

BELGIUM UNDER THE GERMAN OCCUPATION. (1916)

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE 2

Brand WHITLOCK

Chapter VIII. Back in Brussels.

After a month in America we were back in Brussels, as I had announced that I should be, the second week in January, and there seemed to be an added warmth in our welcome because it had been assumed that I had gone to return no more. No one in this old and disillusioned and cynical Europe ever believes anything a diplomatist says, but seeks in his utterances every meaning save that which they would seem to have been framed to convey. M. Lemonnier, the Burgomaster, called the next morning after our arrival, and the look in his eyes was of that surprise which I read in the eyes of all I met. The newspapers at Brussels were not permitted to publish the fact of my return ; the notices they wrote were sent back with the blue pencil of the German censor drawn through them. But there I was, at any rate, and for many reasons glad to be back in Brussels.

The daughter of the old bookseller in the Rue de la Tulipe, when I went to see what new old editions of the

French masters had been relinquished by private libraries during my absence, stared at me with wide, sceptical eyes.

- "*Monsieur le Ministre !*" – she cried –. "*Est-ce vrai ?*"
- "*Oui*".
- "*Et Monsieur le Ministre est à Bruxelles de nouveau ?*"
- "*Evidemment, puisque vous me voyez ici.*"

But though I had been away so short a time, there were changes. Old M. Lamertin, the bookseller in the Montagne de la Cour, had passed away during my absence, and Le Jeune, the barber, who had been taken to an asylum for the insane during those dark days of October, had died there. And to make up the arrears one had to learn who had been sent to prison or deported. In that respect Brussels had not changed ; perhaps the city was a little sadder, that was all. The Military Governor had "*annulled*", as he had threatened to do, the promise that had been made to the city in the convention of 1914 not to quarter troops on the inhabitants *, and a new contribution had been imposed on the city **. The Governor-General had levied on the Belgian population a new contribution of war of 40.000.000 francs per month, and there had been the usual number of persons shot or imprisoned at hard labour for "*treason in time of war.*"

And there had been another tragedy – a sequel, it was said, to the Cavell case. There was a young Belgian, the son of a retired officer in the Belgian

Army; he bore an honoured Belgian name of which he had proved himself so unworthy as to sell himself as a spy to the Germans. It was he, so people said, who had betrayed Miss Cavell. One morning his body was found lying in the street, a bullet in the heart. Over the deed there hung the mystery of a profound and impenetrable silence. The Germans were piqued because the assassins were not at once discovered, and there were threats of fining the city 500.000 marks if justice was not immediately done. But no Belgian could be found, it seemed, who knew anything about the affair, and no one, in speaking of it, seemed to evince the horror and regret that such a deed should excite, though there was, in the gossip of the town, a universal sympathy for the old officer, the father of the recreant youth who had brought such shame upon his house.

But where death was so common such things were soon forgotten, and I had not been back in town two days before we had word from the German authorities that they proposed to seize certain food, and a message from London threatening the cessation of the *ravitaillement* altogether. Thus the situation seemed to be normal, the atmosphere familiar, and things in Belgium going on precisely as they had done before.

When Villalobar and I had an interview with the Baron von der Lancken the threat of seizure of food proved not to be so serious as the use of the word implied ; what the Governor-General intended was to seize food that had been obtained fraudulently or in contravention of his orders, and to solve that problem

we had only to suggest that the unfortunate word *saisir* be replaced by a term less likely to be misconstrued in the press of other lands.

The summons from London, however, was more serious. The *ravitaillement* of Belgium had not always had the unanimous approval of Germany's enemies : there remained in certain formalistic minds the old preoccupation of The Hague conventions, according to which it was the duty of the occupying Power to assure the feeding of the population; and there were still those who did not hesitate to say that a hungry population in Belgium would render Germany more odious and increase her military difficulties. There were, too, never quieted suspicions of the Germans ; it was constantly being alleged that they seized the food and fed it to their soldiers. And when all these objections were answered, or in some way overcome, the claim was made that even if the Germans did not seize the food-stuffs imported by the C. R. B., they derived an indirect benefit by their own use of indigenous products of Belgian soil. It was to meet this objection that we had secured, in the previous summer, the guarantees that the Belgian crops would be reserved for Belgian consumption. And now another charge was made against the Germans — namely, that they profited by the seizure of Belgian cattle.

There was much, indeed, in the claim. Day after day, along the avenues of Brussels herds of kine went lowing to the slaughter, and some were diverted to German uses. I used to stand looking out of my window

in the Rue Belliard watching the herds driven by on their way to the *abattoir*, bellowing in I know not what presentiment of the tragic fate, a sickening spectacle of the incorrigible cruelty that is so implicit a part of life, one kind devouring the other – that ceaseless and remorseless warfare between the species on this planet by which German philosophers, themselves not yet having attained that development in which the imagination could at least conceive of a better order, could justify in profound scientific theses the German intention to devour Belgians, Frenchmen, Russians and, above all, Englishmen, and, in the end, when the visible supply of these gave out, Americans as well.

Many a German had explained this law to me, some of them Doctors of Philosophy, who ought to know everything, showing how every great nation was the result of countless contests between small States and peoples that ultimately, under this power, became great States and nations. Lombardy and Tuscany and Venice and Naples had been made into Italy ; Normandy and Brittany and Picardy into France ; England had absorbed Scotland and Wales and Ireland ; Prussia had overcome Bavaria and Austria ; even America had united a number of smaller States to make a nation, and, as they invariably liked to predict in their persistent, cynical misunderstanding of us, was about to seize others. And now that the peoples of the world had been thus far united, the process of agglutination must go on ; Spain and France and England had had their day ; it was Germany's turn. There was not in their minds anywhere,

it appeared, a solitary ray that could reveal by its light any higher motives, any higher ideal, any higher law.

- "*And the process must go on ?*" – I asked.
- "*Yes.*"
- "*Then what will become of Germany in the end ?*"

I can see the gilt epaulettes move in the shrug of the officer's shoulders.

- "*Some day*" – he said –, "*another people will devour us, perhaps the Russians, perhaps the Chinese, perhaps the Japanese — qu'est-ce que je sais, moi !*"

He shrugged his shoulders again and sighed. Then, with a sudden air of relief, as though he would be well out of it all by that time, he added :

- "*But that will not be for a hundred years . . .*"

Whether on this principle or on some other, the seizures of cattle were going on in the provinces. We had made an observation about it, Villalobar and I, some time before, and had been flatly told that it was none of our business. Officially, to be sure, it was not ; there were no guarantees that covered the cattle in the Belgian fields. But the English felt that the seizure of the cattle was a violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the guarantees, and so they had sent word to say that if the seizures were not stopped the *ravitaillement* would be. Villalobar and I went to see Baron von der Lancken and broached the subject ; we found him disposed to arrange the matter. We had numerous conferences. The German authorities had the feeling that the British Government would put an end to the

ravitaillement if in so doing they could throw the blame on them ; the Germans were not disposed to accept any such terrible responsibility, and yet they could not appear to have receded in the face of British threats. The affair was one of exquisite delicacy, and it is only to show how complicated and difficult it all was, then and always, that I mention the fact that while the *pourparlers* were going on, a telegram came from Mr. Hoover in London saying that if the assurances were not given at once and without further discussion the *ravitaillement* would cease. We could reply that the problem was in a fair way of solution, and ask for patience ; it was a hard task to make Germans do what they did not wish to do, and to do it immediately, as others than we had already learned.

It was in the midst of these negotiations that the Governor-General invited me to lunch with him at Trois-Fontaines, and one bleak day toward the end of January von der Lancken and I drove out there. General von Bissing had with him only the young officers of his staff, and we sat down to a simple luncheon in the dining-room that looked out into the park. The old Prussian soldier had just returned from shooting deer in the Ardennes, and, proud of the antlers he had just hung as trophies in the great hall of the château, was very affable that day. He seemed hale and hearty under his seventy-two years, and there was a good deal of laughter at luncheon. We were all speaking French, which, as I had been slowly discovering, he spoke fairly

well, though at our first, interview with him, more than a year before, he had had von der Lancken translate his German into French.

Remarking to me that day on the difficulties of his position, he said that he was expected to unite the subtlety of a diplomatist with the firmness of a soldier : if he did anything that the Belgians approved, which was seldom, he was blamed at Berlin ; if he did anything that pleased Berlin, he was execrated by the Belgians. It was a difficult position to occupy, no doubt, as the position of any satrap should be in our times. He said it was his desire to ameliorate conditions in Belgium, and was very enthusiastic over schemes of conserving waste. For instance, he had just established a reduction plant for dead animals. Months before, late in October, he had issued a decree, which was not posted on the walls, concerning the utilization of "cadavers of animals" (*concernant l'utilisation des cadavres d'animaux*) in which, with many details, he had directed that the dead bodies of animals not fit for consumption as food be preserved and, by declaration at the local *Kommandantur*, held at the disposal of the Oil Central (*Oelzentrale*) to be reduced to grease ***. He was delighted with his schemes and spoke of it as a reform likely to result in benefit to the human race, and, though I never talked with him about it afterward, it must have been another disillusionment to him, and one more cause for feeling that his efforts were unappreciated, when he heard the story that was going the rounds of the Press a few months later to the effect that he was

utilizing the bodies of dead soldiers to obtain grease to manufacture powder. I suppose it was the use of the word *cadavre*, which has such a grisly sound in the Western ear, that gave rise to the gruesome suggestion.

The Governor-General's talk, however, was all of physical or administrative and never of political organization ; he spoke as though he could show the Belgians many an improvement in that line that would astonish them if only they were not so stiff-necked and so violent in their prejudice against any suggestions emanating from him. He talked with enthusiasm of his many projects of organization, his *Zentralen*, and all that ; he had some notions about agriculture, and, had there been no war in the world, and no invasion, had he been in some executive position with a right and warrant that one could reconcile with justice, one would have found him a rather good-natured old man, something of a personality in his way, who worked hard, studied laboriously and took his duties seriously, and liked to think of himself as doing justice. The vast and essential difference between our points of view, the utter antithesis of his conception of the bases of authority and my own, was not apparent to him ; neither he nor any of the young officers at his board that winter day had the least doubt as to his right to be where he was, or the slightest embarrassment in their position as invaders and interlopers. They thought his right to govern Belgium as incontestable as I should consider the right of the Governor of Ohio to administer the affairs under the Constitution. He regarded the Belgians

precisely as the headmaster of a reform school might regard the incorrigible youth committed to his charge ; he was willing to help them and to tell them how to be good, but he must be rigid in discipline and never let them once out of hand. My impression of him in the end was that, bound within constitutional limitations, he would have made a capable, rigidly firm, though not a brilliant, executive. As mayor, for instance, he would have policed the town remorselessly, kept the streets clean, tolerated no waste of the taxpayers' money, built no public improvements except those that were strictly necessary and utilitarian – and would never have been re-elected. As an untrammelled dictator he lacked the imagination that could even understand the mentality of the people he was called upon to rule, much less mitigate the hatred and detestation in which they held him.

Our talk was mostly casual, of course, and sounded no depths. There were too many topics upon which it seemed unsafe to venture if the luncheon were to pass off pleasantly. The General, in his husky old dragoon voice, was fully competent to talk about the war – a field in which I was not qualified –. He told me, with the satisfaction a man always feels in winning a wager, that one of his officers long before had offered to bet him a dinner that peace would come before Christmas, 1915 ; he had taken the bet, and won. The relations between our two countries did not just then form a subject of conversation which, as the Germans say, would be *gemütlich*, and I did not like to speak of

the *ravitaillement* because that would have seemed like talking shop, and I had heard from one of his entourage that he did not like that : there was a certain young diplomat, said my informant, who used to play bridge with the old Governor and torment him all evening with requests for *laissez- passers* and other personal favours for himself and his friends. I had the subject of the *ravitaillement* on my mind, however ; whether or not he had some prescience of that I do not know – he was not what one would call occult – but at any rate, suddenly, laughing at some story or other which I had been telling him, he turned, lifted his glass of red wine to his blue lips, paused, and said abruptly :

"Cette petite difficulté dans le ravitaillement – ça s'arrangera."

I thanked him and in my gratitude for the relief this sudden assurance gave me racked my brain for another funny story to tell him. Like most old men weighed down with executive cares he did not often have a chance to laugh, and the young, in their egoism and selfishness, are always forgetting that the old like to laugh too, and are grateful for any pains taken to that end – even gruff old German generals.

It was a good luncheon in the German cuisine, and stark in its simplicity. The Governor-General lived a frugal and a regular life and there was no waste on his table or in his household.

I was glad that my poor Belgians, too, were to continue to eat their own frugal repasts, and glad that I could go back to Brussels and tell Villalobar and the

others that our latest troubles were in a way to be conjured.

Brand WITHLOCK

London ; William HEINEMANN ; 1919.

Footnotes.

French translation : « *Retour à Bruxelles* » in WHITLOCK, Brand ; chapitre I (1916) in *La Belgique sous l'occupation allemande : mémoires du ministre d'Amérique à Bruxelles* ; (Paris ; Berger-Levrault ; 1922) pages 295-299.

*** Avis**

En me référant à mon avis du 16 octobre dernier, je porte à la connaissance du public que des armes et des munitions ont encore été trouvées après le 25 octobre dans divers quartiers de l'agglomération bruxelloise.

D'autre part, il a été constaté officiellement que les attaques des aviateurs ennemis contre les hangars et champs d'aviation allemands des environs ont été déterminés, facilités et favorisés par les indications de certains habitants de l'agglomération bruxelloise.

Ainsi que je l'avais fait prévoir, la promesse donnée jadis de ne pas loger des troupes allemandes dans les habitations particulières est donc annulée. Pour autant que les mesures militaires le permettront, les soldats seront tout d'abord logés dans les maisons appartenant à des Belges ayant quitté le pays ou à des nationaux des Etats en guerre avec l'Allemagne.

Le Gouverneur Général en Belgique,
Baron von Bissing, Général-colonel.

Bruxelles, le 12 novembre, 1915.

(Translation :)

Notice

Referring to my notice of October 16 last, I bring to the knowledge of the public that arms and munitions have again been found, since October 25, in various quarters of Greater Brussels.

On the other hand it has been officially stated that the attacks of enemy aviators on the hangars and German flying fields in the vicinity have been guided, facilitated and aided by signals from certain of the inhabitants of Greater Brussels.

As I had given warning, the promise given before not to lodge German troops in private homes is therefore annulled. As far as military exigencies will permit the soldiers will be lodged first in houses belonging to Belgians who have left the country or to citizens of States at war with Germany.

The Governor-General in Belgium,
Baron von Bissing, Colonel General.

Brussels, November 12, 1915.

**** Contribution de Guerre**

Ordre du Gouverneur-général en Belgique, en date du 10 novembre, 1915, contresigné par le Commandant supérieur de la IV^{ème} armée, duc Albert de Wurtemberg.

Conformément à l'article 49 de la Convention de La Haye concernant la réglementation des lois et usages de la guerre sur terre, il est imposé à la population belge une contribution de guerre de 40 millions de francs par mois, payable jusqu'à nouvel ordre comme quote-part aux frais d'entretien de l'armée et aux frais d'administration du territoire occupé.

L'administration allemande a le droit d'exiger que les mensualités soient payées, en tout ou en partie, en argent allemand, calculé au change de 80 marks pour 100 francs.

Le paiement de la contribution est à charge des neuf provinces belges, qui en sont responsables comme débitrices solidaires.

La première mensualité devra se payer le 10 décembre, 1915, au plus tard, les mensualités suivantes, au plus tard, le 10 de chaque mois à la caisse de l'armée de campagne (*Feldkriegskasse*) du Gouvernement général impérial à Bruxelles.

Si les provinces, pour se procurer les fonds nécessaires, doivent émettre des obligations, la forme et la teneur en seront déterminées par le Commissaire général impérial des banques en Belgique.

(Translation :)

Contribution of War

Order of the Governor-General in Belgium, dated November 10, 1915, countersigned by the superior commandant of the IVth Army, Duke Albert of Wurtemberg.

In conformity with Article 49 of the Convention of The Hague concerning the regulation of the laws and customs of land warfare, there is imposed on the Belgian population a contribution of war of 40 million

francs per month, payable until further notice, as their share of the expense of the upkeep of the army and of the administration of the occupied territory.

The German Administration has the right to demand that these monthly payments, in whole or in part, be made in German money, calculated at the rate of 80 marks for 100 francs.

The payment of the contribution is the charge of the nine Belgian provinces, that are responsible for it as a single debtor.

The first monthly payment must be made on December 10, 1915, at the latest, the following payments, at the latest, on the 10th of each month, to the treasurer of the occupying army of the imperial General Government at Brussels.

If the provinces, in order to obtain the necessary funds, must issue obligations, their form and tenor will be determined by the imperial Commissioner-General of Banks in Belgium.

*** Cadavres d'Animaux

Arrêté du Gouverneur-général en Belgique en date du 29 octobre 1915, concernant l'utilisation des cadavres d'animaux et des animaux abattus et impropres à la consommation humaine :

Article 1^{er} . — Lorsqu'un solipède (cheval, âne, mulet, bardot), une bête bovine, un veau, un porc (à l'exception des cochons de lait) vient à périr ou est abattu pour cause d'épizootie, la déclaration doit en être faite dans les douze heures à la "*Kommandantur*" compétente pour la localité.

La même déclaration doit être faite en ce qui concerne les corps entiers d'animaux abattus dans les abattoirs publics, si ces corps ou ces parties ont été jugés impropres à la consommation humaine. Ces parties d'animaux doivent être conservées dans les récipients clos, fermés à clef ; en outre on devra verser un désinfectant sur les parties, afin qu'elles ne se putréfient pas.

Les cadavres, les corps d'animaux et leurs parties doivent être remis aux établissements d'utilisation des cadavres que le Bureau central des huiles (*Oelzentrale*) fera connaître. Les moutons et les chèvres peuvent être également livrés à ces établissements.

Art. 2. — Sont tenus de faire la déclaration : (1) le propriétaire ; (2) les experts vétérinaires et autres personnes chargées du contrôle de la viande de boucherie ; (3) les directeurs des abattoirs ou les personnes sous la surveillance desquelles se trouvent le cadavre, le corps d'animal ou ses parties (art. 1^{er}, premier et deuxième alinéas) ; (4) s'il agit de

cadavres ou de corps d'animaux atteints d'épizootie, le vétérinaire appelé à constater la maladie.

La déclaration effectuée par l'une de ces personnes dispense les autres de l'obligation de déclarer.

Art. 3. — L'enlèvement des cadavres, des corps d'animaux et de leurs parties (art. 1^{er}) se fait gratuitement par les établissements d'utilisation des cadavres : en été dans les vingt-quatre heures et en hiver dans les trente-six heures de l'avis donné à cette fin par l'autorité compétente. Le transport aux établissements d'utilisation des parties d'animaux conservées en dépôt dans les abattoirs publics se fera dès qu'il y aura une quantité suffisante à transporter.

Art. 4. — Le propriétaire n'a pas droit à une indemnité pour les parties d'animaux abattus ni pour les cadavres ou les corps d'animaux (art. 1^{er}) qui sont écorchés. Si le cadavre ou le corps d'un animal est livré avec la peau, une indemnité convenable doit être accordée pour la peau, à condition que, d'après les dispositions de police vétérinaire en vigueur, il soit permis de l'enlever du corps de l'animal.

Le maximum des indemnités est fixé ainsi qu'il suit :

Pour les peaux de chevaux de 17 kilos et plus, 18 mark pièce ;

Pour les peaux de moutons, 2 mark pièce ;

Pour les peaux de chèvres, 2 mark pièce ;

Pour les peaux des bêtes bovines, 80 pfennig le kilo ;

Pour les peaux de veaux, M. 1,20 le kilo.

Il n'est pas accordé d'indemnité pour les peaux de porcs. Pour toute peau de cheval qui pèsera moins de 17 kilos, en fera une déduction proportionnelle au manque de poids.

Art. 5. — Les infractions aux articles 1^{er}, 2 et 3 du présent arrêté seront punies d'une amende pouvant aller jusqu'à 5.000 mark et d'une peine d'emprisonnement d'un an au plus ou d'une de ces deux peines à l'exclusion de l'autre.

Les infractions sont de la compétence des tribunaux militaires et des autorités militaires.

Dispositions Complémentaires

En vue de faciliter l'application de l'article 1^{er} de l'arrêté ci-dessus, sont considérés, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, comme établissements d'utilisation des cadavres d'animaux, les chantiers d'équarrissage de Schooten près d'Anvers, Deurne-lez-Diest, Jette-Saint-Pierre près Bruxelles, Blaton (province de Hainaut), Châtelet près Charleroi, Libramont (province de Luxembourg), Andenne (province de Namur), Pont-Atlant près Maubeuge, Sluste près Tongres (mise en exploitation fin novembre, 1915).

Les cadavres, corps et parties d'animaux impropres à la consommation humaine et mentionnés à l'article 1^{er} de l'arrêté précité, doivent être délivrés à l'établissement d'utilisation compétent pour le district où ils se trouvent ; les limites des divers districts sont indiquées sur le croquis intercalé dans le texte allemand. S'il y a lieu, il sera désigné d'autres districts.

(Translation :)

Bodies of Animals

Order of the Governor-General in Belgium dated October 25, 1915, concerning the utilization of the bodies of animals, and of animals killed and unfit for human consumption :

Article 1. — As soon as a solid-hoofed animal (horse, ass, mule, pack-mule), a bovine beast, lamb, hog (with the exception of sucking-pigs), dies or is killed for epizootic reasons, the declaration must be made within twelve hours to the Kommandantur of that locality.

The same declaration must be made concerning the entire body of animals killed in the public slaughter-houses, if its body, or parts of it, have been judged unfit for human consumption. These parts of the animal are to be saved in a closed receptacle and locked ; also, a disinfectant is to be poured over the parts so that they will not putrefy.

The bodies, the carcasses of animals, and their parts are to be turned over to the establishments for the utilization of bodies which the Central Oil Bureau (*Oelzentrale*) will designate. Sheep and goats may be similarly turned over to these establishments.

Art. 2. — The declaration is to be made by : (1) the proprietor ; (2) the veterinary experts and other persons charged with the control of butchers' meat; (3) the directors of the slaughter-houses, or the persons who have charge of the bodies of animals and their parts (Art. 1st, first and second paragraphs) ; (4) if it concerns the bodies or carcasses of animals tainted epizootically, the veterinary called to determine the disease.

The declaration of one of these persons absolves the others.

Art. 3. — The removal of the bodies, of the carcasses of animals and their parts (Art. 1st) is provided for free of charge by the establishments for the utilization of bodies, in the summer within twenty-four hours and in the winter within thirty-six hours after notice given to that end by a competent authority. The parts of animals saved in the public slaughter-houses will be transported to the utilization establishments whenever there is a sufficient quantity.

Art. 4. — The proprietor has no right to an indemnity for the parts of animals killed, nor for the bodies or carcasses of animals that are skinned. If the body or the carcass of an animal is given with the skin, a reasonable indemnity will be allowed for the skin on condition that, after the approval of the veterinary in power, he will be allowed to remove it from the body of the animal.

The maximum indemnities are fixed as follows :

For the skins of horses, 17 kilograms or more, 18 marks a piece.

For the skins of sheep, 2 marks a piece.

For the skins of goats, 2 marks a piece.

For the skins of cattle, 80 pfennig per kilogram.

For the skins of lambs, marks 1.20 per kilogram.

No indemnity is allowed for the skins of hogs. For each horse skin weighing less than 17 kilograms a reduction will be made in proportion to the weight.

Art. 5 — Infringements of Articles 1, 2, and 3 of the present order will be punished by a fine of not to exceed 5.000 marks and by the pain of imprisonment for not more than one year, or by one of these two penalties to the exclusion of the other.

Infringements are within the jurisdiction of the military tribunals and the military authorities.

Additional Information

In order to facilitate the application of Article 1 of the order herein, the slaughtering-yards of Schooten, near Antwerp, Deurne-lez-Diest, Jette-Saint-Pierre, near Brussels, Blaton (Province of Hainaut), Châtelet, near Charleroi, Libramont (Province of Luxembourg), Andenne (Province of Namur), Pont-Atlant, near Maubeuge, Sluste, near Tongres (put into operation at the end of November, 1915), are designated, until further orders, as establishments for the utilization of the cadavers of animals.

The bodies, carcasses and parts of animals unfit for human consumption and named in Article 1 of the preceding order, are to be delivered to the utilisation establishment indicated for the district where they are found ; the limits of the several districts are indicated on the sketch attached to the German text. If it is necessary, other districts will be designated.

It would be interesting compare with what **Paul MAX** (cousin of the *bourgmestre Adolphe MAX*) told about the same day in his *Journal de guerre* (*Notes d'un Bruxellois pendant l'Occupation 1914-1918*) :

http://www.museedelavilledebruxelles.be/fileadmin/user_upload/publications/Fichier_PDF/Fonte/Journal_de%20guerre_de_Paul_Max_bdef.pdf