

Un Guide Un Panorama
Une Histoire



UN GUIDE
par les cartes,
les itinéraires,
la documentation
touristique.

UN PANORAMA
par la
riche illustration
de centaines
de photographies.

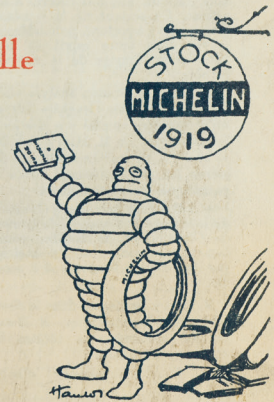
UNE HISTOIRE par l'exposé des faits de guerre qui se
déroulèrent dans les secteurs décrits.

TELLE EST LA FORMULE DES
GUIDES ILLUSTRÉS
MICHELIN
des Champs de Bataille

1914-1918



En vente
chez les principaux Libraires...



...et chez les stockistes
et agents de MICHELIN

fig. 1 "A guide, through maps, itineraries, tourist documentation. A panorama, abundantly illustrated with hundreds of photographs. A history, through the report of war events that unfolded in the described regions. Such is the format of Michelin's illustrated guides to the battlefields." Translation by author. Publicity for Michelin's battlefield guides, 1919.

Michelin's Illustrated Guide to the Battlefields of the Yser and the Belgian Coast (1920)

Guidebook, Field Manual, or Architectural Compendium?

Introduction

The remarkable “illustrated history and guide” to the battlefields of the Yser and the Belgian coast, published by Michelin in 1920, opens with this excerpt from the wartime poem *Un lambeau de patrie* [A Scrap of Homeland] by the Belgian symbolist author Emile Verhaeren¹:

Ce n'est qu'un bout de sol dans l'infini du monde...
Ce n'est qu'un bout de sol étroit,
Mais qui renferme encore et sa reine et son roi,
Et l'amour condensé d'un peuple qui les aime...
Dixmude et ses remparts, Nieuport et ses canaux,
Et Furne, avec sa tour pareille à un flambeau,
Vivent encore, ou sont défunts sous la mitraille.

*This is only a strip of earth in the infinitude of the world...
This is only a narrow strip of earth,
But which still holds both its queen and king
And the condensed devotion of a people who love them...
Dixmude and its ramparts, Nieuport and its canals,
And Furnes, with its tower like a torch,
Live still or lie dead beneath the shrapnel.*²

This guidebook to those battlefields appeared in 1920, only a few years after the end of that war, and thus is a cultural artifact of war. Just when the dust of the centennial commemorations of the First World War has begun to settle, it becomes increasingly clear how the past years of intensified scholarly work have opened up new fields of inquiry. The focus is drifting away from military operational history toward the conflict's global and local dimensions (ranging between empire and home front studies), as well as its far-reaching societal, cultural and economic impact. A study of the Michelin battlefield guidebook fits within this diversified landscape, touching upon different research domains and blurring the boundaries between interrelated categories: material, memorial, and print culture through its medium; environmental, architectural, and construction history through its scope; and industrial and military history through its origin and background.

The following text offers three critical prisms through which we can assess the Michelin guide's novel approach toward travel guide writing. The first perspective is a digression on the new “geopolitics of the guidebook” that is defined by the conditions of war. It looks deeper into nationalist and patriotic motives of the battlefield guidebook, and in particular those of the Michelin series published between 1917 and 1925. Next, we will consider the specific operational method—that is, a tactical reading—of the Michelin battlefield guide through a military lens to assess the impact of wartime technological evolutions on travel guide writing. The final perspective is through visual cues—the surprisingly modern representation of the conflict landscape throughout the guidebook and the subsequent selection of sightworthy material war remnants described in the guide's travel itinerary. These perspectives together offer an alternative reading of the conflict patrimony in the westernmost region of the frontline and its hinterland.

Touring Belgium: A Nation's Patrimony in Print (1830–1920), ed. by Maarten Delbeke and Maarten Liefvooghe, Architectural Crossroads, 11 (Turnhout, 2024), pp. 194–207.

fig.1,2

Even before the guns went silent in late 1918, Michelin published the first in a series of guidebooks to the battlefields along the Western and Italian Front. Just one series among many battlefield guides to appear in the aftermath of the Great War, the Michelin guides responded to an increasing demand for information about reaching and touring the battered landscape and the ruins left by the conflict. Committed to the private automobile as a means of touring, the Michelin guide series aimed to become an informative complement to in-person visits of veterans, their families, and tourists to the memorials and relics of the conflict. Its style and format makes the Michelin series stand out from its contemporaries during a veritable boom of battlefield guidebook publications in the slipstream of the war.³ At the same time these battlefield guides would provide a radical departure from the approach adopted in earlier Michelin red guides, published from 1900 onwards, which were essentially listings of tourist accommodations and amenities for the motorized traveller.⁴ With over 1,400,000 copies sold by January 1922,⁵ and with translations from French into English, as well as incidentally into Italian and German, the series was an enormous success.⁶ Even so, the front cover of every single volume claims that “all profits that the Michelin company would draw from the sale of the present guide will be donated to the *Cœuvre de la repopulation française*.”⁷

If the publication of battlefield guidebooks so soon after the slaughter of so many young men seems gruesome or even inappropriate at first, the need for these guidebooks was created by a genuine desire to comprehend both the horror of the events and, most importantly, personal loss.⁸ Nonetheless, the genesis of the battlefield guidebooks is also firmly rooted in the rise of nationalism and patriotism in the years before, during, and immediately after the war.⁹ As for the Michelin company, this patriotism had already emerged in the early 1900s, instigated by a veritable patent war between two tire manufacturers: Michelin, a French company, and Continental, a German one.¹⁰ This dispute quickly expanded into mutual accusations of espionage and military intelligence gathering through both companies’ respective guidebooks.¹¹ In the hands of warring governments, travel guides subsequently evolved into active propaganda instruments, to the extent that their publication constituted no less than a territorial (re)clamation of occupied or lost ground, if not an all too obvious attempt to normalize the military occupation.¹² The same goes for the Michelin battlefield guidebook series, whose first double issue on the by then mythical Marne battlefields, where the German advance was halted in 1914, appeared as early as May 1917, with war still raging on all fronts.¹³ However, Michelin’s first contribution to the battlefield guide’s new theatre of operations was a 1915 guidebook to western Germany, both in anticipation of an allied offensive in this direction and in response to a persistent rumour that Baedeker was planning a similar travel guide on northern France.¹⁴

Of the twenty-nine different battlefield guidebooks to the former frontline that Michelin published,¹⁵ no less than four are devoted to the Belgian territory: the region around Ypres (1919) was followed by the Yser and Belgian coast (1920), and finally by the city of Antwerp and a combined guide to Brussels and Leuven (1921).¹⁶ Like the remainder of the Michelin battlefield guidebooks, the Belgian ones are structured along the same format: an introductory essay, sometimes highly detailed, on the war events in the region, followed by an itinerary along the former battlefield, without neglecting traditional touristic highlights. In contrast to the heavily devastated Yser and Ypres regions, the cities of Brussels and Antwerp, in the rear area of the front, came through the war relatively unscathed.¹⁷ As it turns out, the combined guide to Brussels



fig. 2 “The frontline drawn by Michelin’s illustrated guides to the battlefields.” Translation by author. Publicity for Michelin’s battlefield guides, 1920.

and Leuven seems to justify its existence only by the then heavily mediatized destruction in the town center of Leuven early on in the war.¹⁸ Consequently, the Michelin guide to Brussels and Leuven and the one to Antwerp, each about half the length of the Ypres and Yser guides, tend toward a more classical format in their inclusion of only historical landmarks in their travel itineraries. In sharp contrast, the Michelin guide to the Yser and the Belgian coast displays Michelin's keen interest in the modernity of the conflict, as well as its spatial ramifications, throughout the travel itinerary.

Tactical reading of the Michelin guide

This brief outline of its "strategic" setting reveals the modus operandi of Michelin's battlefield guide as a field manual for the tourist/soldier.¹⁹ After all, the target audience of the guidebook is the tourist *armed* with a camera to *shoot* pictures.²⁰ And in the case of the battlefield guide, war veterans, their families, and relatives of war casualties would constitute a considerable part of this audience. The visitor is carefully directed along the path of war:

Beyond the bridge, at the fork, take the right-hand road (in bad condition) to Mannekensvere. A few heaps of stones and debris are all that remains of Mannekensvere. To visit St. Georges, cross the Yser by a small wooden footbridge, near the place where the Pont de l'Union used to stand. (It is impossible for vehicles to cross the river.) Between the Yser and St. Georges, follow a "boyau" (by-trench) to the first Belgian and German lines, marked by many concrete shelters pierced with loop-holes.²¹

Such is the tone of Michelin's 1920 travel guide to the battlefields of the Yser and the Belgian coast, providing directions for a four-day itinerary along the westernmost part of the former frontline, from Dunkerque in the west all the way to the Belgian-Dutch frontier, before visiting Bruges and ending up in Diksmuide. The distinctive "Michelin style," maintained throughout the entire 127 pages of the volume, could best be described as slightly imperative, direct but always logical; the whole abundantly illustrated with annotated campaign maps and what appear to be reconnaissance photographs, as if taken directly from a military intelligence document.²² All the while, of course, while keeping a watchful but surprisingly light-hearted eye on the logistics of such an operation: upon leaving Ostend, the anonymous writer goes on in some detail to promote the qualities of the local oyster ("of world-wide repute among gourmets") before describing the troublesome closure of the oyster beds during the war.²³ However, the same page displays a military-style annotated panorama of Ostend (pointing out the cathedral and the belfry, as well as the city's powder magazine) and includes pictures of HMS *Sirius*, *Brilliant*, and *Vindictive*, three block ships scuttled by the Royal Navy in the course of the ill-fated raid on the port of Ostend in 1918.

fig. 3

What sets the Michelin guides' operational method apart from their contemporary competitors is the combined use of precisely those techniques that the military had applied so extensively during the war: top-notch detailed maps, high-quality photographs, and spot-on information for motorized traffic. All three aspects are advertised or credited on the booklet's front and back endpapers, and the different methods are often combined on a single page. The resulting intricate layout, with edited photographic insets and map fragments, contributes to a surprisingly aesthetic graphic atmosphere.

fig. 12, 14

Mapping techniques improved greatly in the war theatre of the Western Front. An enormous survey and triangulation campaign during the early war years, necessitated by the unforeseen immobility of trench warfare and the lack of usable maps at the outbreak of the conflict, resulted in the increasing availability

of small-scale topographical maps to both German and Allied army commanders.²⁴ Toward the end of the war, edited maps, complete with coloured overlays, were printed by specialized battalions in the heat of the battlefield, in modified trucks and railway cars. The particular conditions of the static war in the west, combined with new forms of mechanized warfare in a now three-dimensional battlespace, generated an entire range of novel map types (maps of, for example, trenches, artillery barrages, aerial traffic, and tank routes, and even the more sinister maps of body counts). Similarly, high-quality and purpose-drawn maps appear extensively throughout the entire Michelin guidebook. After all, André Michelin (one of the company's founding brothers, responsible for the marketing and mapping department) had been in service of the cartography department of the French interior ministry before the war.²⁵ Significantly, there is no real difference in the map graphics of the guidebook's introductory essay (describing the military operations during the war years) and the maps in the main body of the booklet (describing the travel itinerary).²⁶ Similar map shadings used to illustrate the development of military operations are applied to establish the contours of the four-day excursion through the former battlefields. Arrows represent troop movements as well as travel directions, provoking an ironic awareness of the fact that post-war tourism would involve frequent travel along and crossing of frontlines that were hard-fought and remained static during most of the war years.²⁷

fig. 4, 5
fig. 6, 7

Unlike, for instance, Findlay Muirhead's 1920 guide to Belgium and the Western Front, the Michelin guides rely heavily on photographs, offering a more sensorial and less detached perspective on the battlefields.²⁸ In addition to protagonists such as military commanders, local heroes, or the Belgian royal couple, the Michelin guide also portrays the common soldier at the front. To a lesser degree, the guide pays attention to the sufferings of the local population, showing images of civilians clearing debris and, in one exceptional case that almost tends towards sentimentalism, a mother holding her mangled baby.²⁹ However, most photographs are dedicated to the portrayal of the mangled landscape, military constructions, architectural objects, and occasionally sites of remembrance, such as war cemeteries. In parallel, novel photographic techniques that were developed or disseminated at the battlefield are applied throughout the guide. The Michelin guide thus uses eye-level photography enhanced with directive arrows or before-and-after juxtaposition, aerial photographs of the front, and panoramic images with labelled landmarks, in the same manner as they would appear in military intelligence reports, mission (de)briefings, damage reports, or reconnaissance files.³⁰ Considering that most common soldiers were not in a position to overlook the battlefield from such a distant perspective, the reconstruction of the battlefield that Michelin offers could be regarded as a limited "officer's view."³¹ More often than not, the guidebook uses pictures originating from the French army's photographic services, acknowledged in the image credits on the back endpaper of the French edition.³² Well aware of the touristic potential of the portable camera, Michelin had already indicated, in the hotel descriptions of its pre-war red guides, the availability of dark rooms for film development, amid all the other practicalities for motorized tourists, such as the presence of garage facilities and flushing toilets. The immense military photographic production during the war, combined with the dissemination of private portable cameras in the trenches (Kodak's Vest Pocket was advertised as "the soldier's camera" in contemporary publicity) and the boom of commemorative postcards picturing war sites, turned the First World War into the first heavily photographed and mediatized conflict, and the Michelin guides were quick to jump on this trend.³³

fig. 3
figs. 8-10

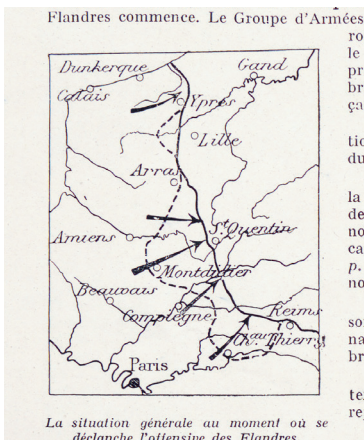


fig. 6 General situation of the Flanders front before the Hundred Days Offensive of 1918. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 22.

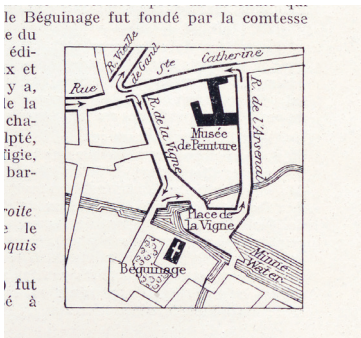


fig. 7 Touristic map of the surroundings of the Bruges beguinage. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 104.



PANORAMA D'OSTENDE

de ce rivage, elle n'est d'Ostende que par sa culture. Elle naît sur les rochers des côtes anglaises et bretonnes, où les navires ostendais vont la cueillir. Les huîtres se composent de viviers planchés et de réservoirs où l'eau de mer, renouvelée tous les jours, dépose d'abord toutes les parties limoneuses.

Reprendre la chaussée du Phare, à gauche. (Voir le plan p. 60.)

On arrive à l'endroit où s'élevait le phare qui n'est plus maintenant qu'un tas de pierres. Il avait été construit en 1859; derrière, on aperçoit l'ancien fort Napoléon. Face au phare, au fond du bassin de chasse, est le magasin à poudre, sorte de fort où les Allemands avaient installé deux batteries (Panorama ci-dessus). On peut contourner le magasin à poudre en suivant la digue terminée par l'estacade Est, à l'extrémité de laquelle les Britanniques ont coulé le *Vindictive*, le 11 mai 1918.

L'EMBOUTEILLAGE D'OSTENDE

La marine britannique entreprit, le 22 avril, d'embouteiller le port d'Ostende en même temps que celui de Zeebrugge. La flottille, commandée par le commodore Hubert Lynes, quitta Douvres avec celle qui dirigeait sur Zeebrugge. Elle était composée des croiseurs *Sirius* et *Brilliant* (commandant Godsall), chargés de béton, destinés à être coulés à l'entrée du port, de contre-torpilleurs de vedettes et de chaloupes automobiles pour éclairer la route



LES CROISERS SIRIUS ET BRILLIANT COULÉS À L'EST DE L'ESTACADE D'OSTENDE LE 22 AVRIL 1918.



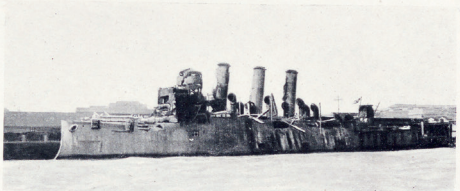
PRIS DE L'ANCIEN PHARE.

et recueillir les équipages des navires bloqueurs, de bateaux à fumigène. A 20 kilomètres d'Ostende, cette flottille se sépara de celle allant vers Zeebrugge et mit le cap sur Ostende.

Le rideau de fumée étendu devant le *Sirius* et le *Brilliant* se dissipa par suite d'une saute de vent et dévoila l'entreprise à l'ennemi. Les deux croiseurs durent être coulés à l'est de l'estacade (photo p. 68). Cette opération n'ayant pas réussi, l'amirauté britannique décida de la recommencer; elle fut à nouveau confiée au commodore Lynes. Cette fois, le navire bloqueur était le *Vindictive*, sous les ordres du commandant Godsall. L'aviation y prit part. Dans la nuit du 9 au 10 mai, le temps étant propice, le *Vindictive* se dirigea sur un feu de calcium disposé par une chaloupe à l'entrée du port.

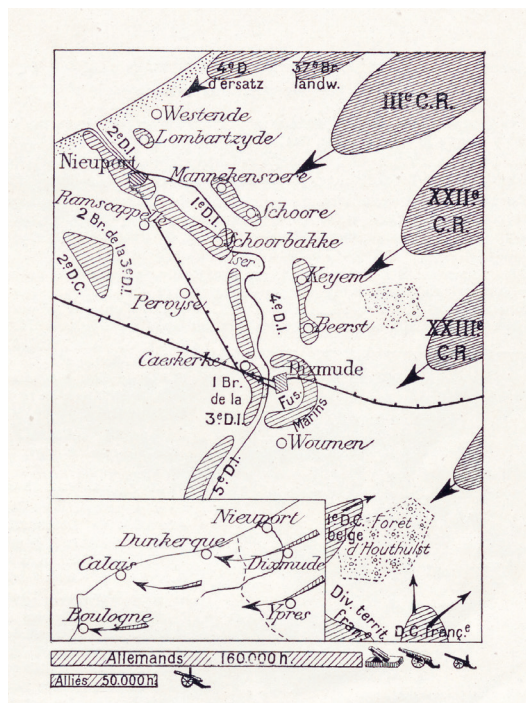
Deux vedettes automobiles torpillèrent les deux extrémités des estacades; à ce signal, toute l'artillerie britannique se mit à tonner, l'artillerie allemande répondit aussitôt. Un brouillard épais enveloppa alors tout de ténébres. Le *Vindictive* dut être dirigé par des vedettes et malgré la mort de son commandant, les nombreux obus qui frappaient au but, le lieutenant Crutchley put mettre son croiseur en travers du chenal et l'y faire sauter. L'équipage fut sauvé par une vedette et la flottille rallia l'Angleterre.

Le *Vindictive* put être déplacé par les Allemands pour libérer une partie du passage.



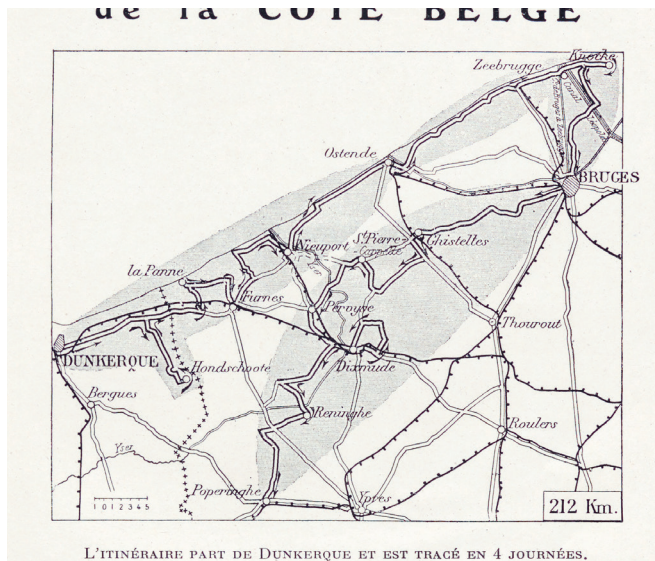
LE VINDICTIVE EN RÉPARATION, AU RETOUR DE ZEEBRUGGE (voir p. 76), POUR ÊTRE ENVOYÉ À OSTENDE, OÙ IL FINIRA SA GLORIEUSE CARRIÈRE.

fig. 3 Panorama of Ostend and sunken block ships HMS Sirius, Brilliant, and Vindictive. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 68-69.



La disproportion des forces en présence semblait légitimer l'espoir de l'ennemi

fig. 4 Order of battle of German and Allied troops on the eve of the Battle of the Yser. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 9.



L'ITINÉRAIRE PART DE DUNKERQUE ET EST TRACÉ EN 4 JOURNÉES.

fig. 5 Overview of the four-day itinerary along the former battlefield. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 23.



fig. 11 Bibendum as “poilu,” promoting the Michelin wheel. *L’Yser et la côte belge*, frontispiece.

fig. 11

Motorized traffic, and by extension the replaceable rubber wheel, personified by Michelin’s iconic “Bibendum” figure, was of course at the very core of Michelin’s imperium since its founding in 1889; the private motorcar tourist was the Michelin guide’s primary targeted audience. At the same time, the Michelin tire was the most-used tire at the Western Front, resulting in a production peak at the factory in Clermont-Ferrand. Bibendum himself, this time in the tenue of a French *poilu*,³⁴ promotes the Michelin wheel in the French edition of the guidebook: “It’s strong. The only wheel which held out on all fronts during the War.”³⁵ But Michelin’s participation in the war effort did not stop with tire manufacturing. In 1918, André Michelin went as far as lecturing on post-war reconstruction and planning the French road network, promoting ring roads around urban agglomerations to facilitate car mobility.³⁶ In doing so, he anticipated later debates on road “corrections” for car traffic in the reconstruction plans of, for instance, Leuven and Ypres. During the war years, the Michelin company almost doubled its number of employees and transformed itself into a development center and production facility for munitions and bomber planes.³⁷ André Michelin had already taken a keen interest in aviation before the war: quickly realizing its military potential beyond reconnaissance and tactical use, he developed his own doctrine on strategic aerial bombing of civilian targets and its impact on spatial planning, long before military strategists and theoreticians such as Giulio Douhet, Alexander de Seversky, and Paul Vauthier did so in the 1920s and 1930s.³⁸

In March 1919, during the preparatory debates on the Versailles Treaty, the Michelin brothers even tried to weigh in, writing an open letter to French president Poincaré on the question of the annihilation of German (civil) aviation.³⁹ To prove his aerial warfare doctrine, André Michelin became the instigator of an aerial precision bombing contest on the Puy de Dome. He became involved in the development of rubberized canvas as cladding for planes and airships, bombsights, and bomb launchers for military aircraft. Michelin even financed the development of military planes: during the war, André collaborated with the French aeronautical constructor Breguet to design and produce over one thousand long-range bomber planes, which were subsequently commissioned by the French army as the “Michelin squadron.”⁴⁰ Thus, by 1918, the Michelin company was active in most branches of motorized and mechanized traffic, on the ground and in the air.

In conclusion, we could argue that the operational method of the Michelin battlefield guide, a military format of mapping and photography to promote the products for motorized traffic it had produced so successfully during the war, was a logical next step in the company’s travel guide development. In contrast, the decline of some competing travel guides immediately after the war can, to some extent, be explained by the lack of such a direct visual and sensorial narrative. For instance, the Baedeker guide’s text-centred and encyclopaedic style proved incapable of adequately describing the conditions of the Great War.⁴¹ Remarkably, a small 1921 guidebook to the Yser, published by the Grand Quartier Général of the Belgian army itself, takes yet another approach: Michelin’s direct photographic “realism” is completely abandoned in favour of hand-drawn sketches that contribute to a surprisingly poetic charm and serenity that seems at odds with its military background.⁴² In the end, Michelin’s novel approach toward travel writing would become the trademark of Michelin guides for decades to come, paving the way for the regional travel guides that would finally develop into the *guide vert* series from 1926 onward.⁴³

From the perspective of the veteran, this military format of the guidebook would not have seemed as far-fetched as one might imagine today. By June 1920, the publication date of the issue on the Yser and Belgian coast, the wartime landscape that had become so familiar to soldiers during four long years, despite its

fig. 8 Aerial photograph of the Zeebrugge mole. *L’Yser et la côte belge*, 76–77.

fig. 9 Annotated panorama of the ruins of Nieuwpoort from King Albert’s hotel. *L’Yser et la côte belge*, 46–47.

fig. 10 Annotated German artillery chart near Woesten.

temporary condition, was already in full regeneration and reconstruction. Veterans now turned into tourists would undoubtedly have had a hard time negotiating this new and unfamiliar post-war landscape. The plains of the Yser, no longer inundated by the salty water that destroyed its fertile grounds, rapidly evolved into barren and desolate clay flats, pockmarked with the remnants of wartime island outposts, abandoned equipment, timber footbridges, and an occasional dot of reed vegetation on higher ground.⁴⁴ This regenerating landscape quickly became the object of tension: local people wanted to restore their environment to its pre-war state without delay, tourists wished to see the sites of the war in person, and pilgrims visited the battlefield to mourn and to commemorate.⁴⁵ The Michelin guide fulfilled the dual role of capturing exactly this momentary transition of the landscape, while at the same time providing intelligence, tailored to the former soldier who could discover the *bleu horizon* book cover with gilded lettering under the guide's paper wrap.⁴⁶ To paraphrase a famous aphorism by military theoretician Carl von Clausewitz: "Tourism is the mere continuation of war by other means."⁴⁷

A modern approach toward conflict patrimony

The Michelin battlefield guide also dramatically expanded the scope of what is selected as conflict patrimony, or at least as a war relic worthy of seeing. A closer look at some of the guide's content reveals the novel and modern ways it suggests for qualifying this war landscape and its patrimony.

Earlier battlefield guidebooks would look toward the battle space as a passive backdrop for military events. The choice of the battlefield was, however, rarely an entirely accidental one. More often than not, military commanders would try to take the initiative to come to battle on familiar terrain of their own choice, after careful consideration of the topographical conditions of the landscape.⁴⁸

Battlefield guidebooks would then provide the necessary contextual information to the untrained non-military eye of the tourist to fully comprehend the topographical conditions of the former battlefield. However, military events had hitherto been confined in time and space, i.e., within the constraints of a delimited campaign or codified siege warfare. The Great War would change both the temporality and the spatiality of traditional warfare through the unforeseen and unprecedented stalemate of the Western Front that persisted between November 1914 and August 1918.

The inundated plain of the Yser was precisely the place where the war of movement came to a standstill in October 1914, after the series of outflanking attempts by German and Allied armies that became known as the Race to the Sea. The enduring deadlock turned temporary fieldworks into permanent spatial interventions and transformed the landscape into a space to be planned, modified, constructed, and urbanized—in short, *designed*, at different scales. The Michelin battlefield guide responds accordingly, establishing new qualifications of the military landscape as an urban landscape at the same time as establishing military relics as war patrimony.

The pictures in the guidebook are testament to a temporary urbanity imposed on the rural areas of the Western Front. This urban project is described more thoroughly in another battlefield guide that covers roughly the same area (the Belgian-occupied front, between the coast and Diksmuide), a two-volume 1919 travel guide, issued by the Touring-Club de Belgique, *Ce qu'il faut voir sur les champs de bataille et dans les villes détruites de Belgique*.⁴⁹ The second volume begins with a lengthy geological and topographical survey of the terrain, followed by a summary of the Belgian military construction effort. The book lists, for this sector

alone, 350,000 to 400,000 cubic metres of concrete for shelters and outposts; 180 kilometres of new railroads (as well as several hundreds of kilometres of narrow-gauge rails); tens of kilometres of wooden plank bridges over the inundations; 400 kilometres of roads for motorized traffic; housing for 100,000 soldiers and 15,000 horses (in dispersed order, of course, to avoid easy targeting by enemy air raids); health care facilities and hospitals with thousands of beds; airfields; tens of thousands of square meters of camouflage material; a network to supply and dispatch drinking water from the hinterland; and finally, a telephone network comprising some 22,000 kilometres of wire (mostly buried below ground). Everything had to be constructed and maintained under the constant threat of shells and aerial bombs. Clearly, the Great War in the West was an urban war, not a rural one, taking the form of a multicultural,⁵⁰ linear city that spawned modernity and urbanity on previously rural areas. In part, it was a war of labour, fought with the shovel as weapon.⁵¹ The geographical extent and shape of this urban project, and directions on how to navigate it, are provided in Michelin's own publicity for the battlefield guides, bringing together the different itineraries on the Western Front and the respective Michelin roadmaps in overlay.

fig. 12

fig. 2

As the Michelin guide on the Yser neatly illustrates, this urban dimension of the war was even more present on the Belgian coastal plain, where the low topography of the terrain (mostly below sea level at high tide) had facilitated a "liquid landscape"⁵² of inundations that prevented any digging.⁵³ No underground tunnelling and trenches here; instead, linear constructions and covered walkways were constructed above ground level ("superstructures," in Michelin's words), a form of *architectural* approach toward military fieldworks.⁵⁴ This aspect clearly distinguishes the Yser front from the rest of the Western Front, with its undulating topography, visible in other volumes from the Michelin series. The most striking examples of this architectural condition, however, are the numerous pre-war buildings along the frontline that were converted into strongpoints during the war, which the military could conveniently expand and camouflage. Blurring the distinction between military construction and civil architecture, these militarized constructions are signs of the far-reaching transformation of both public and private space and patrimony during the war. The guide mentions gun nests and rooftop observation posts in churches, farms, and seaside houses; villas as military command hubs; a sanatorium turned into military hospital; seaside promenades transformed into trenches; and the Middelkerke Kursaal building converted into military headquarters.

fig. 13

fig. 14

In terms of qualifying objects and sites as patrimony and conflict heritage, the Michelin guide to the Yser and Belgian coast takes on a quite unique position. Certainly, it contains the before-and-after pictures of towns and villages destroyed beyond recognition that can also be found in the remainder of the Michelin series, other contemporary guidebooks or military damage surveys. But this particular guide also bulks up with photographs of military constructions, juxtaposed with images of canonical historical heritage. Thus, pictures of the monumental coastal battery *Kaiser Wilhelm II* appear on the same pages as the picturesque canals and belfry of Bruges. By adopting such a neutral stance, free of distinctions, the guidebook places military relics on the same footing as traditional historical monuments, at the very least equally worth visiting. On the other hand, one cannot help pondering whether this fascination with contrasting images is dictated by the author's urge to provoke a certain shock in the reader, or whether it also implies the connotation of the changed spatial order in the post-war era, embodied by the suppression of the historical city by modern infrastructure. Considering Michelin's own war efforts, military involvement, and industrial interests, this editorial attitude

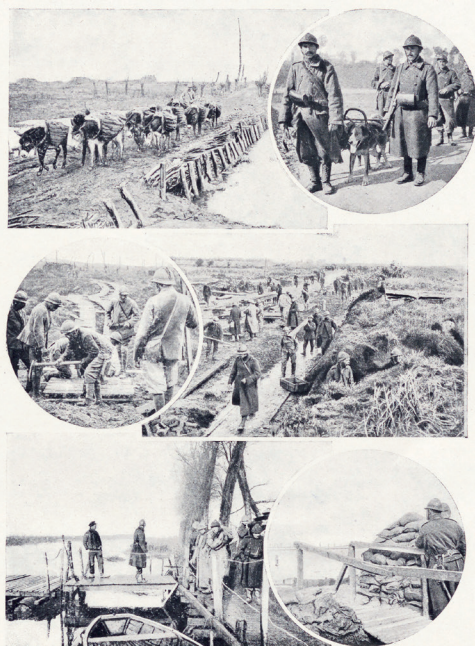
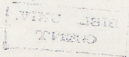
fig. 14



EN HAUT : Deux blockhaus allemands détruits ou culbutés par les obus.
Une ligne de défense devant Lombartegde.

A GAUCHE : La tranchée de Pétrograd, tenue par les Belges, entre Caeskerke et l'Yser.

A DROITE : Un bojuu avancé au bord de la mer, dans la région de la Grande Dune.
Une passerelle allemande conquise en partie dans un coup de main et coupée par des chevaux de frise qui séparent les deux lignes adverses.

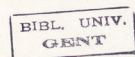


EN HAUT : Le ravitaillement par les bourriquois. Les attelages de chiens des mitrailleurs belges.

AU MILIEU : L'établissement d'un chemin en caillabottis. La construction d'une route de matrières.

EN BAS : Un poste isolé en pleine eau et le radeau qui sert à assurer le ravitaillement de ses défenseurs.

Un poste en première ligne devant la plaine inondée.



DUINBERGEN.
A, B, C. — Observatoires allemands sur des maisons. Vue prise de l'observatoire de la Dune où l'on arrive en suivant la fiche de la 2^e photo.

formes bétonnées. En avant des deux batteries, sur la digue, un poste de projecteur.

La route passe ensuite à Duinbergen (1 km. 5), où les Allemands avaient installé sur les toits de 3 maisons des observatoires. Dans le village, tourner à droite, à l'angle de l'HÔTEL PAUVENS (photo ci-dessus) : on arrive derrière le square allant jusqu'à la digue, à proximité d'un observatoire bétonné construit au sommet d'une haute dune d'où l'on a une vue splendide sur la mer. (Photo ci-dessus.)



On continue la rue devant le square en s'éloignant de la mer et, 100 mètres après avoir traversé la voie du tramway, on prend à gauche pour aller à Knoeke (2 km. 5).



LA BATTERIE KAISER-WILHELM II, à l'ouest de Knoeke qu'on aperçoit sur la première photo. À droite, l'entrée de la batterie, près du moulin.

Avant l'église, tourner à gauche pour arriver devant un moulin près duquel est l'entrée de la batterie Kaiser-Wilhelm II, armée de 4 canons de 305 à grande portée. Les pièces sont montées sur des ponts qui tournent électriquement autour d'un pivot avant, sur un chemin de roulement circulaire arrière ; elles sont au fond de cuves en béton. (Photos p. 84.)

Si l'on veut pousser jusque Knoeke-sur-Mer (1 km. 5), prendre à gauche, après l'église, le boulevard Lippens.

C'est la plage la plus au nord de la côte belge; l'église Sainte-Marguerite possède une tour du xv^e siècle. Durant la guerre, les Allemands ont transformé plusieurs maisons sur la digue en abris bétonnés.

Revenir à Knoeke, puis reprendre, vers Heyst, la route par laquelle on est arrivé. On entre à Heyst (3 km.) par la chaussée de Knoeke, puis on prend à gauche la rue du Kursaal, ensuite à droite la route de Ranscappelle qui, 400 m. plus loin, oblique à gauche. On traverse Ranscappelle-lez-Bruges et, 2 km. 500 plus loin, on prend la route à droite passant au-dessus du canal Léopold.

Traverser Dudzele, village après lequel on voit à droite les restes d'une position de batterie et plus loin, le long de la route, des abris bétonnés. On entre à Bruges (18 km.) par la chaussée de Dudzele. On prend à gauche Fort Lapin, puis on traverse à droite les ponts pour aboutir sur la Plaine des Ecluses. Suivre au delà le rempart des Bassins, puis, à gauche, la rue du Calvaire prolongée par la rue Sainte-Claire, la rue Saint-Georges et la rue Flamande qui se termine sur la Grand-Place. (Voir le plan entre les pages 88 et 89.)



BRUGES. — VUE PRISE DU QUAI DU ROSAIRE. Au fond, le beffroi. (Voir p. 97.)



fig. 13 The inundated Yser plain. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 15.

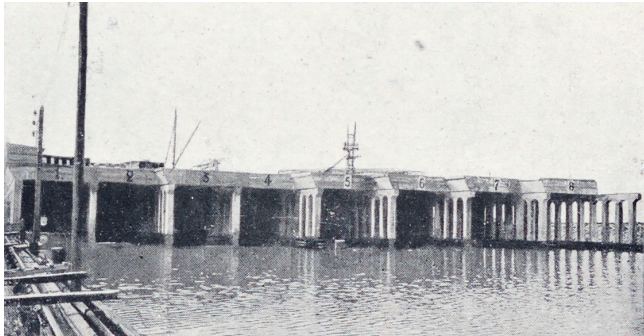


fig. 15 View of the concrete submarine shelters in the inner port of Bruges. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 81.

fig. 12 Construction works at the Yser front. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 20.

fig. 14 Juxtaposition of German observation posts, coastal batteries, and the belfry of Bruges. *L'Yser et la côte belge*, 84–85.

can only seem a logical one. The same goes for the guide's depiction of the ruins. Other than the few instances in which they are described in terms of heroism or martyrdom, ruins are usually mentioned as annoying obstacles to the motorized traveller. In that case, the guidebook is kind enough to provide annotated pictures on how to negotiate and circumvent them, following Michelin's motto: "Le pneu Michelin boit l'obstacle" [The Michelin tire drinks (i.e., overcomes) the obstacle].⁵⁵

For instance, the guidebook's representation of the military port of Bruges, part of the second-day journey and just before the traveller is invited to enter the historical city centre, is a striking example of both the urbanity and the monumental status of military relics:

The bombardments did little damage. The maritime quarter, in which were the Imperial workshops, alone received a number of aeroplane bombs. It was in this strictly guarded arsenal that the Germans assembled and repaired their submarines. Armour-protected shelters and concrete-covered docks, for the submarines not on active service, provided security for the enemy's intense activities. Immense reservoirs of crude oil furnished the boats with fuel. Before leaving, the Germans destroyed these works. The floating-docks, drags, cranes, and port machinery, etc., belonging to Belgium, were wrecked. Sunken hulls blocked up the channels. Huge quantities of stores, including girders, reinforced concrete, sand, etc., were left behind on the wharves.⁵⁶

The mention of the maritime installations in the hinterland by itself is quite significant: by judging them as worthy enough for viewing to include them in the guidebook, Michelin acknowledges the expanded spatial scope of the battlefield and the war's urban and industrial dimension. This approach, through its emphasis on the mobilization of resources and the lines of logistics in areas quite remote from the immediate frontline, challenges the conventional geography of the conflict. From what could be called an urban geographical perspective,⁵⁷ military relics in the port are framed in the wider economic, global, and technological context of the war (the naval blockades and atrocities of unrestricted submarine warfare)⁵⁸ without neglecting its local consequences (the strategic allied bombing of Bruges and the "reign of terror under which Belgium suffered for four long years"⁵⁹ that constituted the forced labour in the dockyards and on the building sites of the Kaiserliche Marine- werft).⁶⁰ Yet the guide also points out the large submarine shelter itself. As an experimental concrete construction and an intricate example of a scientifically managed construction site,⁶¹ it might have aroused Michelin's interest, following the company's introduction to industrial Taylorism when manufacturing gas masks and then airplanes during the war.⁶² In the same year as the publication of the Yser guide, these submarine pens, and the lessons that architects should learn from wartime construction in general, were the subject of a lecture at the Royal Institute of British Architects by Sir Frank Baines, an architect attached to the British Ministry of Munitions during the war and later chief architect at the Office of Works.⁶³ It is difficult to ignore the guidebook's author's awe, and sharp observations, of some of the innovative opportunities offered by the conflict and its impact on building practice. The repeated mention of reinforced concrete in the descriptions of the port of Bruges or the coastal batteries is a case in point. The widespread use of concrete in military construction during the First World War was the first implementation of the material on such a vast scale,⁶⁴ establishing a firm connection between war and reinforced concrete in people's minds.⁶⁵

In the early 1920s, relying upon contemporary travel guides as well as on post-war military surveys, the Belgian army established its own classification and preservation list of wartime

fig. 15

constructions, albeit from a military strategy perspective. This process was further accelerated by the increasing pressure on military relics exerted by private actors, such as landowners and building promoters, wanting to reoccupy the terrain that the military had claimed during the war.⁶⁶ Interestingly, the published preservation list of war sites by the Belgian Ministry of Defence⁶⁷ corresponds, to a large degree, with the military relics mentioned in a number of battlefield guides—a unique convergence of touristic and military interest.⁶⁸ In that sense, battlefield guides were instrumental in “patrimonizing” the material remnants of the war.

Conclusion

Below the surface of the guidebook genre, a diverse landscape of parallels and tensions converges in Michelin’s illustrated guide to the battlefields of the Yser and the Belgian coast. Returning to the initial question of whether this is a guidebook, a field manual, or an architectural compendium, we can see how the battlefield guide stretches the agenda of the genre. Far from being neutral travel guides, and beyond mere commemoration, the Michelin battlefield guides fit within the “grand strategy” of belligerent nations and adopt a tactical format that results in a modern “target selection.” Considering the Michelin brothers’ patriotic motives and the company’s war effort, the question remains if Michelin’s novel approach is triggered by its active involvement in the conflict or if it is a mere adaptation of the genre to the extreme conditions of its object.

To answer this question, it suffices to reconsider how Michelin’s active involvement in the development and production of wartime technology and mapping techniques offered the guidebook’s creators a favourable starting position, or a firm finger at the pulse at least, to absorb military-inspired representational techniques and to reform the genre. André Michelin’s patriotism and the company’s industrial potential gave the creators of the battlefield guide direct access to government and military officials and provided them with a competitive advantage and sales market for their material and print production.

This systemic approach of the Michelin guide, even if elitist in its embrace of the private motorcar and the adoption of an officer’s view, resulted in a military perspective that would also have been comprehensible and familiar to the war veteran. This military lens sheds a new light on the qualification of the material remnants of the war, blurring the distinction between conflict landscape, military and militarized constructions, and heritage. The resulting patrimonial compendium, biased by the background of Michelin’s war experience, fully acknowledges the spatial, technological, and economic impact of the conflict, even if implicitly or even unconsciously. In doing so, a novel and modern perspective on the urbanity and building practice of the conflict in the Belgian context was being established, a modernity that goes beyond the modern-versus-traditional dialectics in the debates on post-war reconstruction. Considering that the guidebook was published just over a year after the cessation of the hostilities, the modern approach it embodies is surely a remarkable feat—history written down while history was still in the making.

- 1 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, Illustrated Michelin Guides to the Battle-Fields (1914–1918) (Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie, 1920), front cover. The English translation radiates somewhat less ambition than the French phrase: “Un guide. Un panorama. Une histoire.”
- 2 The poem by Emile Verhaeren, “Un lambeau de patrie,” was published in *Les ailes rouges de la guerre* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1916), and the excerpt quoted in the Michelin guide *The Yser and the Belgian Coast* appears on the title page. Translation by Will Stone. Verhaeren’s gravestone in Adinkerke is included later in the book, on page 36, in the travel itinerary (actually his body had been transferred to nearby Wulvergem by the time of publication in 1920, where it was again exhumed before ending up in a monumental tomb in his native town of Sint-Amands in 1927).
- 3 James R. Akerman, “Mapping, Battlefield Guidebooks, and Remembering the Great War,” in *History of Military Cartography*, ed. Elri Liebenberg, Imre Josef Demhardt, and Soetkin Vervust (New York: Springer, 2016), 160.
- 4 A complete company history of Michelin and the development of the Michelin guidebook is outlined in Herbert R. Lottmann, *The Michelin Men: Driving an Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).
- 5 Akerman, “Mapping, Battlefield Guidebooks, and Remembering the Great War,” 164.
- 6 Jean-Louis Le Bail, *Catalogue des guides Michelin des champs de bataille* [Catalogue of the Michelin Guides to the Battlefields], 2nd ed. (Le Havre: Association des Collectionneurs de Guides et Cartes Michelin, 2017), 85–91. German translations (on Verdun and Argonne) appeared as late as 1929.
- 7 Translation by author. The *Œuvre de la repopulation française, or Alliance nationale pour l’accroissement de la population française* [National association for the growth of the French population] was a natalist movement with roots in social catholicism, whose aim was to bridge the gap in birth rates between France and Germany. During the war, the association propagated the idea that Germany might not have attacked France if the latter had had a more numerous population and therefore a larger army. Le Bail, *Catalogue des guides Michelin*, 17–18.
- 8 Akerman, “Mapping, Battlefield Guidebooks, and Remembering the Great War,” 160.
- 9 André Michelin later explained how he started working on the battlefield guides at the request of the French propaganda services. See Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 125–29.
- 10 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 46–50.
- 11 By 1918, Michelin guides were in fact dispatched as intelligence to soldiers of the (heavily motorized) American Expeditionary Force in France. Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 190. The use of guidebooks as a source for military intelligence would continue during the Second World War, with Michelin guide facsimiles issued to allied troops prior to the Normandy landings, and Baedeker guides used for air raid targeting during the Battle of Britain, the infamous “Baedeker Blitz.”
- 12 See, for instance, *Deutscher Soldaten-Führer Durch Gent* [German Soldier’s Guide to Ghent] (Berlin: Wilhelm Pilz, 1916).
- 13 Le Bail, *Catalogue des guides Michelin*, 22.
- 14 Akerman, “Mapping, Battlefield Guidebooks, and Remembering the Great War,” 165.
- 15 Le Bail, *Catalogue des guides Michelin*, 25.
- 16 Michelin, *Ypres and the Battles for Ypres*, Illustrated Michelin Guides to the Battle-Fields (1914–1918) (Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie, 1919); *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*; Michelin, *Anvers*, Guides illustrés Michelin des champs de bataille: 1914–1918 (Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie, 1921); Michelin, *Bruxelles, Louvain*, Guides illustrés Michelin des champs de bataille: 1914–1918 (Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie, 1921).
- 17 In contrast, some smaller towns behind the frontline suffered severe damage during the German advance in 1914. The introductory essay in the Antwerp guide mentions the destruction in Mechelen and Lier. Michelin, *Anvers*, 9.
- 18 Curiously, no Michelin travel guide was published on the city of Liège, a theatre of fierce fighting in the opening weeks of the war and the cradle of the myth of “brave little Belgium.”
- 19 In military textbooks, tactics is defined as the art to operationalize the available means in battle to achieve the goals set by military strategy. Strategy, on a higher echelon, is then described as the art through which a state deploys its means of power to achieve its political goals. As such, tactics is subject to systemic, technological, and scientific methods, whereas strategy, through its greater dependence on circumstances, requires a more qualitative approach that is less constrained by conventions.
- 20 This nexus between the soldier and the tourist is treated in depth in the incisive introductory essay to Elisabeth Diller and Ricardo Scofidio, eds., *Back to the Front: Tourism of War* (Caen: F.R.A.C. Basse Normandie, 1994).
- 21 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 114.
- 22 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 17.
- 23 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 68–69.
- 24 For a comprehensive study on the advancement of mapping techniques during the First World War, see Peter Chasseaud, *Mapping the First World War: The Great War through Maps from 1914–1918* (Glasgow: Collins, 2013).
- 25 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 45.
- 26 One particular map of the Zeebrugge raid even goes as far as graphically picturing a submarine exploding against the mole. Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 77.
- 27 Akerman, “Mapping, Battlefield Guidebooks, and Remembering the Great War,” 175.
- 28 Findlay Muirhead, *Belgium and the Western Front* (London: Macmillan, 1920).
- 29 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 33.
- 30 For an in-depth analysis of military photography, see Antoine Bousquet, *The Eye of War: Military Perception from the Telescope to the Drone* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), 81–110.
- 31 Akerman, “Mapping, Battlefield Guidebooks, and Remembering the Great War,” 165.
- 32 Michelin, *L’Yser et la côte belge*, Guides illustrés Michelin des champs de bataille: 1914–1918 (Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie, 1920), back endpaper.
- 33 On the role of photography in the First World War, see Mark Holborn and Hilary Roberts, *The Great War: A Photographic Narrative* (London: Imperial War Museum, 2013).
- 34 “Poilu” (literally meaning “hairy one”) is the informal nickname of the French infantryman of the First World War.
- 35 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, frontispiece. Interestingly, the advertisement in the English edition does not feature Bibendum, whereas the French edition states, in somewhat less strong terminology: “It’s strong; it proved itself along the roads of the front.” Translation by author.
- 36 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 132.
- 37 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 122.
- 38 André Michelin and Edouard Michelin, *Notre avenir est dans l’air* [Our future is in the air] (Sceaux: Charaire, 1912).
- 39 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 134.
- 40 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 115–23.
- 41 Mark D. Larabee, “Baedekers as Casualty: Great War Nationalism and the Fate of Travel Writing,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71, no. 3 (2010). DOI: 10.1353/jhi.0.0089
- 42 Urbain Wernaers and Grand Quartier Général, *Aux champs de gloire: Le front belge de l’Yser* [On the Field of Honour: The Belgian Yser Front] (Brussels: Service de presse et de publicité du Ministère des chemins de fer, marine, postes et télégraphes, 1921).
- 43 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 149–50.
- 44 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 115. This changing landscape is also strikingly portrayed by, among others, the Belgian modernist architect Huib Hoste, wartime correspondent for the Dutch newspaper *De Amsterdammer* and *Bouwkundig Weekblad*. See Huib Hoste, “Schetsen uit verwoest Vlaanderen,” *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, 25 January 1919.
- 45 Johan Meire, *De stilte van de Salient: De herinnering aan de Eerste Wereldoorlog rond leper* [The silence of the salient: the memory of the First World War around Ypres] (Tiel: Lannoo, 2003), 195–224.
- 46 *Bleu horizon* was the colour of the French soldier’s tunic from 1915 onwards.
- 47 In its original form: “War is the mere continuation of policy by other means.” Carl von Clausewitz et al., *On War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 87.
- 48 Peter Doyle and Matthew R. Bennett, “Terrain in Military History: An Introduction,” in *Fields of Battle*, ed. Peter Doyle and Matthew R. Bennett, The GeoJournal Library (Dordrecht: Springer, 2002), 1–7.
- 49 Jean Massart, *Ce qu’il faut voir sur les champs de bataille et dans les villes détruites de Belgique* [What to See on the Battlefields and in the Destroyed Towns in Belgium], vol. 2 (Brussels: Touring-club de Belgique Société Royale, 1919), 44–48. Massart, one of the founders of geobotany and a member of the Royal Commission of Monuments and Sites, earlier photographed hundreds of Flemish landscapes and published a selection—on scientific grounds—of images that gave a specific rendering of natural vegetation or cultivation related to the geography of the site. During the war he published anti-German propaganda. See Bruno Notteboom, “‘Science in Pursuit of Truth’: Jean Massart’s Balancing Act between Geobotany, Aesthetics and Sociopolitics,” in *Recollecting Landscapes. Rephotography, Memory and Transformation 1904–1980–2004–2014*, ed. Bruno Notteboom and Pieter Uyttenhove (Amsterdam: Roma Publications, 2018), 164–70.
- 50 In this respect, the Yser guide mentions the contributions of two battalions of *Tirailleurs sénégalais* in Diksmuide and the deployment of *Tirailleurs zouaves* in Nieuwpoort. However, the presence of Chinese, Russian, Romanian, Italian, and Portuguese worker and prisoner battalions at the Belgian front has been documented alongside regular Belgian, German, French, and British troops, as well as soldiers from the French and British colonial empires; see Jan Vancoillie, Frans Descamps, and Luc Vandeweyer, *Ten oorlog met schop en houweel* [To War with Pick and Shovel] (Ypres: Western Front Association, 2009).
- 51 Vancoillie et al., *Ten oorlog met schop en houweel*.
- 52 Translation by author. Meire, *De stilte van de Salient*, 50.
- 53 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 18, 19–21.
- 54 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 18.
- 55 Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 42.
- 56 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 88.
- 57 Pierre Purseigle, “An Urban Geography of the World at War, 1911–1923,” in *Nations, Identities and the First World War*, ed. Nico Wouters and Laurence van Ypersele (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 238–40.
- 58 Mark D. Karau, *The Naval Flank of the Western Front: The German Marinekorps Flandern, 1914–1918* (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2014).
- 59 Michelin, *The Yser and the Belgian Coast*, 87. The French text is somewhat more explicit and speaks of “le régime d’esclavage” [the reign of slavery].
- 60 Sophie De Schaepdrijver, “Occupied Bruges and the *Marinegebied* (Marine Area), 1914–1918,” *Cahiers bruxellois: Revue d’histoire urbaine=Brusselse Cahiers, Tijdschrift voor stadsgeschiedenis* 46 (2014): 93–104.
- 61 Willem Bekers and Ronald De Meyer, “Concrete Matter: Building the Bruges Submarine Pens (1917–18),” in *Building Knowledge, Constructing Histories*, ed. Ine Wouters, et al., 131–140 (Leiden: CRC Press/Balkema, 2018).
- 62 Francesca Tesi, “Michelin et le taylorisme” [Michelin and Taylorism], *Histoire, Économie et Société*, no. 3 (2008): 111–26; Lottmann, *The Michelin Men*, 109; Stephen L. Harp, “Time and Tourism: Taylorism in Guides to the French Regions,” *Entreprises et Histoire* 2, no. 47 (2007): 61–72.
- 63 H.F. Murell, “German War Construction: Submarine Shelters and Zeppelin Sheds,” *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 27, no. 20 (1920): 485–490; C.C. Pond, “Baines, Sir Frank,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/60657>.
- 64 Keith Mallory and Arvid Ottar, *The Architecture of War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), 51.
- 65 Adrian Forty, *Concrete and Culture: A Material History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 170–72.
- 66 Archives of the Royal Museum of the Armed Forces and of Military History (KLM-RMA), Brussels, 185/2490.
- 67 *De verrichtingen van het Belgisch Leger 1914–1918: De behouden oorlogsorden* [Military Operations of the Belgian Army 1914–1918: The Preserved War Sites], vol. 1, Uitgaven van den Dienst der Oorlogsorden (Brussels: Ministerie van Landsverdediging, 1924).
- 68 The Michelin guide on the Yser and the Belgian coast mentions ten out of twenty-five sites from this list.

Provenance figures

- fig. 1–2 Ghent University Library, BIB:112COO1, CC BY-SA 4.0.
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