Published in Surveying and Built Environment, Vol. 21, Issue 12 (Dec. 2011), 12-20. (ISSN 1816-9554)

Chinese Eyes on British Tanks: Historical Verification of a War Heritage

Lee Ho Yin*

ABSTRACT

This paper is about a British military tradition with a Chinese connection. It has taken the author several years of research to dispel the myth that has long shrouded the true origins of a regimental tradition of the 1st Royal Tank Regiment of the British Army. This tradition is a pair of eyes, known as the "Chinese Eyes," painted on the bows or turrets of British tanks from World War I to the present day. As such, the "Chinese Eyes" can be regarded as an intangible heritage expressed on the tangible hardware of the British Army. Using the research methodology for architectural conservation, the author attempts to rediscover obscured historical evidence, using it to chronologically reconstruct the events leading to the creation of this tradition.

KEYWORDS

Military heritage, historical research, interpretation, authenticity.

E-mail: hoyin@hku.hk

^{*} Director, Architectural Conservation Programme (ACP), Faculty of Architecture, The University of Hong Kong.

INTRODUCTION: METHODOLOGY AND ORIGINS OF RESEARCH

It is a little known fact that British tanks, produced in the thousands during World War I, were cared for by the skillful hands of the Chinese Labour Corps. Who would have thought that there is such a seemingly improbable connection between Chinese men and British war machines? More incredibly, who would have thought that a Chinese individual – an individual with an indirect link with Hong Kong – was responsible for creating a famous military tradition of British tanks – a pair of eyes, known as the "Chinese Eyes" that have been painted on British tanks since World War I. The research leading to this paper is to find out the origins of this military tradition. For this purpose, the research methodology is borrowed from that for architectural conservation, and specifically, from the *Burra Charter*, one of the most often used international charters for the conservation of heritage buildings and sites of cultural significance,

To understand what makes a place special, you will usually need to know about its history – why was it created, was it extraordinary, why was it put in that location, how was it used, and how has it changed.²

While the above methodology caters specifically to architectural heritage, it can equally be applicable to such military tradition as the "Chinese Eyes." Hence, echoing the words of the *Burra Charter*, to understand what makes the "Chinese Eyes" tradition special, we will need to know about its history – why was it created, was it extraordinary, why was it put on a tank, and how has it changed. The why and how of the "Chinese Eyes" essentially define the research questions, the answer of which is what this paper is about.

The research on the history of the "Chinese Eyes" began in May 2006, when the author came upon the website hosted by Mr. Douglas Greville, a New South Wales-based armour enthusiast and collector. In the website, there is an account of a fellow tank collector in the United Kingdom who attempted to restore a Scorpion tank with the livery of the 4th Royal Tank Regiment (RTR), popularly thought to be the ancestral owner of the "Chinese Eyes" tradition. However, research shows that the genealogy of the "Chinese Eyes" does not begin with the 4th RTR. In fact, the direct predecessor of the 4th RTR, the 4th Battalion of the Royal Tank Corp (originally designated the D Battalion) *inherited* the tradition from the 6th Battalion (originally

_

¹ See: Fawcett 2001: 43-44.

² See: Marquis-Kyle and Walker 1992: 12.

the F Battalion) when the latter was disbanded in May 1918, shortly before the end of World War I.³ When the 4th RTR was amalgamated with the 1st RTR in 1993, the "Chinese Eyes" tradition was passed on to the new host unit. This confusion prompted the author to contact Mr. Greville to point out the mistaken genealogical ownership of the "Chinese Eyes" tradition.⁴ Through the correspondence, it was realized that the amount of information on the subject matter was not only insufficient, but also raised more questions than provided answers. This became the catalyst for the research on the history of the "Chinese Eyes," which eventually led to the writing of this paper.

The author believes that there are three key circumstances that have contributed to the popular but mistaken belief the "Chinese Eyes" tradition originated from the 4th RTR. The first circumstance is simply because the 4th RTR was the unit that had painted the "Chinese Eyes" on their tanks for the longest period, for 75 years from 1918 to 1993, and this has left the impression that the tradition originated from the unit. The second circumstance is that the 4th RTR Association has reinforced the 4th RTR origin of the tradition by stating in its website that a Mark IV tank donated by a Chinese philanthropist was "issued to D Battalion [of the] Tank Corps [the beginning of the 4th RTR lineage], duly had eyes painted on it," and "the tradition was born." 5 The third circumstance is a key exhibit in London's Imperial War Museum, a World War I-vintage Mark V tank that has been restored to depict a tank belonging to the 4th Battalion of the Royal Tank Corps [the post-World War I re-designation of D Battalion of the Tank Corps] by sporting a prominent pair of "Chinese Eyes" and the christened name "Devil" (by tradition, British tanks were christened with names whose alphabetical order of the first letter matches the designated number of the battalion; that is to say, D for the 4th battalion, and so on). This particular exhibit has further reinforced the impression that the "Chinese Eyes" originated from the 4th RTR (Figure 1).

The history of the "Chinese Eyes" is an already obscure subject matter that has become further obscure by the passage of time. As such, the research references for this paper are expectedly scarce in terms of published sources. The author has met with little success in searching such potential sources of primary documentation as the

³ Although the 6th Battalion was re-formed in 1933 and existed until 1959, it did not regain the "Chinese Eyes."

⁴ An account of the correspondence between the author and Mr. Greville is featured in the story "Restoring a Scorpion – the Saga" in Douglas Greville's *Doug's 'Heavy Metal' Gallery* website: http://www.livesteammodels.co.uk/dhmg/scorp-01.html.

⁵ See: http://4and7royaltankregiment.com/1916-1918.html.

archives of the Imperial War Museum in London, the archives of The Tank Museum in Bovington, and the Lincolnshire Archives in Lincoln, the birthplace of the tank. In this regard, the author was fortunate to have chanced upon perhaps the most primary of all research sources – Mr. Richard Eu, the grandson of the very Chinese individual responsible for creating the tradition of the "Chinese Eyes." Mr. Eu's graciousness in sharing original information – contents of official letters relating to the "Chinese Eyes" – has enabled the author to reconstruct, for the first time, a complete story of how the tradition was created.

The Chinese individual in question was Eu Tong Sen (1877-1941), a Singapore-based businessman who inherited a modest family herbal medicine shop and developed it into a thriving regional business of providing traditional medicine to Chinese communities in the British colonies of Hong Kong, Malaya and Singapore. Today, the business has growth into an international holding company with Eu Tong Sen's grandson, Richard Eu, serving as the Group Chief Executive Officer. In Hong Kong, the company is as much an institution as a heritage, and its name is recognized by almost every local Chinese — Eu Yan Sang (余仁生). Its historic main shop on Queen's Road Central is a local landmark particularly memorable for its whimsical window display of a life size model of a horse, on which sits a suit of replica medieval armour, a perhaps unintentional but fitting tribute to the creator of a tradition for the armour units of the British military.

A RUMOUR OF WAR: FACTS AND MYTHS OF THE "CHINESE EYES"

The commonly known story of how the "Chinese Eyes" tradition was created is as follows. In early March of 1917, Mr. Eu Tong Sen, a respected Chinese philanthropic businessman based in the British colonial city of Singapore, who was also a Permanent Unofficial Member of the Federal Council of the Malay States, prevailed upon the council to contribute fund towards Britain's war effort. Part of the fund, worth £6,000, would be used for buying a tank of the latest Mark IV model for the British Army. To honour this special war donation, a pair of eyes was painted onto the bow of the tank, in accordance with the Chinese maritime tradition of painting eyes on the bow of boats as a talisman for safe seafaring. The gesture was intended to be a one-off, but the idea caught on, and it was adopted after the war by successive tank regiments as its unit symbol, and became famously known as the "Chinese Eyes."

The source of this familiar narrative is most likely from one of the earliest post-World War I publications on the development of the tank – the memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Gerald Stern, *Tanks 1914-1918: The Log-book of a Pioneer* (1919). This is a publications authored by arguably the most authoritative military figures involved in the creation of British tanks – Lieutenant-Colonel Stern, a former banker turned military officer who took a leadership role in the development and production of British tanks in World War I. In Stern's memoir, there is also a brief mention on why the "Chinese Eyes" were created:

All Chinese ships and boats, large or small, have a large "eye" painted at each side of the bow. The Chinese explanation of the custom is, "No have eyes, how can see?" It seemed only right that this "Landship," [referring to the tank purchased and donated by Eu Tong Sen] also, should see, and accordingly an eye was painted on each side of its bow.⁶

This sketchy story of the origin of the "Chinese Eyes" has become the basis of so many re-interpretations that the factual basis has been lost through erroneous and embellished retelling. However, thanks to previously unknown information provided by a direct descendant of the central figure of the story – Eu Tong Sen's grandson, Mr. Richard Eu – as well as newly emerged historical materials on individual British tanks used in World War I,⁷ a detailed and historically accurate account of the origins of the "Chinese Eyes" can now be told.

THE REDISCOVERY: HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE "CHINESE EYES"

After Eu's offer of a battle tank was duly accepted by the Army Council, the War Office decided to exploit the propaganda value of this patriotic act by decorating the tank in a special way, and consulted Sir Frank Swettenham for suggestions. Swettenham had been the Resident-Governor of the Straits Settlement (the collective name for the British colonial cities of Malacca, Penang and Singapore in the Malay Peninsula) and he was now the Joint Director of the Official Press Bureau at Whitehall, a post he held from 1915 to 1919. The Official Press Bureau was responsible for controlling news and managing the media during the war, or, in other words, it was a propaganda unit of sorts. Being an "old Malay hand," Swettenham

⁶ Stern 1919: 128-129.

⁷ These materials include excerpts of official letters documented in the manuscript of an unpublished biography of Eu Tong Sen, provided Mr. Richard Y. M. (see: Eu 2008), and Cambrai battle records on the *Landships* website at http://sites.google.com/site/landships/.

certainly was aware of the tradition of painting eyes on the bows of boats by local ethnic Chinese seafarers of Fujian descent. With this in mind, he suggested to the War Office that the two motifs that he thought would be most identified with the Chinese culture were: the cliché dragon and, more creatively, eyes that were often painted on the bow of Chinese boats in the Straits Settlement (**Figure 2**). It appears that the War Office originally approved only the dragon but not the eye motif, and the evidence for this comes from a number of letters from the Swettenham's office, dated after the official presentation ceremony on 10 March 1917, arguing for the adoption of the Chinese boat eyes.

Before we examine the Swettenham letters, we first turn to the vehicle presentation ceremony held on 10 March 1917. The vehicle chosen for the honour was a Mark IV, freshly rolled out from the tank factory William Foster & Company Limited located in Lincoln. The Mark IV was significant as the world's first mass-produced battle tank, with over 1,000 vehicles manufactured. Its predecessors, the Mark II and Mark III, were unarmoured training vehicles clad in boilerplates (mild steel sheets used in the construction of boilers), while the original Mark I was essentially a prototype, all of which were produced in relatively small numbers (150 Mark Is, and 50 Mark IIs and 50 Mark IIIs). The Mark IV was produced in two variants, which were assigned genders: the "male" tank armed with two six-pounder guns as primary weapons, and the "female" tank armed only with machine guns. Curiously, some Mark IV tanks were armed with machine guns as well as a single six-pounder gun, and they were descriptively referred to as "hermaphrodites."

The chosen Mark IV tank was a male version with the War Department assigned serial number 2341, and it was decorated with the dragon motif (presumably in red, based on the tone in the few surviving black-and-white photographs)⁸ painted on the front glacis plate. Mounted above the dragon symbol is a commemorative brass plate inscribed with the words that indicate that the tank was a donation of "Mr. Eu Tong Sen, Unofficial Member of the Federal Council of the Federated Malay States." Curiously, the dragon depicted was not of the Chinese variety, but closely resembled the Welsh symbol, which indicates that the design was obviously not the handiwork of Chinese hands. Soon, this patriotic gift of war by a Chinese individual from a far-flung corner of the British Empire was on its way to France, where thousands of Chinese had been sent to this equally far-flung foreign land.

_

⁸ Photographs of this tank showing the Welsh dragon and the commemorative plate is in the collection of Lincolnshire Archives, document reference MISC DON 1487, photos 36-38.

Swettenham was not satisfied that only one of his two suggestions had been taken up. Determined to have his brainchild realized, and he delegated one of his subordinates, J. Arthur Turnham, to pressure the War Office through the Colonial Office, which was responsible for matters relating to the colonies of the British Empire. On 22 March, Turnham wrote to the Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, Edmund Phipps, hard-selling Swettenham's boat-eye idea:

It occurs to me that as all Chinese ships or boats, large or small, invariably have large eyes painted on each side of the bow, this Tank, when built, might be similarly distinguished. The Chinese explanation of the custom is, "No have eyes, how can see?" Having regard to the construction of the Tank it would seem very appropriate to give it eyes.⁹

Relentlessly, Turnham followed up with another letter on 31 March, with a none-too-subtle attempt to put pressure on the most senior person in charge of coordinating the development and production of tanks to take up Swettenham's suggestion. That person was none other than Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Gerald Stern, who in 1917 had risen to the appointment of Director-General of the Mechanical Warfare Supply Department under the Ministry of Munitions. In his letter, Turnham wrote,

I hope Colonel Stern will carry out the suggestion and supply the "eyes" to the Chinese given tank because I feel sure it would gratify not only the giver, but all the Chinese in the Malay State and likely lead to the gift of another tank. ¹⁰

And to preempt any attempt from the lower army hierarchy in resisting his boss' idea, he added:

I can barely suppose that the War Office would consider the addition of the eyes would make the tank so conspicuous that they must be painted out, but one can never tell.¹¹

As letters were exchanged between the Official Press Office and the Colonial Office, the production of the important Mark IV tanks, which began in early March, proceeded in earnest. Because of a variety of political, technical and logistical reasons, new Mark IV tanks were initially produced at a rate of only 20 tanks a

7

⁹ Eu 2008: 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.: 9.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

week. 12 As soon as they rolled out from the production lines in England, there was a pressing need to dispatch them across the English Channel to France, where their numbers could be built up for the planned Cambrai offensive. The first batch of 19 Mark IV tanks (with War Department numbers 2001 to 2019), which came off the same production lines at the Foster plant in Lincoln as Tank 2341, reached France on the night and early morning of 17-18 April. Like other new tanks, they would be tested and fitted out at the Central Workshops in Erin before being assigned to their designated tank units.

In June 1917, the War Office finally gave in to Swettenham, and was prepared to retrospectively add eyes to the tank donated by Eu Tong Sen. However, it would have been impossible to carry out the work in Britain, as Tank 2341 had by this time already been shipped to France and issued to F Battalion of the Tank Corps. The painting would have to be carried out on French soil. But who was responsible for painting the eyes on Tank 2341? The author would like to hypothesize that it was a member of the Chinese Labour Corps - Chinese contract labourers serving with the British Army in World War I – who worked at the Camouflage Section of the Erin Central Workshops. The Camouflage Section was at the time staffed by 70 members of the Chinese Labour Corps and was tasked with the painting of all tanks.

An overlooked piece of evidence that strongly suggests that eyes were the handiwork of a member of the Chinese Labour Corps is the fact that the eyes proposed by Swettenham were those painted on Chinese fishing boats, which were fish eyes. Chinese Labour Corps members were typically northern Chinese from the inland areas of Shandong province, and such a person assigned to the painting job would have little idea about the maritime tradition of southern China. Having no reference to the painting order, which probably did not specify the particular kind of eyes, the painter from Shandong painted a pair of human eyes. The eyes were unmistakably European in that they featured folded eyelids and blue irises, and one can speculate that they were perhaps modelled on the eyes of the painter's supervising British officer! Notwithstanding their distinctive European features, from then on they would always be known as "Chinese Eyes" because of the Chinese connection to the conceptual origin and artistic execution.

See: Fletcher 2007: 4.
See: Campbell 2008: 266, 268.

WHAT HAPPENED TO TANK 2341 DURING THE WAR?¹⁴

The common story of what happened to Tank 2341 in France is a schizophrenic tale of confused identities. After being tested and fitted out in Erin, Tank 2341 was assigned to 12 Section, 18 Company, F Battalion of the Tank Corps. The tank was named "Fly Paper" and assigned the tactical number of F56. F56 "Fly Paper" took part in the Third Battle of Ypres, which was launched on 31 July 1917, with a crew under the command of Second-Lieutenant J. M. Oke (who survived the war and rose to the rank of Captain). By the time of the Battle of Cambrai, which began on 20 November 1917, F56 became "Fan Tan" and had a different crew and a new commander, Lieutenant H. A. Aldridge (who also survived the war and rose to the rank of Captain). This sketchy historical account represents the extent of what is known about Tank 2341.

What could have actually happened to Tank 2341? Apparently, Tank 2341, christened "Fan Tan," had been held in reserve as a spare tank in F Battalion, and it was therefore not assigned a tactical number, as only combat vehicles were assigned tactical numbers. The tactical number F56, which is often confusingly associated with "Fan Tan," was originally assigned to "Fly Paper," which is a different vehicle with an unknown War Office number. F56 "Fly Paper" went into action on the first day of the Cambrai campaign on 20 November 1917, and sustained a level of damage that would probably put it out of subsequent action:

F56 [Fly Paper] whilst passing South of La Vacquerie it was seen to still be in enemy hands, the tank thus turned and passed to the West, visiting the 4 or 5 "I" battalion tanks knocked out here. Engaged farm with 6pdr [the six-pounder gun on each side of the tank] but after three shots [the] tank was hit by field gun which knocked out the 6 pdr. Tank continued to Blue line where it silenced an enemy MG at request of infantry then joined another group of infantry and

_

¹⁴ The main reference sources of this section are: the book *War History of the Sixth Tank Battalion* (1919) and the website *Landships* (hosted by *Google Sites* at (http://sites.google.com/site/landships/), which carries referenced historical information on British tanks built between 1916 and 1918.

¹⁵ This version of the story is depicted in Fawcett 2001: 45 and Fletcher 2007: 45.

¹⁶ Captain J. M. Oke's rank and name appear in the list of officers of the 6th (formerly F) Battalion of the Tank Corps; see: Somers 1919: 244.

¹⁷ Captain H. A. Aldridge's rank and name appear in the list of officers of the 6th (formerly F) Battalion of the Tank Corps; see: Somers 1919: 241.

¹⁸ See: the *Landship* website, page on spare tanks in F Battalion during the Cambrai campaign, at http://sites.google.com/site/landships/f-battalion-spare-wire-pulling-and-supply-tanks-at-cambrai.

forced surrender of about 20 enemies. Reached and patrolled along Brown line. Rallied at 4pm. 19

Battle records of 18 Company show that a new tank carrying the tactical number F56, with the name "Fan Tan" and War Office number 2341, and with the same crew and commander (Aldridge), saw action for the first time as it went into combat on 27 November, 20 an account of which is as follows:

F56 [Fan Tan] went to right of village, infantry following. Fired on targets in village with 6pdr and Lewis guns. Failed, three times, to enter east of village due to heavy enemy fire. Eventually entered village and helped clear enemy snipers. Tank now developed mechanical trouble and was withdrawn, with difficulty, to RP [rallying point].²¹

Photographic records exist of Tank 2341 going through its paces on a testing ground (possibly at the Erin Central Workshops), looking factory fresh and painted with eyes on the bow and its War Office number "2341" clearly displayed on the stern (Figure 3).²² However, the vehicle was conspicuously lacking its tactical number of F56, which would have been prominently painted on both sides of the vehicle body. This is supporting evidence that suggests that Tank 2341 "Fan Tan" had been kept in reserve as a spare tank until it replaced the damaged "Fly Paper" and assumed the same tactical number F56 as it went into battle on 27 November.

As a propaganda tool to garner financial and material support among non-European British subjects throughout the Empire, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that the British authorities would not want to risk early damage or destruction to Tank 2341 "Fan Tan" by committing it to battle at the first instance. When "Fan Tan" was eventually called to battle to replace the damaged "Fly Paper" and assume the latter's tactical number of F56 appears to be the source of the confusion.

WHAT HAPPENED TO TANK 2341 AFTER THE WAR?

http://sites.google.com/site/landships/18-company-20-november-1917.

http://sites.google.com/site/landships/18-company-27-november-1917.

¹⁹ Quoted from the *Landships* website at:

According to the *Landships* website, "F56, 2341, . . . Fan Tan is not recorded prior to this date [27] November 1917]. See:

http://sites.google.com/site/landships/f-battalion-spare-wire-pulling-and-supply-tanks-at-cambrai.

Quoted from the *Landships* website at:

These photographs are in the archival collection of the Imperial War Museum.

Apparently, Tank 2341, also known as F56 "Fan Tan," survived the war, and the authorities had originally planned to bring it back to Malaya as a victory monument.²³ But given more immediate priorities on hand after the war, the plan was not carried out, and the tank's whereabouts became a mystery. In all likelihood, it shared the same destiny as other veteran Mark IV tanks, which had then become outdated and would serve no useful military purpose. This unceremonious fate of obsolete Mark IV tanks is described by tank historian David Fletcher in his book *British Mark IV Tank*:

The vast majority of war surplus [Mark IV] tanks were simply shipped back to Bovington and scrapped, although a significant number still remained on the Western Front, too damaged to move but too much of a nuisance to leave behind. Thus the Tank Corps raised a special salvage detachment which, for many months after the end of hostilities, worked steadily across the battlefields, blowing up wrecks where it was safe to do so or, in a few cases, burying them where it was not.²⁴

While the Mark IV tanks have all gone, except for a handful that still survive in museums, the "Chinese Eyes" have lived on to the present day. Over the years, legends and myths have been spun about the "Chinese Eyes," including one that considers them a common symbol for tanks of the D (later 4th) Battalion. In fact, the eyes were unique to Tank 2341 "Fan Tan" of the F Battalion (renamed the 6th Battalion in January 1918) during World War I. It was after the war that the "Chinese Eyes" were inherited like a precious heirloom by a succession of tank units, and they remain today with the 1st Royal Tank Regiment.

CONCLUSION: THE CHANGING "CHINESE EYES"

The design of markings applied on military vehicles is subject to change, and, as such, tracking the changes is essential to achieving an understanding of the past and present of the tradition, and thereby an indication of its future.

In the case of the "Chinese Eyes" marking, the author has managed to discover at least four variations: the very first and only original design used during World War I (**Figure 4**); the second design possibly used during the inter-war years as depicted on

_

²³ See: Stern 1919: 129-130.

²⁴ See: Fletcher 2007:43.

the Mark V tank on display at the Imperial War Museum (**Figure 5**); the third design seen on tanks in World War II and the Korean War (**Figure 6**); the fourth and current design dates from the latter part of the Cold War to today (**Figure 7**). Through research of photographs of the "Chinese Eyes" painted on tanks of different eras, the four design variations are accurately reproduced and presented as the final illustrations for this paper.

It is hoped that this research will find useful application in the restoration of vintage tanks, which are significant military artefacts that hold much appeal to visitors in any war museums and, as such, deserve to be accurately restored for the correct interpretation of history.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author would like to thank Dr. Lynne DiStefano (former Chief Curator of Museum London, Ontario, and current Adjunct Professor of the Architectural Conservation Programme, HKU) and Ms. Katie Cummer (Programme Research Officer of the Architectural Conservation Programme, HKU) for their invaluable input to the paper. The author would also like to thank Prof. Lawrence Lai (Department of Real Estate and Construction, HKU), without whose encouragement and advice this paper would not have been possible.

REFERENCES

- Campbell, Christy. *Band of Brigands: The First Men in Tanks*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2008.
- Childs, David J. A Peripheral Weapon? The Production and Employment of British Tanks in the First World War. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Eu, Yee Ming Richard. "Chapter Four." In *Eu Tong Sen Biography* (an unpublished draft document), 2008.
- Fawcett, Brian. "The Chinese Labour Corps in France 1917-1921." *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 40 (2001), 33-111.
- Fletcher, David (ed.). Tanks and Trenches: First Hand Accounts of Tank Warfare in the First World War. Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 1994.
- Fletcher, David. *The British Tanks 1915-19*. Marlborough, Wiltshire: Crowood Press, 2001.
- Fletcher, David, illustrated by Tony Bryan. *British Mark IV Tank*. Botley, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007.
- Littledale, Harold Aylmer. "With the Tanks: I. Anatomy and Habit." *Atlantic Monthly*, December (1918). Sourced from the website *The Great War in a Different Light* (www.greatwardifferent.com).
- Marquis-Kyle, Peter and Meredith Walker. *The Illustrated Burra Charter*. Sydney: Australia ICOMOS Inc., 1992.
- Mitchell, Frank. *Tank warfare: The Story of the Tanks in the Great War*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1933.
- Somers, Lord (Authur H. T. Somers-Cocks, 6th Baron Somers). *War History of the Sixth Tank Battalion*. N.p.: original edition privately printed, current edition printed and bound by Antony Rowe Ltd., 1919.

- Stern, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Albert Gerald. *Tanks 1914-1918: The Log-book of a Pioneer*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919.
- Western Front Association. "Organization and Administration of The Tank Corps." Internet article at www.westernfrontassoication.com, dated 22 May 2008 and updated 24 Sep. 2008.



Figure 1 The Mark V tank exhibited at the Imperial War Museum, which has been restored to depict a tank of the 4th Battalion by spotting the "Chinese Eyes" and a name that begins with "D" (the fourth letter in the alphabet, denoting the 4th Battalion). (Photo by Lee Ho Yin)



Figure 2 Drawing of a traditional cargo barge operated by ethnic Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia from the 19th century until the end of the 20th century, when the type was made obsolete by the introduction of container ports. Known by the local Malay name of *tongkang*, the bow of these barges are painted with colourful patterns that invariably include a pair of fish eyes. The practical rationale of these bow patterns is a safety measure in the crowded waterways by rendering the boat more conspicuous and its direction of travel more obvious. (Original drawing by Lee Ho Yin)

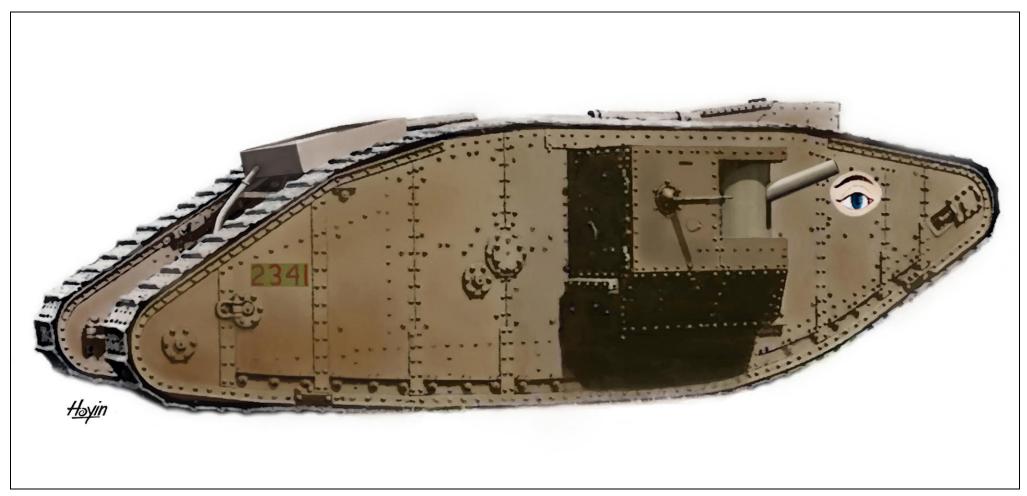


Figure 3 Drawing of the first tank that spotted the "Chinese Eyes" – a Mark IV tank, serial number 2341, of F Battalion (later renamed the 6th Battalion) of the Tank Corps. (Original drawing by Lee Ho Yin, based on a photo in the collection of the Imperial War Museum)

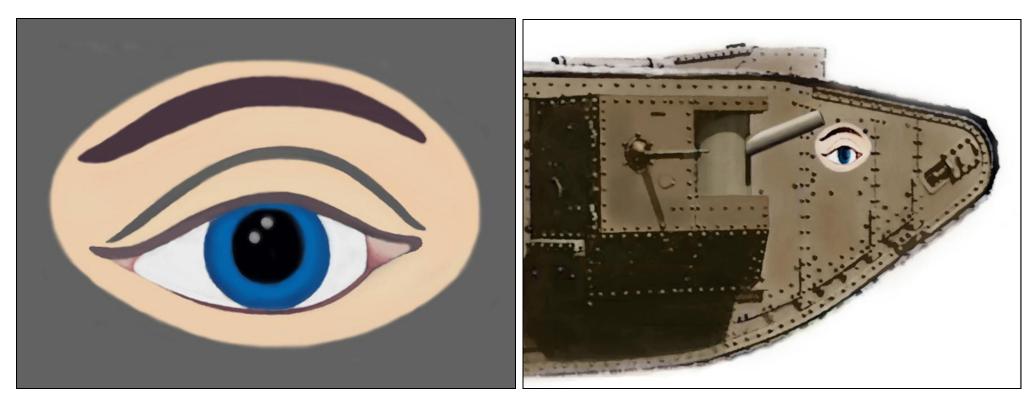


Figure 4 The original design of the "Chinese Eyes" that first appeared in 1917, painted on the Mark IV tank donated by Chinese-Singaporean businessman Eu Tong Sen. (Original drawings by Lee Ho Yin)

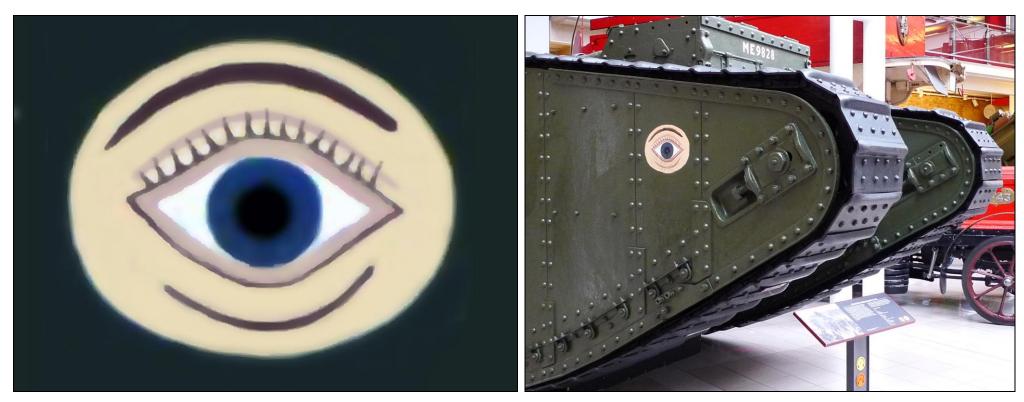


Figure 5 The version of the "Chinese Eyes" painted on the Mark V tank exhibited at the Imperial War Museum, London. (Original drawing and photo by Lee Ho Yin)

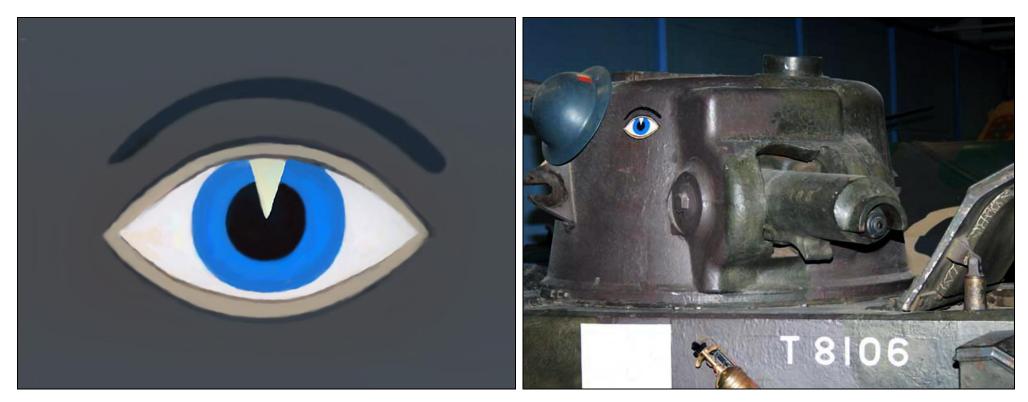


Figure 6 The World War II version of the "Chinese Eyes" painted on a Matilda I tank exhibited at The Tank Museum, Bovington. (Original drawing by Lee Ho Yin; photo by Tom Cole, featured at http://www.peachmountain.com/5star/Bovington_Matilda_1.aspx)



Figure 7 The current version of the "Chinese Eyes" painted on a Cold War vintage Chieftain tank exhibited at the Imperial War Museum, London. (Original drawing by Lee Ho Yin; photo by Robert De Craecker, featured at the Prime Portal website http://www.primeportal.net/tanks/de_craecker/chieftain_mk6-4_walk.htm.

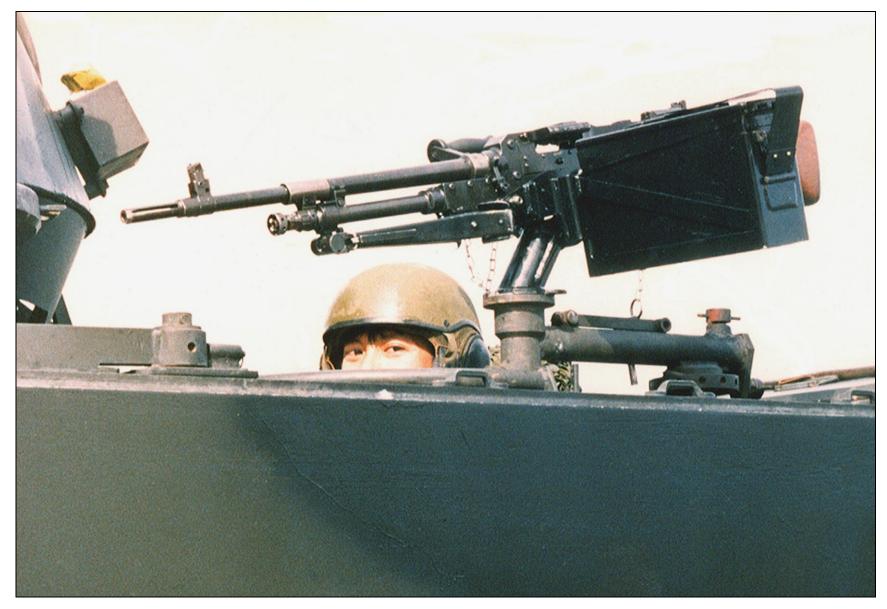


Figure 8 The author in a modern armoured fighting vehicle (an M-113 armoured personnel carrier) in the early 1980s. (Photo owned by Lee Ho Yin)