HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 26

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Editorial Note.

In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,
General Editor and formerly
Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers 1

(2) Surface, Coast, and River Systems

Surface

(a) The Polders 2

(b) The Sand Belt 2

(c) The Clay and Loam Belt . . . 3

(d) The Limestone Belt 3

(e) The Ardennes 3

(f) The Arlon or Jurassic Belt . . . 3

Coast 4

River Systems 4

(3) Climate 5

(4) Race and Language

Race 6

Language 7

(5) Population

Distribution : Towns and Villages . . 9

(a) Charleroi–Borinage 10

(b) Brussels and Suburbs 10

(c) Antwerp and District 10

(d) Liège and District 10

(e) Ghent 10

Movement 12

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

Chronological Summary 14

(1) The Burgundian Netherlands, 1419–1506 . 16

Concentration of Fiefs under the Dukes of Burgundy 17

Philip the Good and Charles the Bold . . 17

Mary of Burgundy and the *Groote Priviligie* . 17

The Netherlands pass to the House of Habsburg 18

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PAGE

(2) The Period of Charles V, 1506–55 . . . 18
Extent of Charles V's Netherland Dominions . 19
Independent Attitude of the Netherlands . 20
The 'Burgundian Circle' 20
Margaret of Savoy and Mary of Hungary . 20
Diet of Augsburg 21
Regulation of Succession 22

(3) The Belgic Netherlands under the Spanish Habsburgs, 1555–1702 . . . 22
Philip II and Netherland Independence . . 22
The Netherland Rebellion 23
The League of Arras and the Union of Utrecht 23
The 'Archdukes' Albert and Isabel . . 23
Period of Wise Rule 24
The War of Dutch Independence and the Treaty of Münster 25
The Generality Lands 25
Belgium the Battle-field of Europe . . 26

(4) The War of the Spanish Succession and the Utrecht Treaties, 1702–15 . . . 26
Causes of the War 26
The Will of Charles II 27
The Grand Alliance and the Treaties of Utrecht 27
Extracts from the Treaty 28
Position of Luxemburg 29
The Treaty of Rastatt 30
The Third Barrier Treaty 30

(5) The Belgic Netherlands under the Austrian Habsburgs, 1715–95
Personal Nature of the Habsburg Rule . . 31
Rule of the Archduchess Mary Elizabeth . 31
Rule of Charles of Lorraine 31
Charles VI and the Ostend Chartered Company 32
The Emperor Joseph II and the Question of the Scheldt 33
Rebellion against Joseph II 34
Local Privileges maintained 34

PAGE

(6) Belgium under French Rule, 1795–1815 . . . 34
Conquest and Administration of Belgium . 34
Luxemburg 35

(7) Union of Holland and Belgium, 1815–30 . . . 35
Character of the Union 35
William I 36
Great Britain's Initiative 36
Castlereagh's Policy 37
The Châtillon and Chaumont Treaties . . 37
The Preliminaries of Paris 38
The Eight Articles 39
The Congress of Vienna 40
William I proclaims himself King . . 41
The Constitution 41
Discontent in Belgium. 41
Rejection of the Constitution . . . 42
The Question of Luxemburg . . . 42
Final Union of Belgium and Holland . . 44
Rule of William I 44
Subordination of Belgium 44
Treatment of the Catholics 46
Treatment of the Press 46
Estrangement between North and South . 48

(8) The Belgian Revolution: Period of Transition, 1830–9 48
The Revolution in Paris 48
Revolt at Brussels 48
Provisional Government formed . . . 49
Constitution drawn up 50
Attitude of the Powers 50
Scheme for Separation of Belgium and Holland 51
Action of the Brussels Congress . . . 51
Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg . . . 52
The Luxemburg Question 53
Treaty of the XVIII Articles . . . 54
William I refuses to accept the Treaty . . 54
Dutch Invasion of Belgium 55

PAGE

The Treaty of the XXIV Articles . . . 55
Luxemburg and Limburg 56
Neutrality of Belgium guaranteed . . 57
The Powers agree to apply Pressure to Holland 58
Military Operations against Holland . . 59
Convention of London 60
Luxemburg and Limburg remain in Belgian occupation 61
King William accepts the XXIV Articles . 61
Isolation of Belgium 62
Treaty of April 19, 1839 62

(9) The Belgian Kingdom, 1839–1914

Industrial Progress 63
Catholic and Liberal Parties . . . 64
Education Act of 1842 64
Electoral Reform 64
Liberal Measures 64
Ministry of Frère-Orban 65
The Scheldt Tolls 65
Accession of Leopold II 65
Napoleon III and Luxemburg . . . 66
Split in Liberal Party 67
Catholics in Power 67
Frère-Orban's Education Act . . . 68
Further Education Legislation . . . 69
Working-class Grievances 69
The 'Nyssens' Franchise Compromise . . 70
Increased Catholic Majority 70
The *Flamingant* Movement 71
Reforms of the Catholic Party . . . 72
Leopold II 72
Army Reform 73
Ostend and Zeebrugge 74
The Congo Kingdom 74
Abuses in the Congo 75
The State takes over the Congo . . . 76
Accession of Albert I 76

PAGE

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) Religious 77
(2) Political
The Belgian Constitution . . . 77
Reform Act of 1894 78
(3) Public Education
The Education Controversy 79
Condition of Education 80
Types of Schools 81
Number of Scholars 82
Cost of Education 82
Primary Education 83
Higher Grade Schools 83
The Universities 83

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) Means of Communication

(1) Internal
(*a*) Roads 84
(*b*) Rivers and Canals
Mileage 84
Tolls, Freightage, and Traffic . . 85
Waterways to the Rhine and to France . 87
Details of the Canal System . . . 88
Adequacy to Economic Needs . . 89
(*c*) Railways
(i) Extent of Railway System in General . 90
(ii) State and Privately-owned Railways . 91
(iii) Financial Considerations . . . 92
(iv) Adequacy to Economic Needs . . 94
(v) Light Railways 95
(*d*) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones . . 97
(*e*) Wireless Telegraphs 97
(2) External
(*a*) Ports
(i) Accommodation
Antwerp 98
Ostend 99

PAGE

Bruges 99
Blankenberghe 100
Nieuport 100
Brussels 100
Ghent 101
(ii) Shipping Trade 101
(iii) Shipping Lines, Foreign-owned and Domestic 104
(iv) Adequacy to Economic Needs . . 105

(B) Industry
(1) Agriculture
(*a*) Agricultural Labour 106
(*b*) Products of Commercial Value
Chief Crops 108
Market-gardening 110
Live Stock 110
Poultry-farming 112
(*c*) Methods of Cultivation 112
(*d*) Agricultural Co-operation 116
(*e*) Forestry 116
(*f*) Land Tenure
System of Succession 118
Small Proprietors 119
Mortgages 120
Communal Land 121
(2) Fisheries 121
(3) Minerals
(*a*) Natural Resources
Coal 122
Iron Ores 126
Zinc and Lead 128
Stone 128
(*b*) Output 129
Coal and Iron 130
Briquettes 130
Coke 131
(*c*) Cost of Production 131
(4) Metallurgical and Manufacturing Industries
(*a*) Iron and Steel Industry 133

PAGE

Girders, Boilers, &c. 135
Mechanical Construction . . . 136
Engines, Motors, Pumps, &c. . . 137
Lifting and Transporting Machines . 137
Castings and Forgings 138
Electrical Plant 138
Fire-arms 138
Shipbuilding 139
Zinc-works 140
Lead and Silver Works . . . 140

(*b*) Textile Industry
Cotton-spinning 140
Cotton-weaving 141
Linen Thread and Linen-weaving . . 141
Hemp and Jute 142
Silk 143
Hosiery and Lace 143
Carpets 144
Clothing 144
Wool 144
Miscellaneous Textiles, &c. . . . 145

(*c*) Chemical Industry 145
(i) Sulphuric Acid and Superphosphate Factories 146
(ii) Factories producing Soda, Chlorine, and Potassium Salts 146
(iii) Factories making various other Mineral Products 147
(iv) Factories making Coal and Wood Distillation Products and other Organic Products 147

(*d*) Glass, Pottery, Bricks, &c. . . . 148
(*e*) Paper-making 150
(*f*) Diamond-cutting 151

(5) Power 151

(C) Commerce

(1) Domestic
(*a*) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce
Commercial and Industrial Organizations 151

PAGE

Co-operative Credit Societies . . 152
Technical Education 153
(b) Foreign Interests and Capital
British 154
French 154
German 154
(c) Methods of Economic Penetration . . 158
(2) Foreign 162
(a) Exports
(i) Values 163
(ii) Countries of Destination . . . 163
(b) Imports
(i) Values 165
(ii) Countries of Origin 166
(c) Customs and Tariffs 168

(D) Finance
(1) Public Finance 170
(2) Currency 172
(3) Banking
National Bank 173
Private Banks 174

APPENDIX

I. Formation of the Belgian Frontier
(a) The Southern (Franco-Belgian) Frontier . 177
(b) The Northern (Belgo-Dutch) Frontier . 181
(c) The Eastern Frontier 184
(d) Prussian Annexations of Belgian Territory in 1815 185

II. The Flemish Movement
History of the Movement 187
The Dialects of Flemish 197
List of Laws passed in connexion with the Flemish Movement 199

III. Belgian Socialism 199

PAGE

IV. Extracts from Treaties, &c.

(A) Period 1814–30

1. Memorandum addressed by the British Cabinet to the Allied Sovereigns, October 1813 203
2. Preliminary Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814 . . 204
3. The Eight Articles of July 21, 1814 . . . 204
4. Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands, signed at London, August 13, 1814 . . 205
5. Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands, signed at London, August 12, 1815 . . 207
6. Convention between Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Russia, signed at London, May 19, 1815 . 207
7. Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and the Netherlands, May 31, 1815, embodied in the Vienna Congress Treaty of June 9, 1815, Articles LXV to LXXIII 208
8. Boundary Treaty between Prussia and the Netherlands, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, June 26, 1816, and Treaty of Limits between Prussia and the Netherlands, signed at Cleves, October 7, 1816, and Treaty between Prussia and the Netherlands, signed at Frankfurt, November 8, 1816 . . 210

(B) Period 1830–43

1. First Protocol of the Conference of London, November 4, 1830 210
2. Palmerston to Ponsonby, December 1, 1830 . . 211
3. Eleventh Protocol of the Conference of London, January 20, 1831 211
4. Twelfth Protocol of the Conference of London, January 27, 1831 212
5. The Bases of Separation. 'Pièce annexée au protocole de la Conférence de Londres, du 27 janvier 1831. Bases destinées à établir la séparation de la Belgique d'avec la Hollande. Arrangements fondamentaux' 212
6. Eighteenth Protocol of the Conference of London, February 18, 1831. Adhesion of King William to the Bases of Separation 213

PAGE

7. Twenty-first Protocol of the Conference of London, June 26, 1831. The XVIII Articles . . . 213
8. Forty-ninth Protocol of the Conference of London, October 14, 1831. The XXIV Articles . . 213
9. Convention of London, May 21, 1833 . . . 214
10. Treaty between Holland and Belgium, April 19, 1839 214
11. Treaty between Holland and Belgium, February 3, 1843 216
12. Convention between Holland and Belgium supplementary to the above, May 20, 1843 . . . 216
13. Conventions for determining the Boundaries with Luxemburg, Holland, and Prussia, August 1843 . 216

AUTHORITIES 217

Special Map 220

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers

Belgium lies between 49° 29′ and 51° 31′ north latitude and 2° 33′ and 6° 10′ east longitude, and occupies an area of 11,373 square miles, or nearly twice the size of Yorkshire. It marches on the north and north-east with Holland, on the south-west with France, and on the east with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and the German province of Rhenish Prussia. At the meeting-point of Belgium, Germany, and Holland is the territory of neutral Moresnet.

Hardly any of the boundaries can be called natural. The Belgian frontier nowhere follows any great physical feature except along the Meuse, where, however, the narrowness of the strip of Holland (Dutch Limburg) intervening between Belgium and Prussia makes it impossible to regard this as a true natural frontier. The position of the Belgian boundary is everywhere due to intricate historical facts. The nearest approach to a natural frontier is on the east, where the frontier approximately follows a linguistic division (see further, under 'Race and Language'). The south-west frontier may be so far said to have a physical basis, that it is due to the efforts of France to secure this portion of her own frontier by a line of fortresses lying out in the plain in front of and parallel to the ridge of chalk downs which runs from Cap Gris Nez to St. Quentin. In order to defend Picardy it was always necessary for France to have a foothold in the Flemish plain. Farther east again the French

salient down the Meuse has a certain geographical fitness, as the Meuse valley divides at Givet into two widely different parts. The northern frontier is purely historical, its position being due to the peculiar circumstances in which the Belgian monarchy arose.

(2) Surface, Coast, and River Systems

Surface

The geographical centre of Belgium is the high plateau (about 1,500 ft. above the sea) of the Ardennes, which occupies the southern corner of the country. The axis of the plateau may be said to pass through Bastogne and Bouillon. From this line the country falls away on both sides: north-north-west to the North Sea and s uth-east through the extreme southern district of Belgium to Arlon. As a result of this slope, a number of zones may be distinguished, lying more or less parallel to the coast, and each stretching approximately from east-north-east to west-south-west. Enumerating these zones in order from north to south, we find:

(*a*) The *polders*, land lying below the level of high tide, defended from the sea by a belt of sand-dunes, artificial dikes, and sluices, and drained partly by opening sluices at low tide and partly by pumping. The soil is peat, sand, and clay, mostly very rich and fertile; the whole district is intersected by drainage-canals.

(*b*) The *sand belt*. This comprises East Flanders, and (across the Scheldt) the Campine, a vast plain extending from Antwerp to the Meuse, in the neighbourhood of Maastricht. This district is all excessively flat and very wet; its soil is extremely barren, and the proverbial fertility of the country is entirely due to human effort, without which nothing would grow at all.

The same efforts are gradually being brought to bear on the Campine, which is still largely unpopulated waste marsh and heath.

(*c*) The *clay and loam belt.* This extends across the country from Ypres to Liège. In the west this strip is clay; in the east it is loam, which in the Hesbaye, a region extending along the north bank of the Sambre and thence from Charleroi to Liège, gives a good and fertile agricultural soil. A transitional area may be found in the plains in the neighbourhood of Brussels, which collectively form a sandy plateau, passing to loam on the south and falling into the low plains of the sand belt on the north. This transitional district may be conveniently referred to as Brabant.

(*d*) The *limestone belt.* The south bank of the Meuse from Namur to Liège is formed by the Condroz, a system of parallel ridges mostly of limestone, with a clayey soil. The same general character is continued east of Liège by the Herve plateau, and west of Namur through the district known as the Entre-Sambre-et-Meuse down to Chimay. The whole belt is a tolerably good agricultural and stock-raising country with a fair amount of timber.

(*e*) The *Ardennes* are a rolling plateau of Devonian and Cambrian rocks, deeply scored by narrow river-valleys, densely wooded in most parts, and having great tracts of peat-bog and marshy country. The soil is clayey, and the country is naturally unsuited to agriculture, but the scanty population thrives well, and the standard of prosperity is fairly high. Crossing the axis and descending on the other side we come to

(*f*) The *Arlon* or *Jurassic belt*, physically attached rather to Lorraine than to any part of Belgium. This district is hilly, but less so than the Ardennes, and is fairly good, though not rich, agricultural country.

Coast

Belgium possesses on the North Sea 42 miles of coast entirely unbroken by any natural openings. The Scheldt estuary, which forms the geographical key to all the water communications of Belgium, is in Dutch hands, and consequently the position of Antwerp as a Belgian port is ambiguous, owing to the fact that it can be approached only through Dutch waters. The same disability attaches to the considerable port of Ghent, which is connected with the Scheldt estuary at Terneuzen by a ship canal, of which the mouth and the northern half lie in Dutch territory.

River Systems

Excluding the small rivers of the Flemish littoral, of which only the Yser is of any importance, the rivers of Belgium form two systems, those of the Scheldt and the Meuse. The Scheldt system drains the northern plain, the Meuse system the southern hills.

The Scheldt system comprises, going from west to east, two slow navigable streams flowing eastwards from France, the Scheldt (Escaut) with its left-bank tributary the Lys, and four smaller rivers, the Dendre, Senne, Dyle, and Geete, which are not navigable. These last rise in the Hainaut–Hesbaye plateau and flow into the Scheldt estuary.

The trough of the Meuse system is the Sambre–Meuse valley from the French frontier to Liège. This is one of the most striking natural features of Belgium, and divides the country into the plains of the north and the hills of the south. It receives practically no drainage on its northern bank; the head-waters of the Scheldt tributaries here come quite close up to it, and are separated from it by a well-marked ridge.

The chief tributaries of the Meuse are, on the left (northern) bank, the Sambre, which joins the main stream at Namur; and on the right bank, the Semois, the Lesse, the Ourthe with its affluent the Amblève, and the Vesdre. The two latter rivers join the Meuse at Liège. All these rivers of the Ardennes or Meuse system are tortuous and flow in narrow, deeply cut valleys at some distance below the plateau. With the exception of the Meuse they are shallow and rapid, more suited to supplying water-power than to navigation.

(3) Climate

Belgium has a temperate climate, resembling in general that of south-eastern England, but somewhat colder in winter and hotter in summer. Coastal towns like Ostend have a fairly equable temperature, but as soon as the sea-coast is left behind the changes of temperature become much more marked. Even the polder region has a severe climate. All over Flanders the winters are cold, foggy, and dull, with much frost; the summers are inclined to be sultry. The Ardennes plateau is inclement, with severe winters.

Belgium is a rainy country, but fog and drizzle are more characteristic of the Belgian climate than heavy rainfalls. All over the country the normal wet season is in the late summer and autumn, the late winter and spring being dry. The summer rains are short and sharp, and do little harm; but the heavy and continuous autumn rains often so saturate the soil as to stop agricultural work.

The winds from north to south-east are all dry, and the small rainfall in spring is due to the prevalence at that season of north-easterly winds. The worst storms are from the west and north-west; they occur especially in November, and are often accompanied by

disastrous inundations from the sea. In general westerly winds decidedly prevail; but all over the country the wind is very changeable.

Unbroken spells of any kind of weather are rare, and the climate of Belgium has been described as uniformly changeable, although on the whole it is a good climate for agriculture.

(4) Race and Language

Race

Belgium is inhabited by two races, Flemings and Walloons. The Flemings belong to that 'Nordic' race which inhabits Scandinavia and the coasts of the Baltic and North Sea; the type is tall and fair, with grey eyes and a long narrow skull. The Walloons belong to the 'Alpine' race which inhabits all the central region of Europe; the type is somewhat short and heavily built, the colouring fairly dark, and the skull broad and short.

The distinction between Flemings and Walloons, however, is not primarily racial but linguistic. Belgium is roughly bisected by a line from east to west dividing it into a Flemish-speaking portion and a Walloon-speaking portion, but neither of these divisions is inhabited by a racially pure population, and most of the types, whether Flemish or Walloon, are very mixed. Therefore, of these two distinctions, the racial and the linguistic, the latter alone is of practical importance. The division between the speakers of a Teutonic and of a Romance language must of necessity have some political importance, and in Belgium it gives rise to the Flemish question, the main problem of Belgian internal politics.

Since the racial distinction is of no practical importance, it will now be ignored, and the term Flemings

will signify the Flemish-speaking Belgians, and that of Walloons those who speak Walloon.

Language

Flemish is a Low-German language closely akin to Dutch, and possesses many dialects. Literary Flemish (since the spelling reform of 1864) differs in no essential from literary Dutch.

The difference from a language such as English may be seen from the fact that, whereas literary English passes current all over the sphere of English dialects (i. e. the whole British Islands, except for places where only Gaelic or Welsh is spoken), literary Flemish is by no means so firmly established. Two Flemings from different places, or a country Fleming and a speaker of literary Flemish, may easily be compelled to fall back on French as the only language comprehensible to both; and these facts must be borne in mind as necessary preliminaries to any treatment of the Flemish question (cf. below, pp. 187–199).

Walloon is much more decidedly different from French than Flemish is from Dutch. It is an independent but kindred language, in a position analogous to that of Provençal. The Walloon-speaking population is, however, in one way more closely connected with the French than the Flemish-speaking population with the Dutch; for, whereas polite Dutch is not spoken by most Flemings, Walloons almost always speak French in addition to their own language.

With regard to the distribution of these languages, it is clearly impossible, from what we have said, to draw any line of demarcation between Flemish and Dutch. The frontier between Flemish and German does not concern us, since it lies almost entirely outside Belgium. On the other hand, Walloon extends a con-

siderable distance outside Belgium on the south-west. We must describe (*a*) the Flemish-Walloon frontier, (*b*) the Walloon-German frontier.

The language-frontier between Flemish and Walloon (or as we may say, following the official terminology, between Flemish and French) is drawn along a line which stretches from the extreme north of the French coast, passes some way south of Ypres, and then extends eastwards across the country as far as Maastricht, just across the Dutch frontier.

Everything south and east of this line is almost purely French-speaking. Here and there in the industrial area (Liège district, Namur, Charleroi, Mons) there is a 5 or 10 per cent. Flemish-speaking element; here and there in the east a still smaller German-speaking group of population. Apart from these, French is the only language. North and west of the line it is very different. All over the Flemish area the towns have 20 to 40 per cent. who speak French, Brussels being about equally divided between the two languages; and along the language-frontier is a broad belt where a greater or less proportion of French-speakers is mingled with the Flemish population. Only in the thinly inhabited rural districts of the northern part of the country is Flemish so entirely dominant as French is in the south. Flanders (using that name, for the moment, to designate the Flemish-speaking provinces) has everywhere a proportion of 1 to 40 per cent. of French-speakers, and the lowest figures are reached only in the remotest country places. Needless to say, these French-speakers are almost invariably bilingual; they are educated people who use French for administrative or business purposes, or who talk French in their own families, while speaking Flemish to their neighbours. On the other hand, the (very small) Flemish element in Wallonia consists

of immigrant working-men living in little colonies and sometimes speaking no French.

Roughly speaking, all the upper and educated classes in Flanders know French ; in Wallonia only a handful of the lower classes know Flemish. On the eastern side, it must be observed that the pre-war Belgo-German frontier was dictated by linguistic grounds. But it was not properly drawn. Malmédy, for instance, is a Walloon town ; the country surrounding it is purely Walloon, and not even Pan-German propagandists are able to bring forward arguments for including it in Prussia. It is noteworthy, however, that the neighbouring town of Montjoie, in spite of its French name (due to a mediaeval fashion), has never been a French-speaking town. On the other hand, Belgium includes three German-speaking areas : one between Limburg and Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), one at Beho, and one round Arlon. In the first of these the majority certainly speak German by habit ; Beho is a bilingual commune with a slight German preponderance (35 per cent. speak only German, 25 per cent. only French) ; Arlon is a bilingual town with a slight French preponderance, in a district which is also bilingual but with a slight German preponderance. Accordingly none of these areas is definitely German in anything approaching the sense in which Malmédy or Metz is definitely French.

Thus, at least for Belgium, the generalization holds good that where French predominates its predominance is overwhelming ; where Flemish or German predominates, it always has an infiltration of French.

(5) Population

Distribution : Towns and Villages

With an area of 11,373 square miles and a population (1910) of 7,423,784, Belgium has on an average 652

inhabitants to the square mile, and is thus the most densely populated country in Europe. This density is by no means uniform. Brabant province (1,160 per square mile) is nearly nine times as thickly populated as Luxemburg (135). Roughly speaking, all the region of the northern plain is densely, and all that of the southern hills scantily, populated.

A high percentage of the whole population lives in certain industrial areas, where it averages 1,000–2,000 per square mile or higher. These areas are as follows:

(*a*) Charleroi–Borinage, a belt 45 miles long, from Auvelais to the French frontier, and 5 to 10 miles broad. Here the population—coal-mining and manufacturing—is very dense and evenly distributed over the country; the conditions are not so much urban as 'semi-rural', i. e. the families live each in their own cottage with a garden or even a tiny plot of industrial land, in many districts amounting to perhaps half an acre per cottage.

(*b*) Brussels and suburbs; an area of 10 by 20 miles. Here the concentration is much greater; 'semi-rural' conditions are practically absent, except on the fringe of the district, and consequently the total population of this area is very high.

(*c*) Antwerp and district; total extent, 20 by 12 miles. Antwerp itself is a great city, but this area in general supports a much lower population than (*a*) and (*b*).

(*d*) Liège and district form another Walloon industrial area, resembling the Charleroi–Borinage belt in general conditions, except that here there is a great city in the centre of the area, while in the Charleroi–Borinage belt there is nothing larger than the second-rate town of Mons.

(*e*) Ghent is a great city with a dense, purely urban population, surrounded by a fringe of about 1,000 per square mile. But here, this being a Flemish district,

there are no semi-rural conditions; the fringe consists not of factory hands living on little plots of land, but of market and nursery gardeners.

There are two other main districts of dense population: first, the Dendre valley with the industrial towns of Alost, Ninove, Grammont, Lessines, and Ath; secondly, the Lys valley about Courtrai. It must be added that the future will see another industrial area of dense population arising from the development of the Campine coal-field.

As regards the rural population, the plains of the north are, with certain exceptions, densely populated; the hills of the south sparsely. Brabant, Hainaut, and the Hesbaye, together forming the central Belgian plateau, have a rural population of 650–800 per square mile. Farther east the Herve plateau or grazing-country between Liège and Aachen has only about 500; farther west, in southern Flanders, the figure is 500–750. North of this region the sandy zone has a low rural population: less than 250 per square mile in the Campine, 250–500 in the Maggesland, and only 500–700 even in the Waes, the district between Ghent and Antwerp.

South of the central belt the figures are even lower. The Condroz and Famenne, though fair agricultural country, have rural populations of only about 150 to the square mile, and on the true Ardennes plateau the figure hardly ever touches 150, and often falls below 120.

Future agricultural developments, especially the increasing use of artificial manures, may lead to an increase in the population both of the sandy zone in the north and of the Ardennes district in the south.

With regard to the balance of population between the country and town, the main facts are as follows. Depopulation of the country is unknown in Belgium.

There is a steady demand for agricultural land, and estates coming into the market are very often divided up and sold in lots to small proprietors. As a result the price and therefore the rent of land are high, while the same fact reduces rents in the towns and the price of building-land. The successful artisan generally takes a cottage and some land in the country as soon as he can afford to do so, and comes in daily by rail to his work. This combination of industrial and agricultural life, which is most highly developed in the Walloon provinces, has distributed the increase of population fairly evenly between the towns and the country.

Movement

At its origin in 1831 the Belgian kingdom had a population of 4,000,000. It reached 5,000,000 in 1869, 6,000,000 in 1888, 7,000,000 in 1894, and (probably) 7,570,000 in 1912.

The very dense population of Belgium is due not to immigration, of which there is little, nor yet to a high birth-rate, but to an almost total absence of emigration. In recent years attempts have been made to introduce Belgian farmers as colonists into Katanga, the mining district of the southern Congo; but in spite of State assistance and inducements of every kind the number of emigrants has been extraordinarily small. The Belgian agriculturist (and it has been said that every Belgian is at heart an agriculturist) is intensely attached to the soil, especially when he owns his plot of land, and is correspondingly reluctant to leave his native place.

The birth-rate is low (22·9 in 1911; cf. Prussia 29·4, Austria 30·7, England and Wales 24·4, France 18·7), and since 1902 is diminishing rapidly (1902, 28·4; 1906, 25·7; 1911, 22·9). Belgium has the lowest

European birth-rate except that of France, and the rate of decline in France is less rapid than in Belgium. Here again, however, the distribution of the birth-rate over Belgium is very unequal. In the Flemish provinces it is much higher than in the Walloon provinces (29·9 in 1910, as against 24·8 per 1,000).

The higher birth-rate of the Flemish provinces is almost, though not quite, neutralized by their very high rate of infantile mortality. In the Flemish provinces the rate is close on 200 per 1,000, and in some towns reaches 300. In the Walloon provinces the general rate is 133, and it nowhere goes above 181. This remarkable difference is characteristic of the difference in standard of life between the two parts of the country. For Belgium as a whole, the rate (161 per thousand births) is exceeded in Europe only by Austria, Prussia, and Italy.

The general death-rate is not high, considering the density of the population, the lowness of wages, and the general social conditions. Here again, however, the Flemish rate (up to 25 per 1,000 in some towns) is higher than the Walloon, which nowhere reaches 20.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

Chronological Summary

1419–67. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, becomes sovereign of the Netherlands.

1477. His son, Charles the Bold, killed at Nancy. Mary of Burgundy succeeds. She marries Maximilian of Austria.

1482. Death of Mary. Maximilian guardian during minority of Philip the Fair.

1494. Philip assumes the government.

1506. Philip dies at Burgos.

1507. Margaret of Savoy Governor of the Netherlands during the minority of her nephew Charles V.

1530. Margaret dies. Charles appoints his sister Mary Governor.

1548. Diet of Augsburg. Netherlands freed from Imperial jurisdiction.

1549. Netherland States declared an hereditary possession of the descendants of the Emperor Charles.

1555. Abdication of Charles. Accession of Philip II, King of Spain.

1568. Revolt of the Netherlands.

1576. Pacification of Ghent.

1579. League of Arras. Union of Utrecht.

1598. Death of Philip. His daughter Isabel and her husband Archduke Albert become joint sovereigns of the Netherland Provinces.

1609–21. The Twelve Years' Truce.

1621. Death of Archduke Albert and Philip III. War renewed.

1633. Death of Archduchess Isabel. Belgic Provinces revert to Spain.

1648. Peace of Münster. Independence of the United Provinces. The Scheldt declared closed.

1668. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1678. Treaty of Nymegen.

1697. Treaty of Ryswyck.

1702–13. War of the Spanish Succession.

1713. Peace of Utrecht.
1714. Treaties of Rastatt and of Baden.
1715. The Antwerp Barrier Treaty. The Emperor Charles VI Sovereign of the ' Austrian ' Netherlands.
1722. Establishment of the Ostend Chartered Company.
1725. Archduchess Mary Elizabeth appointed Governor-General.
1741. Charles of Lorraine Governor-General.
1780. Charles succeeded by Archduchess Marie Christine. Accession of the Emperor Joseph II.
1781. Joseph II secures the withdrawal of the Dutch garrisons from the Barrier Towns.
1783. Attempts to reopen the Scheldt. Refusal of the Dutch.
1785. Treaty of Fontainebleau. The Scheldt remains closed.
1788. Brabançon Rebellion.
1790. The ' Belgian United States ' declare their independence. Death of Joseph II and accession of Leopold I. The ancient Constitution and Austrian rule restored.
1792. French invasion.
1795. The Austrian Netherlands incorporated in the French Republic.
1797. Treaty of Campo Formio.
1814. First Treaty of Paris. Belgium united to Holland. The Prince of Orange becomes William I, King of the Netherlands. Creation of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.
1814–15. Congress of Vienna.
1815. A Constitution for the new kingdom adopted by Holland and Belgium.
1821. The imposts *mouture* and *abattage* cause discontent.
1822. Dutch declared to be the official language of the kingdom.
1825. Foundation at Louvain of the *Collegium Philosophicum*.
1829. Severe measures against the press.
1830. Belgian Revolution. National Congress. Conference of London decides to separate Holland and Belgium.
1831. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg elected King of the Belgians. Treaty of the XVIII Articles proposed. William invades Belgium. Treaty of the XXIV Articles accepted by Belgium, rejected by King William.
1832. Anglo-French Blockade. Surrender of Antwerp.
1833. Convention of London.
1838. King William accepts the Treaty of the XXIV Articles.

1839. Treaty of Peace and Separation between Holland and Belgium, signed April 19. Part of Luxemburg exchanged for part of Limburg.
1842. Complementary treaty between Holland and Belgium. Nothomb settlement of primary education.
1847. Charles Rogier head of a Liberal Ministry.
1854. Conservative-Catholic Ministry under Pierre de Decker.
1857. Charles Rogier again Prime Minister.
1860. Frère-Orban succeeds him. Liberal and Free-Trade policy.
1863. Capitalization of the Scheldt dues.
1865. Death of Leopold I. Accession of Leopold II. Liberal dissensions. Rise of *Flamingantisme.*
1870. Franco-German War. Fall of Frère-Orban. Catholics obtain a majority in both Chambers.
1873. Use of Flemish in Courts of Law sanctioned.
1878. Liberal majority. Frère-Orban establishes secular education in primary schools. Further concessions to the *Flamingants.*
1884. Victory of the Catholics at the polls. Law passed giving State support to religious éducation.
1886–93. Strikes and labour troubles.
1893. Extension of the franchise. The 'Nyssens Compromise'. Universal Suffrage modified by the plural vote.
1894. Catholic majority increased. Successes of the Socialist party.
1897. Flemish made an official language.
1899. 'Proportional Representation' introduced.
1900. Catholics retain majority over Liberals and Socialists.
1908. The Belgian State takes over the Government of the Congo Free State.
1909. New Military Law passed.
1909. Death of Leopold II. Accession of his nephew, Albert I.

(1) The Burgundian Netherlands, 1419–1506

The modern kingdoms of Belgium and Holland are the representatives at the present day of that group of territories which in the latter part of the fifteenth century was known as the Burgundian Netherlands.

The low-lying lands—Low Countries, Pays Bas,

Nederlanden—through which the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt make their way to the sea, were throughout the Middle Ages divided into a number of feudal States, which were in fact independent sovereignties, though nominally fiefs either of the Imperial crown or of the crown of France. One by one these States, either by inheritance, marriage, purchase, or conquest, became, in the course of the fifteenth century, the possession of the dukes of Burgundy. Philip the Good during his long reign (1419–67) was fired with the ambition of building up a great middle kingdom between France and Germany; and, had his son Charles (1467–77) possessed the statesmanlike abilities and sagacity of his father, the realization of that ambition lay within his grasp.

The Netherlands formed the richest part of the Burgundian dominions and the basis of their ruler's power; and it was the steady object of Philip's policy, while perforce respecting the privileges and rights of the several States, to effect, so far as possible, a centralization of authority and administration. The once sovereign States became provinces; and twice by Philip, three times by Charles, the representatives of all the provinces were summoned to meet as States-General. Charles established at Malines (Mechlin) a Central Court of Justice. His death at the battle of Nancy left his young daughter and heiress, Mary of Burgundy, face to face with great difficulties. She threw herself upon the support of her Netherland dominions, and summoned the States-General to meet at Ghent. The support she asked for was not, however, granted without conditions. She was compelled (February 10, 1477) to sign a Charter, the *Groote Priviligie*, confirming each province in the possession of its rights and privileges and restricting in many directions the absolute power of the prince. A Grand Council, consisting of representatives of all the provinces, was attached to the person of the sovereign,

who was not permitted to declare war or to marry without the consent of the States-General. These transactions show clearly that the Burgundian Netherlands had already acquired some sense of national unity.

The marriage of Mary with Maximilian of Austria, son and heir of the Emperor Frederick III, quickly followed. Five years later, in 1482, the duchess was killed by a fall from her horse, leaving two children, Philip and Margaret. The Burgundian inheritance thus passed into the possession of the House of Habsburg. This, however, does not mean that the Netherlands became, in any sense, an Austrian dominion, or that their feudal relation to the Empire became more intimate. The death of Mary left Maximilian, as guardian of his children, regent during his son Philip the Fair's minority, but with very limited powers.

Philip assumed the government in 1494, and by his marriage with the Infanta Juana of Spain [1] became, in 1504, King-Consort of Castile. He died at Burgos (1506), leaving his six-year-old son, Charles, his successor to the sovereignty of the Burgundian Netherlands and heir, through his mother, to the crowns of Castile and Aragon. The duties of guardian and regent once more devolved upon the grandfather, now the Emperor Maximilian I; but he transferred them to his daughter Margaret, the widowed Duchess of Savoy, whom he appointed Governor-General of the Netherlands.

(2) The Period of Charles V, 1506–55

The period of Charles V is important in the history of the Netherlands: (1) through the extension of his authority over the whole of the territory that bore that name; (2) through his settlement of the relations

[1] Daughter of Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabel, Queen of Castile. Isabel died in 1504.

of the Burgundian Netherlands to the Holy Roman Empire. This period calls for special attention.

By the incorporation of Gelderland, Zutphen, Friesland, and the town and lands of Utrecht in his dominions, Charles [1] became the ruler of the whole of the Netherlands with the exception of the bishopric of Liège, and over this politically he exercised strict control. He described himself (for instance in the Treaty of Augsburg, 1548) as Hereditary and Supreme Lord of the Burgundian States under seventeen different titles. These were: Duke of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Gelderland, Count of Flanders, Artois, Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland, Namur, and Zutphen, Marquis of Antwerp, and Lord of Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen. These seventeen provinces were united into a single autonomous State governed during Charles's reign (1) by his aunt Margaret of Savoy, 1507–30, with the authority of regent, (2) by his sister Mary, the widowed Queen of Hungary, 1530–55. He personally summoned the States-General in 1549 to take the oath of allegiance to his son Philip, and again to announce to them his abdication in 1555. A list of the seventeen provinces, whose representatives were present, has been preserved. Third in order amongst these, as it was third in order among Charles's titles, we find the duchy of Luxemburg.

All the Netherland States of pre-Burgundian days were feudal States. Brabant, Holland, Gelderland, and Luxemburg, for instance, were fiefs of the Empire; Flanders (with the exception of a small portion) and Artois of the crown of France. Their vassalage, however, more especially in regard to the Empire, was of the most shadowy description long before these lands fell under the common sovereignty of the Burgundian dukes.

[1] Charles V as Roman Emperor; Charles II as Duke of Brabant, Count of Flanders, Holland, &c.; Charles I as King of Spain.

By the Treaty of Arras, 1435, Philip the Good obtained from the French king a renunciation of his claims of overlordship in Flanders and Artois; but during the whole of his long reign, as he added State after State to his dominions, Philip never sought investiture from the Emperor and declined to do homage to him. The position of Charles V was different; he was at once Emperor, and sovereign of the Netherlands as heir to Philip the Good. In 1522 the youthful Emperor, under pressure from the Imperial Diet, endeavoured to secure, without compromise to his sovereignty, a contribution in aid from his hereditary States. The correspondence of the regent, Margaret of Savoy, shows that the States had always refused to send any such contributions or to furnish any contingents of men, and that they now unanimously refused to do so even at the Emperor's request. Her words could hardly be stronger:

> Je vous ai dit comment ceux du *Pays de par deça* pour chose quelconque ne voudraient contribuer aux charges de l'Empire; qui plus est, ils ne voudraient permettre qu'en votre nom j'y contribuasse.

Even when Charles explains that he never has intended and does not intend by his request for a single contribution to subject his Netherland States to the Imperial charges, Margaret sends an equally decided reply:

> Vous pouvez et devez fermement croire, que les sujets *de par deça*, pour chose qui pourrait leur en arriver dans l'avenir, ne consentiront pas.

Charles, however, was confronted by the fact that his grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, in dividing the Empire into 'circles' for administrative purposes, had in 1512 placed the Netherlands in the Burgundian circle; and the Diet would not let the matter rest. Long and acrimonious discussion ensued, in the course of which Mary of Hungary, Charles's sister, who had in 1530 succeeded her aunt as regent of the Netherlands, stood

up for the independence of the Burgundian dominions in terms no less firm than those of Margaret. 'What is this Burgundian circle of which the Germans are always talking?' she asks; and she declares

n'avoir ouï jamais faire mention dudit cercle, ni avoir jamais été sommé ni appelé pour faire aucune contribution avec ceux de l'Empire, et que jamais ils n'ont été appelés de comparoir aux Diètes avec les autres membres de l'Empire.

Having been informed that the Burgundian circle had been created by her grandfather, Maximilian, she replied that in so doing the Emperor acted

sans le su des Pays-Bas qui n'ont jamais en ce bailli aucun consentement. Et il[1] en avait d'autant moins le droit qu'il n'était pas lors seigneur des dit pays.

Under her instructions the jurists, Viglius and Krychingen, vigorously upheld (at the Diet of Worms, 1545) the position the States had taken up. But Charles was weary of the controversy; and at the Diet of Augsburg, 1548, he effected a compromise which was all in favour of his hereditary dominions. By the treaty that was then drawn up, all the Netherland provinces were included in the Burgundian circle, but were henceforth declared entirely free from the Imperial jurisdiction—'The Lands should forthwith be free and independent of the Emperor and the Empire.'[2] They were, however, bound to furnish a contribution and a contingent to the Empire in exchange for the duty imposed upon the Empire of protecting them against attack. This treaty, after some demur, was accepted by the various provinces, and remained a perpetual charter of their independence. As to the annexed conditions, no contribution was ever paid by the States, nor was any Imperial force ever sent for their protection.

[1] The Emperor Maximilian.

[2] De landen zouden voortaan van den Keizer en 't Ryk vry en onafhangelyk zijn.

In 1549 Charles took the further step of securing the ratification by all the States of a 'Pragmatic Sanction', which regulated the succession in all the provinces to his descendants in the male and female line as a single and indivisible hereditary possession; and presented his son Philip to the assembled States-General as their future ruler. By arranging that the Austrian possessions of the House of Habsburg, together with the reversion of the Imperial title, should pass to his brother Ferdinand, Charles thus, so far as lay in his power, ensured that the future sovereign should have no personal ties with the Empire, and should not be hampered, as he had been, by a sense of divided duties. Whatever shadowy feudal relations still subsisted between the Netherlands and the Empire after the accession of Philip came absolutely to an end with the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

(3) The Belgic Netherlands under the Spanish Habsburgs, 1555–1702

The name Spanish Netherlands, though in common use from the accession of Philip II of Spain, is really a misnomer. The provinces thus described were ruled by Philip and his successors not as kings of Spain, but as the heirs of Mary of Burgundy. It was the attempt of Philip to convert them into a Spanish dependency that was the root-cause of the revolt of the Netherlands. On the day following the solemn abdication of Charles V, October 26, 1555, the new sovereign, in the presence of the deputies of the seventeen provinces (of which Luxemburg was one), solemnly swore to maintain in each province all ancient rights, privileges, and customs without infringing the same or suffering them to be infringed. It was his breach of this solemn undertaking—the raising of arbitrary taxation, the filling of the offices

of State with foreigners, the maintenance of large bodies of Spanish soldiery in the country, and the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition, far more than zeal for Calvinistic doctrines—that led to rebellion. Egmont, Hoorn, and most of the leaders in the early days of the revolt were good Catholics. Holland and Zeeland were the only provinces whose irreconcilable resistance was dominantly religious, and whose stern Calvinism rendered the efforts of the Prince of Orange to secure by the Pacification of Ghent (1576) the union of the seventeen provinces on a basis of religious toleration labour spent in vain.

It was not so much the military successes as the skilful diplomacy of Alexander of Parma that brought back the southern provinces to renewed allegiance to their lawful sovereign and to the Catholic Faith. The League of Arras (January 5, 1579) was his work, and it met with an immediate reply in the Union of Utrecht (January 29, 1579). From this time—save for the brief interlude 1815–30—the seven northern provinces entered upon a political existence distinct from that of the loyal provinces of the south. The separate histories of Holland and Belgium begin in 1579.

After a struggle of thirty years, which exhausted the resources of the Spanish empire, Philip II was at last compelled to acknowledge the failure of his attempt to crush the liberties of the Netherlands. In 1598, shortly before his death, the King executed a deed of renunciation [1] by which he gave the Netherland provinces as a dowry to his daughter Isabel on her marriage with her cousin the Archduke Albert of Austria, 'Elevando en dote los Paises Bajos'. By this act Albert and Isabel became the joint sovereigns of an autonomous State,

[1] *Doc. Ined. Esp.* xlii. 218–22: 'Condiciones de la renunciación que hizo el Rey Don Felipe Segundo de los estados de Flandes en la Infanta doña Isabel, su hija.'

with certain reservations as to the rights of overlordship of the King of Spain and of the reversion of the sovereignty to him should Albert and Isabel be childless. The reality of the sovereignty of the Archdukes (as they were officially styled) is shown by the fact that they were represented by ambassadors at foreign courts, and that ambassadors resided at Brussels. That the Netherland provinces were truly autonomous, and in no sense incorporated in the Spanish monarchy, was marked by the clause of the Act of Renunciation which prohibited their inhabitants from trading with the East or West Indies. The representatives of all the seventeen provinces, obedient and rebel, were summoned to Brussels to take the oath of allegiance to Albert and Isabel (August 27, 1598), and eighteen seats were placed, one for the representatives of the bishops and abbots, the others for those of the provinces. Eleven provinces, including Luxemburg, Limburg, and Gelderland (one of the quarters of the last-named being represented), took the oath. Six seats were empty.[1]

The wise statesmanship of the 'Archdukes' won the regard of their subjects, and when, at the close of the 12 years' truce (1609–21), Albert died without issue, the Belgian Netherlands had become a loyal and contented State. Isabel, confirmed in her office of regent by her nephew, Philip IV, continued for fourteen years of continuous warfare the good work she had begun. She died in 1633 and found in the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, who was then appointed Governor-General, a not unworthy successor. The Spanish Government had

[1] *Doc. Ined. Esp.* xliii. 228 ff.: 'Carta de Juan de Palacios de Bruselas en que da noticia del juramento de las diez y siete provincias . . . Las provincias que estos estados tienen son diez y siete para las cuales se pusieron diez y ocho bancos largos . . . uno para cada una y otro el primero para los obispos y abades . . . estas juntas once provincias, porque los seis restantes son las rebeladas . . .'

learnt its lesson; and no further attempt was made to curtail the autonomy of the Belgian provinces.

The last period of the War of Dutch Independence was disastrous to Spain and to the southern Netherlands. Philip IV, with an empty treasury, with Portugal and Catalonia in revolt, and menaced by the growing power of France, was at last compelled to seek a separate peace with the Dutch Republic. The States-General were practically able to dictate their own terms, which, after lengthy negotiations, were embodied in the Treaty of Münster (January 30, 1648). Art. I recognized the United Provinces as free and independent States. Art. III confirmed them in the possession of all the conquests of Frederick Henry of Orange, i.e. 's Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) and Breda, Maastricht, Sas van Gent, and Hulst with their surrounding districts. Art. XIV gave to the Dutch the right of closing the Scheldt.

By the acquisition of the *Mairie* of 's Hertogenbosch and the Barony of Breda the whole of the northern part of Brabant became a Dutch possession, controlling the lower Meuse and thrust forward as a *glacis* for the protection of the real frontier—the water-line of Holland. The strip of Flanders containing Hulst, Sluis, and Sas van Gent enabled the Dutch to fortify both banks of the Scheldt and so to shut out Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges from access to the sea. The town of Maastricht, with a fragment of Limburg adjoining it, was an outpost which commanded the course of the middle Meuse and access to Germany. For wellnigh a century and a half these ceded lands—the so-called *Generality Lands*—were held as conquests of the State for the advantage of the United Provinces, but were given no rights and no representation in the States-General. The object of the Dutch was the purely selfish one of preventing the Belgian Netherlands from reviving their ancient commercial and industrial prosperity. They were haunted

by the dread of Antwerp becoming the rival of Amsterdam. To use the words of M. Pirenne :

> Désormais les Pays-Bas catholiques, jadis terre commune à toutes les nations et marché du monde, ne seront plus qu'un misérable cul-de-sac, qu'une impasse sans issue ; leurs canaux, leurs quais, leur entrepôts . . . ne serviront plus qu'à évoquer l'amer souvenir d'une prospérité évanouie . . . Le pays ne sera plus qu'un corps sans âme, qu'une matière à traités, qu'une barrière, qu'un champ de bataille . . .

Such language is scarcely an exaggeration. The Belgian provinces were economically ruined ; and for long successions of years during the reign of Louis XIV this unfortunate land became the battle-field of Europe. The wars, which terminated with the Treaties of the Pyrenees (1659), of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), of Nymegen (1678), and of Ryswyck (1697), resulted in every case in the conquest of considerable portions of Belgian territory and the extension of French dominion northwards over Artois, and parts of Flanders, Hainaut, and Luxemburg. These wars were, however, only preliminary to the great War of the Spanish Succession at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

(4) The War of the Spanish Succession and the Utrecht Treaties, 1702–15

Charles II of Spain, the last of the male line of the Spanish Habsburgs, on his death-bed, justly annoyed at the cynical way in which foreign Powers—to serve their own purposes—were arranging between themselves to divide up his dominions by the Partition Treaties of 1698 and 1700, bequeathed by will the whole of those dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin and grandson of Louis XIV. Philip, through his grandmother and great-grandmother, had by this double descent the strongest title by blood of all the claimants to the inheritance of the Spanish Habsburgs.

The acceptance of the heritage by the French king for his grandson was quickly followed by the formation of a Grand Alliance between Great Britain, the United Provinces, and the Empire to oppose such an aggrandizement of the dreaded French power in Europe, and to support the claims of the Archduke Charles of Austria to the Spanish throne. The War of the Spanish Succession followed. The ruling motive with the United Provinces (as it was with Great Britain) in declaring war, was their determination not to allow the Spanish Netherlands to be ruled by a French prince.

The will of Charles II enumerates in full detail and with great care all the several parts of the dominions which he bequeathed; and it will be seen that its influence, as a political instrument, was to survive through the eighteenth century the overthrow of its disposition of the Belgian Netherlands. The clause of the will relating to these provinces—the Burgundian inheritance of Charles II—granting the succession to Philip of Anjou, runs thus:

> A ses duchés de Brabant, de Limbourg, de Luxembourg, de Gueldres, à la Flandre, et à toutes les autres provinces . . . qui leur appartenaient dans les Pays-Bas.

It will be noted that Luxemburg is expressly mentioned as forming part of the Burgundian Netherlands, i. e. as among those provinces which the Treaty of Münster left still under the rule of the heir of Mary of Burgundy.

The victorious campaigns of Marlborough and Eugene gave to the Grand Alliance the power to dictate what terms they pleased to Louis XIV and Philip V. The result, after long negotiations, was the signing of a separate treaty of peace between France and Great Britain at Utrecht (April 11, 1713), and of another treaty between France and the United Provinces, of the same date, in which the States-General had no alternative but to agree to terms secretly arranged between the

French and English plenipotentiaries. This latter treaty, which conceded to the Dutch the right to fortify and to garrison a chain of strong places along the French frontier, as a barrier maintained at the cost of the Belgian provinces, was so drawn up as to save appearances in the cession that was to be ultimately made of the 'Spanish Netherlands' to the Emperor Charles VI. Philip V did not personally take any part in the transaction, but his grandfather, Louis XIV, was authorized in his name to transfer these provinces (which had already been ceded by Philip V in full sovereignty to Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, in recompense for the loss of his own Bavarian domain and for his faithful services during the war) to the United Provinces to be by them handed over to the Emperor Charles VI as soon as the Emperor had concluded with the States-General a satisfactory treaty, recognizing the Dutch right to garrison the Barrier Towns. It was a complicated arrangement, which was to cause friction and to be the source of future difficulties.

The following extracts from the treaty between Louis XIV and the States-General, signed at Utrecht April 11, 1713, are of importance:

Art. VII.—Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne remettra et fera remettre aux seigneurs États Généraux en faveur de la Maison d'Autriche tout ce que sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne, ou le prince [1] ou les princes ses Alliez,[2] possèdent encore des Pais-Bas communément appellez Espagnols, tel que feu le Roy Catholique Charles II les a possédez et dû posséder conformément au Traité de Ryswick . . . la Maison d'Autriche entrera en possession desdits Pais-Bas Espagnols . . . aussitôt que les Seigneurs États en seront convenus avec Elle, de la manière dont les dits Pais-Bas Espagnols leur serviront de Barrière et de sûreté . . .

Art. IX.—Et comme Sa Majesté Catholique a cédé et transporté en pleine Souveraineté et propriété sans aucune réserve ni retour à son Altesse Électorale de Bavière les-dits Pais-Bas

[1] Philip V. [2] The Elector of Bavaria.

Espagnols, sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne promet et s'engage de faire donner un Acte de Sadite Altesse Électorale dans la meilleure forme, par lequel, Elle . . . cède et transporte aux Seigneurs États Généraux en faveur de la Maison d'Autriche tout le droit que son Altesse Électorale peut avoir ou prétendre sur les-dits Pais-Bas Espagnols . . . Bien entendu que l'Électeur de Bavière retiendra la Souveraineté et les revenus du Duché et Ville de Luxembourg, de la Ville et Comté de Namur, de la Ville de Charleroy et de leurs dépendances . . . jusqu'à ce que son Altesse Électorale ait été rétablie dans tous les États qu'elle possédoit dans l'Empire avant la Guerre présente . . . [1]

Art. X.—Cependant quoyque l'Électeur de Bavière demeure en possession de la Souveraineté et des revenus de la Ville et Duché de Luxembourg, de la Ville et Comté de Namur, de la Ville de Charleroy et leurs dépendances . . . La Ville et Forteresse de Luxembourg, la Ville et Château de Namur, comme aussi la ville de Charleroy, seront cependant gardez par les Troupes des Seigneurs États Généraux, lesquelles y entreront immédiatement après la Paix . . . On est convenu . . . aussi que la Ville et Duché de Luxembourg, la Ville et Comté de Namur et la Ville de Charleroy et leurs dépendances, contribueront leur quote part d'un million de florins, monnoye de Hollande, qui doit être assigné par an auxdits Seigneurs États Généraux sur les meilleurs et les plus clairs revenus desdits Pais-Bas Espagnols pour l'entretien de leurs Troupes et des fortifications des Villes et Places de leurs Barrières . . .

It is impossible to have a clearer proof than is given in these extracts that Luxemburg formed an integral part of the 'Pais-Bas Espagnols'; that its position as a province of the Pais-Bas differed in no way from the position of Namur and Charleroi; and that the duchy had to bear its share of the annual sum of one million florins assessed upon the Pais-Bas, as a whole, for the maintenance of the Barrier garrisons and fortifications.

Charles VI was at first unwilling to accept conditions of peace in which his interests and those of the Empire

[1] These territories were in French occupation at the time; in Art. VIII Louis XIV undertook to evacuate them 15 days after the signature of the treaty.

had been little considered. He speedily found, however, that he could not continue the war when abandoned by his allies; and the Treaty of Rastatt was concluded between him and the King of France (March 6, 1714), and was confirmed by the Diet of the Empire in the Treaty of Baden (September 7, 1714). By Art. XV of the Treaty of Rastatt the Emperor agreed to reinstate the Elector of Bavaria in his dominions. Art. XIX, without mentioning the Treaty of Utrecht, is a repetition of the part already quoted of Art. VII of that treaty by which Louis XIV cedes to the United Provinces in trust for the House of Austria the 'Pais-Bas communément appelés Espagnols', all that the late King of Spain, Charles II, possessed at the date of the Treaty of Ryswyck, the Emperor to enter into possession as soon as he had concluded a convention with the United Provinces in regard to the Barrier Towns. Arts. XX and XXI correspond to Arts. XI and XII of the Utrecht Treaty. Art. XXVIII declares that:

> . . . les Communautez et Habitans seront conservés dans la jouïssance des privilèges, prérogatives, coutumes, exemptions, droits, octroys . . . ainsi qu'ils les possédoient lors de la mort dudit feu Roy d'Espagne.

It only remained for the Emperor to come to terms with the States-General on the subject of the Barrier Towns. The treaty, commonly known as the Third Barrier Treaty, was signed at Antwerp on November 15, 1715. Charles then entered into possession of the provinces which had thus been ceded to him, including Luxemburg, from which duchy the Elector of Bavaria had withdrawn early in 1715.

(5) The Belgic Netherlands under the Austrian Habsburgs, 1715–95

Thus the Belgic provinces, which from 1555 to 1715 had been commonly called 'the Spanish Netherlands',

were now to be known, from 1715 to 1795, as 'the Austrian Netherlands'. It is needless to point out that they were no more 'Austrian' after the Treaty of Rastatt than they had been 'Spanish' before that date. Both epithets were epithets of convenience given to distinguish this portion of the Low Countries from the United Netherlands or Dutch Republic. Charles VI of Austria and his successors, like Charles II of Spain and his predecessors, derived their title to sovereignty in the Netherlands as heirs to the Burgundian dukes, and ruled over what remained of the Burgundian inheritance as a personal possession. The attempt made by the Marquis de Prié, Governor from 1719 to 1725 as deputy of Prince Eugene, to treat the land as an Austrian dependency met with vigorous resistance from the provincial estates and the town-gilds; and, though he put down active opposition with a strong hand, his successor, the Archduchess Mary Elizabeth, the Emperor's sister, found it politic to adopt different measures. The Archduchess restored all the old forms of administration, respected all the rights and privileges of the provinces, and, occupying much the same position as Margaret of Savoy or Mary of Hungary in the time of Charles V, exercised for sixteen years authority in the name of the absent sovereign over what was practically an autonomous State. She was succeeded as Governor-General, in the reign of Maria Theresa, by Charles of Lorraine (brother-in-law of the Empress). Charles of Lorraine devoted himself for nearly forty years to furthering the best interests of the country in a thoroughly constitutional and liberal spirit, and was deservedly known as 'the Good Governor'. His administration lasted until his death in 1780, when his place was taken by the Archduchess Marie Christine, sister of Joseph II, who in that year succeeded his mother Maria Theresa as sovereign of the Burgundian lands.

During all this period of quiet and well-ordered government, one event only demands notice—the attempt of Charles VI to open out facilities of oversea commerce to his Belgian subjects. The closing of the Scheldt had ruined Antwerp, so Charles determined to make the utmost use possible of the inferior harbour of Ostend. In 1722 he granted a charter to certain enterprising merchants of Brabant and Flanders for the erection of a Company for trading in the East and West Indies, commonly known as the Ostend Chartered Company. This step at once aroused the strong opposition of the vested interests of Great Britain and Holland, and gave rise to a prolonged diplomatic controversy. The grounds of opposition were that (1) the deed of renunciation, by which Philip II in 1598 gave to the Infanta Isabel the sovereignty of the Netherlands, expressly forbade the Netherlanders to trade in the Indies; (2) Arts. V and VI of the Treaty of Münster excluded the Belgian provinces from this trade; (3) Art. XIX of the Treaty of Rastatt (virtually a repetition of Art. VII of the Treaty of Utrecht) declared the rights of possession of Charles VI to be the same as those possessed by the late King Charles II of Spain, a declaration repeated in Art. I of the Barrier Treaty of 1715; (4) Art. XXVI of this last-named treaty declared that, with regard to matters of trade, the inhabitants of the United Provinces and the Austrian Netherlands remained on the same footing as was settled by the Treaty of Münster.

These arguments, arrayed against the Emperor's project by the British and Dutch Governments, constitute an unbroken chain of evidence for the continuity of the history of the Belgian Netherlands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an autonomous State. In the end Charles VI, in his anxiety to obtain the support of Great Britain and the United Provinces to the Pragmatic Sanction regulating the succession to

his Austrian dominions, gave up the struggle, and the Ostend Company was suppressed.

His grandson, Joseph II, was distinguished among Austrian rulers for a restless reforming zeal not always tempered with discretion. In 1781, when visiting the Netherlands in person, he seized the opportunity of the outbreak of war between the United Provinces and Great Britain to secure the withdrawal of the Dutch garrisons from the Barrier Towns, whose fortifications, through long neglect, had become incapable of defence. His success in this matter led him to take in hand the more important question of the reopening of the Scheldt. Urged by numerous deputations, Joseph in 1783 sent an ultimatum to the States-General, demanding free passage on the Scheldt for his ships, on pain of a declaration of war. The Dutch, though in sore straits through the English war, at once refused, and seized two Belgian vessels—one from Ostend, the other from Antwerp—which attempted the passage. The Emperor immediately broke off relations with the States-General and threatened the Dutch with active hostilities. But the States-General appealed to the international sanction that had been given to the closing of the Scheldt by the Treaty of Münster, confirmed by many subsequent treaties ; and Joseph, finding that he could not achieve his aim save at the risk of provoking a general war, had to content himself with some trifling advantages secured by the mediation of France in a treaty concluded at Fontainebleau (November 8, 1785). But the Scheldt remained closed.

Joseph's action in this matter was calculated to win him the goodwill of his Belgian subjects ; it was otherwise with his policy of internal reform. Their provincial particularism was an offence to him. He wished to do away with local privileges and customs, and to introduce a uniform system of civil government. His efforts met

with the fiercest opposition, especially in Brabant; and no less did his attempts at the reform of clerical abuses and his Edict of Toleration. A rebellion broke out. The insurgents defeated the Austrian forces, and in January 1790 the provinces declared their independence under the name of 'the Belgian United States'. A few weeks later Joseph II died. His brother Leopold offered to restore the ancient Constitution and to give a general amnesty, if the provinces would return to their allegiance. The offer was refused, and a strong Austrian army had to be sent. It met with little opposition, and the Emperor was able to restore his authority by carrying out his offer and confirming Brabant and the other provinces in the exercise of their former privileges, as enjoyed in the governorship of Charles of Lorraine.

Thus, in 1790, we find the Belgic Netherlands in possession of the same local privileges of provincial self-government as they had possessed two centuries earlier in the days of Albert and Isabel, and with their political status as the autonomous personal inheritance of a descendant of Mary of Burgundy unchanged.

(6) Belgium under French Rule, 1795–1815

It was not to be for long. In 1792 the French revolutionary armies swept over the country. On October 1, 1795, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands was, by a decree of the French Government, incorporated in the Republic and divided into nine departments. The duchy of Luxemburg formed the department 'Des Forêts' and parts of those of Ourthe and of Sambre-et-Meuse. By the Treaty of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797) the *fait accompli* was ratified by the Emperor Francis. For twenty years the Belgian provinces remained an integral part of France. French was the language of government administration, and the *Code Napoléon*

became the law of the land. All the ancient rights, privileges, and customs were abolished.

The case of Luxemburg could not be better summed up than in the words of a writer in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of the date April 25, 1867, at the time when the question of the neutrality of the Grand Duchy was settled at the Conference of London.

The Treaty of Utrecht did not stipulate anywhere in any special manner for Luxemburg. This province passed to the House of Austria, not as being a German principality, but as an integral part of the Spanish Netherlands. When Charles VI called together in 1725 the States-General to Brussels, to submit the Pragmatic Sanction to them, he proclaimed afresh the inseparable union of all the provinces of the Austrian Netherlands. During the eighty years of the rule of the Habsburgs the Netherlands, including Luxemburg, had with the Court of Vienna nothing but a dynastic bond.

(7) Union of Holland and Belgium, 1815–30

The union between Holland and Belgium in 1815 did not come about through any drawing together of the peoples of the northern and southern Netherlands in 1814–15, but through outside pressure. Both countries had been for some years incorporated in the French Empire; and French rule had, in Holland and Belgium alike, effected sweeping and permanent changes. The cumbrous and complicated constitution of the Old Republic of the United Provinces had, after making government almost unworkable for two centuries, finally disappeared. The ancient provincial rights and privileges, which Brabanters and Flemings had so long and so obstinately upheld against their Spanish and Austrian rulers and in defence of which they had risen in revolt as recently as 1788, were likewise things of the past. The ground had thus been cleared both in Holland and Belgium, when at last, with the downfall of Napoleon, the French yoke was removed.

The news of the result of the battle of Leipzig led to the uprising of the people of Holland and the formation of a provisional government. The Prince of Orange was recalled, landed at Scheveningen, November 30, 1813, and accepted the offer of the sovereignty with the title of William I, Sovereign Prince of the United Netherlands. He did not take this step without the knowledge of the Powers. The nephew of Frederick William II of Prussia and brother-in-law of Frederick William III, he had passed much of his period of exile at Berlin. Early in 1813 he had, with the knowledge and approval of Frederick William and of Alexander of Russia, betaken himself to England to see on what conditions he could secure the support of the British Government for his return to Holland. He arrived at an understanding with Lord Castlereagh, April 27, by which England agreed to the Prince becoming sovereign of Holland with an extension of the frontiers of the ancient republic, but not to the return of all the Dutch colonies then in British hands. Thus early were the basic principles agreed upon, which were to be in the following year embodied in the Treaty of Paris.

This first step was followed, at the end of October 1813, by a 'Memorandum concernant Hollande adressé aux Monarques alliés contre la France par le cabinet de St. James'.[1] In this document the passage occurs—

En 1792 une des grandes puissances de l'Allemagne servait de barrière à la Hollande contre la France ; si cet état de choses fût encore possible, l'Angleterre ne jugerait pas nécessaire de demander un accroissement de territoire en faveur dudit pays : mais en cas que la frontière de la France vint à toucher celle de la Hollande, par suite des arrangements à faire, l'Angleterre insisterait pour qu'Anvers soit donné à la Hollande avec telle autre extension de territoire, qui donnât aux Provinces-Unies une frontière militaire convenable.

[1] See Van Dijk, *Traités conclus par la Hollande depuis* 1789, pp. 65–6.

Thus, from the outset, it will be seen that Great Britain took the initiative in this question of the future of the Netherlands and showed remarkable prevision. It was impossible as yet to speak more explicitly about the future of the Belgic provinces, on whose destiny the Austrian Emperor could claim to have a decisive voice.

On December 26, 1813, after the Prince of Orange had accepted the sovereignty of the United Netherlands, Castlereagh visited The Hague and then proceeded to Basel to meet the representatives of the Allied Powers. He there learnt that Austria relinquished all claims upon Belgium, preferring compensation in Venetia, but that Prussia desired to have the territory between the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Moselle for herself. Meanwhile the army of Silesia under Bülow and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, driving the weak French forces before them, entered Brussels on February 8 and established there a provisional government under two Prussian Commissaries.

The negotiations, which were at this time being carried on at Châtillon-sur-Seine, found the question of 'the increase of Holland' complicated by the Prussian proposals put forward by Hardenberg for aggrandizement in the Rhenish provinces. Castlereagh had proposed that the Prince of Orange should be given the sovereignty over Belgium to the west of the Meuse and also over the territory between the Meuse and the Rhine north of the line Maastricht-Cologne. Hardenberg was instructed, on the other hand, to acquire for Prussia the lands on the left bank of the Rhine from Mainz to Emmerich, and further to absorb the hereditary possessions of the House of Nassau in exchange for other territory. Austria and Russia, on condition of the payment of a debt, were prepared to support Castlereagh, but Prussia blocked the way. It will be noted that it never seems to have occurred to the

allied representatives that the Belgians should be consulted in the matter. The Belgians, however, took steps to make their wishes known. An assembly of notables, which the Duke of Saxe-Weimar had convened at Brussels on February 12, sent a deputation[1] to the allied head-quarters at Chaumont to express their continued allegiance to the House of Habsburg, and to ask that, if the Emperor Francis could not take them under his protection, Belgium should be erected into an independent State under the rule of an Austrian archduke. It was in vain. The Allies were already in agreement, and the deputation was verbally informed that the union of Belgium with Holland had been settled.[2] Assurances were, however, given to them that the Allied Powers would provide for their religious, political, and commercial liberty and security; and in the interim an Austrian general, Baron Vincent, a Belgian by birth, was placed at the head of the Provisional Government, with instructions to prepare the people for the coming change.

The preliminary treaty signed at Paris on May 30, 1814, after the downfall of Napoleon, between France and each of the Allied Powers, was intended to be the basis for the further deliberations of the Powers at a Congress which was to meet at Vienna at a later date. The following articles refer to the Netherlands:

Art. VI.—La Hollande, placée sous la souveraineté de la maison d'Orange, recevra un accroissement de territoire . . . Articles séparés et secrets: (1) L'établissement d'un juste équilibre en Europe exigeant que la Hollande soit constituée dans les proportions, qui la mettent à même de soutenir son indépendance par ses propres moyens, les pays compris entre la mer, les frontières de la France telles qu'elles se trouvent réglées par le présent traité, et la Meuse, seront réunis à toute perpétuité à la

[1] The Duke of Beaufort, the Marquises d'Asche and du Chasteles, and the former pensionary of Brabant, De Jonghe.

[2] Castlereagh to Clancarty, March 14, 1814.

Hollande. (2) Les frontières sur la rive droite de la Meuse seront réglées selon les convenances militaires de la Hollande et de ses voisins. (3) La liberté de la navigation sur l'Escaut sera établie sur le principe de l'art. V.

It will be seen plainly that in these articles the whole matter is treated as a Dutch question. It had been suggested to the Sovereign Prince[1] that he should appoint a Commission, consisting of an equal number of Dutch and Belgian members, to prepare a project of reunion for submission to the Allied Sovereigns. He preferred to draw up himself eight Articles, which, after revision by his ministers Falck and Van Nagell and Lord Clancarty,[2] were presented on May 31 to the Allied plenipotentiaries at Paris. With some very slight changes of wording, these articles were adopted at London (June 21, 1814) by the sovereigns there assembled. They were officially returned to their original author as the basis of union between North and South, and were accepted by him on July 21. As a preliminary to this adoption of the Eight Articles, the plenipotentiaries had, in a protocol dated June 14, set forth the principles on which they were acting, and which were embodied in the said articles. The articles themselves, as will be seen from the summary given below, were liberal, conciliatory, and fair in intention, but were fundamentally vitiated by the statement with which Art. 1 of the protocol concludes—'Elles mettent ces principes en exécution en vertu de leur droit de conquête de la Belgique.' The lack of success which was to attend the Union was foreshadowed in these words.

The principal points of the Eight Articles were as follows: (1) the Union was to be intimate and complete, so that the two countries should form one and the same

[1] Castlereagh to Clancarty, May 16, 1814.

[2] Lord Clancarty was the British Minister at the Hague.

State, governed by the Constitution[1] already established in Holland, but to be modified by common agreement in accordance with the new circumstances; (2) complete religious liberty; (3) the Belgian provinces were to be adequately represented in the States-General,[2] which were to meet alternately in a Dutch and a Belgian town; (4) equal commercial advantages and rights; (5) immediately after the Union the provinces and towns of Belgium were to be admitted to the trade and navigation of the Dutch colonies on the same footing as those of Holland; (6) the debts of the Dutch and Belgian provinces were to be a common charge; (7) also the maintenance of the frontier fortresses; (8) the costs of the dikes were to fall on the special districts interested, except in cases of extraordinary disaster.

On August 1 the Sovereign Prince, after his acceptance of the Eight Articles, took over the provisional government of Belgium, awaiting the final settlement of the boundaries and political status of the newly-created buffer State by the Congress of Vienna.

The Congress met in October 1814, but its deliberations were far from harmonious. The persistent efforts of Prussia for territorial aggrandizement, first in Poland, then by the annexation of Saxony, almost led to its dissolution and the outbreak of war. In the midst of this wrangling the news of Napoleon's return from Elba (March 8, 1815) fell like a thunderbolt. It was no longer a question of dividing the spoils but of uniting once more for the overthrow of the common foe. Tired of waiting for the recognition that did not come, the Sovereign Prince determined that he would wait no

[1] The new *Grondwet* for Holland of 146 articles was drawn up by a special commission and approved by the Notables, March 28, 1814.

[2] In the original draft of May 20, it was proposed that the representation should be equal, and that Holland and Belgium should each have a separate Council of State.

longer. He issued a proclamation (March 16) announcing his assumption of the kingly title; and on May 23 the representatives of the Powers gave their official sanction to the *fait accompli*. The new kingdom was scarcely established when it had to defend its existence; and Dutch and Belgian soldiers, under the command of the young Prince of Orange, fought side by side on the fields of Quatre Bras and Waterloo.

The first act of King William was to appoint a Commission (April 22) to carry out the necessary changes in the *Grondwet*. It consisted of twenty-four members, twelve each from North and South, and an equal number of Protestants and Catholics. The problem presented many difficulties, but the common danger of a Napoleonic invasion produced a conciliatory spirit, and the Commissioners finished their task on July 18. The most remarkable feature of the new scheme of government was the position of autocratic authority given to the King. With an irresponsible Ministry, a First Chamber of sixty members appointed for life by the King, and a Second Chamber of 110 members, elected under a limited franchise, which had the right to reject but not to amend legislative proposals, and to whom the budget was only submitted decennially, William I had the future destinies of the country in his hands.

The Dutch States-General, on August 8, 1815, approved the new Constitution by a unanimous vote. Its reception by the Belgian Notables, who met at Brussels on August 18, was on the contrary marked by open hostility. In Belgium probably 99 per cent. of the population was Catholic. The clauses of the Constitution which declared that the reigning sovereign must be a Protestant, and which established absolute religious equality, were unacceptable to the powerful Clerical party. The granting to the Belgian provinces,

with their three-and-a-half million inhabitants, only the same representation in the proposed Second Chamber of the States-General as to the Dutch provinces with a population of barely two millions, was regarded as unjust, and as a proof that Belgium did not take her place in the new kingdom on terms of equality with Holland, but as an 'increase' of the former United Provinces 'in virtue of the right of conquest'. Another grievance was the equal sharing of the debt.[1]

All these causes for discontent led to the rejection of the Constitution by a large majority of the Notables. The total number summoned to Brussels was 1,603; of these 1,323 were present. The result of the voting was 796 against, and 527 for accepting the Constitution. The method by which the King overrode this decision was as dishonest as it was arbitrary and high-handed. He first added to the minority the 280 votes of the Notables who had not voted. He then deducted from the majority and gave to the minority 126 votes, on the ground that these, having been given avowedly in opposition to the principle of religious equality, i. e. to one of the basic principles of the Eight Articles, were given mistakenly and should be counted as in favour of the rest of the Constitution. He then declared that the Constitution had been accepted by a majority of 263 votes. Such bare-faced manipulation was certain to deepen dissatisfaction and to increase distrust.

The Congress of Vienna had given its official sanction to the creation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange-Nassau by a treaty bearing date May 31, 1815. This same treaty granted the Belgian province of Luxemburg as an hereditary possession to the King of the Netherlands (in exchange for his Nassau possessions, which were ceded to Prussia) with the title of Grand Duke. The

[1] The debt of Holland was 589, that of Belgium 27 million florins.

Grand Duchy was henceforth to form part of the Germanic Confederation.[1] The boundaries of the new kingdom were defined in general terms in Art. II of this treaty of May 31, but a large number of details were settled by a series of special boundary treaties[2] with Austria, Prussia, and France. On the whole it received generous treatment, since in addition to practically the whole of the former Austrian Netherlands (except Luxemburg), the 'accroissement de territoire' included the important district which had for centuries before 1795 been ruled by the prince-bishops of Liège, the duchy of Bouillon, and some thirty smaller pieces of territory. On the other hand Prussia, having failed to annex Saxony, had sought compensation in the Rhenish provinces, where she succeeded in greatly increasing her possessions and welding them into a unified dominion. To achieve this a number of border-strips were cut off from Luxemburg, Liège, Limburg, and Gelderland.[3] As the Kingdom of the Netherlands had been expressly created as a barrier to French aggression, King William, connected as he was with Prussia by many close ties, no doubt welcomed the presence of a powerful State upon his eastern frontier on whose friendship he could rely.

On September 26, 1815, at Brussels, in the presence of

[1] It is unnecessary to discuss the Luxemburg question here, as it has been dealt with fully in a separate paper (No. 27 of this Series).

[2] (1) Boundary Treaty between Francis I, Emperor of Austria, and William, King of the Netherlands, May 14, 1815.

(2) Treaty of June 9, 1815.

(3) Article 1 of the Second Treaty of Paris, November 20, 1815.

(4) Boundary Treaty with Prussia, Aix-la-Chapelle, June 26, 1816.

(5) Boundary Treaty with Prussia at Cleves, October 7, 1816.

(6) Boundary Treaty with France at Courtrai, March 28, 1820.

[3] For a complete list of all the pieces of territory gained and lost see *Vereeniging en Scheiding*, by Uitkamp and Craandijk, pp. 22–6.

the assembled States-General, the King of the Netherlands publicly took the oath to maintain the Constitution. This act finally consummated the union of Holland and Belgium; and the new State began its political and administrative existence. It was an ill-assorted union. Between North and South stood the barrier of more than two centuries of history. During that long period the destinies of the Dutch and Belgian peoples had moved on wholly different lines; and the mingled arrogance and selfishness of Dutch policy towards the Belgic provinces, of which the closing of the Scheldt and the Barrier treaties had been the culminating examples, had left bitter memories behind. Calvinistic Protestantism was dominant in Holland; the entire population of the Belgic provinces was devotedly Catholic. The north was a sea-faring and trading community; the south industrial and agricultural. To weld together into a single body politic these discordant elements demanded statesmanship of a high order.

King William possessed many great qualities, but in those most needed for the task that lay before him he was conspicuously deficient. Industrious and well-meaning, the King did his utmost to develop Belgian industries and to improve the means of communication. Under his fostering care the prosperity of Antwerp, now that the Scheldt was no longer closed, rapidly revived; while Ghent, Liège, and other places became manufacturing centres of increasing importance. From the point of view of commerce and industry the Belgians had no grievances and much cause for satisfaction. Politically the position of affairs was very different. It became in fact intolerable. The attitude of the Dutch to the Belgians, from 1815 onwards, was that of people commissioned by the Powers to administer a conquered land; and the King's own attitude was that of an out-and-out Hollander.

Of the seven Ministers of State in 1816 one only was Belgian, and he was entrusted with the Ministry of Public Works and Waterways. In 1830 there was still only one Belgian Minister. Out of thirty-nine diplomatists thirty were Dutch. An enormous proportion of posts in the Civil Service, and with hardly an exception the important military posts, were filled by Hollanders. One of the articles of the Fundamental Law declared that the States-General should meet alternately in a Dutch and a Belgian city; it was never carried out. All the ministerial and administrative departments had their seats at The Hague; and all the military establishments were in the northern provinces.

Nor had the Belgians any real power to interfere with legislation or the imposition of taxes of which they disapproved. The King personally had very large powers of initiative, and he was sure of the support of the First Chamber of the States-General, which consisted of his nominees. In the Second Chamber, which could only reject, not amend, any Bill presented to it, the situation was no better. In this Chamber the Belgian provinces, although their population was so very much larger, had only the same representation as the Dutch; and, as time went on, the antagonism of the two sets of deputies hardened into permanent opposition. Among the Belgians, then as now, there were Clericals and Liberals, but they sank their differences in defence of their country's cause. Their union, however, availed little or nothing, for there were always two or three Belgians holding official posts, who either voted with the Government or abstained.

Two most unpopular imposts, known as the *mouture* and *abattage*, i. e. on ground corn and on the carcasses of beasts, were passed by 55 votes, two of which were Belgian, against a minority of 51 wholly Belgian (July 21, 1821). This vote was the beginning of a permanent

cleavage. From this time forth the Belgian deputies opposed the Dutch Government, while the Hollanders ranged themselves *en bloc* in its support.

Equally unfortunate and ill-judged were the dealings of the Calvinist sovereign with the Catholic clergy in Belgium. He had a genuine interest in the promotion of education, but his attempt by a royal decree (July 11, 1825) to compel the candidates for the priesthood to pass a two-years' course in secular learning at the *Collegium Philosophicum* which he had founded at Louvain, before being admitted to an episcopal seminary, aroused against him the bitter animosity of the powerful Clerical party; and this was increased when, by another arbitrary decree, he forbade them to study at foreign universities. The indignation caused by these interferences in matters which lay within the legitimate jurisdiction and authority of the Catholic episcopate found its strongest response throughout the Flemish-speaking districts. Other decrees, making a knowledge of the Dutch language obligatory for admission to all public offices (September 15, 1819), and declaring (October 26, 1822) Dutch to be henceforth the national and official language of the kingdom, were peculiarly offensive to the Walloon districts and to the large number of Belgians who always spoke French, which had been the official language of the country since Burgundian times.

The freedom of the press had been expressly guaranteed by the Fundamental Law, Art. 227. This article was from the first treated with almost contemptuous indifference. The return of Napoleon in March 1815 exposed the newly-erected Kingdom of the Netherlands to serious danger; and it was necessary to adopt stringent measures for national defence. Among them was a royal decree (April 20) which forbade the publication of news or of printed matter to the injury of the

State or the disturbance of the public peace. The severest penalties were to be inflicted on all offenders, without jury, by a court of nine judges created for the purpose. It was an emergency measure, necessary and justifiable in the circumstances, but which, as a temporary restriction, should have lapsed when the emergency was past. So far was this from being the case that the editor and printer of the *Spectateur Belge* were, under the provisions of this decree, imprisoned and fined in 1817; and in 1818 the King obtained the sanction of a subservient States-General to a law which, with some slight modifications, legalized the procedure and the penalties of the decree of April 1815.

By this statute the press was firmly muzzled in defiance of the Fundamental Law; and its provisions were never regarded as a power in reserve for times of crisis, but were systematically acted upon. All hostile criticism of the Government by Belgian publicists and writers was mercilessly repressed. But, though repressed, it continued, and with increasing bitterness and pungency, from the pens of writers as skilful in keeping within the letter of the law as they were bold in facing prosecution when it came. Matters came to a head with a royal message sent to the States-General on December 11, 1829. A new law for restraining the attacks of political agitators against the Government was announced. A few concessions were made to public opinion, but the King announced in the most uncompromising manner his intention of ruling autocratically and without a responsible ministry. The Minister of Justice, Van Maanen, sent out on the following day a notice to all civil officials that they were required within twenty-four hours to signify their adherence to the principles laid down in the royal message.

This message added fresh fuel to the agitation against Dutch rule; and during the early part of the year 1830

the feeling of irreconcilable estrangement between north and south became more and more strongly marked. In particular the prosecution and banishment of three leading journalists, De Potter, Tielemans, and Barthels caused general resentment, and did not silence but rather increased the virulence of the press and pamphlet campaign. Nevertheless, the signs of material prosperity among the commercial and industrial classes were evident throughout the country, and in the summer of 1830 few anticipated any immediate popular uprising against the Dutch Government.

(8) The Belgian Revolution: Period of Transition, 1830–9

At this moment of tension the news of the sudden revolution in Paris, which in a few days (July 30–August 7) had overthrown the autocratic rule of Charles X and established a Constitutional Monarchy under Louis Philippe, caused a profound sensation in Belgium. Beneath an appearance of outward calm the spirit of revolutionary unrest was widespread among the populace of Brussels; it only required a spark to set it aflame. A performance on August 25 of the opera 'La Muette de Portici', the subject of which was Masaniello's insurrection at Naples in 1648, was the immediate cause of a revolutionary riot. It stirred the passions of the audience to a wild outburst of patriotic ardour, which spread to the crowds in the street. All night long the town was in the hands of the rioters; and, among other acts of tumultuary violence, the house of the unpopular minister Van Maanen was burnt and pillaged. The King by timely and whole-hearted concessions might have saved the situation, but his pride forbade him to yield to the dictates of a mob. The Prince of Orange, at his own request, was sent on a mission of inquiry to Brussels (September 1–3), but, having no power to act,

he effected nothing. In his anxiety to avoid armed conflict, he made, however, the fatal mistake of ordering the Dutch troops to leave the town. This was interpreted as a sign of weakness and the revolt spread; bodies of insurgents from Liège, Luxemburg, and other chiefly Walloon districts arrived in Brussels; and all authority passed into the hands of the revolutionary leaders.

For the purpose of protecting property, a large body of Dutch troops under the command of Prince Frederick, King William's second son, entered Brussels on September 23 and advanced as far as the Park. A desperate resistance here stayed their progress; and, after three days of street fighting and considerable losses, they withdrew on September 26 and retreated to Antwerp. The insurrection was victorious; the revolt swept over the whole of Belgium; and a Provisional Government was formed.

There were four parties in Belgium: (1) for a republic; (2) for annexation to France; (3) for an Orleans prince as king; (4) for the Prince of Orange as king. The republicans were but a small minority. Those who favoured intimate relations with France found no countenance at Paris. The Orange candidature was a compromise, but its adherents were confined to Antwerp and to the Flemish commercial towns. On October 2 King William requested the four Powers who had created the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815 to send armed assistance. On the same day the Provisional Government issued a proclamation declaring Belgium an independent State, and summoned a National Congress. The Congress, elected by all Belgians above 25 years of age, met at Brussels on November 16. Its decisions were conclusive. By overwhelming majorities it declared for a monarchical form of government and for the perpetual exclusion of the

House of Orange-Nassau. A Commission appointed to draw up a Constitution completed its task by February 7, 1831. The Constitution was modelled on that of England. It was a statesmanlike effort to establish a limited constitutional monarchy on the firm foundation of liberal representative institutions.

While these important events had been taking place in Belgium, the Conference of representatives of the Allied Powers, in response to the appeal of King William for armed intervention on his behalf, had met in London on November 4, 1830; but its course of action was by no means what the King had expected. Its first step was to require that an armistice should be concluded between Holland and Belgium while the Powers were considering what the future relations between the two countries should be. The position had changed since the Four Powers had in 1815 created the Kingdom of the Netherlands as a bulwark against French aggression. France was now represented at the Conference by the cleverest and most experienced diplomatist of the time, the aged and astute Talleyrand, whose policy was to work hand in hand with England on a basis of good understanding and disinterestedness. The fall of the Wellington Ministry (November 16) facilitated his task; and he found in the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, a statesman disposed to be friendly to the Belgian cause. Of the other Powers, Austria and Russia were indifferent, while Prussia, in spite of the close connexion of King William with the House of Hohenzollern, could not venture on armed intervention in face of the firm attitude of England and France acting together for a peaceable settlement.

On December 20 the Conference issued a protocol which declared that the union between Holland and Belgium had unfortunately proved a failure, and that in consequence the Conference would occupy itself in

making new arrangements by which the future independence of Belgium could be combined with the interests and securities of the other Powers and of European equilibrium. The Provisional Government was asked to send to London, as quickly as possible, Commissioners furnished with instructions and sufficient powers to take part in the discussions concerning these arrangements. It was, however, expressly declared that the rights of the King of the Netherlands and of the Germanic Confederation upon the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg were in nowise to be affected by these arrangements. This last clause was as displeasing to the Belgian Congress as was the tenor of the whole protocol to William I.

A protocol of January 20, 1831, defined the conditions of the proposed separation. Holland was to have the same boundaries as the former Republic of the United Provinces in 1790. All the rest of the territory assigned in 1815 to the Kingdom of the Netherlands (except Luxemburg) was to form the new Kingdom of Belgium. The Five Powers guaranteed the perpetual neutrality of Belgium and the integrity and inviolability of its territory within the limits as defined. By a further protocol of January 27, Belgium's share of the debt of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was fixed at $\frac{16}{31}$ of the whole. The sovereign of Belgium was required to assent to these bases of settlement as a condition preliminary to his recognition by the Powers.

The Congress at Brussels was, however, far from being disposed to accept tamely and meekly the decisions of the Conference. They determined, January 19, to proceed at once to the choice of a king without consulting the Powers. On February 1, by a majority of 163 to 9 votes, a strong protest against the territorial dispositions of the protocol of January 20 was passed and sent to London. King Louis Philippe had already declared,

both to the Belgian Provisional Government and to the Powers, that he would not allow his son, the Duke of Nemours, to be elected King of the Belgians; and, by a self-denying ordinance, at the instance of Great Britain, the Conference decided (February 1) that, if the Belgian sovereignty were offered to a member of the reigning families of any of the Great Powers, consent would be refused. Nevertheless, in the teeth of the declaration of the French king, the Congress on February 3 elected the Duke of Nemours, who received 97 votes, while the Napoleonic candidate, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugène Beauharnais, received 67 votes, and the Austrian Archduke Charles 21. The election was notified to the Conference, which not only refused (February 7) to recognize the election of Nemours, but added that they would not accept Leuchtenberg, if he were elected.

This situation of cross purposes was somewhat relieved, though scarcely simplified, when King William, after having protested against the protocol of December 20, unexpectedly announced, on February 18, his adhesion to the protocols of January 20 and 27. His motive in doing this was probably the hope that the Conference, in its irritation at Belgian obduracy, might offer the crown to the Prince of Orange, then in London watching events. Orangist intriguers in Antwerp and Flanders had been busily working, but the Provisional Government, in order to strengthen the executive power, had on February 23 secured the election of Baron Surlet de Chokier as regent; and vigorous action was taken to prevent any disturbance of the peace.

The British Government had, however, seen that there was no chance of an Orange-Nassau being accepted by the Belgian Congress, and now began to press forward the candidature of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Leopold had lived in England since the

death of his wife, the Princess Charlotte, and had in the previous year refused the offer of the Greek crown. In April the ministry of the Regent determined, after finding that there would be no opposition to Leopold on the part of France, to send four commissioners to London to approach the Prince and make to him the conditional offer of the crown, subject to the subsequent approval of the Congress. The Coburg prince was a Protestant, but he undertook to marry a Catholic princess and to bring up his children as Catholics; and he also promised to do his utmost to secure through the British Government some modification of the protocol of January 20 with regard to Luxemburg, Dutch Flanders, and Limburg, and the proportion of the debt imposed upon the Belgic provinces. On June 4 he was elected king.

The Five Powers had, in a protocol dated April 17, directed the British Minister at Brussels, Lord Ponsonby, to announce to the Belgian Government that the conditions of the separation of Holland and Belgium, as laid down in the protocol of January 20 and in a later protocol of February 19,[1] were fundamental and irrevocable; and that, if they were not accepted as such, the relations between the Five Powers and the Belgian authorities would be broken off. This threat did not, however, prevent Prince Leopold and the Belgian commissioners from pressing the Conference for the desired territorial and financial modifications, and they succeeded. On May 21 Ponsonby was authorized to inform the Belgian Government that the Conference was ready to enter into negotiations with the King of Holland, having for their object the possession by Belgium of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, 'moyennant de justes compensations'. The Belgians, June 2,

[1] Drawn up after the Conference had received the adhesion of King William to the protocols of January 20 and 27.

offered to settle the territorial disputes 'au moyen de sacrifices pécuniaires'. The result was the promulgation by the Conference, on June 26, of the (so-called) Preliminary Treaty of the XVIII Articles. By this treaty the question of Luxemburg was reserved for a separate negotiation; meanwhile the *status quo* to be maintained. The questions of Maastricht, Limburg, and various enclaves were left for friendly settlement. Belgium was to bear only the amount of the debt she had incurred before the Union and a fair share of that incurred since 1815.

Palmerston and Talleyrand, acting in closest agreement, were the real authors of this treaty;[1] and Great Britain and France, in face of the threatened opposition of King William, had agreed to act unitedly in case of any revival of hostilities. The day following the signature of the treaty, Leopold accepted the crown on condition that the Congress gave its assent to the XVIII Articles. After stormy debate this assent was ratified by 126 votes to 70 on July 9. The king-elect landed in Belgium on July 17 and took the oath to the Constitution at Brussels on July 21.

The vote of July 9 had been gained largely through faith in ministerial assurances that the territorial questions would be favourably settled. It was assumed by Belgium that, with the support of the Powers, the opposition of Holland was no longer of any account. This was a great mistake. On the very day, July 21,[2] when King Leopold took the oath, William I refused to accept the XVIII Articles, while adhering to his approval of the 'bases of separation' of January 20 and 27, which had been declared 'fundamental and irrevocable'. He threatened further that, 'if Prince

[1] The neutrality proposal originally came from the Prussian plenipotentiary, Bülow.

[2] A protest had already been made, July 12.

Leopold should take possession of the throne, he could not but consider him as an enemy'.

These were no empty words. The facile success of the Belgian Revolution had led not only the Belgians but the statesmen of Europe to have a poor opinion of the Dutch military power. A speaker had ventured in the Congress debate (July 6) to say that 'Holland was the most cowardly nation of Europe'.[1] King William determined to teach his former subjects a lesson. Unexpectedly, on August 2, the Prince of Orange, at the head of a well-equipped force of 36,000 men with 72 guns, entered Belgium. The new King, only just arrived in the country, did his best to organize resistance, but he lacked the means. The Prince, driving before him the weak Belgian army, entered Louvain on August 12, and menaced the defenceless capital. He had, however, accomplished his object, and did not desire to advance further. At Louvain the British Minister, Sir Robert Adair, brought to him the information that a French army of 40,000 men under Marshal Gérard had, at the invitation of the Powers, crossed the frontier, and proposed an armistice. It was accepted, and the brilliant Ten-Days' Campaign ended in the quiet withdrawal of the Dutch army, after having achieved the humiliation of the new Belgian State and its elected king.

The Conference met again at London to consider the new situation. As the protocols of January were unacceptable to Belgium, and the XVIII Articles were repudiated by Holland, the only course was to arbitrate between the two and draw up a new Treaty of Separation, which should be definitive and final. This treaty, in XXIV Articles, was published on October 14, and with three supplementary articles was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the Five Powers on November 15.

[1] Alexander Rodenbach.

The Ten-Days' Campaign had brought about a number of changes in the XVIII Articles in favour of Holland.

The north-western part of Luxemburg was indeed conceded to Belgium, but at a heavy price.[1] Holland had before 1815 only shared the sovereignty of Maastricht with the Prince-bishop of Liége, whose territory since 1815 had formed part of Belgium. She had also possessed some detached pieces of territory bordering on the River Meuse on both banks. She now by the new treaty received the entire sovereignty of Maastricht with a slice of territory on the left bank of the Meuse, giving her the complete control of the river at this important point, and a considerable piece of the duchy of Limburg on both sides of that river until it entered Dutch Gelderland. This cession, which included roughly the cantons of Sittard and Ruremonde, aroused strong opposition in Belgium, partly sentimental, since the population was entirely Belgian by affection and tradition, but also due to the fact that this strip of Dutch territory would intercept Belgian communications with Germany. Both banks of the Scheldt remained in the hands of the Dutch, who, though no longer allowed to close the river, had the right of imposing moderate dues. The question of the share of debt was settled to the disadvantage of Belgium. The King of Holland was required to approach the Germanic Confederation and the Nassau agnates with regard to the proposed division of Luxemburg.

However distasteful the XXIV Articles were to the Belgian people, King Leopold felt that they must be accepted. The existence of the kingdom depended upon it, and he threatened to abdicate if the assent of the Chambers was refused. This decided the matter. The treaty was accepted, though with much misgiving

[1] For a fuller discussion of the Luxemburg question, see *Luxemburg and Limburg*, No. 27 of this series.

and soreness of heart, both by the Senate and by the Chamber of Representatives; and the Belgian plenipotentiaries in London were empowered to sign this important document, by which Belgium was legally constituted by the solemn recognition of each of the Five Great Powers, as an independent kingdom whose perpetual neutrality was enforced and guaranteed by the signatories. It is important to note that the ratification was made by Belgium with each of the Five Powers separately.[1] It was not a joint guarantee.

King William had, however, expected greater results from the Ten Days' Campaign; he protested against the XXIV Articles, and obstinately declined to sign the treaty unless it were modified. He was relying upon his close family relations with the courts of Prussia and Russia, with whom Austria was acting. But, if these Powers delayed their ratification of the treaty, it was only because they wished before doing so to use every means to overcome the stiff-necked determination of William not to make the concessions required. The Emperor Nicholas went so far as to send Count Alexis Orloff to The Hague on a special mission for this purpose. Orloff, acting in concert with the Austrian and Prussian representatives in Holland, saw, however, all his efforts end in failure.

England and France (on behalf of the signatories of the treaty) now determined on coercive measures. Palmerston and Talleyrand continued to act in perfect accord. The marriage (August 9, 1832) of King Leopold with the eldest of the Orleans princesses had secured

[1] The sovereigns signed the XXIV Articles—Belgium, November 22; France, November 24; Great Britain, December 6; Prussia, January 7; Austria, March 21. The ratifications by the plenipotentiaries at London were concluded on the following dates: France and Great Britain, January 31, 1832; Austria and Prussia, April 18; Russia, May 4.

for him the whole-hearted support of King Louis Philippe. He had from the first possessed that of England. The two Powers concluded a convention on October 22 by which the King of Holland was required to give an engagement to withdraw his troops, not later than November 2, from all the territory which the treaty of November 15, 1831, had assigned to Belgium. In case of refusal, an embargo was to be placed on all Dutch vessels in the ports of the two countries, and the ports of Holland were to be blockaded. If on November 13 any Dutch troops were found on Belgian territory, a French army would with the assent of the King of the Belgians enter Belgium and compel their withdrawal. A similar demand was made at Brussels for the evacuation of the territory assigned by treaty to Holland. Notice of the Anglo-French Convention of October 22 was duly sent to the three other signatories of the XXIV Articles. Apart from their previous declarations [1] that they would not take any active part in measures of armed coercion, it was clear that Austria and Russia were too far off for any immediate intervention. A special invitation was, however, sent to the King of Prussia, October 30, asking him to occupy provisionally the disputed parts of Luxemburg and Limburg,

et de les garder en dépôt jusqu'à ce que le roi des Pays-Bas ait formellement accepté et pris l'engagement de remplir les conditions attachées à leur possession par le traité du 15 novembre 1831.

The Prussian Government declined to intervene directly, but it sent a corps of observation to be stationed between the Meuse and the Rhine as a measure of federal precaution. Due notice was given of this

[1] Made at the final meeting of the Conference at London, October 1, 1832.

step to the Germanic Diet at its meeting, December 6, 1832, and was approved by it.

The Franco-British Note aroused somewhat violent discussions in the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, and it was not until November 2 that the reply was sent. It ran as follows :

> Que S. M. le Roi des Belges consent à faire évacuer le 12 de ce mois, et même à une époque plus rapprochée la place de Venloo, les forts et lieux qui en dépendent, ainsi que les portions de territoire qui ne font pas partie du royaume de Belgique, en même temps que le gouvernement belge entrera en possession de la citadelle d'Anvers, ainsi que des forts et lieux situés sur les deux rives de l'Escaut, qui font partie du territoire assigné à ce royaume par le traité du 15 novembre.

On this same day (November 2) a reply was received from King William. It was a firm refusal. Events now followed rapidly. The embargo on Dutch vessels took effect on November 7 ; and a combined Anglo-French fleet set sail to blockade the Dutch coasts. The King of the Belgians on November 9 signified to the French Government, in accordance with the terms of the Convention, his desire that a French force should enter Belgium. On the appointed day (November 15) the army of the North, 60,000 strong, under Marshal Gérard, crossed the frontier and marched straight on Antwerp. The Dutch general Chassé made a very gallant defence, but was compelled to capitulate on December 23 ; and the Dutch admiral Kleinzoon burnt his twelve gunboats rather than surrender. The Dutch were still in possession of the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, which commanded the passage of the river lower down ; and the French marshal offered to release the Antwerp prisoners, if King William would order the evacuation of the two forts. He refused to do so. His obstinacy proved advantageous to Belgium. The French army retired, placing Antwerp in Belgian

possession; and, so long as the Dutch king refused to give up Lillo and Liefkenshoek, the Belgians were not called upon to evacuate Limburg and Luxemburg.

During the early months of 1833 an exchange of diplomatic Notes took place, which led to the signing of a convention, known as the Convention of London, dated May 21, 1833. By this convention the embargo on Dutch shipping was removed; and the King of Holland undertook not to engage in hostilities with Belgium pending the signature of a definitive treaty between Holland and Belgium. Meanwhile the navigation of the Scheldt, and also of the Meuse, was to be free. In a supplementary article it was declared that the suspension of hostilities included the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and the part of Limburg provisionally occupied by Belgian troops. This convention, which was a recognition by Holland of the neutrality of Belgium and of the maintenance of the *status quo* until the signing of a definitive treaty, was in every way favourable to Belgium. A further convention with regard to the navigation of the Meuse and the military communications of Maastricht was concluded between the two countries on November 18.

As a consequence of the cessation of hostilities, in reply to an invitation addressed by Great Britain and France to Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the Conference of the Five Powers again met at London on July 15, 1833. Its efforts to bring about a definite agreement broke down, however, as the Belgian Government, supported by Lord Palmerston, insisted that, as a preliminary to further negotiations, King William should obtain the assent of the Germanic Confederation and of the Nassau agnates to the proposed territorial arrangements. This William had not done, and, as it was evident that his settled policy was one of waiting upon events, the

Conference broke up, and no attempt was made to disturb the *status quo* established by the Convention of May 21, 1833. Year after year passed. Meanwhile Luxemburg and Limburg remained in Belgian occupation, sending deputies to the Chamber of Representatives, and paying their taxes cheerfully, and both the Belgian Government and the people of the two provinces began to regard their incorporation in the kingdom as practically a *fait accompli*.

They were suddenly undeceived. The absolutist King of the Netherlands, knowing that he had on his side, if not the open support, at least the secret sympathy of the absolutist sovereigns of Prussia, Russia, and Austria, had for seven years withheld his signature to a treaty to which on principle he was opposed, ever ready to take advantage of a favourable opportunity for reopening the whole question. But the growing consolidation and prosperity of the new Belgian kingdom under the sagacious rule of King Leopold had opened the eyes of the loyal and patient Dutch people to the folly of maintaining an army on a war footing year after year, involving heavy burdens in taxation without any hope of reversing the decision of 1831. Their discontent and dissatisfaction found voice in the States-General, and the King at last saw the necessity of abandoning his haughty *non-possumus* attitude. His Minister at London, M. Dedel, was instructed to inform Lord Palmerston (March 14, 1838) that the King was ready to adhere 'pleinement et entièrement' to the conditions imposed by the XXIV Articles, and to sign the treaty of November 15, 1831. The Belgian people received the news with consternation. The two Chambers, all classes, all parts of the kingdom were united in opposition to the cessions of territory that they were asked to make. They counted upon the support of England and France. But Palmerston,

to whose initiative, in conjunction with Talleyrand, Belgium may be said to have owed its existence, now announced to each of the three Eastern Powers that Great Britain would strictly support the execution of the territorial arrangements made in the XXIV Articles. This resolve on the part of the British Minister determined the attitude of France.

The Conference met again at London in October, and all the efforts of King Leopold and the Belgian people to obtain a modification of the treaty proved unavailing. The offer of Belgium to pay 60,000,000 fl. as compensation for the disputed portions of Limburg and Luxemburg was rejected by King William and also by the Germanic Confederation. Such was the tension of feeling in Belgium that preparations were even made for war, and the Polish general Skrzynecki was invited to take the command. But these were counsels of madness; and when the plenipotentiary of France, where public opinion largely supported Belgium, had appended his signature with that of the plenipotentiaries of the other Four Powers to the protocol drawn up by the Conference dated January 23, 1839, and when the plenipotentiaries of Holland had also signed it (February 1), Belgium found herself absolutely isolated. To resist would have been to commit suicide. The proposal that the treaty should be signed was adopted (March 19) by the Chamber of Representatives by 58 votes against 42; by the Senate, (March 26) by 31 votes against 14. On April 19 M. Van de Weyer signed at the Foreign Office in London the treaty with the Five Powers and the treaty with Holland[1]; and the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia in the name of the Germanic

[1] Cf. *The Neutrality of Belgium*, No. 29 of this Series, which examines the question in detail; and Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, II, Nos. 183, 184, 185.

Confederation declared the formal consent of the Diet to the territorial arrangements in Luxemburg.

(9) The Belgian Kingdom, 1839–1914

With the signing of the treaty of April 19, 1839, the element of incertitude as to the position and status of the new Belgian kingdom disappeared; and Belgium was free henceforth, as an independent State, whose perpetual neutrality was guaranteed by the Five Great Powers, to pursue without let or hindrance from without its national ideals, and to devote itself to the development of its national resources. Belgium has always been noted as a rich and productive agricultural country and for its skilful tillage and intensive cultivation, but during the centuries of Spanish and Austrian rule, with the closing of the Scheldt, its commerce had ceased, and its once flourishing textile and other industries had lost their ancient supremacy. It is to the credit of King William that he did his best to revive industrial activity in the Belgic provinces, and it was due to his encouragement that John Cockerill laid the foundations in 1820 of the Seraing factories and began to work the coal-fields in the Meuse valley. From the very first King Leopold made the development of industry and trade his especial care. At his initiative Belgium, first of all continental countries, provided itself with railways on a carefully thought-out system. The first line was opened for traffic between Malines and Brussels in 1835, and this was the beginning of that network of railways which has long made Belgium notable for its facilities of transport and communication.

The effect of the revolution had been for awhile to unite all Belgians, irrespective of party; and the King did his utmost to maintain this spirit by giving his

support to a succession of moderate or neutral ministries. The Catholic or Conservative and the Liberal (largely anti-clerical) parties were indeed sharply divided on many subjects, especially in regard to the question of religious education, but both parties contained many men of moderate views. As will be seen later, it was unfortunate that the Catholics drew their chief strength from the Flemish-speaking, the Liberals from the Walloon provinces. The men who had taken the foremost part as leaders in the revolution were naturally those who occupied the first places in the early ministries, and the great majority of them were of Walloon origin. It was not till 1842, when the moderate Liberal, M. Lebeau, was succeeded by M. Nothomb, a moderate Conservative, that primary education became a burning question. It was settled for a time by a law, September 23, 1842, which was a skilfully devised compromise. It was enacted that (1) religious instruction in a definite faith was to be given in every school; (2) each *commune* must maintain at least one primary school; (3) in case of insufficiency of the communal means, support would be given by the State and the province.

Two brief ministries followed, in 1845 and 1846, under M. Van de Weyer and M. Theux; but the election of 1847 resulted in the return of a large Liberal majority and M. Charles Rogier, one of the most ardent of the patriot leaders in 1830, became First Minister. Electoral reform had been promised; and the qualification for the franchise was reduced to a direct contribution of 20 fr. Such a sum was still a considerable restriction, but it raised the number of voters from 45,000 in 1832 to 80,000 in 1848. The Liberals now obtained an overwhelming majority—85 Liberals to 25 Catholics. Many measures of great utility to the commercial and working classes were carried out, and large public works were

undertaken. These measures, however, involved an increase of taxation, and an attempt to deal with secondary education led to strong opposition. In 1853 the Rogier Ministry came to an end. In 1854 the Catholic vote secured a Conservative majority, and M. Pierre de Decker became premier. He was the first Fleming to attain to that office. His ministry met with bitter and uncompromising hostility from the Liberals, who found an eloquent leader in M. Frère-Orban (like Rogier and Lebeau a Liégeois), whose appeals to the masses led to demonstrations in the streets and revolutionary threatenings. Rogier, now an old man, returned to office in 1857, and was succeeded in 1860 by Frère-Orban, who remained at the head of the Government for ten years. The greatest achievement of his ministry was the capitalizing of the Scheldt tolls in 1863, carried out by Baron Lambermont. The collection of the dues was troublesome to Holland and a serious hindrance to the trade of Antwerp. The proposal to buy them up met, therefore, with a friendly reception by the Dutch Government; and Great Britain, whose tonnage at the port of Antwerp was far larger than that of any other country, was quite ready to co-operate in carrying the matter through. A conference, at which twenty-one Powers were represented, was held at Brussels, July 1863, in order to decide on the quotas which each of them should bear. Belgium, although it possessed but a small mercantile marine, undertook, as the State benefiting most by the transaction, to bear one-third of the amount, viz. 32,276,566 francs.

After a reign of thirty-four years, in which he had rendered to his adopted country services which can scarcely be overestimated, King Leopold died, December 10, 1865, and was succeeded by his son, Leopold II, who had married, August 22, 1853, the Archduchess Marie Henriette of Austria.

The following year witnessed the rapid and decisive defeat of Austria by Prussia and the formation of the North German Confederation under the hegemony of the latter Power. This sudden change in the European balance of power had caused great uneasiness in France, and a general feeling of unsettlement and tension. To appease French public opinion, Napoleon III, whose tenure of power had been for some years weakening, felt himself obliged to attempt some counterstroke. He turned his eyes to Luxemburg and Belgium. Foiled in his attempt to purchase the Grand Duchy from King William III of Holland, the Emperor's next effort was to obtain through the French railway company *de l'Est*, by the help of a State subsidy, the same control over certain of the Belgian railways as the *Compagnie de l'Est* had already obtained over those of Luxemburg. Frère-Orban proved himself at this critical time a wary and wide-awake statesman. He himself visited Paris in order to learn by personal exchange of views whether there were any secret plottings against the interests of Belgium. That sinister designs were on foot is proved by the disclosure of the Benedetti proposal (whatever its origin) [1] made by Bismarck after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870—the proposal that France should give Prussia a free hand in Germany in exchange for the annexation of Belgium.

However, before the outbreak of this war, Frère-Orban had already been ejected from power. The period in which he had been in office was important not merely because of the dangers which threatened Belgium from the rivalries of neighbouring Powers,

[1] It was asserted by Benedetti that the proposal was made to him by Bismarck verbally, and that the Prussian Chancellor asked him to commit it to writing with the cynical intention of publishing the document at a convenient time to the prejudice of France.

but because of the rise of new political forces and divisions of opinion within the kingdom. Frère-Orban, as Minister, had not redeemed the lavish promises made as a free-lance in opposition. Like his predecessor, Rogier, he belonged to that school of Liberalism known as *doctrinaire*, which aimed at centralization and State control, and the effacement of the traditional local privileges and liberties so long tenaciously preserved in the Netherlands. Intent on pressing forward universal military service and the carrying out of great public works at the national charges, he made no attempt to alter the Nothomb educational compromise or to lower the franchise. A split now took place in the Liberal party between the *doctrinaires* and the Progressives or advanced Radicals, who advocated obligatory secular education and such a lowering of the franchise as to bring about practically universal manhood suffrage. This Liberal split was, moreover, accompanied by two other disintegrating forces, which began from this time forward to exercise an increasing influence in Belgian politics—the Flemish Movement or *Flamingantisme* and Socialism.[1]

The result was that in the elections, which took place in August 1870, the Catholics obtained a majority in both Chambers. Coming into power just as the Franco-Prussian War began, and faced by bitter opposition, they had great difficulties to meet, but their record was distinctly creditable. In the war which was waged close to their frontiers the neutrality of Belgium was not infringed nor did any complications arise. This result was largely due to the initiative taken by Leopold II. He wrote personally to Queen Victoria and to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, urging that Great Britain should take diplomatic

[1] The history and character of these two movements are dealt with in the Appendix, pp. 187–203.

steps to protect Belgian neutrality. His appeal met with an immediate response. Treaties were concluded between Great Britain and Prussia, August 9, and between Great Britain and France, August 11, couched in similar terms, by which Great Britain undertook to co-operate with either of the belligerents, employing for that purpose her naval and military forces, should the neutrality of Belgium be infringed by the other.[1]

For a right understanding of Belgian party politics it is essential to remember that the Catholics were not necessarily a party of reactionaries. At the same time, though they may claim that their principles are democratic and national, history has not borne out this claim in every respect. In 1878 the Liberals, having temporarily composed their difficulties, obtained a majority, and Frère-Orban once more became premier. Acting on what he believed to be a popular mandate, he now, in accordance with the views of his more advanced supporters, resolved to establish a system of universal secular education. His Bill, which became law, forbade religious instruction to be given in primary schools, all of which were placed under strict State supervision. As freedom of education was guaranteed by the Constitution, private schools could not be abolished, but in the choice of teachers an exclusive preference was granted to those who had been educated at the State schools. This was a declaration of war to the knife against the Catholic party. It was met in the spirit in which it was declared. The bishops appealed for funds, and with such success that private Catholic schools were built in nearly every *commune*. Acting on the instructions of the clergy, parents withdrew their children, teachers resigned, and many of the State schools, especially in Flanders, were almost

[1] See *Neutrality of Belgium*, No. 29 of this series, p. 17, and Hertslet, *op. cit.*, III, Nos. 427 and 428.

deserted. When the struggle was at its height a fresh split took place in the Liberal party. It was fatal. The elections of 1884 resulted in 86 Catholics being elected against 52 Liberals of all sections; and from that time to the present day, without a break, for thirty-four years, the Catholics have held power.

The new ministry at once proceeded to deal drastically with education. The control of the *communes* was restored. Grants were made to private as well as to State schools on certain conditions. At the request of twenty-five heads of families, the *communes* were obliged to provide a sectarian or a non-sectarian school, as the case might be. In a very large number of *communes* unsectarian schools disappeared. Despite the strong feeling which the passing of this measure aroused, the system is still the law; but the educational results have been disappointing.

The majorities obtained by the Catholics at a succession of elections continued to be increasingly overwhelming; but, although they passed many useful measures of social and remedial legislation, they were confronted from 1886 to 1893 with serious labour troubles. The working-classes, especially the miners and factory hands in the Walloon districts of the south and east, had many and legitimate grievances; collectivist Socialism of an advanced type had been making rapid headway amongst them; and very few of them possessed a vote. Resort was made to the weapon of strikes; these were of a violent and revolutionary character, and there were many serious collisions between the strikers and the civil authorities; on one occasion, at Charleroi, seventy men were killed. A Commission was appointed to inquire into labour conditions, with the result that wages were raised, hours of labour diminished, and the labour of women and children strictly regulated. But the

parti ouvrier was not satisfied. Its leaders in 1893 threatened a general strike unless universal suffrage were granted. The Catholic ministry had for some time seen that a considerable widening of the franchise was called for, and they now determined to adopt a compromise—proposed by Albert Nyssens, and frequently spoken of as the Nyssens compromise—which established universal suffrage, limited by a residential qualification and redressed by the creation of the plural vote. It became law, September 7, 1893.

The necessity of this enlargement of the electorate was patent. The principles of the Belgian Constitution were in every way liberal, but the franchise was so restricted that truly representative government can scarcely be said to have existed. In 1832 there were but 45,000 electors; after the reform of 1848 the number was 80,000. In 1892, although the population amounted to 6,500,000, only 136,775 could vote. The Bill of 1893 raised the number to 1,354,891, who, by means of the plural vote, could give 2,085,605 votes.

It was generally thought that the new electoral law would favour the Liberals. Its effect was to reduce them to impotence. At the election of 1894, 105 Catholics were returned, 18 Liberals of all shades, and 29 Socialists. The partial election of 1896 raised the Catholic majority to 112, entirely at the expense of the Liberals. The Catholics continued steadily carrying out their programme of social reforms, and various Acts were passed for the welfare of the working-classes—old-age pensions, workmen's dwellings, employers' liability, subsidies to savings banks and mutual societies for the encouragement of thrift. The Socialist minority, under the able leadership of Émile Vandervelde, now first began to make itself felt as a power in the State. Knowing that its numbers in the Chamber

did not represent its strength in the electorate, it promoted a violent agitation, accompanied by strikes, for universal suffrage pure and simple. At the same time the ardent advocates of the *flamingant* movement, mostly supporters of the Catholic party, were pressing their views urgently upon the Government. Count de Smet de Naeyer, who became premier in 1896, made his ministry remarkable by grappling with both these burning questions. In 1897 a law was passed making Flemish, as well as French, the official language of the country. All laws and public notices were henceforth to be published in both languages. The other measure which de Smet de Naeyer had the boldness to propose and to carry into law was an even more hazardous experiment from the party point of view than the Electoral Reform of 1893. He admitted the justice of the plea that the minorities were not adequately represented. A large number of moderate Catholics did not think it fair that the Liberal party, which had many adherents in the country, should in the Representative Chamber be almost extinguished; and the Socialist demand for the abolition of the plural vote was countered by the Catholic premier conceding the Liberal demand for 'proportional representation'. The Bill was pressed forward in the face of violent opposition, and 'proportional representation' became the law of the land. It has proved a signal success, and has been found to work smoothly, almost automatically. By this system every minority, however small, obtains representation exactly proportioned to its strength in the constituencies. The result of the elections of May 1900 witnessed, as was expected, a revival of the Liberal party. The returns gave: Catholics, 95 members; Liberals, 31; Radicals, 3; Socialists, 32; Christian Democrats (independent Catholic), 1. Although the

Liberals and Socialists had agreed to act together in opposition, their joint forces were still in a minority.

From this date, though with diminishing majorities, the Catholic party has continued to remain in power, in spite of the fact that the party has of late years had to contend against division in its ranks, and the group known as the Young Right, with its openly proclaimed democratic and reforming tendencies, has gradually obtained the ascendancy over the more Conservative section headed by M. Charles Woeste. The differences between the Catholic groups were small compared with the fundamental differences of principle dividing Liberals from Socialists, which have prevented them from being able by real unity of action to overthrow their opponents at the poll. During this latter period of their long tenure of office the Catholics have never relaxed their efforts to improve the condition of the people. Probably in no other country has the State done so much by its admirable system of old-age pensions, and by the support given to mutual societies, building societies, savings banks, facilities for life insurance and encouragements to thrift, as in Belgium; and all this has been carried out with light taxation and annual surpluses.

Hitherto no mention has been made of the part taken in public affairs by the King. But in the period of progress and prosperity covered by his long reign of almost forty-five years, the personality of Leopold II politically counted for much. He was an exceedingly far-sighted and able statesman, and his trained experience, his diplomatic skill, and wise counsels were of the highest value to his ministers. He did his utmost to moderate the bitterness of party strife, and his influence always carried weight, and rightly, for as a hardworking and thoroughly competent man of

affairs, all his ministers found in their constitutional sovereign a ready fellow-worker and sagacious adviser.

One of the burning questions of the latter part of his reign was the loud demand for army reform. It was felt that, in the presence of vast national armies upon their frontiers, the Belgian preparations and organization for defence were quite inadequate. The King was always pressing the subject upon the attention of his ministers, but, as they were intent upon domestic controversies, year after year passed without the matter being taken up in earnest. Several War Ministers made efforts at reform, but had to resign owing to lack of support. After various tentative measures in 1900, 1904, and 1907, at last in 1909, just before the King's death, a new law was passed, which abolished the unpopular privilege of pre-emption, by which a well-to-do conscript could escape service with the colours by the payment of a substitute. By this Bill the army would be gradually raised to a war strength of 188,000 men. The numerous fortresses in Belgium had during the reign of Leopold I been gradually abandoned as useless; and finally in 1886 it was resolved to maintain and thoroughly fortify three only, Namur and Liége to defend the line of the Meuse, and Antwerp as a vast entrenched camp, in which the Belgian army in case of extremity could in security make a last stand. The plans drawn up by General Brialmont, by which Liége was surrounded by a ring of twelve outlying forts, Namur by nine, Antwerp by two rings, of which the outer contained fifteen forts, cost immense sums of money; and the construction was spread over a number of years. The Antwerp forts were only completed in 1909, and even at the outbreak of war in 1914 were still without their full armament.

King Leopold always took the very keenest interest

in the commercial development of the country. He found Antwerp virtually the only seaport in the kingdom; Ostend, owing to the deficiencies of its harbour, having fallen into neglect. In 1895 the King, under whose personal care the town had developed into one of the most fashionable seaside resorts on the Continent, turned his attention to its capabilities as a port. An entirely new harbour was constructed, with basins and docks for ships of the largest tonnage; and although Ostend, owing to tidal conditions, will probably never be a commercial port on the scale of King Leopold's efforts, it has now a very large carrying trade between England and the Continent. A little later, largely owing to the King's encouragement, a deep ship-canal was constructed along the course of the silted-up River Zwyn; and a fine artificial harbour was constructed near Heyst, which received the name of Zeebrugge or Bruges-on-the-Sea.

More remarkable was the creation, by the King's wonderful combination of astute diplomacy and daring initiative, of a colonial empire for Belgium. In 1876, at the invitation of Leopold II, a Geographical Congress met at Brussels, which led to the formation of an international association for the suppression of the slave-trade in Central Africa. The explorer Stanley had failed to enlist the support of the British Government or people, overburdened as they were already with tropical possessions, for the opening out of that splendid waterway, the River Congo, whose course, following on the tracks of Livingstone and Cameron, he had discovered. His services were secured by King Leopold, and, mainly at his charges and under his instructions, Stanley conducted an expedition up the Congo in 1879, and made a series of treaties with native chieftains on both banks of the upper Congo. It was only with much difficulty, owing to rival French claims

from the north and Portuguese from the south, that Leopold, employing no small diplomatic tact and adroitness, succeeded in obtaining a way of access from the sea to the higher reaches of the river.

Towards the end of 1884 an African Conference met at Berlin. In the Congo basin the King was able to claim a kind of *de facto* possession; and, profiting by the jealousies of Great Britain, France and Germany, he contrived to obtain a mandate from the Conference to carry on the work of the International Association in the vast area watered by the Congo and its tributaries. His position was legalized, and he was recognized (for the Association soon ceased to exist) as personal sovereign of an independent Congo Free State. It was an anomalous position for the constitutional ruler of a small kingdom like Belgium, whose neutrality was guaranteed by the Great Powers. The Belgian Chambers, though they reluctantly gave their consent, April 28 and 30, to their King's assumption of this African sovereignty, declined to bear any share of the responsibility. Leopold did not shrink from the task, and for twenty-three years he ruled the Congo State as an absolute monarch. For some years he had to face an annual deficit in the cost of administration, but such were the mineral and vegetable resources of the country that in time it began financially to be a profitable concern from the merely business point of view. In order to give a proof that he was not seeking personal aggrandizement, Leopold, by a will dated August 2, 1889, devised to the Belgian State all his Congo possessions. Slowly opinion in Belgium began to change. Loans for railway construction and steam navigation were even made by the Chambers in 1889 and 1896.

The agitation aroused by the revelations made concerning the methods employed for the collection of rubber under a system of enforced labour and by

charges of harsh and cruel treatment of the natives, is a thing of recent memory. A Commission of Inquiry was appointed in 1904, largely through the action taken by the British Government. Their report (1906) led to reforms of admitted maladministration being offered by the King. But these did not satisfy public opinion; and the Belgian Parliament responded to the feeling of dissatisfaction by agreeing to take over the Congo State as a Belgian colony. There were many difficulties to be overcome in the settlement with King Leopold before annexation could be accomplished, and there were long and acrimonious debates. The transfer took place in 1908. Whatever may have been the abuses in the preceding period, it was now resolved that they should cease. The concessions were cancelled; and many reforms in administration were at once taken in hand by the zeal of the first Colonial Minister, M. Renkin, who himself made a tour of inspection in the colony. The creation of the colony, however, had been, one must confess, a striking testimony to the energy, enterprise, and business capacity of King Leopold; and the nation became possessed of not merely this vast and valuable colony in Central Africa, but such institutions as the School of Tropical Medicine, the Colonial College at Brussels, and the Colonial Museum at Tervoeren, all of them founded from the profits derived from the Congo and carried on by the King's personal initiative and supervision. Whatever the faults of King Leopold's private life, in his public life he played a great part, and his ambitious schemes resulted in a great increase in the material welfare of his country.

He was succeeded, December 1909, by his nephew, the surviving son of Philip, Count of Flanders, who ascended the throne as King Albert I. Of him, whether as man or as King, nothing has been heard but praise.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) Religious

The last available statistics are those of 1891, when the number of Anglicans and Protestants was 27,900; that of Jews, 13,200. By the Constitution there is absolute freedom of worship. The State treats all religious bodies on the same footing, and does not interfere with them in any way. Subsidies are, however, given to the ministers of all denominations; and the amount of these grants, in 1913, gives a sure index to their relative importance. The figures are: Roman Catholics, 7,318,000 francs; Protestants, 117,000; Jews, 32,000.

Religious houses are numerous. In 1900 (the latest statistics published) there were 2,474 separate houses (291 for men, 2,183 for women). Of these, 389 are devoted to the cure of the sick, 1,248 to education, only 178 to religious seclusion. Thus their main objects are practical and charitable, i. e. teaching and nursing.

(2) Political

The Belgian Constitution was originally framed by the National Congress elected for the purpose, and was adopted on February 7, 1831. It comprises 139 articles. The Belgian Government is an hereditary constitutional monarchy, the executive and legislative powers being vested in the King and two Chambers, the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives. The King must be a Catholic, and the crown passes in the male line by primogeniture. In case of the failure of heirs male,

the King with the consent of the Chambers has the right of nominating his successor. In default of such nomination, the throne, on the sovereign's death, would be declared vacant, and the Chambers, specially elected in double numbers, would proceed to the election of a successor. All the Acts of the King must be countersigned by a minister, who is thus made responsible. The King is commander-in-chief of the army, and has two special prerogatives. He can summon, prorogue, and dissolve the Chambers, and can initiate legislation by presenting to the Chambers a draft of a Bill (*projet de loi*) dealing with an urgent matter.

The number of members of the Representative Chamber was originally 102, that of the Senate 51. The franchise was at first very restricted, and continued so until the Constitution was revised in 1893–4. The members of the Representative Chamber, who had to be at least 25 years of age, were elected for four years, but one half retired every two years. Senators were elected for eight years, half of them retiring every four years. Every senator had to be at least 40 years of age and to possess certain property qualifications. The electorate for both Chambers was the same, except that for the Senate the age was raised from 25 to 30 years. The revision of 1893–4 added 27 members to the Senate. These supplementary senators are nominated by the Provincial Councils and sit for life.

By the Reform Act of 1894 every citizen of 25 years of age, who had resided for a year in a *commune*, and was not legally disqualified, became entitled to a vote. This democratic suffrage was modified by the creation of the plural vote. Every father of a family over 35 years of age paying 5 francs house tax, and every citizen over 25 owning a certain amount of property and in possession of a certain income, had an extra

vote. Two extra votes were also given to persons who had gained diplomas of higher education[1] or who had filled public offices[2] implying the possession of higher education, the limitation being that no elector should have more than three votes. In 1899 a system of 'proportional representation' was introduced. Thus the electoral system of Belgium is one of the most complicated in existence, but it has worked smoothly and on the whole satisfactorily.

The number of deputies is regularly increased with the growth of the population. In 1912 there were 186 members of the Chamber of Representatives; the number of the senators is 93 + 27 = 120. Each deputy receives a payment of 4,000 francs for regular attendance and a free railway pass. No payment is made to senators. Money bills and bills relating to the organization of the army must originate in the Chamber of Representatives.

(3) Public Education

Primary education, as has been shown in Sec. II. 9, has been the subject of much political controversy in Belgium, where, in general, it is far below the European average. The law of 1842 enforced the teaching of religion in all schools and placed it in the sole charge of the clergy, who were also allowed to control moral teaching and to veto the use of particular books. In 1879 the Liberal ministry of Frère-Orban passed an Act by which the schools passed entirely under secular control; grants were only given to schools which conformed to certain conditions; and religious education in school hours was abolished altogether, though ministers of religion were permitted to give it in the school buildings, to scholars of their own communion,

[1] Enumerated in Art. 17 of the Act.
[2] Enumerated in Art. 19 of the Act.

at other times. This Act aroused unanimous and organized opposition on the part of the Catholic population led by the Episcopate, with the result that in 1884 the Liberal ministry was overthrown and a Catholic majority returned, which has never since been shaken. The Catholics immediately reversed the policy of 1879, and the Schools Law passed by them in 1884, with modifications introduced in 1895 and 1910, now regulates the primary education of the country. The *communes* are responsible for the schools, and every *commune* is bound to provide a Catholic or a 'neutral' school at the request of twenty-five heads of families. The teaching of religion, though not compulsory, is everywhere permitted in school hours, with the proviso that children may be exempted from attending these classes on the written application of their parents. Grants are made to Catholic schools which submit to Government inspection; and most of the State training colleges were superseded by others controlled by the Church.

Elementary education is free, and not compulsory. Belgium is the only European country, except Russia, which has no compulsory system of education; such a system is advocated by the Liberals, but opposed by the Catholics as hostile to the Belgian spirit of liberty and likely to lead to Government control in the schools. The proportion of children who never go to school is officially estimated at 10 per cent.; the Liberals estimate it at 16 per cent. It is certainly highest in the Flemish provinces, lower in the Walloon, and lowest of all in Luxemburg. In large towns attendance is almost universal; in the country districts, especially in Flanders, it is alleged that about half the children hardly attend at all; and it is certain that those who do attend do so with long intervals for helping at home and in the fields, and that the average

number of days' attendance in the year is well below 200. Education in the country also suffers because, whereas labour in factories is forbidden in the case of children under twelve years old, there is no such restriction for agricultural labour. Consequently the average town child stays at school till he is eleven or twelve, while the country child leaves as a rule earlier than this. Only 10 per cent. of the total scholars are over ten years old, as opposed to 16 per cent. in England.

There are three main types of school. Each *commune* must have at least one school (with certain exceptions); the number of teachers, the methods, hours, holidays, appointments and dismissals, &c., are controlled entirely by the *commune*. All teachers must be certificated and paid a minimum salary, and the Government issues a list of subjects which must be taught, but this list may be added to. The result is that the 'communal' schools vary greatly in number and efficiency. Where the communal authorities are interested, as in Antwerp, Ghent, and Brussels, the standard is high; in many places it is very low.

The second type is the 'adopted school', which is a school officially authorized by the *commune* to supplement the work of the communal school. It undertakes to provide free education, the *commune* being responsible for the salaries of the teachers. Government inspection excepted, the adopted school is an autonomous institution, and exists as such in virtue of a contract, the 'contract of adoption', made between it and the *commune*. These schools are Catholic institutions.

The third type is the 'adoptable' school, i. e. a Catholic school identical with the 'adopted' except that it has no contract with the *commune*, and in consequence receives no payment from it; but all three

types receive the same grants from the provinces and the State.

Of the total number of scholars, 57 per cent. attend communal, 24 per cent. adopted, and 19 per cent. adoptable schools. The attendances at communal schools are, however, declining, owing partly to the influence of the Catholics and partly to the economy which local taxpayers secure by encouraging the Catholic schools.

The cost of education is very low, working out at £1 13*s.* 1*d.* per child, as opposed to £3 7*s.* 2*d.* in England and Wales. This is partly due to the large amount—perhaps 25 per cent. of the whole expense—contributed by private money, but it is much more due to the small number of teachers (the average size of a class is forty-nine children) and the very small salaries they receive. The stipend of a head master varies, according to the size of the commune, from a minimum of £48 to a maximum of £98, with an allowance for providing a house and an annual increase of £1. These conditions, which are injurious to educational efficiency, result from the prevalence of unsalaried teaching by members of religious orders, and from the low standard of the training colleges.

There is a large class of schools known as *écoles gardiennes*, of a type intermediate between a kindergarten and an infant school. These are a Catholic enterprise; the teaching is mostly done by nuns for a nominal salary, and their success is largely due to the general feeling that the necessary minimum of instruction can be gained by their means without attending the ordinary schools at all. That the system of primary education has not worked satisfactorily is shown by the fact that in 1890 (excluding always children under 8 years) 25 per cent. of the population was illiterate; in 1900, 19·1 per cent.; in 1910, 13·1

per cent.; but a gradual improvement is also shown. In 1913, of 67,396 young men called to the colours 9·24 per cent. could neither read nor write.

Primary education is not confined to children. A large number of schools exists for adults whose education has been neglected. In these schools technical instruction (e. g. in domestic economy, agriculture, and industry) is also given, as it is more fully by the technical schools. There are 68 commercial and 81 industrial schools. These are also provided by the communes, but receive a State subsidy.

The higher-grade schools are 20 Royal Athénées, 7 communal colleges, and 8 private colleges. The 20 Athénées are at Antwerp, Malines, Brussels, Irelles, Louvain, Bruges, Ostend, Ghent, Ath, Charleroi, Verviers, Hasselt, Chimay, Mons, Tournai, Huy, Liège, Tongres, Arlon, and Namur. Most of the pupils proceed to one or other of the universities.

These are four in number, at Ghent, Liège, Brussels, and Louvain. The first two are State, the others free, universities. The numbers of students in the regular faculties of philosophy and letters, science, law, and medicine for certain recent years are given in the table below. Louvain alone has a theological faculty.

	1889–1890	1899–1900	1904–1905	1909–1910	1910–1911
Ghent	681	420	427	454	494
Liège	1,296	1,100	1,236	1,797	1,775
Brussels	1,792	819	733	854	917
Louvain	1,463	1,261	1,370	1,872	1,902
(theology)	35	110	177	115	98

It will be seen that Louvain is slightly ahead of Liège in number of students. Besides its faculty of theology it has an important agricultural school (Institut agronomique). Liège is easily first in the technical faculties (electrical engineering, mining, &c.).

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) Internal

(a) *Roads*

The roads of Belgium are divided into State, provincial, and communal roads. The number in the first class increased from a total length of 6,731 km. (4,180 miles)[1] in 1880 to 8,115 km. (5,039 miles) in 1910; in the second class there was an increase during the same period from about 890 to about 980 miles; and in the third class there was a decrease from about 218 to about 39 miles. The total length of all three classes of roads increased during the thirty years from 8,516 km. (5,288 miles) to 9,757 km. (6,059 miles). There are also some 19,000 miles of by-roads. The majority of Belgian roads are paved with stone, the main ones usually with setts. Since 1896 the poorer communes may receive grants from the State in aid of the proper upkeep of the local roads.

(b) *Rivers and Canals*

Mileage.—The total length of the navigable waterways of Belgium is about 1,360 miles, or one mile of waterway to every 8·4 square miles of territory. This very large ratio of waterways to area arises both from the special advantages offered by the rivers Scheldt, Lys, Meuse, and Sambre, and from the skill with which Belgian engineers have improved the natural fairways

[1] These conversions are given throughout to the nearest mile, taking 1 km. as equal to 0·621 of a mile.

and have constructed a great network of artificial canals.

The official list of the navigable waterways of Belgium as on December 31, 1911, enumerated 85 such waterways of all kinds, including the navigable reaches of the rivers. Those of 20 miles in length and upwards (with their length and depth) were as follows:

	Length in km.	*Depth in metres.*
1. Démer	33·08	1·20–1·40
2. Canalized Dendre, main canal	65·52	2·10–2·30
3. Branch canal to Hasselt	39·15	2·10
4. Haut Escaut (Upper Scheldt)	94·43	2·30–2·50
5. Escaut maritime (Lower Scheldt)	108·00	1·90–11·20
6. Furnes–Ambacht canals	85·29	0·75–2·00
7. Ghent to Ostend, main canal	70·13	2·20–4·50
8. Canal de Jonction de la Meuse à l'Escaut	86·36	2·10
9. Lesse	33·16	0·20–0·60
10. Lys (main portion)	113·34	2·10–2·40
11. Maastricht to 's Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) (Belgian portion)	44·65	2·10
12. Meuse (Belgian canalized portion)	128·04	0·60–2·10
13. Meuse (Belgian portion, not canalized)	54·77	0·50–2·10
14. Grande Nèthe	44·09	0·40–0·80
15. Sambre (Belgian canalized portion)	94·20	2·10
16. Semois (Belgian and intermediate portions)	80·58	0·40–0·60
17. Turnhout to Antwerp canal	37·33	1·65–2·10
18. Yser	41·11	1·20–2·20

Tolls, Freightage, and Traffic.—The canals are all under public control, central or local; and at least 85 per cent. are the property of the State, which is also a shareholder in the canals belonging to private companies. State control is confined to the administration of the waterways themselves and to the assessment of tolls, and does not include the management of the barges, which are private property. The tolls are very low; some canals are toll free, and a 100-ton barge would

pay, on the average, less than 8*d.* a mile. There are exemptions for empty barges. The freightage rates are also low and have been very greatly reduced in the last twenty years. The charge for the carriage of a ton of coal from Antwerp to Charleroi (87 miles by canal) is about 2*s.* 4*d.*, from Antwerp to Mons (105½ miles by canal), bout 2*s.* 6*d.*, and from Charleroi to Ghent (110 miles by canal) about 2*s.* 9*d.*

In addition to the internal traffic, there is a large amount of import and export by canal, and also a large transit traffic, in competition with transport systems converging on Havre, Dunkirk, Rotterdam, and Hamburg. The transit traffic is centred at Antwerp, the position of which as a distributing centre for a large portion of the canal system of north-west Europe is an important factor in the trade of the port. The number of vessels arriving at Antwerp from the interior increased from 27,655 in 1890 to 43,060 in 1912, and the tonnage from 2,774,586 to 9,597,904. The increase in tonnage has been very large in the case of vessels coming from France, Germany, and Holland; such vessels represented just over a quarter of the total tonnage in 1902, and about three-eighths in 1912. Their number has increased from 176 French, 936 German, and 3,169 Dutch vessels in 1902, to 522, 3,674, and 5,972 respectively in 1912. The tonnage figures for 1912 represented a still larger proportional increase on the tonnage figures for 1902, and this is an indication of the improvements which have constantly been made in the canals and rivers with a view to the accommodation of barges of greater draught. The employment of larger barges has resulted in an economy of working and in a consequent reduction of the freightage. The average rate per ton of coal from Antwerp to Cologne (256 miles) decreased between 1888 and 1903 from 6*s.* 7½*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.*

Goods (including grain, minerals, cotton and wool, timber, coal, and machinery) are transported all the year round by the Rhine barges to Cologne and Mannheim, and in the summer months to Strassburg. These barges are towed by tugs of about a hundred horse-power, and their average capacity exceeds 1,500 tons. The journey to Cologne (256 miles) occupies about 5 days, to Mannheim (418 miles) 7 or 8 days, and to Strassburg (500 miles) from 12 to 15 days. There are also small express goods steamers with a carrying capacity of 500–600 tons.

The canals offer serious competition to the system of State railways, but the Belgian Government has never allowed the interests of the railways to interfere with industrial or commercial requirements, and has encouraged the development of the canals. Proposals have been made to free the canals from all tolls, but it has been considered that the consequent transference of traffic from the railways would not merely interfere with the development of the railway system, but would also place too great a burden on the canals.

Waterways to the Rhine and to France.—The ordinary route to the Rhine from Antwerp is by the Scheldt, the Zuidbevelands canal, the East Scheldt, the Mastgat, the Hollandsche Diep, and the Waal, but there is an alternative route by the Belgian and French canal systems. The Marne–Rhine portion of this route is available only for barges of smaller capacity. The time required for the journey is four times as long, and the freightage twice as high as on the other route.

The most important canal routes to France are those by the lines of the Meuse, the Sambre, and the Mons–Condé canal, which account for more than 90 per cent. of the canal traffic between Belgium and France. These routes are adjacent to the Belgian coal-fields, and coal is the most important product carried by canal.

Other goods which are largely carried by this means are stones for building and other purposes, timber, grain, flour, copper, lead, zinc, and chemical products from France to Belgium; grain (chiefly wheat and maize), lead, zinc, and cement from Belgium to France; wheat, barley, rice, copper, tin, iron, cheese, vegetables, mineral waters, oil-seeds, and refined sugar from Holland to Belgium; bricks, stone, cement, copper, tin, zinc and lead, grain, artificial manure, oil-seeds, raw sugar, beer, hides, glass, tobacco, and paper from Belgium to Holland.

Details of the Canal System.—The canal systems in Belgium are conveniently divided into an eastern and a western group by the Rupel–Brussels and Brussels–Charleroi canals. These canals, together with the Rupel and lower Scheldt, the Canal de Jonction de la Meuse à l'Escaut, the Maastricht–'s Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) canal, the Maastricht–Liège canal, and the Meuse and the Sambre form a complete circle of waterway, linking together the towns of Brussels, Namur, Liège, and Antwerp, and giving access by water to the coal-fields of Charleroi, the lead and zinc mines near Liège and Namur, and the stone quarries in the province of Liège. There are six offshoots from this circle, two of which, the Louvain–Rupel canal and the branch canal from Turnhout to Hasselt (south of the Canal de Jonction de la Meuse à l'Escaut), run inward from the circumference. The other four are the Turnhout–Antwerp branch canal, and the rivers Ourthe, Meuse, and Sambre. All three rivers run through a region of quarries; the Meuse is a link between Belgium and north-east France, and the Sambre is the direct route from Belgium to Paris.

The western group of waterways consists of the network of canals and navigable rivers, which include the lower Scheldt, the Dendre, the Blaton–Ath canal,

the Antoing–Pommerœil canal, and the Mons–Condé canal, and connect the Mons coal-field with the industrial and agricultural districts of Hainaut and Flanders.

Until within the last fifteen years, the only connexion between the eastern and the western group was by the lower Scheldt in the north, but the construction of the Canal du Centre from the Mons–Condé canal to the Brussels–Charleroi canal has linked the two systems together.

The canal system provides for the conveyance of merchandise along the following main routes: (1) Antwerp to Paris; (2) Antwerp to Charleroi *via* Brussels; (3) Antwerp to Charleroi *via* Liège; (4) Charleroi to Strassburg; (5) Charleroi to Paris; (6) Antwerp to Ostend and Dunkirk; (7) Furnes to Charleroi; (8) Liège to Rotterdam; and (9) Antwerp to the Rhine, giving access to Cologne, Mannheim, Strassburg, and beyond.

Adequacy to Economic Needs.—Very important improvements have been made in the Belgian canal system since the beginning of the present century, and were still being made at the time of the outbreak of war. Among these are the deepening and widening of the Maastricht–'s Hertogenbosch and Liège–Maastricht canals to allow of the passage of 1,000-ton barges, the deepening of the Turnhout–Antwerp canal and the Brussels–Charleroi canal, and the construction of new canals to link up various parts of the system. The improvements of the Ghent–Terneuzen canal, the construction of the ship canal from Bruges to Zeebrugge, and the enlargements of the ports of Ghent,[1] Bruges,[1] Ostend, and Brussels are closely connected with the development of canal traffic. New schemes for the improvement of the middle Meuse, for the provision of a new

[1] See below, pp. 99–101.

route from the Meuse to the Rhine, and for canals directly connecting Bruges and Roulers, Liège and Antwerp, Brussels and Hasselt, were being discussed in 1913 and 1914. Excellent as the system was, these are developments which might be made with advantage.

(c) *Railways*

(i) *Extent of Railway System in General.*—Belgium is intersected by an intricate network of railway lines, running inland from the coast and across the country; this network provides efficient internal communications and also forms sections of great international lines carrying a large proportion of the traffic of northern Europe. In considering the railway system it will be convenient to divide it into six lines, or groups of lines, running inland from the coast, and to regard the cross-country lines as links between these groups. It should, however, be noted that these connecting lines are in many cases portions of main routes from the Franco-Belgian frontier to Brussels, Antwerp, Namur, Liège, &c.

Belgium is also very well provided with light railways, especially in the thickly populated region near Mons. The system of railways and light railways is supplemented by a large number of steam tramways, which often form important lines of traffic, but these are so numerous that detailed references have not been made to them.

The six lines, or groups of lines, which form the basis of the following scheme of Belgian railways, are:

1. Ostend–Thourout–Menin–Lille.
2. Ostend–Courtrai–Tournai–St. Amand.
3. (*a*) Antwerp–Brussels–Mons–Le Cateau.
   (*b*) Antwerp–Brussels–Mons–Valenciennes.
   (*c*) Antwerp–Brussels–Chimay–Laon.

4. Antwerp – Brussels – Luttre – Charleroi – Vireux – Rheims.

5. (*a*) Antwerp–Louvain–Ottignies–Charleroi.

(*b*) Antwerp–Louvain–Ottignies–Namur–Dinant–Givet.

(*c*) Antwerp–Brussels–Ottignies–Namur–Libramont–Luxemburg.

6. (*a*) Antwerp – Aerschot – Hasselt – Maastricht – Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle).

(*b*) Antwerp – Louvain – Tirlemont – Liège – Verviers – Aachen.

(*c*) Antwerp – Louvain – Tirlemont – Liège – Rivage – Trois Ponts – Luxemburg.

There are through routes from Ostend and Antwerp to Paris, from Ostend and Antwerp to Luxemburg and Basle, and from Ostend and Antwerp to Germany. Belgium is also traversed by the direct routes from Paris and Calais to Germany, and from Paris and Calais to Holland; and alternative routes connect the more important intervening centres of traffic.

(ii) *State and Privately-owned Railways.*—In 1835 the railway system of Belgium consisted of 20 km. (12·4 miles) of State-owned line. By 1840 the State owned 334 km. (207 miles) and private companies had built 32 km. (19·9 miles), and these systems had increased by 1850 to 625 km. (389 miles) owned by the State and 273 km. (169·5 miles) owned by private companies. The twenty years from 1850 to 1870 witnessed a great development of private companies, and the length of privately-owned lines increased to 2,028 km. (1,259 miles), while the length of State-owned lines increased only to 869 km. (540 miles). This period of private enterprise was followed by one of State purchase of private lines, and the last half-century has seen a constant decrease of private railway enterprise. The length of line worked by the State

was 3,209 km. (1,993 miles) in 1890, 4,008 km. (2,489 miles) in 1900, 4,314 km. (2,679 miles) in 1911, and 4,369 km. (2,713 miles) in 1912. The length of lines worked by private companies decreased to 1,261 km. (783 miles) in 1890, 531 km. (330 miles) in 1900, and 350 km. (217 miles) in 1911 and 1912, this figure being inclusive of 26 miles beyond the frontiers. The actual length of railway system within the Belgian frontiers in 1912 was 4,638 km. (2,880 miles).[1] In the figures of the State-worked line are included seven railways, with a total length of about 150 miles, which are managed as part of the State system, though they still belong to private companies, to which a fixed rent or a share of the profits is paid by the State.

The number of passengers carried by the Belgian railways increased from 176,821,515 in 1908 to 211,047,120 in 1912, and the total weight of goods carried from 68,721,400 metric tons in 1908 to 88,994,600 metric tons in 1912.

(iii) *Financial Considerations.*—The total capital expenditure upon the building and purchase of the Belgian railways from 1835 to 1910, after making deductions for lines unfinished in the latter year, was £104,499,560; in 1912 it had risen to about £114,410,000. The expenses, including allowances for interest on capital, sinking fund, &c., amounted in the same period (1835–1910) to £108,858,579 and the net receipts to £109,943,197. A profit of £1,084,619 is thus shown in the accounts of the State railways from 1835 to 1910, and the amount had increased to nearly £1,500,000 by the year 1912. But the calculation of profits has to be interpreted in the light of the fact that the early losses were written off, and that, in

[1] In arriving at this total a deduction has to be made of some kilometres of line worked jointly by the State and private companies and counted twice over.

recent years, the losses in any one year or series of years have been deducted from the profits of the preceding or following years. The period 1835–70 showed a profit of £814,619, and the period 1871–5 [1] a loss of £129,628. From 1876 to 1880, the years of the great expansion of the State railway system, there were heavy losses, about half of which were paid off by the State, leaving at the end of 1881 an adverse balance of £1,737,085. This adverse balance increased by the end of 1886 to £3,149,082, but each of the succeeding twelve years showed a profit, which reduced the total deficit at the end of 1898 to £38,176. In 1899 the deficit was converted into a profit of £480,297, but in 1900 this was decreased by a loss on the year's working to £28,180, and in 1901 this credit balance was converted into a deficit of £26,449. The following five years' working was remunerative; in 1902 the deficit was converted into a total profit of £92,391, which by the end of 1906 had increased to £1,730,878. In each of the three years 1907, 1908, and 1909 the railways were worked at a loss, but the total profit, which had decreased at the end of 1909 to £960,738, rose again in 1910 to £1,084,618, and was again increased in 1911 and 1912.

If the system had been organized on the basis of a commercial company, it would have been necessary to raise fresh capital to meet the very heavy deficits of the years 1871–86 and to form a reserve fund to meet such subsequent losses as those of 1907–9; the net effect of this would have been to convert the total profit shown in the official accounts into a deficit. It is impossible that the Belgian railway system should escape the defects of a method of working on which current losses are met by State assistance; but in

[1] This period included the industrial crisis referred to in the section on Minerals below (p. 127).

defence of this method it is contended that the abundance of railway facilities and the cheap transit of goods affect beneficially every department of national life. Thus the prosperity of Belgian agriculture, and, to a certain extent, of Belgian industries, is closely connected with the facilities for the distribution of the products at a very low cost. Again, the remarkably cheap system of workmen's fares and season tickets prevents the overcrowding of the towns and brings many of the smaller places into close touch with large centres like Antwerp and Brussels. Passenger fares are about 1½*d.* per mile first class, about 1*d.* second class, and about ½*d.* third class. Second-class accommodation corresponds roughly to that of the best third-class carriages in England. Goods rates for small parcels over short distances are more or less equivalent to those charged in Great Britain, but they are much lower for heavy weights, and it has been calculated that on the average, and for considerable distances, the rates by ordinary goods trains are from a third to a half of similar rates in England, and that the Belgian express goods rates are only very slightly higher than the ordinary goods rates in England.

(iv) *Adequacy to Economic Needs.*—Elaborate as is the Belgian system of railways, several schemes for its improvement were under consideration before the outbreak of war. Besides proposals for new local lines, a large scheme for improved communications with Germany, by a new line from Louvain to Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) *via* Tongres, Visé, and Gemmenich, the Belgian portion of which was to be constructed by the Belgian Government, was in contemplation, and a survey of the route from Louvain to Tongres had been completed in the summer of 1914. This line would reduce the distance by rail from Louvain to Aachen by 21 miles.

Considerable difficulties arose in the early part of 1914 from a scarcity of rolling stock in industrial districts, and led to complaints in the Chamber. The explanation offered by the Minister of Railways was to the effect that the shortage was due to recent changes in the course of traffic. Iron ore used to be brought from Luxemburg and Spain, and this traffic was divided between Antwerp and the railway lines in the south-west of Belgium; but the opening of the Briey basin, an increase in the amount of imported ore, and an increase in the transit of metallic products from Luxemburg and Lorraine *via* Antwerp, had led to a congestion of traffic in the districts of Athus, Givet, and Vireux. The number of wagons passing through Athus had increased from 6,585 in January 1910 to 14,276 in 1912. The Government were dealing with the shortage by ordering large numbers of new locomotives and wagons.

(v) *Light Railways.*—In 1912 the total length of the light railways (*chemins de fer vicinaux*) of Belgium was 3,990 km. (2,478 miles), and a further length of 250 km. (155 miles) was under construction.[1] The total length in 1910 was about 2,275 miles, in 1900 about 1,130 miles, and in 1886 about 50 miles. The number of passengers increased from 913,140 in 1886 to 34,202,305 in 1900, and to 94,229,040 in 1912. The large majority of these railways are worked by steam traction, but some twenty-four lines (total length about 166 miles) have electric traction, and a few lines have mixed electric and steam traction. The majority of tracks of these lines are laid on the country roads (sometimes with short cuts through fields) and in the

[1] If the steam tramways, which do not form part of the system of *chemins de fer vicinaux*, be added, the total length in 1912 was about 4,745 kilometres (2,947 miles), and in 1913 about 4,892 kilometres (3,038 miles).

streets of towns and villages; the gauge is 39½ inches. The gross receipts of the light railways in 1912 were £1,070,438, and the working expenses £767,677; the figures for 1913 were £1,120,013 (receipts) and £810,400 (expenses). The balance of profit, £302,761, or 28 per cent. of the total receipts in 1912, and £309,613, or 27·6 per cent. of the total receipts in 1913, yielded an interest of nearly 3 per cent. upon the capital invested, which amounted to about £11,000,000.

The development of the *chemins de fer vicinaux*, the mileage of which, per square mile of territory, is about ten times that of any other country, has been the work of the Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer, founded, with parliamentary sanction, in 1884 and 1885. This association has complete control over the whole system. It receives applications for the construction of new lines, and its sanction is required for the issue of a royal decree granting a concession. It is also responsible for the management of the railways. The capital for new construction is, as a rule, raised by the local authorities, and only in exceptional cases by private individuals. The State guarantees a sum not exceeding £24,000 annually in order to secure the payment of interest, limited to 3 per cent., upon the bonds issued for the construction of the railways, but the system has been self-supporting. The lines are worked by contracts let by public tender, and the contracts are often held by the local authorities, but the Société controls rates and fares and exercises a supervision in technical as well as in financial matters.

Light railways are free from local taxes, and the object of the Société is to make them self-supporting but not to work them for profit (beyond the payment of 3 per cent. interest). They are designed to feed the State railways and not to compete with them. Suitable

shops are used as stations, and the expenses of building and maintenance are kept low.

(*d*) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

The postal system is a State monopoly. At the end of 1912 there were 1,644 post offices, the gross postal revenue was £1,736,764, and the total expenditure was £956,493, showing a profit of £780,271. In 1912 the post office carried over 222,000,000 private letters, nearly 38,000,000 official letters, over 125,000,000 postcards, over 188,000,000 newspapers, and over 273,000,000 packets of printed matter.

The telegraph and telephone systems also belong to the State. There were in 1912 about 4,980 miles of telegraph line and over 26,000 miles of wire. This is an increase of 640 miles over the figures for 1907 and includes 61 submarine miles with 313 miles of cable. There are no available figures for the length of the telephone line, but the total length of the wires in 1912 was 189,468 miles, an increase of 81,883 miles over the figures for 1907. The number of telegraph offices open in 1912 was 1,486, and the number of telegrams (excluding official messages) was 9,095,147. Of these 4,097,657 were within the country. The number of international messages was 4,294,741, besides 702,749 messages transmitted through Belgium. The total number of messages for 1912 was an increase of 1,571,214 upon the figures for 1907, the largest increase being in the international messages, which, in 1912, were 949,651 more than in 1907. The total number of telephone messages sent in 1912 was 135,200,467, an increase of 62,222,926 upon the figures for 1907.

(*e*) *Wireless Telegraphs*

The service of wireless telegraphy, inaugurated in July 1902, was at first restricted to official messages

between Belgian State steamers and the wireless station at Nieuport. Private messages to these steamers were accepted from March 1904, but it was not until 1908 that the general public were permitted to use the station at Nieuport for communication with passing ships. In 1910 there were ten *stations de bord* besides the coast station at Nieuport, and, in that year, the total number of private messages sent and received was 1,274, in addition to 3,177 service messages. Improvements were made at Nieuport in 1913, and a radio-telegraphic department was established in June 1914, with a station at Brussels. In April 1914, an International Wireless Telegraphy Commission, with representatives from the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy, Germany, and Austria, met in Belgium and attended the ceremony of driving in the first rivet of a tower 1,092 ft. high, which was to be erected at Laeken, near Brussels, for the purposes of research in wireless telegraphy and meteorology.

(2) External

(*a*) *Ports*

(i) *Accommodation.*—The Belgian ports for sea-going vessels are Antwerp, Ostend, Bruges, Zeebrugge, Blankenberghe, Nieuport, Brussels, and Ghent.

Antwerp, though situated 55 miles from the sea, is by far the most important of the Belgian ports. Its modern history dates from the reopening of the Scheldt in 1839. The navigation of the Scheldt is not without considerable difficulties, caused chiefly by the presence of sand-banks; but the river is 450–500 yards wide, and, in the proper tidal conditions, there is no limit to the tonnage of ships entering the port. The total water surface of the docks is about 229 acres. There are 6,012 yds. of granite quays with a low-water depth of

26 ft. on the average, and of about 38 ft. at the more important quays used by the large liners. There are fourteen basins or docks available for smaller vessels, but four of these basins are suitable only for coasting vessels and for the very important canal-boat traffic. Of the remaining ten basins, two, the Great Dock and the Little or Bonaparte Dock, date from the time of Napoleon; the Kattendijk Dock was constructed in 1860 and improved in 1881; the America Dock was opened in 1905; and, in the last ten years, two additional docks, of an area of 165 acres and providing 6,124 yds. of wharfage, have been built, capable of receiving ships drawing 30 ft. of water. The Asia Dock is connected by a canal with the Meuse. Accommodation in respect of machinery for loading and unloading, for repairs, and also for warehouses, railways, and dry docks, has been provided on a large scale.

Ostend, about midway along the Belgian seaboard, has a large tidal harbour, constructed between 1900 and 1905, and situated about two miles inland. It is provided with a series of docks. The depth of the entrance is about 17 ft. at low water and from 32 to 35 ft. at high water. A ship canal, 14 ft. deep, connects Ostend with Bruges, and the port has ample railway communications.

Bruges has a port containing four docks, which provide about a mile of accommodation for vessels drawing less than 14 ft. of water. There is one 25-ton electric crane and a number of light travelling cranes. The importance of Bruges as a port has been greatly increased by the construction of the Zeebrugge–Ostend canal in the last years of the nineteenth century.[1]

The Bruges–Zeebrugge canal, begun in 1895, marks

[1] In the Middle Ages there was a port at Bruges until the silting-up of the Zwyn in the fifteenth century deprived it of access to the sea.

the creation of the port of *Zeebrugge*. There is a large roadstead at Zeebrugge, which has been protected on the west and north by a mole 2,725 yds. long, and access to the canal is given by a sea-lock. The canal takes vessels drawing 26 ft. of water, almost double the draught of the Bruges–Ostend canal. Before the war there was a direct steamship service from Hull to Bruges, via the Zeebrugge canal.

Blankenberghe, two miles west of Zeebrugge, is a small fishing port which has a tidal harbour with a low-water depth of from 6 to 10 ft., and a high-water depth of over 12 ft. There are 275 yds. of quays, and a small wooden pier.

Nieuport is situated on the Yser about 10 miles south-west of Ostend. The port is about two miles inland from the old mouth of the Yser, and is tidal. There is a wet dock, used at high tide, and a small dry dock for repairs to wooden vessels. A pier, 1,500 yds. long, flanks the entrance to the Yser. In 1913 an expenditure of about £68,000 was sanctioned for improvements at Nieuport. The floating basin was to be lengthened and improved by the construction of ferro-concrete landing stages, &c., and water now flowing through five locks was to be taken direct to the sea by the diversion of the old western branch of the Furnes canal.

Brussels has become a port for sea-going vessels within the last twenty years. In 1897 works were begun for the provision of a waterway by the Willebroek canal into the Rupel and the Scheldt, designed to accommodate steamers drawing 24 ft. of water. The conversion of the sixteenth-century Willebroek canal into the Brussels ship canal is not yet complete, and though a considerable number of sea-going vessels enter Brussels, the accommodation is still limited to vessels drawing not more than 10 ft. of water. The

scheme of construction provides for over 2,000 yards of quays suitably equipped and of a depth of 21 feet. A large dock, called the Maritime Basin, nearly 20 ft. in depth, was opened in 1908; the two small docks for canal boats are provided with light cranes, and there are also two small dry docks.

Ghent has been connected with the estuary of the Scheldt by the Terneuzen ship canal since 1827. This canal has been enlarged and deepened since 1895, and the enlarged canal was opened in the summer of 1913. The length of the canal is 32·8 km. (20⅓ miles), of which 15·35 km. (9½ miles) are in Dutch territory. The depth is 8·75 metres (28 ft. 10 in.), the bottom width 50 metres, or 55 yds., and the surface width 97 metres, or 106 yds., in Belgian territory, and 67 metres, or 73 yds., in Dutch territory. There are three docks at Ghent, of which the largest is 200 metres (219 yds.) long by 26 metres (28½ yds.) wide by 9·5 metres (31 ft.) deep. Vessels drawing from 26 to 27 ft. and measuring 459 ft. by 56 ft. can now use the canal and the port. There are two dry docks. Ghent now ranks next after Antwerp among Belgian ports. In 1912 the number of vessels entering the port was 1,332, and the tonnage 995,334.

(ii) *Shipping Trade.*—The shipping trade of Belgium differs from that of Great Britain mainly because of the extensive provision of inland waterways leading not only to the interior of Belgium but also to France, Holland, and Germany. The proportion of canal boat traffic to the total shipping trade is therefore very large, and has increased in the last quarter of a century. In 1890 the total tonnage of vessels arriving at Antwerp from the interior was 2,774,586, and in 1912, 9,697,904. The largest increase was in vessels from Germany, the tonnage of which increased, in this period, from 396,020 to 2,922,703, an increase of more than 700 per cent.;

the tonnage of vessels from France increased from 49,389 to 150,374, and the tonnage of vessels from Holland from 275,238 to 810,639. The following table shows the numbers of the vessels which arrived at Antwerp from the interior in certain years from 1890 to 1912:

Year.	*From Belgium.*		*From France.*		*From Germany.*		*From Holland.*		*Total.*	
	No.	*Tonnage*	*No.*	*Tonnage*	*No.*	*Tonnage*	*No.*	*Tonnage*	*No.*	*Tonnage*
1890	23,374	2,053,939	176	49,389	936	396,020	3,169	275,238	27,655	2,774,586
1900	27,173	3,423,195	328	94,309	1,543	1,076,441	3,946	400,302	32,990	4,994,247
1910	30,151	5,199,586	399	108,069	3,420	2,745,800	5,888	718,171	39,858	8,771,626
1911	33,485	5,829,448	541	149,093	3,833	2,982,649	5,964	744,350	43,823	9,705,540
1912	32,892	5,814,188	522	150,374	3,674	2,922,703	5,972	810,639	43,060	9,697,904

The volume of trade borne in sea-going ships has also shown a constant increase. The Belgian mercantile marine has had a comparatively small growth in recent years, and the growth of the trade of Belgian ports has been much more rapid. The total tonnage of ships entering Belgian ports increased from about $9\frac{1}{4}$ millions in 1901 to about $15\frac{1}{3}$ millions in 1912; if ships arriving in ballast are omitted, the increase was from about $8\frac{1}{5}$ million tons to about $14\frac{1}{3}$ million tons. The proportion of Belgian to foreign tonnage was about one-sixth in 1901 and about one-eighth in 1912.

Antwerp has naturally the preponderating share of the Belgian shipping trade; in 1912 the proportion of ships entering Antwerp to those entering other Belgian ports was nearly 5 to 3, and the proportion of tonnage was 13 to 2. Ships of over 2,000 tons constitute more than a third of the total number of ships entering Antwerp every year; the remainder are chiefly ships between 500 and 1,000 tons. The number of sailing-ships has shown a constant decrease since 1870. In 1850, the entries of sailing-ships at Antwerp were 1,124; in 1870, 2,222; in 1890, 849; in 1900, 571; and in 1912, 311.

The following table gives further details of shipping and tonnage entering Belgian ports since 1890 :

Year.	Total No. and Tonnage of Ships entering Belgian ports.		No. and Tonnage of Ships entering Antwerp.		
	No.	Tonnage.	Sailing-ships.	Steamers.	Total Tonnage.
1890 . .	7,395	5,774,672	849	3,879	4,506,277
1900 . .	8,709	8,553,162	571	4,843	6,720,150
1910 . .	9,048	14,710,777	365	6,405	12,654,153
1911 . .	10,156	15,529,938	350	6,546	13,349,633
1912 . .	10,150	15,895,808	311	6,662	13,761,591

The statistics of ships entering Belgian ports vary slightly, according to different methods of calculation, and the next table, showing the proportion of Belgian to foreign entries, differs slightly from the total figures just given :

Year.	Tonnage of Belgian vessels entering Belgian ports.	Tonnage of Foreign vessels entering Belgian ports.
1901 . .	1,354,316	7,933,884
1910 . .	2,017,396	13,083,775
1911 . .	2,074,930	13,832,429
1912 . .	1,856,832	14,497,101

The largest proportion of foreign tonnage entering Antwerp is British, and the preponderance of British shipping has been maintained in the last quarter of a century. In 1890 British ships constituted over a third of the total number of ships entering Antwerp ; in 1912 they still constituted over a third of the number, and the proportion of British to non-British (including Belgian) tonnage, which was 10 to 25 in 1890, had become 10 to 22 in 1912. The greatest absolute increase has been in the number of German ships entering Antwerp, the tonnage of which in 1912 was more than five times that of 1890. Details are given in the following table :

Nationality of Ships entering Antwerp.

	1890.		1900.		1912.	
	No. of Ships.	*Tonnage.*	*No. of Ships.*	*Tonnage.*	*No. of Ships.*	*Tonnage.*
British . . .	2,624	2,565,755	2,732	3,210,678	3,394	6,269,438
German . .	684	777,606	908	1,584,708	1,627	4,149,517
Norwegian . .	256	111,600	309	212,442	310	330,711
Danish . . .	163	142,735	137	140,891	265	262,241
French . . .	159	137,871	138	145,415	138	322,265
Japanese . .	—	—	47	192,987	57	301,637
United States. .	—	—	—	—	24	200,598
Dutch . . .	49	30,766	185	191,205	158	294,583

The ports to which the largest number of ships go from Antwerp are, in North America, New York and Philadelphia; in Great Britain, London, Newcastle, Harwich, Cardiff, Goole, Middlesbrough, and Grimsby; in South America, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and the northern ports of Brazil; in Africa, Capetown.

(iii) *Shipping Lines, Foreign-owned and Domestic.*—Antwerp, as a port of call for the shipping of the world, is served by a large number of foreign-owned lines. The Belgian mercantile marine, on December 31, 1912, consisted of 105 ships with a total net tonnage of over 180,000.[1]

The total tonnage increased by about 50 per cent. between 1902 and 1908, and reached 191,000 in 1910, but fell again the next year to 166,000. In the period 1902–12 the average yearly increase was about 7,500 tons, but there was a decrease of about 11,000 tons between 1910 and 1912.

The principal Belgian steamship companies are: Compagnie Nationale Belge de Transports Maritimes, Antwerp, 1899; Agence Maritime Walford, Antwerp, 1902; Océane, Société Anonyme Belge d'Armement et de Navigation, Antwerp, 1903; Compagnie Royale Belgo-Argentine, Antwerp, 1906; Société Anonyme Ghent–Lloyd, Ghent, 1907; Compagnie d'Armement

[1] The Board of Trade figures are 181,637 tons, and the *Rapport de la place d'Anvers* for 1912 gives 188,976 tons.

et de Transports, Antwerp, 1907; Société Anonyme John Cockerill (Ostend–Tilbury line, inaugurated 1896). The Compagnie Nationale Belge de Transports Maritimes has received assistance from the Belgian Government. The Ostend–Dover packets belong to the State, and their passenger accommodation might well be improved.

(iv) *Adequacy to Economic Needs.*—The rapid growth of the Belgian shipping trade has made it impossible to supply adequate accommodation. Between 1888 and 1905 the number of ships entering the port of Antwerp increased by nearly 50 per cent., and the tonnage by nearly 250 per cent. The problem of the overcrowding of the port is complicated by the circumstance that the canal boats are frequently unloaded into, or are loaded from, the sea-going vessels, and that it is, therefore, impossible to reserve the larger docks solely for the use of the larger vessels. The increase of shipping at Antwerp in recent years has been proportionately smaller than at Amsterdam and Hamburg.

Before the war the Belgian Government was considering schemes for the improvement both of the accommodation at the port and of the access to the sea. In 1905 it was proposed to cut through the loop in the river immediately below Antwerp, thus providing a direct channel to the sea. This proposal, known as the *grande coupure*, was not accepted when the Belgian Chambers voted money for the improvement of the port in 1906, and a commission was appointed to investigate a number of alternative plans. Finally, in 1912, the *grande coupure* was abandoned in favour of a rectification in the course of the Scheldt by modifying its curves between the Kruisschans and Austruweel and thus providing about five miles of additional quays. In 1913 a suggestion was made for reducing the

distance from the Rhine by 31 miles through the reopening, by the Netherlands, of the East Scheldt at Woensdrecht.

Apart from these larger schemes, many important improvements were in progress, not only at Antwerp, but at all the Belgian ports, before the outbreak of the war, and a determined effort was being made to render the accommodation adequate to the constantly increasing economic needs. In the twenty years before the outbreak of war, Belgium, it is computed, spent over £16,000,000 on the ports of Antwerp, Ostend, Brussels, Bruges, and Zeebrugge. In 1909, £160,000, and in 1910 £251,000, were expended upon the port of Antwerp alone, and the budget of the port for 1914 contemplated the expenditure of large sums for floating cranes and elevators. Another project closely related to the improvement of the port of Antwerp was under consideration when the war began. Except for the Tamise bridge, nearly 11 miles above Antwerp, there is no bridge across the Scheldt between Termonde and the sea, and communications at Antwerp depend upon ferry-boats and steam launches. In 1909 a committee decided in favour of a transporter bridge and tunnels at Antwerp, from Hoboken on the right bank of the Scheldt to Cruybeke on the left bank, at a cost of about £240,000, and in 1914 it was proposed to modify the plans and to carry a railway over the bridge.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Agriculture

(*a*) *Agricultural Labour*

The special census of 1895 showed the number of persons employed in agriculture as 1,204,810. This figure represented an absolute increase of 5,491 (or 0·4 per cent.) upon the figures for 1880, but a decrease

of agricultural workers in proportion to the whole population.[1] In 1880, the percentage of the population engaged in agriculture was 21·77, and in 1895, 18·79; in 1900 it was returned as less than 10 per cent. The average number of workers per square kilometre (100 hectares or 247 acres) was 60 in 1880 and 65 in 1895, but by 1910 it had fallen to about 40. The increase between 1880 and 1895 was in the provinces of Antwerp, Brabant, West Flanders, Hainaut, Liège, and Namur; elsewhere there was already an absolute decrease. The average daily wages in 1895 were 1 fr. 98 c. for men and 1 fr. 22 c. for women without board, and 1 fr. 26 c. for men and 74 c. for women with board. The highest wages were paid in Namur, Luxemburg, Hainaut, and Liége, and the lowest in Limburg. In 1910 the most common wages for men were 1 fr. 50 c. with board, and about 2 fr. without, there having been no very marked rise in these fifteen years. These wages are, however, eked out by the free use of potato plots and implements. It should be added that the minimum cost of living in Belgium

[1] Between 1880 and 1910 the increase in the total population was over 34 per cent. Mr. B. S. Rowntree has calculated that between 1846 and 1896 the proportion of the population 'absorbed by agriculture declined from 25 to 19 per cent.', while that engaged in other industries 'rose from 7 to 18 per cent.' He further points out that the general census of 1900 gave the agricultural population as only 697,372, a figure certainly too low, since it includes only 'a small number of the women who help their husbands on the farms'. Accepting this figure, however, and also the special census figures of 1896 for industry, the following table is reached:

Occupation.	*Year.*	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Together.*	*Percentage of total.*
Agriculture . . .	1900	533,665	163,707	697,372	23·1
Industry . . .	1896	860,000	270,000	1,130,000	39·0
Commerce . . .	1900	248,336	136,900	385,236	13·0
Liberal professions . .	1900	205,207	61,449	266,656	9.0
Various occupations .	1900	222,004	247,210	469,214	15·9
Totals . . .		2,069,212	879,266	2,948,478	100

for a family of five was, in 1910, about 28 per cent. lower than in England.

(b) *Products of Commercial Value*

Chief Crops.—The total area of Belgium is 7,277,000 acres, of which about 4,472,380 acres are under crops and grass. In 1911 the area devoted to the production of corn crops was 1,873,142 acres; in 1912, 1,874,659 acres. The produce amounted in 1911 to 1,829,103 tons, and in 1912 to 1,614,169 tons. The three main crops are *rye, oats,* and *wheat.* The figures do not vary largely from year to year, and the following table for 1912 is typical:

Crop.	*Acreage.*	*Produce (in English tons)*
Rye	650,077	532,669
Oats	647,612	501,965
Wheat	396,499	410,497

The other corn crops are *spelt, barley, buckwheat, meslin, beans,* and *peas.* Of these, barley is the most important, covering 84,279 acres and producing 91,102 tons in 1912. Spelt covered 40,093 acres and produced 35,877 tons in the same year.

Crops of other kinds occupied in 1912 about 2,597,725 acres, exclusive of 418,327 acres used for second crops. The largest portions of this area were used for *hay* and *permanent grass,* for which the 1912 figures are as follows:

	Acreage.	*Produce (in metric tons).*
Meadows for hay	555,898	854,224
Permanent grass	668,081	—

If *crimson clover* (*Trifolium incarnatum*), *sainfoin, lucerne, rye-grass,* and other forage plants are added to hay, the acreage under all these crops is increased approximately to 1,612,000 and the produce to 1,790,000

tons. The largest item in these figures is common clover, which in 1912 covered 277,579 acres and produced 503,591 tons, exclusive of a return of 23,351 acres and 293,351 tons of crimson clover.

The most important root crops are *potatoes*, *turnips*, *mangolds*, and *sugar-beet*, for which the 1912 figures are as follows:

Crop.	*Acreage.*	*Produce (in metric tons).*
Potatoes	387,186	3,306,200
Turnips	344,725	2,079,700
Mangolds	173,869	4,242,900
Sugar-beet	152,914	1,730,300

Turnips are cultivated almost entirely as a second crop, the acreage as first crop being only 9,290, and the produce 127,221 tons.

The annual production of beet-sugar in Belgium is between 250,000 and 300,000 metric tons. The figures for 1910–11 are 285,000, for 1911–12, 246,000, and for 1912–13, 300,000. The exports in 1912 amounted to 49,180 metric tons of raw sugar and 109,010 metric tons of refined sugar, of a total value of £2,262,040. The export of raw sugar declined in the ten years before 1912, and the export of refined sugar increased. The total value was £3,161,640 in 1900 and £1,806,120 in 1910, but that of the refined sugar export rose in this decade from £780,840 to £1,314,320.

Other important crops are *flax*, with an area in 1912 of 53,505 acres producing 13,000 tons of seed and 28,950 tons of fibre; *tobacco*, covering in the same year 9,922 acres and producing 10,000 tons of dried leaves; and *chicory*, covering 23,388 acres and producing 314,680 tons of roots. There are also small crops of *carrots*, *spergula*, *colza*, and *hops*.

The area devoted to *orchards* was 167,612 acres in 1912, but figures of the produce are not available.

Market-gardening is an important feature of Belgian rural economy. The cultivation of vegetables and fruit, for domestic consumption or for export, is generally in the hands of small holders, but near Louvain there are vegetable farms as large as 40 acres, which produce great quantities of cauliflowers. Fruit is largely grown under glass—grapes near Brussels, and strawberries in the districts near Louvain and Malines (Mechlin); in 1910 the export of fruit (mainly to the United Kingdom, Germany, and Holland) was worth £337,000. It is calculated that fruit farms and market gardens can be cultivated to produce a profit which varies in different localities from £50 to £170 per acre. There are nursery gardens covering 3,000 acres in the neighbourhood of Ghent, from which Antwerp and Brussels are supplied with flowers.

Belgium is not a self-supporting country, and the produce of the soil has to be supplemented by large imports of grain, amounting to about four times the corresponding exports. The home-grown wheat produces less than 25 per cent. of the flour consumed in the country, and there are also large imports of barley. About 85 per cent. of the oats consumed are home-grown, but this crop is protected by an import duty of 1 fr. 50 c. per cwt. The import of sugar-beet amounted recently to about 300,000 tons and that of tobacco to about 10,000 tons annually. There is an export of about 50,000 tons of chicory, and an export of early potatoes from the districts near Malines, but the latter is balanced by an import of potatoes of later varieties. Although forage crops, hay, and grass occupy over 35 per cent. of the total area of agricultural land, the supply has to be supplemented by a large import of fodder for animals, including 250,000 tons of oil-cake.

Live Stock.—The figures for live stock are not so

complete as for crops, but the following table shows the position in the last half century:

Year.	Milch cows of 2 years and over.	Other cattle.	Sheep and lambs.	Goats.	Pigs.	Horses.
1866	738,732	503,713	586,097	197,138	632,301	283,163
1880	796,178	586,637	365,400	248,755	646,375	271,974
1895	802,271	618,707	235,722	241,045	1,163,133	271,527
1909	920,534	945,299	*about*		1,116,500	255,229[1]
1912	933,928	896,819	185,000	218,000	1,348,514	262,709[1]

Belgium is famous for *horse-breeding*, and especially for the heavy Brabant cart-horse, which is both powerful and long-lived. The heavier horses are known as the Brabançon breed, and the lighter as the Ardennes breed. There is a third type, a mixed breed, known as the Flemish horse. The figures of export and import show a large excess of imports, but the numbers are misleading, because the exports consisted chiefly of valuable horses and the imports chiefly of horses to be slaughtered for human food. There were also imports of army remounts and of light carriage horses. The import of horses was mainly from the United Kingdom, and two-thirds of the exports went to Germany. The following table giving both the numbers and the values of horses imported and exported will show the real position:

Year.	Imported Number.	Value. £	Exported Number.	Value. £
1901	37,183	596,720	21,890	931,960
1911	53,483	959,600	30,687	1,589,760
1912	53,809	1,008,040	29,667	1,513,240

Thus, in 1912 the average value of imported horses was under £18 15*s.*, and the average value of exported horses over £51.

Belgian *cattle* may be classified as suitable for fattening or for milking. The Polders breed and the

[1] This figure is for horses used for agriculture only.

'Belgian' breed belong to the first class; the red Flemish or Cassel breed, the Condroz breed, the Campine breed, and the Herve or Limburg breed, to the second. Stock-breeding has been encouraged by the Government, but has not attained a position of great importance, the farmers finding it more profitable to breed horses and grow cereals. There is no export of cattle, but there are considerable imports both of cattle and dairy produce; there is some export of dairy produce, but the imports are much larger, and the same remark applies to pork.

Poultry-farming is very common, but about 200,000,000 eggs are imported annually, large numbers being 'preserved' and re-exported.

The following table will show the relation of imports to exports. The imports of animals are chiefly for food; there is no export of animals, except horses.

Year.	*No. of animals imported.*[1]	*Value.* £	*Butter imported. Tons.*	*Butter exported. Tons.*	*Meat*[2] *imported. Tons.*	*Meat exported. Tons.*
1901.	222,882	1,043,760	3,553	2,689	16,863	12,997
1911.	223,575	1,088,520	6,877	1,517	15,860	9,667
1912.	260,746	1,788,880	6,906	1,191	15,111	9,436

(c) *Methods of Cultivation*

The characteristic features of Belgian agriculture are the application of scientific knowledge and experiment to the treatment of the soil, and the skill with which the use made of the ground is adapted to the natural conditions. The conditions of land tenure (see below, p. 118) tend to reduce efficiency by fostering excessive subdivision of ownership, but, apart from this, the history of Belgian agriculture is a record of the triumph of knowledge and industry over natural conditions. No region of Belgium is naturally fertile, with the exception of the Hesbaye, but even in the

[1] Excluding horses. [2] Of all kinds.

least fertile region, the Campine, the annual rent of pasture land is about £1 10*s*. an acre, and of arable land about £1 2*s*. The success achieved is largely due to the provision of facilities for education and training in agricultural methods, and to the institution of a co-operative system, which neutralizes some of the defects of the conditions of land tenure. The high standard of agricultural education has produced great skill in the selection of seeds and in the use of artificial manures.

The capabilities of the soil in the various localities are understood and utilized. On the sea-coast, the grassy hollows or *pannes*, which intersect the sand dunes, are used for sheep or for small crofts and gardens. Farther inland, in the *polders* district, the maritime plain has been drained by an elaborate series of canals, which draw off the superfluous moisture and prevent the surface of the ground from becoming soaked with stagnant water. The maritime plain is on the sea-level and is protected by dykes (some of which were cut in 1914 in the course of defensive operations), while systematic flushing with fresh water keeps the soil from being drenched by sea-water, the level of which is kept down. The soil is rich and is used for the cultivation of barley, sugar-beet, pulse, flax, and other crops; some of it has been brought into cultivation within the last ninety years. The maritime plain is also largely used for grazing, and both cattle and horses are bred upon it.

In Flanders, in the clay districts near Ypres and Roulers, scientific agriculture has utilized every available piece of ground for wheat, colza, flax, beet, and vegetables. Hops are grown under the protection of the low hills near Poperinghe. There is also an important cattle-breeding industry in the district. The sandy region of Flanders stretches from Bruges to

Antwerp, and includes the Maggesland and the Waes. These districts, naturally infertile, also bear witness by their rich crops to the skill and knowledge of the Belgian farmer, who raises large quantities of wheat, rye, barley, potatoes, flax, hemp, colza, beet, and fodder. More than a third of the area produces two crops a year, and the cultivation is described as the most intensive in Europe, with the exception of the market-gardens round Paris. The natural soil is little better than sand and requires treatment with garden soil as well as with manures, and there is an elaborate system of rotation of crops. Almost all the work is done by the spade, as the work of the plough is not sufficiently thorough. There is little pasture, and land which is not capable of agricultural development is used for the breeding of rabbits. This locality, unlike the clay district of Flanders, is rich in trees and orchards, and the hedges which run along the ditches help to bind the sandy soil together and to withdraw superfluous moisture. The Brabant plain is also sandy, and the central portion is largely occupied by forests, but between the Dendre and the Senne, where the sand is covered with 13–16 ft. of loam, beet, flax, hops, and chicory are grown and cattle and horses are bred.

The heavy and loamy soil of the Hesbaye is the richest in Belgium, and is used for stock-breeding and for the cultivation of cereals and of sugar-beet, which is grown in alternate years. The refuse pulp of the beet, returned from the sugar factories, is used for feeding purposes. Northern Hainaut also has a rich soil, comparable with that of the Hesbaye. The Herve plateau, which rises to about 1,000 ft. above sea-level and has a moist climate, is an important stock-breeding district, and produces large quantities of milk, butter, and cheese, the sale of which is usually

undertaken by the co-operative societies characteristic of Belgian agriculture. Buttermilk is used for the feeding of pigs, most of which used to be exported to Germany. The district is rich in orchards. In the Condroz and Famenne there is a large cultivation of rye, wheat, spelt, oats, winter barley, and potatoes and other roots. These districts are rich in pasture and the soil is suitable for stock-raising, the liberal use of phosphates having been followed by a great improvement in fertility. Both cattle and horses are bred.

The two districts of Belgium in which farming is less advanced than elsewhere are the Ardennes and the Campine. The Ardennes region is largely afforested and has always provided a considerable amount of pasture, but there is still a large area of undrained bogland. Since the beginning of the twentieth century great improvements have been made through chemical manures, the use of which has superseded the ancient custom of burning and ploughing the land once in ten or fifteen years. Large quantities of rye, oats, potatoes, and fodder are now grown under the new conditions, and sheep-farming has decreased. In the Ardennes, and in the neighbouring district of Arlon, dairy farms are numerous. Horses and pigs are also bred. The Campine is a dreary moor which has been irrigated by the Campine canal. Its reclamation has only begun, but in some portions of it dairy-farming and the cultivation of potatoes, oats, and rye are carried on. The Campine represents what northern Flanders was before the introduction of scientific agriculture.

Closely related to Belgian methods of cultivation, as conditions that promote the prosperity of Belgian agriculture, are the means of transport already described. The highly developed system of railways, light railways, and canals provides quick and cheap

methods of transport for all kinds of agricultural produce.

(*d*) *Agricultural Co-operation*

The facilities thus provided are employed systematically by the agricultural and dairy co-operative societies, the rapid development of which is one of the most notable factors in the recent economic life of Belgium. The number of agricultural co-operative societies increased from 337 in 1895 to 1,237 in 1910, and the total number of members from 26,726 to 73,951. The societies purchase seeds, manures, foodstuffs, and agricultural machines, &c., for their members, and the total value of their purchases, which for the year 1895 was £204,989, rose to £730,867 for the year 1910.

The number of associations registered as co-operative societies for dairy-farming increased from 69 in 1895 to 558 in 1910, the number of members from 3,501 to 57,400, and the number of cows owned by members of societies from 50,824 (in 1897) to 162,850 (in 1910). These societies organize the sale of milk, butter, cheese, &c., and the total value of the products sold in this way increased from £129,477 in 1895 to £1,591,749 in 1910.

The Raiffeisen banks, or co-operative credit societies which finance agricultural enterprise, deserve mention. The number of these societies increased from 33 in 1895 to 697 in 1910, and the number of members from 1,160 to 27,334. Loans made to members amounted in 1895 to £3,617 and in 1910 to £438,203.

(*e*) *Forestry*

The woods and forests of Belgium, about 1,305,600 acres, or 2,040 square miles, in extent, cover rather less than 18 per cent. of the total area of the country

About one-third of this afforested area is in the Ardennes, and about a sixth in the Campine. In the older forests there is a large amount of beech and oak, but the more recent plantations consist chiefly of conifers. The home-grown timber supply is not adequate for the needs of the country, however, and in 1912 Belgium imported, for building purposes, 1,454,083 cubic metres (approximately 1,901,800 cubic yds.) of wood, valued at £3,368,480.

Since about 1870, the State has devoted much attention to forestry, and in the last twenty years has purchased a considerable area of privately-owned forests. This policy was based on the principle that the forests are part of the national capital, and that private ownership involves the risk of their undue exploitation in the interests of individuals. The State, the communes, and other public bodies own about 40 per cent. of the afforested area. The State Forest Service maintains a staff of scientifically trained forestry experts, who not only manage the State forests, but also supervise and control the planting of forests belonging to the communes, advise private owners about the treatment of their woods, and give public lectures and demonstrations on the best methods of forestry. The cost of planting woods owned by the communes is shared by the State, and these newly planted areas are exempt from taxation for ten years. The afforested area owned by the communes is nearly six times as large as the State-owned area, which covers not much more than 120 square miles, but there is a return of from 4½ to 5½ per cent. upon the capital invested by the nation in the purchase and upkeep of its forests.

The following are the most important details for the year 1910:

Owner.	Acreage.	Total Expenditure.	Total Receipts.	Net Revenue.
		£	£	£
The State . . .	78,846	15,541	26,990	11,449
Communes . . .	419,533	40,922	170,193	129,271
Other public bodies .	16,481	4,133	15,049	10,916
Totals . . .	514,860	60,596	212,232	151,636

(*f*) *Land Tenure*

System of Succession.—The ownership of land in Belgium is strictly regulated by the State, and legal restrictions, combined with traditional custom, have produced an exceedingly complicated system. Every effort is made to keep land within a family. Children have an absolute right of inheritance to a certain part of a parent's holding; an only child must succeed to one-half of the family land; if there is more than one child, each of them has the right of succession to an equal share, the proportion varying with the number of children. If there are no children, other provisions are made, e.g. in certain cases a man's parents have a right of succession. The proportion of land thus reserved for certain heirs may not be mortgaged or otherwise burdened, and the death duties upon land left to strangers in blood are very high. It is impossible to 'found a family' by leaving the whole heritage to an eldest son, unless he be an only child, and there is a tendency for the ownership of land to be subdivided to an exaggerated extent. The difficulties created by this tendency are partially checked by a custom of joint-ownership and by the circumstance that such land is generally let to tenants and not cultivated by the owners, but, on the other hand, the rules of succession bring to one owner, or to combinations of joint owners, small parcels of land situated in various districts. In Rhenish Prussia, where similar conditions obtained, the State undertook an equitable redistribution, but nothing of this kind has been done in Belgium,

and the existing practice has obvious economic disadvantages, though it encourages intensive farming.

Small Proprietors.—Belgium, with a population of about 7,500,000, has about 700,000 proprietors of land. Of this number, about 520,000 are owners of less than 5 acres each; some 35,000 own more than 25 acres each, and only 146 have more than 2,500 acres each. The average individual ownership is 9½ acres, but in any single commune the average tends to be very much lower—a little over 2 acres—and the national average is reached only because the same individual owns land in more than one commune. There are practically no large landowners.

Only about one-third of the land is cultivated by the owners (the proportion in Great Britain is 12 per cent., and in Germany 86 per cent.). The proportion of owners cultivating their own land is largest in the Ardennes and the Campine and smallest in the west of Belgium. The tenant farmer is called into existence largely by the system of land tenure, which makes it very difficult to purchase land and equally difficult for the owners to cultivate their scattered properties. Rents are high, and the tenant is not entitled to compensation for improvements. Belgian agriculture is protected to a considerable extent by tariffs for oats, manufactured cereals, cattle, sheep, and meat, but the high rents[1] which are paid for Belgian land are explained chiefly by the skill and industry with which a soil, naturally poor, has been improved, and by the facilities of transport. There is no tendency towards the diver-

[1] The rent of arable land in 1908 varied from £2 6*s.* per acre in the richest soil (Hesbaye) to £1 0*s.* 9*d.* per acre in the poorest land (Condroz), and for pasture from £2 16*s.* 8*d.* in the richest land (*polders*) to £1 7*s.* 10*d.* in the poorest land (in the region of Arlon). The high rent of pasture land shows the effect of the protective tariff on cattle, sheep, and meat.

sion of population from the land, partly because wages are low in the towns, and partly because of the affection for the land which persists in a country of peasant proprietors. The number of hired agricultural labourers is small, especially in districts where the land is cultivated by the owners. A few years ago the number of owners (with their families) was 65 per cent., and of labourers 35 per cent. of the agricultural population. This is almost exactly the reverse of conditions in Great Britain.[1]

Mortgages.—The land tenure system of Belgium has not, as might perhaps have been expected, led to a large number of mortgages. This is partly due to the operation of the law which prohibits a landowner from mortgaging any of that large proportion of his land, the inheritance of which is prescribed by statute. Thirty-one per cent. of the owners have the whole, or some part, of their land mortgaged. Of the very small owners (those possessing less than one-third acre), only 7½ per cent. have mortgages. The proportion of mortgaged proprietors rises steadily till, in the case of proprietors of 37 to 62 acres, it is 40 per cent. It then falls again until the proprietors of 247–370 acres are reached, after which the numbers are too small to serve as a basis for generalization. The figures, however, show distinctly that the largest proportion of mortgages exists among holders of 7½ to 86½ acres; and with these the amounts vary from an average of £9 12*s.* 5*d.* per acre on farms from 37 to 62 acres each, to £21 10*s.* 7*d.* on those with from 7½ to 12½ acres. The price of an acre of land in 1908 varied from £41 4*s.* to £95 11*s.* for pasture land, and from £30 2*s.* to £77 18*s.* for arable land, and the average price of agricultural land is about £60 an acre; a mortgage of £9 would represent, therefore, the value of less than

[1] See B. S. Rowntree's *Land and Labour*, pp. 202 and 214 ff.

one-sixth of the land, and a mortgage of £21 the value of about one-third. On very small holdings the proportion of the mortgages to the total value tends to be greater, because of the high proportional value of buildings erected thereon, but the average mortgage debt for the whole country is only £2 16*s.* 5*d.* per acre.

Communal Land.—Only 8 per cent. of the land is owned by the communes, and this area consists very largely of the forests in the Campine and the Ardennes. In the nineteenth century the general confidence in the economic value of private ownership led to the alienation of a very large amount of the common lands, but this process has now ceased. One-tenth of the common land is let on lease to the commoners.

(2) Fisheries

Belgian fishing is not very important, and has undergone a comparatively slight development, as compared with other Belgian industries, in the last sixty years. The number of fishing-boats increased from 307 in 1880 to 349 in 1890, 422 in 1905, and 474 in 1910, but the tonnage, which increased from 5,800 tons in 1850 to 12,340 tons in 1885, gradually fell to 8,243 in 1912. The total value of the catch of salt-water fish increased from about £33,000 in 1850 to £112,500 in 1880, £222,800 in 1900, and £259,400 in 1910.

Immediately before the outbreak of war, the Belgian Government contemplated the expenditure of large sums of money in the improvement of facilities for the fishing industry. Expenditure was sanctioned for new fishing ports at Ostend, La Panne, and Zeebrugge. The new port at Ostend was to include a floating dock for steam trawlers, the length of which was to be 605 yds. and the breadth 88 yds., and the scheme included dry docks, a slipway, and repairing shops. The new fishing port at La Panne was to cost over

£120,000, and to consist of a tidal basin 550 yds. long by 201 yds. wide, with a depth at low tide of over 20 ft. The new fishing port at Zeebrugge was to cost over £100,000, and it was intended to construct it on the east side of the channel of access to the large lock of the maritime canal.

(3) Minerals

(a) *Natural Resources*

Coal.—The older Belgian coal-field, in the Sambre–Meuse region, extends over some 540 square miles, and is very rich in proportion to its extent. Estimates of coal reserves vary in proportion as they include (*a*) seams actually opened up and surveyed, (*b*) seams proved but not fully surveyed, and (*c*) seams proved merely by experimental boring. Reserves are, therefore, usually classified as actual, probable, and possible. The possible reserves of the Sambre–Meuse coal-field were estimated in 1893 at from 15,000 million to 16,000 million tons; the actual reserves at the outbreak of war may be given as about 3,000 million tons. These figures do not include the Campine coal-field, which was not discovered till 1902. Preliminary works were taken in hand there in 1908, the first shafts were sunk in 1909, and preparations for working were far advanced in some seams in 1913. The area of the Campine field is 400 square miles, and that of the concessions which had been granted up to 1912 was about 125 square miles; the possible reserves in the portions which have been explored are about 10,000 million tons.

The Sambre–Meuse coal-field extends from the French frontier between Valenciennes and Mons up the Haine valley and down the Sambre and Meuse to Liège. It is continued into France by the important coal-field of

Anzin (Bassin houiller du Nord) and Lens (Bassin houiller du Pas-de-Calais), and into Prussia by those of the Aachen district (the fields of the Wurm and Inde valleys). The Sambre–Meuse field lies in a 'synclinal' or trough between the older rocks of the Ardennes *massif* to the south, and those of the 'Anglo-Belgian plateau', an old mountain system now worn away and covered by the loams and sands of Brabant, on the north. This trough is lined with Carboniferous limestone, upon which lie the Westphalian coal-measures with a rich deposit of coal. The whole deposit is 115 miles long from frontier to frontier, 3½ to 9 miles broad, and of greatly varied depth. A series of basins is distinguished, consisting of the Borinage or Couchant de Mons basin in the extreme west, between Mons and the frontier; the Centre basin, in the upper Haine valley, with its centre at La Louvière; the Charleroi basin in the Sambre valley, round Charleroi; the Basse–Sambre basin down the Sambre towards Namur; and the Liège basin round Liège. The depth of the coal deposit is greatest in the Borinage, where it is said to attain 8,000–10,000 ft.; east of Mons it diminishes, to increase again to 4,200 ft., some 2 miles west of Charleroi. East of Charleroi it rises again, until 6 miles east of Namur the bottom lies just below the surface, and the coal-measures are for a short distance interrupted. It sinks again immediately, and between Seraing and Liège reaches a depth of 4,600 ft. to 5,000 ft., after which it rises towards the German frontier.

It is nowhere necessary to penetrate any great depth of other rocks in order to find the coal. The coal-measures reach the surface almost everywhere in the Liège basin, continuously thence up the Sambre–Meuse valley to above Charleroi, and here and there in the Haine valley. Only in certain places on the southern margin of the field are the coal-measures

at all deeply buried, since here a longitudinal fault has thrust the Devonian rocks of the Ardennes up and over the coal-measures, burying their southern fringe.

There are four main types of coal. Lowest in the deposit come the 'dry' coals, such as anthracites, which have a low percentage (about 11 per cent.) of volatile matter and burn with little flame or smoke. They are used chiefly for household fuel, for lime-kilns and brickworks, and for roasting zinc-blende and pyrites. Where the deposit is deepest this series is buried out of reach, since modern coal-mines do not, as a rule, extend deeper than about 4,000 ft. But it is accessible where the trough is shallower, as in the Charleroi and Basse–Sambre basins, and everywhere along the edges of the trough. Next above these come semi-bituminous and bituminous coals, with about 20 to 25 per cent. of volatile matter. The produce of the upper seams is used in gasworks, glassworks, for raising steam, &c.; the lower or 'drier' varieties mostly for metallurgical coke. The fourth or uppermost series is composed of the 'long flame' coals, with 28 to 35 per cent. of volatile matter. These are used for all purposes for which a long flame is required, e.g. for puddling furnaces, rolling-mills, and forges, and in gasworks, also for raising steam very quickly.

From the point of view of coal reserves, both as regards amount and variety, the Borinage is the most important district. Here alone every class of coal is found, and the reserves are larger than in any other basin. The Liège basin comes near it in point of variety, but has smaller reserves; the reserves and variety alike of the Charleroi basin are greatly inferior.

The second or Campine field lies against the northern edge of the 'Anglo-Belgian plateau' of older rocks above described, and slopes away to northward for an unknown distance. Its southern limit lies a few

miles north of Hasselt, Diest, and Lierre, and the probable northern limit of mining may be represented by a line joining Maeseyck, Peer, and Turnhout. Beyond this line the coal-field is buried out of reach of ordinary mining—unless indeed it is thrown down by faults to an even greater depth before this line is reached, for the northern fringe of the field has not yet been explored. The eastern limit is a fault passing north-west through Urmond on the Meuse, which puts Maeseyck and its immediate neighbourhood outside the coal-field. The western limit is imposed, like the northern, by the increasing thickness of the overlying deposit of Tertiary and Quaternary formations. These are everywhere very thick—nowhere less than 1,000 ft. —but they probably present no fatal obstacle until west of the line joining Turnhout and Lierre. Indeed, it has been suggested that the field goes on at accessible depths—between 2,500 and 4,000 ft.—right across the Dutch frontier, north of Antwerp, and under the Scheldt estuary. This is highly problematical, however, and some engineers consider that even in the Antwerp province of Belgium the coal-field lies too deep under the water-logged Campine sands to repay working. The workings recently opened seem to be confined to the Limburg end of the field, from the Meuse on the east to about Genck and Opglabbeek on the west, where the coal-measures can be reached at about 1,000–1,800 ft. below the surface. Everywhere, however, the overlying strata are water-logged, and the sinking of shafts is a difficult and expensive business.

The advantages of the Campine field, on the other hand, are first its extent—its estimated content, 10,000 million tons of coal, is more than three times as much as is now left in the Sambre–Meuse field—and secondly the fact that it contains chiefly long-flame coals of a very rich kind, and these are what Belgium

most requires. The percentage of volatile matter in Campine samples is seldom under 20; it is often over 40, and the average is over 30. It must be added that the field lies on the direct line between the Rhine Province manufacturing district and Antwerp, and in a district where agriculture has no vested interests.

It is obvious that the Campine district, extending from Antwerp to the Meuse between Maastricht and Maeseyck, will become one of the chief industrial districts of Belgium. The lines of communication, already good, are capable of development, and industries of all kinds, and especially metallurgical industries, will tend to gravitate to the new coal-field. The development of the coal-field, which must take from ten to twenty years, has already begun at the eastern end of the Campine, west of the Meuse, where the coal is nearest to the surface, and the extension of these operations is of first importance for the future of Belgian industries.

Iron Ores.—Belgium possesses only $1\frac{1}{6}$ square mile of the great *minette* iron-field, situated on the borders of French and German Lorraine, Belgium, and Luxemburg. (The name *minette* is the trade-name of the oolitic ore produced in the district.) The total annual production of the whole field is about 48 million tons of ore, and the total area is 463 square miles. The Belgian portion was accordingly always of relatively slight account and is now almost exhausted. It is situated in the neighbourhood of Musson and Halanzy, where, and also at Athus, blast furnaces and steel-works have been constructed to work the products, but these now obtain their supplies of ore from across the frontier. The development of the *minette* field followed upon the invention of the Thomas-Gilchrist basic process in 1878, and the result was to destroy the importance of the older iron-mines of Belgium. The

local iron industry was suffering at that time from the effects of the recent industrial crisis in Belgium; in 1873, the year of the industrial troubles, the output of ore fell from 778,000 to 200,000 metric tons, and the competition of the *minette* field has prevented a recovery.

The older mines were in the provinces of Liège and Namur. In the neighbourhood of Namur, the trough of the Sambre–Meuse coal-field has a stratum of iron ore which appears at the surface north and south of the coal-measures, and there are in central Belgium many small deposits mostly in fissure veins. These fields have scarcely been worked since 1873, when a large number of old workings were abandoned. The old workings were developed with insufficient knowledge and capital, and could not be reopened without great expenditure of capital, nor in present conditions could the ore compete on equal terms with the *minette* ore. It is, however, believed that some groups of important fissure veins near Ligny, Tongrinne, Fleurus, and Rhisne, and others in the provinces of Namur and Liège, could be profitably worked.

It is estimated that these mines, including the *minette* field, contain reserves of ore amounting to some 55,000,000 metric tons, of which 5,000,000 are in fissure veins, and 50,000,000 in sedimentary deposits. By far the most important region, from the point of view of reserves, is the Sambre–Meuse, the deposit in which is Famenian oligist. The iron content of this ore varies from 29 per cent. to 52 per cent.; the ore contains manganese almost everywhere and phosphorus up to 0·5 per cent. This deposit, as has been said, is scarcely worked; in 1908 the whole output of the Liège district, including both oligist and fissure veins, was 35,000 metric tons, and from the Namur district the output was nil.

A widely-different type of iron ore is found in the

Campine. This marshy plain is formed of Tertiary sands, and some of these contain ferruginous elements, which, by their decomposition, give rise to bog-ore or *minerai des prairies*, known as Campine ore, containing on the average from 30 to 35 per cent. of iron—sometimes as much as 50 per cent.—and from 1 to 2 per cent. of manganese. It can be worked at a thickness of about 1 ft. 4 in. (giving 2,400–3,200 metric tons per acre); the ore forms with great rapidity, and a stratum of this depth is capable of being formed in twenty years. Similar formations of bog-ore are found in the province of Luxemburg. Bog-ore has been worked in the present century, chiefly for export to Germany. The reserves are estimated at 7,500,000 metric tons, but the deposit renews itself.

In 1912 the total output of iron ore in Belgium was less than 170,000 metric tons, and the value was under £30,000.

Zinc and Lead.—In the neighbourhood of Liège are a number of veins containing a mixture of iron pyrites, galena (lead ore), and zinc-blende. Calamine or carbonate of zinc is also found. The deposits on Belgian soil are (*a*) at Engis, on the Meuse above Liège; (*b*) at and near Welkenraedt, on the Prussian frontier north of the town of Limburg; and (*c*) at Bleyberg, still further north, close to the Dutch frontier. The amount of zinc ore mined is now very small; in 1912 only 840 metric tons of Belgian ore, said to be all from one mine, were treated.

Stone.—Belgium, south of the latitude of Brussels, is rich in quarries, of which there are about 1,600 in all, some 1,200 or 1,300 being surface workings. The largest and most important produce the limestone known as *petit granit*, and are situated at Ecaussines, Soignies, and Sprimont (near Liège). Porphyry, limestone, and marble are quarried, and many types

of slate are found, in the quarries of the province of Luxemburg, of which the most important are Vieilsalm, Herbenmont, Warmifontaine, St. Méderd, and Bertrix.

Brick-earth is found especially (*a*) at and near Boom, south of Antwerp; (*b*) in south Flanders, Hainaut, and the Hesbaye. Pottery-clays are worked at Boom, in the Campine, south of Charleroi, at Ardenne, and at Baudour; fireproof clay at Ardenne, Baudour, and south of Charleroi. Glass-sand is worked in the Campine and at several sites in central Belgium, such as Braine l'Alleud, Binche, Oret, Wanze, Naninne, Tilly, and Havré. The Campine sand is the best, and is fit for quite good glass, though not for the finest crystal. Phosphates are worked at Liège, Baudour, and Mons, but they are of inferior quality.

Stone, rough and hewn, to the value of £931,400, was exported in 1912. The total value of the products of Belgian quarries in 1910 was £2,656,748, as against £1,546,879 in 1880 and £1,571,200 in 1890. The number of workers in quarries was 27,326 in 1880, 37,281 in 1900, and 35,711 in 1910.

(*b*) *Output*

The following table shows the mining production of Belgium in recent years, the quantities being given in metric tons and the value in English money:

		1892.	1902.	1910.	1911.	1912.
Coal	Quantity (tons)	19,583,173	23,877,470	23,916,560	23,053,540	22,972,140
	Value (£)	8,051,520	12,081,120	13,955,040	13,611,160	15,217,760
Iron ore	Quantity (tons)	226,718	180,920	122,9 0	150,500	167,370
	Value (£)	52,040	34,680	22,678	30,656	29,464
Iron pyrites	Quantity (tons)	2,570	710	214	122	148
	Value (£)	1,096	128	76	36	48
Lead ore	Quantity (tons)	60	160	162	82	107
	Value (£)	328	514	1,058	570	1,074
Zinc-blende	Quantity (tons)	8,250	3,570	1,434	836	1,167
	Value (£)	25,376	7,152	5,584	4,224	5,660
Calamine	Quantity (tons)	4,010	280	—	—	—
	Value (£)	9,888	472	—	—	—

The output of coal decreased slightly in the decade 1902 to 1912, but there has been an appreciation in value. The production of iron ore (the figures for which include manganiferous ore) has been much less regular. It increased from 226,718 tons in 1892 to 335,115 tons in 1895, fell to 176,620 tons in 1905, but rose to 318,500 tons (value £61,680) in 1907. In 1909 the production was 205,980 tons, and the value £46,480, but the output of the years 1910–12 was small. The production of lead ore has also been very variable, but always insignificant; in 1900 it reached 230 tons (value £2,531). The output of zinc-blende and of iron pyrites has undergone an almost steady decline, and that of calamine has ceased.

Coal and Iron.—The following table shows for 1912 the comparative production of coal and iron in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom:

Production (in metric tons) in 1912.

	Coal.	*Iron ore.*	*Pig-iron.*
Belgium	22,972,000	167,000	2,301,000
Netherlands . . .	1,725,000	—	—
Germany	174,875,000	32,716,000	17,617,000
France	40,560,000	19,160,000	4,939,000
United Kingdom . .	264,670,000	14,013,000	8,751,000

The value per ton in 1912 was, approximately, 12*s.* 9*d.* for flénu (or long-flame) coal, 14*s.* for bituminous coal, 13*s.* 6*d.* for semi-bituminous coal, and 12*s.* for dry coal. The average cost per ton raised was 13*s.*

The Belgian output of coal is insufficient for the consumption; in 1912 there was an excess of imports amounting to some 3,074,000 metric tons and in 1913 an excess of 3,788,500 tons. The Campine coal, possessing a high percentage of volatile matter, will ultimately make Belgium independent of imported coal.

Briquettes.—There were in 1912, 61 briquette fac-

tories which consumed 2,440,000 metric tons of coal and produced 2,690,000 tons of briquettes. Of this output, 623,000 tons were exported, but there was an import of 437,000 tons.

Coke.—There were in 1912, 38 coke oven plants, employing about 4,000 workmen. They consumed 4,166,000 metric tons of coal, including 1,499,760 tons of imported coal, and produced 3,186,000 tons of metallurgical coke. Of this output, 1,016,000 tons (valued at £1,082,560) were exported, but there was an import of 955,000 metric tons (valued at £1,018,400).

The following export and import figures are for 1912:

	Coal. *M. tons.*	*Briquettes.* *M. tons.*	*Coke.* *M. tons.*	*Total.* *M. tons.*
Imports .	8,132,000	437,000	955,000	9,524,000
Exports .	5,058,000	623,000	1,016,000	6,697,000
Excess .	3,074,000 (Imp.)	186,000 (Exp.)	61,000 (Exp.)	2,827,000 (Imp.)

The export of briquettes and coke slightly reduced the total excess of imports over exports of coal, briquettes, and coke taken together. This excess of imports over exports began only some ten years ago as a consequence of the failure of the native production to meet the great development of Belgian industries which marked the period 1908–14. In 1908 the total exports of coal, &c., still exceeded the total imports by 285,000 tons.

(c) *Cost of Production*

Owing to a variety of conditions, the margin between the cost of production and the selling price of coal is smaller in Belgium than in other coal-producing countries. In 1912, when the price of coal was very high, 67 out of 126 collieries reported a total profit of £1,034,952, and the remaining 59 collieries a total deficit of £724,988, leaving a balance of profit on coal-working of £309,964, or about 3¼*d.* per ton extracted. In 1911, when the average price per ton was about

11*s.* 9*d.*, against about 13*s.* 2*d.* in 1912, there was a deficit of about $1\frac{1}{4}$*d.* per ton extracted, but 1911 was a very exceptional year. The highest average profit per ton extracted was 2*s.* $3\frac{4}{5}$*d.*, made as long ago as 1885. In 1900 the profit was nearly 4*d.* per ton, and in 1910 about 6*d.*, but in 1912 it fell again to $3\frac{1}{4}$*d.*

Three natural conditions explain the high cost of production. First, the coal seams are everywhere split and twisted, and their thinness and contortion add greatly to the cost of working. The use of coal-cutting machines is very restricted, and in the Couchant de Mons it is impracticable owing to the twisted and crooked character of the deposits. The thickness of the seams varies from a few inches to two yards; the average thickness of workable seams is about 2 ft. 3 in., but seams as thin as $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. are worked, and, in several Hainaut collieries the average is from 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. 7 in. In the second place, the workings are the deepest in Europe and sometimes as low as 3,760 ft., and this is a factor of serious importance. Lastly, the occurrence of firedamp is a serious obstacle to scientific exploitation of the coal-fields. Blasting has to be restricted to those mines with little or no firedamp, and, where it is allowed, the consumption of explosives does not exceed 32 lb. per 100 tons. The method of working generally used is that of continuous headings, which are pushed forward from the shaft towards the limit of the coal-field. Coal-cutting is nearly always performed by hand, and is preceded by holing in the unproductive beds of the seam. Drilling-machines and small fans are worked by compressed air. Haulage is mostly done by horses; mechanical transport is restricted to the main roads, and is less developed than in the coal-fields of countries where the output is larger and more concentrated. Locomotives are preferred to the endless rope or chain systems.

Underground applications of electricity for drilling, lighting, and more especially for pumping, winding, and haulage are already numerous, but have hitherto been confined to downcast shafts and intake doorways in non-fiery mines. More than 50 per cent. of the companies use no underground power except for the emptying of the trucks. The new law limiting the hours of labour in mines to 9 hours per day resulted in a decrease of production, e. g. from 23,053,540 tons in 1912 to 22,972,140 tons in 1913; and there were considerable labour difficulties caused by a migration of workmen to industries in which the hours of work are not subject to legal limitations. These difficulties were leading the companies to consider a larger introduction of mechanical appliances. A further reason for the comparatively unremunerative character of the Belgian coal-mines is the 'dumping' of German coals from the Rhenish-Westphalian coal-fields.

(4) Metallurgical and Manufacturing Industries

(a) *Iron and Steel Industry*

The chief centres of this industry are in the Meuse valley from Liège to Flémalle and in the Sambre valley near Charleroi and from Hourpes to Châtelineau. These areas are covered with blast furnaces, steel-works, and foundries. There are smaller centres at Musson, Halanzy, and Athus, and at La Louvière, and isolated establishments at Clabecq, Jemappes, and Bruges. Pig-iron is produced everywhere, cast iron in the Athus district, pig-iron suitable for the Bessemer process at Charleroi, and pig-iron for the Thomas-Gilchrist process at Liège and Charleroi.

The modern steel industry dates from the introduction of Bessemer converters into the Cockerill works

at Seraing (near Liège). Martin puddling furnaces were introduced in 1872 and Thomas-Gilchrist (basic) converters in 1879. About 55 per cent. of the total ore treated in Belgium consists of the *minette* ore from Luxemburg. It averages 35 per cent. of iron and is treated by the Thomas-Gilchrist basic process. Pig-iron for treatment in the puddling furnaces of the steel-works comes from France and Germany; Bessemer ore from Spain; and phosphoric ore from Norway. Flux is generally obtainable near the iron-works.

The Belgian iron and steel industry is almost entirely dependent upon foreign ore. In 1912 there were 50 blast furnaces which consumed 6,300,000 metric tons of ore, of which only 89,680 were of Belgian origin. The total production of pig-iron was 2,301,290 metric tons in 1912, and 2,506,990 metric tons in 1913. The figures for 1912 represent an increase of 1,617,000 metric tons upon the production in 1891, and 1,232,000 metric tons upon the production in 1902. Nearly 90 per cent. of this production consisted of Thomas basic, produced from ores imported from France and Luxemburg. The slag produced in basic working is largely used as phosphate fertilizer. The total consumption of pig-iron in 1912 was 3,066,938 metric tons; there was a small export of 14,062 metric tons, and an import of 780,000 metric tons. Pig-iron, produced and imported, is used chiefly by steel-works, of which, in 1912, there were twenty-nine. The total output of crude steel (steel ingots) in 1912 was 2,515,040 metric tons, an increase of 2,271,040 metric tons upon the figures for 1891, and of 1,728,040 metric tons upon those for 1902. Of this output more than 90 per cent. was Bessemer steel. The export of crude steel in 1912 was 108,549 metric tons (valued at £507,960).

The iron and steel industry was affected, immediately before the war, by a fall in prices and by German

competition, and a policy of limiting production began in December 1913, when the John Cockerill Company put out of working two blast furnaces at Seraing.

From the steel-works the ingots pass on to rolling-mills for manufacture into girders, rails, plates, &c. The rolling-mills are often driven by electricity, generated by the waste gases from the blast furnaces. The total production of finished steel and iron goods in 1912 was about 1,900,000 tons, of which over 50 per cent. was in the form of bars, about 20 per cent. rails, and nearly 7 per cent. plates. The total export of finished iron and steel, excluding rails, in 1912, was 1,164,394 metric tons, valued at £7,664,440, an increase of 565,362 tons over the figures for 1902. The total for 1912 was made up as follows:

Goods.	*Amount produced (metric tons).*	*Value.* £
Girders	98,077	574,520
Rails	172,882	964,000
Sheet iron	195,415	1,304,600
Miscellaneous (including wire)	698,020	4,821,320
Totals	1,164,394	7,664,440

Girders, Boilers, &c.—There are some 200 works engaged in girder construction and boiler-making. The most important centres are at Liège, where there are 35 works, and in the vicinity of Charleroi, the Couchant de Mons, and the Centre coal-fields, where there are together 99. Other localities in which work of this kind is done are Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Hoboken, Malines (Mechlin), Willebroek, Louvain, Tirlemont, and Tournai. The large majority of the works are small, employing under 50 hands, and only 14 or 15 employ over 100 hands. Of the works devoted to girder construction, 81 were specially concerned with such industrial structures as pit-head gear, bridges,

&c., and 28 with armatures for reinforced concrete used in buildings. Boiler-making is carried on in 114 establishments, of which 11 specialize in locomotive boilers and 7 in marine boilers.

About one-third of the total production of these branches of work is exported, and a large proportion of the export consists of railway bridges, which are easily conveyed to Antwerp by the waterways. Hardly any work of this kind is now imported into Belgium, and even the more complicated kinds of water-tube boilers are made in the country.

Machine Construction.—This is the most important Belgian industry. The number of firms engaged in it is about 1,200 with over 60,000 employees. Some of the firms possess a number of factories, and much work, for which statistics are not available, is done by private shops, especially in repairing and assembling parts of machines. The industry is very much specialized, and many factories and firms combine to produce a single machine, each of them being concerned with one process. There are a few exceptions to this rule, such as the Société John Cockerill at Seraing, founded by an Englishman in 1817. The great centres of the industry are Liège, Charleroi, Brussels, the Couchant de Mons, the Centre, Ghent, and Antwerp, the most important being Liège and Charleroi. Smaller centres are Hoboken, Boom, Willebroek, Malines, Louvain, Tirlemont, Namur, Huy, Verviers, Tournai, Bruges, Herenthals, Turnhout, La Louvière, and the district between Arlon and Virton. The wide distribution of the industry in central Belgium is, of course, the result of an adequate supply of coal and steel in these districts, and of the facilities for the import and carriage of materials or instruments produced in other countries. The Government has encouraged the development of technical schools, which

have increased the natural aptitude of the Belgian workman for mechanics. The exports of machinery of all kinds in 1912 were valued at £8,581,840, of which £4,797,040 represented exports of railway and tramway carriages, &c. The total for 1901 was £3,558,280, of which £1,908,560 represented railway and tramway carriages. The import of machines and machinery in 1912 was valued at £3,978,520, or £4,603,320 less than the value of the exports.

Engines, Motors, Pumps, &c.—The chief centres of production are Liège, Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, and the towns in the Hainaut coal-field. The manufacture of animal-power engines is on a very small scale. Steam-engines are made by 89 firms, of which more than a third are in Hainaut, but the largest and most important establishments are at Ghent and Brussels, where engines for textile mills, electrical power stations, &c., are built. Engines for coal-mines and rolling-mills are made at Liège and in the Charleroi district, engines for sugar factories near Mons, and there is a growing manufacture of internal combustion engines at Liège, Brussels, and Ghent. Ten firms make motors for launches, cars, and cycles, twelve make gas engines of a heavy type, two make powerful motors for utilizing waste gases from blast furnaces, and five make Diesel engines and other engines using heavy oil. Figures of production are not available, but Belgium exports large numbers of steam-engines to the United Kingdom and France, and there are also considerable exports of heavy-oil engines (especially to the United Kingdom) and of pumps. There is a large production of steam-engines, boilers, and transmission gear for the cotton-spinning industry.

Lifting and Transporting Machines.—These are made in the Liège and Charleroi districts, and also at Brussels, in the Centre, in the Couchant de Mons, at Namur,

Ghent, Antwerp, and Tirlemont. There is a large production, and also a fair export, of screw-jacks, lifts, capstans, cranes, cages for collieries, and cableways.

Castings and Forgings.—There are factories for castings and forgings for use in mechanical construction works, near Charleroi, at Liège, Herstal, Brussels, Ghent, and in the Centre. The castings include pieces in iron, steel, and bronze; the forgings are in iron and steel. There is a considerable export and a very small import.

Electrical Plant.—In 1907 there were forty-eight establishments in this industry, which is of recent origin. The chief centres are at Brussels and Liège. Some of the factories are on a very small scale, and half of the number employ from three to ten hands and use from one to five horse power. The most important is a telephone factory at Antwerp. The total production of the industry in 1908 was valued at £1,000,000 and the export (chiefly of telephone apparatus and dynamos) at about £420,000.

Fire-arms.—This traditional Liège industry is largely carried on in small forges and workshops belonging to individual workmen, each of whom conducts one of the operations of making the barrel, breech-fitting, lock-making, adjustment to the lock, stock-making and fitting, finishing, polishing, and engraving. These individual workmen are employed by the manufacturers, and a fire-arm is said to enter and leave the factory some thirty times in the course of construction. In recent years the amount of hand labour has been reduced by mechanical construction, e. g. of breeches, which used to be forged out of solid blocks of steel; but it is believed that the continuance of hand work preserves the flexibility and adaptability of the industry to an extent which would be impossible with the use of machinery, and the

wide distribution of responsibility is considered to help in the maintenance of a high standard. The Fabrique Nationale d'Armes de Guerre, however, has been successful in creating a large trade in machine-made pistols, especially the Browning automatic pistol. The company was formed in 1889, and by 1908 it had sold 600,000 Browning pistols.

The Liège Proof House carries out the testing of arms, which is regulated by law, but all arms do not pass through the Proof House. Barrels which fail to pass the test are broken up. A Liège school of armoury was established in 1897, with assistance from the manufacturers of arms.

Including such fire-arms as do not pass through the Proof House, the total exports for 1912 were valued at £1,045,720, and for 1913 at £954,000. In 1913, Belgium exported fire-arms to the value of £168,000 to Germany and to the value of £140,000 to France.

The number of firms engaged in the industry, in and near Liège, is estimated at about 140, but this calculation includes many firms engaged in other industries as well, and it does not include the family or individual workshops.

Shipbuilding.—The shipbuilding industry in Belgium, though not of recent origin, has never attained important dimensions. The largest shipbuilding yard is that of the John Cockerill Company at Hoboken, which built, so long ago as 1848, the first Ostend–Dover packets. The yard has four building slips, adapted for the construction of ships of any tonnage, but its activities are mainly directed to the production of comparatively small vessels. The Antwerp Engineering Company builds on similar lines.

Shipbuilding was making considerable progress, however, in the last three years before the outbreak of war.

The quarterly average of the tonnage in course of construction at Antwerp in the four quarters of 1904 was 5,660 and in 1905, 2,015. This average increased in 1908 to 8,801 tons and in 1912 to 19,702 tons, falling to 17,823 tons in 1913.

Zinc-works. — Belgium produces annually about 20 per cent. of the world's output of spelter, ranking next after the United States and Germany. The Belgian industry is almost entirely dependent upon imported ores, and in 1912 consumed 488,030 metric tons of foreign ore (chiefly from the British Empire) and 840 tons of Belgian ore, and produced 205,940 tons of zinc, of which 181,706 tons were exported as unwrought zinc. There are 13 zinc-works situated in the Sambre–Meuse district and in the Campine. The Sambre–Meuse works are at Aiseau (near Charleroi), Vedrin, Sclaigneaux, Engis, Angleur, Prayon (near Liège); the Campine works are at Baelen-usines, Lommel, Neerpelt, Overpelt, and Hamont. The largest Belgian company is the Vieille Montagne, which owns mines in various countries and has works in France and Germany, where some of the Belgian ore is worked. The production of the Vieille Montagne in Belgium is about 38 per cent. of the total Belgian production. In addition to the thirteen zinc-works, there are ten rolling-mills for the treatment of zinc, which in 1912 produced 49,120 tons of finished products.

Lead and Silver Works.—There are five lead and silver works which in 1912 produced 54,940 tons of lead and 280 tons (or about 9,000,000 oz.) of silver.

(*b*) *Textile Industry*

Cotton-spinning.—The spinning industry dates back

to the seventeenth century, but it made little progress until the beginning of the nineteenth, when Lievin Bauwens imported power-looms from England. In 1912 there were 43 firms engaged in cotton-spinning and twisting, and 10 engaged solely in spinning. The firms, as a rule, employ from 50 to 200 hands. The most important centre is Ghent, where, in 1912, there were 28 mills, but the industry is also found in Hainaut and Brabant. In 1911, Belgium imported 126,312 tons of raw cotton, and in 1912, 141,825 tons. The output of cotton thread in 1912 was about 39,285 tons, valued at £3,200,000, and the exports were 4,500 tons, valued at about £360,000.

Cotton-weaving is carried on in about 130 establishments, employing in all over 11,000 workpeople. The number of looms is about 20,000. Hand-loom weaving is dying out, but there are still about 2,500 hand-loom weavers in Flanders. Ghent is the most important centre of the industry, but it is found also at Renaix, St. Nicolas, Braine l'Alleud, Mouscron, Termonde, and Alost. The manufactures comprise calico, dimity, swanskin, and cotton velvets. The annual output of cotton fabrics is valued at from £4,000,000 to £5,000,000; and from 40 to 55 per cent. of the production is exported. The exports of cotton fabrics in 1911 were 26,000 tons, valued at £3,169,000. They consist largely of dyed fancy fabrics. There is also a large import of cotton fabrics, chiefly from England and Germany, valued in 1911 at over £1,500,000. The total value of the exports of cotton manufactures in 1911 was £3,169,080, and in 1912, £3,715,320. It is estimated that some 25,000 persons are employed in the cotton industry.

Linen Thread and Linen-weaving.—In 1912 there were 28 linen-thread mills in Belgium, of which 17 were in Ghent and its vicinity. These mills employed

some 12,000 operatives, and the number of spindles was 300,000, of which 190,000 were in or near Ghent. The flax is partly home-grown and partly imported.

The soaking of the flax-stalks is largely carried out near Courtrai, and the water of the Lys is believed to be specially adapted for steeping purposes. The output in 1911 was 45,000 tons, chiefly of unbleached linen yarn, of coarse and medium threads. There is also an import of yarn, which in 1912 amounted to 13,209 tons, chiefly of fine threads.

Linen-weaving is still largely a hand industry. Of 18,000 persons employed in 1911, only 8,500 worked at power-looms. The two Flemish provinces, with 40 power-mills and 83 hand-mills, are the chief centre of the industry. The ancient seat of Flemish linen-weaving was Courtrai, the linen of which still possesses a high reputation, and there is a small Irish colony in Courtrai engaged in operations in connexion with the north of Ireland.

Hemp and Jute.—There are five firms employing about 500 hands engaged in spinning hemp. The import of raw hemp in 1911 was 20,517 tons, and in 1912, 21,985 tons. The output is about 2,000 tons a year, of which a large portion goes to the United Kingdom. There are 13 jute mills in Belgium, employing about 1,700 hands, and the number of spindles is 35,000. Ghent is the chief centre of the industry. The imports of jute in 1911 amounted to 21,600 tons, valued at £520,000, and purchased from India through the London market. The output is about 35,000,000 to 37,000,000 lb. of plain unbleached thread.

There is a small industry in the manufacture of hemp and jute fabrics. Gunny cloths, packing cloths, carpets, and fabrics for pneumatic tyres, hose-pipes, and linoleums are made at Ghent, Roulers, Eecloo,

and other places, and provide employment for some 1,700 workers, mostly using power-looms. The production is chiefly for home consumption.

There are 20 rope-works employing over 1,000 operatives, and in Flanders there is a considerable number of hand workers. The annual output is about 12,500 tons of rope and twine, valued at about £520,000, half of which is exported.

The total exports of raw flax, hemp, and jute in 1912 were 92,000 tons, valued at £6,212,720. The exports of manufactured linen, hemp, and jute were valued in 1912 at £874,280. These figures represent a considerable increase upon those for 1901 and 1902.

Silk.—The silk industry is not important. The breeding of worms has not been a success, and the material is chiefly imported as thrown silk and waste. It is made into yarn in several small factories, at Deynze, Forest, Thielt, and Ath, and gives employment to some 800 hands. A factory at Ath makes spun silk from waste, for use in hosiery. The exports in 1911 were 1,480 tons of silk yarn, valued at £947,500. There is a considerable import of manufactured silk; the quantity in 1911 was valued at £516,800, or £423,200 less than the export.

Four factories produce artificial silk and turn out over 22,000 lb. daily, chiefly for export to Germany. They employ about 2,000 workpeople. There are 10 factories for making sewing silk, one of which, at Alost, is among the largest in Europe.

Hosiery and Lace.—These are largely home industries, and employ over 6,000 workers. The chief centre is Tournai, but there has recently been a development of the industry in Flanders. The value of the output is from about £1,000,000 to £1,200,000 annually. There is an export of woollen hosiery to the annual value of about £120,000, and an import (chiefly of

cotton hosiery from Germany and woollen goods from England) to the annual value of about £240,000. The lace trade is very old in Belgium, and lace-making employs about 50,000 women and girls, who make both point and pillow lace. The exports of lace and tulle in 1911 were valued at £280,000. There are 150 training schools for lace-makers.

Carpets.—The trade in carpets has largely disappeared, especially since Belgian workers founded the great Gobelins factory in France. Imitation oriental carpets are made at Hamme, Waterloo, and Turnhout, and Jacquard carpets at St. Nicolas. The exports of carpets in 1911 were valued at £60,000 and the imports at £72,000.

Clothing.—The clothing industry employs 150,000 workers, who are chiefly employed in making low-priced clothes for artisan wear. The most important centres are Brussels and Binche. The total output is estimated at the annual value of £4,400,000. There is a considerable export of straw hats: these are made in the Geer valley, where 5,000 workers are engaged in the manufacture.

Wool.—The centre of the industry is the Verviers district, where the water of the Vesdre valley is specially suitable for washing wool. Verviers is the centre for the manufacture both of carded woollens (i. e. with a nap which conceals the individual threads) and of combed woollens (with the grain of the thread visible). In 1911 the plant for carded woollens included 275,000 spinning and 18,000 twisting spindles, an increase of 20,000 spindles since 1905. The annual production is about 36,000,000 lb. of yarn (valued at nearly £3,000,000), of which more than half is exported, chiefly to the United Kingdom. The plant for worsted and other yarns includes 290,000 spindles and 75,000 twisting spindles, and the manufacture employs some

5,000 workpeople. The annual output is about 12,320,000 lb. of plain yarn and 13,888,000 lb. of twisted yarn.

There are about 112 manufactories of woollen fabrics in different parts of the country, and they employ about 8,500 hands. About 85 per cent. of this trade is in the Verviers district. The manufacture of pure wool fabrics has made no progress in Belgium in recent years, and the success of the industry is due to the manufacture of cotton-mixed fabrics. The total annual production (chiefly of low-priced fabrics) is estimated at about £2,800,000.

The export of woollen yarns in 1912 was 11,930 tons, valued at £2,477,000, and the export of woollen manufactures (excluding shawls) was to the value of £461,720.

Miscellaneous Textiles, &c.—Other Belgian industries are the manufacture of linoleums and similar fabrics, and the bleaching, dyeing, dressing, and printing of cotton. There were in 1912 about 100 bleaching factories, 200 dye-works, 100 dressing factories, and 5 establishments for printing cotton goods. The chemicals for these operations are mostly produced in Belgium, but chemical dyes are imported from Germany and natural indigo from the East. The annual production of matting (manufactured chiefly at Hamme and Bruges) and of oilcloth, &c. (made chiefly at Berchem and Cureghem), is estimated at £340,000. More than 2,000 workpeople are employed in making trimmings, chiefly machine-made embroidery, and the estimated annual value is about £140,000.

(c) *Chemical Industry*

The chemical works of Belgium produce almost exclusively for industrial use, and the products are largely consumed in the country.

The works may be divided into four groups:

(i) *Sulphuric acid and superphosphate factories.*—There are 53 of these. They produce sulphuric, nitric, and hydrochloric acids and sodium sulphate; superphosphate of lime, dissolved guano, and basic phosphates, used as fertilizers; and by-products such as the sulphates of copper and iron, arsenic, barium salts, &c. The sulphuric acid industry is closely connected with the smelting of zinc, and it is found in the same regions as the zinc industry—Liège and the Campine. Zinc-blende is imported from Spain and Germany, and iron pyrites from Spain and Portugal, and, after roasting, the pyrites is sold to German iron-works. The output of sulphuric acid amounts to about 300,000 tons annually, and is restricted by agreement among the manufacturers. Saltpetre for the manufacture of nitric acid is imported from Chile; four-fifths of the output of the acid is used in Belgium. Rock-salt is imported from Germany for the manufacture of hydrochloric acid and sodium sulphate. Phosphates for superphosphate of lime are found in Belgium, and are also imported from France, Algiers, Florida, Japan, &c. There is a very large demand in the agricultural districts of Belgium for superphosphate of lime, and there are 33 factories, producing annually some 230,000 tons. Basic slag is a phosphoric manure used for agricultural purposes, and 230,000 tons are annually produced in Belgium as a by-product of the Thomas-Gilchrist steel process. There are small exports of copper sulphate to the wine districts of France, and of arsenic to Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, for use in glass-works.

(ii) *Factories producing soda, chlorine, and potassium salts.*—There are 86 of these, making carbonate of soda, chlorine, caustic soda, soda crystals, sulphurous acid and bisulphates, potash, saltpetre, refined salt, &c.

The rock-salt for the manufacture of carbonate of soda is imported from Normandy, and the product is used in glass and pottery works, and in chemical factories. The output of chlorine is insufficient for the quantity of bleaching-powder required in Belgium, and there is a considerable import from England, France, and Germany. Potash is made from the waste matter of the distillation of beet-molasses, and from water in which wool has been washed.

(iii) *Factories making various other mineral products.*—There are 51 of these. The products include aluminium and its compounds, together with hydrofluoric acid, which is required in the preparation of some of these compounds; phosphoric acid, mineral pigments, compressed gases, &c. Bauxite is imported from France for the manufacture of sulphate of alumina. Phosphoric acid is made from Belgian phosphates, which are too poor for conversion into superphosphates, and also from Florida phosphates. Phosphoric acid is largely used for the manufacture of the chemical manure known as double superphosphates. The chief mineral pigments made in Belgium are *ceruse* or white lead, *massicot* and *minium* or red lead, zinc white, lithopone, and ultramarine blue. The materials for all these, except the last, are found in Belgium. There is an export of lithopone and ultramarine blue.

(iv) *Factories making coal and wood distillation products and other organic products.*—There are 65 of these. The production includes coal tar (made at Charleroi and in the industrial centres of the north), graphite, benzene, tannin, salicin, and a large variety of other chemicals. The chief coal-tar products are light-oil products (benzene, &c.), middle-oil products (phenol, cresol, carbonyl), creosote products (naphthalene and creosol), and anthracenic oil products (anthracene and heavy lubricating oil). The solid matter left after

distillation is used in the making of coal briquettes. Tannin and salicin are made by infusing wood or bark in boiling water; home-grown wood is used for both substances, but some wood is imported from South America for the manufacture of tannin.

(*d*) *Glass, Pottery, Bricks, &c.*

The chief centre of the *glass* industry is Charleroi, in the neighbourhood of which half the factories are situated; other districts engaged in the industry are near Namur, Mons, and Liège; and isolated factories have been founded at Antwerp, Brussels, &c., in recent years. The coal-field is the natural site for glass factories, and the development of the Campine coal-field is likely to create new centres of the industry, more especially as the Campine coal is the long-flame variety required for glass (and also for pottery), and the sand used by the Belgian glass-works comes from the Campine. Such a development cannot be rapid because of the highly skilled character of the industry. The raw material, sand, is abundant in Belgium, but it is necessary to import from France special sand for crystal glass. Lime is also found in the country, and most of the chemical materials are supplied by the Belgian chemical works. Emery, for polishing and cutting, is imported (in its finished form) from Germany.

The export of glass and glass wares was valued at £4,016,680 in 1912. There has been no marked increase in the value of this export since 1902.

The centre of the *pottery* industry is in the valleys of the Meuse, Sambre, and Haine, from Liège to Mons, including the towns of Baudour, Sirault, Hautrage, Tertre, St. Ghislain, La Louvière, Charleroi, Namur, and Ardenne. The industry is also found near Brussels, Ghent, Boom, Turnhout, and Chimay. The raw

material is abundant in Belgium, and consists of fine clays (*terre glaise*) of various kinds, found in the pottery districts. China clay for porcelain is imported from France, and several varieties of clay, required for purposes of mixing, from England and Germany. Clay for majolica and art pottery comes from Germany and France. The colouring matters, mostly metallic oxides, are imported from France, Germany, and England.

The pottery most commonly made in Belgium is the felspathic variety, a hard ware with white or grey paste, used for household crockery and sanitary fittings, including tiles. The production is insufficient for the needs of the country. Porcelain is used for the manufacture of household crockery, articles for chemical and industrial purposes, and insulators for electrical installations. There is a large export, but the total import exceeds the whole production. Stoneware production consists of jugs, jars, sewer-pipes, sanitary appliances, and also apparatus for chemical works, of which there is a considerable export. Terra-cotta pottery consists largely of flower-pots and kitchen ware, and of art pottery, including statuettes and plaques. The art pottery is largely exported. Fireproof wares are chiefly retorts, crucibles, basic bricks, &c., and are used for industrial purposes. There is a considerable export of these goods.

Bricks, &c.—Belgium from southern Flanders to the south of the province of Limburg contains a belt of brown clay (*limon hasbayen*), between 4 and 15 ft. thick, suitable for brick-works, and there is an inferior deposit of 'polder' clay (*argile des polders*) near the sea-coast, which produces bricks of a yellowish colour. The chief permanent centres of the industry are at Boom, where there are beds of plastic clay, suitable for fine bricks, at Nieuport and Hautrage, and at Liège,

where shale found between coal seams has recently been successfully used for brick-making. The manufacture of vitrified tiles and paving materials is centred at Baudour, where the clay is specially suitable. There are also many *briqueteries de campagne* or temporary works, established in the region of the great clay belt: a site is purchased and the clay is worked out in about six years. The brick-works produce tiles and drain-pipes as well as bricks. The ordinary method of working is to extract clay in the winter, and make the bricks by hand in the summer, when the atmospheric conditions are suitable for drying them. There are also factories which use steam or other power, and have drying sheds, but the hand workers in the Boom district are said to be able to compete with modern machinery. There is an export trade, especially to Germany and France.

(*e*) *Paper-making*

The two chief centres of the industry are the Ardennes and Brabant, where there is an abundant supply of pure water. There are also paper-mills at Ghent and Bruges, and north of Brussels. The raw materials are wood-pulp, rags, straw, and esparto-grass, the last named being very little used. Timber is imported from Sweden, Norway, Russia, Finland, and Canada, and pulp, which has already been chemically treated, from Germany. The machinery is mostly of Belgian origin. The products of the industry, besides such varieties of paper as waterproof, grease-proof, and emery papers, include writing-paper, wall-papers, playing-cards, card-board boxes, confetti, artificial flowers, &c. These manufactures are found in most of the large towns.

The export of paper (including paper-hangings) was valued at £1,547,480 in 1912, an increase of over 100 per cent. upon the figures for 1902.

(*f*) *Diamond-cutting*

The diamond-cutting industry at Antwerp has arisen since the foundation of Belgium as an independent kingdom. There are some 40 establishments at Antwerp, employing some 4,000 to 5,000 operatives. The stones are imported chiefly from South Africa through the London market, but also from Brazil through Paris. Belgian diamond-cutters specialize in large stones like the *roses d'Anvers.*

(5) Power

There is very little water-power in Belgium, and practically all the electricity required in industry is generated by the use of fuel.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) Domestic

(*a*) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

Commercial and Industrial Organizations.—The Belgian Government includes a Ministry of Commerce, established in 1895 to replace a Department of Commerce under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry of Commerce has established at Brussels a commercial intelligence department or commercial museum, on the model of similar institutions in Germany and Austria. The business of the museum is to collect and distribute information likely to be useful to Belgian manufacturers, merchants, and traders. There are Chambers of Commerce in all the larger towns; the most influential are those of Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Liège, Charleroi, Verviers, and Namur. The Belgian Chambers of Commerce had an official connexion with the Government until 1875, but they are now quite independent. They have no administrative authority, but are con-

sulted by the Government on commercial questions. In addition to the Chambers of Commerce, there are in the great towns associations of the principal trades, and at Antwerp and Brussels there are federations of the various commercial and industrial associations.

Belgian commercial and industrial associations tend to be connected with political parties. The widespread and powerful co-operative societies have political connexions and are generally Socialistic in the towns and Catholic in the country. The workmen of large towns form co-operative societies freely, especially for the production of bread. These societies pay interest on deposits but not on capital. A portion of the profit is shared with the workmen employed by a society, but a large part of it is expended on political propaganda, undertaken by the Socialist party, and on the organization of the party itself and the support of its representatives in the Chamber.

There is a large number of commercial companies for the promotion of trade and commerce, and their number has increased since the development of the Belgian Congo. These not only help to float other companies but retain holdings in them. Such companies as the Banque d'Escompte et de Comptes Courants à Liège (1889), the Banque d'Outremer (1899), the Banque de Reports, de Fonds Publics et de Dépôts (1900), the Banque Liégeoise (1835), the Crédit Général de Belgique (1886), the Société Générale de Belgique (1822), the Banque de Bruxelles (1871), and many others act as trade banks (cf. p. 174).

Co-operative Credit Societies.—The agricultural co-operative societies have already been mentioned in the section on Agriculture (p. 116). The *unions du crédit* are an institution of Belgian origin, dating from 1848. The members are respectable traders, and the combinations are intended to extend the credit of the individual

by the guarantee of the society. A share of 200 francs, of which as small a proportion as 10 per cent. may be paid up, entitles a member to a credit of 2,000 francs guaranteed by his union. The *banques populaires*, introduced from Germany about 1864 by M. Léon d'Andrimont, are intended to facilitate the trading operations of members whose individual credit is much less than that of the members of the unions. For many years these people's banks failed to achieve any considerable success in Belgium, but since about 1890 they have made a great advance, and are now spread over the entire kingdom. They have abandoned the original German principle of the unlimited liability of each shareholder; they keep down the expenses of management to a minimum; and they exercise reasonable care in the admission of members. They are found not only in the towns like Liège, where home industries and small workshops abound, but also in such a manufacturing centre as Verviers, where the workshops are large and the management capitalistic. The popular character of the banks is maintained by severe restrictions upon the amount which may be borrowed by any single member, but different banks vary in this respect.

Technical Education.—The Belgian Government has expended large sums of money upon technical and industrial education. There are State Schools of Navigation at Ostend and Antwerp, both of which were established before 1850, and also at Nieuport. The number of pupils at Ostend is usually over 100, the Antwerp school is slightly smaller, but the numbers at Nieuport are only 6 or 7. Weaving schools are also supported by the State, but since 1885 the number of schools has decreased from 44 to 33, and the number of apprentices from about 950 to about 780. The total number of industrial schools subsidized by the State is

about 90, and of these over 80 are administered by the communes. There are also over 260 vocational schools, of which over 190 are administered by the communes. The annual sum expended by the State in aid of industrial, vocational, and commercial schools, and schools of domestic economy, has increased from about £10,000 in 1875 to about £75,000 in 1905 and about £100,000 according to more recent figures. Manufacturing associations encourage these industrial schools by grants of money.

(*b*) *Foreign Interests and Capital*

British.—There is a very small amount of British capital in Belgium, although there are numerous instances of the joint investment of British and Belgian capital in undertakings in South America, &c. There are instances of the investment of British capital in shipping and armament firms, as, for example, in the Antwerp Engineering Co., the Compagnie Belge Maritime du Congo (Antwerp, 1895), the Compagnie Belge d'Armement et de Transports Maritimes (Antwerp, 1907), and the Société d'Armement, d'Industrie et de Commerce (Antwerp, 1900). North's Portland Cement and Brick Works (Antwerp, 1900) has a large proportion of British capital, and there are also British interests in such undertakings as the Soie Artificielle de Couture, Saint-Germain (near Braine l'Alleud), founded at Brussels in 1904, and in the Continental Bodega Co.

French.—French capital is so profusely invested in Belgium, not only in banks and other financial concerns, but also in a very large variety of other undertakings, that no attempt can be made to deal here with the subject of French interests.

German.—There is a very large amount of German capital in Belgium, invested chiefly in metal industries and electrical undertakings. German influence is not very great in Belgian banking and finance, the principal

exception being the Banque Internationale de Bruxelles, founded in 1898 with a capital of £1,000,000, of which German banks subscribed £224,000, Austrian banks £170,000, and the International Bank of Luxemburg £40,000. German and Austrian banks are largely represented on the management. The financial house known as the Compagnie Commerciale Belge and formerly as H. Albert de Bary & Co. is in effect a German house. (For De Bary interests in Belgium, see below, pp. 159–60.) German influence is also strong in the Banque Belge de Prêts Fonciers, a company formed at Antwerp in 1899, principally for the purpose of undertaking financial operations in Brazil in conjunction with the Brasilianische Bank für Deutschland. The Banque Belge de Chemins de Fer, constituted in 1894 for the exploitation of railways, is in very close relationship with the Wiener Bank-Verein, the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, and Reizes Frères, Vienna; but its field of operations is outside Belgium. German influence is very strong in Belgian companies operating in Latin America and in Canada.

Among the more important undertakings connected with metals in which German capital is largely invested may be mentioned the following:

Société de la Nouvelle Montagne, originally founded in 1845 to work zinc-mines at Engis, and reconstituted in 1905 under the control of Beer, Sondheimer & Co.

Société Métallurgique de Prayon, founded in 1882 to work zinc near Liège, and also connected with Beer, Sondheimer & Co.

Usines du Phénix à Châtelineau, iron and steel works founded in 1888 and absorbed in 1908 by the Société Métallurgique de Sambre et Moselle (see below, p. 156).

Foraky, Société Belge d'Entreprises de Forages et de Fonçages (Brussels, 1906).

Société Métallurgique de Lommel (Liège, 1904).

Compagnie des Métaux et Produits Chimiques d'Overpelt (Liège, 1898).

German influence is specially notable in Belgian undertakings connected with metal industries, the operations of which are conducted mainly or wholly outside Belgium itself. Among such companies may be noted:

Société Métallurgique (Procédés de Laval), founded at Brussels in 1905 to work metals, especially zinc, and to take over the processes invented by the Swedish engineer, Laval. The Electrizitäts Aktien-Gesellschaft, Beer, Sondheimer & Co., and the Dresdner Bank are very largely interested.

Société Minière et Industrielle à Verviers, founded at Brussels in 1905 to work mines, chiefly in Galicia.

Société Minière à Liège, founded at Liège in 1897 to work mines in Italy. Sulzbach Bros., Frankfurt a/M., and Beer, Sondheimer & Co. are largely interested.

Compagnie Métallurgique Franco-Belge de Mortagne, founded at Brussels in 1905 to work zinc at Mortagne (near Valenciennes). Aron Hirsch & Son, Halberstadt, subscribed 2,400 shares, and the National-Bank für Deutschland 800 shares, out of a total of 5,200.

Lothringer Hütten-Verein, founded at Brussels in 1897 to work iron and steel in Lorraine.

Société des Hauts Fourneaux de Fontoy, founded at Brussels in 1898 to work iron and steel in German Lorraine.

Société Métallurgique et Minière du Nassau (Brussels, 1904).

Société Métallurgique de Sambre et Moselle, founded at Brussels in 1898 to purchase and work mines and foundries near Montigny-sur-Sambre.

Compagnie Silésienne des Mines (Brussels, 1899).

German influence is also very strong in electrical enterprises, especially in the numerous Belgian companies operating in other countries:

A.E.G., Union Electrique. This branch of the German A.E.G. (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft) obtained control in 1905 of the Belgian undertaking founded in 1898 as Matériel et Installations Electriques G. Boty.

Compagnie d'Electricité Thomson-Houston de la Mediterranée, founded at Brussels in 1898 to undertake the sale of the Thomson-Houston patents in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Egypt, and Greece.

Société Générale Belge d'Entreprises Electriques, founded at Brussels in 1895 for electric transport and lighting. It has interests in Italy, Germany, France, Denmark, Spain, Rumania, and the Argentine, as well as in Belgium.

Compagnie Générale Auxiliaire d'Entreprises Electriques, founded at Brussels in 1909, chiefly for operations in Russia.

Compagnie Electrique Anversoise, founded at Antwerp in 1898.

Imatra, Société pour la Production et la Distribution de l'Énergie Electrique, founded at Brussels in 1912 for operations in Russia.

German influence in Belgian coal-mines is of recent date, and is notable in extensions of the Belgian coal-fields, especially in the Campine. The following companies have German capital:

Charbonnages d'Hensies-Pommerœul, founded at Brussels in 1912 to work coal and other mines in the Quiévrain district.

Charbonnages André Dumont-sous-Asch, founded at Brussels in 1907 to work coal near Asch.

Charbonnages de la Meuse, founded at Brussels in 1902 to work coal near Eysden. This company is entirely under German control.

German capital is also invested in a number of miscellaneous undertakings, e. g.:

Compagnie Commerciale Belge, anc. H. Albert de Bary & Co., founded at Antwerp in 1900 for commerce and finance.

Anciens Etablissements Pieper à Liège, founded at Liège in 1905, an arms factory which has long been under German control.

Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits et des Grands Express Européens, founded at Brussels in 1876.

Société d'Armement, d'Industrie et de Commerce, founded at Antwerp in 1900 for commercial and maritime enterprises, including the storage and sale of naphtha.

Produits Tannants d'Hemixem, founded at Brussels in 1908.

Grande Brasserie de Kockelberg-les-Bruxelles (1886).

Société Commerciale Belgo-Allemande du Congo, founded at Brussels, 1912.

Compagnie d'Exploitation d'Immeubles, founded at Brussels in 1904 for the purchase and management of bazaars, restaurants, hotels, concert halls, &c.

(c) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

The population statistics throw some light upon German methods of penetration. The total number of German-born residents in Belgium increased from 15,242 in 1856 to 57,010 in 1911, and the percentage from 0·34 to 0·77. The number of French-born residents rose from 31,400 in 1856 to 80,765 in 1911, or in percentage of the total population from 0·7 to 1·08. There has been very considerable German economic penetration, partly through the influence of German capital, and partly by German control of certain trades and products.

Information about German capital in Belgian under-

takings has been given above (pp. 154–8), but it is necessary to add some remarks about activities of individual Germans in Antwerp. There was a considerable German commercial colony in Antwerp, where the Germans formed an alliance with the Flemish. The head of the colony was a German subject, H. Albert von Bary, who changed his name to De Bary. This man founded at Antwerp the banking and financial house of H. Albert de Bary & Co. with support from the Disconto-Gesellschaft and the Norddeutsche Bank. It is now known as the Compagnie Commerciale Belge. De Bary and his family have acquired large interests in some thirty-eight important Belgian companies, chiefly financial and with special interests in Latin America. The extent of their influence over Belgian trade with Latin America will be evident from the following list of their companies operating solely or chiefly in that region :

Banque Immobilière Hypothécaire Argentine (1912).

Société Belge de Crédit Foncier (1912).

Crédit Foncier Belgo-Suisse de Mexique (1911).

Société Foncière Belgo-Argentine (1910).

Société Générale Belgo-Argentine (1909).

Compagnie Belgo-Argentine de Chemins de Fer (1903, in liquidation 1913).

Société Industrielle et Pastorale Belgo-Sud-Américaine (1894). This company is now closely connected with an older company dealing with extract of beef—the Compagnie des Produits Kemmerich (1884).

Compagnie Sucrière de Tucuman (1895).

Banque Belge de Prêts Fonciers (1899).

Crédit Foncier Sud-Américain (1903).

De Bary companies are also interested in the development of Canada, and include the Société Hypothécaire du Canada (1907), the Compagnie Immobilière et Agricole du Canada (1906), the Belgo-Canadian

Fruit Lands Company (1908), and the Société Foncière Belgo-Canadienne (1911).

Besides their interests in North and South America, the De Bary family have large holdings in the Banque d'Anvers and the Banque Générale Belge and in a considerable number of Belgian trade banks and financial houses, including the Société Commerciale et Financière Belge (1910), the Société Internationale de Constructions (1912), L'Alliance Anversoise (1904), La Mutualité Anversoise (1900), the Compagnie Rurale Anversoise (1911), and the Alliance Pastorale (1912); also in L'Industrielle Belge (1900), which is interested in hides and skins, and in the Société Anversoise pour la Recherche de Mines au Katanga (1911).

Nearly all these companies have been founded in the last twenty years, and they all represent, to some extent, German interests. The last-mentioned company, for example, is under the control of the Metallbank und Metallurgische Aktien-Gesellschaft of Frankfort, which owns 15 per cent. of the capital and conducts the operations. The Alliance Pastorale is closely connected with the Hamburg firm of Wiengreen; the capital of the Compagnie Rurale Anversoise is largely held by Germans and by German firms in the Argentine; the Brasilianische Bank für Deutschland is interested in the Banque Belge de Prêts Fonciers; the Deutsche Vereinsbank, Frankfort, in the Société Internationale de Constructions; and German firms in South America have large holdings in Belgian South American companies.

Another method of German penetration is the control of certain industries by a great German combination. The best illustrations are to be found in connexion with zinc, lead, and copper. The so-called International Syndicate, a combination of the Metallgesellschaft of Frankfort, Beer, Sondheimer & Co., and Aron Hirsch

& Co., which before the war had secured contracts enabling them to control the entire Australian output of concentrate and most of the mines in the Mediterranean area, was so strong that, although Belgium produced annually about 20 per cent. of the world's output of spelter, such important Belgian companies as the Compagnie d'Overpelt Lommel, the Société Métallurgique de Prayon, the Société de la Nouvelle Montagne, and E. Dumont et Frères were under its influence. The greatest of the Belgian companies, the Vieille Montagne, which produces about 38 per cent. of the total Belgian output of spelter and also has works in France and Germany, long resisted the International Syndicate, but, before the war, had become associated with it. Supplies for the Belgian copper-works near Liège, which consumed annually about 15,000 tons of ore, were obtained through firms in the International Syndicate. It controlled the copper market, and Belgian firms were dependent upon it for the sale of the product as well as for the supply of ore. Lead was similarly under German influence; and, before the war, German capital was being invested in the French mines of the Briey basin on which Belgium depends for its iron ore.

German commercial influence was largely extended by the custom of sending from Germany to Belgium numbers of young men to be trained in business methods. Their services were rendered gratuitously and were, therefore, readily accepted; and they acquired an intimate knowledge of Belgian trade, to be utilized on their return to Germany. The establishment of a branch of the Deutsche Bank in Brussels offered facilities of easy credit to Belgian firms, and thus increased German influence. The usual German methods of consulting the tastes and requirements of foreign customers, supplying cheap goods, and

giving long credit, produced in Belgium the same results as elsewhere. An illustration of these methods is the supply of cheap knives stamped with Belgian trade-marks, an expedient which had serious effects upon the Belgian cutlery trade.

Before the war German competition was very severe, especially in the electrical and gun-making trades; the Government ordered large guns from Krupp's in preference to the Cockerill Company, and other Government contracts were frequently given to German firms. After the German occupation, this process was continued. In 1913 an agreement was made, to last till 1924, for the foundation of a plate-glass trust, under the name of the Union Continentale Commerciale des Glaceries, to centralize in Brussels the commercial services of all the important continental plate-glass works, and to form a *comptoir de vente.* This was afterwards superseded by a Glascentrale under the control of Hamburg and Berlin (Grützke & Alt). In 1918 efforts were being made to found a German Chamber of Commerce in Antwerp, largely with a view to the organization of trade after the war (*Der Welthandel*, June 7, 1918).

(2) Foreign

With reference to statistics of export and import it is necessary to explain that the terms 'general exports' and 'general imports' represent the total value of goods exported from or imported into Belgium, including the value of goods in transit. 'Special exports' represent the total value of exported goods of Belgian production or manufacture, and 'special imports' the total value of goods imported for consumption in Belgium. Where no indication to the contrary is given, the words exports and imports,

in the following pages, mean 'special' exports and 'special' imports.

(*a*) *Exports*

(i) *Values.*—The following figures show the growth of the Belgian export trade:

Year.	*Total value of exported goods, including goods in transit (General Exports).*	*Total value of exports of Belgian production (Special Exports).*
	£	£
1901 . . .	129,578,000	73,129,000
1902 . . .	138,926,000	77,020,000
1905 . . .	170,240,000	93,347,000
1907 . . .	207,646,000	113,925,000
1908 . . .	181,099,000	100,258,000
1909 . . .	204,004,000	112,389,000
1910 . . .	227,784,000	136,296,000
1911 . . .	235,168,000	143,212,000
1912 . . .	255,552,000	158,060,000

A comparison of the two columns shows the importance of the transit trade, the figures for which are approximately the same as those given below under *Imports.* The figures for 'special' exports from 1905 include bullion and specie.

(ii) *Countries of Destination.*—By far the largest Belgian export trade is with Germany, for which the figures were in 1911, £38,373,240 and in 1912, £40,298,760. Belgian imports from Germany amount to only about two-thirds of these figures. Next in importance is the trade with France—in 1911, £27,802,520 and in 1912, £30,092,560, figures which also show a considerable excess over the value of the imports from that country. On the other hand, the imports from the British Empire largely exceed the exports to it, which in 1911 amounted to £24,608,640

and in 1912 to £29,154,760 (these figures include Egypt). The figures for other countries are:

	1911.	1912.
	£	£
Netherlands . .	14,093,840	14,703,960
United States . .	4,559,280	5,805,120
Argentine . .	3,346,440	3,706,440
Brazil . . .	2,116,360	3,581,960
Russia . . .	2,676,160	3,339,840
Spain . . .	1,906,840	1,768,840

The export trade of Belgium has increased by over 100 per cent. since 1901, and the increase has been constant, except for a decrease in 1908. New markets have been found in the present century for Belgian goods in the following countries, the export trade with which increased between 1901 and 1912 by more than 300 per cent.: Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Tunis, Portuguese East Africa, Japan, Dutch East Indies, Siam, Peru, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and the Belgian Congo. The export trade with Russia and with Italy also increased by nearly 300 per cent.

The largest export values in 1912 were shown by the following groups of merchandise, the exports of which ranged from 2 to 11¾ million pounds: coal and coke, grain, raw hides, raw flax, raw and refined sugar, manufactured cotton, woollen yarn, manufactured iron and steel, unwrought zinc, and machinery (including tramway and railway carriages). In normal times about four-fifths of the exported coal goes to France, which also receives about 40 per cent. of the export of coke, and about 50 per cent. of the export of briquettes. Germany takes about 5 per cent. of the coal and about 25 per cent. of the coke. The export of wheat is largely to the Belgian Congo and to Germany, the export of rye to France, and the export of barley to Germany. Rice and maize are re-exported to Holland and France respectively. Hides are largely

exported to the United States and the United Kingdom, sugar chiefly to the United Kingdom, and flax to the United Kingdom and France. Cotton yarns are sent to the United Kingdom and Germany, manufactured cotton to the United Kingdom, the United States and the Congo, and woollen yarn to Germany and France. The export of steel and zinc is largely to the United Kingdom. Belgian machinery is sent all over the world, especially to South America and the United Kingdom, the latter of which imports a large proportion of Belgian-built railway carriages, motors, and bicycles.

(*b*) *Imports*

(i) *Values.*—The progress of the Belgian import trade in recent years will be seen from the following table:

Year.	*Total value of imported goods, including goods in transit (General Imports).* £	*Total value of goods imported for consumption in Belgium (Special Imports).* £
1901 . . .	145,626,000	88,840,000
1902 . . .	157,583,000	95,227,000
1905 . . .	199,597,000	122,733,000
1907 . . .	244,952,000	150,945,000
1908 . . .	213,852,000	133,097,000
1909 . . .	240,023,000	148,173,000
1910 . . .	262,088,000	170,600,000
1911 . . .	272,296,000	180,340,000
1912 . . .	295,812,000	198,320,000

A comparison of the two columns shows the importance of the transit trade, which amounted in 1901 to £56,786,000; in 1905 to £76,864,000; in 1910 to £91,468,000; and in 1912 to £97,492,000. These sums are approximately repeated in the differences between the totals of 'general' and 'special' exports (*supra*,

p. 163). The figures for 'special' imports from 1905 include specie and bullion.

(ii) *Countries of Origin.*—The largest Belgian import trade is with the British Empire. The figures for 1911 and 1912 are:

	1911.	1912.
	£	£
Great Britain	17,442,160	20,221,080
Ireland	6,640	4,760
British Dominions (including Egypt)	20,845,000	19,182,760
	38,293,800	39,408,600

The next largest import trade is with France (£29,538,720 in 1911 and £36,321,920 in 1912), and with Germany (£24,095,720 in 1911 and £28,124,800 in 1912), whereas exports to either of these countries, as already pointed out, are far in excess of the exports to the United Kingdom. The values of imports from other countries (about or exceeding £2,000,000) were as follows:

	1911.	1912.
	£	£
United States	13,656,920	16,553,160
Netherlands	11,928,680	14,262,920
Argentine	10,893,120	12,220,960
Russia	12,725,440	10,893,080
Rumania	9,809,560	8,038,480
Chile	3,223,800	2,637,440
Belgian Congo	2,307,000	2,437,800
Spain	2,176,880	2,112,520
Brazil	1,516,640	1,977,480

The import trade of Belgium has increased by over 100 per cent. since 1901. This increase has been constant except in one year, 1908, when there was a considerable decrease. The largest import values were shown in 1912 by the following groups of merchandise, the imports of which ranged from 4 million pounds upwards: coal and coke, grain, other food-stuffs (including fish), raw hides, raw cotton, raw flax, raw wool, iron

ore and pig-iron, other raw minerals (excluding rough diamonds), resins and bitumens (including petrol), oleaginous seeds, and timber. About half of the import of coal and nearly the whole import of coke are from Germany, about a quarter of the coal from the United Kingdom, and about an eighth from France. With regard to grain, about 29 per cent. of the wheat comes from Rumania and about 21 per cent. from the Argentine, about 45 per cent. of the rye from Germany, about 25 per cent. of the oats from the United States, and about 42 per cent. of the maize from the Argentine. A large proportion of the import of barley and two-thirds of the import of rice come from India. Of other food-stuffs, 80 per cent. of the butter and almost all the cheese come from Holland, which, with the United Kingdom, supplies the import of fish (about 23,000 tons annually). Salt is imported from France and Germany. Raw hides come largely from the Argentine, and also from Great Britain, Australia, Uruguay, France, Germany, and British India. Nearly a third of the import of raw cotton is from the United States, and about a fifth from British India; about 8,200 metric tons (one-seventeenth of the total) were imported from the United Kingdom in 1912. Raw flax comes chiefly from Russia, Holland, and France; raw wool from Australia, the United Kingdom, France, and the Argentine. Half of the import of iron ore and pig-iron comes from Germany and Luxemburg, and the remainder chiefly from France and the United Kingdom; bitumens chiefly from the United Kingdom.

The import of horses is almost entirely from the United Kingdom; cattle come from Holland, the United States, and South America; sheep chiefly from the Argentine.

Of manufactured goods there is a large import of

wine (over 7,036,458 imperial gallons, valued at £1,436,640 in 1912), which comes chiefly from France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal. A large quantity of unbottled beer comes from the United Kingdom, and much bottled beer from Germany and Holland. The import of spirits is chiefly from Holland. Germany supplies an overwhelming proportion of the import of chemical products, almost the entire import of artificial indigo, and a large proportion of other dyes. Manufactures of linen, cotton, and wool come chiefly from the United Kingdom; haberdashery from Germany; paper from Germany, the United Kingdom, and Holland; earthenware from Germany; bricks from Germany and the United Kingdom. Machinery comes from Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom; motors are chiefly American and British; musical and scientific instruments are largely British.

Belgian imports exceed the exports by very considerable amounts. In 1912 the totals of imports and exports were:

	General.	*Special.*
Imports . . .	£295,812,000	£198,320,000
Exports . . .	255,552,000	158,060,000

The excess of imports over exports is paid for by the interest on the very large amount of foreign investments held in Belgium.

(c) *Customs and Tariffs*

There is no tariff upon exports or upon goods in transit. The Belgian import tariff is partly for revenue and partly for protective purposes. The total revenue obtained is small and represents about 1½ per cent. of the total value of imports for consumption in Belgium. A large number of articles of food are admitted free, including most cereals. But Belgian

agriculture is protected by a tax of about 1½ francs per cwt. upon imported oats, and by taxes upon manufactured cereals—about 2 francs per cwt. on oatmeal, about 75 centimes per cwt. on malt, and about 2 francs per cwt. upon macaroni, &c. There are also protective duties of from 3 to 5 centimes per kilogram (2·204 lb.) on the weight of imported live cattle and from 1 to 2 francs per head upon imported live sheep; and a tax varying from 7½ to 15 francs per cwt. upon dead meat, including game and poultry. Bacon and live game and poultry, however, are admitted free. The import of cows and steers under four years of age is prohibited. The duties on sugar and molasses vary from 5 to 10 francs per cwt. and there are special countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar.

The tariff on manufactured goods varies from 10 to 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, but manufactured products required for use in industries are admitted at 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. Certain Belgian industries are specially protected, e.g. by duties of 28*s*. per cwt. upon some kinds of mercerized cotton yarns and 50*s*. per cwt. upon certain cotton tissues made of dyed yarn; of £7 per cwt. upon silk yarns and 90*s*. per cwt. upon yarns of artificial silk; of 7*s*. per cwt. upon wall-paper and 3*s*. per cwt. upon paper for newspapers; and of 24*s*. per cwt. upon certain varieties of soap.

In general the Belgian tariff is designed to protect agriculture rather than industry. It is sometimes said, indeed, that Belgium is a country with agricultural protection and industrial free trade. The remark is not strictly applicable to a tariff which imposes duties of from 10 to 15 per cent. upon furniture, wearing apparel, musical instruments, hardware, small wares ('mercerie'), leather goods and manufactured hides and skins, rubber beltings, earthenware, glassware, carriages, bicycles, &c. But the duties are small and

have been devised for the exclusion of unfair competition, especially from Germany, and Belgium has hitherto continued to regard herself as a country with industrial free trade.

Before the war there was considerable controversy in Belgium about the propriety of a protective tariff for agriculture. It was argued that the protection given to agriculture benefited only the comparatively small number of farmers who cultivated, at the least, 8 acres (i. e. just over 15 per cent. of the farming industry), and that the restrictions were positively injurious to the small holders who were buyers of food and whose capital was insufficient to purchase the full-grown cattle which alone are permitted to be imported. The proportionally large amount of customs duty paid on food-stuffs (amounting to £800,000 a year, or a third of the total revenue from customs, in addition to £76,000 from the importation of live animals) is one of the causes of the malnutrition of the Belgian working-classes, and in 1912 the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce protested against the high price of meat and asked for the removal of the import duties.

The average customs payment per head of the population, which in 1870 was 5·61 francs, fell in 1880 to 4·62 francs, but had risen by 1910 to 8·96 francs.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

The National Budget has shown a constant increase in recent years. In 1904 the estimated receipts were £21,174,900 and the estimated expenditure was £21,102,270; in 1912 these sums had risen to £28,150,903 and £28,138,181 respectively; in 1913 provision was made for an expenditure of over

£30,000,000 and in 1914 for over £32,000,000, an increase of more than 50 per cent. in the decade 1904–14.

The largest items in the budget for 1912 were those for the public services. The total receipts for railways, post office, telegraphs and telephones amounted to £14,665,629. If we add to the receipts from these services £129,200 from navigable waterways, £82,200 from the steamboat service, £205,800 from domains and forests, £1,059,603 from the National Bank advertisements in the *Moniteur* and other sources, and £338,332 of repayments, the remainder on the receipt side of the budget, representing the total taxation in 1912, was £11,670,139, or about thirty shillings per head of the population. The largest single item in this sum was the excise (charged on beer, spirits, vinegar, acetic acid, glue, sugar, tobacco, and margarine), viz. £3,245,532, the estimated yield of the customs duties being £2,312,146. A total of £5,906,640 was derived from a variety of direct taxes: property taxes, £1,186,760; personal taxes, £1,057,880; trade licences, £660,000; registration duty, £1,560,000; succession duty, £1,020,000; stamps, £400,000; mines, £22,000. The small remaining sums on the receipt side represented fines and miscellaneous items.

On the expenditure side the largest item, after that debited to the Ministry of Railways, Post Office, Telegraphs, and Telephones (£10,221,345), was a sum of £7,938,477 for the service of the public debt, including interest and sinking fund charges. The Civil List amounted to £219,990. Of the Ministries, the most expensive were War (£2,593,757), Education, Science, and Art (£1,615,771), Justice (£1,218,584), Public Works and Agriculture (£1,177,557), Industry and Labour (£1,064,568), and Finance (£975,436). The Ministry of the Interior cost £303,156, with an addi-

tional sum of £413,232 for Police; the Foreign Office, £194,762; and the Colonial Office, £48,508.

The National Debt consists of the Belgian share of the old debt of the Netherlands, amounting to £8,798,385, at 2½ per cent.; and later loans at 3 per cent., the total of which amounted in 1912 to £140,575,776, and at the end of 1913 to £140,922,712. The National Debt on December 31, 1913, was, therefore, £149,721,097, or nearly £20 per head of the population, and the annual charge represented about 16·75 francs per head. There is a sinking fund for all the national loans, except the old 2½ per cent. Netherlands loan. Belgian loans have generally been negotiated in Paris, but in February 1914 a loan of £12,000,000 in 3 per cent. bonds issued at 77 was placed in London and was immediately over-subscribed. The loan was rendered necessary by the circumstance that the amount of Treasury Bonds (5½ per cent.) had increased in 1913 from £15,120,000 to £28,000,000.

The provincial expenditure for local government amounted in 1909 to £1,074,913, and the total revenue, including taxes and receipts from property, was £1,262,650. The total provincial debt amounted in 1912 to about £1,500,000, and the annual charge, including interest and sinking fund, to nearly £75,000. There were also communal debts amounting in all in 1912 to nearly £2,200,000, divided among 458 communes of which 363 had less than 5,000 inhabitants each. The aggregate debt of these 363 was only £333,741, while that of the city of Antwerp was £800,000.

(2) *Currency*

Belgium belongs to the Latin (Monetary) Union of 1865, which also includes France, Greece, Italy, and Switzerland.

The metallic coinage consists of (1) gold pieces of 20 francs; (2) silver pieces of 5 francs, 2 francs, 1 franc, and 50 centimes; (3) copper pieces of 2 centimes and 1 centime; and (4) nickel pieces of 25 centimes, 10 centimes, and 5 centimes.

Copper is legal tender up to 2 francs, nickel up to 5 francs, and silver up to 50 francs. Gold (25·22 francs to the pound sterling at par) or silver in 5-franc pieces is the only legal tender for unlimited sums. The mint is leased to a contractor, the scale of whose payment is fixed by royal decree.

Notes are in general use for most denominations over 2 francs. The paper currency, which is issued only by the Banque Nationale, reached at the end of 1913 a total value in circulation of £42,696,280, or more than three times the stock of gold and silver in the Banque Nationale, and at that time the Banque was reimporting, at considerable cost, specie which had gone to Paris owing to a favourable rate of exchange.

(3) *Banking*

National Bank.—The Banque Nationale de Belgique performs for Belgium the work done in this country by the Bank of England, to which it is in many ways similar. It acts as the banker of the Government in the management and payment of dividends on the National Debt, the issue and withdrawal of Treasury Bills, and in other financial business. It is a company transacting ordinary banking business in addition to its work for the Government, and is the only Belgian bank authorized to issue notes. The Banque Nationale was founded in accordance with an Act passed in 1850. It had a capital of £1,000,000, which in 1872 was raised to £2,000,000. In 1900 the Belgian Parliament passed an Act continuing the existence of the bank until January 1, 1929. The

governor and vice-governor are appointed by the King, the vice-governor being selected from the directors chosen by the company. After a dividend of 4 per cent. per annum has been paid, a proportion of the surplus profit is payable to the State. The reserve fund at the end of 1913 amounted to £1,841,231.

Private Banks.—There are a large number of private banking companies, some of which direct their enterprise mainly to discount banking, while others act as trade banks. There is a marked distinction between Belgian and British banks, there being in Belgium no great joint-stock banking companies such as, in the United Kingdom, have absorbed most of the provincial banks. The Banque Nationale has branches in some forty Belgian towns, and the Crédit Anversois and the Banque Générale Belge have also a number of branches, but these are exceptions to the general rule.

On the other hand, there is a very intricate connexion between a considerable number of the banks. The best example is the oldest and greatest of the trade banks, the Société Générale de Belgique, originally founded in 1822 for the development of national industry, and reconstituted in 1903. It was for many years the State Bank, but a financial crisis in 1848 emphasized the necessity of a separation between the financial and the industrial interests concerned, and led to the foundation of the Banque Nationale, a large proportion of whose capital was supplied by the Société Générale. The Société Générale is also largely interested in the Banque d'Anvers, the Banque de Gand, the Banque Générale de Liège, the Banque du Hainaut, the Banque Générale du Centre, the Banque Centrale Tournaisienne, the Banque de Verviers, the Banque Centrale de Namur, the Banque de Courtrai, the Banque Centrale de la Dyle, and many others. In 1835 it founded the Société de Commerce and the

Société Nationale pour Entreprises Industrielles et Commerciales, but these companies, after they had financed a large number of subordinate companies interested chiefly in coal and iron, were reabsorbed by the Société Générale. An illustration on a smaller scale is found in the Crédit Anversois, founded at Antwerp in 1898. The original capital was £480,000, of which £112,500 was subscribed by the Crédit Général Liègeois, and a similar sum by the Caisse Commerciale de Bruxelles, which in 1901 was absorbed by the Crédit Général Liègeois. The holding of the Crédit Général Liègeois in the Crédit Anversois has gradually been reduced, and in 1912 was only £59,346, out of a total capital of £800,000. In 1913 the Crédit Anversois absorbed the Comptoir de la Bourse de Bruxelles, the Société Belge de Banque, and the Banque Auxiliaire de la Bourse, all of which held shares of other banks. In the same year the Crédit Anversois took part in the establishment of the Crédit Limbourgeois at Hasselt, and in the reorganization of the Banque Bourgeoise, under the new description of Crédit du Flandres, in both of which undertakings other banks are also interested. The ramifications of these interests are, therefore, almost endless, and similar connexions can be traced among the banks or financial companies interested in colonial and foreign enterprises.

With the exception of the National Bank, all, or almost all, the Belgian banks take part in the flotation of new companies. The distinction between the trade banks or financial companies and the discount banks seems to depend upon whether ordinary shares of other companies are deliberately retained or not. Banks whose enterprise is mainly directed to banking business, as it is understood in England, are often closely connected with other companies whose interests

are chiefly those of financial houses. Thus the Banque d'Anvers, which restricts its operations to banking in the English sense, is, as we have seen, under the control of the Société Générale, which has also a large interest in another of the stricter banks, the Banque de l'Union Anversoise. The most powerful bank founded in recent years, the Crédit Anversois, has adopted a policy of restricting its activities to banking, except for the purpose of floating new companies.

There is a National Savings Bank in connexion with the National Bank and the Post Office. At the beginning of 1913 the National Savings Bank possessed 1,296 branches, with 3,013,296 depositors and deposits amounting to £42,310,340.

For the *banques populaires* see above, p. 153.

APPENDIX

I. FORMATION OF THE BELGIAN FRONTIER

(*a*) *The Southern* (*Franco-Belgian*) *Frontier*

1000–1635.—In the eleventh century the territory of the Counts of Flanders reached as far south as the Canche and Bapaume. Farther east, the frontier of the empire ran along or near the present southern limit of the Department of the Nord and touched the Meuse near Fumay. In the valley of the Meuse from Fumay to Stenay there was a debatable borderland which later gradually defined itself in favour of France.

When, in the thirteenth century, the French monarchy extended its power in the Netherlands, its main effort was directed against its own fief, Flanders. By 1305 the limits of the county had been pushed back to the Lys; Arras and Artois and the French-speaking districts of Lille, Douai, and Archies had been taken from it; and it had lost the homage of the county of Boulogne. But this French progress was followed by a disastrous retreat. At the end of the fourteenth century the House of Burgundy held Artois and French-speaking Flanders, and in 1435 acquired the counties of Boulogne and Ponthieu and the greater part of Picardy, including the towns of the Somme (Abbeville, Amiens, Péronne, and St. Quentin) and the lordships of Montdidier and Roye farther south. The Burgundian power now reached to the southern limit of the present department of the Somme.

This situation was intolerable for the French monarchy. After the death of Charles the Bold that monarchy won back the lands in Picardy as well as Ponthieu and the Boulonnais, but did not establish its hold on Artois and French-speaking Flanders. The Habsburgs now inherited the Netherlands, and France attacked them, but in the sixteenth century she made no headway in this direction. In 1526 and 1529 (by the Treaties of Madrid and Cambrai) she gave up her claims to feudal superiority over Flanders, Artois, and the former French enclave of the Tournaisis. On the other hand Philip II of

Spain, in spite of his invasions and victories in northern France, would not or could not extend his territory here; and no serious change was made in this quarter till the great French advance in the seventeenth century under Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV.

1635–1714.—When the French advance began the southern boundary of the Netherlands was as follows: from Gravelines on the coast (Spanish) it ran southwards, leaving St. Omer and Hesdin to the east. Near Hesdin it turned eastwards, and, leaving Bapaume, Le Cateau-Cambrésis, and Landrecies to the north, and Le Catelet and Rocroi to the south, crossed the Meuse at Fumay. Thence it bore south-east, and ran, much as it does at present, a few miles east of the Meuse, till near Mouzon it met the northern extremity of Lorraine. In this part of the Meuse valley the principality of Sedan had lost the independence it formerly claimed, and in 1642 escheated to the French crown. Moreover, on the other side of the frontier, the duchy of Bouillon was held by the French owners of Sedan from 1591 to 1642, and was later in dispute.

In the various treaties which altered this frontier between 1635 and 1713, the main object of the French was to obtain good positions for the defence of France or for future offensives in the Netherlands. Part of the territory which they acquired consisted of mere enclaves in the Netherlands, each containing a fortress with a radius (*rayon*) calculated to the artillery of the period. At the end of the long series of wars [1] which closed

[1] The details of the French gains and losses in this period are as follows:

By the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 Spain ceded to France Gravelines, Bourbourg, and St. Venant in Flanders; the greater part of Artois (including Arras, Bapaume, St. Pol, Hesdin, Térouanne, and Béthune, but not including St. Omer and Aire); Le Quesnoy, Landrecies, and Avesnes in Hainaut; the Spanish fortresses of Marienbourg and Philippeville within the Bishopric of Liège: and Montmédy in Luxemburg (see also p. 179). In the neighbourhood of Montmédy France acquired Stenay and Jametz in Lorraine.

To England a little earlier Spain had ceded Dunkirk; it was purchased by France in 1661.

By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668 France won a large number of towns in Flanders and Hainaut; in Flanders, Bergues,

in 1713 and 1714 with the treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt, and Baden, France stood on practically the same frontier as now divides her territory from Belgium (see p. 1). She had won Artois and much of southern Flanders and Hainaut ; she had advanced down the Meuse valley from Fumay to Givet. Higher up that river she had acquired Stenay in Lorraine and pushed eastwards to Montmédy and Philippeville. Further, in what is now Belgian territory she held the fortresses of Marienbourg and Philippeville as enclaves, and east of the Meuse she was in possession of the duchy of Bouillon. It was much, but it left her a frontier in the middle of the Belgian plain, and it was not all that Vauban had thought essential. He had insisted that, for the minimum of security, Ypres, Courtrai, and Mons must be in French hands. But, such as the frontier was, its defence was elaborately organized by Vauban and his successors. A great barrier of French fortresses stretched from the sea to the Ardennes. On the other hand, the late opponents of France were anxious to take precautions against her breaking out again. The Dutch Barrier fortresses in the now Austrian Netherlands (see p. 31) were Furnes, Fort de Knocke, Ypres, Warneton, Menin, Tournai, and Namur, while there was to be a Dutch contingent in the garrison of Termonde.

St. Winoe, Furnes, Armentières, Lille, Courtrai, Douai, Tournai, and Oudenarde ; in Hainaut, Condé, Ath, Binche, and Charleroi. In Lorraine she took Longwy.

By the Treaty of Nymegen in 1678 France surrendered her advanced positions of Courtrai, Oudenarde, Ath, Binche, and Charleroi. But she received St. Omer and Aire, thus completing the conquest of Artois, and also gained Cassel, Poperinghe, Ypres, Bailleul, and Warneton in Flanders ; Cambrai, Valenciennes, Bavai, Maubeuge in Hainaut ; and Charlemont (Givet), on the Meuse in the county of Namur. Further, the duchy of Bouillon had in 1676 again passed into French hands, and was thenceforward reckoned as a French possession.

By the Treaty of Ryswyck in 1697, France had to agree once more to the cession of Courtrai, which she had recovered in defiance of the Treaty of Nymegen, and to surrender Luxemburg and Chiny which she had occupied.

By the Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt, and Baden in 1713 and 1714, France gave up Furnes, Ypres, Poperinghe, Warneton, and Tournai, places won in 1668 and 1678.

Other places, such as Mons, were left to be defended by the Austrians. Great Britain insisted that at Dunkirk (which had been a nest of commerce-raiders during the recent wars) the French should demolish their fortifications and fill up their harbour. This clause of the Treaty of Utrecht remained in force till 1783.

1714–1815.—The successful French campaigns in the Belgian provinces during the War of the Austrian Succession (1744–8) did not lead to any changes in this frontier. But the French Revolution swept it away altogether, and it did not reappear till 1814.

In the discussions on the Treaty of Paris of 1814, between the Allies and the restored French monarchy, the French commissioner was instructed by his Government 'to procure for France the points necessary to complete her system of defence'. This meant a line from the North Sea at Nieuport, passing through Dixmude, Ypres, Courtrai, Tournai, Ath, Mons, Namur, Dinant, Givet, Neufchâteau, and Arlon, and continued to the Rhine through Luxemburg, Sarrelouis, and Kaiserslautern. But the Allies were anxious to make their new kingdom of the Netherlands a reliable barrier against another French advance towards Antwerp and the Rhine; and the result was that the old eighteenth-century frontier was restored from the sea to Qievrain (near Valenciennes), while between Qievrain and Bouillon a line was to be drawn which should pass south of Mons and Charleroi, but should leave Philippeville and Marienbourg to France, and east of the Meuse should include the northern part of the Bouillon duchy.[1] On the rest of the duchy, the succession to which was in dispute, the Allies would adjudicate later.

The return of Napoleon and the campaign of Waterloo brought the Allies back to Paris in 1815. The Prussians now rancorously demanded considerable cessions of French territory as penalties and as guarantees. In this they were followed by the smaller German States. Austria took the same line, but half-heartedly. The British plenipotentiaries, Castlereagh and Wellington, were very anxious that France should neither be

[1] This line was to leave to France the cantons of Dour, Merbes, Beaumont, Chimay, Walcourt, and Florennes west of the Meuse, and those of Beauraing and Gedinnes east of the Meuse.

uselessly exasperated, nor so weakened as to cease to be a Great Power. The Tsar, Alexander I, agreed with this view; and Great Britain and Russia prevailed. As regards the southern frontier, the Prussians proposed that France should cede her fortresses in French Flanders and at other points. In the end, however, by the Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815), the old frontier was restored, without the modifications which had been made in favour of France in 1814, and with the surrender by France of her former enclaves of Philippeville and Marienbourg, which were incorporated in the kingdom of the Netherlands and are now Belgian. The duchy of Bouillon was joined to Luxemburg and is now Belgian territory.

The line of the frontier, as fixed by the Treaty of Paris of 1815, was not affected by the creation of the kingdom of Belgium in 1831, and has remained unaltered since.

(*b*) *The Northern* (*Belgo-Dutch*) *Frontier*

1609–48.—When the first period of the revolt of the Netherlands ended in 1609 with the Twelve Years' Truce, the Spaniards had lost Sluis, but were holding all the rest of Flanders up to the southern side of the Scheldt estuary, nearly all northern Brabant between the mouth of the Scheldt and the lower Meuse, and southern (or Upper) Gelders on the line of the lower Meuse above Grave. Higher up that river they were in possession of all the duchy of Limburg, with the important fortress of Maastricht. In face of this Spanish frontier the Dutch felt themselves insecure. In their campaigns between 1621 and 1648 they pushed it back all along the line, and in the Treaty of Münster (1648) they consolidated their gain.

1648–1714.—By the Treaty of Münster the Dutch gained ground on the Scheldt, in North Brabant, and on the lower Meuse. South of the Scheldt they retained their conquests on the North Flemish coast, including Sluis, Sas van Gent, Philippine, Axal, and Hulst—since known as Dutch Flanders. They held the fort of Lillo on the right bank of the Scheldt, only a few miles below Antwerp; and the fort of Liefkenshoek opposite Lillo was ceded to them in 1664. The Treaty of Münster declared the closing of the Scheldt to all but Dutch shipping.

On the line of the Meuse most of southern Gelders was left to Spain, but her power of offence on this side was much

weakened by the Dutch acquisition of Maastricht, together with a considerable part of Limburg.

The territories thus acquired by Holland between 1621 and 1648 were not admitted to the position of States, but were administered as the common possession of the whole Union under the name of Lands of the Generality.

1714–95.—With the transference of the southern Netherlands to Austria in 1714, southern Gelders was broken up. The northern and larger part, including the town of Gelders, went to Prussia, which was in possession of Cleves. The Dutch took Venlo, and Austria an enclave at Roermonde.

In 1784 Joseph II tried to force the Dutch both to open the Scheldt and to acknowledge his sovereignty over Maastricht, which they had promised in 1673 to cede to Spain in return for help against France, but had nevertheless retained. In the end the Scheldt remained closed, but the Dutch gave up the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek; and the Emperor gave up his claim to Maastricht in return for a monetary compensation (Treaty of Fontainebleau, 1785).

1795–1814.—On the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands to France in 1795 the French made some alterations on this frontier. They took from Holland (then the Batavian Republic and under French protection) the whole of Dutch Flanders and also the right to garrison Flushing. Further, the Scheldt was to be opened. On the line of the Meuse France received Venlo, Maastricht, and Dutch Limburg; these, together with the northern part of the old episcopal State of Liège, went to make up the new French department of Meuse-Inférieure.

In 1810 the annexation of Holland to the French Empire destroyed this frontier, the line of which was only partially preserved in the new departmental boundaries.

In 1814 the kingdom of the Netherlands was created, comprising both Holland and Belgium. It was divided into a number of provinces, of which the northern corresponded to the provinces of the old Dutch Republic, or, as North Brabant, to a part of the old generality. But the southern provinces of the new kingdom simply reproduced the French departments, except where they were affected by the restoration of the old boundary lines of Holland. Thus while Dutch Flanders reappeared as a part of Zeeland, and North Brabant

was revived in the form of a province, what was now the new province of Limburg was the department of Meuse Inférieure under another name.

The definition of the present frontier.—On the outbreak of the Belgian revolution in 1830 the leaders of the movement would have liked to see the new Belgium in possession of all the territory that lay between the lower Meuse and the coast of Flanders. At any rate, they could put forward a strong claim to Dutch Flanders and Limburg, for here (though a Dutch garrison still held out in Maastricht citadel) the revolution had already been successful and had been generally approved and supported by the inhabitants, when the Powers imposed an armistice (November 1830). But the conference of the Powers at London declared for the Dutch Frontier of 1790 as the basis for a settlement, and on this basis, in spite of Belgian protests (see p. 56), a definite arrangement was made. This, embodied in the Twenty-four Articles of October 1831, the Belgians were forced with much reluctance to accept (November 15, 1831).

By this arrangement Holland remained in possession of Dutch Flanders, with a slight adjustment of its boundary which might give the Dutch the power of flooding the country for purposes of defence; and they were empowered to levy dues on the navigation of the Scheldt estuary. Limburg was divided between Holland and Belgium. Holland received the northern part of the province as far south as Stevensweert, the southern part east of the Meuse, and retained the town and fortress of Maastricht. Belgium received the southern part west of the Meuse with the exception of Maastricht. Thus the south side of the Scheldt estuary and the fortress of Maastricht were to go to the State which had the stronger historical title to them and was the less accessible to French influence.

The refusal of the King of the Netherlands to give his adherence to the Twenty-four Articles left all Limburg to Belgium until 1838. The King then accepted the conditions to which Belgium had already agreed seven years before. The Treaty of April 19, 1839, between Belgium and Holland conformed to the Twenty-four Articles in the definition of the frontier. Details were arranged by the Treaty between Belgium and Holland of November 5, 1842, and by the Boundary Convention of August 8, 1843.

The Belgians have wished to make the lower Meuse an outlet for the industrial districts lying on their part of that river: but the Dutch, by refusing to canalize the stream between the Belgian frontier and Venlo, have prevented Liége from becoming a port for sea-going steamers. The Belgian Government has offered to bear the cost of canalization from Visé to Venlo, but the offer was rejected.

(c) *The Eastern Frontier*

Northern section: the frontier between Belgium and Germany.—Until 1795, parts of the duchies of Limburg and Luxemburg lay some distance beyond the pre-war Belgian frontier, among various Imperial territories not in Habsburg possession. To the east their most important neighbours were the duchy of Jülich and the archiepiscopal State of Trier, which, in the eighteenth century, included the abbey-lands of Prüm. To the west, the territory of Stavelot, ruled by prince-abbots, included Malmédy.

On the annexation of the southern Netherlands by France (1795) the department of Ourthe was organized here. Its eastern boundary followed approximately the old borders of Limburg and Luxemburg, taking in Eupen, and farther south Schleiden, Cronenburg, and St. Vith. The line of this boundary was very irregular, forming long salients eastwards.

Southern section: frontier between Belgium and Luxemburg.—The circumstances under which, at the time of the creation of the kingdom of Belgium (1831–9), the western part of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, as constituted in 1815, was assigned to Belgium, while the eastern part remained as before a member of the German Confederation with the King of the Netherlands as its Grand Duke, have been described above (p. 56 *et seq.*).

The division was a compromise. An attempt was made on the one hand to show consideration for Belgian claims to a country which had long been connected with the southern Netherlands and now wished to become a part of the new Belgian State, and on the other hand to compensate the House of Nassau for the loss of their hereditary lands and to keep the fortress of Luxemburg (see below, p. 185) as secure as possible against French aggression.

Further, it may be noticed that the inclusion of Bouillon

in the kingdom of Belgium by this same division was partly the result of the French Government's desire that, as a concession to public opinion in France, this former French possession (see p. 179 and p. 181) should not remain in obviously anti-French hands.

The conference of the Powers in London, by Article II in the Act of the Twenty-four Articles (October 1831), defined the frontier by the course of roads and streams and by the mention of places to be left to west or east of the line. The delimitation commissioners were to adjust details to meet local needs.

The kingdom of Belgium and the King of the Netherlands as Grand Duke of Luxemburg finally accepted this line in the Treaty of April 19, 1839, which was recognized and guaranteed by the five Great Powers in the Treaty of London of the same date. Details of the boundary on the Bastogne–Arlon road were arranged by the Treaty between Belgium and Holland of November 5, 1842.

(*d*) *Prussian Annexations of Belgian Territory in* 1815

At the Congress of Vienna, Prussia, thwarted by the opposition of Austria, Great Britain, and France in its desire to annex the kingdom of Saxony, sought for compensation in the district west of the Rhine, lying between that river and the rivers Meuse and Moselle. The pressure which she brought to bear obtained for her what was known before 1866 as Rhenish Prussia. Among the districts then annexed were pieces of territory lying along the whole of the eastern frontier of the present kingdom of Belgium, which for centuries had been integral portions of the Austrian and Spanish Netherlands.

It has been shown elsewhere how the Belgic province of Luxemburg was given to William I, the newly-created King of the Netherlands, as compensation for the Nassau principalities absorbed by Prussia. William became Grand Duke of Luxemburg; the Grand Duchy was incorporated in the Germanic Confederation; and a Prussian garrison by treaty occupied the fortress of Luxemburg. But Prussia did not give the whole of the ancient province of Luxemburg to the Orange prince; she kept about one-third of it. Firstly, a long strip along the right bank of the Moselle to its junction with the Sure and again on the left bank of the lower Sure; then the

whole of the territory to the east of the River Our, including the cantons of Neuerbourg, Bitbourg, Dudeldorf, and Argfeld, and part of the cantons of Echternach, Vianden, and Clervaux; crossing the Our, the entire canton of St. Vith was annexed. By this means all the *têtes de pont* along the Moselle, Sure, and Our were in Prussian hands, and the Grand Duchy was surrounded on the north and east by Prussian territory.

Beyond the Luxemburg canton of St. Vith the Prussian aggressor laid hands upon one-half of the old purely Walloon State, ruled over for many centuries by the abbots of Stavelot, and forming a dependency of the prince-bishopric of Liège. Even after one hundred years of Prussian domination, this part of an essentially Walloon land has retained even more than St. Vith its national characteristics. For many years no attempt was made to force the German language upon the inhabitants, but since 1876 every effort has been made to Germanize this 'Latin' salient. Only German may be taught in the schools, only German sermons preached from the pulpit; and compulsory service in the army facilitates the process. But the people still speak their dialect in their own homes; and the capital, Malmédy, in the signs on the shops and in its possession of two local newspapers in the French language, has resisted the efforts of its Prussian masters to stamp it as a German town.

Proceeding north as far as the boundary of that portion of Limburg which, by the treaty of 1839, Belgium was compelled to cede to Holland, the names of the villages recall their Walloon origin until Moresnet, close to the Dutch frontier, is reached. The little town of Altenburg stands on a hill, Moresnet-Montzen, which contains a rich zinc-mine. In 1815, as the plenipotentiaries of Prussia and of the Netherlands were neither of them willing to yield possession of this mine, it was agreed that a patch of territory, roughly 1½ mile long and one mile broad, should be declared neutral in the joint possession of both Powers. So it still remained in 1914. Prussia has of late years exercised considerable pressure upon Belgium to sell or to surrender her rights, but in vain. The people speak French and are Catholics, and, with the exception of the German settlers, are Belgian in sentiment. This was proved in 1907, when a plebiscite was taken. Ninety per cent. of the population voted for annexation to Belgium, including all the

communal council with the exception of the burgomaster, who was a German.

The strategic railroad from Aix-la-Chapelle to St. Vith and the Luxemburg frontier passes for its whole length through this ancient Belgic territory, annexed in 1815–16, parallel to the present Belgian frontier. Up to 1908 it was a single line, after that date it was provided with a double line ; and at all the stations were long and roomy platforms, useless except for purely military purposes, as the railway passes through a district with few passengers and little commerce.[1] Not far from Malmédy to the eastward was constructed the large military camp of Elsenborn, where the German forces concentrated for the invasion of Belgium in July 1914. From Weismes, a station on the main (north to south) strategic line, another line proceeds westward through Malmédy to Viel Salm on the Belgian frontier.

II. THE FLEMISH MOVEMENT

History of the Movement

In Belgium two languages are spoken. Flemish—which is practically the same as Dutch—is spoken in the two Flanders, Antwerp, and a large part of the provinces of Brabant and Hainaut ; French in the rest of the country. Flemish is a Low-German tongue—*Nederdietsch*—which has behind it a long literary history. Its early culture was distinct from and far in advance of that of the High-German branch of the Teutonic family of languages. Flemish Belgium has in fact been always separated from German-speaking lands by the barrier of the Walloon provinces, which originally possessed a Romance dialect of their own, akin to French. With the spread of education, however, Walloon[2] has become a mere *patois*, and French is taught in the primary schools, and is spoken by all. Nor had the Flemish-speaking provinces even in feudal times any connexion with the German (Holy Roman) Empire. The Walloon provinces were fiefs of the Empire ; Flanders (with the exception of a small portion) and Hainaut fiefs of the French crown.

[1] See *Fortnightly Review*, February 1910.

[2] Walloon (Flemish *Valsch*) has the same origin as our English word Welsh, i. e. foreign (compare Wallachia and Vlach).

The germs of the Flemish movement can be traced back as far as the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century, in a work by an advocate of note, named Verlooi, on the disuse of the mother tongue in the Netherlands (*Verhandeling op d'onacht der moederlyke tael in de Nederlanden*, 1788). The author deplores the Gallicism which had since the sixteenth century occupied the whole attention of the upper classes; he calls attention to the existing poverty of the Netherlands in all the arts, which he ascribes very largely to this Gallicism and to the blighting effect of an uncongenial and foreign education on the youthful mind; and he joins hands with the anti-French reaction which was taking place in Germany and Scandinavia, desiring that the Flemings should become conscious of their position as a member of the Teutonic family of nations.

In this work the leading ideas of *Flamingantisme* are clearly expressed—anti-Gallic feeling, the desire to make Flemish the literary and official language, as well as the more popular dialect of its native country, and a distinct, though as yet undeveloped, Pan-German tendency (for which, however, see below, p. 193).

The development of these ideas was checked by the French Revolution and the conquest of Belgium by the French. Revolutionary France, true to her doctrinaire character, declared war on all dialects, with a view to making Parisian French the universal language, to be imposed forcibly where necessary. Low German and Flemish, as well as Walloon, came under the rubric of dialects; and the imposition of French, begun in 1794, was clinched in 1803 by an edict ordering that all official documents, even those recording ransactions between private persons, should be written in French.

Education in the now French Netherlands, when it was reconstituted after the chaos of the French invasions, was also arranged on the basis of the French language; and, to the end of the French occupation, Flemish was confined to the primary schools. The publication of Flemish journals was forbidden till 1812, when they were permitted to appear with a French translation; and books in Flemish seem not to have been published at all, owing to the inability of the French censors to discover whether they were inoffensive.

The effect of these measures appears to have been a deepening cleavage between an educated class, recruited from the upper strata of society and the *bourgeoisie*, speaking French and enjoying a monopoly of the press, and an uneducated peasantry, speaking Flemish and debarred from literature in almost every form. With the latter class, however, the Catholic priesthood threw in its lot; devotional literature kept alive the germs of a literary Flemish; and various small societies maintained 'chambers of rhetoric' for the performance of plays and competitions in declamation on set themes.[1] In this cleavage between the French- and Flemish-speaking classes, directly due to the policy of revolutionary France, is to be sought the origin of the distinction between Walloon Liberalism and Flemish Catholicism, as the conflicting political ideas of nineteenth-century Belgium.

The union with Holland occasioned a lively outbreak of linguistic controversy. Dutch writers proposed that Dutch and Flemish should be fused into one language and made into the national idiom, whose use should be obligatory for all official purposes. Thus for the first time *flamingantisme* appeared as an aggressive and intolerant movement, an appearance easily explained by the political function of the now united Netherlands as a barrier against France. Walloon writers replied with pleas for toleration, insisting on the importance of the Gallicism of the Belgian upper classes as a *fait accompli*. The Government compromised by yielding to the *fait accompli* in the matter of administration, and reintroducing Flemish so far as possible in education. Thus a normal school founded at Lierre in 1817 was entirely Dutch and is still a centre of the Flemish movement. In the same year secondary education was reorganized and Flemish adopted as the medium of instruction in ancient languages. Private colleges directed by the clergy, however, continued to use French; and female education and the world of fashion clung to that language throughout. The universities founded in 1816 at Ghent, Louvain, and Liège adopted Latin as the language of instruction and examination; but at each alike a centre of Dutch-

[1] A survival of the 'chambers of rhetoric' which exercised such a remarkable popular influence in the Netherlands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

or Flemish-speaking instruction gradually arose, in spite of local opposition, through the efforts of individual professors encouraged by the Government.

The position of the Dutch language with regard to popular feelings was in general not good. It made real headway only in the towns of Antwerp and Ghent, which had gained in prosperity by the annexation; and here it was mostly popularized by a handful of Belgian Catholics, while the manufacturers, who welcomed the liberal and Protestant policy of the King, and regarded the Union as the foundation of their fortunes, despised Dutch, and retained French. As heretics, the Dutch were disliked by the Flemish Catholics; but they were still more disliked for their political energy and passion for reform, coupled especially as this was with a deep-seated contempt for the Belgians as an inferior race. The clergy were for all these reasons peculiarly hostile to the Dutch and their language, and the growing dislike of all things Dutch seems to have had a detrimental effect even on the use of Flemish; thus certain journals, in order to emphasize their anti-Dutch sentiments, gave up publishing articles in Flemish. At the same time there was a powerful body of French Republicans living in exile in Belgium and keeping alive the French tradition among the now thoroughly Gallicized upper classes.

The leaders in the revolution of 1830 were most of them French-speaking Liberals; the revolt against Holland was not Flemish in its origin; and it was not until the Dutch troops had been compelled to withdraw from Brussels that the Flemish provinces took their part in the movement. There were, moreover, in several of the Flemish towns, especially at Antwerp, strong Orangist sympathizers who were ready for a compromise. But the revolution was essentially a Walloon revolution; and the men who took the most active part in the establishment of the new kingdom were generally of Walloon origin. The framing of the Belgian Constitution was largely their work; and the chief places in the Government for a long succession of years were filled by them. Not till the defeat of Frère-Orban in 1884 did Walloon ascendancy in Belgium really come to an end.

One of the consequences of the historical fact that the Belgian revolution had its source and derived its motive power from the French-speaking section of the Belgian people was

the acceptance without demur of French as the official language of the country. This was no innovation, for French had been the official language of the Brussels Government continuously from the time of the Burgundian régime. Article XXIII of the Constitution of 1831 indeed declared that 'l'emploi des langues usitées en Belgique serait facultatif', but only for acts of the public administration and for judicial business, if so regulated by law. As it was not regulated, French was always used.

But the Flemish people were attached to their mother tongue, and a movement of ever-growing force against the 'frenchification' of the Flemish-speaking districts began, so early as 1834, in very modest fashion, through the efforts of T. F. Willems and a group of fellow-workers, by the reprinting of the works of mediaeval Flemish poets and historians and by establishing a review named the *Belgisch Museum*, as the organ of the movement. It had for its motto, 'De taal is gansch het volk'—'Language is the whole of nationality'. Flemish literature under these auspices had a brilliant revival, the novels of Henri Conscience and the poems of Ledeganck not merely making an appeal to the patriotic instincts of their readers, but being of a high order as literary productions. It was not long before what was at first a literary movement was transformed into a political agitation, whose aim was nothing less than the replacement of French by Flemish, as the official language of Belgium. 'Flamingantisme' and 'Fransquillonisme', to use the party nicknames, were long before the nineteenth century came to an end to be engaged in a struggle *à outrance* for supremacy in the State.

Before setting out, as briefly as is consistent with clearness, the various steps in the progress of a movement which, beginning by being defensive, has assumed of late years an intransigent aggressiveness leading to most serious antagonisms between the two races which in almost equal proportions form the population of the Belgian kingdom, it is necessary to give some explanation of the influences, religious and political, as well as linguistic, which have made *flamingantisme* a burning question in Belgium, endangering the unity of the State.

In the first place it should be remembered that, from the time (1598) when Philip II dowered his daughter Isabel with

the sovereignty of the Belgic provinces, they have maintained under a succession of rulers their territorial unity; and that, until the middle of the nineteenth century, Flemings and Walloons lived side by side under a common government without friction. The reason of this was that each province possessed its own local liberties and immunities, and had to a large extent a separate political existence. In Brabant and in Brussels, its capital, where there is a mixture of races and of languages, the dominating position of this central province has made its inhabitants proud of the name of Brabanter, and racial strife has never been accentuated. It has been a kind of buffer State between Fleming and Walloon, and is so still. The relative position of the two languages is one of stability. The census of 1866 was the first in which persons had to make a return as to the language they spoke. In that year those who spoke only Flemish numbered 2,406,491; only French, 2,041,748; French and Flemish, 308,361. To take one other date, in 1900 the statistics give, Flemish only, 2,822,005; French only, 2,574,805; French and Flemish, 844,476. French therefore had made somewhat more progress than Flemish in those thirty-three years of agitation. Taking into account only persons of more than fifteen years of age, those who spoke French numbered 2,666,706, against 2,594,397 who spoke Flemish. These facts show that the languages virtually stand upon an equal footing.

Why then, it may be asked, has the concordat between the two languages, which had lasted so long, been so rudely broken down in modern Belgium?

1. The existence of Belgium as an independent nation did not begin till 1831, and was not finally recognized until 1839. The Flemings have felt that the adoption of French as the official language of their country was to stamp it in the eyes of the world as a bastard State. The Walloons had lost their own dialect; and the kindred tongue of France which they now spoke was nevertheless a foreign language. They—the Flemings—had retained their mother tongue, which in their pride of race they were determined to keep. If Belgium was to be a nation, in any real sense of the word, it must have a national language, and the only language available was Flemish.

2. The Flemings were handicapped alike in school and in

business by being compelled to learn two languages. The Walloons had only to learn one. Moreover, it was notorious that all Belgians spoke French badly—'les fransquillons eux-mêmes ont un bec flamand' was a scornful but not unjust gibe.

3. The great majority of the Flemings are devout Catholics; and, as such, the root-principles of the French Revolution are repellent to them, and they have looked upon the French language as the vehicle of religious, political, and moral ideas which they detest. Down to 1871 the dread of French aggression and annexation made them bitterly Gallophobe; and since that date the laws separating Church and State in France and the violent manner in which the monasteries and convents were closed have had the effect of increasing their aversion, for the sight of the refugees who sought an asylum in Belgium brought the situation painfully home to them. This state of things and of feelings, as may well be imagined, was not lost sight of by the agents of Pan-Germanism, who have done all in their power to use the *flamingant* movement for their own purposes. But, although anti-French, it is no more pro-German than it is Orangist. There were before the war among the Flemings philo-Germans, as there was a small party who would welcome, on terms, reunion with Holland; but the spirit of *flamingantisme* has always been essentially patriotic and national, and its future attitude to France and still more to Germany cannot be the same as it was before August 1914.

4. It must not be forgotten that there is no part of Europe where Catholicism has a stronger hold than in the Flemish-speaking provinces of Belgium, and that the Catholic party, which has been in power continuously since 1884, derives its chief support from those provinces. The demands of the *flamingants* have therefore been looked upon favourably by a succession of Catholic ministries. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Flemish movement is tied and bound to any political party, for amongst its adherents are many Socialists, and the Catholic party would stand no chance at the polls but for the support it receives in Wallonia as well as in Flandria.

After several attempts to gain parliamentary recognition, the advocates of the Flemish claims obtained their first success in 1873, when the Chamber of Representatives sanctioned the

use of Flemish in pleadings at the courts of law. Two *causes célèbres* had brought into prominence the question of the rights of languages in the courts. In 1863 Karsman, a journalist of Antwerp, appealed against a fine of 5 francs to the court of Brussels, where he claimed under Article XXIII the right of pleading in Flemish. The claim was rejected under an interpretation of certain decrees of 1830; and violent protests were made by Flemish journals and the leaders of the movement. A more serious case arose in 1866, when two alleged murderers, Coucke and Goethals, were unable to communicate with their counsel, owing to their ignorance of French and his of Flemish, except through a Dutch interpreter; and they were condemned and executed on the strength of a remark in Flemish overheard—it was alleged, incorrectly—by a Walloon policeman. The Flemish party proposed in consequence an amendment to the law controlling the administration of justice, to the effect that in the Flemish-speaking area no person ignorant of Flemish should be appointed to judicial functions. The Government maintained that this was a rule already followed in practice, and the amendment was thrown out.

Again, in 1872, another sensational trial occurred. A man wished to register the birth of his child in Flemish. The registrar refused, and the man was fined 50 francs for failing to register. This was clearly against the text of the Constitution, and he appealed; but his appeal failed because he insisted on its being made in Flemish. Both these events provoked great numbers of petitions, and aroused much feeling. The result was the judicial reform of 1873. An accused party, according to this law, could claim the right to engage a counsel speaking his own language, and the case must be conducted in this language within certain limits. These reforms, though very meagre, were accepted as the earnest of more to come.

In 1878 it was ordered that all official documents and notices should be printed in the two languages, and that words of command to Flemish troops should be given in their own tongue. With the advent of the Catholic party to power (1884) a whole succession of measures were passed conceding one after another the Flemish demands. The language was placed on an absolute equality with French. The names of streets and stations were to be given in both tongues, also

telegraph forms and postal orders. In primary schools in Flemish-speaking districts, instruction was to be only in Flemish, unless the parents expressly wished their children to be taught French. In secondary schools and lycées, in the teaching of history, geography, and the natural sciences Flemish was to be used, compelling therefore both teachers and pupils to know that language. A Flemish Academy and Flemish theatres at Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp received State subsidies. But these concessions were not sufficient. The movement from being defensive became aggressive. In 1908 a Flemish commercial league came into existence, the members of which bound themselves to conduct all their business in Flemish. *Flamingants* have even refused to accept receipts written in French. Town Councils, whether on occasions of business or of ceremony, allow no language but Flemish to be used. Antwerp has carried matters to the furthest extreme. Inadvertent commands given by officers in French, if overheard, have been sufficient to provoke riots. Flemish representatives in the Chambers, who speak French, not only insist on using Flemish for their speeches, but even in questions addressed to Walloon ministers unable to understand them. To such extravagant lengths was *flamingantisme* pushed, that in 1909 the notices in railway stations and trains had to be altered, in order that the Flemish words should stand above the French instead of below, as had hitherto been usual. The consequences of all this point to one conclusion. The exclusive teaching of Flemish in the primary schools, the banishment of the use of French in the courts, the shops, and the municipal and provincial councils of Flandria, can only lead, as has been well said, to the erection of 'a Chinese wall' between Fleming and Walloon, and the splitting of the small kingdom of Belgium into two parts unable to understand each other's speech and confronting one another in a spirit that has been growing more and more antagonistic and unfriendly.

The Walloons have not sought the quarrel. It has been forced upon them, but they claim rightly that their race occupies half the country and that their speech is spoken by (practically) half the population. The use of French in Belgium as an official language was not an innovation of 1830, but of ancient standing; and for diplomatic purposes and international intercourse it was beyond dispute incomparably superior to

Flemish. In 1905, at the time of the Universal Exhibition at Liège, a congress was held and a movement set on foot for the defence and extension of the French language in Belgium ; and committees were appointed to work for this end in Antwerp, Ghent, and other Flemish centres. Some Walloons do not see any issue but decentralization and the granting of a large measure of provincial autonomy to the provinces, such as existed under Austrian and Spanish rule.

The more enlightened Belgians deplore, however, the existence of this racial and linguistic strife, and ardently desire the growth of a more conciliatory spirit and of a larger patriotism. Nothing could better illustrate this than the words of M. Paul de Mont. Speaking on August 12, 1912, as president of the Netherlands Congress of Language and Literature, he said :

> Je le déclare ici hautement, et ici encore je suis certain d'exprimer le fond de la pensée de tous les Flamands : même si les conceptions des séparatistes n'étaient pas si erronées, même alors nous ne voudrions à aucun prix entendre parler d'une séparation. Pour remédier aux situations qu'ils envisagent, il importe de prendre des mesures législatives, de reviser, par exemple, les lois électorales, mais non point de prendre des mesures qui pourraient encore affaiblir à l'égard de l'étranger notre pays qui, intérieurement, est déjà assez divisé.

This striking language of a representative man at a representative gathering, spoken before the war, met with the unanimous approval of those present. It is to be hoped and expected that the heroism shown and the sufferings endured in common by Flemings and Walloons alike during the German invasion and the cruel years of Teutonic domination that have followed, will create this spirit.

That it is not impossible for people of different races and languages not only to live together in harmony under a single Government, but to have an intense feeling of patriotism for their common country, is conspicuously proved by the case of Switzerland. In Switzerland, German, French, and Italian are all of them official languages. The differences between the inhabitants of Zürich, Lausanne, and Lugano are at least as great as the difference between the citizens of Antwerp and Liège ; and in Switzerland the differences between one canton and another are accentuated by profound differences of religious belief. Yet, despite divergences and rivalries between the various divisions of this free democratic country,

there exists everywhere the strongest spirit of national patriotism. Belgium, as a free and independent State, has not so long a history behind it as Switzerland, but the tremendous ordeal through which they are now passing should do more to weld all Belgians together than a century of peace.

The Dialects of Flemish

The provisional Government of 1830 did not recognize the existence of Flemish as a language of literature and educated speech, but only (*a*) a group of related but strongly divergent local dialects, collectively known as Flemish, and (*b*) a literary and polite language related to them all, namely Dutch. The 'oppression' of Flemish by the revolutionary Government is largely explained by this fact. Coming in as it did on a wave of anti-Dutch feeling, it was bound to reject Dutch as the language of administration and society; and it was left with no alternative but to adopt French throughout or to lose itself in a labyrinth of mutually incomprehensible Flemish dialects.

It has been said above (p. 7) that polite Flemish and polite Dutch are substantially identical; but polite Flemish is more remote from the local *patois* of the average Fleming than from that of the average Dutchman. The dialects, as opposed to the polite language, have a far stronger hold in Flanders than in Holland. 'In Flanders', writes a Flemish man of letters in 1910, 'dialect is everywhere supreme, except in a few circles; Dutch [i. e. the polite language] is circumscribed by the walls of the school-house.' A cultivated Fleming travelling in Holland finds the people speaking the language—or something very like it—which he knows as literary Flemish; travelling in Flanders he only finds dialects, and these so different from his own that he and his interlocutor may be compelled to fall back on French.

Not only is there an individual dialect in each Flemish province of Belgium, but each considerable town has its own. These dialects have recently been made the object of a close study. Glossaries have been published for the dialects of Antwerp, East Flanders, West Flanders, South-East Flanders, Hageland, Limburg, &c. Many of them are extraordinarily rich and flexible. Thus the standard glossary of the Antwerp vernacular extends to 2,272 pages and embraces over 13,000

words. It is, in consequence, hardly surprising that some, at least, are now asserting their independence against the levelling policy of the Flemish movement. Thus a West-Flemish movement now exists, in frank opposition to the *flamingant* crusade ; but it seems to have declined in strength, and in fact to be almost extinct.

The orthodox *flamingant* looks for a day when the dialects of Flemish shall have disappeared. Meanwhile he is willing to spend time and trouble in their study, in order that their vocabularies may be tapped for the enrichment of the polite language, much as the French of the Île de France, in the hands of Ronsard and the Pléiade, borrowed words from the various dialects which as a literary language it was destined to supersede. One of the most moderate and reasonable supporters of the Flemish movement (M. Daumont, *Le Mouvement flamand*, 1911) writes :

> It is a general law of racial history that a language is nothing but a victory over dialects. The regional dialects must give way to the Flemish language. They have their beauties and their value, which must not be ignored ; but of two evils, the lesser must be chosen, and the lesser evil is the weakening of regional idioms in favour of the Netherlandish tongue. . . . I feel bound to declare it : too little—practically nothing—is being done to smother the dialects. The *flamingant* students at Louvain speak them continuously. In provincial clubs, presidential address, discussion and conversation are all carried on in the dialect of the country.

M. Daumont thus declares, at one and the same time, that the dialects must be stamped out, and that this is not being done. At Louvain they are perpetuated by the vicious custom which brings students into contact only with their own countrymen, while at Ghent, where men from all parts of the Flemish area mingle, polite language naturally tends to supersede the *patois*. But, as he further remarks, the country schoolmaster teaches in dialect ; the village priest preaches in dialect ; and the result is that the local idioms were never more strongly rooted.

Particularism has always been a leading characteristic of the Fleming. He is intensely hostile to anything which touches his local autonomy, which blurs his differentiation from his neighbours. It was, therefore, to be expected that the propagation of a uniform language, and the implied war of extermination against local dialects, should meet with very

strong opposition from all the instincts of the people. This fact may be deplored by the militant *flamingant*, but it cannot be ignored ; and he does not improve his position by describing dialects as the 'enemies of civilization' and their retention as the result of 'intellectual sloth'. It is, in short, not to be expected that the Flemish dialects will disappear; and in spite of the *flamingant* propaganda it may be doubted whether their disappearance is even desirable. The dialect of a district reflects and expresses the conditions of its individual life. It may be despised as barbarous by strangers, but that is no test of its value. Flemish was despised by the French, and yet it has an undoubted value and right to survive ; and the same right attaches to the dialects into which it is divided. If the Flemish movement definitely commits itself to an offensive war not only against French but against its own dialects, it can hardly hope for success.

List of Laws passed in connexion with the Flemish Movement[1]

1873. Sur l'organisation judiciaire.
1878. Sur l'organisation administrative.
1883. Sur l'enseignement moyen officiel.
1889. Sur l'organisation judiciaire.
1891. Sur les mêmes matières.
1898. Sur la publication des lois, par laquelle officiellement fut sanctionnée l'égalité des deux langues nationales.
1908. Sur l'organisation judiciaire.
1910. Sur l'enseignement moyen libre.
1913. Sur l'armée.
1914. Sur l'enseignement primaire.

III. BELGIAN SOCIALISM

Belgium has been called the home of Syndicalism ; and in no country has Socialism, as a political and economic force, been more thoroughly organized or found such widespread support. But this has been rendered possible because Belgian Socialism differs from that of other countries, notably from French Socialism, by the reasonableness and moderation of its leaders

[1] Taken from the protest addressed by the leaders of the Flemish movement to the German Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, dated March 10, 1917.

and the thoroughly practical aims which they set before them. Socialists in Belgium are neither revolutionaries nor (necessarily) republicans ; they have definitely constituted themselves into a political party, which works so as to spread its ideas and principles, but hopes to attain its ends not by destructive, still less by illegal, methods, but by parliamentary procedure. Their supreme aim is to obtain a majority in Parliament, and then to be able to change the laws in accordance with their views. They do not believe in *sabotage*, and the influence of the leaders has again and again been used to prevent strikes. As a matter of fact there are fewer strikes in proportion to the population in Belgium than in any country in Europe. As politicians Belgian Socialists are opportunists. Their line of conduct has been well summed up in the words—' pas de politique du tout ou rien. A chaque jour sa tâche et son résultat.' No stronger proof could be given of the astute opportunism of the Belgian Socialist leaders than the result of the Congress of the *Ligue Ouvrière*, which was held at Brussels, April 5 and 6, 1885, when it was determined to combine into a single organized Syndicalist party all the separate workmen's societies throughout the country, in order to concentrate the voting power of all who sympathized with Socialist principles, so as to be better able by political pressure in the Representative Chamber to bring about legislative reforms in accordance with their views. The leaders, Anseele, Caesar de Paepe, and Volders, were all in favour of giving the newly-constituted party a neutral title. After a lively debate the majority of the delegates decided that the word ' Socialist ' should be dropped ; and the name chosen was ' Le Parti ouvrier belge '.

Recent history has shown the formidable character of the movement. The once powerful Liberal party has been crushed out between the Catholic and the Socialist parties. The Catholics have hitherto, though only by a narrow margin, managed to retain a working majority in the Chambers over the other two parties combined. For opposition purposes Liberals and Socialists have for some time been working together. It has been a coalition of an entirely opportunist character, for it would be very difficult for such a coalition to form a ministry which could pursue a common policy. For tactical reasons the Socialists, not being able as yet to form a purely Socialist Government, would on certain conditions no

doubt consent to take part in such a Coalition Ministry, but a Liberal-Socialist block could not endure. The Liberal party is *bourgeois*, capitalist, individualist; and thus, both in its constitution and its fundamental principles, it clashes with Socialist doctrine. There is really far more in common between the Catholic and the Socialist parties than between the Socialists and the Liberals. The Catholic party has its groups, but necessity has welded them into a solidarity which presents an unbroken front to its opponents; and it is the democratic section of that party which has proved its keen and earnest desire to better the condition of the people, and not the more conservative section, of which M. Woeste has for many years been the leader, that controls the policy of the party. That policy is in many respects essentially Socialistic; and it reaches the masses by means of an elaborate network of organizations spread over the whole country, by the aid of which Socialism, resting on a religious basis and aiming at the reconciliation and not at the strife of classes, makes head against the syndicalist Socialism of the 'parti ouvrier belge'. The following is the testimony of a competent authority who has studied the question on the spot. M. Charriaux writes:

Quand on lit les comptes rendus des congrès catholiques, on a l'impression d'un réseau dont les mailles enveloppent toute la Belgique, se resserant de plus en plus par un travail tenace et persistant. L'enfance par les écoles, la jeunesse par les ateliers et les patronages, l'âge mûr par les mutualités et les caisses de crédit, toutes les carrières, toutes les professions, tous les âges sont englobés dans cette merveilleuse organisation. Et elle se ramifie en brindilles infimes. Il n'est pas de hameau, pas de village qui n'ait ses œuvres et ses ligues. Ainsi le catholicisme belge donne l'impression d'une vaste fourmilière, toujours animée d'une vie intense et productive . . . Vis-à-vis des organisations socialistes et aussi puissamment groupées se sont dressées les organisations catholiques, encadrées de leur clergé — sans pression apparente de celui-ci — comme un régiment l'est de ses officiers. De part et d'autre, on use des mêmes moyens, on va jusqu'à employer les mêmes vocables ou à peu près. Les catholiques ont leurs 'Bourses du travail', comme ils ont leurs syndicats. Précédés par les socialistes dans ce groupement des forces ouvrières, ils n'ont pu que les imiter. 'Les socialistes', a confessé M. Woeste, 'ont obligé les catholiques à les suivre. Sans la propagande du parti ouvrier, le syndicalisme chrétien ne serait pas né.'[1]

The Belgian Socialists, on their side, are not, like their French

[1] *La Belgique moderne*, pp. 190 ff.

contemporaries, persecutors of religion. At a congress of free-thinkers held at Brussels shortly before the war, one of the chief speakers [1] made the following declaration :

Nous devons respecter et défendre la liberté d'opinion de tout le monde y compris celle de nos adversaires. Nous ne voulons pas de mangeurs de curés.

M. Émile Vandervelde, the well-known Socialist leader, who has since 1914 proved himself to be so true a patriot, has never failed to protest against anti-religious intolerance.

Moi, qui ne crois pas en Dieu et encore moins au diable [to quote his words addressed to a workmen's meeting], je préfère certes, au croyant, l'homme libre de préjugés . . . mais cependant je n'aime pas railler la foi des autres . . . et je sais m'incliner devant les convictions sincères des autres, me souvenant que c'est la foi, que ce sont les convictions fortes, qui, chez les socialistes d'aujourd'hui comme chez les chrétiens d'autrefois, ont accompli les plus grandes choses.

One salient feature of Belgian Socialism is, as has been shown, its practical, utilitarian spirit. This has been exhibited in a remarkable way in the two great co-operative movements, the 'Vooruit' at Ghent and the 'Maison du Peuple' at Brussels, of which a brief account must be given.

The 'Vooruit' ('Forward') came into existence in 1883. It sprang from a schism in a small co-operative bakery in Ghent known as 'De Vrije Bakkers'. It was a bold venture of a leader of the Socialist party in that Flemish city—M. Anseele. The 'Vooruit' began with a capital of 67 fr. 50 c. and a loan of 1,000 fr. from the Weavers' Union. At first it was a bakery, but under the able directorship of M. Anseele, other departments were rapidly added ; and in the second decade of the present century it had developed into an enormous business dealing in every class of goods to the annual value of more than three million francs. It has a number of dependencies in other Flemish towns, while the parent establishment at Ghent possesses a library, a printing press, its own daily journal, *De Vooruit*, its studio for sculpture and painting, and a fine hall for balls, concerts, and entertainments. Nor is this all. Regular customers can obtain medical advice and remedies gratis ; and those who for twenty years have bought at least 150 fr. worth of goods, are entitled to receive a pension of 10 fr. per month for the rest of their lives.

[1] Now Belgian Minister for Army Supplies.

The 'Maison du Peuple' at Brussels had a similar origin. Its humble predecessor was the 'Boulangerie ouvrière'. The purchase of an abandoned synagogue in 1886 was strictly the beginning of the 'Maison du Peuple', which then first took this name. Such was its progress that in 1899 the vast edifice in the Rue Joseph-Stevens was erected at a cost of 2,100,000 fr. It is a curious commentary on the character of Belgian Socialism that this Socialist enterprise asked for a loan of 700,000 fr. at this time from the State Savings Bank ('la caisse d'Épargne de l'État'), and obtained it with the sanction of the Catholic Government then in power. Since then the success of the 'Maison du Peuple', under the gifted management of M. Louis Bertrand, has gone forward by leaps and by bounds. Like the 'Vooruit', it has many affiliations, and a daily journal, *Le Peuple*; and it offers advantages to its customers similar to those of the Ghent establishment, and possesses an even larger *clientèle*.

The example set by these two great co-operative institutions has led to the starting of a very large number of other co-operative societies in every part of Belgium; indeed in some towns, notably at Liège, there are several of them competing with one another.

Thus we see in Belgium a Socialism, which in theory is collectivist and syndicalist, becoming in practice capitalist, commercial, and competitive.

IV. EXTRACTS FROM TREATIES, ETC.

(A) Period 1814–30

No. 1. Memorandum addressed by the British Cabinet to the Allied Sovereigns, October 1813

Memorandum concernant la Hollande adressé aux Monarques alliés contre la France par le Cabinet de St James.

. . . En 1792 une des grandes puissances de l'Allemagne servait de barrière à la Hollande contre la France; si cet état de choses fut encore possible, l'Angleterre ne jugerait pas nécessaire de demander un accroissement de territoire en faveur dudit pays: mais en cas que la frontière de la France vint à toucher celle de la Hollande, par suite des arrangements à faire, l'Angleterre insisterait pour qu'Anvers soit donné à la Hollande avec telle

autre extension de territoire, qui donnât aux Provinces-Unies une frontière militaire convenable.[1]

No. 2. Preliminary Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814

Art. VI. La Hollande, placée sous la souveraineté de la maison d'Orange recevra un accroissement de territoire.

Articles séparés et secrets—Art. iii. (1) L'établissement d'un juste équilibre en Europe exigeant que la Hollande soit constituée dans les proportions qui la mettent à même de soutenir son indépendance par ses propres moyens, les pays compris entre la mer, les frontières de la France telles qu'elles se trouvent réglées par le présent traité, et la Meuse, seront réunis à toute perpétuité à la Hollande. (2) Les frontières sur la rive droite de la Meuse seront réglées selon les convenances militaires de la Hollande et de ses voisins. (3) La liberté de la navigation sur l'Escaut sera établie sur le principe de l'art. v.

No. 3. The Eight Articles of July 21, 1814

Les bases convenues à la Haye, 21 Juillet 1814, par le Prince Souverain des Pays-Bas pour l'acception de la Souveraineté des Provinces Belgiques.

Art. I. Cette réunion devra être intime et complète de façon que les deux Pays ne forment qu'un seul et même État, régi par la Constitution déjà établie en Hollande, et qui sera modifiée d'un commun accord d'après les nouvelles circonstances.

Art. II. Il ne sera rien innové aux articles de cette Constitution qui assure à tous les Cultes une protection et une faveur égales, et garantissent l'admission de tous les Citoyens, quelle que soit leur croyance réligieuse, aux Emplois et Offices Publics.

Art. III. Les Provinces Belgiques seront convenablement représentées à l'assemblée des États-Généraux dont les Sessions ordinaires se tiendront en temps de Paix alternativement dans une Ville Hollandaise et dans une Ville de Belgique.

Art. IV. Tous les habitans des Pays-Bas se trouvant ainsi constitutionnellement assimilés entre eux, les différentes Provinces jouiront également de tous les avantages commerciaux et autres que comporte leur situation respective, sans qu'aucune

[1] See Van Dijk, *Traités conclus par la Hollande depuis 1789*, pp. 65–6.

entrave ou restriction puisse être imposée à l'une au profit de l'autre.

Art. V. Immédiatement après la réunion les Provinces et les villes de la Belgique seront admises au commerce et à la navigation des Colonies, sur le même pied que les Provinces et villes Hollandaises.

Art. VI. Les charges devant être communes, ainsi que les bénéfices, les Dettes contractées jusqu'à l'Époque de la réunion, par les Provinces Hollandaises d'un côté, et de l'autre par les Provinces Belgiques seront à la charge du Trésor-Général du Pays-Bas.

Art. VII. Conformément aux mêmes principes, les dépenses requises pour l'établissement et la conservation des fortifications de la frontière du nouvel État seront supportées par le Trésor-Général, comme résultat d'un objet qui intéresse la sûreté et l'indépendance de toutes les Provinces, et de la Nation entière.

Art. VIII. Les frais d'établissement et d'entretien des Digues resteront pour le compte des Districts qui sont plus directement intéressés à cette partie du service public, sauf l'obligation de l'État en général à fournir des Secours en cas de désastre extraordinaire, le tout ainsi que cela s'est pratiqué jusqu'à présent en Hollande.

No. 4. Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands, signed at London, August 13, 1814

Art. 1. His Britannic Majesty engages to restore to the Prince Sovereign of the United Netherlands, within the term which shall be hereafter fixed, the Colonies, Factories, and Establishments, which were possessed by Holland at the commencement of the late war, viz. on the 1st of January, 1803, in the Seas and on the Continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope and the Settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, of which possessions the High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves the right to dispose by a Supplementary Convention hereafter to be negotiated according to their mutual interests; and especially with reference to the provisions contained in Articles VI and IX of the Treaty of Peace signed between His Britannic Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty on the 30th May, 1814.

Art. II. His Britannic Majesty agrees to cede in full sovereignty the Island of Banca, in the Eastern Seas, to the Prince Sovereign of the Netherlands, in exchange for the Settlement of Cochin and its dependencies on the Coast of Malabar, which is to remain in full sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty.

Other seven Articles follow.

Additional Articles

1st Additional Article. In order the better to provide for the Defence and incorporation of the Belgic Provinces with Holland, and also to provide, in conformity to Article IX of the Treaty of Paris, a suitable compensation for the rights ceded by His Swedish Majesty under the said Article,[1] which compensation, it is understood in the event of the above reunion, Holland should be able to furnish, in pursuance of the above stipulations; it is hereby agreed between the High Contracting Parties, that His Britannic Majesty shall take upon himself and engage to defray the following charges:

§ 1. *Compensation to Sweden for Guadeloupe*

The payment of £1,000,000 sterling [24,000,000 francs] to Sweden, in satisfaction for the claims aforesaid, and in pursuance of a Convention[2] on this day executed with His Swedish Majesty's Plenipotentiary to that effect, a copy of which Covenant is annexed to these Additional Articles.

§ 2. *Payment of the Defence of the Low Countries and of their Union with Holland*

The advance of £2,000,000 sterling, to be applied, in concert with the Prince Sovereign of the Netherlands, and in aid of an equal sum to be furnished by him, towards augmenting and improving the Defences of the Low Countries.

§ 3. *Cession to Great Britain of the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice*

To bear, equally with Holland, such further charges as may be agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties and their

[1] Cession by Sweden of the Island of Guadeloupe to France.

[2] See Martens, *Nouveau Recueil*, ii, pp. 55–6. For the Convention with the Netherlands (in French), ii, pp. 57–62.

Allies, towards the final and satisfactory settlement of the Low Countries, in union with Holland, and under the dominion of the House of Orange, not exceeding in the whole the sum of £3,000,000 to be defrayed by Great Britain. In consideration and in satisfaction of the above engagements, as taken by His Britannic Majesty, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, upon the condition, nevertheless, that the subjects of the said Sovereign Prince, being Proprietors in the Said Colonies or Settlements, shall be at liberty (under such Regulations as may hereafter be agreed upon in a Supplementary Convention) to carry on trade between the said settlements and the territories in Europe of the said Sovereign Prince. It is also agreed between the two High Contracting Parties, that the ships of every kind belonging to Holland, shall have permission to resort freely to the Cape of Good Hope for the purposes of refreshment and repairs, without being liable to other charges than such as British subjects are required to pay. . . .

The present Additional Articles shall have the same force and validity, as if they were inserted word for word in the Convention signed this day.

No. 5. Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands, signed at London, August 12, 1815

Official version, English and Dutch only.

The Supplementary Convention between Great Britain and the Netherlands mentioned above relative to Dutch proprietors in Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice was signed in London, August 12, 1815.

This Convention conceded the most favourable terms to all Dutch proprietors in and also to Dutch trade with the above-named British, formerly Dutch settlements.

No. 6. Convention between Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Russia, signed at London, May 19, 1815

For full text see Hertslet, *The Map of Europe by Treaty*, vol. i, pp. 296–302.

By this Convention Great Britain agreed to be responsible

for half of the sum of 50,000,000 Dutch guilders, the amount of a loan from Russia to the Netherlands.

See also Martens, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 290–3, sanctioned by Act of Parliament, 55 George III, c. 115, June 28, 1815.

No. 7. Treaty between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and the Netherlands, May 31, 1815, embodied in the Vienna Congress Treaty of June 9, 1815, Arts. LXV to LXXIII

Art. 1. Les anciennes Provinces-Unies du Pays-Bas et les ci-devant Provinces Belgiques, les unes et les autres dans les limites fixées par l'Article suivant, formeront, conjointement avec les pays et territoires désignés dans le même Article, sous la Souveraineté de son Altesse Royale le Prince d'Orange-Nassau, Prince Souverain des Provinces-Unies, le Royaume du Pays-Bas, Héréditaire dans l'Ordre de Succession déjà établi par l'Acte de Constitution des dites Provinces-Unies. Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, reconnoît le titre et les prérogatives de la Dignité Royale dans la Maison d'Orange-Nassau.

Art. II. La ligne comprenant les territoires qui composeront le Royaume des Pays-Bas, est déterminée de la manière suivante : elle part de la mer, et s'étend le long des frontières de la France du coté des Pays-Bas, telles quelles ont été rectifiées et fixées par Article III du Traité de Paris du trente Mai mil-huit-cent-quatorze, jusqu'à la Meuse : et ensuite le long des mêmes frontières, jusqu'aux anciennes limites du Duché de Luxembourg. De là elle suit la direction des limites entre ce Duché et l'ancien Évêché de Liége, jusqu'à ce qu'elle rencontre (au midi de Deisselt) les limites occidentales de ce Canton et de celui de Malmédy, jusqu'au point ou cette dernière atteint les limites entre les anciens Départements de l'Ourthe et de la Roer : elle longe ensuite ces limites jusqu'à ce qu'elles touchent à celle du Canton ci-devant François d'Eupen, dans le duché de Limbourg ; et en suivant la limite occidentale de ce Canton dans la direction du Nord, laissant à droite une petite partie du ci-devant Canton François d'Aubel, se joint au point de contact des trois anciens Départements de l'Ourthe, de la Meuse-Inférieure et de la Roer ; en partant de ce point, la dite ligne suit celle qui sépare ces deux derniers Départements, poursuit

cette limite jusqu'au midi de Hillensberg (ancien Département de la Roer) remonte de là vers le Nord et laissant Hillensberg à droite, et coupant le Canton de Sittard en deux parties à-peu-près égales, de manière que Sittard et Susteren restent à gauche arrivé à l'ancien territoire Hollandois, puis, laissant ce territoire à gauche, elle en suit la frontière Orientale jusqu'au point ou celle-ci touche à l'ancienne Principauté Autrichienne de Gueldre, du côté de Ruremonde ; et se dirigeant vers le point le plus Oriental du territoire Hollandois, au Nord de Swalmen, continue à embrasser ce territoire. Enfin elle va joindre, en partant du point le plus Oriental, cette autre partie du territoire Hollandois, où se trouve Venloo ; elle renfermera cette ville et son territoire. De-là jusqu'à l'ancienne frontière Hollandoise, près de Mook située au-dessous de Genep, elle suivra le cours de la Meuse à une distance de la rive droite telle que tous les endroits qui ne sont pas éloignés de cette rive de plus de mille perches d'Allemagne (*Rheinländische Ruthen*), dont mille neuf cent soixante dix équivalent à la quinzième partie d'un dégré du méridien, appartiendront, avec leurs banlieues, au Royaume des Pays-Bas, bien entendu toutefois, quant à la réciprocité de ce principe, qu'aucun point de la rive de la Meuse ne fasse partie du territoire Prussien, que ne pourra en approcher de huit cens perches d'Allemagne.

Du point où la ligne, qui vient d'être décrite, atteint l'ancienne frontière Hollandaise, jusqu'au Rhin, cette frontière restera, pour l'essentiel, telle qu'elle étoit en mil-sept-cent-quatre-vingt-quinze, entre Clèves et les Provinces-Unies . . .

Art. III. La partie de l'ancien Duché de Luxembourg, comprise dans les limites spécifiées par l'article suivant, est également cédée au Prince Souverain des Provinces-Unies, aujourd'hui Roi des Pays-Bas, pour être possédée à perpétuité et Souveraineté. Le Souverain des Pays-Bas ajoutera à Ses titres celui du Grand-Duc de Luxembourg, et la faculté est réservée à Sa Majesté de faire, relativement à la Succession dans le Grand-Duché, tel arrangement de famille entre les Princes Ses fils, qu'elle jugera conforme aux intérêts de la Monarchie et à Ses intentions paternelles.

Le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, servant de compensation pour les principautés de Nassau-Dillenbourg, Siegen, Hadamar et Dietz, formera un des États de la Confédération Germanique et le Prince, Roi des Pays-Bas, entrera dans le système de cette

Confédération comme Grand-Duc de Luxembourg avec toutes les prérogatives et privilèges dont jouiront les autres Princes Allemands. La Ville de Luxembourg sera considerée, sous le rapport militaire, comme forteresse de la Confédération. Le Grand-Duc aura toutefois le droit de nommer le Gouverneur et Commandant militaire de cette forteresse, sauf l'approbation du pouvoir exécutif de la Confédération, et sous telles autres conditions qu'il sera jugé nécessaire d'établir en conformité de la Constitution future de ladite Confédération.

Art. IV. Le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg se composera de tout le Territoire situé entre le Royaume des Pays-Bas, tel qu'il a été désigné par l'article ii, la France, la Moselle, jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Sure, le cours de la Sure jusqu'au Confluent de l'Our et le cours de cette dernière rivière jusqu'aux limites du ci-devant Canton François de St. Vith, qui n'appartiendra point au Grand-Duché de Luxembourg.

Art. V. S. M. le Roi des Pays-Bas, Grand-Duc de Luxembourg, possédera à perpétuité pour Lui et ses successeurs la souveraineté pleine et entière de la partie du Duché de Bouillon non cédée à la France par le Traité de Paris, et sous ce rapport elle sera réunie au Grand-Duché de Luxemburg . . .

No. 8. Boundary Treaty between Prussia and the Netherlands, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, June 26, 1816, and Treaty of Limits between Prussia and the Netherlands, signed at Cleves, October 7, 1816, and Treaty between Prussia and the Netherlands, signed at Frankfurt, November 8, 1816.

These three treaties give a detailed description of the line of frontier between the kingdom of the Netherlands and Prussia and between the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and Prussia.

(B) Period 1830–43

No. 1. 1st Protocol of the Conference of London, November 4, 1830

Pour accomplir leur résolution d'arrêter l'effusion du sang, elles [les 5 Cours] ont été d'avis qu'une entière cessation d'hostilités devrait avoir lieu de part et d'autre . . . Les troupes respectives auront à se retirer réciproquement derrière la

ligne qui séparait, avant l'époque du Traité du 30 mai, 1814, les Possessions du Prince Souverain des Provinces-Unies, de celles qui ont été jointes à son Territoire, pour former le Royaume des Pays-Bas, par le-dit Traité de Paris, et par ceux de Vienne et de Paris de l'année 1815.

No. 2. Palmerston to Ponsonby, December 1, 1830

His Majesty's Government consider the absolute and entire separation of Belgium from Holland to be no longer a matter of discussion, but to have become by the course of events an established and, as far as can at present be foreseen, an irreversible fact. Any attempt again to join those countries together under any modification of union, would probably be as repugnant to the wishes of the Dutch, as it would be to the feelings of the Belgians, and to any attempt to re-establish such a union by the employment of force His Majesty's Government never could consent.

No. 3. 11th Protocol of the Conference of London, January 20, 1831

Les Plénipotentiaires ont jugé indispensable de poser avant tout des bases quant aux limites qui doivent séparer désormais le Territoire Hollandais du Territoire Belge . . . Ils ont concerté entre eux les bases suivantes :

Art. I. Les limites de la Hollande comprendront tous les Territoires, Places, Villes, et Lieux, qui appartenoient à la ci-devant République des Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas, en l'année 1790.

Art. II. La Belgique sera formée de tout le reste des territoires qui avoient reçu la dénomination du Royaume des Pays-Bas dans les Traités de l'année 1815, sauf le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, qui, possédé à un titre différent par les Princes de la Maison de Nassau, fait, et continuera à faire, partie de la Confédération Germanique.

Art. III. Il est entendu que les dispositions des articles cviii, jusqu'à cxvii inclusivement, de l'Acte Général du Congrès de Vienne, relatifs à la libre navigation des fleuves et rivières navigables, seront appliquées aux rivières et aux fleuves qui traversent le Territoire Hollandais et le Territoire Belge.

Art. IV. . . . échanges des Enclaves . . .

Art. V. La Belgique, dans ses limites, telles qu'elles seront arrêtées et tracées conformément aux bases posées dans les Articles i, ii, et iv, du présent Protocole, formera un État perpétuellement neutre. Les 5 Puissances lui guarantissent cette neutralité perpétuelle, ainsi que l'intégrité et l'inviolabilité de son territoire, dans les limites mentionnées ci-dessus.

Art. VI. Par une juste réciprocité, la Belgique sera tenue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres États, et de ne porter aucune atteinte à leur tranquillité intérieure ni extérieure.

No. 4. 12th Protocol of the Conference of London, January 27, 1831

Art. II. La moyenne proportionnelle dont il s'agit, faisant tomber approximativement sur la Hollande $\frac{15}{31}$, et sur la Belgique $\frac{16}{31}$, des dettes ci-dessus mentionnées, il est entendu que la Belgique restera chargée d'un service d'intérêts correspondant.

Art. III. En considération de ce partage des dettes du Royaume des Pays-Bas les Habitans de la Belgique jouiront de la Navigation et du Commerce aux Colonies appartenantes à la Hollande, sur le même pied, avec les mêmes droits, et les mêmes avantages que les Habitans de la Hollande . . .

Art. XI. Le Port d'Anvers, conformément aux stipulations de l'Article XV, du Traité de Paris,[1] du 30 mai 1814, continuera d'être uniquement un Port de Commerce.

No. 5. The Bases of Separation. 'Pièce annexée au protocole de la Conférence de Londres, du 27 janvier 1831. Bases destinées à établir la Séparation de la Belgique d'avec la Hollande. Arrangements fondamentaux.'

The full text of these bases of separation may be found in Martens, *Nouveau Recueil*, x, 170–3.

The principal articles are given above in the extracts from the Protocols of January 20 and 27, 1831.

[1] Art. xv. Traité du 30 Mai 1814.—Dorénavant le Port d'Anvers sera uniquement un Port de Commerce.

No. 6. 18th Protocol of the Conference of London, February 18, 1831. Adhesion of King William to the Bases of Separation.

Les Plénipotentiaires de S. M. le roi des Pays-Bas s'étant réunis en Conférence avec les Plénipotentiaires des cinq cours, ont déclaré que le Roi, leur auguste maître, les avait autorisés à donner une adhésion pleine et entière à tous les articles des bases destinées à établir la séparation de la Belgique d'avec la Hollande, bases résultant des protocoles de la conférence de Londres, en date du 20 et 27 Janvier 1831.

No. 7. 21st Protocol of the Conference of London, June 26, 1831. The XVIII Articles

The full text is given, Martens, *Nouveau Recueil*, x, 288–90.

The changes made in the bases of separation of January 27 are chiefly found in the following Articles :

Art. III. Les 5 Puissances emploieront leurs bons offices pour que le *status quo* dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg soit maintenu, pendant le cours de la négociation séparée que le Souverain de la Belgique ouvrira avec le Roi des Pays-Bas et avec la Confédération Germanique, au sujet du dit Grand-Duché, negociation distincte de la question des limites entre la Hollande et la Belgique.

Art. IV. S'il est constaté que la république des Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas n'exerçait pas exclusivement la souveraineté dans la ville de Maestricht en 1790, il sera avisé par les deux parties aux moyens de s'entendre à cet égard sur un arrangement convenable.

Art. XII. Le partage des dettes aura lieu de manière à faire retomber sur chacun des deux pays la totalité des dettes qui originairement pesait, avant la réunion, sur les divers territoires dont ils se composent, et à diviser dans une juste proportion celles qui ont été contractées en commun.

No. 8. 49th Protocol of the Conference of London October 14, 1831. The XXIV Articles

The XXIV Articles are reproduced with only one important alteration in the Treaty of April 19, 1839, the principal Articles of which are given below. The alteration affected the amount

payable annually under Art. XIII by Belgium to Holland on account of Belgium's share in the debt of the kingdom of the Netherlands.

No. 9. Convention of London, May 21, 1833

This Convention between Great Britain, France, and Holland brought to a close the measures of coercion which the two Powers first named had been compelled to use against Holland.

Arts. I and II deal with the raising of the blockade of the Dutch and Belgian ports and the release of ships and prisoners.

Art. III. Tant que les relations entre la Hollande et la Belgique ne seront pas réglées par un traité définitif, S.M. néerlandaise s'engage à ne point recommencer les hostilités avec la Belgique, et à laisser la navigation de l'Escaut entièrement libre.

No. 10. Treaty between Holland and Belgium, April 19, 1839

Art. I. Le territoire belge se composera des provinces de Brabant méridional, Liège, Namur, Hainaut, Flandre occidentale, Flandre orientale, Anvers et Limbourg, telles qu'elles ont fait partie du royaume des Pays-Bas, constitué en 1815, à l'exception des districts de la province de Limbourg, designés à l'art. 4. Le territoire belge comprendra, en outre, la partie du Grand-duché de Luxembourg, indiquée dans l'art. 2.

Art. II. For this article see *Luxemburg and Limburg*, No. 27 of this series, pp. 42, 43.

Art. III. Pour les cessions faites dans l'article précédent, il sera assigné à S. M. le roi des Pays-Bas, grand-duc de Luxembourg, une indemnité territoriale dans la province de Limbourg.

Art. IV. En exécution de la partie de l'art. 1 relative à la province de Limbourg, et par suite des cessions que S. M. le roi des Pays-Bas, grand-duc de Luxembourg, fait dans l'art. 2, Sa dite Majesté possédera, soit en sa qualité de grand-duc de Luxembourg, soit pour être réunis à la Hollande, les territoires dont les limites sont indiquées ci-dessous.

1° *Sur la rive droite de la Meuse* : aux anciennes enclaves hollandaises sur la dite rive, dans la province de Limbourg, seront joints les districts de cette même province, sur cette même rive, qui n'appartenaient pas aux États-Généraux en 1790, de façon que la partie du territoire prussien à l'est, la frontière actuelle de la province de Liège au midi, et la Gueldre

hollandaise au nord, appartiendra désormais tout entière à S. M. le roi des Pays-Bas, soit dans sa qualité de grand-duc de Luxembourg, soit pour être reunie à la Hollande.

2° *Sur la rive gauche de la Meuse* : à partir du point le plus méridional de la province hollandaise du Brabant septentrional, il sera tiré, d'après la carte ci-jointe, une ligne qui aboutira à la Meuse, au-dessus de Wessem, entre cet endroit et Stevenswaardt, au point où se touchent, sur la rive gauche de la Meuse, les frontières des arrondissements actuels de Ruremonde et de Maestricht, de manière que Bergeret, Stamproy, Neer-Itteren, Ittervoordt et Thom, avec leurs banlieues, ainsi que tous les autres endroits situés au nord de cette ligne, feront partie du territoire hollandais. Les anciennes enclaves hollandaises dans la province de Limbourg, sur la rive gauche de la Meuse, appartiendront à la Belgique, à l'exception de la ville de Maestricht, laquelle avec un rayon de territoire de douze cents toises à partir du glacis extérieur de la place, continuera d'être possédée en toute souveraineté et propriété par S. M. le roi des Pays-Bas.

Art. V. S. M. le roi des Pays-Bas, grand-duc de Luxembourg, s'entendra avec la Confédération Germanique et les agnats de la Maison de Nassau, sur l'application des stipulations renfermées dans les art. 3 et 4, ainsi que sur tous les arrangements que les dits articles pourraient rendre nécessaires, soit avec les agnats ci-dessus nommés de la Maison de Nassau, soit avec la Confédération Germanique.

Art. VI. Moyennant les arrangements territoriaux arrêtés ci-dessus, chacune des deux parties renonce réciproquement pour jamais à toute prétention sur les territoires, villes, places, et lieux situés dans les limites des possessions de l'autre partie, telles qu'elles se trouvent décrites dans les art. 1, 2 et 4. Les dites limites seront tracées, conformément à ces mêmes articles, par des commissaires-démarcateurs belges et hollandais, qui se réuniront, le plus tôt possible, dans la ville de Maestricht.

Art. VII. La Belgique, dans les limites indiqueés aux art. 1, 2 et 4, formera un État indépendant et perpétuellement neutre. Elle sera tenue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres États.

Art. VIII. L'écoulement des eaux des Flandres sera réglé entre la Belgique et la Hollande d'après les stipulations arrêtées à cet égard dans l'art. 6 du traité définitif, conclu entre S. M. l'empereur d'Allemagne et le États-Généraux, le 8 novembre 1785 ; et conformément au dit article, des commissaires

nommés de part et d'autre, s'entendront sur l'application des dispositions qu'il consacre.[1]

Art. IX deals with the free navigation of navigable rivers and streams, specially with the Scheldt: see *The Scheldt*, No. 28 of this series.

Art. XIII, § 1. A partir du 1er janvier 1839, la Belgique, du chef du partage des dettes publiques du royaume des Pays-Bas, restera chargée d'une somme de cinq millions de florins des Pays-Bas de rente annuelle, dont les capitaux seront transférés du débet du grand-livre d'Amsterdam ou du débet du trésor général du royaume des Pays-Bas, sur le débet du grand-livre de la Belgique.

§§ 2, 3, 4, and 5 deal with the payment of this charge.

Art. XIV. Le port d'Anvers, conformément aux stipulations de l'art. 13 du traité de Paris, du 30 mai 1814, continuera d'être uniquement un port de commerce.

No. 11. Treaty between Holland and Belgium, February 3, 1843

The Treaty of Peace of April 19, 1839, was followed by a second treaty between Belgium and Holland, dated February 3, 1843, which deals in detail with many points left in the earlier treaty for subsequent friendly arrangement between the two Powers. It is divided into chapters with the following headings: Chap. i. Boundaries. Chap. ii. Navigation. § 1. The Scheldt. § 2. Canal of Terneuzen. § 3. The waters lying between Scheldt and Rhine. § 4. The Meuse. Chap. iii. Finances.

The full text of this treaty is given in Garcia de la Vega's *Recueil des Traités et Conventions concernant le royaume de Belgique*, vol. i, pp. 234–54.

No. 12. Convention between Holland and Belgium supplementary to the above, May 20, 1843

This Convention contains an elaborate series of regulations chiefly concerning the navigation of the Scheldt, dues, pilotage, sanitary regulations, common surveillance, &c. De la Vega, *Recueil*, pp. 259–330.

No. 13. Conventions for determining the boundaries with Luxemburg, Holland, and Prussia, August 1843

These Conventions may be found in De la Vega, *Recueil*, pp. 339–76.

[1] Art. VI of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

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[1] Those of special interest are marked with an asterisk.

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Maps

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