would be interesting to address this shaping of identity in international marriages in diplomacy in further research. In any case, given that not many other events got organized between 1914 and May 1915, the money raised through these donations thus made up the biggest part of the more than 36,000 francs the Fund managed to raise in this period.²¹⁰

The donations do not stop after this first surge. In the autumn of 1915, however, the fundraising is organized with the support of Baroness d'Anethan and Minister della Faille. But the

People of the Whole of Japan!; The Widespread Sympathy for the Donations for Belgium; Busy with Knitting Socks; Talking with the Wife of the Belgian Chargé d'Affaires], 6.

²⁰⁹ This could be hinting at two things: the clothing collected by the Belgian Relief Fund for hospitals and refugees mentioned in Chapter Three, or Baroness de Warzée's involvement in the Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, which will be discussed in 4.2.

²¹⁰ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.

money should be sent to Baroness de Warzée.²¹¹ This indicates that she was still in charge of processing the donations that reached the Legation, and consequently took on a big part in the organization of the Fund. Furthermore, when Countess della Faille returns to Japan in November 1915, she gives an interview that was published in the *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*. She also expresses her gratitude towards Japan's support of Belgium and mentions how she had to flee Belgium and that she missed Japan. Furthermore, they also discuss the donation of the *Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun*, which was addressed in Chapter Three, and the gifting of a sword to the Belgian king.²¹² This thus illustrates that the third woman that is involved in the Belgian Relief Fund discusses charity in an interview published in yet another newspaper.

Due to the *Tokyo Japan Advertiser* which every now and then published lists about the financial state of the Belgian Relief Fund, it is possible to keep an eye on donations in the period between October and December 1915, to see how they develop. On October 12, 1915, the Fund had 124.10 yen left, but managed to raise this amount to 1354.67 yen. The biggest contribution came from Minister della Faille, who donated 200 yen, but also Secretary de Warzée chipped in with 50 yen. Furthermore, it lists individuals and groups, as the Federation of the Churches of Christ in Japan, but also shows contributions from prefectures all over Japan, for example from Osaka, Kagoshima, Miyasaki, and also Korea.²¹³ About a month later, on November 9, besides one activity the Fund organized itself, donations raised the profits to 4,049.45 yen. The already mentioned Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Association donated a dazzling 740.67 yen, but there were also contributions from the N.R.C. Tombstone Cup (a competition held for golf), the American International Relief Fund, and someone under the pseudonym of 'petit ami.'²¹⁴ By December 1915, the Fund had initially lost 10 yen²¹⁵ but ended with 4,254.93 yen, donations coming from for example the N.R.C Xmas cup,²¹⁶ the profits of selling 'Tipperary', and from two schools.²¹⁷ These examples thus show the variety of individuals and institutions that donated to the Belgian Relief Fund, but also the places they were coming from. It is furthermore an indication of how the amount of money grew on a monthly basis. As far as the *Japan Advertiser*'s database managed to bring to the surface, the Fund published only

²¹¹ "Hakukoku kyūmin gien boshū" 白国窮民義捐募集 [Looking for Donations for Poor Belgian People], 4.

²¹² "Sokoku no senka wo kataru: Berujūmu kōshi fujin no kichō" 祖国の戦禍を語る：白耳義公使夫人の帰朝 [Talking about the damages of war in her homeland: The wife of the Belgian minister returning from abroad], 5. For more information about the sword see: Deleu, "Japanese Humanitarian Aid", 58-63.

²¹³ "Belgian Relief Fund," October 12, 1915, 4.

In 1910, Korea became a colony of Japan.

²¹⁴ "Belgian Relief Fund," November 9, 1915, 4.

'Petit ami' means 'little friend.'

²¹⁵ This was probably due to a miscalculation in the previous article.

²¹⁶ The spelling of the word is conform the original title of the cup in the source.

²¹⁷ "The Belgian Relief Fund," 4.

two more of these articles: one in May 1918, and the last in December 1919, to dismantle the Fund.²¹⁸

To complete the list of different initiatives for donations, as already mentioned in Chapter Three, the Fund also contributed to fundraisings for Belgian children from 1917 onwards and contributed donations to the King Albert's Fund from October 1918. What is interesting about the last one, is that it was originally planned to attach commemorative plates with the names of donors who gave 5,000 francs or more, to Louvain, Dinant and Ypres' town hall.²¹⁹ Whether this idea was ever executed remains unknown.

To conclude, this subchapter shows how support was given to the Belgian Relief Fund from all over Japan, its benefactors consisting of individuals, but also of different clubs and other charity organizations. Important to remember from this part, is that Baroness d'Anethan and Baroness de Warzée decided to be publicly expressive about politics, voicing their opinions on the atrocities committed by Germany against Belgium to the Japanese public by employing newspaper articles.

4.1.4 Other Initiatives

Apart from the three different types of initiatives discussed, a couple of smaller, much more random and unorganized initiatives took place or were planned but eventually never became realized. This subchapter will briefly address these types of initiatives to further illustrate the scope of activities the Belgian Relief Fund was involved in.

It was already touched upon in Chapter Three that Baroness d'Anethan held a conference in which she discussed Belgium sometime in 1914, which was turned into a brochure sold in favor of the Belgian Relief Fund. And the subchapter about charity performances described how she read out loud two documents during the benefit entertainment held in favor of the Belgian Relief Fund in Oktober 1915. However, her biography in the *Who's Who* published in 1933 mentions that the reason that she received the Queen Elisabeth's Medal was specifically because of the 8,000 pounds she was able to raise in favor of the Belgian Relief Fund by lecturing, and does not name the other things she was involved in.²²⁰ Oddly enough, it is not possible to find anything about these specific lectures in primary sources like newspaper articles. However, one does not raise a sum of 8,000 pounds that

²¹⁸ de Warzée, "Belgian Relief Fund," May 2, 1918, 10. de Warzée, "Belgian Relief Fund," December 30, 1919, 4.

²¹⁹ de Warzée, "King Albert's Fund," 6.

²²⁰ *Who's Who*, 68.

easily. And since this is the only activity in the Belgian Relief Fund that is named in the book, it must have been her main activity in the Fund. Even though there are thus no other sources describing this further, it should be taken into account that Baroness d'Anethan was even more of a public figure than was apparent in the fundraisings.

A second initiative is that Minister della Faille met up with journalists “to endorse the promotion of a fund for Belgian relief and to devise ways and means of co operation [Sic: cooperation] of the press and officials to obtain publicity and the fullest public support.”²²¹ It was decided to install a committee that would speak for Osaka and Tokyo’s municipalities and chambers of commerce and the press. They would request subscriptions throughout Japan. Apart from representatives of the five newspapers discussed in this thesis, attending were representatives of the Japanese Press Association, the mayor of Tokyo, the Chugai Shogyo, Mancho, Yamato, Miyako, Fusambo and Mainichi newspapers, and others.²²² However, this, and other ideas of the press, have never been put into practice.²²³ The reason why is unknown, but maybe the rivaling newspapers had a hard time finding common ground. Their differences and competition in the readership of the same audience might have stopped them from launching an initiative that all could agree on. Instead, the press supported the Belgian Relief Fund’s activities for free.²²⁴ The cited dispatch likely meant that the newspapers thus printed the previously mentioned articles about bazaars, charity concerts and the like without charge. Furthermore, the dispatch is unsigned, but it is suspected that the person who wrote the letter is Minister della Faille, as can be seen in the citation.²²⁵ Whether it would be him or Secretary de Warzée who wrote the document, it does express some involvement and participation in the Belgian Relief Fund. Would this have come from their own initiative or had their wives a hand in this?

It was already mentioned before, but collection boxes for the Belgian Relief Fund were available at a hundred universities and universities of applied sciences. It is difficult to find any traces of these collection boxes in newspapers; a better plan of action would be to visit the archives of individual universities in Japan, which was not possible within the timeframe of this thesis. However, what could be an example of this initiative is one newspaper article writing: “to equip the

²²¹ “Social & General,” December 29, 1915, 5.

²²² Ibid.

For the sake of future research projects, it would thus be interesting to check these newspapers for more information about the Belgian Relief Fund.

²²³ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

telephone of Tsukiji's²²⁶ Rikkyō University with a box with a label saying 'could the people that use this phone for personal business please insert more than two sen as a donation to Belgian relief' is slightly inventive" (Tsukiji no Rikkyō Daigaku no denwa ni 'shiyō de kono denwa wo tsukau kata wa Hakukoku kyūsai gienkin toshite kin nisen ijō o'irekudasai' to iu fuda wo dashite hako wo sonaetearu wa chotto kufū, 築地の立教大学の電話に「私用でこの電話を使ふ方は白国救済義捐金として金二銭以上お入れ下さい」といふ札を出して箱を備えてあるは一寸工夫).²²⁷ More information about this initiative has not yet been found.

These three different smaller initiatives show that the Belgian Relief Fund thus made attempts to raise money through many different methods, one clearly more successful than the other. Although these leave few traces in today's surviving source material, they demonstrate how the Fund tried to get into touch with Japanese students, readership and those interested in Belgium.

4.1.5 Intermediate Conclusion

Subchapter 4.1 described the many different activities the Belgian Relief Fund has organized in Japan during its period of activity. Through these descriptions, a few recurring themes can be seen in the various charity initiatives: There is a certain political, but also diplomatic, connection, which can be seen very clearly with the charity bazaars and donations. For example, in the openly expressed anger on behalf of the war crimes committed by Germany, but also in the contributions to cultural diplomacy these women made. Going hand in hand with politics, are social relations, but also gender roles. Social characteristics can most profoundly be witnessed with the bazaars and concerts, while gender aspects are apparent in most of the initiatives. These features will be the subject of the next two subchapters. Furthermore, it is also important to notice that, at least for the charity bazaars and performances, they were barely ever organized by the Belgian Relief Fund alone. These events were a group effort by women representing different countries, and profits were very likely always divided among various charity organizations.

From now on, this thesis will move away from the descriptive part of the activities and progressions of the Fund, and start to focus primarily on the deeper meanings of charity in the context of a legation. More specifically: what was going on behind the scenes? What are the

²²⁶ Tsukiji is the name of one of the districts in Tokyo.

²²⁷ "Ao enpitsu" 青鉛筆 [Blue Pencil], 5.

differences between what the general public experienced versus what happened behind closed doors? Although Countess della Faille, but especially Baroness de Warzée and Baroness d'Anethan were the frontwomen of the Belgian Relief Fund, they were supported by the indispensable help of many others, men and women alike. Their mutual relationships will be the theme of the next subchapter.

4.2 Forming Networks

From this subchapter onwards, the focus will move to intrinsic motivations and phenomena within the Belgian Relief Fund. Here, attention will go to the social layers exhibited in this organization. It in the first place looks at how the Belgian Diplomatic Corps comes together to form a sort of network to provide help to the Belgian Relief Fund. In the next subchapter, the focus is on how multiple groups of Japan's society helped the Belgian Relief Fund, and what this specific help looked like. The last subchapter zooms in on the motivations for engagement in charity with representatives of certain countries, which is in this case applied on the Belgian Legation, the Japanese government and Japanese elite women.

4.2.1 The Internal Network of the Belgian Diplomatic Corps

The attentive reader will have noticed by now that there were several occasions in which the help of the Belgian consulates was mentioned. For example, the help of Madame Polain during the bazaar of 1916. Or the fundraising of the *Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun* that was arranged by Consul Casteur. This subchapter will briefly consider the networks that were in place within the Belgian Diplomatic Corps, not only within Japan but also in other parts of the world. Important to remark, however, is that not every diplomatic post could be taken into account. In this subchapter, only those that have a direct link with the Belgian Relief Fund in Japan, as far as can be concluded from the sources, will be discussed.

Once more, the article of December 17, 1918 published in *La Métropole*, proves useful to study the involvement of the consulates in the Belgian Relief Fund. It describes that the consulate in Kobe raised over 223.600 francs, supplemented with objects, for the Belgians until the date of drafting the article. In Yokohama, the consulate shipped about 100.000 francs worth of gifts, and received over 70.000 francs in donations. The Consulate in Seoul raised more than 52.000 francs supplemented with received objects.²²⁸ This is, of course, no indication that these donations eventually were given to the Belgian Relief Fund and did not end up being used by the consulate in question for another charitable goal. To establish this, other sources have to be taken into account.

²²⁸ “Les Sympathies Japonaises [The Japanese Sympathies],” 3.

When it comes to the consulate in Kobe, this thesis already touched upon a couple of initiatives. For example, the donation of the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, which was organized because of the intervention of Consul Casteur on behalf of the Belgian Relief Fund. Or his support in the fundraising in sake of Belgian children from 1916 onwards. The consul also participated with the Belgian Relief Fund in the organization of a concert which took place in Kobe. Apart from these initiatives, his name can be found in one of the lists of donations to the Belgian Relief Fund published in the Japan Advertiser: in October 1915, the consul was the person in between for sending the donation of the section of the American Association of Japan that was located in Kobe to the Belgian Relief Fund in Tokyo. The same article also mentions money coming from Chinju, Korea.²²⁹ It is thus possible that the consul in Korea helped with conveying these contributions to the Belgian Relief Fund. Consul Bastin, who was stationed in Yokohama, is mentioned in a similar article, for sending donations coming from the N.R.C Xmas cup.²³⁰

The sources that have been collected for this thesis are thus not very clear about the extent of the relation between the Belgian Relief Fund and the Belgian consulates in Japan. However, it is certain that they, at least to a certain degree, played a role in contributing to the Fund. But to find out more about their role in the organization, it would be necessary to have a look at sources that are less focused on Tokyo and rather on Kobe, Yokohama and Seoul.

As is known by now, the Belgian Relief Fund was not only active in Japan. An annex of a dispatch of January 30, 1916, contains a newspaper article with the title ‘Belgian Relief Fund’ stating that Baroness de Warzée received a letter which was sent by the Princess de Ligne.²³¹ She was married to the Belgian Councilor on post at the legation that was located in The Hague and was leading the relief organized for Belgians that had fled to the Netherlands. According to the article, the letter read:²³²

²²⁹ “Belgian Relief Fund,” October 12, 1915, 4.

²³⁰ “The Belgian Relief Fund,” 4. The original title of the cup has been used, which mentions ‘Xmas.’

²³¹ Her date of birth and death are unknown.

²³² FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Beyens, January 30, 1916, Special Number 23, Annex 24.

“Dear Madame de Warzée,
I have just received your kind letter and I thank you sincerely for the very precious help you are giving u [Sic: us] in our work.
The cases of the last consignment contained very useful things and I see that once more you have collected clothes that are indispensable to our poor little Belgians. The layettes especially are gratefully received. I await impatiently all you can send.
Thanks with all my heart for not forgetting us in spite of the distance separating us. This long and awful war is exhausting all the resources, all the purses even those most generously opened and we are so badly in want of help.
Yours, etc.,
(S.) M. L. de Ligne.”²³³

This quote illustrates multiple aspects: in the first place that there have been several shipments of clothing by the Belgian Relief Fund to the legation in the Netherlands for refugees. This thus illustrates what has already been mentioned in the third chapter: the Belgian Relief Fund assembled clothes in the sake of refugees. Secondly, it has been directly sent to the Princess, which shows that Baroness de Warzée was aware, or had been made aware, of the right contacts to send donations to. It also illustrates that there was a type of network in place between women of diplomatic representations in different countries to help each other with charity, without the need for their husbands’ interference. Furthermore important is that Minister della Faille states in this dispatch that this article appeared in the press through his action, and was also published in Japanese newspapers because of him.²³⁴ Why this is significant will become clear at a later point.

This link with the Netherlands can be seen in one other source. The War Relief Association of Formosa²³⁵ donated six packages which were containing used postage stamps to Diana, Baroness de Warzée’s daughter, which would have been send to the Netherlands were they were meant to be put up for sale in favor of imprisoned and injured Belgian soldiers.²³⁶ It is thus likely that these stamps would have been send to Princess de Ligne. One last remark is that a part of the files for the First World War period in the Netherlands has been checked to see if more could be found about the organization of relief and about the help of diplomatic representation around the globe. But in the part that has been looked at, none of the documents made mention of any form of charity.²³⁷ This makes the existence of dispatches about the Belgian Relief Fund in the files for Japan all the more special.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Beyens, January 30, 1916, Special Number 23.

²³⁵ Formosa is present-day Taiwan.

²³⁶ “Formosan War Relief,” 2.

²³⁷ Given that the dispatch dates from early 1916, the mentioned goods should likely have arrived in the Netherlands somewhere in 1915. Therefore the file FGSFA, Pays-Bas 1915. has been checked.

The above examples illustrate that there were networks between diplomats and wives of diplomats in order to support the charity organized by Belgian diplomatic representation. Interestingly, these women thus formed their own networks to support one another in charity without the interference of their husbands. However, the real logistics of how this network supported itself and the exact roles of consulates, legations, embassies and the like should be studied in more detail in future studies, given that this falls outside the scope of this thesis.

4.2.2 Relations With the Host Country

Throughout this thesis, the contributions of the Japanese have been mentioned now and then, for example, when participating in bazaars or patronizing events. However, this support went much further than was visible to the public or can be seen in most of the newspaper articles. This subchapter wants to zoom in more on the involvement of several social groups of the Japanese society and their contributions to the Belgian Relief Fund. Before doing so, it is important to address the terminology used in the following subchapters, given that it will often refer to the ‘Japanese’ or ‘Japanese public.’ These two terms are of course very generalizing and do not necessarily intend to reflect every group of the society of First World War Japan. Especially when taking into account that not every social class would have had the financial possibility to make contributions. But because, besides diplomats and Japanese nobility, it is almost unknown who attended the events or participated in fundraising, it is impossible to be more specific about the exact social groups that were involved.²³⁸ Due to this inadequacy, it was opted to use these two terms in order to refer to the anonymous individuals that for example attended charity bazaars or donated money to the Belgian Relief Fund.

In the third chapter, it was already mentioned that the Amateur Dramatic Club organized an opéra comique with the name *La Mascotte* in February 1916. The dispatch of June 14, 1916, indicates that the results disappointed the promoters. According to the document, for events like this that take place in Tokyo to have sufficient success, figures that possess influence and are active have to agree to become patrons and attract people in the weeks before the event. It was therefore difficult to have a program that was attractive and at the same time without high costs, and even more to

²³⁸ Although the lists with donations mentioned in previous parts of this thesis are in most cases not anonymous, it would be too time-consuming to try to find out more about every person mentioned here in order to create a coherent image of the types of social groups that in one way or another participated in the Belgian Relief Fund. This counts even more for the Japanese individuals, given that the *Japan Advertiser* does not mention the characters for these names, which sincerely hinders any search to these persons.

recruit persons who would want to help with the heavy task of ensuring a good outcome. Only if it was novel and extremely enticing, advertisement alone would be sufficient. And for *La Mascotte* they mainly used advertisement. However, the results of the representation which took place earlier, on May 26th, were very positive. Six Imperial princes and princesses assisted with the event and donated 1.000 yen in total. They rarely visited the theatre, which played a role in the large and distinguished group of visitors that came to see the performance.²³⁹

The dispatch also expresses gratitude for the support of the newspapers, the authorities and the Japanese public. More specifically, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs often patronized events of the Belgian Relief Fund. The renowned navy band, which has been mentioned before, participated in the events of the Fund thanks to the permission of the Japanese Minister of the Navy. And the collection boxes installed in schools thanks to the approval and help of the Minister of Education also have been discussed before. Furthermore, the President of the Council of Ministers, Count Ōkuma (1838-1922), and his wife, the spouse of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the wives of prominent court dignitaries and other ministers stopped by at the bazaar held in May 1916. Moreover, during multiple theatrical performances, court dignitaries and government associates were present. For the one of May 26th, the performing professional musicians and actors did not charge any fees, the rent charged for the venue was very low, and advertisement was published without charge in the newspapers for these fêtes. For the same event, the Imperial Princes lent a helping hand, and Japanese ladies tried to attract spectators through their influence. Lastly, many Japanese ladies participated in the aforementioned bazaar.²⁴⁰

It thus portrays how necessary these patrons were, but also how dependent the success of these charity events was on esteemed societal figures. It also shows how much the Belgian Relief Fund was resting on these patrons for their profits. Besides obtaining patrons for charity bazaars, as described at the beginning of 4.1, this illustrates their necessity in other charity events too. Moreover, the aforementioned examples suggest that without support from the Japanese patrons mentioned above, it was practically impossible for a charity organization in First World War Japan to be successful. Logical, of course, since there was quite a big linguistic and cultural barrier to overcome, and said persons likely contributed heavily as an intermediary and bridge between the diplomats and their wives, and the Japanese that participated in or visited the events.

²³⁹ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

It is possible to zoom in a bit more on the involvement of the Japanese government in charity for Belgians. On August 31, 1916, Minister Della Faille sends a letter to Viscount Ishi'i Kikujirō (1866-1945), the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which Japanese translation received the subject “On the Subject of Transmission of Gratitude of the Belgian Government Regarding Charitable Works for the Relief of Belgians” (Hakukokumin kyūsai no jizenjigyō ni kankei no mukae dōkoku seifu no shai dentatsu no ken, 白国民救済ノ慈善事業ニ関係ノ向ヘ同国政府ノ謝意伝達ノ件).²⁴¹ In the document, della Faille describes what has been written to the Belgian government, albeit some minor changes, in the dispatch of June 14, 1916, and covered in the third paragraph of this subchapter, but also adds:

“本使ノ報告ハ辱クモ我皇帝陛下ノ勲覧ニ供セラレ前記同情ノ表彰ニ賛加セラレタル貴国内閣員及宮中ノ高官其他ノ人士ニ対シ本国政府ノ深甚ナル謝意ヲ伝達致スヘキ様本国外務大臣ヨリノ訓令ニ接シ候
右ノ趣閣下ヨリ諸國務大臣其ノ他ノ各員特ニ前ニ述ヘタル諸氏並戸田式部長官閣下ヘモ可然²⁴²御移牒相成度此段及御依頼候”²⁴³

(Honshi no hōkoku wa hazukashimekumo waga kōtei heika no eiran ni kyō serare zenki dōjō no hyōshō ni sankā seraretaru kikokunai kakuin oyobi kyūchū no kōkan sonota no jinshi ni tai shi hongoku seifu no shinjin naru shai wo dentatsu itasu heki yō hongoku gaimudaijin yori no kunrei ni sesshi kō
Migi no omomuki kakka yori shokoku mudaijin sono hoka no kakuin toku ni mae ni nohetaru shoshi nami Toda Shikibu chōkan kakka hemo kashika goichō ai naru do sonodan oyobi goirai kō)

[The report of this diplomat, although humble, was submitted to the inspection of His Majesty my King's, regarding the Internal [Japan's] Cabinet Ministers and the Imperial Court's High Officials and other gentlemen, who participate in the said commendation of sympathy, and I was contacted about the instructions of my country's Minister of Foreign Affairs to convey the profound gratitude of my country's government.

²⁴¹ “Hakukokumin kyūsai no jizenjigyō ni kankei no mukae dōkoku seifu no shai dentatsu no ken”, 白国民救済ノ慈善事業ニ関係ノ向ヘ同国政府ノ謝意伝達ノ件 [On the Subject of Transmission of gratitude of the Belgian Government Regarding Charitable Works for the Relief of Belgians], Anonymous to Minister of Foreign Affairs Viscount Ishi'i Kikujirō 外務大臣子爵石井菊次郎 and Prime Minister Marquis Ōkuma Shigenobu 内閣総理大臣侯爵大隈重信殿, September 15, 1916, National Archives of Japan 国立公文書館: Call Number 01363100, <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/img/2429706>.

²⁴² This should likely be 然可 or 然る可 (Shikaru beku, properly)

²⁴³ “Hakukokumin kyūsai no jizenjigyō ni kankei no mukae dōkoku seifu no shai dentatsu no ken”, 白国民救済ノ慈善事業ニ関係ノ向ヘ同国政府ノ謝意伝達ノ件 [On the Subject of Transmission of gratitude of the Belgian Government Regarding Charitable Works for the Relief of Belgians], Anonymous to Minister of Foreign Affairs Viscount Ishi'i Kikujirō 外務大臣子爵石井菊次郎 and Prime Minister Marquis Ōkuma Shigenobu 内閣総理大臣侯爵大隈重信殿, September 15, 1916, National Archives of Japan 国立公文書館: Call Number 01363100, <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/img/2429706>.

I would like to entrust your Excellency to appropriately notified the various Ministers of State and others, especially the previously mentioned, as well as their Excellencies, Secretaries Toda and Shikibu, about the aspects on the right.]²⁴⁴

This letter does not specify that Minister della Faille is writing about the Belgian Relief Fund, but given the big similarities with the dispatch, it is very likely that this all stands in relation with this charity organization. Furthermore, as can be read in the above quote, the Belgian government was aware of how the Japanese government helped the Belgian Relief Fund, showing how both countries used this charity organization as a way to keep up good relationships and contributing to bilateral relations. Its gratitude is in place, of course, given that the Japanese government lend a helping hand to Belgian diplomatic representatives. However, charity is being pulled into the political domain. Lastly, the same text appeared in the *Jiji Shinpō* a day later than the date of the above translation,²⁴⁵ signifying that the Japanese government delivered it to the newspaper when the Japanese version was ready.

Minister della Faille does not mention it in his letter, but a text in which the Japanese Cabinet announces the bazaar of May 1916 has been published in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*. The text concludes with “regarding the disastrous scene of the prosperous countries’ citizens that today is [experiencing] terrible things, by means of making this bazaar flourish, we hope that the citizens of our prosperous country will devote themselves to a lot of effort showing the warmth of their compassion” (Kōkoku jinmin no sanjō kyō no gotoku hanahadashiki mono aru ni oite wa, kono jizenshi wo mori ni shi motte waga kokumin no kōkoku ni tai suru dōjō no atsuki koto wo shimesu ni oite tadai no doryoku wo tsukusaremu to wo nozomu, 興国人民の惨状今日の如く甚しきものあるに於いては、此の慈善市を盛にし以て我國民の興国に対する同情の厚きことを示すに於て多大の努力を尽されむとを望む).²⁴⁶ Whether it was the Japanese government that conveyed this text to the newspaper, or if it was distributed among the public and picked up by the *Yomiuri Shinbun* is unclear. One could also wonder why the Belgian Legation sent the beforementioned newspaper articles to *La Métropole*, and what they wanted to achieve with this? Perhaps it was a way for them to return the favor to the Japanese government? Nevertheless, the call for support for this bazaar is significant. Why would the government have decided to compose this text?

²⁴⁴ It was already stated before, but Japanese is often written from right to left, which is also applicable to this document. “The right” thus refers to everything mentioned before this sentence, “above” so to speak.

²⁴⁵ “Hakukoku seifu no kansha: Nihon kokumin no dōjō 白国政府の感謝：日本國民の同情 [Gratitude of the Belgian Government: The Sympathy of the Japanese Citizens], 4.

²⁴⁶ “Bazā ni dōjō: seiyō gaka no bikyo” 慈善市に同情：西洋画家の美挙 [Sympathy for a Bazaar: The Praiseworthy Undertaking of Western-Style Artists], 4.

Before answering this question, one other form of major support from the Japanese society towards the Belgian Relief Fund should be addressed: the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society (Nihon Fujin Hakukoku Dōjōkai, 日本婦人白国同情会). As mentioned in the third chapter, the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society was established from the Belgian Relief Fund. The organization was patronized by Princess Fushimi,²⁴⁷ operated with the Belgian Legation's auspices, and had Marchioness Nabeshima as the president.²⁴⁸ 22 women promoted this organization including, for example, the wife of Prime Minister Ōkuma, Mrs. Mitsui (三井), and Tsuda Umeko (津田梅子, 1864-1929).²⁴⁹ Some of these women eventually received the Queen Elisabeth's Medal.²⁵⁰ The society's prospectus dates from January 1915, when they started fundraising from 10 sen onwards and planned to close on the last day of April. At the time of the article, they were yet undecided about how to spend the money, but the idea of erecting a 'Japanese village' somewhere in Belgium was mentioned.²⁵¹ Annex 24 to the dispatch of May 19, 1915 mentions that at a reunion of this organization in which over 150 women took part and which was hosted by the Belgian Legation, they, among others, listened to speeches of Baroness d'Anethan and Baroness de Warzée.²⁵² The size of this organization and consequently its parent organization, the Belgian Relief Fund, should thus not be underestimated.

This thesis will not focus on their activities and developments as it did for the Belgian Relief Fund, but one of their initiatives deserves a bit of attention here. From February 20 to 28, 1915, the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society organized a doll party (Ningyōkai, 人形会) at the Mitsukoshi Department Store.²⁵³ Interesting to notice, is that this event was held close to the Doll Festival ('Hina Matsuri', 雛祭), a festival which is meant for girls and takes place on March 3, for which a doll set will be placed in their houses.²⁵⁴ Female students that had received schooling at the Yamawaki Girls High School (Yamawaki Kōtō Jogakkō, 山脇高等女学校), Tokyo Women's School Young

²⁴⁷ Her date of birth and death are unknown.

²⁴⁸ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.

²⁴⁹ "Berugī Dōjōkai katsdō kaishi: Hiroku kifukin wo boshūshi Berugī no tami wo sukuwan" 白耳義同情会活動開始: 広く寄付金を募集し白耳義の民を救はん [Beginning of the Activities of the Belgian Relief Society: Widely Recruiting Donations and Going to Save the Belgians], 5.

²⁵⁰ "Belgian Decoration," 10.

²⁵¹ "Berugī Dōjōkai katsdō kaishi: Hiroku kifukin wo boshūshi Berugī no tami wo sukuwan" 白耳義同情会活動開始: 広く寄付金を募集し白耳義の民を救はん [Beginning of the Activities of the Belgian Relief Society: Widely Recruiting Donations and Going to Save the Belgians], 5.

²⁵² FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.

²⁵³ "Utsukushiya hana no ningyō: Hakukoku Dōjōkai no moyōshi; Ippin no sū sukoburu taoshi" 美しや花の人形: 白国同情会の催し; 逸品の数頗る多し [Beautiful Flower Dolls?: An Event of the Belgian Relief Society; An Extremely Numerous Amount of Excellent Articles], 7.

²⁵⁴ "Doll Festival: 雛祭/Hina Matsuri."

Women's Association (Tokyo Jogakkan Joshi Seinenkai, 東京女学館女子青年会), Tsuda English School (Tsuda Eigakujuku, 津田英学塾), and a department from the Gakushūinsho (Gakushūinsho Gakubu, 学習院所學部), and other institutes, lend a helping hand. Baroness de Warzée participated in setting up the event, and on the last day, Secretary de Warzée and Minister della Faille attended.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, through an annex of a dispatch dated March 17, 1915, it is known that several women from the Legations and Embassies put dolls in clothes representing the French, the Spanish, the Swiss, and so on.²⁵⁶ This therefore also touches upon contributions to cultural diplomacy.

However, the society only existed until July 1915. In the afternoon of July 12, the Nabeshima's hosted a gathering in which Marchioness Nabeshima transmitted money to Minister della Faille, who conveyed the gratitude of the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The group posed for a picture which was to be sent to the Belgian Queen.²⁵⁷ The image below, enclosed with the article, is likely that picture. Interesting to notice is that the picture was taken in the middle of July, which would already have been extremely uncomfortable to sit outside in hot and humid weather in long dresses and suits. Hence probably why Baroness de Warzée is holding a fan.

²⁵⁵ “Utsukushiya hana no ningyō: Hakukoku Dōjyōkai no moyōshi; Ippin no sū sukoburu taoshi” 美しや花の人形：白国同情会の催し；逸品の数頗る多し [Beautiful Flower Dolls?: An Event of the Belgian Relief Society; An Extremely Numerous Amount of Excellent Articles], 7.

“Ningyō no uredaka ga gosen'en: Hakukoku Dōjōkai ningyōkai no heikai” 人形の売高が五千円：白国同情会人形会の閉会 [The Proceeds of the Dolls is 5.000 Yen: The Closure of the Belgian Relief Association's Doll Party], 7.

²⁵⁶ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, March 17, 1915, Special Number 36, Annex 27.

²⁵⁷ “Kōkekka wo osamete: Nihon Fujin Hakukoku Dōjōkai no kaisan” 好結果を収めて：日本婦人白国同情会の解散 [Achieving a Good Result: The Dissolution of the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society], 6.

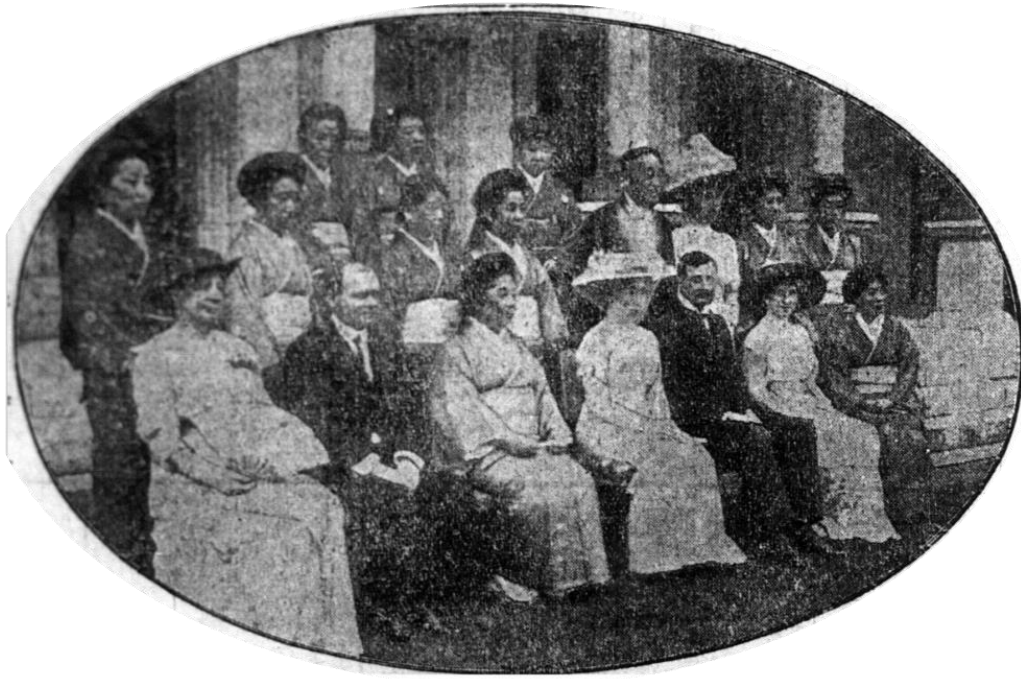


Figure 7: The management of the society poses for a picture. Seated from left to right are Baroness de Warzée, her husband, Marchioness Nabeshima, Princess Fushimi, Minister della Faille and the Countess, and Mrs. Ōyama.

Among the persons behind them, only Marquis Nabeshima is identified.

Reprinted from: “Kōkekka wo osamete: Nihon Fujin Hakukoku Dōjōkai no kaisan” 好結果を収めて: 日本婦人白国同情会の解散 [Achieving a Good Result: The Dissolution of the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society], July 13, 1915, 6.

To conclude, the success of this organization was telling about how much impact they had on the Japanese public compared to the Belgian Relief Fund, and how this revoked the public’s monetary support: in March 1915, Minister della Faille reported that the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society had raised more than double the sum that the Belgian Relief Fund had been able to obtain.²⁵⁸ It shows the effect of being able to relate, but also look up to the persons involved in assembling funds. This also reflects once more how important the support and help of these Japanese women was for the Belgian Relief Fund.

This subchapter herewith aimed at demonstrating how help to the Belgian Relief Fund can be witnessed within multiple layers of Japanese society. Of those, it zoomed in on two of them: the government and upper-class women. However, even though the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society, local press, and others can be somewhat understood as these individuals’ contributions to charity, the excessive backup of the Japanese government also raises questions about its motives. Why would it take an interest in and decide to contribute to something as easily dismissible as a

²⁵⁸ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, annex 24.

charity organization established by a couple of foreign women? The next subchapter will focus more in depth on the social motivations that can be seen with charity in a diplomatic environment.

4.2.3 Socio-political Motivations Within Charity

As far as is known, involvement in the Belgian Relief Fund's activities was voluntary, thus the Fund counted on the kindness of foreigners and Japanese to help during its events and initiatives. Therefore, it is important to stand still with the reasons as to why the Japanese society, women from other diplomatic representations, and especially, Japanese women, decided to help with these events. More specifically, the focus will be on two of them: the motivations for Japanese men and women to lend a helping hand in the many ways that have been discussed above, and secondly, the reasons for the Belgian Legation as to why it included persons from certain nationalities in the charity events of the Fund. It is important to realize, however, that 'real intention' of someone will always remain uncertain, and thus this thesis does not want to claim that pity, friendship, self-interest or any other reasons did not play a part in every individual's participation. Rather, it hopes to provide historical and political context which could have been part of the decision to get involved in the Belgian Relief Fund.

To understand the motivations of the Japanese participants, one ought to go back in time, more specifically to 1854, when the United States concluded the Treaty of Kanagawa with Japan. During the 1600s, trade had been abandoned with countries that could not separate it from religion, thus excluding Portugal and Spain, since they did not want to give up their missionary work. In 1623, England stopped its trade with Japan, and solely the Dutch, who undertook trade without the involvement of religion, stayed on the island Dejima. However, foreigners were forbidden to move inland. Although there was still commercial exchange with China, and with Korea and the Ryūkyū Islands, there were political and economic ties, it diminished Japan's connection with the West until the 1850s. However, with the Treaty of Kanagawa, American ships had permission to dock at Hakodate and Shimoda. On top of that, an American consul was allowed to be posted at Shimoda. Britain, Russia and France received the same terms. Four years later, another treaty with the United States was agreed upon, followed by comparable treaties with different Western countries. The treaty with the United States enabled trade in eight harbors, over which Japan gave up its legal jurisdiction.

The country furthermore renounced its tariff autonomy, leading to the incorporation of tariffs on export and import of objects in the treaty without the Japanese government having any possibility to alter these tariffs. Lastly, they enabled extraterritoriality: if foreigners were charged with a crime while on Japanese ground, a foreign judge together with a consular court judged them according to foreign laws. Named ‘unequal treaties,’ they turned Japan by law into an inferior of foreign governments when it came to economy and politics, and gave the country a semicolonial status.²⁵⁹ Belgium concluded a treaty with Japan much later, on August 1, 1866.²⁶⁰

About roughly 30 years later, by the 1880s, it was decided by Japanese leaders “that their own wives might play a semipublic role as models and representatives of the nation to the world.”²⁶¹ Thus both men and women of the upper class started participating in ballroom dancing, and were present during large parties at the Rokumeikan, a hall built according to Western architecture, in which they took part in the entertainment of foreign nationals. The person who gave assignment for this building’s construction, Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue Kaoru (1836-1915), hoped “to impress foreigners with Japan’s rapid embrace of Western civilization and win support for the revision of the unequal treaties.”²⁶²

Revision had to wait until July 1894, however, when another treaty was approved by Britain and Japan, which declared that the extraterritoriality would cease to exist in 1899, but also that Japan’s tariff autonomy would only be given back in 1911. Japan closed comparable treaties with the other countries shortly thereafter. However, during the negotiations that took place in 1919 at Versailles, the Japanese delegation tried to have the so-called ‘racial equality clause’ incorporated in the founding covenant that was established for the League of Nations. This was eventually rejected by the leaders of the countries that were part of the allied. Throughout the 1910s to 1920s, Japan’s editorial writers, elites, military leaders and mainstream parties aspired to be equal in comparison to Western imperialist powers.²⁶³

Thus, several things at play might explain the involvement of the Japanese government and nobility. In the first place, Japan was an ally of Belgium, so any help that the Japanese government could give to diplomatic representatives of Belgium would have been welcomed and have put Japan in a positive light. The Japanese government was furthermore clearly putting in effort to try to gain this sense of equality in regards to Western nations by proving how they had adapted to the West.

²⁵⁹ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 19-20, 50-51.

²⁶⁰ Dirk De Ruyver, “The First Treaty,” 68.

²⁶¹ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 90.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid., 121, 178-179. Due to the length of this thesis, it can only give a simplified version of what could be considered a complex part of Japan’s history. For more details and a more in depth explanation on this topic, refer to Gordon’s Book.

Insignificant as it might seem, contributing to a charity organization of a Western power was thus regarded as one of the means to achieve this goal. This also explains the involvement of the Japanese press in the Belgian Relief Fund.

Related to this is the position of women of the Japanese aristocracy in the Belgian Relief Fund. As should be clear by now, charity was part of the life of a Western aristocratic woman. The involvement of Japanese aristocratic women in charity thus links to the adoption of Western social obligations for women, through which they could become role models of Japan. Furthermore, throughout this thesis, many women were mentioned who were married to the Imperial family, politicians or nobility. For example, Princess Fushimi, the wife of Prime Minister Ōkuma, and Marchioness Nabeshima. These women were, through blood or acquaintance, connected to figures that were high up on the social ladder, and who in certain cases, were involved in the Japanese government's decision-making. It is possible that they were therefore first-hand informed about the drive of Japan to gain this equality, and thus decided or felt obliged to participate in the events with the wives of foreign diplomats to contribute to the aspirations of their husbands and their country.

As for the Belgian side, other things were at play. It would of course have been considered incredibly rude to exclude the Japanese from participating in charity events. Thus, they had practically speaking no choice but to include them in their activities. But given the huge amounts of help that the Japanese provided, and given how necessary this help was to make the Belgian Relief Fund into a charity organization that crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries, it is very likely that their help was certainly wanted by the Belgian Relief Fund. However, when looking at the countries that participated besides the Japanese and Belgians, a different pattern can be found.

When going through the distinct activities described before, and the nationalities of those who were present there to help, one may observe that the represented countries were almost always those of the Allies: mainly France, England, Russia, and Serbia. People originating from the United States of America can also be found helping now and then, and given how the country later on joined the war on the side of the Allies, this foreshadowing makes sense. But these were only Western countries. Is it therefore possible to state that colonialist and racist ideas contributed to the selectivity of participants in these activities?

Given the period of time in which this charity organization was active, it is likely that the persons involved in the management of the Belgian Relief Fund indeed were influenced by these doctrines, which this thesis does not want to deny. However, no proof of any of such ideas has ever been found in the primary sources analyzed for this research study. Logical, of course, given that the bulk of this material has been published in newspapers, and public opinions on theories concerning

race and superiority would not lead to much good social capital with non-Western countries. However, this thesis also wants to argue that the networks concerning charity were more nuanced and that explaining it by making use of racial theories would undermine other reasonings that were connected to it.

One example that contradicts racism and colonialism is that the Siamese²⁶⁴ Minister's daughters were performing during the musical bazaar of April 13, 1918.²⁶⁵ Even though this is only one instance in the bulk of activities, it does show that individuals of non-Western nationalities were not necessarily excluded from participating. Therefore, the question arises of who would have been allowed to be involved and why. To answer this, the focus should first go to which other countries did have diplomatic representations in Japan.

Through a newspaper article added as an annex to a dispatch about a (for this thesis) irrelevant subject, the extent of the diplomatic representation present in Tokyo in 1914 becomes clear. Besides the countries mentioned in this thesis, there were three other embassies: Germany, Italy and Austria. Chili, Spain, Mexico and the Netherlands also sent a Minister to Japan. Furthermore, there were Chargé d'Affaires present of Brazil, Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and China.²⁶⁶ Of course, certain countries would have been, due to the war, immediately excluded, for example, Germany. But it should also be considered that certain changes could have been made to the diplomatic corps during the First World War, for example, the upstart or dissolution of diplomatic relations, which due to time limits this thesis cannot describe in detail. There is also the possibility that for some countries none of the diplomats in Japan were married, and thus no women of this particular country could partake in charity. However, a newspaper article of November 11, 1915 in the Japan Advertiser mentions that for example the British Ambassador, American Ambassador, the French Ambassador, the Italian Ambassador, the Swedish Minister, the Swiss Minister, the Chilean Minister, the Chinese Minister, and the Swedish Legation's First Councilor were all married.²⁶⁷

As the listing of the above countries can attest, many other Western countries had their representatives in Tokyo but were never mentioned in any of the sources concerning the Belgian Relief Fund. It is not very strange, however, given that throughout the First World War, Chile, Norway, the Netherlands, Mexico, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland kept a neutral stance.²⁶⁸ This

²⁶⁴ Siam is present-day Thailand.

²⁶⁵ "650 Enjoy Life," 1.

²⁶⁶ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, January 22, 1914, Unnumbered Annex.

²⁶⁷ "First Foreign Ladies," 1, 10.

²⁶⁸ Samuël Kruizinga, "Neutrality," 542.

neutrality was apparently a sufficient enough reason for the Belgian Legation to not include them in these activities. The same reason can be used to understand why Siam was only included later on in the war. At the beginning of the war, the country was also neutral, only choosing the side of the Allied Nations on July 22, 1917.²⁶⁹ Interestingly, the description of activities shows that the United States, although neutral until 1917, was allowed to participate in the charity events of the Belgian Relief Fund. This proves that the Belgian diplomats were busy with strengthening the relations between Belgium and the United States, very likely with the hope of getting the country to join the Allies. That charity was the reason for the eventual participation of the United States is very unlikely. But it might have been, at least to a very minor extent, a contributing factor.

Therefore, blaming this network on racist and colonial ideas alone would be an unnuanced way of analyzing these types of relations. It also proves that when studying networks concerning charity activities of a legation, it has to be taken into account that it not only reflects the interpersonal relations that existed in such a community but also that these networks are politically motivated and therefore also reveal the political intentions of a certain country. Besides that, it proves how isolating these intentions can be for a country's diplomatic representatives and their families. In this case, not being on the good side of Belgium meant an exclusion from their charity activities.

Apart from the Belgian Legation being selective over which countries' diplomatic representatives and their families to include in their charity events, they were also involved in other charity initiatives. The focus will be here on one of them: the participation of Baroness de Warzée in the Queen Mary's Needlework Guild. In Chapter Three, it was already mentioned that Baroness de Warzée was involved in its branch in Tokyo. The organization made clothes which it transported to England where they were used for English and Belgians who experienced the effects of the war.²⁷⁰ Lily Greene, the British Ambassador's wife, took up post as the organization's president for its Tokyo section, together with Kathleen Greene who became its secretary.²⁷¹ Kathleen was presumably her daughter. This branch was active from 1914, and existed until December 1919.²⁷² One of the articles about this guild also indicates that the Belgian Relief Fund received clothes from the organization in December 1915.²⁷³

Without going into more detail about the Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, which could certainly be the material for more studies about charity by the wives of diplomats, this showcases

²⁶⁹ Gregory V. Raymond, "War as Membership," 136-138.

²⁷⁰ FGSEA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 24.

²⁷¹ "Britons Say Goodbye," 1, 10.

Both Lily and Kathleen's dates of birth and death are unknown.

²⁷² "Queen Mary's Needlework Guild," October 2, 1915, 4. "Queen Mary's Needlework Guild," December 30, 1919, 2.

²⁷³ "Queen Mary's Guild," 4.

that Baroness de Warzée was not only working for the Belgian Relief Fund, but also was active in another charity organization. Once more, the real intentions of someone cannot be judged through primary sources, but why would she decide to work in another charity that in the end was a rival to the money and public attention that the Belgian Relief Fund was preying on? This illustrates that there was possibly also a sort of social obligation to support the charity of another embassy, in this case belonging to a country that was part of the Allies. Future research should determine whether in times of peace wives of diplomats also helped each other out in charity events, and what possible motivations could have been. But in this specific example, it is very likely that Baroness de Warzée was also trying to contribute to the maintenance of relations with one of Belgian's allies.

One final important remark is that Baroness de Warzée, Baroness d'Anethan and Countess della Faille have been quite absent throughout this subchapter, even though they are meant to be the main actors in this thesis. However, this is logical, given that the majority of this subchapter deals with official relations between Belgium, Japan and other countries in which these women could not directly take part in. But it should be kept in mind that, without the execution of activities by them, the above described events and mentioned documents would never have been able to take place or be sent. Although thus absent in said documents, these women laid the foundation which made it possible.

In sum, the Belgian Relief Fund alone thus showcases many different relations, intentions and motivations within a charitable context, whether it would be different Belgian diplomats and their wives helping each other out, the support they received of the host country's inhabitants, or the women's social obligations to participate in charity. However, this once more reflects many political points of view, ranging from maintaining bilateral relations to Japan's battle for equality and the reflection of international relations from the Belgian Legation. Although these networks could be the basis for much deeper research into the political intentions of a legation reflected in the activities of the diplomats' wives, there are many more political peculiarities to charity than have been clear so far. The next subchapter will provide room to discuss what has been foreshadowed until now in this thesis and address the contradictions between gender and politics in the Belgian Relief Fund.

4.3 Charity, Diplomacy and Propaganda

The following subchapter will address other political characteristics of the Belgian Relief Fund that, without the dispatches, would have been difficult to understand from the for the publicly available documents such as newspaper articles. One of these has already been briefly mentioned in this thesis: diplomatic characteristics within charity. This part hopes to illustrate that besides the practical side of organizing a charity event in First World War Tokyo, other diplomatic aspects had to be taken into account. Secondly, it will explain how the Belgian Relief Fund was used as pro-Belgian propaganda and illustrate the significance of the wives of diplomats contributing to the spread of said propaganda. To do so, it will refer back to examples that have been brought up throughout this thesis.

The focus will first briefly be on the diplomatic aspects of charity. In Chapter Three, it was already mentioned that the dispatch of June 14, 1916, describes how the English decided to hold multiple fêtes during May with as a charitable goal the British Red Cross. This meant that the Belgian Relief Fund experienced competition from them. But also that “it was a matter of not dissatisfying the English colony, by setting up at the same time as it an undertaking of the same nature, could generate a real or imaginary wrong-doing to those due to the British initiative”.²⁷⁴ This proves how organizing these charity events was not simply a question of having a sufficient amount of funds, recruiting patrons or finding a convenient space. Rather, the Belgian Relief Fund had to take into account that any charity event that might overlap with those of other countries could be considered an insult and thus had to be avoided at all costs. It also demonstrates the level of awareness about the events of the foreign community that was necessary to participate in charity. Organizers of a charity organization consequently had to be very active in the community to know about the scheduling of other diplomatic missions’ charity events, changes in dates, and other details.

How did the Fund solve this issue? The third chapter mentioned how the Belgian Relief Fund was considering joining a Japanese Red Cross Women’s Committee. The committee had been established because the Russian embassy hoped that they could assemble money in favor of the Serbs. This served multiple goals: in the first place, it was a cover for the activities of the Belgian Relief Fund to avoid troubles with the English. Secondly, it provided the Belgian Relief Fund with the possibility to obtain patrons and create propaganda for them. The other way around, the Japanese

²⁷⁴ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

“Il s’agissait de ne pas mécontenter la colonie anglaise, en mettant en même temps qu’elle sur pied une entreprise de même nature pouvant faire un tort réel ou imaginé à celles dues à l’initiative britannique.”

committee used the sympathy felt for the Belgians. Thus, the Belgian Relief Fund occupied itself with the organization, and by drawing on its influence, the Japanese committee guaranteed a good outcome, sharing the results among both sides.²⁷⁵

The dispatch leaves it in the middle whether it were the Belgian diplomats or their wives that had been in charge of creating the contact with this committee, to set and approve the dates for events, or to keep an eye on which other events were planned during the period that the Fund considered holding another one. Although there is thus no real confirmation, the fact that the organizational and executive part of the bazaars, performances, fundraisings and the like were primarily put onto the shoulders of Baroness de Warzée and Baroness d'Anethan, and to a smaller extent of Countess della Faille, it is likely that they also kept themselves busy with the above-explained details.

On several occasions, this thesis highlighted different aspects of charity activities and how they could be interpreted as pro-Belgian propaganda. For example, the bazaar of 1916 displayed Belgian war-related objects and showed films of the war, and the Belgian booth had a propaganda poster for France made by the wife of vice-consul Polain. Similarly, the concert of November 1918, briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, also included films of the Belgian front. Furthermore, Baroness d'Anethan and Baroness de Warzée published an anti-German army prospectus for the Belgian Relief Fund in their own name which stressed Belgium's misery, and which Baroness d'Anethan complemented with an interview in which she opposed Germany. Although a pro-French propaganda poster was of course not for Belgium, it was, however, encouraging a country that was helping Belgium, and openly against Germany. However, even though it thus seems that these women were contributing to Belgian propaganda, this interpretation can still be challenged. After all, how can one be certain that this explanation is not too far-fetched and that these several factors were not solely intended to provoke sentiments of pity and sympathy with the public? Or perhaps these women felt a deep-rooted patriotism for Belgium? The reason as to why emphasis was put on propaganda lies again in one of the dispatches.

In the dispatch of May 19, 1915, Minister della Faille explained that the letters sent to thank persons who donated to the Belgian Relief Fund occasionally appeared in the newspapers. His explanation about these letters continues with "therefore I always take care, while writing these letters of gratitude, to expand a bit about the facts that render the aggression of which we are victims particularly odious. My letters are thus double-ended; a testimony of gratitude and a medium of

²⁷⁵ FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

propaganda.”²⁷⁶ Attached as annex 22 is such a letter.²⁷⁷ Two of the sentences in this letter, signed by Minister della Faille, stand out: “It is encouraging to notice that, despite all the lies and all the slander that Germany spreads about us, the public opinion in the entire world does not let itself be led astray and brings justice to the poor, little Belgium, so ineptly betrayed by a big neighbor that had promised to protect her,” and, “from one end of the Universe to another rose a cry of indignation and protest against the shameful conduct of Germany; a cry of admiration for the courageous and noble conduct of my King and for the generous self-sacrifice of the Belgian nation.”²⁷⁸

Due to this example, the earlier mentioned patterns that could be found within the activities of the Belgian Relief Fund suddenly become quite suspicious. It was already mentioned that it would be doubtful that the charity bazaars and articles calling for donations had unintentional political aspects. Furthermore, the previous subchapter demonstrated how the Belgian Relief Fund was used in the light of international relations. For example, to contribute to Belgium-Japan relations or as a reflection of the political strategies of the Belgian Legation towards its relations with other countries. These two facts together give rise to the idea that the Belgian Relief Fund was extensively used as a cover for pro-Belgian propaganda and that the women also participated in this. Of course, Belgium had gotten involved in what would eventually become the First World War, so it is no wonder that the Belgian Legation would be spreading pro-Belgian propaganda. It is also assumed that this charity organization in the first place truly served as a way to help the Belgians rather than primarily as a method of influencing everyone who got in touch with the Fund. However, on this subject, two things should be added.

To start, given that the Belgian Relief Fund was thus used as a cover for pro-Belgian propaganda, in combination with the other aspects linked to international relations discussed at length in the previous subchapter, it is obvious that the Belgian Legation was using its charity organization to conduct politics. Could it therefore be argued that charity in this case was used by the Belgian Legation as a form of soft-power? If so, then the wives of the Belgian diplomats were not

²⁷⁶ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915.

“C’est pourquoi j’ai toujours soin, en écrivant ces remerciements, de m’étendre un peu sur les faits qui rendent particulièrement odieuse l’agression dont nous sommes les victimes. Mes lettres sont ainsi à double fin; un témoignage de gratitude et un moyen de propagande.”

²⁷⁷ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915.

²⁷⁸ FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 22.

“Il est encourageant de constater que, malgré tous les mensonges et toutes les calomnies que l’Allemagne répand à notre sujet, l’opinion publique dans le monde entier ne se laisse pas égarer et rend justice à la pauvre petite [Sic : petite] Belgique, si iniquement trahie par un grand voisin qui avait promis de la protéger.”

“D’un bout à l’autre de l’Univers s’est élevé [Sic : élevé] un cri d’indignation et de protestation contre la honteuse conduite de l’Allemagne ; un cri d’admiration pour la courageuse et noble conduite de mon Roi et pour la généreuse abnégation de la nation belge.”

only contributing to cultural diplomacy with their charity events, but also to other forms of political interference in their host country. Secondly, Baroness d'Anethan, Baroness de Warzée and Countess della Faille have until now in general been kept outside this discussion of political patterns in the Belgian Relief Fund. However, whether or not they were politically active is actually very significant and deserves more attention. In order to understand its importance, however, some more background explanation is required.

In her journal article *Diplomats' Wives and the Foreign Ministry in Late Imperial Russia, in Four Portraits*, historian Marina Soroka places the expectations that the Russian Imperial Foreign Ministry had when it came to the wives of their diplomats, against how four of these wives experienced diplomacy. In this article, she looks at the Russian Empire's final forty years. In the conclusion, she writes that both the way in which elite women were raised together with the repressive political climate that was in place in autocratic Russia did not make it liable for these wives to be politicized.²⁷⁹ Furthermore: "as long as diplomats' wives did not interfere with politics, the ministry was indifferent to their behavior, even if they transgressed social norms."²⁸⁰ In the case they would intrude into the political sphere, however, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would receive complaints.²⁸¹ Furthermore, historian Molly M. Wood describes in her article *Diplomatic Wives: The Politics of Domesticity and the "Social Game" in the U.S. Foreign Service, 1905-1941*, that occasionally wives of diplomats would pretend to be indifferent or incompetent in order to keep out of partaking in political discourse with the goal of preventing that they would complain or be the reason that classified information would be revealed to the public.²⁸²

These research articles thus show that historically, wives of diplomats generally were not meant to or did not want to partake in politics. Of course, political participation can mean a whole scala of possibilities, ranging from running for parliament to political activism, voting, or simply discussing the results of elections. Besides that, every country's governmental policy is different, and thus the way Belgium would have looked at the political emancipation of the wives of its diplomats could differ from Russia or the United States. It is at this point difficult to make any claims about Belgium's protocol in this regard, but the diary of Baroness d'Anethan can provide some more insight into how she herself treated the topic. As the dates of the example below show, these happenings stem from the time that she was still officially the wife of a diplomat.

²⁷⁹ Soroka, "Diplomats' Wives and Foreign Ministry," 150, 165.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 166.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Wood, "Diplomatic Wives: The Politics," 152.

During the Boxer Rebellion (1900), foreigners that were located in Tientsin and Beijing were attacked over a period of multiple months by rebels that belonged to a secret society. Together with other countries, Japan would dispatch soldiers to China.²⁸³ On July 6, 1900, Baroness d’Anethan reported that her poem, *An Appeal From Pekin!*, was published by the *Japan Times*, followed by different foreign, Japanese and even Chinese newspapers. The poem vividly describes the despair of those under attack and calls for military intervention. The Baroness also copied the accompanying article titled ‘*Make Haste*’ in her diary, which shows that she seemingly published under a pen name, as “a European lady resident in Tokyo.”²⁸⁴ Although the poem received the title *An Appeal From Pekin!*, it frequently repeats the line “Make haste!,”²⁸⁵ which is probably why it is referred to under this name. Moreover, a poem with the title *Rescue*, mentioned in the quote below, was published by the *Japan Times* on August 22, 1900. The article about *Rescue* does not mention Baroness d’Anethan as the author, but calls her “the same distinguished lady who honoured [Sic: honored] us nearly seven weeks ago with that spirited poem ‘An Appeal from Pekin’.”²⁸⁶

A day after the publication of the first poem, she received a positive reaction to the poem from the Austrian Minister, who writes to her “that verses like these from the heart of a woman will do more good than all ‘les Conseils de Ministres et de Diplomats’ [the Advice of the Ministers and Diplomats].”²⁸⁷ Furthermore, five years later, on July 17 1905, the Baroness and her husband had dinner with Sir Claude Macdonald (1852-1915), the British Minister. Sir Claude Macdonald experienced the siege, and was appointed as Minister to Japan on September 14, 1900.²⁸⁸ They discuss the uprising, in which the minister brings up the following:

“‘I have always considered we owed our lives to Baroness d’Anethan’s poem ‘Make Haste!’” A. [Albert d’Anethan] looked so pleased, and I flushed up and replied, ‘Oh, Sir Claude, it does make me happy to hear you say that, but indeed I cannot dare to think it for one moment.’ He answered, ‘Yes, for the Japanese sent their troops immediately after its publication. They had many women and children there, and your poem made a very great impression on them.’”²⁸⁹

²⁸³ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 123.

²⁸⁴ d’Anethan, *Fourteen Years*, 240, 243-244.

A part of the article has been abbreviated, so it might have contained her name. However, it was not possible to check the original due to restrictions in time and access to the *Japan Times*.

²⁸⁵ d’Anethan, *Fourteen Years*, 240, 243.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 258, 261-262.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 268, 270.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 443-444.

Baroness d'Anethan adds that:

“The leading article on my poem “Rescue,” in the official organ, the *Japan Times*, certainly hinted at the time that the poem “Make Haste” had had the effect of stirring up the Japanese Government, while they were still hesitating and wavering about taking the initiative. But though I hastily penned and despatched [Sic: dispatched] the lines with that fervent and secret hope, I have never for a moment flattered myself that my verses, however much they were written from the depths of my heart, had biased the determination of the Japanese.”²⁹⁰

These examples are important for the discussion of Belgium's protocol on the political involvement of the wives of their diplomats for multiple reasons. In the first place, it shows that in 1900, Baroness d'Anethan saw no problem in publicly speaking up about a political conflict through poetry. Secondly, although (as far as is known) this poem was published in anonymity, it is obviously known by the diplomatic corps who wrote it. More importantly, she is congratulated for her involvement. Furthermore, her husband is aware of her poems and approves. Sir Claude Macdonald probably wanted to flatter her, so whether or not it caused the Japanese to intervene could be questioned, but her own comments on the topic reveal that she was hoping to indeed prompt some political change.

It can thus be concluded that, at least in the 1900s, it was socially acceptable in Tokyo for wives of diplomats to comment on contemporary politics, even when it involved the Japanese government. What the Belgian government thought of it is more of a guesswork. This was likely allowed, especially given that Baron d'Anethan did not disapprove. Or it could be the case that the diplomatic environment in Japan allowed, due to its relative peripheric orientation with regards to the West, for women to be more expressive on politics, creating a sort of ‘what happened in Japan stays in Japan’ type of discourse.

However, anonymously commenting on politics under the cloak of poetic expression is still relatively innocent compared to stating one's political convictions on a global conflict under one's name, and actively participating in the execution of propaganda. In any case, it is significant to notice that the Belgian Relief Fund is thus an example of: or a breach of diplomatic protocol, or a case that contradicts what has been described about wives of diplomats in previously conducted research studies. This furthermore connects to two different questions when it comes down to the Belgians: could the First World War be seen as a stepping stone for Belgian's diplomatic wives to use the war to become more publicly outspoken on political topics? Secondly, how does this political involvement of diplomatic wives work in the light of the profession of their husbands?

²⁹⁰ d'Anethan, *Fourteen Years*, 444.

To answer the first question, although it should be studied in more detail, it seems that this war was indeed a way for these women to be more vocal about politics in the public domain. One example that illustrates this, is that Baroness de Warzée appears in the *Japan Advertiser* of August 19, 1923, to randomly claim “that it is a social and economical mistake for women to have the ballot.”²⁹¹ Thus she voices her opinions on women’s voting rights in the press. This example shows that she might not have been a good match with the suffragettes’ movement, and explains why this thesis would not want to claim that any contemporary feminist ideas necessarily laid at the basis of this political participation. However, it is important to stress that this is only one individual and thus would require more extensive research to be conducted on this topic. But if emancipation was not the incentive, why would these women contribute to propaganda?

To answer this, it is necessary to go back to the start of the Belgian Relief Fund in Japan. The Belgian diplomats on post in Japan likely received the assignment from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to start organizing the Fund’s branch in Japan. This would explain why there are dispatches that extensively discuss the Fund, and why both Minister della Faille and Secretary de Warzée got involved in what eventually became their wives’ charity organization.²⁹² It furthermore would be a logical argument to understand the part that both men took in the Belgian Relief Fund. The executive part was left to the women, but whenever formal representation was necessary, the diplomats would step up. For example, in the contact with the Belgian and Japanese governments, the press, and as a more specific instance, when Minister della Faille addressed the public to express his gratitude during the benefit entertainment of October 1915. Small wonder, of course, given that this is all in the light of diplomacy, and these men are the representants of the Belgian government in Japan.

Thus, the assigned task was likely delegated to their wives and Baroness d’Anethan. However, if the Belgian government would indeed have asked its diplomats to organize the Belgian Relief Fund, it must have realized that this task would, likely in all cases, be handed over to their wives. It therefore seems that, by commanding their diplomats, the ministry knew that they would ask their wives anyway, which prevented it from having to turn to these women itself. This indirectness in itself is quite striking due to multiple reasons. In the first place, it betrays a certain indifference towards these women, as if they are volunteers of their husbands and country. This is somewhat logical, given that charity was part of aristocratic women’s lives, but also embedded in the

²⁹¹ “Baroness de Warzee,” 6.

²⁹² The following dispatches have been discussed throughout this thesis: the Belgian Relief Fund is mentioned in the dispatch of April 30, 1915. Besides that, the dispatch of May 19, 1915, writes about the Belgian Relief Fund in the main document, and extensively in four of its annexes. The dispatch of January 30, 1916, contains an annex about the Fund. The one of June 14, 1916, consists of seven-and-a-half pages solely on the topic of the Belgian Relief Fund.

duties of a diplomat's wife. By asking this of its diplomats, however, the Belgian government does reveal that it saw these women as part of the individuals that it could use for creating an organization that was used for international politics. But because it gave the assignment to its diplomats rather than directly to their wives, it avoided having to recognize that they were deemed as such. This put these women into a sort of gray zone, uncommendable by their governments, yet deemed part of its 'international executives'.

However, when looking at how the Belgian Relief Fund in the end formed itself in Japan, these women took their involvement to a higher level and became politically active through the charity organization. Maybe the Belgian government did not know that they were contributing to propaganda. But Belgium was at war, a time in which unity and discreetness would have been more important than ever. It seems therefore unlikely that Minister della Faille and Secretary de Warzée were unaware of the newspaper articles Baroness d'Anethan and Baroness de Warzée had printed in the newspapers. Since this heavily involved Belgium, and since this became publicly available, they would very likely have been notified of the texts that got published, and possibly of the other propaganda aspects, too. This signifies that they both agreed with what these women were doing and that their participation in propaganda was very likely discussed and arranged beforehand.

This thesis has made clear that wives of diplomats contribute a lot to the careers of their husbands. However, when looking at their involvement in propaganda, their part in diplomacy takes a whole new turn. The things Baroness de Warzée and to a lesser extent, Countess della Faille, did during the charity bazaars that were flagged as propaganda here could to a certain extent be explained as unintentional, but giving interviews and writing a prospectus filled with propaganda, together with Baroness d'Anethan, is stepping into the public sphere and becoming a fully conscious political actor. This raises the idea that these women were asked by the diplomats to help with propaganda, or they knew about the assignment and offered to help. In any case, this means that the diplomats allowed these women to be active in an order of the Belgian government, which signifies that they were directly involved in the work of a diplomat. Thus, they were allowed into a domain they should not have been able to access, which takes this political participation onto a whole new level.

In the first place, this could raise questions about how professionally acceptable it is for a diplomat to charge his wife with tasks that he himself should be taking care of. It also shows how vague the border is between the work of a diplomat and the tasks his wife performs in a legation. Furthermore, it demonstrates how this assignment crossed gender-related tasks. Moreover, if these women did not want to contribute to propaganda, they did not have to do it. They could have left

Minister della Faille and Secretary de Warzée to do the job and organize these events without involving propaganda in any way. However, they decided to step up and help both men with this task. In sum, the Belgian Relief Fund thus bears witness of socially accepted, fully aware participation of diplomats' wives in politics.

The Belgian Relief Fund is thus an example of how a charity organization was used as a cloak for many different political intentions, whether it was to contribute to international relations, which the previous subchapter shed some light on, or to try to influence the perspective on Belgium in First World War-Japan. This subchapter had a look at different diplomatic and political aspects of the Belgian Relief Fund. It showed the diplomatic sides of organizing a charity event and zoomed in on the political involvement of the wives of Belgian diplomats. In conclusion, the Belgian Relief Fund also proves how diplomatic wives could use charity as a way to publicly participate in politics, rendering the separation between what was considered part of the job of a diplomat and their own very vague. It illustrates how far the partnership went between diplomats and their wives, a political side to the position of these women which future research should explore more extensively. Behind the scenes as they were, however, these women could be dubbed as 'hidden forces' of the Belgian government; invisible in its orders, yet very much considered in its execution.

4.4 A Vision into the Future

With the end of the First World War and the discontinuation of the Belgian Relief Fund on December 29, 1919, the Belgian diplomatic corps underwent a couple of changes. It was already mentioned in Chapter Three that Baroness d'Anethan had left Japan for Canada in 1917. However, Japan and the Belgian Relief Fund would always remain a part of her life. This is reflected in the publication of her book *Veronica* in 1923, which story takes place in Japan.²⁹³ Or in her presence during the dinner held by the Japan Society for Crown Prince Hirohito (1901-1989) in London in July 1921.²⁹⁴ From March 1921, the Prince traveled for six months around Western Europe and certain European Colonies, during which he also visited England and Belgium.²⁹⁵ The Baroness passed away at St. Leonards, Sussex, sometime during the fall or winter of 1935, age 77. Her obituary in the *Catholic Transcript* dated December 19, does not mention the exact date of her passing. It does explain, however, that she assembled 40.000 dollars in favor of the Belgian Relief Fund in Japan.²⁹⁶ Thus, even at the end of her life she, or the people around her, considered her achievements in the Belgian Relief Fund as significant enough to mention the organization in her obituary.

The de Warzée's, together with their daughter, left Tokyo on May 27, 1921. This newspaper article comments that "Madame de Warzee's [Sic: Warzée] departure will make a serious gap in the foreign community here, for none of its members was more energetic in supporting every good cause. During the war period she was one of the most active workers, her assistance was valued by both the British and American organizations."²⁹⁷ Before her departure, Marchioness Nabeshima hosted women from Tokyo that were presented with the Queen Elisabeth Medal at her residence to which Baroness de Warzée goodbye.²⁹⁸ The de Warzée's first remained in Washington for some time, after which Baron de Warzée became dispatched to China in the position of Minister.²⁹⁹ In January 1931, Minister de Warzée suffered a stroke that paralyzed the left side of his body. On July 9, he suffered another stroke, and passed away. He was buried on the Peitang cemetery two days

²⁹³ "A Novel of Diplomatic," 4.

²⁹⁴ "A Nipponite in London.," 5.

²⁹⁵ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 166.

²⁹⁶ "Convert Baroness," 10.

²⁹⁷ "M. de Warzee," 1.

²⁹⁸ "A Farewell," 2.

²⁹⁹ "Baroness de Warzee," 6. "Social and General," July 29, 1931, 5.

later.³⁰⁰ Baroness de Warzée would then travel towards her daughter, who was on post with her husband, the French Secretary at Bayreuth, Syria.³⁰¹ This is the last trace that she left about her whereabouts, when or where she died remains unknown.



Figure 8: A picture of the farewell gathering. Baroness de Warzée stands in the center, with starting at the left side: Mme. Yamawaki, Mrs. Inouye, Baroness H. Mitsui, Marchioness Nabeshima, Princess Tokugawa, Countess Ogasawara, and Mme. Yanagiya. Behind the Baroness stand Mrs. J. T. Swift, Mrs. H. E. Coleman and Mme. Satow. The women are wearing their medals.
Reprinted from: "A Farewell," May 21, 1921, 2.

Countess della Faille was reported to be in Canada in March 1919.³⁰² She is listed on behalf of the Belgium Children's Relief Fund of Montreal on September 3, 1918 in the book *Report of the Secretary of State of Canada for the Year Ending March 31, 1919*.³⁰³ Thus she probably left to go to Canada somewhere at the end of the war, but why or when exactly is unclear. On June 21, 1920, Minister della Faille became Minister to the Republic of Germany.³⁰⁴ When he left Japan is

³⁰⁰ FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / II, E. Graeffe to Hymans, July 13, 1931.

³⁰¹ "Social and General," July 29, 1931, 5. "Social and General," 5, April 14, 1926. Their daughter, Diana, got engaged with her husband while he was Secretary in Peking. It is thus assumed that she joined her parents on their postings.

³⁰² "Social and General," March 1, 1919, 5.

³⁰³ *Report of the Secretary*, 3, 177.

Page 177 only gives 'September 3' as date, but page 3 mentions that the report runs over one year, stopping on March 31, 1919. Logical wise, September 3 thus should have been September 3, 1918.

³⁰⁴ FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, Royal Decree of Appointment of G. della Faille de Leverghem, June 21, 1920.

unknown. In 1925, he was appointed as Ambassador to Rome, a function he took up from March 12.³⁰⁵ He retired from the service on September 25, 1931.³⁰⁶ Count Georges della Faille de Leverghem passed away on December 11, 1944, in Brussels.³⁰⁷ Countess della Faille became a lady-in-waiting or 'Grande-Maitresse Honoraire' of the Belgian Queen Elisabeth. She passed away in Brussels on September 27, 1946.³⁰⁸

It is unknown if these five figures ever saw one another again after their departure from Japan. With their deaths, the Tokyo Belgian Relief Fund seems to have fallen into forgetfulness, together with the big efforts of the Belgian diplomatic corps in Japan, joined by the foreign community and the Japanese, to relieve Belgians in need of help thousands of kilometers from Japan. Besides its main arguments on the topic of charity by wives of diplomats, this thesis thus hopes to have brought back their story to the surface accordingly and to serve as a testimony of their laborious works in favor of charity.

³⁰⁵ FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, General Director to First Minister, No Date [January, 1925]. FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, van den Steen to Anonymous, March 12, 1925, [Coded Telegram].

³⁰⁶ FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, Royal Decree for Retirement of G. della Faille de Leverghem, September 25, 1931.

³⁰⁷ FGSFA, Pers. 1404 / II, Obituary of Georges, Alphonse, Hubert, Marie, Joseph Comte della Faille de Leverghem, December 15, 1944.

³⁰⁸ Obituary of Comtesse della Faille de Leverghem Jeanne, Alice, Simone Maskens, October 5, 1946, Documentatiecentrum Familiekunde Vlaanderen regio Aalst, Bak034.

5. Conclusion

In this thesis, the emphasis has been on the charity activities of the wives of diplomats by making use of the Belgian Relief Fund as a case study. While describing how these women contributed to the Fund, it became apparent that when charity is practiced by diplomats' wives, several layers can be found. In the first place, the focus was on describing the different activities through which the women of the Belgian Legation raised money for the Belgian Relief Fund. Charity bazaars, performances and fundraisings were the three most important methods to look for funds. However, some minor initiatives took place alongside them or were explored but never realized. Especially in the case of charity bazaars, they reflect how these women contributed to cultural diplomacy, bridging the gap between their own culture and language and those of the inhabitants of their host country, Japan. These different events also showed the communal effort that went into organizing charity in Tokyo, as individuals of many different nationalities participated in the events of the Fund, and simultaneously, they were often organized together with other charities. Therefore, such events brought the whole community together. Whether to participate or to visit, they were a meeting place to create contacts between foreigners and Japanese.

These networks were studied in more detail in next. This thesis first zoomed in on the networks in charity between different Belgian diplomatic representations, to describe how these missions supported one another. Their description shows how diplomat's wives also directly communicated with one another in the light of charity. Hereafter, it concentrated on the relationship between the Belgian Relief Fund and its host country, Japan. It showed how important it was for the Fund to have the help of multiple parts of Japan's society, creating the perception that without this help, it would have been difficult to successfully organize a charity organization in Japan. Furthermore, this also proved that Belgium and Japan were using the Belgian Relief Fund as a way to strengthen bilateral relations between both countries. It is plausible that these relations were, in the case of Japan, likely motivated through different historical developments. Lastly, this thesis aimed to motivate that explaining the involvement or exclusion of certain nationalities in the Belgian Relief Fund's activities through racist or colonialist ideologies provides a shallow way of understanding this participation. Through the different networking relationships that existed between the Belgian Relief Fund and other foreign countries, it became clear that this also reflected the political intentions of Belgium when it came to its international relations. Which representants of which country were

allowed to participate in charity events can thus serve as a way to understand with which other nations a country would like to be closer to.

Finally, this thesis concluded by zooming in on the diplomatic and other political characteristics of the Belgian Relief Fund. It proved how organizing an event was not simply a question of finding the correct date and means, but that the other countries also had to be taken into account. Furthermore, it emphasized how these wives of Belgian diplomats contributed to pro-Belgian propaganda by means of the charity activities they organized. This is remarkable due to the fact that the diplomats thus allowed their wives to be directly involved in their professional assignments. On top of that, it shows that political participation of diplomat's wives was socially acceptable in Tokyo, but also approved by the Belgian diplomats. Moreover, these women's participation in a charity that was very likely instructed by the Belgian government shows that they were considered in the Belgium's foreign policy, but yet instructed through their husbands.

Although this thesis could be seen as a first step in the process of gaining more knowledge on charity by wives of diplomats, there are limitations to what could be achieved. Even though the Belgian Relief Fund proved to be an example that demonstrates many aspects of this topic, this is only a snapshot of a specific time period, nearing the end of the Late Modern Period. On top of that, it was organized during a tumultuous time, as the First World War proved to be a period in which the world underwent much change in various domains of society. Moreover, it gives the story of a charity organization from the viewpoint of Belgian diplomats and their wives, and thus cannot claim to understand other nations' charity organizations and their underlying intentions. Therefore, future research studies are necessary to understand bigger lines of development when it comes to the position of wives of diplomats in charity during the Late Modern Period, but also in the case of the diplomatic representation of different countries in the world. Nevertheless, this thesis hopes to have shed some light on a charity organization that seemingly had fallen into oblivion, and on the five Belgian individuals who worked diligently over a period of five years to relieve their fellow countrymen who, although many kilometers distanced from Japan, were clearly never far away in their thoughts.

6. Bibliography

6.1 Primary Sources

6.1.1 Newspaper Articles

Daily Colonist. “Baroness d’Anethan to Speak for Fund: ‘Belgium and Its History’ Will Be Subject of Lecture for Relief Committee - Dr. Saroies Coming.” March 22, 1917. Internet Archive.

Japan Advertiser. “3 to 6 P.M. Hours for Belgian Bazaar Today: Many Prominent Japanese Ladies Interested in Affair at Imperial Hotel.” April 13, 1918. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “650 Enjoy Life, Vim of Musical Bazar: Song and Dance Enliven Belgian War Funds’ Affair at Imperial.” April 14, 1918. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “A Farewell to Madame de Warzee.” May 21, 1921. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “A Nipponite in London.: Dr. Marie Stopes Organizes A. Neo-Malthusian Clinic in London.” July 17, 1921, sec. Women and their Interests. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “A Novel of Diplomatic Life in Tokyo: Baroness d’Anethan Uses a Japanese Setting for a New Book.” June 10, 1923. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Baroness de Warzee Opposes Ballot.” August 19, 1923, sec. The Woman’s Page. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Belgian Decoration for Belgian Friends: Queen Elisabeth Medals to Be Presented at Legation to 37 Women; Relief Work Leaders; Tokyo, Yokohama, Kobe and Korea Represented in the List to Be Honored.” January 31, 1919. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Belgian Relief Fund.” October 12, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "Belgian Relief Fund." November 9, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "Belgium Honors Women in Tokyo: Queen Elisabeth Decoration Awarded at Legation Yesterday Afternoon." February 2, 1919, Siberian edition. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "Big Audience Enjoys Fine Entertainment: About 500 People Attend Benefit Affair for Belgian Relief Fund; 1,200 Yen Is Realized; Lord Kilmarnock's Comedy One of the Popular Numbers - Mr. Brady Stars." October 31, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "Britons Say Goodbye to Ambassador: Sir Conyngham Greene Is Presented With Special Resolution by Patriotic League; The Ambassador's Reply; Confidence During Dark Days - Bonds of Friendship and Good Fellowship." February 18, 1919. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "Concert Here Sunday: Japanese and Western Music at Seiyoken Hotel." June 14, 1918. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "First Foreign Ladies to Witness the Rites: Description of Gowns Worn by Women at the Coronation Yesterday." November 11, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "For Belgian Relief: Attractive Program for Entertainment at Imperial Hotel." October 24, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "Formosan War Relief Association Report: Workers Shipped Hospital and Other Supplies by Both Bombay and Kobe." January 25, 1919. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "M. de Warzee and Family Leave Today: Retiring Belgian Charge d'Affaires Leaves With Record of Efficient Service." May 27, 1921. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "No Title." April 30, 1914. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. "Queen Mary's Guild: Tokyo Branch." December 14, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Queen Mary’s Needlework Guild.” October 2, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Queen Mary’s Needlework Guild: Tokyo Branch.” December 30, 1919. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social & General.” October 19, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social & General.” November 6, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social & General.” December 29, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social and General.” November 13, 1918. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social and General.” December 20, 1918. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social and General.” January 30, 1919. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social and General.” March 1, 1919. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social and General.” May 22, 1920. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social and General.” December 5, 1920. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social and General.” April 14, 1926. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “Social and General.” July 29, 1931. The Japan Times Archives.

Japan Advertiser. “The Belgian Relief Fund.” December 17, 1915. The Japan Times Archives.

Jiji Shimpō. “Atsusa mo itowazu bazā no oshitaku: Kakkoku taikōshikanin no reijō fujin ga daikatsudō 暑さも厭はず慈善市のお仕度：各国大公使館員の令嬢夫人が大活動 [Preparing the Bazaar

Without Disliking the Heat: Each Country's Embassies' and Legations' Daughters and Wives Are Doing Great Activities].” June 19, 1915. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Dainikai no jizenshi 第二回の慈善市 [The Second Bazaar].” June 24, 1915. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Doitsu ni tai suru Hakukoku no urami: Hakukoku kōshi kinin; mankō no tekigaishin 独逸に対する白国の恨み: 白国公使帰任; 満腔の敵愾心 [The Resentment of Belgium against Germany: Return to His Post of the Belgian Minister; Heartfelt Hostility].” January 28, 1915. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Futsu Haku ryōkoku kara kita nichiyōhin bazā 仏白両国から来た日用品バザー[A Bazaar of Daily Necessities That Came From Both Countries of France and Belgium].” May 10, 1916. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Futsukoku taishikan no en'yūkai 仏国大使館の園遊会[A Garden Party at the French Embassy].” June 23, 1916. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Hakukoku seifu no kansha: Nihon kokumin no dōjō 白国政府の感謝: 日本国民の同情 [Gratitude of the Belgian Government: The Sympathy of the Japanese Citizens].” September 16, 1916. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Ningyō no uredaka ga gosen'en: Hakukoku Dōjokai ningyōkai no heikai 人形の売高が五千円: 白国同情会人形会の閉会 [The Proceeds of the Dolls is 5,000 Yen: The Closure of the Belgian Relief Association's Doll Party].” March 1, 1915. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Sasuga ni tokkuni rashī kanji ga suru: Sankaidō no daibazā 有繋に異国らしい感じがする: 三会堂の大慈善市 [Giving the Impression of a Foreign Country As One Would Expect: A Big Bazaar At the Sankaidō].” June 20, 1915. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Utsukushiki gien no kuwadate: Hakukokumin no hizanji ni taishi 美しき義捐の企て: 白国民の悲慘事に対し [A Beautiful Plan for Donations: The Disastrous Circumstances of the Belgians].” October 23, 1914. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Utsukushiya hana no ningyō: Hakukoku Dōjyōkai no moyōshi; Ippin no sū sukoburu taoshi 美しや花の人形: 白国同情会の催し; 逸品の数頗る多し [Beautiful Flower Dolls?: An Event of the Belgian Relief Society; An Extremely Numerous Amount of Excellent Articles].” February 20, 1915. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shimpō. “Waihaku ga nioibukuro wo katte nikoniko: Mitsukoshi de kaisai sareta daibazā no dai’ichinichi 隈伯が匂袋を買って嬌々: 三越で開催された大慈善市の第一日 [The Beauty of Count Kuma buying a scent bag: The First Day of the Big Bazaar That Was Held at Mitsukoshi].” May 19, 1916. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shinpō. “Kishinbun wo tsūjite: Nihon zenkoku no tankata ni kansha wo!; Hakukoku gienkin no sakan naru dōjō; kutsushita amute isogashiki; Berugī dairikōshi fujin to kataru 貴新聞を通じて: 日本全国の御方に感謝を!; 白国義捐金の盛んなる同情; 靴下編む手忙がしき; 白耳義代理公使夫人と語る [Run It in Your Newspaper: Gratitude to the People of the Whole of Japan!; The Widespread Sympathy for the Donations for Belgium; Busy with Knitting Socks; Talking with the Wife of the Belgian Chargé d’Affaires].” October 26, 1914. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Jiji Shinpō. “Kōkekka wo osamete: Nihon Fujin Hakukoku Dōjōkai no kaisan 好結果を収めて: 日本婦人白国同情会の解散 [Achieving a Good Result: The Dissolution of the Japanese Ladies Belgian Relief Society].” July 13, 1915. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Kokumin Shinbun. “Aware san’yāru: Mitsukoshi kyūkan sangai no bazā; Sakujitsu yori mikkakan 哀れ三碼: 三越旧館三階の慈善市; 昨日より三日間 [Three Pitiful Yards: The Bazar of the Third Floor of Mitsukoshi’s Old Building; From Yesterday Onwards for Three Days].” May 19, 1916, Eleventh edition. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Kokumin Shinbun. “Bazā no kaisai 慈善市の開催 [Opening of a Bazaar].” June 16, 1915, Tenth edition. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

Kokumin Shinbun. “Bokoku wo omou sekishin no daibazā: Rengōkoku kifujinren no moyōshi 母国を想ふ赤心の大慈善市: 連合国貴婦人連の催し [A Sincere Bazaar Thinking of One’s Home Country: An Event of a Group of Ladies from the Allied Nations].” June 20, 1915, Tenth edition. Microfilm, Main Library, Kyoto University.

La Métropole. “L’Aide Japonaise.: Pour les Blessés et Réfugiés Belges [The Japanese Help.: For the Belgian Wounded and Refugees].” March 28, 1915. Het Archief.

La Métropole. “L’Aide Japonaise.: Pour les Blessés et Réfugiés Belges [The Japanese Help.: For the Belgian Wounded and Refugees].” June 22, 1915. Het Archief.

La Métropole. “Les Sympathies Japonaises pour les Belges: Un Beau Bilan [The Japanese Sympathies for the Belgians : A Beautiful End-Result].” December 17, 1918. Het Archief.

Maitland Weekly Mercury. “How Liege Held the Road.” October 17, 1914. Trove.

The Catholic Transcript. “Convert Baroness, H. Rider Haggard’s Sister, Dead at 77.” December 19, 1935. The Catholic News Archive.

Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun. “Ao enpitsu 青鉛筆 [Blue Pencil].” July 9, 1917. Asahi News Database 朝日新聞クロスサーチ.

Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun. “Beikoku fujin no kōsha na akinaifuri: Utsukushiku nigiyaka na Teikoku hoteru no bazā; Kon’ya wa butō mo arusō na 米国婦人の巧者な商振り: 美しく賑やかな帝国ホテルのバザー; 今夜は舞踏もあるさうな [An American Woman’s Clever Business Method: A Beautiful and Crowded Bazaar of the Teikoku Hotel; It Is Said That There Will Also Be Dancing Tonight].” February 17, 1917. Asahi News Database 朝日新聞クロスサーチ.

Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun. “Dōjō bazā: Futsu Haku Saikoku no tame ni; Kyō kara Mitsukoshi de 同情慈善市: 仏白塞国の為に; 今日から三越で [A Sympathy Bazar: For France, Belgium and Serbia; From Today Onwards at the Mitsukoshi].” May 18, 1916. Asahi News Database 朝日新聞クロスサーチ.

Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun. “Hakukoku kyūmin gien boshū 白国窮民義捐募集 [Looking for Donations for Poor Belgian People].” October 13, 1915. Asahi News Database 朝日新聞クロスサーチ.

Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun. “Sokoku no senka wo kataru: Berujūmu kōshi fujin no kichō 祖国の戦禍を語る: 白耳義公使夫人の帰朝 [Talking about the damages of war in her homeland: The wife of the Belgian minister returning from abroad].” November 25, 1915. Asahi News Database 朝日新聞クロスサーチ.

Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun. “Utsukushī bazā 美しい慈善市 [A Beautiful Bazaar].” May 19, 1916. Asahi News Database 朝日新聞クロスサーチ.

Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun. “Yūrakuza no kyūengeki 有楽座の救援劇 [Relief Play of the Yūrakuza].” January 23, 1916. Asahi News Database 朝日新聞クロスサーチ.

Warzée, Dorothy de. “Belgian Relief Fund.” *Japan Advertiser*, May 2, 1918. The Japan Times Archives.

———. “Belgian Relief Fund.” *Japan Advertiser*, December 30, 1919. The Japan Times Archives.

———. “King Albert’s Fund: An Appeal to Rebuild the Ruined Homes of Belgium.” *Japan Advertiser*, October 8, 1918. The Japan Times Archives.

Warzée, Dorothy de ド・ワルゼ・ドロテー de, and d’Anethan, E. Mary エ・マリー・ダネタン. “Fukō naru Hakukokumin no tame ni 不幸なる白国民の為に [For the Unfortunate Belgians].” *Kokumin Shinbun*, October 23, 1914, Tenth edition.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Bazā ni dōjō: Seiyō gaka no bikyo 慈善市に同情: 西洋画家の美挙 [Sympathy for a Bazaar: The Praiseworthy Undertaking of Western-Style Artists].” May 14, 1916, Tokyo edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Berugī Dōjōkai katsudō kaishi: Hiroku kifukin wo boshūshi Berugī no tami wo sukuwan 白耳義同情会活動開始: 広く寄付金を募集し白耳義の民を救はん [Beginning of the Activities of the Belgian Relief Society: Widely Recruiting Donations and Going to Save the Belgians].” January 28, 1915, Tokyo edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Daibazā kaisai: Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō nite 大慈善市開催: 赤坂溜池三会堂にて [Holding a big bazaar: At the Akasaka Tameike Sankaidō].” June 16, 1915, Tokyo edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Daibazā kaisai: Kakkoku taishi reijō no hakki 大慈善市開催: 各国大使令嬢の発起 [Opening of a Big Bazaar: An Idea of the Young Women of Various Countries’ Ambassadors].” June 2, 1915, Tokyo edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Honjitsu no daibazā: Akasaka Sankaidō ni kaisai 本日の大慈善市: 赤坂三会堂に開催 [Today’s Big Bazaar: Opening at the Akasaka Sankaidō].” June 19, 1915, Tokyo edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Ketsurui wo shibori dōjō wo uttau: Hakukoku fujin no bikyo 血涙を絞り同情を訴ふ: 白国婦人の美挙 [Crying Bitter Tears and Appealing to Sympathy: The Praiseworthy Undertaking of Belgian Women].” October 23, 1914, City edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Kokoku no tame ni: Hakukoku ryōjoshi no gikyo 故国の為に: 白国両女史の義挙 [For the Fatherland: The Noble Undertaking of Both Belgian Ladies].” October 21, 1914, City

edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Mare ni miru gurēdo bazā: -Jūhachinichi kara mikkakan Mitsukoshi kyūkan nite-; hana to kisobu kakkoku gaikōka fujin reijō no baiten 稀に見る大慈善市: -十八日から三日間三越旧館にて-; 花と競ぶ各国外交家夫人令嬢の売店 [An Extraordinary Great Bazaar: -From the Eighteenth for Three Days at the Mitsukoshi Old Building-; The Stalls of the Wives and Daughters of Various Countries’ Diplomats who Compete with Flowers].” May 18, 1916, Tokyo edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Rashian barē 露西亜舞踊 [Russian Ballet].” January 6, 1917, Tokyo edition. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Shichi denka no gotairin: Kyō teigeki ni kaisai no jizen engeikai he 七殿下の御台臨: けふ帝劇に開催の慈善演芸会へ [Visit of Seven Imperial Highnesses: Opening of a Charity Entertainment Today at the Imperial Theatre].” November 26, 1917, Tokyo edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

Yomiuri Shinbun. “Sobo no tame ni moyuru ai: Otokomasari no Da fujin 祖母の為に燃ゆる愛: 男勝りのダ夫人 [A Love Burning for a Grandmother: The Strong-Minded Mrs. Da].” October 25, 1914, City edition, sec. “Yomiuri Fujin Furoku” よみうり婦人付録. Yomiuri Database Service ヨミダス歴史館.

6.1.2 Dispatches and Other Diplomatic Documents

FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, April 30, 1915.

FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, May 19, 1915, Annex 22, 23, 24, 25.

FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, March 17, 1915, Special Number 36, Annex 27.

FGSFA, Japon 1914-1915, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, January 22, 1914, Unnumbered Annex.

FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, Anonymous [G. della Faille de Leverghem] to Beyens, June 14, 1916, Special Number 66.

FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Beyens, November 22, 1916, Special Number 113.

FGSFA, Japon 1916-1920, / I 1916-1918, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Beyens, January 30, 1916, Special Number 23, Annex 24.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404 / II, Obituary of Georges, Alphonse, Hubert, Marie, Joseph Comte della Faille de Leverghem, December 15, 1944.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / I, Anonymous to de Faverau, 29 May 1903.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, February 6, 1915.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, April 19, 1911.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Minister [Davignon], 25 Unknown [December] 1914.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, General Director to First Minister, No Date [January, 1925].

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, Royal Decree for Retirement of G. della Faille de Leverghem, September 25, 1931.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, Royal Decree of Appointment of G. della Faille de Leverghem, June 21, 1920.

FGSFA, Pers. 1404, / II, van den Steen to Anonymous, March 12, 1925, [Coded Telegram].

FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, Anonymous to L. Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle, January 17, 1913.

FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, G. della Faille de Leverghem to Davignon, April 7, 1913.

FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, L. Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle to Davignon, 12 November 1909.

FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, L. Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle to Minister of Foreign Affairs, April 22, 1902.

FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / I, Marriage Announcement of L. Lemaire de Warzée d'Hermalle and D. Davis, n.d.
[April 24, 1902].

FGSFA, Pers. 1426, / II, E. Graeffe to Hymans, July 13, 1931.

6.1.3 Other Primary Sources

Anethan, E. Mary d'. *Fourteen Years of Diplomatic Life in Japan: Leaves from the Diary of Baroness Albert d'Anethan*. Second. London: Stanley Paul & Co, 1912.

<http://archive.org/details/fourteenyearsofd00anetuoft>.

“Hakukokumin kyūsai no jizenjigyō ni kankei no mukae dōkoku seifu no shai dentatsu no ken”, 白国民

救済ノ慈善事業ニ関係ノ向ヘ同国政府ノ謝意伝達ノ件 [On the Subject of Transmission of gratitude of the Belgian Government Regarding Charitable Works for the Relief of Belgians],

Anonymous to Minister of Foreign Affairs Viscount Ishi'i Kikujirō 外務大臣子爵石井菊次郎 and

Prime Minister Marquis Ōkuma Shigenobu 内閣総理大臣侯爵大隈重信殿, September 15, 1916,

National Archives of Japan 国立公文書館: Call Number 01363100,

<https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/img/2429706>.

“Rekishī Shashin” 歴史写真 [Pictures of History], August 1915, 11.

Obituary of Comtesse della Faille de Leverghem Jeanne, Alice, Simone Maskens, October 5, 1946,

Documentatiecentrum Familiekunde Vlaanderen regio Aalst, Bak034.

Warzée, Dorothy de. *Peeps into Persia*. London: Hurst and Blackett, Limited, 1913.

<http://archive.org/details/peepsintopersia00herm>.

慈善音楽会 ‘Jizen ongakukai’ [Charity Recital]. Advertisement. *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, December 20, 1914. Asahi News Database 朝日新聞クロスサーチ.

6.2 Secondary Sources

Amara, Michaël. *Exodus: Belgen op de Vlucht 1914-1918* [Exodus: Belgians on the Run 1914-1918]. Translated by Barbara Costermans. Gent: Tijdsbeeld & Pièce Montée, 2014.

Bank of England. “Inflation Calculator,” July 17, 2024. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.

Cahalan, Peter James. “The Treatment of Belgian Refugees in England During the Great War.” PhD Thesis, McMaster University, 1977. MacSphere. <http://hdl.handle.net/11375/15514>.

Checkland, Olive. *Britain’s Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*. Hampshire - London: The Macmillan Press LTD, 1989.

Crawcour, E. Sydney. “Industrialization and Technological Change, 1885-1920.” In *The Economic Emergence of Modern Japan*, edited by Kozo Yamamura, 50–115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. <https://doi-org.kuleuven.e-bronnen.be/10.1017/CBO9780511572814>.

De Ruyver, Dirk. “The First Treaty Between Belgium and Japan (1866).” In *Japan & Belgium: An Itinerary of Mutual Inspiration*, edited by W.F. Vande Walle and David De Cooman, 22–111. Tiel: Lannoo Publishing, 2016.

Deleu, Hanne. “Japanese Humanitarian Aid for Belgium During the First World War: Charity as a Tool for International Acknowledgement.” Master’s thesis, KU Leuven, 2018. https://repository-tenoelibrary-be.kuleuven.e-bronnen.be/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE11058134&.

- Gay, George I., and H. H. Fisher. *Public Relations of The Commission for Relief in Belgium: Documents*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. California: Stanford University Press, 1929.
- Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Huffman, James L. *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997. <https://doi-org.kuleuven.e-bronnen.be/10.1515/9780824862015>.
- Isomi, Tatsunori 磯見辰典, Fumitaka, Kurosawa 磯見黒沢, and Ryōjyu, Sakurai 良樹櫻井. “Nihon • Berugī kankeishi” 日本 • ベルギー関係史 [A History of Japan-Belgium Relations]. Tokyo: Hakusuisha 白水社, 1989.
- Jacob, Frank. *East Asia and the First World War*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110745672>.
- Kruizinga, Samuël. “Neutrality.” In *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, edited by Jay Winter, 2:542–75. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Lambotte, Paul, Emile Cammaerts, Henri Davignon, and William J. Locke, eds. *A Book of Belgium's Gratitude: Comprising Literary Articles by Representative Belgians, Together with Their Translations by Various Hands, and Illustrated Throughout in Colour and Black and White by Belgian Artists*. London: John Lane, the Bodley Head, 1916.
- Lensen, George Alexander, ed. *The d'Anethan Dispatches From Japan, 1894-1910: The Observations of Baron Albert d'Anethan Belgian Minister Plenipotentiary and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps*. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1967.
- Little, Branden. “The Humanitarian Mobilization of American Cities for Belgian Relief, 1914-1918.” *Cahiers Bruxellois – Brusselse Cahiers* XLVI, no. 1E (2014): 121–38. <https://doi.org/10.3917/brux.046e.0121>.

- Mori, Jennifer. "How Women Make Diplomacy: The British Embassy in Paris, 1815–1841." *Journal of Women's History* 27, no. 4 (Winter 2015): 137–59. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2015.0042>.
- Prochaska, F. K. "Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth-Century England." *Journal of British Studies* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 62–84.
- Raymond, Gregory V. "War as Membership: International Society and Thailand's Participation in World War I." *Asian Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (2019): 132–47.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1548570>.
- Report of the Secretary of State of Canada for the Year Ending March 31, 1919*. Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, 1920. <https://books.google.co.jp/books?id=Z4JIAQAAMAAJ&pg=RA2-PA10&lpg=RA2-PA10&dq=%22Report+of+the+Secretary+of+State+for+Canada+for+the+Year+Ending+...%22+1920&source=bl&ots=-j0JqpuGZf&sig=ACfU3U3aJCtoOC4h3rOm0mVYF7if9eDGuQ&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwid3MGE9eCBAxX7rVYBHUrVCPIQ6AF6BAgPEAM#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Reynolds, K. D. *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Soroka, Marina. "Diplomats' Wives and the Foreign Ministry in Late Imperial Russia, in Four Portraits." *Aspasia* 16, no. 1 (June 2022): 149–70. <https://doi.org/10.3167/asp.2022.160110>.
- Sterry, Lorraine. *Victorian Women Travellers in Meiji Japan: Discovering a "New" Land*. Folkestone: Global Oriental LTD, 2009. <https://doi-org.kuleuven.e-bronnen.be/10.1163/ej.9781905246731.i-327>.
- Who's Who 1933: An Annual Biographical Dictionary with Which Is Incorporated "Men and Women of the Time."* London: A&C Black Limited, 1933.
<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.319776/page/n3699/mode/2up>.

Wood, Molly M. “Diplomatic Wives: The Politics of Domesticity and the ‘Social Game’ in the U.S. Foreign Service, 1905-1941.” *Journal of Women’s History* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 142–65.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2005.0025>.

6.3 Tertiary Sources

“Doll Festival: 雛祭/Hina Matsuri.” In *Encyclopedia of Japan*. Kodansha, 1999. Japan Knowledge Lib.
<https://japanknowledge-com.kuleuven.e-bronnen.be/lib/display/?lid=10800FL001208>.