

Belgium and the semantic flux of Flemish, French and Flemings.
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[running headline: the semantic flux of Flemish, French and Flemings]

With the outbreak of war, Britain drastically altered its image of Belgium. Especially under Leopold II, Belgium had become a colonial power of note, especially in Africa from the 1880s onwards. However, in Britain the disgraceful and inhumane rule of Belgium over its colonies was exposed in a report by Roger Casement and E.D. Morel. In the early 1900s, relations between Britain and Belgium had become sour. Although these improved after the death of Leopold II in 1909, the public image of Belgium still had to undergo a dramatic change in order to move from oppressor to the oppressed in August 1914. However, the image of Belgium continued to be difficult one to grasp for the British, not least in newspaper articles on Belgians. This paper covers insight into the at times awkward understanding by the British of Belgian matters during the war, taking into account preceding confused impressions as well, and how this was met by the Belgians in Britain.

Emile Verhaeren and setting a semantic framework

On 28 February 1896, the *Sheffield Independent* printed many literary and art notices. These included a review of the contemporary *Magazine of Art*. Emile Verhaeren's account of the 'French artist Feliccen [sic] Rops' was reviewed. The talent of Felicien Rops, who during the First World War was a refugee himself, had 'dwelled so strangely on the hideous side of the life of Paris'.ⁱ And strange it was: Felicien Rops was a Belgian artist, not a French one, who was born in Namur, one of the main cities in Wallonia, the entirely French-speaking part of Belgium.ⁱⁱ Admittedly, he had moved to Paris in 1874 and gained notoriety there through his often salacious printwork for French authors such as Charles Baudelaire, Stéphane Mallarmé and Alfred de Musset,ⁱⁱⁱ but Rops also was one of the founding members of the Belgian Society of Fine Arts and the renowned art movement *Les XX*.^{iv} The record in the British press was all the more worrying because Verhaeren was also positioned in a semantic framework that was entirely, and erroneously, French. As well, Rops had provided etchings for Charles de Coster, generally viewed as one of the prime early Belgian authors.^v The subsequent week, however, the *Sheffield Independent* rectified this error of judgment to some extent by

recording in its review of *The Fortnightly* that Emile Verhaeren was a 'new Belgian poet'. Verhaeren's poem had been translated by Alma Strettell and was accompanied by a brief biography of the author.^{vi} In 1899, *Poems of Emile Verhaeren*, all of which were translated by Alma Strettell as well,^{vii} was published by John Lane (London/New York). The book was re-issued in 1915. Looking into the pre-war cultural circle of Strettell, it will become clear that many of many of those involved, not the least of whom was Edmund Gosse in 1913, became crucial in the commemoration in Britain of the Belgian poet, after he had unexpectedly died in exile in Rouen, France, in November 1916.

Between 1896 and the start of the war, Emile Verhaeren's work was increasingly published in Britain, in translation. However, with few reviews in the British press (*The Times* lists Verhaeren only once before the war) most coverage remained relatively low profile. The outbreak of war changed the resonance of Verhaeren, who along with fellow Belgian Maurice Maeterlinck, 1911 winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, was about the only 'celeb' of the time press and politicians alike could use to provide a 'face' to the nation that had been invaded by the Germans. The only pre-war reference of note to Verhaeren came in the fourth volume of the *Collected Essays* of Edmund Gosse.^{viii} Although Gosse grouped Verhaeren along with French poets, he distinguished Verhaeren's national identity from the others:

Among those poets who have employed the French tongue with most success in recent years, it is curious that the two whose claims to distinction are least open to discussion should be, not Frenchman at all, but Flemings of pure race. [...] M. Verhaeren has risen slowly but steadily to a very high eminence. [...] He has proved [sic] that genius is its own best judge of what is a good "subject," and imperceptibly we have learned to appreciate and respect him. He is true to himself, quite indefatigable, and we are beginning to realise at last that he is one of the very small group of really great poets born in Europe since 1850.^{ix}

However, Gosse's view was a romantic one. Verhaeren might have been born in Flanders, but he was a Francophone Belgian. A few years earlier the language situation of the literary landscape in Belgium had already been defined more accurately defined by Virginia Crawford:

In a bilingual country literature must always suffer grave disadvantages. It lacks a national entity, and hence it fails in a measure to excite popular enthusiasm, or to achieve international recognition. Until quite recently Belgium might have been cited

as a case in point. How many of us previous to the moment, some five years ago, when the fame of Maurice Maeterlinck first drifted across the North Sea, realised that the kingdom of King Leopold could lay claim to a distinctively national school of contemporary literature? Her Flemish writers were studied only by their own section of the nation, their very existence unsuspected by foreigners; her French writers, when not overshadowed by the artistic pre-eminence of her Gallic neighbour, were apt to find themselves appropriated by the latter and carelessly numbered in the ranks of her own literary sons.^x

Verhaeren, who was French-speaking but born in Flanders, was an example of the linguistic antagonism in Belgium. In Flanders, most common people spoke Dutch only, often erroneously referred to as Flemish, which is not a language but a range of regional variety; but a minority in Flanders spoke and wrote in French, as it was the prevalent language of the industrial barons and the political and cultural elite in Belgium. In 1913, Charles Sarolea, a Belgian, who had lectured in French at the University of Edinburgh since 1894, highlighted this ambivalent nature in a note on Verhaeren's compatriot, Maeterlinck.

A Fleming [...] singularly enough like most Belgian writers who use French as the vehicle of their thought, [...] Maeterlinck always remained loyal to the spirit of his native city, and his greatness [...] is precisely due to that loyalty which he has retained to the spirit of his country. He has not, like the Belgian writers of the Walloon provinces, allowed his personality and his originality to be submerged by French or Belgian influences. He will be in the history of French letters the representative of the Flemish people.^{xi}

The status of Emile Verhaeren in Britain, already before the war, but definitely during, experienced a highlight when the Belgian poet had a poem published, in French, in *The Times* in August 1915.^{xii} It was not uncommon for British newspapers, more in particular the local press, to be printing articles in French or Dutch, in order to accommodate the Belgian community in exile in Britain,^{xiii} but *The Times* was a different level altogether. The tone of the poem was very much along the lines of the semantic flux of other early war poems published in Britain: on how the beloved nation, Belgium, will carry on forever, at least in spirit. The French poem by the Flemish but Francophone poet was published on the first

birthday of the German invasion in Belgium in that quintessential beacon of British press *The Times*. The accolade could hardly be more powerful and was a logical extension of the honours that had been bestowed upon the poet since the outbreak of war.

Days before the Fall of Antwerp, 9 October 1914, it was already announced in the British press that Emile Verhaeren would lecture at the University of Leeds later that year and that he would receive an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters there.^{xiv} This made perfect sense as “of the many thousand Belgians who have been driven headlong from their land by “The Rape of Flanders” there is none whose international fame can vie with that of Emile Verhaeren”.^{xv} When the American correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* reported from the occupied city of Liège in Belgium, a report sent on 1 December 1914 but received in Liverpool only 13 December, the phrase by Verhaeren ‘Ruin installs itself / And whistles at four corners’ was the adagio that came to mind when describing a city in ruins and the heavily bombarded industrial districts around the city.^{xvi}

However much praise Verhaeren was attributed, the divergence of concepts between Belgian, Flemish, Dutch and French were not always clear to the British editors, and subsequently not to the general public either. Examples are numerous. What appears to be the British people's understanding, therefore, is to many Belgians an annoying representation of Belgian reality:

It is very fitting that one of the greatest of the war poems should be the work of a Fleming, who is sometimes called the greatest of living French poets. Though Emile Verhaeren has chosen French as his medium, he has retained all of his nationality—it is apparent in all his work.^{xvii}

From this appears a seemingly clear differentiation between French as a language and a nationality. However, whether or not that nationality is therefore *Fleming* is not clear at all. Yet, the main point was that Verhaeren had become an embodiment of a Belgian spirit that could not be broken; to the cultural circles in Britain, but also in France, he became the ultimate literate interpreter of that new spirit of national feeling of the fragmented Belgian nation.^{xviii}

The Verhaeren Celebration

On 3 March 1917, five weeks before the United States entered the First World War, a commemoration was held in London by the British Royal Society of Literature in honour of Emile Verhaeren. The renowned Belgian poet had passed away a few months earlier while in exile in Rouen, France. The celebration was a valuable representation of how the Belgian cultural elite in exile, although often not limited to one host nation but travelling from one to another, had been accommodated within British cultural circles.

Emile Verhaeren was educated at the Saint-Barbara College in Ghent. This school produced many pupils that would go on to become key figures in Belgian public life.^{xix} Verhaeren's literary career and fame would be intimately attached to that of another pupil from the College: Maurice Maeterlinck, who graduated a few years after Verhaeren. Only a few years before he died, Verhaeren missed out on the Nobel Prize for Literature, which was won by Maurice Maeterlinck. Yet it was Verhaeren who had a profound influence on people such as the author Austrian Stefan Zweig, the American poet Ezra Pound, the British Imagist poet Frank Stuart Flint, the scholar Jethro Bithell and the poet Arthur Symons. They all translated work by Verhaeren. Verhaeren's fame also permeated the Anglo-Saxon literary world and cultural circles. In September 1913, *The North American Review* compared Verhaeren to Swinburne and added that two of the most significant figures in French literature were in fact Belgian.

Of these, Maeterlinck, through translation and abundant critical (and much uncritical) commentary, has become more familiar even than many prominent English writers, while Verhaeren, the more potent and creatively the greater artist, is hardly more than a name to most readers. Yet he has introduced a new modality into poetry[...]^{xx}

In Britain, Edmund Gosse also adhered to this point of view. Following onto his praise from a few years earlier, Gosse's preface to a 1917 anthology on Belgian writers suited the spirit of the Verhaeren commemoration. Gosse saw 'the impression which her [*Belgium's, sic*] literature has made upon the intellectual conscience of the world' as an advantage that Belgium may 'place in the scale against the overwhelming weight of sorrows and impoverishments that the vindictive anarchism of Germany has brought upon her in this war'.^{xxi} Gosse not only focussed on the fact that there 'were some of us who for twenty years and more have been aware of the riches and the complexity of Belgian literature' and that there 'were many who recognised the value of individual writers from Flanders, such as Maeterlinck, and of later years Verhaeren', but also that the world at large did not perceive

the importance of the literary art of Belgium as a whole, until 'the anger and pity of civilisation concentrated its gaze upon the moral qualities of that heroic nation'.^{xxii}

Intriguingly, Gosse's approach to Verhaeren and Belgian literature was in many ways a continuation of Jethro Bithell's. In 1911, Bithell, a lecturer in German at Birkbeck College, University of London, had published *Contemporary Belgian Literature* and *Contemporary Belgian Poetry*, both of which included a substantial number of pages about Verhaeren.^{xxiii} The importance and relevance of Verhaeren to European poetry could not have triggered such a response anywhere but in England, where many of his staunchest supporters lived.

The 1917 Verhaeren Commemoration Committee itself consisted of a number of famous people. Edmund Gosse, chairman of the Commemoration Committee and vice-president of the Royal Society of Literature, was a prominent speaker. Other noted figures from the world of art and literature were Robert Bridges, the Poet Laureate, Charles Delchevalerie, who represented the Belgian Artists Committee, Paul Hymans, the Belgian Minister in London and Paul Lambotte, the director of the Musée des Beaux Arts in Brussels and a central figure to the Belgian arts in exile. Several members of the Commemoration Committee did not speak, but attended the event, including Maurice Maeterlinck, Emile Cammaerts, the Belgian poet who had moved to Britain in 1908, Vicomte Henri Davignon, a politician-author of Francophone Flemish origin, who led the propaganda for the Belgian cause from London and Fernand Severin, a Belgian poet-artist. The British authors Thomas Hardy and Rudyard Kipling were also present. Some of the other eminent attendees at the commemoration included members of the Belgian nobility such as Princess Clémentine of Belgium and her husband Prince Napoléon, Mademoiselle Albert de Bassompierre, Comte de Grunne, Prince de Croÿ, Count de Lalaing, Le Chevalier Carton de Wiart, honorary secretary to HM the King of Belgium, and Madame Carton de Wiart.^{xxiv} Also present were politicians, such as Edouard Pollet, Consul-Général of Belgium, and several members of the Belgian Parliament and Senate residing in London. Various artists and members of the Royal Academy of Belgium, such as the painters Albert Baertsoen and Emile Claus, and Victor Rousseau, the sculptor, as well as the illustrator, Jean de Bosschère also attended, as did authors, such as Marcel Wysseur and Armand Varlez. Belgian higher education was represented by Charles Dejace, a professor in economics from the University of Liège and the head of the Belgian professorial representation in Cambridge at the time. Virtually all of the attendees were figures central to Anglo-Belgian relations and crucial to the way Belgian identity in exile was maintained.

As exemplified by Verhaeren and Maeterlinck, Belgian culture in the pre-war years was dominated by the French language. Perhaps by chance then, the Verhaeren commemoration roughly coincided with the publication of the Front Letters at the front in Belgium. In those, Flemish soldiers complained to the King about not being able to understand the commands of their officers. The Front Letters had been precipitated by a letter written by Alfons van de Perre in *De Stem Uit België*, a Belgian exile newspaper printed in Britain, but distributed in France, the Netherlands and at the front as well. Oddly, despite the fact that he himself had nurtured public and political acknowledgement of the language issue at the front, and by extension the language issues in Flanders, Alfons Van de Perre only managed a publication on the linguistic divide in Belgium in 1919.^{xxv}

Whereas many historians of the Flemish movement agree that the Front letters were a major development in the emancipation of the Dutch-speaking Flemish population in Belgium,^{xxvi} the Verhaeren commemoration should as well be accepted as a real cultural highlight of Belgian identity, albeit in exile. Verhaeren was also the prime example of how in Britain publications on Belgium, on Belgians or by Belgians (or a combination of those) thrived during the war. In a clear display of establishing a tradition of Belgian native literature and its perception in Britain, but also elsewhere, Verhaeren embodies a much wider wartime tradition: the literary representation of the violation of Belgium.

Publications by Belgians in Britain

One of the Belgian refugees in Britain was the Walloon author and poet Paul Gérardy, who in 1917 published *Une Cité Belge Sur La Tamise* under the name of Justin Wallon.^{xxvii} Printed on behalf of the Belgian exile newspaper *La Neptune*, Gérardy/Wallon recounted the story of the Belgian community in Twickenham / Richmond.^{xxviii} The same publishing company, Librarie Moderne, which was based in Brussels but in wartime published from London, published *Les Belges en Exil* in 1917, by Armand Varlez. He dedicated his book not to the Belgians in Britain, but to the Flemish and Walloon exiles. With a focus on the linguistic differentiation in Belgium, as represented in the Belgian exile community, the overall common denominator was still a sense of Belgian identity. This approach was an existing one. As early as 1916, a Belgian lawyer from Brussels, Fernand Passelecq, head of the Bureau Documentaire Belge in Le Havre,^{xxix} published a book in Britain entitled *Belgian Unity and the Flemish Movement* about the relationship between the Belgian nation and the nationalist tendencies arising from its linguistic communities, in this case Flanders.^{xxx}

British attention on some of the most defining features of the Belgian refugees, the linguistic differences, was captured by Belgian sections, written in French and/or Dutch, in British newspapers and in translated sections of the Belgian contributions in charity books. However, the Belgians in Britain were also catered for by booklets of a varying nature, but in more than one language, often published by Belgians. These publications were compilations of information communicated to the Belgians in Britain or books for soldiers at the front and convalescent soldiers in hospitals.

An early English-Flemish phrase book was published by E.V. Bisschop in 1914 and contained 'a selection of words and sentences for daily use with Flemish residents in England and a short list of military terms'.^{xxxii} This was also produced in translation.^{xxxiii} Bisschop published another highly successful booklet, this time an English-French-Flemish phrase book devoted to shopping in answer to the shopping needs of the Belgian community in exile.^{xxxiii} The practical use and everyday information aspect of these publications stood in stark contrast with the literary spheres of Verhaeren and Maeterlinck on the one hand, and with the more academic musings of Emile Cammaerts and Charles Sarolea, but were a vital supplement to them.

More informative listings for Belgian refugees were published by both the Comité Officiel Belge / Officieel Belgisch Comiteit and the War Refugees Committee (WRC).^{xxxiv} With the Belgians in Britain and the War Refugees Committee both publishing booklets containing practical information related to life in exile, it became clear that assimilation was not a leitmotif. In fact, the Belgians themselves assumed only those elements characteristic of the guiding culture of the host nation that were already oriented towards them.^{xxxv} The cross-cultural flow happened mainly, but not exclusively, in one direction. The British Catholic Social Guild, for instance, published a pamphlet entitled *How to Help the Belgian Refugees*,^{xxxvi} a detailed explanation addressed to British Catholics on how to accommodate Belgians and how to appreciate differences. Although the institution behind the publication and its target audience was in fact British, the beneficiaries of the framework in which Belgians could hope to find an understanding of their foreign habits were mainly the Belgians. Arguably, this culminated in the trilingual publication brought out in 1916 on the occasion of the Belgian National Day held at the Royal Albert Hall.^{xxxvii}

In this liberal context, several Belgians published works on more socialist themes, such as the Belgian socialist MP Emile Royer,^{xxxviii} the Christian socialist G.C. Rutten,^{xxxix} the diplomat

Fernand Van Langenhove,^{xl} Ferdinand Vandevorst,^{xli} and Paul Otlet, a man of many talents.^{xlii} Moreover, although the Belgian Socialist Willem Eekelers published the history of the Belgian Metal Workers Union in exile not until after the war,^{xliii} the manifesto of the Belgian Socialist Party connected with it had already been published in London in 1917.^{xliv} The publication was a critical appreciation of the Belgian Socialist Party in wartime positioned in a comparative European context. This contrasted somewhat with the more propaganda-themed publications in Britain written on the Belgian labourers.^{xlv} Whereas the Belgians published in Britain concerning their situation in Britain, oddly, publications by the British appeared abroad.^{xlvi} The transnational character of the war, which included the Belgian refugees in Britain, was also noted elsewhere.^{xlvii} The most noted publication, however, about the Belgians in Britain but published elsewhere was by the Belgian author Henri Davignon who published *La Belgique en Angleterre; Un peuple en exil*.^{xlviii} Publications that could be considered its Flemish counterpart, though not in theme or subject, were Stijn Streuvels' *Path of Life*,^{xlix} or compilations of the successful series from the Belgian exile newspaper *De Stem Uit België*.¹ This type of publication even continued after the war.^{li}

A counterpoint

In Belgium, the allocation of attention to linguistic diversity did not spark from cultural circles or soldiers letters, but the focus on the different languages in different regions of the country was part of an elaborate *divide and conquer* policy by the occupying Germans, who aimed to exploit Flemish nationalism and turn it into more profound antagonism towards the Francophone Belgians in Wallonia. The linguistic situation of Belgians under German occupation could not be more different to that of Belgians in exile in Britain, a true counterpoint. To Germans in Belgium, Walloons reincarnated the etymology of their own denomination: *Walhaz* was an old Germanic word to refer to 'the other', those who spoke a language different from a Germanic one, typically Romance or Celtic (see introductory essay on language and the perception of race). By establishing a *Flamenpolitik*, the Germans pursued a psychological divide first, that could potentially lead to a geographical split. One of the outcomes of the policy was turning the University of Ghent, which had been Francophone until then, into a Dutch-speaking university so that Flemish people could enjoy higher education in a manner that had not yet been available to them. This happened roughly one month before Verhaeren died.

Picture 8.2. A cynical cartoon about how the 'High School of Ghent' is cracking up the Belgian motto 'L'Union Fair La Force' and dividing *Vlaanderenland* and *Walenland*. (source: *de (Groene) Amsterdammer*, 9 November 1916).

Although the concepts about the linguistic and political complexities of Belgium were not always clearly represented in the British press, perception in Britain of this German-driven Flemish University in Belgium was crystal clear, although phrase in wartime semantics:

With all the subtlety of the serpent, Germany has started this Flemish University with the clear object in view of reviving old racial divisions among the people of Belgium.^{lii}

The purpose of the University, to “serve only the intellectual development of the Flemish people, and the culture of the low countries”,^{liii} could not be further removed from the liberal approach in Britain.

In one way, linguistic accommodation in Belgium provided similar opportunities for Flemish people in occupied Belgium as well as in exile in Britain. There, the Belgians found themselves in a vast apparatus of charity, government support and a sense of control through communications that were issued in three languages, Flemish / Dutch, French and English. In Belgium, Flemish became an institutionalised language. However, the drive behind this could not have been more different. In Britain, this accommodation was utilitarian, supporting the everyday fabric of life in exile, but had grown out of a duty of care. In Belgium, this accommodation was driven by an urge to create division. In Britain the linguistic accommodation added to a sense of liberty, belonging even, despite being in exile.

Shelby, Karen (2014) *Flemish Nationalism and the Great War: The Politics of Memory, Visual Culture and Commemoration*. London, Palgrave Macmillan.

Van Goethem, Herman (2010) *Belgium and the Monarchy: From National Independence to National Disintegration*. Brussels, Asp / Vubpress / Upa.

- i *Sheffield Independent*, 28 February 1896, p.7.
- ii Two week later the *Leicester Chronicle* labelled Rops a Flemish painter. Given the differences between the regional communities but also the linguistic differentiation in Belgium, this was yet another display of misrepresentation of the very situation in Belgium. *Leicester Chronicle*, 14 March 1896, p.11.
- iii The international aspect of Rops's career should come as no surprise, the renown of Flemish, and by extension Belgian, painting, had been resounding across Europe for centuries.
- iv Although it existed from 1883 until 1893 only, *Les XX* was an amalgamation of renowned artists, mainly Belgian (such as James Ensor, Fernand Khnopff, Felicien Rops, Henri van de Velde and Theo Van Rysselberghe) or French (Paul Gauguin, Claude Monet, Georges Seurat and Paul Cézanne), but also the Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh. Emile Verhaeren was one of the driving forces behind the journal of the movement. In a clear display of pan-European cultural networks, the group included work in their annual exhibition by British artists such as Walter Sickert (1888), James McNeill Whistler (1888) and Walter Crane (1891). Jane Block (2014). 'XX, Les'. *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press. Online [www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T089756, accessed 30 June 2015].
- v Hugh Chisholm (ed.) (1911). "De Coster, Charles Théodore Henri". *Encyclopædia Britannica* 7 (11th ed.), Cambridge University Press, p.915.
- vi *Sheffield Independent*, 4 March 1896, p.7.
- vii Alma Strettell (1853-1939) was introduced into the literary and artistic circles in London through her brother-in-law and her sister. Among them were Ellen Terry, Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Edmund Gosse and Henry James. Strettell was a close friend of the painter John Singer Sargent. Natalie Houston, Alma Strettell 1853-1939, University of Houston, online [http://www.1890s.ca/PDFs/strettell_bio.pdf, accessed 30 June 2015].
- viii (1913) London, Heinemann.
- ix Edmund Gosse (1913) 'French Profiles', *Collected Essays*, vol.4, p.324.
- x Virginia Crawford (1908) *Studies in Foreign Literature*. London, Duckworth, pp.106-107.
- xi Charles Sarolea, *Everyman: his life, work, and books*, London, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1913, p.42.
- xii Emile Verhaeren, 'A la Belgique', *The Times*, 4 August 1915, p.7.
- xiii 'Prinsensdag' was a long piece in Dutch about the Day of the Belgian Princes. Tributes had been written in support of the Belgian royal family, among them one by Emile Verhaeren. *North Devon Journal*, 19 November 1914, p.5. A renowned Belgian using a British media platform to further the Belgian cause whilst in exile, was not dissimilar to the publishing in exile of a Belgian newspaper that had been in existence before the war. Emile Verhaeren was one of the contributors to the *L'indépendance Belge* the exile journal for francophone Belgians in Britain. *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 30 October 1914, p.4.
- xiv *Hull Daily Mail*, 7 October 1914, p.4.
- xv *Birmingham Daily Post*, 23 October 1914, p.4
- xvi *Liverpool Daily Post*, 14 December 1914, p.2.
- xvii *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 30 September 1914, p.2.
- xviii Most of Belgium was occupied by the Germans, one tiny part remained unoccupied but lay very close to the frontline. Vast numbers of the Belgian population had sought refuge in the Netherlands, France, where the government in exile had settled, and the United Kingdom but also in Switzerland, the United States, Canada and even further afield. Moreover, tens of thousands of Belgians were held in captivity in Germany, both soldiers and able men forced into labour. The Belgian spirit, however ethereal to those enduring specific hardships, was about the sole unifying element of Belgium during the war years.
- xix Among the other pupils were Charles Van Lerberghe, another Francophone author from Flanders, and Gerhard Cooremans, who became the director of the Société Générale de Belgique in 1914. From June to November 1918, Cooremans headed the government in exile in Le Havre.
- xx vol.198, pp.354-364.
- xxi Edmund Gosse, Prefatory Note, 'Some Belgian Modern Writers: a Critical Study' (Gladys Rosaleen Turquet-Milnes), New York, Robert McBride, 1917, p.vii.
- xxii Gosse, 1917, op.cit., p.vii.
- xxiii Bithell proceeded to publish a volume entitled Maeterlinck in 1913 (New York, Stokes / London, Walter Scott). During the war, Bithell published a volume on Flemish poetry. Jethro Bithell, *Contemporary Flemish poetry*, London, Walter Scott, 1917.
- xxiv Both Carton de Wiart and de Croÿ were families with branches in both Belgium and Britain, and beyond. Adrian Carton de Wiart, for instance, was a successful British army officer of Belgian origin who served in the Boer Wars and both World Wars.
- xxv *The language question in Belgium*, London, Grant Richards.

