ALFRED MUNNINGS

Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918

Edited by Brough Scott and Dr. Jonathan Black

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Contents

Preface	i
Chronology of Munnings' Life by Dr. Jonathan Black	iii
Main Plates	V
Comparative Figures Accompanying the Essays	vii
'The Finest and Best Fellows': Alfred Munnings with the Canadians in France, 1918' by Dr. Jonathan Black	1
'Munnings Meets Warrior' by Brough Scott (Biographer of General Jack Seely)	67
'The Horse at War in 1918' by John Fairley (Author of Horses of the Great War)	71
'1918: The Role of Cavalry on the Western Front' by Pip Dodd (Senior Curator, National Army Museum, London)	75
'Who Were the Canadian Soldiers in the First World War?' by Dr. Tim Cook (Historian of the First World War, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa)	83
'A Gallant Lieutenant of Hussars: Alfred Munnings and the Memorial to Lieutenant Edward Horner'	
by Dr. Bill Teatheredge (Associate Curator, Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex)	89
Select Bibliography	96
Contributors Biographies	97

Preface

With their lines of perfectly groomed horses, their clipped coats shining in the sunlight, the paintings of Alfred Munnings are a unique record of the role of cavalry and lumber horses on the Western Front. One hundred years ago this year, in the spring of 1918, Munnings was commissioned by Lord Beaverbrook's Canadian War Memorials Fund to paint the actions of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade. As part of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, the majority of the recruits were volunteers who served under gruelling conditions without home leave.

Although advances in technology during the First World War limited the use of cavalry, it remained a key capability. Tactical mobility was its enduring characteristic. The Canadian cavalry played an important role in reconnaissance and the pursuit of the enemy, exploiting infantry successes. With their superior freedom of movement in difficult, uneven terrain, they also provided valuable escort work, ensuring the uninterrupted passage of ammunition and supplies to the front. Munnings' paintings are a testament to the horse husbandry of the Canadian cavalry, even after serving three years in the field as a mounted force on the Western Front. With his vibrant brushstrokes he captured the play of light on the gleaming coats of the horses. Only the muddy, barren landscapes in the background of some of the canvases hint at the terrible conditions in which these animals laboured.

As the German army advanced inexorably across France and Flanders in the spring of 1918, Munnings was invited to paint the Canadian Forestry Corps. Again, he had the opportunity to paint his favourite subject – the horses employed to assist the foresters in the lumber industry. Their invaluable work supplied the timber which lined trenches and shelters for men, animals and supplies. It also provided the duckboards that enabled the Allies to traverse the shell-scarred and often muddy landscape, and the railway sleepers for the narrow-gauge railways that kept the Allies supplied with munitions and stores, transported troops and evacuated the wounded. Each forestry company had a team of 120 horses and there was great rivalry as to which team kept their horses in the best condition. Munnings' views of the timber mills and the horses and animals in the surrounding landscape depict the tranquil, pastoral idyll that the Allies were fighting for. During the spring of 1918, over ten per cent of the Canadian Forestry Corps volunteered to transfer to serve as infantry, or as engineers, as part of an ultimately successful effort to halt the German offensive.

i

These fine paintings form an important part of Canada's memorial to the war that cost the lives of some 60,000 Newfoundlanders and Canadians, almost ten per cent of those who served in the First World War. We are delighted that in this centenary year, 41 of Munnings' canvases will be exhibited at the National Army Museum, along with two evocative works by the artist from our own collection. These paintings have not been displayed together in London since January 1919, so it is a timely opportunity to revisit the work of Alfred Munnings and his contribution to the commemoration of Canada's very significant contribution and sacrifice in support of the Allied cause.

Brigadier-General Julian Maciejewski Director-General National Army Museum London.

Chronology Of Munnings' Life

- 8 October 1878: Alfred James Munnings born to John (a miller) and Emily in Mendham, a village on the Norfolk/Suffolk border. He was the second of four children.
 - 1891–1893: An unhappy student at Framlingham College, a minor public school at Woodbridge in Suffolk.
 - 1893–1899: Apprenticed to the lithographers Page & Co of Norwich. Munnings took evening classes in art for two hours a week at Norwich School of Art.
 - 1897: First trip abroad to Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin and Amsterdam.
 - May 1899: Had two paintings accepted for the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition.
 - June 1899: Blinded in his right eye when it was hit by a thorn branch.
 - Spring 1902: Attended the Académie Julian on the Rue du Dragon, Paris, for several weeks as a student.
 - May 1902: One of his early compositions featuring gypsies and horse fairs was exhibited in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition.
 - 1905: Received first commission to paint a portrait of a person mounted on a horse.
 - Summer 1908: Paid first visit to Newlyn Art Colony in Cornwall. Befriended artist Laura Knight and, later, art student Florence Carter-Wood.
 - May 1911: First painting purchased for an art gallery overseas from the Royal Academy by the National Gallery of New Zealand.
 - January 1912: Married Florence Carter-Wood in London.
 - March 1913: Had first solo exhibition, entitled 'Horses, Hunting and Country Life' at the Leicester Galleries, London. A financial and critical success. Befriended poet John Masefield and Augustus John.
 - 24 July 1914: Florence Munnings killed herself by swallowing prussic acid.
 - Autumn 1914: Attempted three times to volunteer for military service but refused on health grounds and for only having one good eye.
 - 1917–1918: Worked as a 'strapper' assessing the health of horses sent from Canada for service in the British Army at the Remount Depot, Caldecott Park, Reading, Berkshire.
- Early January 1918: Invited by critic Paul Konody to work as an official war artist for the Canadian War Memorial Fund.
- Late January–mid-June 1918: War artist in France, first attached to the Canadian Cavalry Brigade (where he befriended its commander Brigadier-General J.E.B. 'Galloper Jack' Seely CB, CMG, DSO) at the front and the Canadian Forestry Corps in Normandy and the Jura.
 - January 1919: Forty-five of his paintings for the Canadians included in the Canadian War Memorials Fund Art Exhibition held at the Royal Academy. His contribution was very well received by the critics and the general public.

- April 1919: Elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, London. Later in 1919 elected to the Arts Club and to the Garrick.
- 1919–1920: At the recommendation of Sir Edwin Lutyens, commissioned by Lord and Lady Horner to make a memorial in the form of an equestrian statue in bronze to their son Edward – killed in action in France at Cambrai in November 1917.
- March 1920: Married to Violet McBride née Haines at Chelsea Registry Office. Bought Castle House with grounds at Dedham, Essex, for £1,800.
 - April 1921: Had extremely successful exhibition at the Alpine Club Gallery, London: 'Pictures of the Belvoir Hunt and Other Scenes of English Country Life'. The catalogue foreword was written by Poet Laureate John Masefield.
 - 1923: Painted numerous portraits in southern Ireland despite the Irish Civil War taking place in the vicinity.
 - 1924: Paid first visit to the United States as a judge for the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.
 - April 1926: Elected a Royal Academician; shortly thereafter elected a member of the Other Club and paid first visit to Spain to study El Greco, Velazquez and Goya.
 - 1928: Held successful solo exhibition at Norwich Castle Museum and attracted over 100,000 visitors.
 - 1934: J.E.B. Seely (Lord Mottistone since June 1933) asked him to illustrate Seely's book My Horse Warrior.
 - 1935–39: A voice for rapprochement with Nazi Germany and friendly with Hitler apologist writer Henry Williamson.
 - 1938: Had a solo exhibition at the Leicester Galleries which was a success with the public but was damned by the majority of art critics as reactionary and irrelevant to modern concerns.
- March 1944: Elected President of the Royal Academy and a member of the Athenaeum.
- June 1944: Made Sir Alfred.
- Summer 1945: Another financially very successful solo exhibition at the Leicester Galleries but savaged by most art critics.
 - April 1949: Gave his controversial Royal Academy Banquet speech, broadcast on BBC Radio, in which he poured blunt scorn on Cézanne, Matisse and Picasso. About 90% of listeners writing to the BBC about the speech agreed with him.
 - 1950–52: Published three well-received volumes of his autobiography An Artist's Life.
 - March 1956: Exhibited 300 paintings at the Royal Academy which attracted record crowds. However, his health was increasingly poor as he experienced heart trouble.
 - 17 July 1959: Died in his sleep at his home in Dedham and given a memorial service at St. James's Church, Piccadilly at which he was praised by the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Charles Wheeler.

MAIN PLATES

All works by Alfred Munnings from the collection of the Canadian War Museum, Ottawa. Dimensions given in cms, height by width.

Plate 1: Portrait of Major-General the Right Hon J.E.B Seely CB, CMG, DSO, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0450)

Plate 2: Portrait of Captain Prince Antoine of Orleans and Braganza, 1918, oil on canvas, 53 x 61 cm (19710261-0446)

Plate 3: Portrait of Brigade Major Geoffrey Brooke, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61 cm (19710261-0458)

Plate 4: Portrait of Count Olivier D'Etchegoyen, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0454)

Plate 5: Brigade Headquarters at Smallfoot Wood, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0447)

Plate 6: *A Fatigue Party Making Bomb-Proof Shelters in Smallfoot Wood*, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.9 x 61.2 cm (19710261-0449)

Plate 7: Fort Garrys on the March, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61 cm (19710261-0456)

Plate 8: Fort Garrys on the March (II), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 60.8 cm (19710261-0457)

Plate 9: A Patrol, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61 cm (19710261-0444)

Plate 10: A Patrol (Nightfall), 1918, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 75.7 cm (19710261-0442)

Plate 11: Watering Horses of the Black and Grey Team (Royal Canadian Dragoons), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61 cm (19710261-0455)

Plate 12: Lord Strathcona's Horse on the March, 1918, oil on canvas, 51.1 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0441)

Plate 13a: *Study of a Canadian Trooper (Lord Strathcona's Horse)*, 1918, pencil on paper, 27 x 34.4 cm, National Army Museum, London (NAM. 2005-07-815)

Plate 13b: A Canadian Trooper (Lord Strathcona's Horse) and His Horse [unfinished], 1918, oil on canvas, 50.4 x 61 cm (19710261-0460)

Plate 14: Halt on the March by a Stream at Nesle, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60 cm (19710261-0445)

Plate 15: On the Edge of the Wood, 1918, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 76.2 cm (19710261-0459)

Plate 16: Watering on the March, 1918, oil on canvas, 64.5 x 76.4 cm (19710261-0452)

Plate 17: Horses and Chargers, 1918, oil on canvas, 64 x 76.3 cm (19710261-0448)

v

Plate 18: Watering Horses Near Domart [unfinished], 50.8 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0816)

Plate 19: Ruined Barn at Ennemain near Athies, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0431)

Plate 20: The Ruined Château at Ennemain, near Athies, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61 cm (19710261-0453)

Plate 21: Horses at Ennemain, 21 March 1918, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 62 cm (19710261-0476)

Plate 22: A Team of Blacks [Horses], 19th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0468)

Plate 23: Log Loading (30th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.3 x 60.8 cm (19710261-0471)

Plate 24: A Four-Horse Team in the Forest of Bellême (30th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps), 1918, oil on canvas, 48.2 x 65 cm (19710261-0479)

Plate 25: A Grey Team in the Forest of Dreux, Normandy, 1918, oil on canvas, 46 x 61 cm (19710261-0474)

Plate 26: A Black Team in the Jammer, Dreux, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.4 x 61 cm (19710261-0478)

Plate 27: Moving the Truck Another Yard, Dreux, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.6 x 61.3 cm (19710261-0475)

Plate 28: A Saw Mill and Part of a Lumber Camp (30th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps), Dreux, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61 cm (19710261-0466)

Plate 29: The Grey Team (30th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61.2 cm (19710261-0473)

Plate 30: *Landscape Seen from the Slopes of the Forest of Dreux, Normandy,* 1918, oil on canvas, 50.3 x 61 cm (19710261-0465)

Plate 31: An April Day in the Forest, Dreux, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0470)

Plate 32: A Canadian Forestry Corps Camp at Malbuisson near Pontarlier, Burgundy, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61.7 cm (19710261-0463)

Plate 33: A Log Team Skidding in the Forest, Jura, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61.6 cm (19710261-0461)

Plate 34: 36th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps, Building a Mill at Labergement, Jura, 1918, 51 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0472)

Plate 35: Log Hauling and Loading, 1918, oil on canvas, 48.4 x 65 cm (19710261-0477)

Plate 36: Felling a Tree in the Vosges, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61 cm (19710261-0464)

Plate 37: Lumbermen Amongst the Pines, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.6 x 61 cm (19710261-0481)

Plate 38: Streambed at Labergement. Jura, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0469)

Plate 39: Watering Horses (Study), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0462)

Plate 40: A Study of a Swiss Bull, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.4 x 61 cm (19710261-0467)

Plate 41: A June Evening in the Jura, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0480)

Plate 42: The Charge of Flowerdew's Squadron, 1918, oil on canvas, 51.7 x 61.3 cm (19710261-0443)

Plate 43: Study for a Mural, 1918–19, oil on paper, 75 x 160 cm (19710261-0482)

Comparative Figures Accompanying The Essays

All works by Alfred Munnings unless stated otherwise.

Accompanying Essay by Dr. J. Black

[Fig. 1] Captain R.W. Sutherland, 1916, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (220)

[Fig. 2] Sir William Orpen (1878–1931), *Brigadier-General the Right Honourable J.E.B. Seely CB, DSO, MP*, 1918, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 76.2 cm, IWM ART 2982, Imperial War Museum, London

[Fig. 3] Brigade Interpreter, Count D'Etchegoyen, 1918, pencil on paper, 26 x 36 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.52)

[Fig. 4] *The Veterinary Captain Joe Duhault, Berneville*, 15 February 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 26 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.8)

[Fig. 5] *Staff Captain Barney Torrance*, 21 February 1918, pencil on paper, 30 x 26 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.36)

[Fig. 6] *Brigade Major Charles Connelly*, 17 March 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 23 x 30 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.24)

[Fig. 7] *Colonel R.W. 'Bob' Paterson of the Fort Garry Horse*, March 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 26 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.71)

[Fig. 8] *Signal Officer Lee of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade*, 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 26 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S51.34)

[Fig. 9] *Captain Rowley, 17 March / St. Patrick's Day,* 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 26 x 36 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.20)

[Fig. 10] Eric Kennington (1888–1960), *Dismantled Camp in the Snow near Péronne*, January 1918, pastel on paper, 47 x 62.2 cm, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.

[Fig. 11] *An Indian Cavalryman, Bhagwan Singh,* 3 February 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 23 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.10)

[Fig. 12] *An Indian Cavalryman, Madat Ali,* 3 February 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 23 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.12)

[Fig. 13] Eric Kennington (1888–1960): *Captain Sagat Singh MC, Jodhpur Imperial Service Lancers,* 1918, pastel on paper, 58.4 x 44.5 cm, Philip Mould & Co, London

[Fig. 14] *Watering Horses on the March*, 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 23 x 30 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.45)

[Fig. 15] C.R.W. Nevinson (1889–1946): The Mule Team, 1917, drypoint, 17.8 x 24.8 cm, British Museum, London

[Fig. 16] *Brigade Interpreter, Baron Roulleaux Dugage*, March 1918, pen and ink on paper, 26 x 36 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (DMAS, KS45, D1)

[Fig. 17] C.R.W. Nevinson (1889–1946), Reclaimed Country, 1917, drypoint, 20 x 15 cm, British Museum, London

[Fig. 18] *Horses at Ennemain*, 21 March 1918, pencil on paper, 26 x 36 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.67)

[Fig. 19] *Marie of the Café la Civette, Evreux,* 29 April 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 28 x 23 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S51.26)

[Fig. 20] *Study for the Cavalry Charge at Moreuil Wood*, 30 March 1918 commanded by Lieutenant F.G.M. Flowerdew VC, 1918, oil on canvas, 54.6 x 91.4 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (426)

[Fig. 21] Umberto Boccioni (1882–1916), *The Charge of the Lancers*, 1915, tempera and collage on board, 32 x 50 cm, Private Collection, Milan

Accompanying Essay by P. Dodd

[Fig. 22] Unknown Photographer, *Types of British Cavalry*, c. 1917, photograph, National Army Museum, London (NAM. 2007-03-7-62)

[Fig. 23] *Report of General Sir Henry Rawlinson on the Battle of Amiens*, 8–11 August 1918, photograph, National Army Museum, London (NAM. 1952-01-33-20)

Accompanying Essay by Dr. T. Cook

[Fig. 24] Unknown Photographer, *Canadian Lumberjacks of No. 16 Company, Canadian Forestry Corps, Esher, Surrey,* 1917, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (19940001-532-5)

[Fig. 25] Unknown Photographer, *Different Racial Types among a Group of Wounded Canadian Soldiers*, 1917, Canadian War Museum Ottawa (19920044-815)

[Fig. 26] Unknown Photographer, *No. 1 Canadian Mobile Veterinary Section with their Bear Mascot 'Winnie', Valcartier, Canada*, 1914, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (20020045-1748)

[Fig. 27] Unknown Photographer, *Max Aitken, 1st Lord Beaverbrook and Founder of the Canadian War Memorial Fund,* 1917, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (20020045-1675)

Accompanying Essay by Dr. B. Teatheredge

[Fig. 28] Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944), *Preparatory Sketches for a Memorial to Lieutenant Edward Horner in St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Mells, Somerset*, 1919, pencil on paper, 50 x 65.5 cm, RIBA Collections, London; image courtesy of RIBA Pix (RIBA 97414)

[Fig. 29] Alfred Munnings, *Memorial to Lieutenant Edward Horner*, 1919–20, bronze, 170 x 162 x 50 cm, St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Mells, Somerset; image courtesy of the Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex

'THE FINEST AND BEST FELLOWS': Alfred Munnings with the Canadians in France, 1918

Dr. Jonathan Black

Alfred Munnings was not by nature combative but he never shirked a scrap in a good cause. He was shocked and surprised, as so many were, by Britain's entry into the First World War on 4 August 1914. However, it seemed to offer a welcome distraction to a tragedy which had recently occurred in his private life. On the morning of 24 July 1914 his wife, art student and accomplished horsewoman Florence née Carter-Wood had suddenly taken her own life by drinking prussic acid.¹ They had met in 1911 while Munnings was visiting his friend Laura Knight in Newlyn, Cornwall. They married in London in January 1912; just over a year later, in March 1913, Munnings held an immensely successful solo exhibition, entitled 'Horses, Hunting and Country Life', at the prestigious Leicester Galleries in central London. His career seemed to have been launched with éclat and several leading art critics of the day identified him as the up-and-coming painter of English equestrian life and of its inviting countryside.²

On the face of it, life was going swimmingly for Munnings. However, his marriage to Florence was not proving a happy one – they seemed to be completely unsuited temperamentally. Florence's suicide still came as a devastating shock to Munnings who tried not once but three times during the autumn of 1914 to volunteer for the Yeomanry.³ Each time he was turned down on account of his being completely blind in his right eye⁴ and he even more humiliatingly was given the low health grade of C3.⁵

Munnings felt these rejections keenly as a blow to his sense of masculine self- worth. His friend Laura Knight noted how embarrassed he was to still be walking about in public in 1915 in civilian clothes and not in Army khaki, when on the surface, Munnings appeared full of his usual high spirits.⁶ He tried to keep busy with commissions, ideas for new paintings but always kept his one working eye open for any way to contribute to the war effort.

A few days into the terrible Battle of the Somme, Munnings painted a superbly observed portrait of an archetypal British officer and gentleman – complete with faithful hound at his side: *Captain R.W. Sutherland 11 July 1916* [Fig. 1]. Note the assured yet deceptively casual brushwork used to evoke a silver cup and buildings in the background. At this stage in his career, his brushwork was still highly fluid as he continued to look for inspiration to his artistic heroes Manet, Hals, Rembrandt and Velazquez.⁷

Early in 1917, Major Cecil Aldin, in peacetime Master of the South Berkshire Hounds, found Munnings a job at the Remount Depot, Caldecott Park, Reading which handled 1,000 horses a week from Canada.⁸ For the best part of a year, Munnings worked as a 'strapper' testing the necks of the arrived horses for signs of mange and applying foul-smelling ointment if he detected it.⁹ At the time, Munnings was examined by an Army doctor and his medical grade was raised but not by much, to Class B2, which made him fit enough for duties on the Home Front but not in any overseas combat area.¹⁰



[Fig. 1] Captain R.W. Sutherland, 1916, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (220)

Early in January 1918, Munnings was invited by Anglo-Hungarian art critic Paul Konody to work for the Canadian War Memorials Fund.¹¹ Specifically, Munnings was to paint men and horses of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade under Brigadier-General J.E.B. 'Galloper Jack' Seely (later raised to the peerage as Lord Mottistone in 1933).¹² Konody was especially keen to recruit Munnings as he was well aware the British Ministry of Information was eager to have Munnings' work for it as an official war artist. Indeed, Robert Ross, chief art adviser to the Ministry's art department, wrote at the time asserting that Munnings would be certain to 'add distinction to any civilian museum fortunate enough to acquire them [his paintings]. I do not pretend to be a judge of horses but I can say that no other English artist, in my experience, visualises horses with such extraordinary skill and feeling. Indeed, except among certain French painters of the 19th century [such as Théodore Gericault] have I ever seen horses treated with such probability and truth as I have in the pictures of Mr. Munnings. Then, over and above this, he is able to make beautiful pictures.' Furthermore, Ross predicted paintings by Munnings would in all likelihood be 'definite value from a propaganda point of view, especially in 'horsey' countries such as the United States, the Argentine and Spain'.¹³

Munnings travelled from the UK to Boulogne where a Canadian officer took him by car to Hesdin -30 miles south-east of the port. Munnings had with him: 'a light narrow box ... made to hold three stretchers - one 30 x 25 and two 24 x 20 - and a quantity of rolled-up pieces of canvas, cut to fit the stretchers.'¹⁴

At Hesdin, AM stayed in a château with the official Canadian representative General Sims for a couple of days and was then taken by car to Brigadier-General Seely.¹⁵

Munnings dated his arrival at the Headquarters of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade on 25 January 1918.¹⁶ He recalled being greeted at the brigade's HQ by Staff Captain Barney Torrance. They then proceeded to have a 'riotous dinner in the mess' with Brigadier-General Seely, Prince Antoine, Brigade Major Geoffrey Brooke and Barney Torrance. His conversational dexterity to the fore, Munnings proved such a hit with Seely that the Brigadier raided his supply of Irroy Champagne which he only produced on special occasions as he maintained 'it made you laugh'.¹⁷

At the time Munnings joined the Canadian Cavalry Brigade it was at full strength: 2,500 men comprising three regiments; two of regulars – the Royal Canadian Dragoons and Lord Strathcona's Horse one from the Militia, the Fort Garry Horse – along with 500 men of the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery with two batteries of four 13-pounder guns each; a 24-man signal troop; a 230-strong machine gun squadron with six Vickers heavy machine guns; 200 men of No. 7 Field Ambulance, 100 men in the Brigade Supply Column and 27 men of the Mobile Veterinary Section commanded by Captain Joe Duhault.¹⁸

Next morning he immediately set to painting Brigadier-General Seely on his horse 'Warrior' in full view of any observing Germans [**Plate 1**]. The artist encountered a bleary-eyed Seely 'in a thick, tan-coloured sort of camel-hair suit of pyjamas...¹⁹ [also refer to B. Scott essay]. Seely was later to write of Munnings: 'He was practically blind in one eye ... so no part of the Army would take him ... A queer thing was that he could see as much with his one eye as others could see with two. He has told me that his principal trouble during this time was the bitter cold; sharp frosts every night and canvas lean-tos the only shelter.²⁰

Munnings began painting Seely 'after I had just returned from my morning visit to the front line and was covered in mud. However, I took up the position he ordered and he commenced to paint.²¹ The artist later recalled he seized the opportunity when painting the debonair Seely to emulate on canvas the equestrian statues of the past he so admired with their presentation of the man of command calmly controlling a muscular, superbly conditioned and fine-fettled steed – works such as the statue of Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius from c. 175 C.E. in Rome and Donatello's celebrated bronze of the condottiere Erasmo da Narni (known as '*Gattamelata'* – the 'honeyed cat') from 1453.²² He also noted the brigadier was wearing a somewhat battered officer's cap with a distinctive band of red silk indicating the wearer held the rank of general – Seely never wore his regulation steel helmet in France; he wanted his troops to see their general was amongst them even within range of the enemy.²³

[PLATE I] THE BACKDROP MUNNINGS PAINTED BEHIND SEELY ON WARRIOR IS DARINGLY YET ACCURATELY EMPTY, CONVEYING THE REALITY OF THE PULVERISED LANDSCAPE IN WHICH THE CANADIAN CAVALRY BRIGADE WAS STATIONED AT THE TIME; THIS HAD BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY WRECKED AND RAVAGED BY GERMAN FORCES IN MARCH 1917 AS THEY RETREATED 12 MILES EASTWARDS ALONG A 30-MILE FRONT TO OCCUPY THE NEW DEFENCES OF THE HINDENBURG LINE.²⁴



[Plate 1] Portrait of Major-General the Right Hon J.E.B Seely CB, CMG, DSO, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0450)



[Plate 2] Portrait of Captain Prince Antoine of Orleans and Braganza, 1918, oil on canvas, 53 x 61 cm (19710261-0446)

Munnings quickly found several kindred spirits among Seely's staff and senior officers of the brigade – men of the world, Canadian and otherwise, who had often travelled the world: There was Seely's ineffably aristocratic and yet highly competent aide-de-camp, Prince Antoine, capable moreover of the most steely, calm and collected courage [Plate 2].

Seely had been contacted by Prince Antoine d'Orleans in January 1916. As the son of the Comte d'Eu and a member of the French royal family, he was not allowed to serve in the Army of the French Republic but he succeeded in joining the British Army in August 1914. Seely allowed the prince to transfer to the Royal Canadian Dragoons with the rank of captain and made him his aide-de-camp and intelligence officer as he was fluent in several languages, possessed a 'precise mind' and was 'completely fearless'.²⁵ Aged 35 in 1918, the prince was 5ft 9 inches tall with a beaky nose, a lantern jaw and hooded eyes. Despite his prominent nose, his charm made him a considerable success with the ladies. He was described as 'aimé par tous mais adoré par les dames'.²⁶

One afternoon early in 1916, Seely and Prince Antoine visited the battlefield of Agincourt where an ancestor of both had fought – Seely's as an archer and the prince's as a knight in the French army. The Prince had a First in History from Paris University and was very knowledgeable about French medieval history.²⁷ He was the middle of three brothers: the eldest Pierre had been born with a withered arm (so survived the war), then there was Antoine and finally Louis who also served with the British Army from August 1914 but later died from a fever. Two of Antoine's maternal uncles were also serving in the Austro-Hungarian army.²⁸

In mid-April 1917, as Seely's principal brigade intelligence officer, Prince Antoine volunteered to crawl out at night into no man's land and spent nearly 20 hours in daylight lying there unobserved: 'watching, counting, drawing'. By 11 pm he had crawled back to the British line with 'an exact account of the numbers of the enemy, the number of sentries, where they were placed, the exact position of the trench mortar and the machine guns, the number of dugouts with the number of men occupying each, the exact position of the wire ... all portrayed on a beautifully drawn little map. When he took the place we found that this map and his description were accurate in every detail.' For this display of icy-nerved courage, the prince was awarded the Military Cross.²⁹

It was largely thanks to Prince Antoine that early in March 1918 the brigade was installed within the Château de Davenescourt, near Montdidier, and owned by a friend of the prince – the Marquis de Bargemont (who had been forced to allow his home to be used by the German General von Kluck in September 1914 as the HQ for his First Army as it advanced towards Paris).³⁰

At the Château de Davenescourt, Munnings was joined by another British artist working for the Canadian War Memorial Scheme, William Orpen³¹, who painted Brigadier-General Seely in 'a large upstairs bedroom' while Munnings painted Prince Antoine outside 'on a black horse in the sunlight'. Munnings later recalled the situation was dreamlike as the brigade's band played a selection of light classics in the château's 'outer hall' while its officers dined luxuriously in the château's main hall.³² With the simultaneous and highly entertaining presence of Munnings and Orpen – both renowned raconteurs – Seely referred proudly to the château as his very own 'École des Beaux Arts'.³³

It is revealing, perhaps, to compare Orpen's portrait of Brigadier-General Seely [Fig. 2] with that by Munnings – both refer to Seely's high colour but Orpen does so excessively perhaps to hint at the bon viveur aspect to his sitter's character. And yet the artist does acknowledge the strain of nearly three years near-continuous at the front etched into Seely's face; indeed only the previous year his eldest son, Frank, had been killed in action at the Battle of Arras. Munnings, by contrast, views the man from a greater distance and Seely's straight-backed seat on Warrior confers gravitas and an unmistakable aura of command.

On 19 March 1918, the Marquis de Bargemont invited the brigade's officers and Munnings to dinner at his château; Prince Antoine played the piano, Munnings sang one of his inimitable ballads and the officers of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade boisterously toasted the marquis.³⁴ It was during this dinner that General Harman GOC of the Third Cavalry Division to which the Canadian Cavalry Brigade belonged, casually informed Seely, as the hors d'oeuvres were being removed, that deserters had recently revealed to him that the great German offensive would begin on 21 March.³⁵

During the famous Battle for Moreuil Wood on 30 March 1918, Seely realised he had to get a message to the British in Villers-Bretonneux to the left of the wood. He gave identical messages to Prince Antoine and Colonel Young of the Royal Canadian Dragoons 'also on my staff'. Young galloped off to the west of the village of Hangard while Prince Antoine was to try to reach Villers-Bretonneux direct. The prince had only gone 300 yards when his horse was killed beneath him. Seely's orderly, Corporal King, promptly gave the prince a fresh, fast horse and he elegantly swung himself into the saddle and galloped away.³⁶ Prince Antoine reached Villers-Bretonneux to deliver his message; Maréchal Foch later awarded the prince the Chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur. In



[Fig. 2] Sir William Orpen (1878–1931), Brigadier-General the Right Honourable J.E.B. Seely CB, DSO, MP, 1918, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 76.2 cm, IWM ART 2982, Imperial War Museum, London

a later memoir, Seely sadly noted that the prince was killed in a plane crash in Hampshire on 13 November 1918: 'His Canadian comrades will ever cherish his memory.' He was buried at Dreux in the Royal Chapel.³⁷

Seely's unflappable brigade major and a famous pre-war high-jump winner was the debonair Geoffrey Brooke [**Plate 3**]. He was to describe Brooke as 'my well-beloved friend...'³⁸ Aged 32, he joined the Canadian Cavalry Brigade as brigade major in January 1917. Brooke displayed impressive sangfroid walking alongside Seely behind a tank during the brigade's involvement in the Battle of Cambrai in November 1917. The following month he and Colonel Paterson of the Fort Garry Horse planned a 'model raid' on the German lines by 400 men of the Royal Canadian Dragoons. The raid was a great success with 71 Germans taken prisoner.³⁹



[Plate 3] Portrait of Brigade Major Geoffrey Brooke, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61 cm (19710261-0458)

During Brigade HQ's stay at the Château de Bargemont, in March 1918 Seely was delighted to learn that Brooke had been promoted to command his old regiment – the 16th Lancers within the 3rd Cavalry Brigade. Late on the morning of 30 March 1918, as CO of the 16th Lancers, Brooke led his regiment in much-needed support of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade as it sought to deny Moreuil Wood to the advancing Germans. Seely was later to freely acknowledge that without Brooke's timely help, his brigade would not have been able to hold the Germans in Moreuil Wood.⁴⁰ Brooke distinguished himself in action with his regiment later in 1918 during the British advances of the 'Hundred Days' and ended his Army career with the rank of major-general.⁴¹

Then there was the indispensable if sometimes choleric and often eccentric brigade interpreter, Count Olivier D'Etchegoyen [Plate 4].

Seely later noted that in January–February 1918: 'Another acute sufferer from the cold [along with Munnings] was my Headquarters Staff Interpreter, Count Estchegoyen [sic].' He had been an official in the Suez Canal Co and had 'spent the greater part of his life in the torrid atmosphere of Suez, or Port Said ... His devoted mother sent him from Paris in a fur coat so thick as to defy even the bitterest weather. The Count donned this coat and, blessing his mother's name, advanced to his horse. But not only could he not get near his horse, all the other horses stampeded at this strange sight and smell. No doubt they all thought he was a real bear. I saw the episode and Munnings sketching Estchegoyen in his rage ...⁴² [Fig. 3].



[Fig. 3] Brigade Interpreter, Count D'Estchegoyen, 1918, pencil on paper, 26 x 36 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.52)



[Plate 4] Portrait of Count Olivier D'Etchegoyen, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0454)



[Fig. 4] The Veterinary Captain Joe Duhault, Berneville, 15 February 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 26 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.8)

He also produced a series of incisive and revealing portraits of other members of Seely's 'band of brothers' within the brigade:

The Veterinary Captain Joe Duhault, Berneville [Fig. 4]. He commanded the brigade's 27-man strong Mobile Veterinary Section and became, as Munnings recalled, a particular chum who could always detect wry comedy in the most desperate situations.⁴³

As news arrived of the great German offensive of 21 March 1918, Munnings later recalled he was ordered to pack up his kit and report to the brigade's 'B Echelon' which was out of harm's way. He was also urgently advised to look into finding a more respectable uniform. 'I finally borrowed a serge, Sam Browne belt and tin hat from the brigade veterinary captain, a French Canadian named Joe Duhault. Wearing the tin hat, a captain's coat and the usual breeches and leggings, I was prepared for the march.'⁴⁴

Munnings recalled: 'I was now an imitation captain, wearing a tin helmet and riding side by side with the veterinary Joe Duhault.' They marched through Ham already under German shellfire. In the town, local tobacconists handed out boxes of fags to passing Canadian troopers. '...mingling with this procession

on the roads were wagonloads of French furniture with mattresses and even rabbits on the top. Cows were being driven along the road and farther on we saw a division of cavalry, which included the Royal Scots Greys whose horses had been camouflaged with Condy's fluid. Many of these men had fowls and dead pigs hanging from their saddles. We were in one vast retreat!' However bad things looked, Joe Duhault never wavered in his frequently voiced conviction that the Germans would eventually be stopped and forced to retreat back to their fatherland and ultimate utter defeat.⁴⁵

During the retreat, one night at Choisy-au-Bac he and Duhault watched the key bridge there being bombed by unseen German Gotha bombers with the French Canadian criticising the marksmanship of the Germans. Later, in a large forest, 'my Canadian friend, Duhault, taught me how to sleep using a saddle as a pillow. We were in the midst of trees and horse-lines for miles around and after much talk at night we would finally fall asleep to the sound of horses eating hay.⁴⁶

Staff Captain Barney Torrance [Fig.5]

Torrance worked closely with Seely and Brigade Major Brooke. Munnings noted that after he spent a few days sketching in and around Small Foot Wood he '…returned to Hesdin and from there to … Berneville, near Longchamp. This was a 'back area' where regiments and horses of the Brigade were situated. I was billeted with some of the staff in a doctor's house … there Staff Captain Torrance could not have been more helpful and accommodating.' He arranged for Munnings to paint men from the Fort Garry Horse, or from Lord Strathcona's Horse, exercising and practising their patrol formations.⁴⁷ Torrance would distinguish himself with a troop of Lord Strathcona's Horse in action at Beaucourt on 8 August 1918 when he and his men succeeded in overrunning and then capturing several enemy heavy machine guns.⁴⁸

Brigade Major Charles Connelly [Fig. 6]

He took over as brigade major of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade from Geoffrey Brooke just before the German offensive of 21 March 1918.⁴⁹ Seely was very glad of his cool head and measured judgement during the Battle for Moreuil Wood on 30 March 1918 and for Hangard Wood on 1 April.⁵⁰ Connelly remained close at hand to Seely during the two engagements along with the brigadier's orderly, Corporal King, and Seely's 12-man signal troop. Connelly has been described as a 'tough moustachioed Irishman born in County Carlow'.⁵¹ He joined the Canadian Cavalry Brigade as a sergeant at the same time as Gordon Flowerdew, the son of a Norfolk farmer who had ranched in British Columbia and had hunted down a pair of bandits out in the wilderness.⁵²



[Fig. 5] Staff Captain Barney Torrance, 21 February 1918, pencil on paper, 30 x 26 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.36)



[**Fig. 6**] *Brigade Major Charles Connelly*, 17 March 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 23 x 30 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.24)



[Fig. 7] Colonel R.W. 'Bob' Paterson of the Fort Garry Horse, March 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 26 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.71)



[Fig. 8] Signal Officer Lee of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade, 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 26 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S51.34)

Colonel R.W. 'Bob' Paterson of the Fort Garry Horse [Fig. 7]

A Winnipeg newspaper owner, 'Bob' Paterson was the CO of the Fort Garry Horse.⁵³ By early 1917 he had become Seely's designated Canadian deputy and commanded the brigade in Seely's absence - for example, while he was in London just prior to the German attack of 21 March 1918.54 Paterson was widely perceived as 'level-headed and professional'. Seely marvelled that he had never seen Paterson at all rattled by events, or ever lose his temper.⁵⁵ On 1 April 1918 he planned and led the successful attack of the brigade on Rifle Wood.⁵⁶ Later that same day both he and Seely were exposed to German poisoned gas and eventually both were sent to London for treatment. Paterson succeeded Seely as commander of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade and was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in mid-May 1918, even though he was still recovering from the effects of gas. He was judged to have successfully led the brigade during the advances later in 1918 and was awarded the DSO.⁵⁷ After the war he and Seely kept in touch. In September 1920, Seely and his son John stayed with Paterson in Winnipeg and they shot duck together.⁵⁸

Signal Officer Lee of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade [Fig. 8] Captain Rowley [Fig. 9]

Both strongly suggest the powerful talent Munnings possessed for projecting character through almost caricatural means that brings to mind the example of Toulouse Lautrec whose work he had admired as an art student in Paris at the Académie Julian c. $1902-03.^{59}$

Munnings sketched the Canadian Cavalry Brigade in the vicinity of Smallfoot Wood, half a mile south of the front line at Le Verguier, until mid-March 1918 when the brigade went into reserve.⁶⁰ [**Plates 5 and 6**] Munnings later recalled: '...there was no sign of a wood – only charred stumps of trees standing in desolate wastes of mud with duckboards about leading to dugouts.'⁶¹



[Plate 5] Brigade Headquarters at Smallfoot Wood, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0447)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 6] A Fatigue Party Making Bomb-Proof Shelters in Smallfoot Wood, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.9 x 61.2 cm (19710261-0449)

If one compares these images with those of similar subject matter by his contemporary war artist Eric Kennington⁶² [**Fig. 10**], it is evident that Munnings is much less concerned with minutiae and details and more with offering the civilian viewer an immediate and convincing impressionistic snapshot of the living conditions of the men of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade near the front in winter. One can almost feel the sharp chill on the skin of an early morning in France as the fires are lit for breakfast. Effectively and economically, Munnings evoked with a few deft strokes the straightened circumstances and challenging living conditions which the brigade were confronted with in France in the late winter of 1918.

Munnings also seized the opportunity, whilst in the Péronne area, early in February 1918, to draw some vivid sketches of passing Indian cavalrymen – completed in less than an hour each, they reveal what a superb observer of human physiognomy Munnings could be. They are equal in power and resonance to the best portrait drawings of his contemporaries Augustus John, William Orpen and Eric Kennington and indeed stand comparison with the sublime draughtsmanship of Dürer and Holbein the Younger. The Indian troopers, or sowars, probably belonged to either the 4th or 5th Cavalry (Indian) Divisions that left France early in March 1918 for impressive service under General Allenby against the Ottoman Turks in the Palestine campaign.⁶³



[Fig. 9] Captain Rowley, 17 March / St. Patrick's Day, 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 26 x 36 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.20)



[Fig. 10] Eric Kennington (1888–1960), *Dismantled Camp in the Snow near Péronne*, January 1918, pastel on paper, 47 x 62.2 cm, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa.



[Fig. 11] An Indian Cavalryman, Bhagwan Singh, 3 February 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 23 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.10)



[Fig. 12] An Indian Cavalryman, Madat Ali, 3 February 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 30 x 23 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.12)

Munnings later recalled:

'...once, passing through Péronne on a cold, grey day with fine flakes of snow scattering in the air, we met an Indian Cavalry Division. As we rode by we saw their sad, swarthy, bearded faces beneath the great turbans, all looking melancholy in the cold, northern spring away from their Indian climate. At one of our stopping places I made pencil portraits of some of them. Smiling sadly, each signed his rude signature below. The drawings are still in one of my sketch books of the war.'⁶⁴

An Indian Cavalryman, Bhagwan Singh [Fig. 11] An Indian Cavalryman, Madat Ali [Fig. 12]

In their evident quality and compelling sensitivity these portraits invite comparison with one of Eric Kennington's drawings in pastel and charcoal of officers and men from the Jodhpur Imperial Service Lancers, Secunderabad Brigade, 5th Cavalry Division, drawn c. November 1917–February 1918 such as *Captain Singh MC* [Fig. 13].

Moving on from Smallfoot Wood, Munnings early in March 1918 established a makeshift studio for himself in a doctor's residence at the hamlet of Longchamp, near the town of Berneville. There Munnings was able to pay closer attention to the men of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade and the time-consuming care and attention they lavished on their horses [Fig. 14]. He later recalled that Staff Captain Torrance arranged for him to paint the men of the Fort Garry Horse and from Lord Strathcona's Horse with a '...corporal in full marching order ... sent out to a quiet road and would pose there as models for a morning. This man or that would occasionally get off his horse to see what I was doing. As the picture took shape and each trooper saw the portrait of his steed in the picture, the interest grew ... Two or three more would come to look and stamp their feet to get warm and then mount again ... Day after day with all the models I needed and all becoming interested. Besides to them, it was something new - seeing on the canvas actual portraits of themselves which they could recognise and joke about. I can generally get on with most people and could certainly could get along with these Canadians. They were the finest and best fellows that I have ever met." [Plates 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13a and 13b]



[Plate 7] Fort Garrys on the March, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61 cm (19710261-0456)



[Plate 8] Fort Garrys on the March (II), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 60.8 cm (19710261-0457)

In **Plates** 7 and **8** Munnings matched himself convincingly with Monet's prior bravura depiction of slim roadside French poplar trees in a series of works from the early 1890s collectively entitled *Poplars on the Epte* i.e. an example in the Tate from 1891. As with Monet, Munnings presents his poplars with an impressive, incisive economy, executed with a loaded brush tip and a confident, calligraphic stroke.

It is palpable from his images of the men of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade that Munnings greatly admired them for their professionalism, their movements clothed with neat and purposeful efficiency, the care and attention they lavished on their mounts and their proficient horsemanship. It would not be an exaggeration to claim he hero-worshipped them as a masculine ideal he feared had been dying out in England before the war. Yes, he glamorised these Canadian troopers but the image he offered of them was not over-idealised – they convince as fine soldiers who were masters of cavalrymen's duties.

It is interesting, and revealing, to compare this interpretation by Munnings with fellow war artist C.R.W. Nevinson who, in late 1917 and early 1918, was producing works inspired by a visit he had made to the Arras sector in France in July 1917. He noted the importance of mules to British forces moving supplies up to the front – performing a vital task effectively but not at all glamorous. It is all too obvious from their demeanour and posture that his British Tommies are not entirely at ease with the mules under their charge. They can get their animals to respond but little more owing to the very basic nature of their training [**Fig. 15**].



[Fig. 13] Eric Kennington (1888–1960): Captain Sagat Singh MC, Jodhpur Imperial Service Lancers, 1918, pastel on paper, 58.4 x 44.5 cm, Philip Mould & Co, London



[Fig. 14] Watering Horses on the March, 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 23 x 30 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S2.45)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 9] A Patrol, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61 cm (19710261-0444)



[Plate 11] Watering Horses of the Black and Grey Team (Royal Canadian Dragoons), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61 cm (19710261-0455)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 12] Lord Strathcona's Horse on the March, 1918, oil on canvas, 51.1 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0441)



[Plate 13a] Study of a Canadian Trooper (Lord Strathcond's Horse), 1918, pencil on paper, 27 x 34.4 cm, National Army Museum, London (NAM. 2005-07-815)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 13b] A Canadian Trooper (Lord Strathcona's Horse) and His Horse [unfinished], 1918, oil on canvas, 50.4 x 61 cm (19710261-0460)

Munnings, a highly proficient horseman himself,⁶⁶ never failed to be impressed by how much time the men of the Cavalry Brigade spent feeding and watering their horses and how much pleasure they seemed to derive from showing off how healthy and alert their mounts looked to the observing war artist. [**Plates 14,16 and 17**] He later recalled one such scene at a stream close to the town of Nesle [**Plate 14**] which was the site of Fifth Army HQ⁶⁷ and some 15 miles west of the front line:

'Two or three miles out, a stream ran at the bottom of a valley between hills dotted with dark juniper bushes. Here they watered the horses and to help me paint a subject of watering on the march, a troop was sent down to the valley where they posed for the picture. Some fetched water in canvas buckets, whilst others held the horses, showing how a whole line was watered.'⁶⁸

By 15 March 1918, the Canadian Cavalry Brigade began to consolidate around the wrecked village of Ennemain – 'which existed only in mounds and rubble^{'69} [**Plates 19 and 20**] – and also the larger town of Athies which stands east of the River Omignon and five miles due west of the German front line at Saint Quentin.⁷⁰ Athies would fall to the Germans by nightfall of 22 March 1918.⁷¹

Munnings later recalled that he and the men of the brigade were living at Ennemain in draughty Nissen huts and dugouts. He shared one of the huts with a member of Seely's staff, interpreter Baron Roulleaux Dugage who became: 'a great friend of mine'. The Baron invariably slept 'stretched straight out on his back on his camp bed, in boots, breeches and leggings with his toes turned upwards like a figure on a tomb, his hands crossed on his chest and his cap right over his face with the peak resting on his nose ... I was never able to have a talk with him on any subject for the baron was always asleep. 'Let me sleep, Monnings!' ...'⁷² [**Fig. 16**]



[**Fig. 15**] C.R.W. Nevinson (1889–1946), *The Mule Team*, 1917, drypoint, 17.8 x 24.8 cm, British Museum, London



[Fig. 16] Brigade Interpreter, Baron Roulleaux Dugage, March 1918, pencil on paper. 26 x 36 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (DMAS, KS45, D1)



[Plate 14] Halt on the March by a Stream at Nesle, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60 cm (19710261-0445)



[Plate 16] Watering on the March, 1918, oil on canvas, 64.5 x 76.4 cm (19710261-0452)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 17] Horses and Chargers, 1918, oil on canvas, 64 x 76.3 cm (19710261-0448)

His ruined buildings have a romantic, even wistful, quality about them; the viewer understands why in a certain light the shelled buildings could look so impressive and even attractive – they lack the brutal, stylised realism of Paul Nash or Nevinson [**Fig. 17**] or the more matter-of-fact directness of Kennington's contemporary drawings for the Ministry of Information produced not far from where Munnings was based.

Munnings later recalled that on the morning of 21 March 1918: 'I was finishing a picture of the horses as they stood with their heads out, basking in the sun between tattered camouflage over roughly built rows of stabling. I had been painting each patient head, with eyes blinking in the sun and was working on the sixth, which might have been somewhere to the right of the middle of the picture, when suddenly something was happening – men were running; a sergeant came along saying: 'Hurry up, lads! Saddle up and stand to!' The order went along the lines and soon these patient horses were saddled up in full marching order, mounted and the whole brigade rode away. I still have a drawing in a sketchbook of one of the horses standing ready in full marching order to go – where? And to what end?'⁷³ [**Fig. 18 and Plate 21**]

The German opening barrage from as many as 9,500 guns and trench mortars over a 50-mile span of the British front line began at 4.40 am. The bombardment lasted five hours until 9.40 am by which time over 3.2 million shells had been hurled at the British defences. Then the German infantry attacked.⁷⁴



[Fig. 17] C.R.W. Nevinson (1889–1946), *Reclaimed Country*, 1917, drypoint, 20 x 15 cm, British Museum, London



[Fig. 18] *Horses at Ennemain*, 21 March 1918, pencil on paper, 26 x 36 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S3.67)



[Plate 19] Ruined Barn at Ennemain near Athies, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0431)



[Plate 20] The Ruined Château at Ennemain, near Athies, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61 cm (19710261-0453)



[Plate 21] Horses at Ennemain, 21 March 1918, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 62 cm (19710261-0476)

Munnings later recalled that as it became clear the great German attack had begun and was making disturbingly rapid progress, he was sent for his own safety to the rear and he accompanied support elements of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade as they retreated south-westwards towards Noyon: 'There was a fine spell of hot weather which lasted for weeks. Each morning a thick, impenetrable mist favoured the German advance whilst our cavalry fought rearguard actions all day. The roads in places were blocked, hampering the retreat. We were passing through a peaceful country of blossoming orchards and wide stretches of new, green corn.'⁷⁵

The main fighting body of the brigade was divided in two – one third (800 men) were sent to reinforce part of the front that was still holding on foot as infantry and the other two thirds remained mounted to fight a series of sharp, delaying skirmishes against German forces that had completely broken through to the west.⁷⁶

Munnings later recalled: 'During a march I always rode with the vet Captain Duhault and the signal troop.' Once, at a small French café, Munnings was delighted to discover a hidden cache of excellent cider. This helped to take the edge off as the retreating column often came under long-range German shellfire: '...stray shells ... now and again passed screaming high up over head'.⁷⁷ The days of comfortable château-living were now long gone. He later described how he became used to often find himself sleeping on a 'bed of dried beans' in a barn with a new friend, Bill Ritchie of the Essex Yeomanry. Their column finally reached Compiègne on the morning of 28 March and Munnings recalled that while riding by the railway station, he thought his horse was riding over what appeared to him to be '...coarse salt [but] which was really powdered glass of the railway station roof' which had earlier in the day been strafed by German aircraft.⁷⁸

Brigadier-General Seely decided the time had come for Munnings to leave the brigade – there was a very real chance that some overzealous French or British sentry might shoot him on suspicion of being a spy, given his unorthodox and non-regulation dress. 'Thus, one evening after mess in a house in a very long village street, my belongings all safely packed and placed in a large Cadillac car, the general gave me some despatches and I left in the charge of his chauffeur. I was to deliver the despatches to General Simms, the Canadian representative who it was supposed was still at Hesdin.'⁷⁹

During the drive to Hesdin, Munnings and the car were stopped several times by suspicious French soldiers and military police demanding to see his papers. He finally reached the market square at Abbeville whereupon the Cadillac's engine overheated and burst into flames. Seely's chauffeur somehow managed to repair the damage and the car finally arrived at Hesdin, only to find it completely deserted. Munnings eventually tracked down General Simms and his staff to Paris Plages 'in a house on the seafront...⁸⁰

On his first night at Paris Plages, 'away from the risks of war, [I] celebrated by a champagne dinner next door. For weeks I had not slept in a bed between sheets. My slumbers led to the wildest dreams – I dreamed I was again in the retreat; that I was in a ditch with a baggage wagon on top of me and in my nightmare I awoke, heaving and striking at the bottom or side of what I thought was an overturned baggage wagon. In my fright I gave a desperate heave which was followed by an awful crash. The door opened and there stood my late dining companions, not full of consternation but in fits of laughter.' While asleep they had placed above him a box mattress on which they had piled 'chairs and every piece of furniture and crockery in the room – ewers, basins, jerries [chamber pots] and all!'⁸¹

At Simms' HQ, Munnings was most put out to learn that the Canadian War Memorial Scheme committee had ordered him to return to London. He felt he had only been in France with the Canadian Cavalry Brigade for just over two months – surely there was more he could do for the committee to raise the profile of the significant Canadian contribution to the Allied war effort in France. He unpacked many of the works he had painted while with the Canadian Cavalry Brigade and Munnings soon had them displayed 'on the walls of the [Canadian] representative's headquarters'. Fortunately for the artist they were seen and greatly admired by 'two colonels both in the Canadian Forestry Corps' – one of whom was a vet …⁸² The colonels quickly persuaded Munnings to 'go with them and see the companies of Canadian forestry who were then working in many beautiful forests in France'. The plan won the ready blessing of 'Lord Lovat, who was in command of the forestry' at Paris Plages at the time.⁸³

Munnings later recalled: '…I started afresh on another adventure – an adventure which had no danger and no risks and which took me into some beautiful parts of France.'⁸⁴ He was a convinced Francophile ever since he first visited Paris to study art in the early years of the twentieth century. He was aware that France in 1918 was much more rural and less industrialised country than England. Furthermore, he realised this new commission may well give him the opportunity to visit areas of *La France profonde* painted in the past by those French artists he admired tremendously such as Courbet, Millet, Corot, Bastien-Lepage, Manet and Monet.⁸⁵

Munnings first ventured to Forestry Corps companies at work in Normandy. [Plate 22] He was quick to grasp the sheer scale of Canadian activity – with habitual brisk efficiency cutting down huge trees within vast, seemingly primordial forests, removing the felled trunks by teams of impressive-looking horses to be processed in recently erected logging camps – already the size of small towns. It quickly became clear to him that within every forestry company, only about a quarter of the complement of 120 or so were actually engaged in cutting down trees.⁸⁶ Most man and horse power was focused on bringing cut trees to be reduced to manageable-sized pieces for use on the Western Front, where the demand was insatiable: for duckboards in trenches, to shore up the sides of trenches and dugouts, to repair shelled bridges and canals and especially for railway sleepers. By the spring of 1918, the Forestry Corps had 89 sawmills and 73 logging engines operating in France.⁸⁷ During that year, the Corps supplied the BEF in France with over three quarters of a million tons of timber – for making roads, railway sleepers, huts, hospital wards, hundreds of aeroplane propellers and for fuel in wood-burning stoves and steam locomotives.⁸⁸



[Plate 22] A Team of Blacks [Horses] (19th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps) 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0468)

Still Munnings always found time to enjoy himself and revel in the pleasures offered by French country life. Later in April 1918, he was impressed by a café at Evreux, the 'La Civette', and very taken with the unmistakable pulchritude of one of its waitresses, Marie, who became the subject of one of his most appealing and beguiling portraits of a young woman that he ever created **[Fig. 19]**.

He also later recalled visiting the huge Norman forest of Bellême: 'the best-planted and grown forest in France ... As in the other forests [he had visited], the Canadians were living in wooden huts and the staff likewise. The mess was in a sort of large log cabin with a stove at one end and an iron pipe going out of the top. On these chilly spring evenings the Canadian officers used to sit in an awful fug, but in spite of the fug I spent pleasant hours with them – and learned to respect and admire Canadians. These lumbermen were grand fellows. Their speech, dress, cast of countenance and expression belong to the illimitable forest spaces of Canada. They brought the spirit of the North-West into the French forests. Each company had 120 horses, all half-bred Percheron types, mostly blacks and greys ... A rivalry existed between the companies as to which had the best-conditioned teams.⁸⁹ They wanted Munnings to paint their horses looking at their absolute best. [Plate 24]

He also spent a fortnight in and around the forest at Dreux. [Plates, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 30]

Towards the end of his time at Dreux, Munnings painted one of his more overtly symbolic works commenting on the bravery and steadfast courage of the French who had by now suffered many more fatal casualties than the British. [Plate 31] He later recalled: 'My last picture painted there [at Dreux] was of an enormous oak tree, the king of the forest it was called and was the largest



[**Fig. 19**] *Marie of the Café la Civette, Evreux,* 29 April 1918, pencil and charcoal on paper, 28 x 23 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (S51.26)

that had been felled. It was on a perfect April day, under the most divine sunlight that I painted a French sentry in his blue uniform, with rifle and bayonet, seated on the giant trunk. I put the soldier there to give the scale of its vast proportions. In the background were saplings left standing, piles of timber and a German prisoner or two at work. My French soldier on the tree was the sentry in charge of the prisoners and as I painted him seated there, a small crowd of French peasants had gathered, watching me work. I was bothered by their presence and told them to move away until the picture was finished.' One old Frenchman smoking a cheroot replied: 'It is quite good - you have got the sentry - but don't get angry because you are up against a difficulty.'90 He was humbled by the interest taken in his work by these ordinary French peasants and by their simple dignity. The lone sentry became symbolic of the heroic French poilu, or infantryman, determined to defend the earth of France.91



[Plate 24] A Four-Horse Team in the Forest of Bellème (30th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps), 1918, oil on canvas, 48.2 x 65 cm (19710261-0479)



[Plate 25] A Grey Team in the Forest of Dreux, Normandy, 1918, oil on canvas, 46 x 61 cm (19710261-0474)



[Plate 26] A Black Team in the Jammer, Dreux, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.4 x 61 cm (19710261-0478)



[Plate 27] Moving the Truck Another Yard, Dreux, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.6 x 61.3 cm (19710261-0475)



[Plate 28] A Saw Mill and Part of a Lumber Camp (30th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps), Dreux, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 61 cm (19710261-0466)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 30] Landscape Seen from the Slopes of the Forest of Dreux, Normandy, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.3 x 61 cm (19710261-0465)



[Plate 31] An April Day in the Forest, Dreux, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0470)

From Normandy, Munnings moved via Burgundy southwards into forests in the Jura, not far from the Swiss border. He travelled in a large official car with a new friend, Rowland Hill, a famous correspondent for the leading Canadian newspaper the *Montreal Star*. Munnings enjoyed exploring the Jura immensely as this was the France he had dreamed of visiting since his first trip to Paris and to the nearby forest of Fontainebleau: 'Never [had I] dreamed of such towns surrounded by vineyards on hillsides overlooking deep valleys.' He was able to see: '...Stendhal's country, Besançon, and drive to Ornans on the River Doubs, the birthplace of Courbet... In the art gallery at Besançon I saw one of his largest canvases – a picture of a stag at bay in the snow, surrounded by a furious, exhausted pack of hounds. On the right-hand side are two men: one on foot with a spear and a dagger; the other on a rearing, dapple-grey horse. The horse is painted three-quarters back view and is quite one of the most superb paintings of a horse that I know.'⁹² This indicates that Munnings was very far from being the coarse and ignorant oaf many of his detractors imagined; he was much more knowledgeable about art history, particularly of French and Spanish art, than his friends and contemporaries ever realised.

The fruits of his knowledge and intelligence are evident in his paintings of men of the Forestry Corps engaged in their mighty labours: chopping, sawing, cutting, transporting and processing the huge tree trunks. [Plates 34, 36, 37 and 38]. Some in their dramatic evocation of convincing physical effort and the application of muscular skill to a demanding task are equal to the finest imagery of some of his American contemporaries such as Thomas Eakins, John Singer Sargent and George Bellows.⁹³

Towards the end of his time in the Jura, late in May 1918, Munnings found himself becoming more interested in recording the simple pleasures of French small town rural life around him – a square on market day, complete with a war memorial to local men killed in the earlier Franco-Prussian War and just discernible in the background a wounded poilu in his uniform of horizon blue and one arm secured within a white sling. [Plate 39]



[Plate 34] 36th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps, Building a Mill at Labergement, Jura, 1918, 51 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0472)



[Plate 36] Felling a Tree in the Vosges, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61 cm (19710261-0464)



[Plate 37] Lumbermen Amongst the Pines, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.6 x 61 cm (19710261-0481)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 38] Streambed at Labergement. Jura, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0469)



[Plate 39] Watering Horses (Study), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0462)

He later recalled that one of the last works he completed in the Jura had: 'nothing to do with the Canadians. It was of a little dun-coloured bull in a plough with a peasant cleaning the coulter; behind was a mass of white cow parsley and beyond that blue hills. One night, after painting the bull, its owner asked me into his kitchen to have some supper, introducing me to his daughters and he told me that if I cared to stop I could marry one of them!'⁹⁴ It was almost as if the solid, placid bull was timeless, immutable rural France that would endure and continue its life despite whatever destruction was wrought by the Germans. **[Plates 40 and 41]**

Towards the end of May 1918, Munnings decided the time had come to return to London. He drove with journalist Rowland Hill. In Paris 'we experienced the effect of long-range shelling from Big Bertha, a gun miles away and saw the Folies Bergère quickly cleared, though packed only minutes before.^{'95} Munnings gratefully collected his pictures from Paris Plages and '...putting them in one large roll into the trusty box, I was escorted to Boulogne...' From there he took the ship to Dover.⁹⁶

He settled down in a temporary studio at 64 Glebe Place, Chelsea and worked hard during the remainder of 1918. The commission from the Canadians helped him to rent the studio for £65 a year. Interestingly, the British Ministry of Information was still keen to employ Munnings and by the last week of October 1918 planned to send him to France for six months at an impressive £300 a month attached to British cavalry regiments within the Cavalry Corps. However, just before he was to leave for France, Munnings fell awkwardly on the pavement getting off a London bus and seriously damaged his knee – which was still in plaster as the bells rang out to mark the Armistice on 11 November 1918.⁹⁷

By the time an exhibition of work commissioned by the Canadian War Memorials Fund opened at the Royal Academy at the beginning of January 1919, Munnings was able to contribute 45 works which were widely and greatly admired.⁹⁸ Many critics, such as the influential Frank Rutter of *The Sunday Times*, were attracted by his subtle tonal sense and ability to suggest hard men at work amidst the gloom of dark shadows cast by the mighty trees of huge French forests.⁹⁹ [**Plate 33**] An unnamed critic wrote even more enthusiastically in *The Londoner* of how convincingly Munnings had depicted his Canadian cavalrymen: 'I have seen many pictures before but never before such pictures of horses and men. Here is the cavalier, here the knight, here the child of St. George. Strange that a little paint, brushed boldly upon a canvas, can give such a vision of youth and life on horseback.'¹⁰⁰



[Plate 40] A Study of a Swiss Bull, 1918, oil on canvas, 50.4 x 61 cm (19710261-0467)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 41] A June Evening in the Jura, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61.5 cm (19710261-0480)



[Plate 33] A Log Team Skidding in the Forest, Jura, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61.6 cm (19710261-0461)

Particular admiration was expressed for a composition he had completed after returning from France – a dynamic image inspired by the charge of Captain Frederick Gordon Flowerdew's C Squadron of Lord Strathcona's Horse at German infantry and machine guns defending the northern edge of Moreuil Wood on 30 March 1918. [Plate 42] This was a charge in which three quarters of Flowerdew's approximately 75 men became casualties and only four of the 150 horses deployed emerged unscathed.¹⁰¹ However, it did induce the Germans to first slow and then halt their seemingly inexorable advance eastwards out of the wood towards the town Villers-Bretonneux on the road to the key city and railway junction of Amiens. The 33-year-old Flowerdew was seriously wounded in the assault, shot through the chest and both thighs. He lost a leg and died two days later. He was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross; King George V presented the medal to Flowerdew's mother in June 1918.¹⁰²

Munnings did not personally witness the charge – he heard of it second hand from General Seely (after he had been gassed Seely was removed from command of his brigade in mid-May 1918 and returned to London to convalesce). The scene Munnings depicts **[Plate 42]** – perhaps even more



[Fig. 20] Study for the Cavalry Charge at Moreuil Wood, 30 March 1918 commanded by Lieutenant F.G.M. Flowerdew VC, 1918, oil on canvas, 54.6 x 91.4 cm, The Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex (426)

impressive and immersive in a preliminary oil sketch [**Fig. 20**] – could not have happened in actuality as the horses are packed far too closely together. Still the artist is able to communicate the excitement, the drama, the epic qualities of the charge – an image worthy of the images of desperate Franco-Prussian cavalry engagements painted by French 19th century battle artists he so admired such as Alphonse de Neuville and Ernest Meissonier and by the latter's talented protégé Édouard Detaille.¹⁰³ In its own way, the composition is equal in energy conveyed to that of a cavalry charge by a more avant-garde artist: Umberto Boccioni's *Charge of the Lancers* painted in 1915 [**Fig. 21**].¹⁰⁴



[**Fig. 21**] Umberto Boccioni (1882–1916), *The Charge of the Lancers*, 1915, tempera and collage on board, 32 x 50 cm, Private Collection, Milan



[Plate 42] The Charge of Flowerdew's Squadron, 1918, oil on canvas, 51.7 x 61.3 cm (19710261-0443)

Munnings later reflected and with considerable justification that exhibiting the paintings for the Canadians in Gallery IX of the Royal Academy in January 1919 had done marvels for his career. He was convinced their successful reception played a key role in his being elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in April 1919.¹⁰⁵ Among the many who daily thronged the exhibition were a number of individuals who then gave Munnings a series of important commissions. The famous architect, Edwin Lutyens, for example, so admired his images of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade that he recommended Munnings to create a sculpted figure of a cavalry officer for the memorial to Lieutenant the Hon. Edward Horner (see chapter by Dr. B. Teatheredge).¹⁰⁶ Other influential visitors included Major Tommy Bouch, wealthy Master of the Belvoir Hunt. Bouch commissioned Munnings to paint a whole series of canvases immortalising the riders, horses and hounds of his hunt. These were exhibited to great acclaim at the Alpine Club Gallery, London (now coincidentally owned by Orpen's brother-in-law William Knewstub)¹⁰⁷ in April 1921.¹⁰⁸ Then the Countess of Athlone asked him to paint an equestrian portrait of her husband – an earl and a general. Munnings later described this as his last 'picture to do with the war'.¹⁰⁹

However, at the time he was trying to complete a large and ambitious mural design for the Canadian War Memorial Scheme [**Plate 43**]. It was a new departure for him and amidst all the other commissions he had accepted post-the exhibition at the Academy in January 1919, he struggled to complete the composition. In the end it remained unfinished and Munnings was disappointed with himself for not having persevered and seen the work to its end.¹¹⁰ It is indeed a pity he was unable to finish what is, even though unrealised, a remarkable design in which Munnings was able to distil all his still-raw recollections of the March 1918 retreat of the remnants of the battered Fifth Army; the discomfort, the bone-deep exhaustion, the fear and anxiety (how far behind were the pursuing Germans? When would the retreating column next come under enemy artillery fire or be strafed by German aircraft?). The panel strongly indicates the impressive emotional range Munnings could bring to his paintings – that of Flowerdew's dramatic charge captures the excitement and exhilaration of battle whereas the mural design succeeds in capturing that poignant combination of heroism and endurance which Wilfred Owen so memorably defined in the late spring of 1918 as the 'pity of war'.¹¹¹

Coda

Nearly a quarter of a century later, in June 1944, Munnings was elected President of the Royal Academy. He was convinced he had been placed on the road to this crowning professional achievement by the successful reception given the paintings he produced for the Canadians exhibited at the Academy in January 1919. One of the first to write to congratulate Munnings was his old friend 'Galloper' Jack Seely who added in nostalgic reference to when they first met in January 1918: 'I see you now in your quaint civilian costume, painting Warrior and me at Smallfoot Wood and again on a bright sunny morning right before the March retreat, painting Antoine d'Orleans on his black horse ... What fun we had together ...'¹¹² Munnings agreed with him heartily at the time and later, in his first volume of autobiography, he unreservedly described working for the Canadians as 'a wonderful experience ... The cavalry and forestry pictures brought me luck.'¹¹³

'The Finest and Best Fellows'



[Plate 43] Study for a Mural, 1918–19, oil on paper, 75 x 160 cm (19710261-0482)

Notes

1 Jean Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings 1878–1959 (Norwich UK: The Erskine Press, 2000), p.105.

2 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.98.

3 Sir Alfred Munnings, An Artist's Life (London: The Museum Press, 1951), p.297.

4 Munnings had blinded himself in the right eye in the summer of 1899 when it was struck by a branch while he was trying to free a puppy caught in a thorn fence. Goodman, *AJ: the Life of Alfred Munnings*, p.41.

5 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.298.

6 Goodman, *AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings*, p.119. Knight noted Munnings trying to cheer himself up by reading Flaubert and Tolstoy's *War and Peace*.

7 In the late 1890s, Munnings discovered Rembrandt during a trip he made to the Netherlands (Amsterdam and The Hague) while apprenticed to the Norwich firm of lithographers Page & Co. Munnings, *An Artist's Life*, p.55.

8 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.300.

9 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.123.

10 Alfred Yockney (Secretary to the Art Department, Ministry of Information) to C.F.G. Masterman (Head of the Department), 24 January 1918, Munnings WWI File, Department of Art, Imperial War Museum, London.

11 Munnings, *An Artist's Life*, p.301. Munnings had known Konody since at least the spring of 1914. Konody, a Jewish-Hungarian educated in Vienna, had been the chief art adviser to the Canadian War Memorials Fund since the early autumn of 1917: Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain and the Great War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.73.

12 Brough Scott, Galloper Jack (Newbury UK: The Racing Post, 2012), p.346.

13 Robert Ross to Alfred Yockney (Secretary to the Art Department, Ministry of Information), 3 February 1918, Munnings WWI File, Department of Art, Imperial War Museum, London.

14 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.302.

15 Major-General John Edward Bernard Seely, CB, CMG, DSO (31 May 1868–7 November 1947), educated Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; called to the Bar in 1897, served in Imperial Yeomanry, South Africa (1899–1901), Liberal MP (1904–1924), Secretary of State for War (June 1912–March 1914), Brigadier-General and GOC of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade (28 January 1915–20 May 1918); Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire (1918–1947).

16 Munnings so dated a sketchbook he took with him to France, now in the collection of the Munnings Museum, Dedham, Essex.

17 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.271.

18 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.273.

19 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.272.

20 J.E.B. Seely, Adventure (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1930), p.293.

21 Seely, Adventure, pp.293-294.

22 Munnings had discussed famous examples of past equestrian sculpture with his friend the sculptor Leonard Jennings in Cornwall before the war, c. 1912–14: Munnings, *An Artist's Life*, p.278.

23 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.206.

24 David Kenyon, Horsemen in No Man's Land: British Cavalry and Trench Warfare, 1914–1918 (Barnsley UK: Pen & Sword Military, 2011), p.93.

25 Seely, Adventure, p.242.

26 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.6.

27 Seely, Adventure, p.245.

28 Seely, Adventure, p.246.

29 Seely, Adventure, p.264.

30 Seely, Adventure, p.274.

31 Also in France early in 1918 working as war artists for the Canadians were British painters Augustus John, David Young Cameron, Charles Sims, Richard Jack and, leader of the Vorticist Group, Percy Wyndham Lewis: Sue Malvern, *Modern Art: Britain and the Great War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p.91.

32 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.305.

33 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.127.

34 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.8.

35 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.306.

36 Seely, Adventure, p.305.

37 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.339.

38 Seely, Adventure, p.270.

39 Seely, Adventure, p.289.

40 Seely, Adventure, p.306.

41 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.228.

42 Seely, Adventure, p.294.

43 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.308.

44 Munnings, An Artist's Life, pp.308-309.

45 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.309.

46 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.310.

47 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.303.

48 Kenyon, Horsemen in No Man's Land, p.212.

49 Seely, Adventure, p.295.

- 50 Seely, Adventure, p.307.
- 51 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.200.

52 Ibid.

- 53 Seely, Adventure, p.243.
- 54 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.8.
- 55 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.280.
- 56 Scott, Galloper Jack, pp.328-330.
- 57 Kenyon, Horsemen in No Man's Land, p.226.
- 58 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.343.
- 59 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.51.
- 60 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.126.
- 61 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.302.

62 Kennington, alongside British official war artist William Rothenstein, was sketching British dugouts, Nissen huts and makeshift bivouacs just to the north and east of where Munnings was situated – in the vicinity of Tincourt and Péronne: Jonathan Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington* (London: UCL Press, 2001), pp.6–7.

- 63 Kenyon, Horsemen in No Man's Land, p.34.
- 64 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.305.
- 65 Munnings, An Artist's Life, pp.303-304.
- 66 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.62.
- 67 Martin Middlebrook, The Kaiser's Battle (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), p.207.
- 68 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.304.
- 69 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.306.
- 70 Lyn Macdonald, To The Last Man: Spring 1918 (London: Viking, 1998), p.195.
- 71 Macdonald, To The Last Man, p.207.
- 72 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.306.
- 73 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.307.
- 74 Middlebrook, The Kaiser's Battle, p.50.
- 75 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.309.

76 Scott, Galloper Jack, p.285.

77 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.309.

78 Munnings, An Artist's Life, pp.310-311.

79 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.311.

80 Munnings, An Artist's Life, pp.311-312.

81 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.312.

82 The Canadian Forestry Corps started as a single battalion of 1,600 men established in March 1916. By the time Munnings joined the Corps in Normandy, early in April 1918, it was over 17,000 men strong with 41 Companies based in the UK and 60, comprising just over 10,000 men, working in France – mainly in the north-west of the country, the centre and south-east: Charles Wesley Bird and J.B. Davies, *The Canadian Forestry Corps: Its Inception, Development and Achievements* (London: Forgotten Books, 2015; originally published by HM Stationery Office, 1919), pp.5–9.

83 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.313.

84 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.313.

85 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.121.

86 Bird and Davies, The Canadian Forestry Corps, p.26.

87 Bird and Davies, The Canadian Forestry Corps, p.28.

88 Bird and Davies, The Canadian Forestry Corps, p.38.

89 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.315.

90 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.314.

91 Munnings remained a fervent Francophile into the 1920s. However, during the following decade, his view of the country soured as his admiration for the dynamism of Hitler's Germany blossomed: Goodman, *AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings*, pp.201–202.

92 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.316.

93 Munnings admired the work of all three when he was able to scrutinise them on the east coast of the United States which he visited in the spring of 1924. Later that year he was able to spend a convivial evening with Bellows in New York. However, their friendship was cut short by the American's sudden death early in January 1925: Goodman, *AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings*, p.173.

94 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.317.

95 Towards the end of March 1918 the Germans deployed at least three 'Paris Cannons' each with a huge calibre of 238 mm, firing a 234 lb shell over 80 miles. The first shell from a Paris Cannon hit central Paris on the morning of 21 March 1918; three of them continued to bombard the city until early August 1918 when advancing Allied troops compelled them to withdraw. In all some 367 shells from the three Cannons hit Paris killing 250 people and injuring over 600: Adam Hochschild, *To End All Wars* (New York: Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), pp.320–321.

96 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.317.

97 C.F.G. Masterman (Head of the Art Department, Ministry of Information) to the War Office, 22 October 1918, and Munnings to A.N. Yockney, 15 November 1918, Munnings WWI File, Department of Art, IWM, London.

98 The exhibition contained 370 works in all by 70 artists and was held at Burlington House from 6 January-1 March 1919.

99 Frank Rutter in *The Sunday Times*, 5 January 1919, clipping in the Munnings WWI File, Department of Art, Imperial War Museum, London.

100 Clipping from *The Londoner*, 13 January 1919 in Munnings WWI File, Department of Art, Imperial War Museum, London.

101 In total, the regiment suffered 157 casualties out of the 350 men it committed to battle at Moreuil Wood on 30 March 1918: Kenyon, *Horsemen in No Man's Land*, p.195.

102 By a strange coincidence, Flowerdew had attended the same public school, Framlingham College in Suffolk, as Munnings. Flowerdew had quite enjoyed his time there; Munnings had few happy memories concerning his alma mater: Goodman, *AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings*, pp.15–16.

103 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.156.

104 Ironically, Boccioni was to die, aged 33, in August 1916 after falling from his horse while training to become an artillery officer in the Italian army: Richard Cork, *A Bitter Truth: Avant-Garde Art and the Great War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p.149.

105 It would seem that Richard Jack RA, another British artist employed by the Canadian War Memorials Fund, took the lead in proposing Munnings to become an Associate of the Academy. Jack had greatly admired the paintings Munnings had created for the Canadians. Munnings, *An Artist's Life*, p.318.

106 Sir Alfred Munnings, The Second Burst (London: The Museum Press, 1951), p.41.

107 Munnings, The Second Burst, p.76.

108 Munnings, *The Second Burst*, p.69. The catalogue Foreword was contributed by the future Poet Laureate (appointed in 1930) John Masefield.

109 Munnings, *An Artist's Life*, p.319. Perhaps not coincidentally the Countess of Athlone had 'adopted' the Canadian Forestry Corps camp at Virginia Water during 1917–18 and funded suitable recreation outlets for the men: Bird and Davies, *The Canadian Forestry Corps*, p.20.

110 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.318.

111 In late May 1918, Owen wrote a preface for a collection of his war poems he hoped to publish if he survived his imminent posting to the front in France. The preface contained the following: 'My subject is War and the pity of War. The poetry is in the pity.' The full preface first appeared in *Poems of Wilfred Owen* in 1931, an edition edited by the poet and author of the war memoir *Undertones of War* Edmund Blunden – an admirer of Munnings' evocation of English rural life since before the Great War: David Reynolds, *The Long Shadow: The Great War and the Twentieth Century* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2013), p.193 and p.347.

112 Goodman, AJ: The Life of Alfred Munnings, p.214.

113 Munnings, An Artist's Life, p.318.

MUNNINGS MEETS WARRIOR

Brough Scott

In February 1918, on the first morning after Munnings had joined the Canadians, he began a portrait of my grandfather Jack Seely and his famous horse Warrior within a mile of the front line. If an enterprising German sniper had got lucky he could have knocked off all three.

Such thoughts did not appear to concern them, but then they were three of a kind. Former Cabinet Minister Seely had spent all four wartime winters in France and was to write a book called *Fear and Be Slain*. Warrior had been on the boat with him in August 1914 and had survived so many death-defying scrapes that the Canadians had nicknamed him 'The Horse the Germans Couldn't Kill'. As for Munnings, he was no wilting flower. One day, General Kavanagh, the prickly commander of the whole Cavalry Corps, took exception to this unknown, cloth-capped figure riding along with a paintbox and an easel under his arm and said, 'What on earth do you think you are, you?' Unbowed by military martinets, Munnings replied, 'Well, back home they said I was a genius.'

That first morning was bitterly cold with Warrior gradually sinking to his fetlocks in the frozen mud. The miller's son and the grandee may have had different backgrounds but three things united them. They both loved the countryside. They had both suffered terrible personal tragedies – the suicide of Munnings' first wife at Lamorna in 1914 and the death of Seely's eldest son at Arras in April 1917. And they both loved horses. Seely had raised Warrior from a foal in the Isle of Wight and Munnings' paintings of everything from gypsy ponies to thoroughbreds had the touch of somebody as familiar with the reins as with the paintbrush.

The front-line sitting continued into the afternoon with Harry Smith, Seely's batman and civilian life butler, dressed up in his master's uniform and relishing the salutes of passing military. By the time Munnings returned to dry the canvas in what was to become the best decorated dugout in history, he was frozen to the bone and it took some of Seely's best claret to revive him. That was when the regiment realised quite what a turn had come to stay.

For Munnings had always been a roisterer and what better antidote to war-weary woes than a glass of wine and a rendition of one of the scores of ballads for which the artist took little prompting? So it was that he got the freedom to travel where and when he liked amongst the regiment and the truth of that trust shines through in the pictures. Every day he would set off, sometimes by cart, often on horseback, sometimes on Warrior himself, and the subsequent paintings show the obvious sympathy for the ordeal ahead for man and horse alike. For everyone knew, and the observation balloons and spotter planes could see, that the Germans were building and building their forces for what was clearly intended to be a climactic attack. No one could avoid wondering how many of them or their horses would survive the onslaught. All the more reason to live the day, or when possible, the night.

For Seely and Munnings, the opportunity to do this came in style thanks to the good offices of the General's ADC, Prince Antoine d'Orleans Braganza, surely the most purple-blooded officer in any army, an Orleans through being great-grandson of Louis Napoleon, and Braganza through his maternal grandmother being no less than the last Empress of Brazil. Prince Antoine knew everyone and in March 1918 had got the Marquis de Bargemont to open up his château at Davenescourt but 15 miles from the massed forces of Armageddon.

It was there that one afternoon would discover Munnings painting Prince Antoine out front whilst Sir William Orpen was painting Seely upstairs, prompting the latter to say, 'This is surely my École des Beaux Arts.' It was there on Tuesday 19 March, just two days before the long-awaited enemy barrage began what, for a while, became the breakthrough catastrophe of Operation Michael, that we had a final scene of quite unbelievable poignancy. The company gathered in the grand salon with Seely at the piano and Munnings delivering one of his favourite ballads with its wistful lines:

June and July with Julia With Julia, with Julia June and July with Julia ages ago.

There were long August days on the river The river so hazy and blue The reeds in the stream were a quiver And round us the dragonflies flew.

When the attack came and the retreat began, most of the men were sent up to the front in a vain attempt to hold the line while Munnings and the horses were sent back in reserve only to reunite with Seely and Warrior on the 26th at Carlepont, south of the River Oise. Munnings had spent the previous night in an attic kept awake by the menace of the not too distant German guns and though he rode with Seely next day, it became clear to both men that he needed to be cleared from the combat zone. A situation only accented by Seely's joking when a French sentry challenged the strange sight of the now tin-hatted, eye-patched and great-coated Munnings as a spy. 'Ah oui,' laughed the general, 'c'est un Boche.'

The regimental Cadillac was duly summoned and artist and all but the unfinished Antoine canvas driven 60 miles north to the HQ at Hesdin where his reputation had preceded him and a commission to move on to paint the Canadian Forestry Corps awaited him. Those equally evocative pictures joined the front-line work to become an important part of the Canadian War Paintings Exhibition at Burlington House in January 1919. It has been well recorded, not least by the painter himself, how the portrait of Seely and Warrior became a much-admired feature of the exhibition and directly led to Munnings becoming the most sought after, and therefore most expensive, equestrian artist on the planet.

'MUNNINGS MEETS WARRIOR'

Fifteen years later, the link continued when Munnings came down to the Isle of Wight to sketch Warrior for the book that he was writing and which would be published with great success, first in 1934 as My Horse Warrior and then again in 2011 when, as *Warrior, the Amazing Story of a Real Warhorse,* it sold over 50,000 copies. The 18 illustrations which came from the long days of study and nights of reminiscence added hugely to the book's appeal in both editions and are a touching tribute to the friendship between man and horse.

They were the happiest of days but relationships were then temporarily strained when it came to the matter of payment and Seely went all old-fashioned. 'Pay you,' he said to what was then amongst the highest charging artists in the world, 'I made you.' My aunt Louisa bent her father's ear and the situation was corrected in the most elegant of ways. Seeing how much Munnings was suffering from gout when both were dining at The Other Club, Seely invited the artist to join him and Louisa at the Bad Ems Spa in Germany where he went for treatment for his own bronchitis.

Every morning they would soak in the hot rooms, every afternoon sail a dinghy on the River Lahn, and every evening drink and sing under the trees in Coblenz village square neatly cancelling out any benefits already gained. But a good time was had, along with an ever-ready excuse to raise a glass to Warrior.

The Horse at War in 1918

John Fairley

By the time Munnings arrived in France in early 1918, there were, apart from the cavalry which he had been commissioned to paint, 870,000 horses on the Army's roster. The previous autumn, 99,000 had been recorded as killed supporting the battle of Passchendaele. The horses were required for every sort of duty – above all moving the heavy guns about, delivering ammunition and supplies, and evacuating the wounded.

The horses Munnings will have seen had been recruited not only in Britain, but across the globe. Within hours of the war's declaration, a network of agents had gone into action across Britain. Notices were given to farmers and horse owners to produce their horses in town squares and market places within the next two days. By the end of those two days, the Army had recruited 140,000 horses and sent them off to training depots. By that December, 18,000 of them would be dead in France, and it was clear that a mammoth and continuing effort would be required to fulfil the Army's needs.

The Army had acquired some experience fifteen years earlier in buying horses in the United States for shipping to South Africa in the Boer War. This network of dealers was quickly reactivated. One British Army officer Captain John Blakeway based himself in Tennessee. By the summer of 1915 he had bought and shipped to France more than 16,000 horses. By the time Munnings set foot in France, more than 600,000 horses had come from America to the war.

Horses came too from all parts of the Empire and South America. The colourful Scottish Nationalist and Member of Parliament Robert Cunninghame Graham took ship for his old stamping ground in Uruguay. Within two months he had sent 2,000 horses from the Pampas over to their fate in Europe.

As the war became more static, a huge support operation had been built up. There was a horse hospital outside Calais which was planned to take 30,000 stabled patients, with turn-out paddocks and concrete standings, and its own railway sidings designed to accept trainloads of 500 horses at a time.

The new arrivals had to go before a reception committee of vets. Any horse they did not feel could be cured was assigned for immediate destruction. Then there were twice-weekly hospital parades to decide which animals were not likely to recover quickly. These too were promptly destroyed.

A census around the time Munnings arrived in France revealed that the Army had 428,000 horses and mules in service, with 55,000 either in hospital or undergoing veterinary care. He could well have seen the convalescent animals out on the road – up to 20 of them tied either side of a rope, with just one mounted soldier taking them on an ambitious version of ride and lead.

The Army had also built a number of what were described as 'horse economisers', designed to make maximum use of horse carcasses, stripping the hides for leather, selling meat to Belgian and French butchers, and producing fat and grease for commercial use.

At the same time, the horsemen were determined to enjoy, whenever the slightest opportunity occurred, the traditional pleasures of the saddle. One Northumbrian officer brought his own pack of hounds to France and found plenty of sport behind the lines. In June 1917, only a month before the Passchendaele battle began, eleven Indian cavalry regiments were the star attraction of a great horse show behind the lines, with performances honed at the famous Delhi Durbar only five years before.

Only the Sunday before Munnings stepped ashore, the British 20th Division had staged a fullscale race meeting, with races from six furlongs to a mile, and with a Tote, bookies and wagon grandstands. General Gough himself showed up and rode one of his own horses in a race.

But accommodating the horses was a persistent problem, especially in times of retreat, which confronted the Allies at the time Munnings was working with the Canadians. Many of the horses simply had to be tethered to fixed lines in open fields. They were in full view of the German balloons and aircraft and were frequently shelled by artillery and bombed by aircraft. One officer recorded losing 700 horses in six weeks from these bombardments. His animals were taking water and food up to the men in the front line. 'Those poor beasts,' he wrote, 'which slipped or stumbled off the narrow duckboard tracks were often drowned in the liquid mud, or died of exhaustion after struggling for hours in a quicksand.'

The heavy horses in his command were required to haul guns and ammunition 20 miles and back on half the corn ration they would have received at home. He said: 'The horses suffered terribly, dying like flies.'

Mules were, perhaps, the unsung equine heroes, regarded by their drivers as more intelligent, and certainly stronger than horses. One of Munnings' fellow artists, George Armour, described an occasion when a big gun became bogged down and double teams of horses could not move it. A mule unit nearby sent six of their prize grey mules and the gun was rescued in short order. The mules were most prominent in the Palestine and Balkan campaigns. But even on the Western Front, nearly a third of the transport and haulage animals, 90,000 of them, were mules.

By the time Munnings joined the Canadians, the cavalry and their horses were widely regarded by the troops in France and the politicians at home as an expensive luxury, requiring scarce forage and resources. There had been, though, brave and vital encounters with the enemy. It was widely acknowledged that the 11th Hussars had halted the German advance to the Marne, galloping with drawn swords straight at an enemy position and capturing eight field guns and two machine guns.

'The Horse at War in 1918'

And, by early 1918, the Allies were being hugely enhanced by the arrival of large numbers of American troops led by a legendary cavalry officer, General 'Black Jack' Pershing. The American military, observing the war in Europe, had concluded that, in fact, cavalry might prove to be decisive, certainly important for communications and exploiting ground which was immensely difficult for soldiers. So they ensured that a cavalry regiment was despatched with Pershing's first troops. These troops, from the 2nd Cavalry, were armed, not with sabres, but with semi-automatic pistols and also a bolt-action rifle for dismounted use. They were to prove their value in the last days of the war.

Munnings was, of course, to bear witness in his great painting *The Charge of Flowerdew's Squadron*, to a most gallant assertion of the cavalry's effectiveness.

1918: The Role of Cavalry on the Western Front

Pip Dodd

By the beginning of 1918, the British cavalry on the Western Front had been greatly reduced. Three years of trench warfare had seemed to suggest their unsuitability for operations. Even when opportunities to prove their worth had arisen, such as at Cambrai in November and December 1917, the British High Command had failed to use it effectively.

The three cavalry divisions that remained on the Western Front numbered some 16,200 men, where previously there had been five divisions and around 27,000 men [**Fig. 22**]. This diminution was not just the toll of war, but of redeployment to Palestine (where cavalry enjoyed considerably more success) or redistribution to other roles, such as conventional infantry. Indeed, back in Britain the government was questioning the very existence of the cavalry, in particular after Cambrai. There were calls to disband the cavalry altogether and use the manpower elsewhere in the Royal Flying Corps or in tanks. However, the British Commander-in-Chief on the Western Front, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, was adamant that cavalry still had a part to play, whether as highly mobile mounted infantry, or in pursuit of the enemy when his long-anticipated breakthrough came and the war became less static. With these questions regarding its future role in mind, the cavalry's involvement in the three key actions of 1918 is worth examining.



[Fig. 22] Unknown Photographer, *Types of British Cavalry*, c. 1917, photograph, National Army Museum, London (NAM. 2007-03-7-62)

The German Spring Offensive, March–April 1918

The German offensive of 1918 was on a scale hitherto unknown. With the Russian withdrawal from the war, the Germans were able to transfer divisions of troops from the east to the Western Front. This meant that they could call on 81 divisions. The British had 59. Haig's plan was for a fighting retreat in some sectors, but also holding ground in others so as to protect the strategically important city of Amiens.

Once the German attack began on 21 March, all three divisions of the British Cavalry Corps were initially held in reserve – yet they were to play an important role in the fighting. Writing to his friend Lord Derby on 30 March while the battle raged, General Sir Henry Rawlinson (at that point in time commanding the Fourth and Fifth Armies) saw the cavalry as vital to the defensive effort:

I have been fighting hard for the last 48 hours to save Amiens but the only troops I have are the remnants of the V Army who are desperately tired and greatly demoralised but by dint of helping them with some cavalry at points where they have been hard pressed, we have so far been able to maintain our line.

Rawlinson's views on the Cavalry Corps are important: he was to command a large part of it for much of 1918. He used the cavalry as rapidly deployable mounted infantry to plug holes in the line; as a counter-attacking force to regain lost ground and as infantry reinforcements. He praised Seely's brigade of Canadian cavalry in particular for their actions, including the rare cavalry charge at Moreuil Wood, immortalised by Munnings. However, much of the fighting the cavalry did was dismounted, in which they acquitted themselves well. As Lord Anglesey points out, they were less war-weary than the infantry, had spent a good deal of time in training, were well-officered and had not suffered losses of officers and NCOs on the same scale as the infantry. Certainly Rawlinson felt that the cavalry had performed well when mounted, writing again to Lord Derby on 11 April that 'the Cavalry Corps ... have done exceedingly good work and fully justified their retention as cavalry, for they have fought like heroes.'

Where the British fielded cavalry to good effect, it is important to note that in contrast to its considerable manpower, the German cavalry was virtually non-existent. Wastage of horseflesh was severe; the majority of fit horses had been deployed to transport or artillery roles and forage was in short supply. The German General Ludendorff later recalled that 'in the March 1918 offensive in France, I felt seriously handicapped by the lack of cavalry'. Haig noted too that 'the absence of hostile cavalry at this period was a marked feature of the battle'. The German advances were eventually halted, and despite significant gains the objective of destroying the British was not achieved.

'1918: The Role of Cavalry on the Western Front'

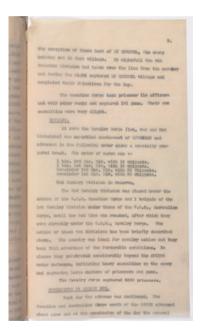
Amiens 8 August 1918

The German offensive failed, and by summer the British were preparing a major attack of their own. The cavalry would play a significant part in this. The terrain behind the German trenches was favourable and great lengths were taken to maintain an element of surprise. All three divisions of the Cavalry Corps advanced along a pre-prepared cavalry track; here they were detailed to work in conjunction with Whippet tanks. After the battle, Rawlinson reported:

The country was ideal for cavalry action and they took full advantage of the favourable conditions. In places they penetrated considerably beyond the Amiens outer defences, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy and capturing large numbers of prisoners and guns. The Cavalry Corps captured 2,500 prisoners.

This was a battle planned on the basis of accumulated experience, in which all arms were integrated, with infantry, cavalry and artillery, together with tanks, armoured cars and the Royal Air Force all playing a part. Rawlinson [**Fig. 23**] wrote succinctly on 17 August:

The whole plan came off exactly according to the programme and the cavalry who passed through the gap made for them had the day of their lives, hunting Prussians over the open country.



[Fig. 23] Report of General Sir Henry Rawlinson on the Battle of Amiens, 8–11 August 1918, photograph, National Army Museum, London (NAM. 1952-01-33-20)

So was this the cavalry breakthrough that many had believed would come? The combination of Whippet tanks and cavalry was a mixed success: the cavalry was quicker and more manoeuvrable, while the Whippets could keep going under heavy fire when the cavalry could not. However, the cavalry achieved its primary objectives and Kenyon emphasises that removing the 'dead hand of corps level command' was an operational success, as local commanders could use their own initiative as the battle evolved.

Second Battle of Cambrai 8–9 October 1918

By the autumn, the British were looking to break the Hindenburg Line in preparation for a largescale attack to end the war in 1919. Lessons learned on the battlefield of Amiens in August meant that Rawlinson, though not the avowed cavalryman that Haig was, again planned to use the speed of the cavalry to exploit gaps created in the German lines by infantry and artillery assault. Before the battle he wrote that he was 'going at them on the 8th and hope to get the Cavalry Corps through. They are spoiling for a gallop over the great rolling plains.' Despite some notable cavalry involvement, this was not to come to fruition. Stiff German resistance meant that cavalry casualties were high, with 604 men killed or wounded. In balance, the cavalry captured over 500 German prisoners, ten field guns and 150 machine guns. Significantly, because the cavalry advanced rapidly, the Germans were not able to destroy the villages in the area as they retreated.

Haig never got his sweeping cavalry breakthrough, nor to use the cavalry to pursue a broken and demoralised enemy. Anglesey points out that even if the chance had arisen, the cavalry was insufficient in number for the task, and supply and communication lines too rapidly stretched. However, it would be inaccurate to claim that this was all the cavalry was there for. It had evolved during the course of the war to use machine gun squadrons to boost its firepower, alongside the Royal Horse Artillery with which it had long served. Its role was multi-faceted; it was not a onetrick pony: as Kenyon points out it was in 'reconnaissance as well as despatch riding and prisoner control that the regiments of cavalry dispersed as corps troops in August 1918 earned their keep'. Though lacking the glamour of a battlefield charge, these were essential roles long undertaken by cavalry. Arguably the most important contribution of all from the cavalry in 1918 was in defence during the German Spring Offensive, for survival then laid the foundation for the road to victory by the close of the year.

Note: For more detailed examinations of the role of cavalry on the Western Front, see Lord Anglesey, A History of the British Cavalry 1816–1919, Volume 8, The Western Front 1915–1918; Epilogue 1919–1939, 1997; and the more recent David Kenyon, Horsemen in No Man's Land, 2011.

'1918: The Role of Cavalry on the Western Front'



[Plate 10] A Patrol (Nightfall), 1918, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 75.7 cm (19710261-0442)



[Plate 15] On the Edge of the Wood, 1918, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 76.2 cm (19710261-0459)

'1918: The Role of Cavalry on the Western Front'



[Plate 18] Watering Horses Near Domart [unfinished], 50.8 x 60.9 cm (19710261-0816)

Who were the Canadian Soldiers in the First World War?

Dr. Tim Cook

'Men from the prairies, from the wheat fields and the lumberyards of the West; men accustomed to the saddle and to sport of all kinds; men who can wield an axe more deftly than I can hold a pen; men accustomed to face death twenty times a year or more, and who have waged war with nature or with wild beasts all their lives – what wonder that they sprang to the all of war as surely never men sprang before.' And so wrote A.M. de Beck, a journalist and editor with *Canadian News*, which published the exploits of the Canadian soldiers during the First World War. Beck was not alone in his imaginative description of the Canadian soldier, and all manner of writers and journalists portrayed the Canadians in uniform as frontiersmen forged by their harsh wasteland of snow and ice. The New World soldiers all seemed to be born in an igloo or a tree, growing up with a rifle in the hand and learning to ride before they could walk.

The Dominion of Canada, a proud member of the British Empire, was fewer than eight million strong at the start of the war and spread over 9.5 million square kilometres across nine provinces, with Newfoundland a separate dominion at the time. When Canada went to war on 4 August 1914, it was deeply unprepared. With a dilapidated military of only 3,000 professional soldiers, a navy of two obsolete cruisers and no air force, it seemed that Canada's greatest contribution would be in food, especially wheat, and natural resources.

But the call to arms stirred Canadians, who rushed to volunteer. Recruiting sergeants initially selected those with military experience, either from the South African War or the militia. The first 31,000 to go overseas were known as the First Contingent and about 60 per cent were British-born. However, that figure includes those men who had arrived in the country over the last couple of years and those with deeper roots stretching back a decade or two.

The attritional war on the Western Front demanded more and more soldiers, and even as the first Canadian division arrived to the trenches in February 1915, other units followed. Eventually some 620,000 from Canada would enlist or be conscripted (about 100,000) into the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF). Of this total, 424,589 went overseas, with most serving within the four infantry divisions that formed the Canadian Corps. However, tens of thousands of others never left England or were posted to other theatres of war, such as the Mediterranean. Some 22,000 Canadians served in the British flying services and almost 10,000 served in the Royal Canadian Navy. Finally, a little under 3,000 women served as nurses.



[Fig. 24] Unknown Photographer, *Canadian Lumberjacks* of No. 16 Company, Canadian Forestry Corps, Esher, Surrey, 1917, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (19940001-532-5)

Two large units served outside of the Canadian Corps: the Canadian Cavalry Brigade and the Canadian Forestry Corps. The Canadian Cavalry Brigade was formed early in 1915 after the war on the Western Front had stalemated. There were few dramatic cavalry charges as barbed wire and trenches slowed any assault, while rapid-firing artillery and machine guns cut down horses and men. However, the cavalry still had a role on the battlefield and was most effective as mounted infantry, moving rapidly from crisis to crisis, and then dismounting and fighting on foot. The cavalry lived up to the expectations of many British observers who saw the Canadians as an army of cowboys, especially as the three cavalry regiments – the Royal Canadian Dragoons (with its depot in Ottawa, Ontario), Lord Strathcona's

Horse (based in Calgary, Alberta), and the Fort Garry Horse (established in Winnipeg, Manitoba) – drew heavily on men with riding experience and the pre-war professional army. At the start of the war, about two thirds of the Dragoons were British-born, and many had served in the South African War, with the rest largely Canadian, although there were Americans, New Zealanders, Chileans and a Romanian. Almost all of the Strathcona's and Garry's in 1914 came from western Canada, from Manitoba to British Columbia, at least before the firepower of the Western Front reduced their numbers and the subsequent reinforcements came from across the Dominion. The cavalry carried the aura of an elite formation and one contemporary journalist wrote that captured German orders warned of the Canadian cavalrymen who 'sometimes scalped those who fell into their hands'. There were no recorded cases of such grim actions, but it fit the idea of the Canadians being unrestrained because of their frontier blood and bearing.

In the static war of the trenches, wood was essential for everything from trench structures and pathways across no man's land to railway lines and underground dugouts. The Canadian Forestry Corps was formed in 1916 to supply wood for the Allied war effort. Some 22,000 soldiers eventually served in England, Scotland and France, wielding axes and saws instead of rifles and machine guns. [**Fig. 24**] And yet their work was just as important as any other soldier. The forestry corps was formed largely from pre-war lumberjacks. Of the 22,000 members in 101 companies – in relation to the infantry units at the front – a higher proportion were French, black and indigenous soldiers [**Fig. 25**]. And while these soldiers came from all parts of Canada, there were concentrations from traditional timber communities in the Ottawa Valley and British Columbia.

'Who were the Canadian Soldiers in the First World War?'

Early in 1918, some 300 Russo-Canadians were transferred to the forestry corps because of fears of Bolshevik sentiment infecting the ranks of the fighting men. Whatever their beliefs, the Russians had few disciplinary issues. By the last year of the war, the Canadian forestry units accounted for 70 per cent of the lumber used by the British armies on the Western Front, and their contribution to the war effort was far more important than that of the cavalry.

English-speaking, Canadian-born enlisted in greater numbers from 1915 and by the end of the war, with conscription, they formed 51 per cent of those in uniform, although British-born had enlisted in the highest numbers per capita. French Canadians did not feel the same pull of Empire as English Canadians, although some were moved to support France. But the



[Fig. 25] Unknown Photographer, *Different Racial Types among a Group of Wounded Canadian Soldiers*, 1917, Canadian War Museum Ottawa (19920044-815)

clergy in the parishes were largely against this war that they characterised as a European conflict, and unilingual French Canadians found the transition difficult to an English-only army. That there was much bigotry in Canada towards the French also did little to encourage enlistment.

As many as 4,000 indigenous men joined the colours, even though those that lived on reserves were formal wards of the state and did not have the right to vote or own land. These indigenous soldiers enlisted for many reasons, but some thought it was their duty to come to the aid of the King directly, as they had for centuries. When the racial restrictions were lessened in 1916, more new Canadians joined the ranks, including several thousand Russians and Ukrainians. A surprising number of Americans served in the CEF – likely about 40,000, and almost all before the United States entered the war in April 1917. There were other ethnic groups that served together, with Icelandic units, a black Canadian labour battalion, and even a Jewish company raised to fight the Kaiser.

The CEF was formed from Canadians across the country and they included members of almost all language groups and religions. About 80 per cent of the men who enlisted were single and the average age of the soldiers was 26, although younger for those in the front-line trenches. There were thousands of illiterates and far fewer Rhodes Scholars, with the average level of formal education having ended at the age of eleven or twelve years. And while the popular perception of the CEF was that it consisted solely of voyageurs and cowpunchers, more Canadians came from the big cities than the rural areas. In March 1916, statistics revealed that only about 6.5 per cent of the CEF were farmers or ranchers, while 18.5 were white-collar workers and 65 per cent were manual labourers. There were other professions, but no categories for voyageurs or gunslingers, so few were they in Canadian society by the early twentieth century. The numbers changed during the war, but the force always consisted of more workers than hunters, by a wide margin, and even more white-collar workers than farmers.

But that did not stop Canadians playing up their supposed frontier ways when they arrived in England. Many professed to have 'Indian' blood and to have left behind bears as pets. For some that was true, and a surprising number of black bears accompanied Canadian units overseas as regimental mascots, including the baby black she-bear 'Winnie', purchased in September 1914 for \$20 by veterinary officer Lieutenant Harry Colebourn en route to join the Fort Garry Horse (he named the bear after his home town of Winnipeg) [**Fig.26**]. On arrival at Salisbury Plain, in October 1914, 'Winnie' became the unofficial mascot of the Fort Garry's until, shortly before the regiment left for France, her owner gave her to London Zoo, where she became a much-loved resident and eventually inspired A.A. Milne's hugely popular stories. Overall though, the potent myth of the Canadian soldier as a born brawler were also fed by the pre-war perception of the ice-covered dominion and its tough inhabitants as portrayed in *Boys' Own* stories, travel literature and Robert Service's popular Yukon poetry.

The myth was also reinforced by a series of publicity and propaganda campaigns during the war specifically to distinguish Canadian combatants from the British. Lord Beaverbrook, the expatriate millionaire newspaper baron, took it upon himself to put some of his considerable fortune into raising awareness of the Canadians [Fig.27]. For example, in one of Beaverbrook's journalistic stories about the Canadians standing in the face of the April 1915 gas attack at Ypres, he claimed that the Canadians had 'saved the day' for 'liberty and civilisation' and now the 'the mere written word Canada glowed ... with a new meaning before all the civilised world'. Beaverbrook's blitz included newspaper stories, popular wartime histories and illustrated journals, and by 1916 he had ensured that official photographers, cameramen and artists roamed the Western Front documenting the Canadians.



[Fig. 26] Unknown Photographer, No. 1 Canadian Mobile Veterinary Section with their Bear Mascot 'Winnie', Valcartier, Canada, 1914, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (20020045-1748)

'Who were the Canadian Soldiers in the First World War?'

In the end, the Canadians were similar in physical make-up to the British or Scottish soldiers, or the Australians and New Zealanders for that matter. If one was to examine the millions of soldiers of the British Expeditionary Force, the dominion soldiers might have been a little taller (the Canadians were an average height of 5'7"), but they were similar in build to other soldiers, and they all had the same bad teeth. There were giant, barrel-chested Canadians who served next to the stunted inner-city youth who had grown up on malnourished diets. Moreover, in the mud of Flanders or the Somme, the Canadian and British Tommies looked similar in their uniforms, helmets and gas masks, and they used the same grenades, Lewis machine guns, and Lee Enfield rifles (after the Canadian-made Ross rifle was finally discarded in the summer of 1916, having failed badly as a battlefield weapon).



[Fig. 27] Unknown Photographer, *Max Aitken,* 1" Lord Beaverbrook and Founder of the Canadian War Memorial Fund, 1917, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa (20020045-1675)

But there were some differences, including identifiably Canadian units. If one looked closely, symbols like the maple leaf and 'Canada' adorned most uniforms. The Canucks, as they were sometimes called, brought into the CEF their own pre-war Canadian culture, including songs, slang, sports heroes, politics, and all manner of issues that befitted an army of citizen soldiers. They combined this pre-war culture with a rich soldiers' culture in the trenches that often reinforced Canadian identity. Theodore Roberts, man of letters and a serving officer in the CEF, wrote about the homogenising effects of service, and how the many disparate Canadians were brought together. Of the British-born or new Canadians: 'He is no less a Canadian, either in his own heart or in the hearts of his friends ... Whatever a man used to be, he is now what his cap badge proclaims him.'

Those who formed the CEF came from across the country and went overseas with shifting and fluid identities, but their service there, in Canadian units and embracing Canadian symbols, helped to carve out a separate identity, forged in blood and battle. In the end, the idea of frontier soldiers was prevalent and stoked because it helped to distinguish the Canadian soldiers from their Allied counterparts. It may not have been true, or at least it was only true for a minority of men, but it was part of the process of how the war shaped an emerging Canadian identity. Arthur Lower, a Canadian who served in the Royal Navy and a future historian, wrote of the war's transformative effect: 'I came back from the war much more of a Canadian than I went to it.'

'A Gallant Lieutenant of Hussars'

A GALLANT LIEUTENANT OF HUSSARS: Alfred Munnings and the Memorial to Lieutenant Edward Horner

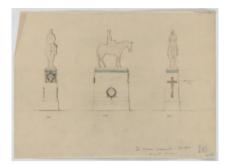
Dr. Bill Teatheredge

Sculpture is something not normally associated with Munnings; indeed the examples he made during his long career are few and far between. However, one of his most accomplished and moving works in bronze can be admired in St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Mells – some five miles west of Frome in Somerset. It commemorates Lieutenant Edward Horner, son of the Lord of the Manor at Mells, Sir John Horner. By all accounts Edward Horner was a very special young man.

Having been seriously wounded earlier in the First World War, it is a measure of Horner's courage and keen sense of duty that he was determined to rejoin the fight as quickly as possible. Gazetted on the 18 August 1914 as a second lieutenant in the North Somerset Yeomanry, a Territorial unit, Horner was not obliged to serve abroad. However, he chose to transfer to the Royal Horse Guards and then the 18th (Queen Mary's Own) Hussars. A fellow officer later wrote, 'Horner had joined the regiment complete with his own valet, groom and chargers.'

In early 1915, the Hussars were deployed to the Belgian border where Horner was seriously injured. As the only heir to Mells Manor and his condition serious, Horner's parents, Lady Francis and Sir John Horner, made the trip to France in order to visit him in hospital.

Having spent most of 1915 recovering, Horner was then deemed unfit for active service. Accepting a staff post he was sent to Egypt in 1916 but did not want to miss out on the action. In early 1917, Horner was able to return to the front line. During the Battle of Cambrai, the Hussars were ordered to hold the village of Noyelles-sur-Mer. It was here on 21 November that Horner was shot in the chest by a sniper and died that evening, aged 29. He was buried in the Rocquigny-Equancourt Road British Cemetery. Devastated by the loss of their only male heir, the Horners commissioned their old friend Edwin Lutyens to make a memorial to him. This would stand in St. Andrew's Church, Mells, which is situated next to the Horner manor in Somerset.



[Fig. 28] Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944), Preparatory Sketches for a Memorial to Lieutenant Edward Horner in St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Mells, Somerset, 1919, pencil on paper, 50 x 65.5 cm, RIBA Collections, London; image courtesy of RIBA Pix (RIBA 97414)

Lutyens designed the plinth for the statue in a similar style to his Cenotaph in Whitehall [**Fig. 28**]. For the bronze equestrian statue, Lutyens asked Alfred Munnings to carry out the commission. When Lutyens and Munnings met is uncertain, as Munnings does not mention Lutyens until after the war, but it does appear that they were already friends. In 1919, Lutyens invited Munnings to dine with him at the Garrick Club along with the former Prime Minister H.H. Asquith who wrote in his diary, 'conversationally, the situation was saved by Munnings, the artist'. At another dinner with Lutyens at the Garrick it was suggested that Munnings' name should be put forward to join what Munnings described as 'the club of all clubs'.

Their friendship was sustained between the wars when, in 1927, Munnings was made a member of Winston Churchill's exclusive The Other Club which consisted of no more than 50 members. The dinners held in a private room at the Savoy

Hotel would not only include Lutyens but also people such as H.G. Wells and Munnings' great friend General Seely, once former commander of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade.

Indeed at Munnings' retrospective exhibition held in Norwich Museum and Art Galleries, in 1928, Lutyens was amongst a number of guests representing the Royal Academy. It is a sad irony that after Lutyens died in 1944, while incumbent president of the RA, Munnings would be elected his successor.

Whatever their relationship it does appear remarkable that Munnings should have received a commission for a statue when he was well known as an artist but not as a sculptor. Within his long career, the First World War marked a major turning point. Prior to it he was a well-known provincial artist; afterwards he became internationally renowned, helped in the main by the exhibition, early in January 1919, of his 45 paintings featuring the Canadian Cavalry Brigade and Canadian Forestry Corps at the Royal Academy inside Burlington House.

The exact extent to which Munnings worked in sculpture as a medium is not known. He appears to have received tuition while studying at the Norwich School of Art, 1893–99, where he is recorded as making a clay model of a cow. It is also possible that Munnings practised sculpting at the Académie Julian, Paris, where a sketch from his time there, about 1902–04, depicts a sculpting lesson.

It is known that in 1912, Munnings had his friend, the sculptor Edwin Whitney-Smith, stay at his parents' home in Mendham, Suffolk. While Whitney-Smith made a bust of Munnings' father and two statuettes of Munnings' gypsy models, 'Nobby' and Charlotte Gray, he encouraged Munnings to make a statuette of the white pony Augereau.

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With apparent little experience in sculpture, the Horner commission did not seem to daunt Munnings. Once his specially designed studio was transported from its original location in Swainsthorpe, Norfolk to Castle House, Munnings began work. Lutyens provided him with the height of the plinth and the size of the statue. Munnings used photographs of Lt. Horner in order to model the head making two small sketches in clay, one with Lt. Horner looking straight ahead and the other with his head bowed; Lady Horner chose the former.

To assist him, Munnings had a young sculptor friend, George Fite Waters, stay at Castle House. With Munnings away, Waters tried to model the head of Horner but, on his return, Munnings cut it off with a wire and remade it. In a letter to his wife, Munnings wrote: 'After a long day (now 6 o'clock) I am in from the studio where I have been doing the figure. Went all over it ... remade head of course, and now he looks like a young Spartan and very handsome.'

Showing the local blacksmith a small model of the sculpture, Munnings had him make the armature. Munnings' bay horse Patrick was used as the model for Lt. Horner's horse where day after day it was led into the studio with Garrett, Munnings' groom, mounted in full uniform. While Munnings modelled the head, neck, nostrils and feet of the horse, Waters would model the boots, stirrups and other details.

The casting was done in the studio by Fiorini's of Battersea. With Munnings away it was left to Waters and the casters to do the castings. On his return, Munnings was less than amused to find dirty fingermarks and shapes of the palm of a hand on the staircase wall made by the casters after a drunken night out when staying at Castle House.

After much debate about its placement, the statue was eventually installed in the Horner Chapel on the north side of the chancel of St Andrew's Church, Mells, at some point during 1920 [**Fig. 29**]. At one end of the plinth was placed Horner's wooden cross from his grave in France. Munnings replied to a letter from Lady Horner, in 1923, 'I am very glad that the bronze pleases you and I would very much like to see it now Sir Edwin has set it on its base.' In 2007 the statue was moved to the west end of the north aisle of the church.

In October 1922 the original plaster cast of the statue was acquired by Norwich Museum. It was subsequently given to the Munnings Art Museum and now stands in Munnings' Studio where the whole process of the making of this memorial first began.



[Fig. 29] Alfred Munnings, *Memorial to Lieutenant Edward Horner*, 1919–20, bronze, 170 x 162 x 50 cm, St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Mells, Somerset; image courtesy of the Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex



[Plate 23] Log Loading (30th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.3 x 60.8 cm (19710261-0471)

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[Plate 29] The Grey Team (30th Company, Canadian Forestry Corps), 1918, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61.2 cm (19710261-0473)

ALFRED MUNNINGS: Memory, The War Horse and the Canadians in 1918



[Plate 32] A Canadian Forestry Corps Camp at Malbuisson near Pontarlier, Burgundy, 1918, oil on canvas, 51 x 61.7 cm (19710261-0463)

'A Gallant Lieutenant of Hussars'



[Plate 35] Log Hauling and Loading, 1918, oil on canvas, 48.4 x 65 cm (19710261-0477)

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Contributors Biographies

Dr. Jonathan Black FRSA, FRHistS

Dr. Black was awarded his PhD in History of Art by University College London in 2003 for a thesis exploring the image of the British Tommy in the First World War graphic art and sculpture of: C.R.W. Nevinson (1889–1946), Eric Kennington (1888–1960) and Charles Sargeant Jagger (1885–1934) c. 1915–1925. He has worked on British Art and Culture during and after the Great War for over 20 years. Publications include: *C.R.W. Nevinson: The Complete Prints* (London: Lund Humphries, 2014) and *Winston Churchill in British Art, 1900 to the Present Day* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017). He curated the exhibition *War in the Sunshine: The British in Italy, 1917–18* for the Estorick Collection, London (January–March 2017). He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of the Arts and of the Royal Historical Society and, currently, a Senior Research Fellow in History of Art at Kingston School of Art, Kingston University, UK.

Dr. Tim Cook, C.M.

Tim Cook is the First World War historian at the Canadian War Museum (CWM) and the author of 11 books. He curated the permanent gallery at the CWM as well as other temporary, travelling and digital exhibitions, including an exhibition on Alfred Munnings. For his contributions to history, he has been awarded the Queen's Diamond Jubilee medal and the Governor General's History Award for Popular Media. Tim Cook is a member of the Order of Canada.

Pip Dodd

Pip Dodd is a senior curator at the National Army Museum. He read History of Art at Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, and Museum Studies at the University of Leicester. He is a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. Since joining the NAM in 2005, he has researched and written on British art, Indian paintings and uniforms, among other things. He was a curator of the museum's popular War Horse exhibition in 2011–12.

John Fairley

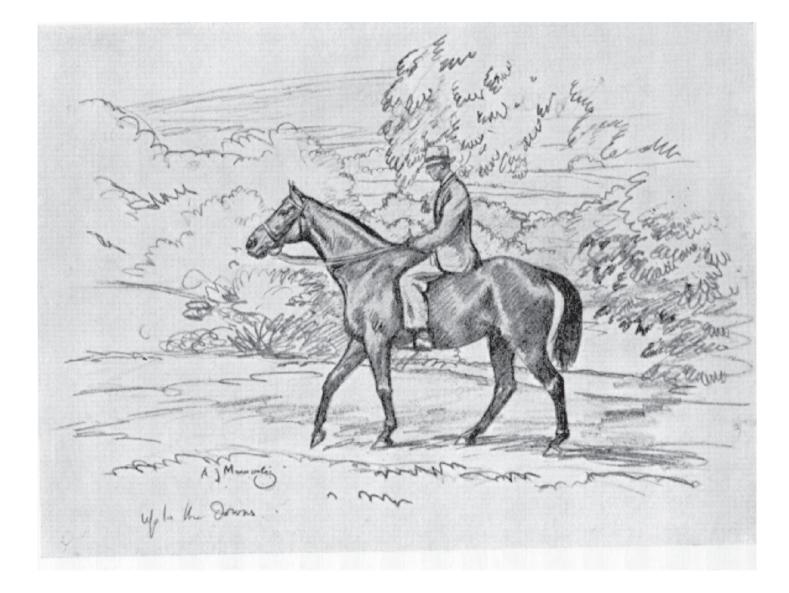
John Fairley is the author of a number of books on the horse in art, including *Horses of the Great War: The Story in Art; The Art of the Horse and Racing in Art.* He has also written widely about the Great War including *The Monocled Mutineer* which first told the story of the September 1917 Etaples Mutiny and in 1986 was made into a celebrated BBC Television series with Mark McGann in the title role. He was Director of Programmes at Yorkshire Television, the Leeds-based television company.

Brough Scott MBE

Brough Scott graduated from Oxford and ten years as an amateur and professional jockey with a history degree, 100 winners, and a better understanding of life's frailty. Afterwards he did 30 years as anchor of ITV and Channel 4 Racing as well as long stints on leading Sunday papers and founding the *Racing Post* in 1986. His books include: *Galloper Jack*, the critically acclaimed biography of his grandfather Jack Seely and his reissue of Jack Seely's book *My Horse Warrior* (first published in 1934), complete with the Munnings portrait of his grandfather on the cover, sold 50,000 copies in 2012/13. His *Churchill At The Gallop* was published in 2017.

Dr. Bill Teatheredge

For 20 years, Bill was a police officer working in the main as a detective investigating serious crime. During this period he developed a passion for art which provided a release from the everyday tribulations of his job. Having been medically discharged, Bill decided to follow his love of art and began nine years of study, in the History of Art at Essex University, which led from a First Class Undergraduate degree to his PhD. In 2014 Bill began working at the Munnings Art Museum, Dedham, Essex, where he has curated exhibitions, written articles, given talks and tours on Sir Alfred Munnings.



Alfred Munnings, Lord Mottistone (J.E.B. Seely) Riding Warrior on the Downs, Isle of Wight, 1934, pencil on paper, Private Collection; image courtesy of the Racing Post.