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‘Our Warrior Brown Brethran: Identity and Difference in Images of Non-White Soldiers serving with the British Army in British Art of the First World War.’

There can be no doubt that the peoples of the British Empire made an immense contribution to the British war effort during the First World War. There has been much greater recognition in recent years of the important part played by soldiers from the so-called White Dominions: ANZACS at Gallipoli and the impressive fighting reputation of the Canadian and Australian Corps, New Zealand Division and South African Brigade, on the Western Front.¹ The wider British general lay public is only just now beginning to appreciate the undoubted heroism of men of the Indian Army – who held the line on the Western Front for a critical period in 1914-15 and without whom the British could not have defeated the forces of the Ottoman Empire in Mesopotamia and Palestine.²

India contributed by far the most non-white combat and support troops to the British Imperial war effort, over 1.1 million. In August 1914 the Indian Army had numbered 242,000; between 1914 and 1918 a further 862,855 Indians volunteered for the Indian Army; from this a total 552,000 served overseas: in France, Palestine and Mesopotamia, and at Gallipoli.³ Approximately 65,000 Indian servicemen were killed during the First World War, or died from disease.⁴

An estimated 160,000 Indian soldiers served in France and Flanders between October 1914 and November 1915; 25,000 of them became casualties.⁵ When the Indian Corps left in November 1915 two Indian cavalry divisions, the 4th and 5th, remained in France until February 1918 when they were despatched to reinforce Allenby’s Egyptian Expeditionary Force [EEF] in Palestine.⁶ At the same time the British Army planned to increase the Indian Army by a further half a million troops by the middle of 1919, in order to meet anticipated combat demands in the Middle East.⁷

Meanwhile, the British West Indies Regiment, numbering about 20,000 men, all volunteers, served in a non-combatant role in France and Flanders and as combat troops in the Middle East from September 1915.⁸ The British Expeditionary Force in France and Flanders was also supported, in 1917-18 by the 100,000 strong non-combatant Chinese Labour Corps; some 2,000 of their number were killed or died in France, 1917-18, many succumbing to the Spanish Flu epidemic of 1918-19.⁹ There are, however, only occasional glimpses of men of the Chinese Labour Corps in official British war art, for example in a drawing Paul Nash made in November 1917: *Chinese Labourers Working in a Quarry* (watercolour, pastel and ink on paper, IWM 1151). They do not appear regularly either in official photography of the era. This neglect may be explained by a common perception that the Chinese were not essentially a 'martial' people and not deserving of the respect and admiration commonly accorded to combatants belonging to the so-called 'martial' or 'warrior' races of India.¹⁰ Periodically, doubts were expressed as to the fighting ability of the 'West Indian negro' while the commander of the EEF, Sir Edmund Allenby, advised by the British authorities in Egypt, was extremely reluctant to arm any Egyptians who were already serving in a non-combatant role with British and Dominion forces in Palestine.¹¹ Even though these Egyptians were all volunteers, the growth of anti-British nationalist sentiment in the country led the British authorities to doubt their loyalty and the wisdom of giving them access to and training in modern weaponry.¹²

Part of the essential support structure for the British Empire was a belief in the need for well-defined hierarchies that securely located an individual, whether British or 'other', within a carefully stratified world. During the last 30 years of the —nineteenth century, certain British observers, Army officers and Administrators, carefully divided the population of India into so-called 'warrior races' and those who were not and, thus, deemed entirely unsuitable for

service in the Indian Army. Lieutenant-General Sir George MacMunn, for example, stated in his *The Armies of India* (published in 1911) that the ‘warrior races’ of India predominantly came from the north of the sub-continent, from along the Himalayas with the fearsome Gurkhas of Nepal and to the west of their Kingdom the Garwhalis while the hardy Dogras were to be found in the hills of Kashmir Equally formidable were the Punjabis (Sikhs and Jats) and Rajputs from the north-east of the country and the unpredictable Pathans of the north-west frontier. MacMunn grudgingly acknowledged that men from only certain areas in south-central India – with units such as the Poona and Deccan Horse raised from former Mahratta kingdoms – producing ‘good fighting material.’¹³

Eric Kennington (1888-1960), 1917-18.

The first artist under consideration, Eric Kennington, was aged 26 when he volunteered to serve as a private in a Territorial battalion of the British Army on 6 August 1914.¹⁴ Between mid-November 1914 to mid-January 1915 he served in the ranks of 13th Battalion of the London Regiment (known as The Kensingtons) in north-eastern France. In mid January 1915 he was wounded in the left foot and evacuated back to a military hospital in Britain. In June of the same year he was invalided out of the army on medical grounds. During the latter half of 1915 he painted in oils in reverse on glass, his remarkable tribute to his platoon *The Kensingtons at Laventie: Winter 1914*. This caused a sensation when exhibited in central London during April and June 1916. In May 1916, deeply impressed by *The Kensingtons*, Kennington was befriended by the older and more established artist William Rothenstein who had travelled to India before the war and was fascinated by Indian art and culture.¹⁵

Towards the end of August 1917 Kennington went out to France as an official war artist for the Department of Information (later expanded in February 1918 to a Ministry). While finding his feet in his new post, Kennington was attached to IIIrd Army Corps, in a relatively

quiet sector of the front, and encountered men of one of its units, the 4th Indian Cavalry Division. Evidence from the period would suggest that Kennington's perception of the Indian soldiers was considerably shaped by his pre-existing fervent belief in the British Empire and admiration for the writings of Rudyard Kipling. Indeed, arriving in France, he admitted to his friend William Rothenstein that he could not help seeing ordinary British 'tommies', soldiers in the ranks of the BEF, through the prism provided by Kipling's short stories about British troops in the ranks serving in India, *Soldiers Three* (first published in 1888) and his *Barrack Room Ballads* – published in two series, 1892 and 1896.¹⁶

After a drawing the portrait of the IIIrd Corps's appreciative Corps Commander, Sir William Pulteney, Kennington was able to arrange to spend a fortnight with one of the units comprising the Division: the Jodhpur Imperial Service Lancers. This was a volunteer unit raised within one of the Indian Princely States, under the 'Imperial Service Scheme' by Pratab Singh the formidable 70-year-old ruler of Jodhpur, and which remained attached to the Indian Army for the duration of the war.¹⁷ Pulteney may have suggested the Jodhpur Lancers because he was aware that Pratab Singh admired Kennington's recent pastel portrait of the Corps Commander and was eager to be drawn by the artist.

While staying with the Jodhpur Lancers Kennington wrote periodically to Rothenstein and admitted he felt "...all at sea among these Indians..." – he could not easily communicate with them and found it difficult to establish who did what. As he later rather sheepishly confessed one of the first men from the Lancers he had sit to him for a portrait was actually one of the units contingent of followers – the latrine wallah – and then he asked the 'babu quartermaster sergeant.'¹⁸ The Bengali 'babu' or clerk was a figure of fun even in the Indian Army, a necessary trial with his unquenchable thirst for paperwork and procuring just the right 'chit.'¹⁹

Kennington after a few days eventually secured sittings with some of the officers and the ‘fighting men’ of the Lancers, referring to them admiringly in a letter to Rothenstein as: ‘our warrior brown brethran.’²⁰ One of the former was the unit’s Indian medical officer who would have stood out as in the regular Indian Army medical officers were British: *The Indian Doctor* (1917, charcoal on paper, Manchester City Art Gallery). As was often the case with his Indian sitters, the artist did not find it easy to communicate with them. However, Kennington later mentioned how he had been impressed by the “beautiful manners” and “sensitive face” of the Indian medical officer and by the man expressing a “halting admiration” for the poetry of William Blake.²¹

On completing his portraits of soldiers at this time, Kennington would habitually ask his sitters, if they were pleased with the results, to sign their name in their own language at the bottom. During August-September 1917 he drew half a dozen portraits of officers and men of the Jodhpur Lancers. He was most upset to discover, after having submitting the drawings to the official censor at General Headquarters, Major Arthur Lee, that the censor had scrupulously rubbed out all the signatures of the sitters as a ‘security risk.’²² Lee also disapproved of Kennington having spent time on Indian portraits because the artist had been specifically despatched to France to draw British soldiers from the ranks.²³ Kennington later wrote to his overall superior at the Department of Information, C.F.G. Masterman, who was in charge of ‘visual propaganda’, that he felt guilty whenever he sketched a landscape as he was aware other artists had been tasked with depicting such subject matter. However, he felt it was only right and proper that the Indian contribution to the British war effort on the Western Front be acknowledged through portraiture of suitable individuals.²⁴

William Rothenstein (1872-1945), 1917-18

Kennington would return to draw the portraits of more Indian soldiers early in 1918, this time from other units within the 4th Cavalry Division and in the company of William Rothenstein who had come out to France as an official war artist. By mid-March 1918 Kennington drew over a dozen Indian soldiers serving in France about ten percent from a total of nearly a hundred portraits of British soldiers from the ranks. Rothenstein would draw a similar number of Indian cavalymen in February and March 1918 – before the 4th and 5th Indian Cavalry Divisions were posted to Palestine.²⁵ It would seem that his view of his sitters was bound up with his existing fascination with Indian culture that dated from a pre-war visit to central India as well as his general desire to make a contribution to the British war effort and do something to promote what he referred to as “the glory of the British Empire” as a man who was too old for normal military service and who moreover came from a German-Jewish background.²⁶

Rothenstein later noted in his memoirs that on visiting the Jodhpur Lancers he was initially given a decidedly frosty reception on the grounds that some of the men Kennington had drawn from the Regiment had gone on to be killed during the unit’s brief involvement in the Battle of Cambrai in November 1917. Many of the surviving Indian officers and men now suspected that sitting for a portrait somehow prejudiced their chances of survival. Rothenstein reflected that Kennington had previously told him that some British other ranks had been resistant to having their portraits drawn on the grounds of the absolute novelty to them of this experience. However, once it was explained the portrait would eventually be exhibited in London, potential sitters had: “clamoured to be drawn.”²⁷ When Rothenstein deployed the same explanation prior to drawing Indian cavalymen of Hodsons and Jacobs Horse in February 1918, he found they quickly warmed to the idea of sitting for a portrait – all suspicion of it being ‘bad luck’ having evaporated.²⁸

While drawing Indian subjects in the small town of Devise in February 1918 Rothenstein suggested to C.F.G. Masterman that since his Department was about to be expanded to become a full ministry, that the new organisation commission himself and Kennington to draw a whole series of portraits of Indians then in France and, perhaps, add examples of the West Indians and Chinese working behind the lines digging trenches, carrying shells and supplies.²⁹ These would then be reproduced in a booklet similar to that planned for the official war artists: *British Artists at the Front*. Masterman initially welcomed the idea and the India Office was interested but in the end nothing came of it.³⁰ Two months before the end of the war postcards and photographs of some of the Indian soldiers drawn by Kennington and Rothenstein became available for purchase from the Ministry of Information shop on Norfolk Street, just off the Strand.³¹

A few of his Indian portraits were included in Kennington's solo exhibition as an official war artist held at the Leicester Galleries in June-July 1918 and were well-received by several critics such as who praised them for possessing a sober dignity that was doubtless true to the character of the sitters depicted.³²

In the summer of 1918 he fell out with the Ministry of Information over it seeking to buy his work from his official exhibition at a considerable discount which Kennington regarded as exploitative and blatantly unfair. During this period he remained in touch with some of the British officers serving with the Jodhpur Lancers and their relatives at home. From them he learnt that in March 1918 the unit had been sent with the rest of the 4th Cavalry Division to serve with the EEF in Palestine. The Lancers became part of the new 15th Imperial Service Cavalry Brigade and attached to the 5th Cavalry Division as part of the. The Regiment would serve with distinction during Allenby's Palestine offensive of September 1918, memorably charging uphill on 23 September to successfully clear Turkish machine gunners from the

summit of Mount Carmel, defending the approaches to the key port of Haifa. 17 machine guns and over 1,300 Turks were captured after the Lancers had charged.³³ However, Kennington was saddened to discover that, at the moment of victory, Colonel Holden, his friend and the unit's commander had been killed by a Turkish sniper.³⁴

As he learnt of Holden's death Kennington was contemplating an offer from the Ministry of Information to travel to Palestine to succeed James McBey as the official British artist on the spot. McBey made it clear that he did not want as yet to move – especially as the campaign against the Turks was reaching a triumphant climax – while he had the backing of the EEF's commander-in-chief Sir Edmund Allenby.³⁵

Eric Kennington, 1919-20

Shortly after the Armistice in 1918 Kennington went to France to work as an official war artist for the Canadian War Record Scheme. In December 1918 he attached himself to the 16th Canadian-Scottish (Highlanders of Canada), a battalion with a formidable fighting record under its larger than life commanding officer, Lt. Col Cyrus Peck VC.³⁶ Peck was unusually relaxed about having non-white individuals serving in his battalion. As the unit marched into Belgium and then Germany, Kennington sketching them as they went was quick to notice the presence of an Inuit soldier as well as one with unmistakable West Indian features among their ranks. Peck had been keen to establish a first rate band for the battalion – and the bandmaster was a West Indian from Vancouver (most of the men had volunteered in British Columbia).³⁷ The West Indian bandmaster and an Inuit private are prominent in Kennington's subsequent painting *The Conquerors* created between December 1919 and April 1920 and exhibited in a display of work commissioned by the Canadian War Art Scheme and held in Ottawa during July-August 1920. Local newspaper journalists and individuals writing in to their editors were more than little taken aback by the 'alien' presence of the West Indian and

the Inuit in a unit which purported to be of Canadian-Highland Scots.³⁸ Their anxieties over the wisdom of such public ‘mixing of the races’ appear to be rooted in pre-war controversies in Canada over the rate of immigration into the country by non-whites from within the British Empire.³⁹

Percy Wyndham Lewis (1882-1957), 1918-19

Similar expressions of dismay and alarm can be found in reaction to the prominent appearance of non-white soldiers in another painting on display in the summer 1920 exhibition in Ottawa – *A Canadian Gun Pit* by Percy Wyndham Lewis (1918, oil on canvas, 304.8 x 363.2 cm, National Gallery of Canada). In the right foreground Lewis depicted members of a West Indian Labour Battalion involved in the prosaic yet necessary task of ‘shell-humping’ – moving shells from a depot some distance behind the firing lines to front line artillery positions. At the time the work was first exhibited in London, at Burlington House in January 1919, Lewis stated that the presence of the West Indians, along with men of the Chinese Labour Corps added to the ‘Alice in Wonderland’ aspect of the Western Front.⁴⁰ He further thought many of the West Indians were “superb in physique”, bringing to mind the impressive straining bodies depicted by Signorelli in his murals for Orvieto Cathedral, painted in the early sixteenth century. Moreover, some of their faces had possessed an attractive “melancholy dignity” as they gravely went about their duties.⁴¹

However, in later years, the artist’s perceptions of the West Indians he had observed in France in 1918 became sharply less positive and admiring. In his 1937 autobiography *Blasting and Bombardiering*, Lewis made some extraordinarily racist observations concerning a group of “West Indian negroes from Jamaica” attached to a battery of the Royal Garrison Artillery he was visiting adjacent to one in which he was serving in France in the summer of 1917 as a First Lieutenant. He wrote in his autobiography that:

once, when two of the negroes had started a razor-fight, it devolved upon me to stop it. So to start with I seized them respectively by the shirt-collar and opening my arms abruptly, as you open a pair of scissors, I flung them apart. One drooped to the right of me, one to the left of me: but only for a moment. I supposed I had ended hostilities: but then simultaneously each of them scooped up a handful of mud and discharged it across my face at his antagonist. And soon we were all three covered in liquid clay. Kamper [the officer in charge of the nearby West Indian Labour Corps detachment] appeared revolver in hand and, as if by magic the two Blacks vanished and I found myself alone, straddling like a statue of clay, with only a razor at my feet to testify to the fact I had not been dreaming!⁴²

Later in the same chapter Lewis added, somewhat defensively:

I never got the right touch with the West Indian negro. At our Nieuport position [where Lewis was serving in August 1917] one dark night the negroes were rolling shells up to the guns – very large ones, since the guns were outsize. This operation had to be affected without so much as a match struck, lest the German air-patrols should spot us. A negro sergeant I noticed was not only stationary, and peculiarly idle, but actually obstructing the work of the dusky rollers. I spoke to him. He neither looked at me, nor answered [any NCO wearing a British Army uniform would normally have promptly come smartly to attention and saluted Lewis as an officer]. I could scarcely see him – it was very dark and he was very dark. I ordered him to do a little rolling. This was a *word of command*. It elicited no response from the dark shape. Whereupon I gave him a violent push. This propelled him through space for a short distance, but he immediately returned to where he had stood before. I gave him a second push. As if made of india-rubber, he once more reintegrated the spot he had just

left. After this, I accepted him as part of the landscape and the shells had to be rolled round him since they could not be rolled *through* him.⁴³

By this stage in his career his attitude to the West Indians he had depicted in *A Canadian Gun Pit* were bound up with his general lofty dismissal of the value of the official war art he had created for the Canadians. At the same time non-Western individuals were often presented in his writings as somewhat less than human grotesques not made of comfortingly normal human flesh and blood. *Blasting and Bombardiering* was published after he had made a visit to French colonial North Africa – Morocco and Algeria – which resulted in the publication of a controversial travel book *Filibusters in Barbary* (1932) where Lewis made a number of hostile remarks concerning the Arab inhabitants of the region, their culture, manner of living and religion.⁴⁴

James McBey (1883-1959), 1917-19

McBey, the sole British official war artist attached to the Egyptian Expeditionary Force during the First World War (from June 1917 to February 1919) had a very different view of the Islamic world to that held by Lewis. He had visited Morocco for a month late in 1912⁴⁵ – his desire to go to the latter had been prompted by the knowledge that Henri Matisse had first visited French North Africa in May 1906⁴⁶ and then spent nearly a year in French Morocco in 1912.⁴⁷ The latter period in particular had proved extremely fruitful in the development of the Frenchman's approach to painting.⁴⁸ McBey emerged from this trip with a profound love for the culture and art he had encountered in French North Africa. Moreover, as a working class Scot from Aberdeen, he came from a very different social background to that of the majority of official British war artists who had been born into professional middle class households and been educated at major British public schools – Rugby in the case of Lewis and St. Pauls regarding Kennington⁴⁹ – whereas McBey had completed his formal education aged fourteen

and worked as a clerk until he had saved up enough money to study printmaking through part-time evening classes at the local municipal art school.⁵⁰

In poor health at the outbreak of the First World War, partially as a consequence of the harsh circumstances of his growing up in damp Aberdonian housing, McBey failed in a number of attempts to join the Army as a volunteer. Eventually, in the autumn of 1915, he was accepted by the Army Service Corps. By the summer of 1916 he had been commissioned as a Second Lieutenant and posted to work in the Army Postal Service in Rouen. He later wrote of his frustration at the nature of his duties – worthy and yet mind-numbingly tedious. He wanted to make use of his artistic gifts and see something of the “warriors world” of the war; his wartime service could just not be reduced to “licking stamps for the Empire.”⁵¹

Short-sighted, a sufferer from frequent severe bouts of asthma and rather over-weight, McBey certainly did not look like conventional warrior material. However, his determination, past familiarity with Islamic culture and undoubted facility in watercolour persuaded an advisor to the Visual Art Section of the Department of Information, Campbell Dodgson (at the time the Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum), that McBey would be able to work effectively as a war artist with the British forces in the Middle East.

The Sinai and Palestine theatre of operations for the British Empire in the First World War is sometimes referred to dismissively as a ‘sideshow’. It was, however, quite an impressively sized ‘sideshow’ involving some 1.2 million British, Dominion and Indian soldiers between 1915 and 1918 – and this total does include: the Egyptian Camel Corps; the Egyptian Labour Corps; an Infantry Brigade of Jewish Volunteers and a West Indian Brigade (deployed unlike its counterpart on the Western Front, as frontline combat troops).⁵²

McBey was appointed as war artist to the EEF in May 1917, with a brief from the Department of Information to record the activities of British and Dominion soldiers; he arrived at Port Said, Egypt, by the following month. However, the British authorities in Cairo impeded his efforts to reach the front line in southern Palestine until the early autumn of 1917. As he later observed his work was not helped by having ready access to a car, or some form of reliable motor transport, or to a translator which would enable him to communicate with the Egyptians and Indians prominently at work everywhere in the rear areas of the EEF in Sinai. By the time he reached EEF positions south of Gaza in September 1917 he was able to hire a Christian Egyptian Copt as a translator.⁵³

Overall, between June 1917 and February 1919, when he returned to London, McBey produced approximately three hundred watercolours. Just over ten percent, thirty-four, depict the activities of non-white individuals serving with the EEF. Throughout his time as a war artist in the Middle East McBey was very much aware that his primary objective was to produce images “for the people back home”, to give them some sort of insight of the tribulations they had to face in their struggle against the forces of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴ However, by the time he arrived on the Gaza Front, he could not help be impressed by how many of the support and supply activities vital to the existence of the EEF were carried out by Egyptian non-combatant units. This is evident from such watercolours as: *Egyptian Labour Corps Landing Stores at Jaffa Harbour*, 19 November 1917, pencil and watercolour on paper, 27.9 x 50.8 cm [IWM 2931]; *Men of the Egyptian Camel Transport Corps*, November 1917 and *The Egyptian Labour Corps Repairing the Nebi Musa Road*, 9 May 1918, watercolour and ink on paper, 43.1 x 34.2 cm [IWM 1684] which indicate how closely the Egyptian Labour Corps followed behind the fighting units of the EEF after the latter had

captured Gaza in November 1917, then moved to take Jerusalem the following month and proceeded to advance deep into central Palestine.

Just over 225,000 Egyptians supported British and Dominion forces in the First World War – almost entirely in a non-combatant capacity⁵⁵: 170,000 served with the Egyptian Camel Transport Corps [ECTC], founded early in 1916, as camel drivers; while a further 55,000 volunteered for the Egyptian Labour Corps [ELC] formed in December 1915; men from the latter unit laid pipelines to carry vital water supplies to the Front and new railway lines, unloaded cargo and constructed entire new roads and bridges in a part of the Ottoman Empire which had only possessed the most meagre infrastructure before the outbreak of war. Some 4,500 of the ECTC and the ELC were killed or died in accidents, or from disease, while at least 1,500 were treated for bullet and shell-fragment wounds.⁵⁶

Following the great German offensive on the British lines in March 1918 Allenby, commander of the EEF, lost most of the British troops under his command as well as some of his Australians and New Zealanders to the Western Front. McBey noticed that their places were increasingly taken up from the by an influx of Indian troops, more infantry, cavalry and engineers. An increasing number of recently formed Sikh units were in evidence, clearing blocked roads and re-building damaged bridges as in the case of *Sikh Sappers Repairing a Bridge*, 1918 [Art IWM 1577]. By this time, thanks in large part to the support of Allenby, McBey now had his own car with a driver/batman and in addition to his Coptic interpreter an Indian interpreter from one of the Imperial Service regiments which had arrived in theatre in March 1918 with the 4th Indian Cavalry Division. The latter interpreter made it much easier for McBey to approach groups of Indian servicemen and engage them in conversation. McBey now felt more at ease in sketching individual Indian soldiers while gently probing them with questions concerning home life and past service. Tellingly, Military

Intelligence at Allenby's GHQ in March 1918 asked McBey to avoid as much as possible discussing "political questions" in his conversations with Indian servicemen though it also asked him to take careful note of any unprompted expressions of dissatisfaction with continuing British rule in India.⁵⁷

Doubtless McBey had these strictures in mind when he produced a series of highly sensitive and engaging portraits of individual soldiers from a Punjabi battalion in September 1918, such as *A Punjabi Soldier at Arsuf*, September 1918, watercolour and chalk on paper, 34.2 x 52 cm [IWM 1571] and *Arsuf, A Punjabi Sentry*, September 1918, watercolour and chalk on paper, 45 x 27.9 cm [IWM 1570] which were drawn just a few days before these same troops took part in Allenby's great offensive which essentially destroyed three Ottoman Turkish armies in Palestine and Syria.

He did not feel technically able or comfortable with depicting such Indian troops in battle. However, he found himself fascinated by the evidence he encountered in September 1918 of the sheer carnage British and Australian fighter-bombers had inflicted on retreating Ottoman columns – on 20 September 1918 he sketched *Retreating Turkish Column machine-gunned and bombed by the Royal Air Force, Tul Keram Defile*. Two days previously Allenby's attacking troops had cut defending Ottoman forces in two – one section retreated towards the headquarters of the 8th Ottoman Army at Tul Keram but was intercepted en route by the Royal Air Force and Royal Australian Air Force leaving a trail of dead and wounded Ottoman and wrecked vehicles and carts over six miles long.⁵⁸ While making the sketch McBey also noted the "dispiriting effect" the sight of the destruction at Tul Keram had on passing Indian cavalry units and groups of irregular Beduin horsemen whom McBey believed to be on the side of Britain's Arab ally the Hashemite Sherif Feisal.⁵⁹ McBey did not speculate then, or later, as to why the havoc at Tul Keram produced the effect it did on the

Indians and Bedu but it is not too far-fetched to imagine these non-white horsemen reflecting that if the British could unleash their annihilating airpower on the Turks, they could just as easily do again in the future on any other non-white opponent who had attracted their wrath.⁶⁰

Thomas Cantrell Dugdale (1880-1952), 1918-19

As Allenby's triumphant offensive was coming to a close in 1918 McBey was joined by another war artist, Thomas Dugdale, who had transferred to Palestine from official duties for the Ministry of Information on the Salonika front with a specific brief to paint some "stirring cavalry actions" of the type which McBey did not feel equal to recording. By the end of the year Dugdale had selected just such an action from early on 20th September 1918 by which time the 4th Indian Cavalry Division had broken through the Turkish lines to close in on the strategically important village of El Afule. As dawn rose the Division's leading unit, the 2nd Lancers, known as Gardner's Horse (founded in 1809 in Bengal), encountered some rudimentary Ottoman defences just to the south of El Afule. To prevent Turkish resistance from solidifying the 2nd Lancers immediately charged catching the exhausted defenders, who were fast asleep, completely by surprise. In less than ten minutes forty six Turkish soldiers had been speared to death while a further five hundred were taken prisoner.⁶¹

Shortly after completing the oil depicting these events Dugdale wrote early in 1919 to the Imperial War Museum in London that he had sought to capture the moment when "Gardner's Horse swept down on 'Johnny Turk' spearing many as they slept". After interviewing one of the unit's British officers, who had taken part in the charge, Dugdale had been greatly impressed by the image conveyed of the sheer cold-blooded professionalism of the Indian cavalymen; on the morning of the charge: "his lancers had behaved that morning as if they

were putting on a bravura display of tent-pegging; each man chose his Turk and ran him through as they lay firing.”⁶²

Dugdale generally displayed a visceral general animus towards the Indian’s Ottoman opponents, referring to them as often less than human, which McBey did not feel. The Scotsman was invariably impressed by the Indian Army combat units he saw advancing deeper in Palestine and Syria in September/October 1918 – as with many British and Dominion soldiers of the EEF he was much less taken with what he saw of Allenby’s Arab allies. Early in October 1918 McBey reached Damascus and encountered T.E. Lawrence who had just occupied the city with some 3,000 ‘Arab Irregular Cavalry’ of the Howeitat, Rualla and Beni Sakhr tribes, technically loyal to the Hashemite Emir Feisal (1885-1933).⁶³ McBey later recalled being impressed by Emir Feisal’s “beautiful manners” – so different from his men who for all their flamboyant robes struck him as “just a lot of bandits, jolly bandits but a cutthroat crew all the same” while he found himself unable to resist sketching Feisal’s bodyguard *A Bodyguard to the Emir Feisal*: “a huge Abyssinian negro with swords, knives and automatic revolvers hung round his neck [who] stood immobile behind the Emir’s chair.”⁶⁴

Stuart Reid (1883-1971) and James McBey, 1919

McBey did not warm to Feisal’s beduin supporters referring to them as “endearingly scuffy and oddly child-like”, one moment and then in a trice capable of turning “fanatical and murderous.”⁶⁵ His view of the bedu was similar to that of the official war artist Stuart Reid who arrived in Palestine as McBey was planning to leave the area for home. Early in 1919 Reid painted the evocative *Deraa: The Arabs welcome the first Handley Page machine to arrive in Palestine, 22 September 1918* [1919, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 91.4 cm, Art 3198] celebrating the moment when a huge twin-engined Handley Page 0/400 heavy bomber landed

outside Deraa to provide fuel for two British Bristol fighters attached to Sherif Feisal's army as well as small arms ammunition to his cavalry – part of which was technically commanded by T.E. Lawrence.⁶⁶ At the time Reid wrote to the RAF section of the Visual Art Department of the Ministry of Information that he hoped the painting would forcefully convey to the viewer the “childlike wonder” of the Arabs confronted by the Handley Page as the “last word” in British aerial military might. The Bedu cavalymen had never seen such a huge aircraft before and speculated whether it could give birth to the smaller machines with which they were more familiar.⁶⁷ Reid noted the excitement mixed with trepidation the Arabs had displayed in front of the Handley Page as if they could have just as easily “attacked it ... as worship it.” He relished the fact the machine seemed to have a “bracing effect” on the Arabs who had “feared Turkish aircraft but then they never had a machine like this [the Handley Page bomber].”⁶⁸

As Allenby's campaign in the Levant began to wind down, the Ottoman Turks signed an Armistice with the British at the end of October 1918, McBey found he had more time than ever with Indian units. No longer on a wartime footing there was more opportunity for him to chat with Indian soldiers who were now full of thoughts of returning home such as two beautifully observed *Punjabis by a Camp Fire, Tripoli, The Lebanon*, 4 November 1918, watercolour and chalk on paper, 48.8 x 37 cm [IWM 1595]. With the general relaxation in atmosphere McBey felt able to sketch individual Egyptians working as waiters and cooks in the kitchens of Allenby's GHQ such as the affable Anwar *The Egyptian Cook at No. 10 Mess, GHQ*, [December 1918, pencil and watercolour on paper, 36.8 x 28.5 cm [IWM 1572]. McBey had a fairly lengthy conversation with Anwar who told the Scot that ‘the English’ [McBey was always quick to emphasise in conversation with anyone he encountered in the Middle East that he was “not an Englishman”] had been welcome guests in Egypt and they

had done some good things for his country but now “the time had come for them to go home” as the Turks had been defeated.⁶⁹

McBey wondered at the time what would happen to Egypt – abruptly annexed by Britain in November 1914. In March 1919, as he arrived back in London, Egyptians rioted for independence from British control while British troops in the army of occupation rioted in camps near Port Said demanding to return home. In his capacity as High Commissioner, Field Marshal Allenby, recommended that independence be granted to the Egyptians in a qualified form. In February 1922 he would formally declare Egypt a sovereign state and independent monarchy – though Britain retained control of the Suez Canal and of the Foreign and Defence policies of the British-approved Egyptian King. Egypt would essentially remain firmly within the British sphere of Imperial influence until July 1952 when the playboy King Faruq was overthrown by his own army.⁷⁰

Back in London McBey was rather chastened to discover that few of his drawings of the Palestine campaign that had already reached the Ministry of Information had been exhibited in public or reproduced in the press. After the Armistice in November 1918 the Ministry had formulated ambitious plans to publish two books of McBey reproductions – one of work produced in Egypt and Sinai and the other of images from Palestine and Syria but neither were realised by the time the war came to an end. The proposed project was first postponed and then cancelled as the Ministry was wound up at great speed early in 1919. As with the Rothenstein project mentioned previously there was interest in publishing something after the war, that would feature images of the exploits of the Indian Army, by first the India Office and then by the Indian Chamber of Princes but there was little enthusiasm for the proposal from the Foreign and Colonial Offices – it was as if the less the British home population knew about the new British Empire in the Middle East, made possible by the decisions of the

Paris Peace Conference, the better.⁷¹ Of course, by the spring of 1919 both Egypt and India were wracked by riot and revolt: there were major disturbances in Cairo in March 1919 while the Amritsar massacre took place in the Punjab in April that year. Some Egyptian and Indians were certainly acting in a warrior fashion but very much against rather than in support of British Imperial power.

Britain's New Empire in the Middle East, 1919-21

By the time McBey left for London in February 1919 the British Empire still had over a million men in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Mesopotamia.⁷² At the close of the year the British military pulled out of Lebanon and Syria to make way for an occupying French force in accordance with the Versailles Treaty of July 1919. The subsequent Treaty of San Remo, in April 1920, awarded Britain League of Nations Mandates for Palestine and what were to become the new kingdoms of Transjordan and Iraq.⁷³

The fine details concerning the future shape of the British Middle East were decided at the Cairo Conference in March 1921. The Hashemite Emir Feisal who had so impressed McBey in October 1918 and had been briskly ejected from Damascus by the French in July 1920, agreed to become King of the new State of Iraq (which was so arranged after a rigged plebiscite in August 1933).⁷⁴ Meanwhile, Feisal's elder brother Abdullah somewhat reluctantly accepted an offer brokered by T.E. Lawrence of becoming Emir of Transjordan with his capital in Amman.⁷⁵

Eric Kennington in the Middle East, 1921

Lawrence had invited Eric Kennington, who he had befriended in Oxford in December 1920 after an introduction from Robert Graves, to visit the Middle East and draw portraits of some

of the Arabs who had fought alongside Lawrence during the Desert Revolt and about whom he was writing at the time in an early draft of his epic *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.⁷⁶ Kennington had arrived in Cairo in March 1921; he did not attend the Conference at which Lawrence was working as an adviser on Arab Affairs to the Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill. The artist spent some time wandering around the city and exploring the Cairo Museum for its collection of Ancient Egyptian artefacts. He did not seem aware of the unrest against British rule among the local population. However, after having afternoon tea with Howard Carter at the Semiramis Hotel, he did note that the archaeologist seemed concerned that the “tense political situation” might prevent him from continuing his search in the Valley of the Kings for an as yet undiscovered and unlooted tomb of a Pharaoh.⁷⁷

From Cairo Kennington made his way by boat to Beirut from which he travelled by lorry to Damascus in April 1921 where he drew a striking portrait in pastel of Nawaf Shalaan of the powerful Rualla tribe. Nawaf and his father had been uneasy allies for Lawrence in 1918; in fact Lawrence had suspected Nawaf of being in the pay of the Ottomans. At the time Kennington wrote to his brother that it had been a challenge to communicate with Nawaf even with a competent translator present but he had eventually been able to persuade the chief to sit motionless for over an hour. He granted that the Chief had “presence ... looking like a lion in a zoo” but this very animalistic quality made him seem remote and detached from normal human concerns. The artist was also surprised that such a powerful chief, who had studiously remained neutral when the French advanced on Damascus in July 1920, was illiterate and seemed to show so little interest in what was happening in Europe – though he had heard of Lloyd George and gave the impression he thought the artist had been sent direct to draw him by the British Prime Minister.⁷⁸ Nawaf would later, during the great Druze

rebellion of July 1925-June 1927 would turn on the French. He was arrested and died in prison as the rising was being crushed.

Kennington then made his way to Haifa, where he visited the site of the cavalry charge made up hill by the Jodhpur Lancers in September 1918. After a visit to Jerusalem, where he stayed with and drew the Military Governor of the City, Sir Ronald Storrs, he made his way to Amman where he drew Abdullah (1882-1951) the 39-year-old newly minted Emir of Transjordan – whom Kennington thought not so noble looking, or as gracious as Feisal, but probably a wiliier politician with a firmer grasp of the realities of European power politics.⁷⁹ By the time the portrait came to be exhibited in London in October 1921 Kennington was aware that Lawrence respected rather than admired Abdullah; he had resisted all of Lawrence's attempts to charm him and was justly suspicious of the hold Lawrence appeared to have established over his younger brother Feisal.⁸⁰

Abdullah, despite being twice nearly overthrown by incursions from Sunni Wahhabi *Ikwhan riders* despatched by Ibn Saud, in 1922 and 1924 (on both occasions he was saved by a combination of the Royal Air Force and the 750-strong British-officered Arab Legion)⁸¹ he proved a successful and enlightened ruler of Jordan and managed to stay on his throne until he was assassinated in 1951.⁸² After Abdullah Kennington drew a further two dozen Arab sitters who can be broadly divided into two groups. Firstly there were senior chiefs who had befriended Lawrence and with varying degrees of loyalty remained true to the Hashemite cause such as: Ali ibn Hussein; Sherif Shakir and the wonderfully piratical Auda abu Tayi (1874-1924) of the Howeitat of the northern Hejaz who managed against all the odds to die in bed of natural causes in 1924 in a luxurious new home he had built for himself east of Maan in southern Jordan with Turkish POW labour.⁸³ During the war Auda had commanded approximately five hundred mounted tribesmen and was reputed to have killed over seventy

Bedu in single combat (he did not bother to count the number of Turks he had killed. He had been wounded over a dozen times in battle. Lawrence admired his physical bravery and leadership skills; he could not have captured Aqaba in July 1917 without Auda's support.⁸⁴

Then, among Kenningtons most interesting and challenging Arab sitters, were those in the second group: former members of Lawrence's 1918 bodyguard – hard, ruthless killers, often renegades or outcasts from their own tribes who feared no one and were unimpressed by any white man – especially one who was not a soldier but who followed the despised calling of being a *rassam* an artist.⁸⁵ Lawrence later told Kennington that being a member of his bodyguard was no sinecure – only half of the one hundred and fifty or so men who had served with him during 1917-18 had survived to see the Ottoman Turks defeated.⁸⁶

Kennington later recalled that he had felt distinctly uneasy in the presence of the 'religious zealot' Saad El Sikeini – who within three years would defect to the Wahhabi *Ikwhan* of Ibn Saud. As for the "runaway negro slave" Abd el Rahman he had noisily unloaded and then loaded his pistol as the Englishman attempted to draw him, while his friend Mahmas – whom even Lawrence described as a "homicidal manic" – nearly attacked Kennington with a knife when the artist unwisely disturbed him during their sitting by suddenly reaching for a fresh stick of chalk.⁸⁷

Kenningtons pastel portraits of Arabs were exhibited at the Leicester Galleries in London in October 1921. Lawrence wrote a most revealing short essay for the exhibition catalogue in which he badly asserted that the "true Arab" was the nomadic Bedu and not those to be found in towns and cities.⁸⁸ In their reaction to the portraits art critics embraced the attractive dichotomy Lawrence provided them. The Arab portraits most admired were of independent,

free-spirited “Ishmaels”⁸⁹ and forbidding-looking “desert Messiah-types”⁹⁰ as opposed to the “Jacobs” who were perceived to be wily, treacherous and calculating – little better than despised “slum Arabs.”⁹¹ The overall verdict was clear: the desert nomad Ishmaels were the “true Arab warriors” because of rather than despite the fanatical and unreasoning nature of their faith which made them instinctively bridle at conforming to Western European values. They were the Arabs to be cultivated by the British as allies and not their settled relatives who had been exposed to the corruption of Western influence and urban living.

Taken to its logical conclusion this argument rather neatly legitimated continuing British involvement in the Middle East. If the “true” Arabs the British were backing in the region were noble and picturesque and yet backward, then there was every reason for the British to maintain a presence there - to keep a paternally interested eye and controlling gaze upon them.

In many respects the artists discussed here were products of their time, imbued with the prejudices and casually stereotyping assumptions of their class, education and upbringing. Some, such as Reid and Dugdale, did not conceal their contempt for the Arabs and Egyptians they encountered as war artists. However, they along with McBey, Kennington and Rothenstein, were far more ready to respect Indians in uniform, their favourable view of them to a great extent structured by Imperial propaganda they had already absorbed concerning the existence of reputable and admirable ‘martial races’ on the sub-continent. Kennington and McBey appear to have been genuinely sympathetic towards and interested in the Indian and Arab individuals they sketched as war artists though both felt true empathy could have only been established with the ability to readily communicate with them. Kennington never returned to the Middle East after his 1921 trip but later expressed his regret he had not done so between the wars.⁹² As for McBey he would retire to live in Morocco in the late 1940’s

and die there in 1959.⁹³ This essay has merely scratched the surface of a subject that requires further in-depth research; more discussion is required of the image of non-white individuals in the service of the British Empire during the First World War while continued exploration of the vital contribution such individuals made to a war effort all too casually referred to as ‘British’ is long overdue.⁹⁴

¹ David Olusoga, *The World's War* (London: Head of Zeus, 2014), 356.

² This point has recently been made by: Olusoga, *The World's War*, xv; Jeremy Black, *The Great War and the Making of the Modern World* (London: Continuum Publishing, 2011), 272 and by William Philpott, *Attrition: Fighting The First World War* (London: Little Brown, 2014), 267-268.

³ David Stevenson, *With Our Backs To The Wall: Victory and Defeat in 1918* (London: Allen Lane, 2011), 257.

⁴ Black, *The Great War and the Making of the Modern World*, 548.

⁵ Richard Holmes, *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front, 1914-1918* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005), 13.

⁶ Stevenson, *With Our Backs To The Wall*, 305.

⁷ Stevenson, *With Our Backs To The Wall*, 258.

⁸ Olusoga, *The World's War*, 294.

⁹ Stevenson, *With Our Backs To The Wall*, 258.

¹⁰ Olusoga, *The World's War*, 198.

¹¹ Black, *The Great War and the Making of the Modern World*, 240-241.

¹² In March 1918, for example, T.E. Lawrence reflected in his journal a common prejudice that men of the Egyptian Army co-operating with Arab Bedu forces he was advising in south-east Palestine looked ‘handsome on parade’ but were perceived as ‘too wedded to routine ... to dare to fight.’ T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom. The Complete 1922 ‘Oxford’ Text* (Fordingbridge, Hampshire: The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust, 2004), 584-585.

¹³ Gordon Corrigan, *Sepoys In The Trenches: The Indian Corps on the Western Front, 1914-15* (Stroud UK: Spellmount, 2006), 3-6. By the time MacMunn published *The Martial Races of India* in 1930 he was the recognised authority on the subject.

¹⁴ Jonathan Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington* (London: UCL Press, 2001), 2.

¹⁵ Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington*, 55.

¹⁶ Eric Kennington letter to Sir William Rothenstein, undated (c. late August 1917), Papers of Sir William Rothenstein, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

¹⁷ Corrigan, *Sepoys in the Trenches*, 22-23. In all 21 Imperial Service Units served overseas with the Indian Army during the First World War.

¹⁸ Eric Kennington letter to Sir William Rothenstein, undated (probably mid November 1917), Papers of Sir William Rothenstein, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

¹⁹ Corrigan, *Sepoys in the Trenches*, 22.

²⁰ Eric Kennington letter to Sir William Rothenstein, undated (probably early September 1917), Papers of Sir William Rothenstein, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

²¹ Eric Kennington to Sir William Rothenstein, undated (c. late September 1917), Papers of Sir William Rothenstein, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

²² Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington*, 5.

²³ Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington*, 4.

²⁴ Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington*, 36.

²⁵ William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories, Volume Two, 1900-1922* (London: Faber & Faber, 1934), 331

²⁶ Indeed, such was the level of anti-German prejudice in British society at the outbreak of the First World War that, later in 1914, William's elder brother Charles and younger brother Albert both changed their surnames to the more English-sounding 'Rutherson.' To his credit William felt it would be wrong and contrary to British notions of fair play to anglicise his surname. Sir William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 361.

²⁷ Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington*, 7.

²⁸ Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, 331-332.

²⁹ William Rothenstein letter to C.F.G. Masterman, 19 February 1918, Rothenstein First World War File, Department of Art, IWM, London.

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- ³⁰ William Rothenstein, , *Since Fifty: Men and Memories, 1922-1938* (London: Faber & Faber, 1939), 106.
- ³¹ Meirion and Susie Harries, *The War Artists: British Official War Art of the Twentieth Century* (London: Michael Joseph, 1983), 73.
- ³² Unsigned article, 'The British Soldier at the Leicester Galleries', *The Times*, 17 June 1918, 18.
- ³³ Anthony Bruce, *The Last Crusade: The Palestine Campaign in the First World War* (London: Thistle Publishing, 2013), 301.
- ³⁴ Eric Kennington letter to Sir William Rothenstein, undated (c. October 1918), Papers of Sir William Rothenstein, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- ³⁵ Harries, *The War Artists*, 26.
- ³⁶ Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington*, 52.
- ³⁷ H.M. Urquart, *The History of the 16th Canadian-Scottish Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force in the Great War, 1914-1918* (Toronto: Godenrath & Co, 1932), 401.
- ³⁸ Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington*, 10.
- ³⁹ Olusoga, *The World's War*, 5.
- ⁴⁰ Paul Edwards, *Wyndham Lewis: Art and War* (London: Lund Humphries and the Wyndham Lewis Memorial Trust, 1992), 32.
- ⁴¹ Edwards, *Wyndham Lewis: Art and War*, 34-36.
- ⁴² Wyndham Lewis, *Blasting and Bombardiering* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 152.
- ⁴³ Lewis, *Blasting and Bombardiering*, 153.
- ⁴⁴ To be fair Lewis was just as critical and antagonistic in his presentation of French colonial officials. Paul O'Keeffe, *Some Sort of Genius: A Life of Wyndham Lewis* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000), 306-307.
- ⁴⁵ Harries, *The War Artists*, 23.
- ⁴⁶ Hilary Spurling, *Matisse: The Life* (London: Penguin, 2009), 143-144.
- ⁴⁷ Spurling, *Matisse: The Life*, 235-238.
- ⁴⁸ Spurling, *Matisse: The Life* , . 250-252.

⁴⁹ Rothenstein and Lewis had studied art at the prestigious Slade School of Art, part of University College, London, while Kennington had gone to the reputable Lambeth School of Art and paid for classes at the City and Guilds School in Kennington.

⁵⁰ Harries, *The War Artists*, 24.

⁵¹ Kenneth Hare, *London's Latin Quarter* (London: John Lane, 1925), 134.

⁵² John Terraine, *The Smoke and the Fire: Myths and Anti-Myths of War, 1861-1945* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980), 57.

⁵³ Hare, *London's Latin Quarter*, 136.

⁵⁴ Harries, *The War Artists*, 124.

⁵⁵ It is often overlooked that a further 100,000 Egyptians were sent 1917-18 to work as Labourers for the British Expeditionary Force in France, digging trenches, making roads and bringing supplies up to close to the front line where they often came under shell fire. Stevenson, *With Our Backs To The Wall*, 235.

⁵⁶ Stevenson, *With Our Backs To The Wall*, 235.

⁵⁷ Harries, *The War Artists*, 124.

⁵⁸ Bruce, *The Last Crusade*, 291

⁵⁹ Malcolm Brown, *Lawrence of Arabia, The Life, The Legend* (London: Thames & Hudson and the Imperial War Museum, 2005), 43.

⁶⁰ The Ottoman Army in Palestine in September 1918 did indeed suffer horrendous casualties; by the end of the month some 30,000 of its original strength of 35-36,000 had been killed or captured. From the beginning of Allenby's September offensive to the surrender of Ottoman forces towards the end of October 1918, the EEF lost: 1,064 dead and 4,428 wounded. Bruce, *The Last Crusade*, 331. Total Ottoman casualties in the region, 1914-18, were in the region of 1.5 million: 772,000 dead (304,000 killed in action and 466,000 dead from disease) and 764,000 wounded, Stevenson, 2011, 307.

⁶¹ Bruce, *The Last Crusade*, 295.

⁶² Harries, *The War Artists*, 124.

⁶³ Damascus appears to have been entered simultaneously by the Arabs and by the Third Australian Light Horse Brigade, part of the 5th Indian Cavalry Division. Bruce, *The Last Crusade*, 314-315.

⁶⁴ Hare, *London's Latin Quarter*, 137.

⁶⁵ Hare, *London's Latin Quarter*, 138.

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- ⁶⁶ Michael Korda, *Hero: The Life and Legend of Lawrence of Arabia* (London: JR Books, 2011), 414.
- ⁶⁷ Korda, *Hero: The Life and Legend of Lawrence of Arabia*, 415.
- ⁶⁸ Stuart Reid letter to Lieutenant-Colonel A.C. MacClean (Royal Air Force Art Section), 11 June 1919, Reid First World War File, 1919, Department of Art, Imperial War Museum, London. By the time Reid had written this letter RAF Handley Page 0/400's had been deployed to bomb Kabul, during the Third Anglo-Afghan War, and rebellious Kurdish tribesmen in the north of what was to become Iraq. David Loyn, *Butcher and Bolt: Two Hundred Years of Foreign Engagement in Afghanistan* (London: Windmill Books, 2009), 117-118.
- ⁶⁹ James McBey letter to A. N. Yockney, undated (c. January 1919), McBey First World War File, 1917-19, Department of Art, Imperial War Museum, London.
- ⁷⁰ David Fromkin, *A Peace To End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (London: Phoenix, 2000), 502.
- ⁷¹ Harries, *The War Artists*, 27-28.
- ⁷² Fromkin, *A Peace To End All Peace*, 404.
- ⁷³ Fromkin, *A Peace To End All Peace*, 411.
- ⁷⁴ Fromkin, *A Peace To End All Peace*, 502-506.
- ⁷⁵ Fromkin, *A Peace To End All Peace*, 510-512.
- ⁷⁶ Black, *The Graphic Art of Eric Kennington*, 56.
- ⁷⁷ Eric Kennington letter to William Oscar Kennington, undated (c. March 1921), Kennington Papers, Department of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.
- ⁷⁸ Eric Kennington letter to William Oscar Kennington, undated (c. April 1921), Kennington Papers, Department of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.
- ⁷⁹ Eric Kennington, 'T.E. Lawrence: An Appreciation' in A.W. Lawrence, *T.E. Lawrence By His Friends* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937),
- ⁸⁰ Scott Anderson, *Lawrence In Arabia: War, Deceit, Imperial Folly and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014), 195-196.
- ⁸¹ Fromkin, *A Peace To End All Peace*, 513-514.
- ⁸² Fromkin, *A Peace To End All Peace*, 512.
- ⁸³ Brown, *Lawrence of Arabia*, 202.

⁸⁴ Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia*, 288-289.

⁸⁵ Sir Ronald Storrs, *Eric Kennington: Drawing The R.A.F.: A Book of Portraits* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), 14-15.

⁸⁶ Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia*, 413-414.

⁸⁷ Storrs, *Eric Kennington*, 16.

⁸⁸ T.E. Lawrence, 'Preface', in exhibition catalogue *Arab Portraits by Eric Kennington* (London: Leicester Galleries, October 1921), 6-8.

⁸⁹ P.G. Konody, 'Ishmaelites: Mr. Kenningtons Desert Pictures', *Daily Mail*, 8 October 1921, 4.

⁹⁰ Unsigned Article, 'Mr. Kenningtons New Exhibition', *The Times*, 11 October 1921, 18.

⁹¹ Charles Marriott, 'Current Drawings', *The Outlook*, 22 October 1921, 332.

⁹² Eric Kennington letter to Basil Liddell-Hart, undated (c. April 1954), Kennington-Liddell-Hart Correspondence, Liddell Hart Archive Centre, Kings College, London.

⁹³ Harries, *The War Artists*, 27.

⁹⁴ Jeremy Black, *The Great War and the Making of the Modern World* (London: Continuum, 2011), 272.