

# We Shall Suffer There

## Hong Kong's Defenders Imprisoned, 1942-45

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— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

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# Capture

'When the Japs come here,' [Lieutenant Colonel 'Monkey' Stewart] said, 'after we have laid down our arms and are defenceless, they will massacre us.' He was desperately tired and sad. I fetched him a mug of tea. He thanked me and said, 'You are very young and fit. There is no obligation for you to stay. Find a boat and get away.'

— Captain Anthony Hewitt, Adjutant,  
1st Battalion the Middlesex Regiment<sup>1</sup>

Hong Kong, when it was attacked by Japan on Monday, 8 December 1941, was garrisoned by approximately 11,000 regular soldiers, backed up by some 2,000 members of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps, and 1,000 members of other disciplined services. Although — theoretically — all the families of the British garrison had been evacuated to Australia in 1940, several thousand non-Chinese civilians were also present.

Some 1,550 of the defenders had lost their lives<sup>2</sup> by the time the Governor, Sir Mark Young, surrendered the Colony on the afternoon of Christmas Day. Stunned by their change in circumstances, those who survived took stock. Many ethnically Chinese defenders, acting by themselves or with explicit encouragement from officers, slipped off their uniforms and merged into the crowds. Few Caucasians could follow suit, though a handful of enterprising souls claimed 'friendly' nationalities such as Irish or Scandinavian.

The remainder, British, Indian, Canadian, Hong Kong, and others, laid down their arms and entered the uncertain and dangerous world of prisoners of war. They would have mixed and unpredictable fortunes; several hundred would escape,<sup>3</sup> nearly 2,500 would die, and the remainder would spend three years and eight months in conditions from which few would ever fully recover. Local Chinese civilians would mainly be starved out of the Colony — even the POWs felt lucky to avoid their fate. A handful of foreign civilians would escape, a fortunate few hundred (primarily Americans, and later Canadians) would be repatriated, and some — though seldom in as brutal conditions as their military

counterparts — would die. The remainder would suffer the hunger, lack of medical facilities, and lack of privacy, of internment.

Most people imagine that, at surrender, the garrison was taken prisoner en masse. In fact, prisoners were taken from the very start of the fighting, with Graham Heywood and Leonard Starbuck of the Observatory being first, apprehended while they were checking instruments on the border as the Japanese crossed into the Colony on 8 December.<sup>4</sup>

Escapes and evasions started in those early days too, with the destroyers HMS *Scout* and HMS *Thanet* leaving port only hours after Hong Kong was attacked, and with aircraft escaping from Kai Tak almost up to the time when Kowloon was evacuated.<sup>5</sup>

As the Japanese pushed south from the border, they soon attacked and captured the defensive line that had been placed in their way — and in particular, the Shing Mun Redoubt. Heywood and Starbuck's fate was there followed by a number of Royal Scots, primarily from A Company, and personnel of the HKSRA's co-located Observation Post.

As the military evacuated the Mainland, following the loss of the Redoubt and the breach in the Gin Drinkers Line which resulted, those civilians who could, escaped with them.

Ted Ross was with the Ministry of Information: "That night (Dec. 11–12) was an ugly one for Kowloon dwellers. The fifth column was well organised, and they did all in their power to create disturbances. Automobile barricades were thrown across the streets, and gangs of hoodlums, many of them armed, roamed the streets, looting shops, smashing windows. One chap I met later on the Hong Kong side described his own little getaway. He and his wife jumped in their car in an attempt to get down to the Star Ferry. (The ferries, both passenger and vehicular, were plying back and forth full blast). They spotted another foreigner walking in that direction and picked him up, and a few minutes later came up against a barricade of cars thrown right across Nathan Road. Slowing down, they suddenly climbed over the sidewalk and got around the end, but a number of hoodlums sprang onto the running boards. While the man driving was trying to fight them off and keep the car going at the same time, the chap they had picked up produced a pistol and short four in quick succession, the rest scrambling for safety. It was a lucky thing for them they had delayed their dash just long enough to pick up that fellow."<sup>6</sup>

Few, if any, further men of the garrison were captured on the mainland. One Winnipeg Grenadier, Private John Gray, disappeared, but whether he was captured and killed or set upon by looters has not yet been ascertained.<sup>7</sup>

These early prisoners were taken to Fan Ling, and did not rejoin their comrades until mid January. However, the Japanese had also captured several hospitals on the mainland (and the nurses who had stayed with their charges), and a number of enemy civilians who had not managed to cross to the island. For the moment, they were left where they were.

Then, following Kowloon's evacuation, came a pause. From 13 December until the evening of 18 December, Hong Kong Island was under siege. All military facilities came under concerted attack from artillery and bombs.

On the night of 18 December, the Japanese launched their invasion of the island. Initially they blasted their way through the beach defences of the 5th/7th Rajputs between Shau Kei Wan and North Point. The fighting there was fierce, and few if any records of POWs captured in the beachhead exist.<sup>8</sup>

Stopped by a strong defence at the North Point Power Station and a strengthening resistance running south from there, the Japanese turned south too and advanced in parallel with this nascent defensive line, heading into Wong Nai Chung Gap. The next defenders to be captured were rounded up during and after the heavy fighting on Jardine's Lookout and in Wong Nai Chung Gap on 19 December. Some one hundred or more of them were locked in a building there overnight.

Tom Marsh, Winnipeg Grenadiers: "The building was a low roof shed about sixty feet long by thirty feet wide with a concrete floor. There was some heavy trestle tables down the center. The shed had probably been used as a mess hall by the garrison. It was now crammed with prisoners of the Japs; Whites, Chinese and Indians. Most of them were in some sort of uniform. Many, like myself, were wounded and some appeared to be dead. The floor literally ran with blood. There was not enough room in which to lie down, so closely were we packed. Most sat huddled in attitudes of despair with their knees drawn up. The only clear space was around the guard by the door and he kept it this way by the swing of his rifle butt. Here was gathered all the misery of military defeat. There was no food and worst, no water. Thirst, doubly prevalent when one is wounded, was an acute torture. I saw no Red Cross or any attempt on the part of the Jap to minister to the wounded. Many collapsed and died where they fell. A few of the prisoners tried to help a comrade or an immediate neighbour but most of us stayed huddled, awaiting we knew not what. It was now high noon and the sun was hot in the sky. The place was thick with flies pestering the wounded. Although I did not recognize them all, there were several Grenadiers from A



Company in the hut, among them the Mitchell brothers, both Lieutenants, also Sergeant Pugsley, Cpl. Hiscox, and Pte. Matte. The guns of battle were still booming towards Hong Kong. The Japs had planted one right beside our hut and its discharge shook the building. I heard the sound of a nearby mortar shell exploding and knew that our own mortars were seeking the range on the Jap gun position. Then it came. Two mortar shells, almost simultaneously, one landed squarely on the roof of the building. There was a blinding flash, shrieks and moans all was confusion. Instinctively I had thrown myself under the only available shelter, the trestle table, on top of what I later discovered to be a dead Imperial with half his head blown off. Under him was a live Chinaman who was bleating piteously. Miraculously I was not hit. From my vantage place under the table I saw that the place was a shambles. There was a gaping hole in the roof and beneath it a pile of bodies. The only reason that many escaped death or further injury was the fact that we were so closely packed our companion's bodies protected us. Most of the survivors were splattered with fresh blood over bandages and previously caked and dry wounds. The Guard by the door was killed outright. Moans and groans could be heard on all sides. The door was flung open and excited Japs pulled out the body of the sentry but forced all others back into the shed with their bayonets. The door was then closed and it must have been an hour before it was again opened. We quite expected there would be another direct hit. With apprehension we awaited the explosion but it never came. We heard the jabbering of Japanese voices and the doors were thrown wide open. They had reached a decision about us. A dozen or more guards entered and began sorting the living from the dead, the seriously wounded from those who were able to walk. Those able to walk were crowded to the door and out onto the road, where their hands were tied behind them with wire."<sup>9</sup>

These men were marched through the Taitam Valley, and north along Mount Parker Road until they reached King's Road. They were led to the North Point Refugee camp, where they found some civilians already interned. Dee Dee Bak was one, having just been marched down to the camp with her family from Braemar: "We were not fed that day, just given a tin of tea (the tin we had to supply ourselves, which we found on the beach) boiled in sea water, oil from sunken vessels floating on the top. Undrinkable of course except for a few sips. We were very cold as we were not allowed to take anything with us and left with only the clothes we were wearing. It was a very long hut crammed with other people. We slept on the floor huddled together for warmth and lack of room. There was no toilet except a small bucket overflowing in a small

section cordoned off with a curtain(?). This we avoided as long as we could."

Bevan Field had also been captured at Wong Nai Chung Gap and had been on the same march: "In the hut across the five or six yards in between I could see some civilian prisoners, looking very forlorn and lost. One young woman appeared to be tragically white and strained as if she had quite recently been through terrible experiences. I went out intending to enquire from them how they were managing, and was quickly shoved in again by a Japanese sentry."<sup>10</sup>

Dee Dee Bak, although she did not know the man's name, had been shocked by the site of a badly wounded Canadian, Lieutenant McKillop: "I recall on entering, the sight of a soldier lying on a table still in his overcoat, his abdomen covered in blood and I am sure it was his guts exposed. He was moaning in pain and this went on most of the night. In the morning he was no longer there so I can only assume he had died."

In fact, after they had spent the night at North Point Camp, the soldiers had been ferried to Kowloon. After a further night at the Maryknoll School, they were marched out again.

Marsh, who had arrived in Hong Kong — with the rest of the Canadians — amid much fanfare only a month earlier, continued: "This day we marched again along the streets of Kowloon. What a change from the time we marched with bands playing and warm meals and good billets awaiting us. Now we hobbled along on sticks and makeshift crutches, many supported by stronger comrades. Others were carried on wooden stretchers. Finally we entered the compound of Argyle Camp, lately used as a Chinese refugee interment camp."<sup>11</sup> Our group was halted and I collapsed upon the ground where I stood. I had made it this far but I could not go a step further. I desired nothing so much as to sink down to the ground, to be left alone, and to make no further effort. All of the group were allotted to certain dilapidated huts that surrounded the compound, the badly wounded to two huts designated as hospitals. When all were gone I was left alone lying on the square. An Englishman, a medical Corps Orderly, came over and knelt beside me. Placing his arm beneath my head he raised me to a sitting position, 'Come on chum!' he said encouragingly, 'You can make it!' They told me later that they had all thought me dead but he, noticing a movement, had come back to make sure. The Englishman half carried me to one of the hospital huts and turned me over to a friend of his, a big Scotsman who had been badly wounded in the thigh while fighting in the streets of Hong Kong with the Volunteers. He was a marine engineer but his ship had been scuttled and lay at the bottom of the bay. Scotty lay on three boards

raised about a foot from the ground on the framework of an old wooden bunk. He helped place [me] on the boards next to himself, groaning as he moved over to make additional room. He took my blanket and as he had none, wrapped it around the both of us. He then made himself my personal nurse and physician."

Winnipeg Grenadier Charles Trick was on the same march: "I was with Lt McKillop, who was a funeral director from Portage. He was badly wounded but he was smart enough that he didn't let on so he got out of there but he only lasted another day or two. They took us out of there that morning, that would be the 21st I suppose, and they marched us back to North Point and kept us there and then they took us across to the mainland at Kowloon. They made us parade in from [sic] of all the Chinese with all the wounded and sick. We had a door, four of us, and we were carrying Lt McKillop who couldn't walk anymore, he was bleeding to death. The blood was running off the door and running down our arms and there was nothing they would do for anybody who was wounded, the hell with them. So we paraded around Kowloon for a day or two. Some of the guys died and we still kept parading. They (Japanese) were showing off to the Chinese their power and their might. There was an old refugee camp on Argyle Street full of Chinese, or had been. It was full of straw and there was a bunch of Indians that were already there when we got there."<sup>12</sup>

Other men were captured in skirmishes between then and the surrender, and in the main were taken to North Point refugee camp, which then started its short career as a POW camp.<sup>13</sup>

One of the first captures of enemy civilians on the Island took place at the Repulse Bay Hotel. At one time, as many as 250 military personnel were involved in the Hotel's defence, but they were evacuated by night so that the occupants could surrender peacefully. Just before Japanese troops entered, two uniformed defenders were found still on the premises and were hurried out. Then a Canadian Rifleman, Riley, was discovered where he had been sleeping upstairs. There was no choice but to disguise him as a civilian.<sup>14</sup> Later, the hotel's residents were marched through Wong Nai Chung Gap to the Duro paint factory in North Point.

Some men were captured and killed, and some were captured then escaped again. James Hart was one of the latter. He had been Lieutenant Colonel Fredericks' driver during the whole of the campaign, and on the 19th had been taking Fredericks to Stanley Fort via Pokfulam, Aberdeen, and Repulse Bay. After an ambush between Deep Water Bay and Repulse Bay, Fredericks was instructed to go to The Ridge south of Wong Nai Chung Gap, where they stayed until Sunday evening.

Sunday, 21 December. Hart: "On the Sunday, just after it got dark, we left the Ridge. Our object was to try to recapture the road junction, between the two bays, but it proved unsuccessful, the group [of] 60-100 scattering in all directions. Myself and quite a few others got over a wire fence, past some houses, and down to the water's edge. I made my way to Repulse Bay in the company of another soldier. Halfway towards the Repulse Bay we climbed up towards the road, crossed it, and went into some dense undergrowth for the rest of the day (Monday). After it got dark, there was quite a bit of noise, people rushing past us, in the direction of the Repulse Bay Hotel, we heard English being spoken, so we joined the group, as we joined them, word got out of another ambush. I take it, that it was everyone for himself, and we were all hiding in the undergrowth. All day on the Tuesday everything was very quiet, then just as it was beginning to get dark, I became aware of some activity behind us, a Jap soldier was standing over me with his rifle prodding me to get up. I was taken to Eucliff House and tied up, and made to kneel down. After a while a Jap soldier came towards us and started to bayonet a 2nd Lt. of the R.A.O.C.,<sup>15</sup> he then started on me, and his first thrust was towards my abdomen, but as I had a leather belt as well as my web belt, this did not do any real damage to me, but his second thrust did. It penetrated my side, near my armpit, and I thought, my lung, and with this thrust it knocked me down a slope onto a ledge. Looking up I could see the Jap having another go at the Officer, who eventually rolled down the slope and stopped on top of me. Our barbaric friend had not finished with us yet, as we lay on the ledge, he came down to make sure we were dead. He started on the Officer once more, then I got two bayonet thrusts on my back, and two on the head, and rolled to the bottom of the lawn. When it got dark, and I found I could use my arms and legs, I somehow was able to rub my arms and sever the ropes on the rocks, then got over the barbed wire and down to the water's edge. After a struggle, and almost naked, I swam across Repulse Bay in the direction of Stanley. When I was leaving the water, I was guided up the sands by a Capt of the Middlesex Regt, who was hiding in a drain nearby. After giving the Officer the best way to Stanley Fort, I made my way via the water's edge to Chung Hom Kok where I met up with the Canadian Regt, who were in that area. Whilst we were hiding in the rocks, near Stanley Village, on Xmas day we were eyewitness to the deaths of hundreds of Japs, trying to reach Stanley Fort; we witnessed three assaults, but the defenders held firm. Around 4 pm we saw three or four cars headlights ablaze, going up to the Fort, we did not know that was a party going into the Fort, to let them know that the Governor of Hong Kong had surrendered."<sup>16</sup>

Staff Sergeant James O'Toole was with the same group initially. Tied up between the road and Deep Water Bay Golf Course, they were then marched off by their captors: "We came at last to the path that runs around the range to Violet Hill above Repulse Bay . . . There they took Captain Bonney away and we never saw him again, he had up to then been quite fit and helped us along when ever possible. We were then marched along the track toward Wong Nei Chong Gap.<sup>17</sup> Collecting prisoners on the way, mostly Indians, some Volunteers. Arriving at the gap we stood for about four hours all huddled together whilst it rained and blew like merry hell. Never felt so miserable and down hearted as at this time, if they had started shooting us, I for one wouldn't have cared much; it was Bloody. We numbered about 80 and some of us had managed to work our hands free."<sup>18</sup> Marched to Tai Koo, they were then taken by barge to Kowloon and ended up — via Mary Knoll — at Argyle Street Camp.

Marsh at Argyle Street, on Christmas Eve: "The day before Christmas some of the survivors of D Company of the Winnipeg Grenadiers, who had made such a heroic stand at Wong Nei Chong Gap, arrived. The survivors of this Company surrendered only after their ammunition was exhausted. They had held up the Japanese advance in their section for five days. Among the survivors who I knew were Sergeant Bob Manchester of D Company and Sergeant Pugsley of A Company. They both visited me as I lay beside Scotty."

But the fighting was still continuing. Early on Christmas day, the Japanese reached the St Stephen's College Relief Hospital on the front line at Stanley. They captured the building, but killed many of the patients in the process. Later, mass rapes were carried out with eight nurses (three British and five Chinese) being murdered, as were, later, the two senior medical officers and two further Canadian soldiers.<sup>19</sup>

On the same day, the front line on the Island's north coast was also giving way, and the Japanese reached the Jockey Club Relief Hospital. Miss Amy Williams was the Matron in charge.

Amy Williams: "At about 0.800 hours on December 25th, Mrs Barron and I were clearing up our rooms when I heard Dr Selby talking in a loud voice on the floor below, and on looking over found he was in conversation with a Japanese officer who was accompanied by two soldiers . . . [on arrival at the ground floor] I was informed by a soldier that two of the British girls, one a sister had been taken away from the dining room by the Japanese soldiers. I was on my way upstairs again to see if this was true, when I met both girls coming down, one of them broke down and cried on my shoulder and both said they had been

raped . . . I was told that two Chinese nurses had been taken away, but they had both returned by the time I was informed. Both had been raped and I gave them treatment. This occurred three times that morning at 1030 — 1130 and 1230 hours, on each occasion two girls, on the last occasion one of them was an Indian."<sup>20</sup>

This continued with European nurses (including Portuguese and Russian) all night.

On Friday, 26 December, Amy Williams noted: "The staff by this time were in a terrible state, most of the Chinese had managed to get away and the remainder begged me to give them some morphia or poison. I talked to them for a while and it was decided to wait until 1400 hours and we would again discuss what we would do. At 1330 hours a motor car drew up to the gate and when I went to see who it contained I saw Dr Selwyn-Clarke standing on the door way."

Now that Hong Kong had surrendered, some semblance of order was being restored. Tom Forsyth of the Winnipeg Grenadiers noted: "POWs at Mount Austin Barracks on Dec 25th 1941, moved to Peak Mansions 9.30 pm, Dec 26th. Moved to H.K. University Dec 27th. Moved to Victoria Barracks Dec 28th."<sup>21</sup>

The capture of some men was delayed. Corporal David Davidson, RASC, who had been at The Ridge with Hart and others, had found a small boat with his sergeant Danny Gunstone: "It was evident that we would not now get out of sight of the main island during darkness so we made off towards a beached destroyer [HMS *Thracian*] on the rocks between Chung am Kok and Repulse Bay. After struggling all night through we arrived just before dawn. As we were attempting to board the destroyer, we were challenged by someone aboard; as the challenge was in English we had no fears and were soon hauled aboard. Our raft was made safe and we were conducted below only to find the party of mixed stragglers who had left the beach before us. They had made the same decision as we had thinking it best to have a whole night of darkness to get clear of the island. It was now Christmas Day, but there was not much to feast on. Rummaging around, the chaps in advance of us had found a tin of peas, some jam and the remains of a loaf of bread which was speckled with green mould. This was shared out and between about thirty of us the portions were far from generous. We spent the daylight hours camped below deck, it was hot and stuffy and the fumes rising from the engine room (where the crew of the destroyer had broken all the ships rum bottles) were almost overpowering. As soon as it was dark we sallied forth and assembled our boats which ranged from the large rowing boat to smaller boats and our raft. We set off line ahead, each

boat roped to the next. We headed out to sea, our destination Lamma Island. Shortly before dawn we arrived at a rocky shore on Lamma Island, the waves were breaking on the rocks with such force that we had to look for a sandy beach on which to land. We decided to go eastwards, and navigated round a rocky peninsular and arrived at dawn on the sandy shore right across from where we had first struck land. There was a village not far away from here and we bought eggs, tea and sugar, so we had boiled eggs and sweet black tea for breakfast. A small brook rippled over the rocks into the sea and here we washed and attended to the wounded. We had run out of field dressing and as CQMS Hamlen was in need of a clean dressing, I washed out my singlet and that was used as a dressing for his now very inflamed gaping wound. During our last voyage we had passed through an oil slick and as my legs were dangling in the sea, the service dress trousers I was wearing were stiff with oil. Danny Gunstone was in the same plight, so we conferred together and decided that nothing less than amputation would cure the state of our trousers, so with the aid of a jack knife, we cut off the legs just below the knees. From the villagers we were informed that a few miles away there was a larger village where Junks operated from. It seemed a good thing for us to move off in that direction in order to get on a Junk and escape to the Chinese mainland."

The 'stragglers' Davidson had fallen in with were primarily Canadians of A Company Royal Rifles who had escaped from The Ridge under Major Young: "I had 34 men in my party, and was lucky enough to venture upon a chance to obtain an old motor boat anchored 500 yards off shore. I swam out and brought it ashore . . . We altered our course for the beached *Thracian*, a small destroyer which was about 3/4 mile from Stanley Peninsular. We stayed there all that night and the next day . . . We left that night on three of the *Thracian's* Carley floats . . ."22

After they landed on Lamma island, Davidson continued: "With the major in the lead the Canadians set off at a hot pace. Our small party consisting of CQMS Hamlen, Sgt Shaw, CQMS Meyer and myself followed on at a more leisurely pace. The main party were soon out of sight but taking it in turn we assisted Happy Hamlen along the narrow path which led to the next village. The path was overgrown with spiny prickles from both sides. Its normal usage was for single file but to make our way and assist our wounded comrade we had to walk three abreast. We now came to regret being so hasty in cutting off our trouser legs as we were getting badly scratched. When we arrived at the village the haggling was over and we were hastily conducted on the junk and stowed away below deck. As a place of refuge it was ideal but beyond that there was little to



be said that was good about the junk. It was ill ventilated and reeked of previous occupants that ranged from chicken, pigs, etc to the Chinese themselves, whose education in respect of hygiene was truly lacking. Whilst cooped up below deck on the junk the plight of the severely wounded amongst us became evident to all. It was clear that they needed care and attention that could only be provided by a hospital. To take them away into the unknown depths of China proper would have been signing their death warrant. In the light of the prospect of taking comrades to their certain doom, we reviewed our plans and after much persuasion we managed to get the junk master to take us to Telegraph Bay so that we might walk from there to Queen Mary Hospital. As we had no idea of the situation on the island of Hong Kong, we only knew that things must be quite desperate. The fact that the garrison had already capitulated was unknown to us. As we landed in Telegraph Bay<sup>23</sup> the junk master was frightened for his life and property, as soon as we stepped ashore, he was gone with the wind. So there was no turning back. We had not taken many steps when we were surrounded by Chinese armed with British arms. At the point of the bayonet we were roughly marched off and handed over to the Japanese. Despite the sorry state of our wounded it took us a whole day to get our captors to agree to us taking the wounded to the hospital a few hundred yards away. In the end they suddenly changed their mind and we staggered to the hospital entrance, handed over the wounded and then returned to join the rest of the party."<sup>24</sup>

On Hong Kong Island's south coast, Aberdeen was surrendered late on 25 December by Lieutenant Bush and Commander Pears, to a Lieutenant Suzuki. On the 26th, the naval contingent there was ordered to march to Murray Barracks.<sup>25</sup>

Lewis Bush: "They [the corporal and private first class who first arrived] seemed doubtful about the wisdom of approaching too close and so I went to meet them and spoke in Japanese. The corporal smiled as if greatly relieved and pointing to his bandaged neck said that he'd been wounded by one of our bullets, that his company commander [Suzuki] would arrive shortly, and asked if there was anything he could do for us."<sup>26</sup> (p. 143)

Bush, having lived in Japan pre-war, and having a Japanese wife, Kaneko,<sup>27</sup> spoke the language fluently.

Bush: "There seemed to be a fixed idea in the minds of some that the Japanese were killing all our men found in the hills who had not reported after the surrender, and [Maltby] was particularly anxious about a large number known to have been at the magazines at Shouson Hill, near



Aberdeen, and accused the Japanese of having shot them all. The Japanese colonel said he knew nothing about them, but Suzuki hastened to explain that there was indeed a number of men in the magazines who refused to come out, who threatened to blow up the whole area, and said his men had been fired on whenever they approached. A senior naval officer asked me if I could get the Japanese to agree to promise these men safe conduct and not punish them if I could get them to come out of the magazines. This was readily forthcoming and I was instructed to convey [Maltby's] orders to them to surrender immediately. I was warned that I might have difficulty as the officer in charge was a particularly stubborn Australian of the Royal Engineers who might choose to blow up the thousands of tones of munitions and explosives rather than surrender. [Maltby] thanked Suzuki for his assistance in obtaining food for the troops in Murray Barracks, Kaneko was given all manner of messages for the wives of officers, and she promised to try and find the Scottish terrier of [Maltby's] aide-de-camp, and after leaving her at Marina House, we returned to Aberdeen with two trucks for our attempt to get the Australian and his comrades out of the magazines. It was almost 2 a.m. when we set out with Suzuki and he agreed that the less Japanese we took with us the more chance we stood of success. The route was through man-made cuts in the mountains, and we drove onto an open space, off both sides of which were barred doors leading into the magazines. Francis and I both shouted that we had come from [Maltby] and wished to speak with the senior officer. I heard someone say: 'Tell them to bugger off!' There seemed to be an argument going on inside and then Manning, a naval officer, appeared, astounded to see us, and was soon joined by several others, and then a well-built, imposing officer made his way forward.<sup>28</sup> This was the reputedly tough Australian. He looked it. I repeated the order from [Maltby] and told him that safe conduct had been guaranteed and that I would stake my own life on their being escorted to Murray Barracks. Suzuki now came forward. 'Who's he?' I was asked. I told them how we had been treated by Suzuki's unit, and the Australian said, 'Well, I still think it would be better to blow up the whole bloody dump, and believe me that is what was going to happen as soon as we ran out of grub, about the day after tomorrow. All right chaps, this is it. Open up!' There were about twenty officers and men. We passed around the rum. Suzuki seemed greatly relieved and confessed that his unit had pondered for days over the problem of how to remove the inmates without bringing down half the mountain in the event of an explosion. They had made themselves very comfortable, but had been on short rations, except for chocolate of which they had an abundance, but were almost out of water.

Soon, twenty or thirty Japanese officers and men arrived who treated the Australian and his pals like heroes, and when we got down to Aberdeen a Japanese officer arrived with beer and whisky in plenty. The magazine heroes certainly did themselves well and we all shared in the liquid refreshment provided by the Imperial Japanese Army from our captured stores. The next morning we took them into Murray Barracks, each weighed down with more than he could reasonably carry. Whether the idea was popular or not with his comrades, I am sure that had we not gone out to them, the Australian would have provided Hong Kong with the nearest thing to an atomic blast; for he had prepared everything for the big event. He told Suzuki that if he survived the war he'd return the whisky and beer in his favourite pub in George Street, Sydney." (p. 147)

Civilians away from the fighting were awaiting developments.

Norman H. Briggs was an American civilian living on the Peak: "Mac, the Suters, and I were billeted in the Company house, 459 the Peak, which was called Altadena: The first visit at the house we had from the Japanese was on December 26th. They came in sometime during the afternoon. All 23 of us were in the house when they arrived, plus 15 Chinese servants. Around eight Japanese came in . . . The officer asked who we were, British or American? We replied both, then gave them a list showing our names, ages, sex, and nationality as requested."<sup>29</sup>

Saturday, 27 December. The majority of the Royal Naval prisoners were concentrated at the Seaman's Institute, next to the China Fleet Club in Wanchai. Canadian Benny Proulx, HKRNVR, observed: "As we stood waiting in the dark, we noticed the Chinese servants from the Institute quietly sneaking out of the building with all sorts of foodstuffs in their arms. They were doing an efficient job of looting, a job of which we heartily approved since their families were starving and the Japs, who would otherwise get the food, were not."<sup>30</sup> (p. 127)

The Japanese started moving the non-Chinese civilians to areas of concentration, primarily hotels, though some had already congregated in hospitals and certain office buildings.

Some, both military men and civilians, decided not to become POWs. Cedric Salter, Royal Scots, declared himself to be a Norwegian called Hans Thorsen, and thus stayed out of camp. Civilian Phyllis Harrop conveniently remembered her earlier marriage to a German, and claimed his nationality, while American Emily Hahn did the same with her marriage to a Chinese national. Osler Thomas of the Field Ambulance — having been badly wounded in the face at the Salesian Mission massacre early in the fighting, simply evaded capture and, as many others would do, made his way into China.

Sunday, 28 December. One of the first civilians to be re-housed in 'short-time' hotels was Barbara Redwood: "I was with the ARP outfit and I think our group was the first to be sent to the Chinese 'hotels' by the Japs. During the battle, we were billeted in Dina House, Duddell Street, off Queen's Road Central. After the surrender, a Jap officer came and told us we must leave Dina House. One of our number knew of an empty office just around the corner from Dina House, so we just picked up our bags and went there, and started clearing out the rubbish there, when some one came in and said we must return to Dina House and go where we were sent. Back we went, but only for about an hour, when a lorry came to take the females in our group to the Tai Koon Hotel on Queen's Road; the men had to follow on foot. All this happened on 28th December. The ladies were sent to the second floor cubicles, the men to the 4th floor, two to a cubicle but only one big bed."<sup>31</sup> In later notes, she added: "The cubicles were all in a line, along which ran a wide verandah looking out on to Des Voeux Road where the trams run; wooden and glass partitions in between. Each cubicle had a large bed which took up most of the width; then a washbasin. Another line of cubicles backed on to the front row, so you could talk through the flimsy partitions to 5 immediate neighbours".<sup>32</sup>

Over the next few days, most British and enemy civilians found themselves in similar accommodation.

Monday, 29 December. Slightly over 2,000 men who had been trapped with East Brigade in Stanley (and largely left to their own devices since) were finally marched over Wong Nai Chung Gap, to North Point. Middlesex, Volunteers, Royal Rifles, Royal Artillery and others, stepped through the debris of the earlier battles, and the bodies that had accumulated then and in the aftermath of forced marches since.

By this time, members of the garrison who had been in the western side of the island at the time of the surrender, had been concentrated in barracks. On the following day, between the Naval Dockyard and the Cecil Hotel, these POWs were put on board Star Ferries to Kowloon. Arriving Kowloon side at 9 a.m. they were marched along Nathan Road and Argyle Street to Shamshuipo camp.

Tuesday, 30 December. Forsyth: "Had an early breakfast of 1/2 cup of tea and a large spoonful of beans, left Victoria Barracks about 7, moved by slow stages down to the ferry where we saw a large number of bodies floating in the water, ferried across and had a long roundabout march to Sham Shui Po barracks where we found everything in a state of ruin and desolation. After we left, the Chinese had systematically looted and destroyed . . . the biscuits we slept on had been torn to pieces and the

coir stuffing scattered everywhere. Not a window remained in a hut or a door, even the brass faucets were gone, while the pipes had been torn out of the washrooms, and every scrap of wood that could be torn away from anything was gone, even the seats of the toilets. A scene of utter chaos such as I never thought to see."

Tuesday, 30 December. Donald Hill, RAF: "At dawn we prepare to move off. Frank and I sling our kitbags on a pole coolie style. We sling blankets round our neck. We are determined to bear our humiliation without a murmur, our day will surely come. We form into units and after two hours waiting move off, over six thousand strong. Arrive at the ferry and, after another long wait, are ferried across to Kowloon where we form into units again. Off again but where, no one knows. After a mile or so we come back into Nathan Road. By this time we begin to feel the strain and have to rest frequently. Each unit has its own guard. Thousands of Chinese line the streets, a few jeering, but mostly quiet, and some are in tears. It would appear that we are going to Sham Shui Po, several miles away. Our guard is a decent fellow and, seeing we are having a tough time, allows coolies to carry our kit. Eventually reach SSP barracks eight hours after leaving China Command. A battle for billets commences. The whole camp has been stripped of every useful article by looters and had also been bombed. All doors, windows, furniture, and fittings had been taken leaving just hulks of buildings. Even in peace time it was an awful dump, but now it looked as if a typhoon had hit it. We found a small hut and then a tremendous hunt started for anything resembling a bed. Found some horse hair and wrapped it into one of my blankets. Several men had been here for days, being captured earlier on. Two WO's had been tied up with wire, stripped of everything, and left for three days without food or water after having seen several of their comrades bayoneted."<sup>33</sup>

All those involved remembered their initial impressions of the camp. Jim Hart: "Everyone rushed to get a space. There wasn't a window left in the place. Everything had been ransacked except the Jubilee Buildings — they still had windows. No one would climb up the walls just to take the blinking windows out!"

Frank Evans: "After about thirty of us had been allocated to each hut there was a scramble for anything we could find that would be of use in captivity. Empty tins, pieces of timber, broken beds, ragged clothing and bedclothes, broken crockery — yes, anything of use."<sup>34</sup> (p. 22)

Whitehead, arriving at Shamshuipo: "I recognised 'Buck' Harding [who], a fellow member of the AA Regiment, had been imprisoned for more than a week after being captured near Wong Nei Chong soon after

the assault on the island. His unit continued firing until they ran out of ammunition, when Captain Plummer ordered a desperate but vain bayonet charge. Buck was lucky. Those of his mates badly wounded were bayoneted and shot by the Japanese, and the rest, tethered together with telephone cable, were marched to North Point and then shipped to the mainland. His news of conditions in Sham Shui Po were not good."<sup>35</sup> (p. 41)

North Point was equally unappealing, but as it had been a refugee camp pre-war — rather than a barracks — it was rather more 'porous'.

Sergeant Les Fisher at North Point: "I was placed in charge of twelve Chinese St John's Ambulance Brigade and I told them that if I looked half as much like a Chinese as they did I should be away. Within three days only seven remained."<sup>36</sup> (p. 33)

Others were also thinking of escape and evasion, though it could never be an easy proposition for the Caucasians. Moreover, after the shock of eighteen days of battle, and the exhaustion that followed, few had the stamina to try.

Anthony Hewitt: "It was vital to evade capture, for it would be much more difficult to escape from imprisonment, yet immediate evacuation by sea seemed hopeless. Indeed everything seemed hopeless. My world was an empty void. We had surrendered. It was not terror, but a ghastly feeling of utter hopelessness that overcame me." (p. 1)

On the same day, 30 December, at Argyle Street, the new POWs were attempting to restore some order. O'Toole: "Major Paterson of Jardines (a Vol) was the senior in camp and therefore became Camp Commandant with Lieut Barnet (Vol) as adjutant (he had a typewriter). They did all possible to run the camp as per King's Regs but didn't know too much . . . Our strength was now 1000 of which 700 were Indians, they squabbled and argued over everything especially over the splitting up of the rations."

Wednesday, 31 December. Forsyth: "Spent a restless night though bone tired. An Imperial staff sergt lay outside dying of an internal haemorrhage and calling for help. Some of his friends knelt beside him; they said he could not be moved. They carried him away in the morning, when he was dead. Inside our hut big Tiny kept us all awake with a terrific cough. Each man got 3 hard tack crackers for breakfast, the same for dinner. We are cleaning up the huts, and the grounds, sweeping up the broken glass and the shattered mortar and dirt and refuse of every description, the same as we did at Murray barracks and the University and Victoria barracks.'

Wednesday, 31 December. Baugh of the RAF: "We met several people

who had been captured in action, including L.A.C. Palmer who was one of my equipment assistants. He had been captured in the vicinity of Shouson Hill after being wounded by machine gun fire, but fortunately not seriously."<sup>37</sup>

Wednesday, 31 December. Hill, a colleague of Baugh: "Moved to a slightly bigger hut, the Wing moving in with us, the men are in another hut close by. There are over six thousand men in the camp with no sanitation and rotten food. We have no lights and go to bed soon after dusk. We have one meal at nine and another at five consisting of soggy rice and are permanently hungry. And so ended nineteen forty one."

### ROLL OF HONOUR FOR 1941

Those who lost their lives from 8 December 1941 to 31 December 1941 are listed in the work *Not the Slightest Chance*.<sup>38</sup> However, research for *We Shall Suffer There* has added the following names:

Ryan, Kerry Gill	Corporal	7586999	RAOC	22.12.44	MiD	U 22.12.41 <sup>39</sup>
Stacey, Alfred Ernest	Private	7635541	RAOC	22-23.12.44		U 22-23.12.41 <sup>40</sup>
Young, William	Petty Officer	P/KX 79038	RN			U 24.21.14 <sup>41</sup>

# Notes

## Introduction

- 1 These are the first words of “Willy” Lowe’s wartime diary. Lowe was in the Armoured Car Platoon of the HKVDC, and was a POW at Shamshuipo and Innoshima. Eli was his wife Elah Mary Lowe (who herself served with the HKVDC VADs, and spent the war years as a civilian internee at Stanley in Room A1/15). All such quotes from Lowe are taken from a diary in the possession of his family.

## Capture

- 1 All quotes from Hewitt are taken from his book, *Bridge with Three Men*.
- 2 For a blow-by-blow account of the fighting, and an analysis of these deaths, see Tony Banham, *Not the Slightest Chance*.
- 3 A number inflated by numerous Indian soldiers who escaped from various duties in Hong Kong and around China. See Appendix 7.
- 4 See G. S. P Heywood, *Rambles in Hong Kong*, p. 101.
- 5 There were many escapes and evasions from Hong Kong, beginning on 8 December and ending with the last escapes in 1944. Many of these men went on to fight in clandestine units in China, and also more conventional units elsewhere. However, their activities outside POW camps are also outside the scope of this work.
- 6 All quotes from Ross are from the memoirs kindly supplied by his son. Ross escaped from Hong Kong on 25 December 1941.
- 7 Fragmented bones and a helmet were found by workers digging just north of Argyle Street, Kowloon, in April 2004. Despite the fact that I believed them most likely the remains of Gray, conscientious and skilful work by the Canadian Department of National Defence finally proved, in November 2007, that they were not.
- 8 However, it seems plausible that some of the Indian prisoners initially housed at Argyle Street would have been captured here.
- 9 All quotes from Marsh come from his memoirs.
- 10 This quote comes from Bevan Field’s long and detailed diary, held by his grandson.

- 11 From "Report of the Director of Public Works for the year 1939": "Camp for Chinese Interned Soldiers: The site is at Argyle Street, Kowloon, and the work consisted of the erection of a hutment camp of timber construction with concrete floors, except the kitchen which has brick walls and a roof covered with asbestos sheets, together with water and fire services, drainage, channels, recreation ground and approach road. The camp is surrounded by a wire mesh fence with barbed wire entanglements and seven sentry watch towers are provided. There are eleven sleeping huts with accommodation in each one for seventy two persons; one dining hut; one kitchen with store and office; one sanitary hut containing latrines, ablution and wash house; one hospital hut with an office for the medical officer, three wards for eight, four and two persons respectively, dispensary, store and latrines; two huts for the outer and inner police guards with an office, quarters, mess room, kitchen, store and lavatories; a gate keeper's hut; lock up; incinerator and refuse bunker. The contract was let to Messrs. Tung Shan and Company on 17th October and the work was satisfactorily completed on 15th December."
- 12 All quotes from Trick are from his diary, held by his son, and from a transcript of an earlier interview.
- 13 From the Government Gazette: "Public Works Department. No. S288. It is hereby notified that sealed tenders in triplicate, which should be clearly marked 'Tender for a Refugee Camp, North Point' will be received at the Colonial Secretary's Office until noon of Tuesday, the 6th day of September, 1938, for erecting temporary wooden huts for sleeping, dining, kitchens, latrines & quarters, etc., surface water channels, drains, and fences, etc. As security for the proper performance of the works under this contract, the successful tenderer will be required to deposit, in cash, a sum of \$2,000 with the Accountant-General. No work will be permitted on Sundays. For form of tender, specification, and further particulars apply at this Office. The Government does not bind itself to accept the lowest or any tender. R. M. Henderson, *Director of Public Works*, 16th August 1938."
- 14 Riley appears in the Stanley list as James Riley Ryan. See Grant Garneau, *The Royal Rifles of Canada in Hong Kong*, p. 181.
- 15 Presumably either Richard Alfred Wynne, or Charles T. Wallington.
- 16 All quotes from Hart are from personal correspondence or interviews with the author. The Japanese attacks he witnessed were across St Stephen's College playing fields.
- 17 This work uses current spellings for the text (thus it would have been "Wong Nai Chung Gap" in this example), but retains earlier spellings in quotes.
- 18 All quotes from O'Toole are from his diary, kindly transcribed by Mike Peaker.
- 19 In the next morning, the survivors were forced to cremate all the bodies, including those from the heavy fighting in the area. Witnesses speak of perhaps 150 bodies altogether. A memorial was built in the old cemetery. Stericker, writing about the massacre, noted: "It must be noted that when we arrived in [Stanley Camp] we found the remains of the victims amongst



- a pile of burnt uniforms and blackened regimental buttons and equipment. All were buried in a communal grave in the little cemetery.”
- 20 Williams’ quotes are taken from her war crimes trials dispositions. Miss Williams had helped a nurse escape at five o’clock on the morning of the 26th by dressing her in a Chinese gown. She had got through to Bowen Road Hospital with the story, and they had informed Selwyn-Clarke.
  - 21 All quotes from Forsyth are taken from his diary.
  - 22 Young’s account is taken from materials loaned by Lt.-Col. E. E. Denison, E. D. to Grant Garneau, and kindly supplied by the latter. A longer account appears in his book, *The Royal Rifles of Canada in Hong Kong*.
  - 23 On 28 December, according to Young.
  - 24 Davidson’s quotes are from an account of his experiences held by his daughter.
  - 25 Although Murray House has today been reassembled at Stanley, in 1941 it — and the rest of the barracks — was in Central.
  - 26 All quotes from Bush are taken from his book *The Road to Inamura*.
  - 27 For his wife’s unique experiences, turn to Appendix 15.
  - 28 This was Major Dewar, an Australian attached to the RASC. An RAOC Ammunition Examiner (AE) present on the occasion, in 2007 told me: “66 years on, and at the age of 92 I still remember Major Dewar with respect and admiration. He was a soldiers’ officer, friendly, decisive, and courageous. Someone you could trust and believe in, and that was something of a rarity in Hong Kong in 1941.”
  - 29 New to Hong Kong, Briggs had left Pasadena, California, on 14 August 1941, to return to the Far East for his employer, Standard Vacuum Oil Company. All quotes from Briggs are from his memoirs, *Taken in Hong Kong*, though the version used here was the original manuscript kindly supplied by his daughter.
  - 30 All quotes from Proulx are from his book, *Underground from Hong Kong*.
  - 31 Email communication with author.
  - 32 From an annotated version of Barbara Anslow’s (née Redwood) diary, which she kindly gave to the author. The original version is at the Imperial War Museum.
  - 33 All quotes from Hill are taken from his diary.
  - 34 All quotes from Evans are taken from his book, *Rollcall at Oeyama*.
  - 35 All quotes from Whitehead are from his book, *Escape to Fight On* (co-authored by George B. Bennett).
  - 36 All quotes from Fisher are from his book, *I Will Remember*.
  - 37 From a report by Baugh held by the family of Major Munro, with whom Baugh would later escape. Baugh was killed before the war’s end, flying the hump.
  - 38 This work included a list of St John’s Ambulance orderlies who lost their lives in the period from December 1941 to August 1945, and those names are repeated in Appendix 12.
  - 39 The original date in CWGC records is 22 December 1944. It must be assumed that this date is in error, and that Corporal Ryan should be added to the list of those lost during the RAOC/RASC massacres in Hong Kong on 22/23 December 1941.

- 40 As for Ryan in the above note, the CWGC date in Stacey's case being 22–23 December 1944.
- 41 Two Petty Officer Youngs died this day, hence the unfortunate omission of one. From a damaged letter from Henry Collingwood Selby (*Redstart's* commander) to Young's wife: "Prior to the fall of Hong Kong, I was . . . HMS *Redstart*. I have recently been . . . from the POW camp there and, at last, have obtained your address. I am writing to convey my deepest sympathy at the loss of your husband. SPO Young was a man I much admired and appreciated in having in my ship. His sensible kindness and good humour did much, I feel, to make the *Redstart* the happy little ship that she was. When we landed to assist the soldiers, SPO Young came with my party. On the morning of Sunday 21st December 41, we were attacking a bungalow which was in the possession of the enemy. After a little, I got knocked out by a couple of bullets and a bit later pulled myself together and began to crawl away. As I did so, I became aware that SPO Young was lying alongside me seriously wounded. He was in a drowsy state from loss of blood but managed to recognise me and then, with the most marvelous unselfishness, he said, "I've got some rum and water in my bottle sir, wouldn't you like to take a swig?" I simply cannot express my admiration at the wonderful Christian spirit he exhibited when he was so far gone himself. . . . arrived at the dressing station . . . a party was sent out but arrived just . . . passed away. I was told that he wouldn't have suffered much as the loss of blood would have made him drowsy. He rests in a very beautiful spot high on a hillside with a view of the blue waters and picturesque junk harbour of Aberdeen."

## 1942

- 1 It has not proved possible to accurately enumerate these evaders, as no complete lists of Chinese members of local forces appear to exist. However, BAAG records show a very large number passing through their hands in China in the early months after the Group was formed.
- 2 Although the Stanley Camp was for civilians, a number of older members of the HKVDC were interned there. The Hong Kong Police Force was also resident, minus a few of their number who were in Shamshuipo, having been captured during the short period that the police officially acted as a militia force against the invaders. Other civilian internment centres would later be opened at Rosary Hill and Ma Tau-wai.
- 3 From document 10591, NARA: Article 1: The term 'intern,' as used in these Regulations, shall mean the detaining of enemy nationals or neutrals at a specified place with the purpose of restricting their activities and of extending protection to them; the term 'army internee' shall mean any enemy national or neutral interned; and the term 'internment camp' shall mean any such place in which an army internee is interned.
- 4 All quotes from Goodwin are from his book *Hongkong Escape*.

- 5 All quotes from Wright-Nooth are taken from his book *Prisoner of the Turnip Heads*.
- 6 Letter to author.
- 7 These included the Bacteriological Institute, Kowloon Hotel, Stag Hotel, Hong Kong Hotel, the University of Hong Kong, La Salle Relief Hospital, Luk Hoi Tong Boarding House, Maryknoll First Aid Post, Mee Chow Hotel, the Exchange Building (British staff of the Hong Kong Telephone Company), the Peak, the Mental Hospital, Matilda Relief Hospital, New Asia Hotel, Nam King Hotel, Nam Ping Hotel, the Chinese YMCA, Kowloon Hotel, the Prison Hospital, St Paul's Hospital, Sun Wah Hotel, Tung Fong Hotel, Tai Koon Hotel, University Relief Hospital, and the War Memorial Hospital.
- 8 John Stericker worked for British American Tobacco. Quotes here are taken from his book, *A Tear for the Dragon*.
- 9 Uniquely, at time of writing it is almost perfectly preserved. While many buildings have been added to the area, and the cemetery was extended during and after the war, only four of the original buildings have been demolished.
- 10 Correspondence with author.
- 11 All quotes from Baird are from his book, *Letters to Harvelyn*.
- 12 Although the first to take this route very probably were relatively recent refugees to Hong Kong, before long many resident families would follow.
- 13 Lee had originally served in 3 Coy, HKVDC.
- 14 Although others had simply walked out of camps before any formal security was established, this was probably the first real escape. All successful British escapes from Hong Kong would be made between this date and April, although one New Zealander would escape in 1944, and numerous Indian personnel would escape once they were removed from Hong Kong. It should be noted that almost all the British escapes were led by, or comprised entirely of, men with considerable experience of the region. The Canadians of C Force had no such experience to fall back on, though on one occasion would try to escape anyway. However, the only successful Canadian escape was by Proulx of the HKRNVR, who had lived in Hong Kong for a considerable time.
- 15 Ride's was arguably the most significant single escape, as later he would form the British Army Aid Group in China and would facilitate many other escapes and evasions, as well as aiding those in the Camps, assisting shot-down aircrew, and providing vast quantities of high-quality intelligence to the Allies.
- 16 Jones, always a noticeable man, caused great comment by arriving in a woman's fur coat which he had found in the house in Fanling where he and the others were initially held.
- 17 From document No. 1547-A, Exhibit No. 1960, NARA: "Japanese rules for hospitals: 1. The medical treatment of prisoners of war who are patients (henceforth called patients) shall as a general rule be rendered at an infirmary established at the prisoner of war camp (henceforth called the camp). Those prisoners of war patients requiring special treatment or suffering from contagious diseases may be admitted to an army hospital by an arrangement made between the commandant of the camp and the director of the nearest

- army hospital. 8. Documents for evidence such as clinical diaries and death certificates shall be prepared in the same manner as that prescribed for the Army and they shall be kept in safe custody." The scale of the damage in the position — still extant — in which Thompson was wounded makes it very surprising that any of these men survived.
- 18 Food was naturally a dominating topic for all POWs. Diaries attest to continuous discussions on recipes, meals once had, and meals to be. Some diaries consist of nothing but lists of foods received in camp, while the more sophisticated diaries (Coxhead's, for example) often include running commentaries on all that was comestible. Although this was such an important topic at the time, I have limited the coverage in this work so as to reserve space for other subjects.
  - 19 All Priestwood quotes are from her book, *Through Japanese Barbed Wire*. As this was published in 1944, following a successful escape, the author did not believe it appropriate to reveal names and details of those still in Japanese hands. This quote is from page 42.
  - 20 Fisher noted that he was initially in hut E1. In April, he would move to C5, and then B4. It seems that such moves were common as POWs came into and out of Shamshuipo.
  - 21 The bungalow, still inhabited at time of writing, had been fought over to the death twice on 25 December. Initially a mixed force of Middlesex and 1st Battery HKVDC had held the building until the Japanese brought up flame-throwers. Later, D Company of the Royal Rifles of Canada had recaptured it during a counter attack, before being pushed out in turn. In January 1945, it would be the scene of yet more deaths.
  - 22 Brown uses the pseudonym 'Bayne' for their leader (though possibly by accident, as Brown was a notoriously poor observer). See *Hong Kong Aftermath*, p. 129.
  - 23 All quotes from Gittins are from her book, *Stanley: Behind Barbed Wire*.
  - 24 Their role, according to Frank King's comprehensive *The History of The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation*, Volume III, p. 573, was "to assist in the liquidation of the Bank".
  - 25 Banfill had been captured at the Salesian Mission, a medical post at which most of those captured were marched out to a catchwater above the building, and shot.
  - 26 Bertram was a New Zealand reporter who had joined 1 Bty HKVDC at the last minute and had taken part in the defence of Stanley. All quotes are taken from his book, *Shadow of a War*, which had the advantage of being written soon after liberation. (The book was also published under the title, *Beneath the Shadow*.)
  - 27 While the focus of this work is purely the Hong Kong garrison, it should be noted that this crew were from submarine O-20 which had left Singapore on 16 December 1941, and was sunk by Japanese destroyers off Kota Baru on 19 December. The crew, minus their captain and six others who went down with the boat, were picked up on the 20th. The wreck was discovered

- in 2002 approximately 35 miles northeast of Kota Baru at a depth of 44 metres.
- 28 Ride Papers, Series 13, No. 11, p. 8.
  - 29 This was in response to a query, via Argentina, from the British government. Document No. 847 F, Exhibit No. 1956, NARA.
  - 30 Baugh's quotes come from his official report.
  - 31 National Archives WO 0103/3619. These numbers exclude Internees at Stanley.
  - 32 However, the Japanese claimed they had been executed, and produced three headless corpses in uniform.
  - 33 See Fairclough, *Brick Hill and Beyond*. This quote is from page 42.
  - 34 Although no exact date is given, it appears this visit, chosen as being representative, was between 1 February and 22 February.
  - 35 This comes from a 1999 letter to Alan Gray, to whom I owe these details. While their fellow POWs believed the move was made as punishment for the escapes, the RAF men believed the Japanese wanted to interrogate them about RAF techniques in the battle for Singapore. Fortunately for them, Singapore fell shortly after they arrived and they were soon shipped back to Hong Kong.
  - 36 Some attempts at sabotage were made. Alexander Gordon, Royal Scots: "Working party at oil dump Aberdeen, Hong Kong. Piercing oil drums putting sand in oil. Only small damage possible." WO344/378/2.
  - 37 Taken from Vos Dos Macaenses de Vancouver, Vol. 3, No. 4, November 2001.
  - 38 At Saikung he met Hank Marsman, a Dutch/American businessman who had stayed out of camp by claiming Filipino nationality, and was also on his way to China.
  - 39 Bentley would later run the Hong Kong Government Relief Office from a houseboat at Kukong.
  - 40 Governor Young and his batman Waller arrived at Karenko Camp, Taiwan, on 15 September 1942. In all, 117 senior officers and governors were sent to Tamazato on the east coast on 2 April 1943 to 5 June 1943 — 28 of the top officers and governors were separated from the rest. The remaining 89 returned to Karenko Camp on that date, though this camp closed later that month and they transferred to Shirakawa on the west side of Taiwan. On 23 June, the twenty-eight started on their journey to Taihoku, arriving the following day and going into Taihoku Camp #5 at Mucha. They remained there until 5 October 1944 when Generals Percival and Wainwright and some of the governors and others were moved by train to Heito Camp in the south of the island and then flown to Japan the next day, and from there to the camp at Cheng-Tai-tun. On 10 October, about 350 senior officers and enlisted men left Shirakawa for Keelung and were transported on the hellship *Oryoku Maru* to Moji and from there on to Cheng Tai-tun. On 1 December, 16 of the senior officers and governors and their batmen (32 in total) were moved to Hsi-an Camp about 100 miles north of Shenyang. Here they stayed until liberated by the Americans and the Russians. The rest spent the long winter

- at Cheng Tai-tun and suffered greatly from the lack of food and the cold. The men refused to do any work so on 20 May 1945. They were moved to the main camp at Shenyang where they finished out the war. I am indebted to Michael Hurst, MBE, for his help in this area of research.
- 41 I have only included mentions of death in this work if they add something to our knowledge of the circumstances. Many diaries record the passing of individuals, but without adding any more information than appears in the rolls at the end of each year.
- 42 All such quotes are taken from Gray's war crime affidavit.
- 43 Quotes from Oxley are taken from his diary.
- 44 The two Royal Scots repaid the guerrillas who helped them by giving them extensive training in the use of the British arms (specifically 2-inch mortars, the Vickers gun and anti-tank rifles) that had been found after the fall of Hong Kong. Their escape is further documented in WO 106/3560. Grimsdale was Military Attache; he sent this report to GHQ India on 2 June 1942.
- 45 Cambon attributes his survival to 'M & B sulfa tablets' given to him by Gunn. All quotes from Cambon are taken from his book, *Guest of Hirohito*.
- 46 From "Report of the Director of Public Works for the year 1939": "Hospital Huts for Refugee Camps at King's Park, Ma Tau Chung and North Point: The erection of a hut of timber construction with a concrete floor at each of the three camps, containing three wards for twelve children, four females, and two males respectively, a consulting room for the medical officer, dispensary, store, lavatories and drainage, was commenced on 30th September and completed on 15th December. The contract was let to Messrs Sang Lee & Company" (these camps had been listed as completed in the 1938 report, but in fact minor work was still being done in 1939).
- 47 Poulter's diary records: "One roll call we had was over two men of the Royal Engineers that escaped. A few days later the Japs said they had caught them and shot them, maybe it's true, as we never saw them again." This was a remarkably persistent rumour, with others claiming that the bodies were seen. The two sappers were Ferguson and Howarth.
- 48 She had died through worry and anxiety about her son, two days earlier on 27 February.
- 49 Called 'Anthony Bathurst' in Priestwood's account, as he was — at time of publication in 1944 — still with the British forces in China. (Anthony Bathurst was the name of a fictional detective in a series of books that spanned the war.)
- 50 Such stories, though inexact, were not uncommon.
- 51 Ride Papers, Series 9, No. 24, pp. 12–17.
- 52 He was given shelter at the house of a colleague's wife until February 1943. Making his way to BAAG in China, Salter arrived back in the UK on 12 August, and reported for duty with No. 1 Infantry Depot, Redford Barracks, Edinburgh on 11 September, after a short period of leave. WO 208/3035.
- 53 Chia Kee Sian was released 16 May. Ride Papers, Series 11, No. 10, p. 29.

- 54 They returned to Stanley on 20 June 1944. For unknown reasons, Wright-Nooth's account of this escape refers to Bidmead as 'Smythe'.
- 55 All quotes from Bosanquet are from his book *Escape through China*. Clague would go on to an extremely important role in BAAG, culminating in being flown into Thailand at the end of the war in Operation Swansong to ensure the safe release of some 30,000 surviving Allied POWs there.
- 56 All quotes from Laite are taken from his diary.
- 57 The only Indian officer to be interned there was Kamta Prasad of the Punjabis. Ansari of the Rajputs also held the King's Commission, but stayed with his men in Ma Tau Chung. The other ethnically Indian officers were VCOs (Viceroy Commissioned Officers).
- 58 Charles Barman was in charge of all Other Ranks in Argyle Street.
- 59 For more on the possible consequences of this visit, see Appendix 9.
- 60 His father, Sapper Andrew Spooov of the HKVDC was a POW. The Stanley Internees on board also included Evelyn Boyd, William Hunt (American), and Irene Spice Raymond.
- 61 The entry continued with the strange text, 'Our troops at Saarbrucken, fighting in Malaya'.
- 62 Document No. 1547-A, Exhibit No. 1960, NARA. An expanded version of this text is also in the files, dated a month later. It can be assumed that all POW Camp commanders were familiar with this instruction.
- 63 All quotes are from Wiseman's book, *Recollections of a British Prisoner of War*. He was there for eighteen days before being moved to Argyle Street, his original destination. The imprisonment had resulted from a letter to a fellow POW being found smuggled in his wooden leg. In Argyle Street he was in the hut commanded by Major Curran, with the 5AA and small units such as the RAF, RAPC, CMP, RASC, RAOC.
- 64 When returning from Bowen Road to the POW Camps, it was not unusual to be asked to take drugs back for the 'hospitals' at the latter. For example, Maurice Parker records: "The day we were going out, a Doctor gave us small packages of pills, tablets and drugs that we were to conceal on our person and hand over to another medical Officer in whatsoever camp we were sent. We were searched both on leaving the Hospital and upon arriving at our new place. The man who was taking the most chance was the one who had given us the drugs at the Hospital but we got away with it."
- 65 The wife of Hargreaves Howell, who would later lead the escape from the *Lisbon Maru*. There is still a school of dance in her name in Hong Kong today.
- 66 Bickley of the RAMC had lost his sight when guiding a lorry load of wounded from Tai Tam to Bowen Road Hospital. Japanese machine guns opened up on the vehicle, showering him with broken glass from the windscreen.
- 67 This is possible. At around this time, director Tanaka Shigeo was making *The Battle of Hong Kong*, produced by the Dai Nippon Film Company, which was first shown in cinemas on the first anniversary of the battle.
- 68 A full-length report on the American experience in Stanley, by the US Consul Samuel Sokobin (written on board the *Gripsholm*) is at CO 980/120 26243.



- George E. Baxter, former manager of the Hong Kong Bureau United Press Associations, also wrote a report. See bibliography.
- 69 Thus Heyworth, in effect, engineered his escape from Hong Kong. Those transferred included: Norris Asquith, Leonard Bidmead, Aubrey Burgoyne, the Cammiades, Andrew & Winifred Christie, Richard Down, Reginald Duncan, Arthur Ffoulkes, Norman Fox, Ronald Fuller, Ray Gabbat, Alfred Glover, Harold Goddard, William Gomershall, George Hankinson, Alexander Harvey, Sydney Hayes, Edmund Hewitt, Roger Heyworth, Arthur Hill, Henry Hobden, Lilian Hope, Winifred Howkins, Percival Jennings, Stanley Johnson, Joseph Leslie, Arthur Lindsay, Percy Maley, Cyril Marshall, Eugenia Martin, Cecil Mason, Charles Mitchell, Denis Palfreeman, Edith Palmer, the Pearsons (Godfrey, Suzanne, and Wilfred), Henry Proud, Stanley & Alfred Rogers, George Shepherd, Robert Southerton, Thomas Spedding, and William Ward.
- 70 The three who would survive were all later shipped to Japan, two of them in the first draft of ‘undesirables’.
- 71 All Plumber’s statements are from the report of No. 1 Canadian War Crime Investigation Unit.
- 72 Two Connollys were in the HKVDC, and may have been brothers of Paul (who was in the HKDDC). It is not clear which is referred to here.
- 73 This was Corporal Hurn. On the subject of food, Jim Hart also reported: “Quite a few officers had dogs. The Royal Artillery were selling soup for cigarettes for months afterwards. All of a sudden, there were no dogs!” (Conversation with author.)
- 74 Reported by James Gray, RAMC, in his war crimes affidavit. This was presumably Corporal Leonard Hunt, RAF, though many diphtheria deaths had already occurred in St Teresa’s.
- 75 All quotes from Bowie are taken from his account, “Captive Surgeon in Hong Kong”.
- 76 From a report that Stott wrote to Lindsay Ride at Guilin, 6 October 1942, now in the Ride Papers at the University of Hong Kong Library Special Collections.
- 77 Tse Dickuan’s report, mentioning this incident, is quoted in full in *The Sinking of The Lisbon Maru: Britain’s Forgotten Wartime Tragedy*, Appendix 2.
- 78 Parker commanded D Company, Royal Rifles of Canada. All quotes are from his diary. Ferguson and Howarth’s escape seems to have gone almost unnoticed, though later the Japanese would claim that they had been shot and show Boon two unknown but presumably uniformed bodies to identify.
- 79 From the report of No. 1 Canadian War Crime Investigation Unit.
- 80 The Canadians also interviewed Corporal Harris 6201831 of the Middlesex who had been in PB19 at Repulse Bay during the fighting, and confirmed that Berzenski had shared the same pillbox.
- 81 Aside from these two parties, two other men who were executed after an escape attempt are buried in Hong Kong. These are Thomas Henry Fletcher and Henry Edward Weeks of MV *Tantalus*. *Tantalus* had been towed from Hong Kong to Manila in December 1941, and was bombed off Bataan during the Japanese attack on the Philippines. All the crew were taken prisoner when



- Manila fell, with these two men being executed on 15 February 1942 after a failed escape. After the war, they were re-interred in Hong Kong.
- 82 Lowe actually believed they were going on the *Lisbon Maru*. This is probably explained by the fact that both drafts boarded in September, and the *Lisbon Maru* had been docked in Hong Kong for some time.
- 83 All numbers listed here are the actual counts of the names of the men shown as being on each vessel in the Shamshuipo camp list, with some later corrections. Transliterations vary for many of the names of the ships. Most men did not know the name of this vessel. To quote James Ford, MC: “A comrade of mine told me that it was the *Fukuku Maru* — but I think that was a POW jest.” (Letter to author.)
- 84 Example POW Index Cards from this draft read: WO 344/393/1 Albert Ernest Moralee, Middlesex, 10 Derby Terrace, South Shields:
- |              |                   |                     |
|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Sham Shui Po | 25.12.41 — 3.9.42 |                     |
| Tokyo No. 3  | 15.9.42 — 20.3.44 | Sqdrn Ldr. Burchell |
| Tokyo D13    | 20.3.44 — 12.5.45 | Captain Marsden     |
| Kamaishi     | 14.5.45 — 9.9.45  | Captain Grady (US)  |
- And: Gunner Job I Bevan: Shamshuipo — departed 4/9/42 — Shi Maru?  
Tokyo No2, 15/9/42 to 13/1/43 — Oi/c Sqn Ldr Birchall RCAF  
Tokyo mil Hospital, 13/1/43 to 8/8/43  
Shinagawa POW Hospital, 8/8/43 to 12/10/43  
Tokyo No 2, 12/10/43 to 20/03/44 — Oi/c Sqn Ldr Birchall RCAF  
Tokyo 13 detachment — 20/03/44 to 12/5/45 — Oi/c Capt Marsden RCS  
Kamaishi POW camp — 12/5/45 to 9/8/45 (release) — Oi/c Capt Grady  
H.S.A.S Corps??
- 85 Letter to author. Ford’s brother, Douglas, would later be executed by the Japanese.
- 86 Blomfield’s diary is in the Imperial War Museum. See pp. 56–57: “composition of the camp: including a description of the arrival of prisoners from Hong Kong on 15 September 1942.”
- 87 When the POWs left to go to Omori, Shinagawa became an important POW hospital.
- 88 Price may have been the oldest POW to be taken to Japan. Born in 1889, he was educated in Eltham College and was a graduate of Edinburgh medical school and a qualified surgeon. He served in the Great War, and by April 1941 was based in Amoy, China, from where he wrote: “about two months ago I heard that it was possible to get RAMC commissions out in the Far East. They made me go down to Hong Kong to be medically examined, but I am fit enough and now it is all fixed. I have to report at Hong Kong when my affairs are in order.” Interestingly, and perhaps because he received his commission where and when he did, he is not mentioned in Drew’s *Medical Officers in the British Army 1660–1960*. Thanks to Ceri Harris.
- 89 Leonard J. Birchall was dubbed the ‘Saviour of Ceylon’ after the war by Sir Winston Churchill. Early on 4 April 1942, Birchall and his eight-man crew boarded their Catalina flying boat and began a day-long patrol southeast of

- Ceylon. Towards the end of the mission they sighted a large Japanese naval force heading towards Ceylon, intending to surprise the Royal Navy there. As they came under fighter attack, Birchall and his crew sent signals to alert Allied units on Ceylon, allowing them time to prepare their defence. After ditching, they were picked up by a Japanese destroyer and taken prisoner.
- 90 All quotes from Birchall are from an interview with Dr Charles Roland recorded on 22 February 1986.
- 91 From a post-war letter provided by Roger Mansell.
- 92 Birchall's diary, which was turned over to the US authorities in Yokohama, contains details of Red Cross issues, complete with notes of Jap pilfering. "So far as I remember, we received: Christmas 42 1 British parcel per man; Spring 43 British food (corned beef, cereal, dried fruit, cocoa, sugar, salt in bulk); Christmas 43 1 American parcel per man; Spring 44 1 American parcel per man. All I can remember is that, in all the time I was in Japan, I received 78 [7–8?] letters or postcards, and sent 7 letters or postcards and 1 [one] 200 word radio message."
- 93 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 33, p. 18. Many students, several hundred in total, escaped from the University of Hong Kong, but one small group was captured and executed trying to escape via Tai Po. See Chan Lau Kit-ching and Peter Cunich (ed.), *An Impossible Dream: Hong Kong University from Foundation to Re-establishment, 1910–1950*, pp. 111–112.
- 94 See *The Maryknoll Mission, Hong Kong 1941–46*.
- 95 Morley wrote: "Thank you very much for the info on Paul Connolly. My mind is now at rest. Did I tell you that we did make an attempt in the early days but were observed by a sentry and had to get back quick? I knew he would try again but would not put me at risk. He was the best friend I have ever had. Thank you once again." (Letter to author.)
- 96 Some would be removed from the draft before they were ferried out to the ship, and a lucky few more were actually removed from the ship before she sailed.
- 97 All quotes from Poulter are from his diary.
- 98 This draft is fully documented elsewhere. See Tony Banham, *The Sinking of the Lisbon Maru*.
- 99 From an account provided to the author.
- 100 All quotes from Wright are from his book, *I Was a Hell Camp Prisoner*.
- 101 This quote from Hamilton is taken from his unpublished memoir, "Prisoner of War in Hong Kong and Japan".
- 102 Speller had also noticed the mixed opinions on Ashton-Rose: "I can only speak well of him. Whether he was only a Lieutenant or what he was, that part of it I could care less. As a medical doctor, to me, he knew what he what he was talking about, to me he did everything to restore my eyesight, and did that. I can't remember a day went by 'Well young feller how are you today?' I can only speak too well of Ashton Rose. I've heard all kinds of stories about him after. But for me he was a gentlemen and he was a good doctor, and he certainly looked after me, so I can only speak as I find." All quotes

- from Speller are from an interview with Dr Charles Roland recorded on 27 May 1990.
- 103 In Dora's tiny cottage at time of writing, part of a small cupboard is 'Wilf's Corner' containing the few possessions that he had salvaged from his Service days. Amongst them is the photograph of a pretty sixteen-year-old Dora that he had managed to keep hidden from the Japanese throughout those years, and next to it a sprig of heather that they had picked on the last day before he had been sent overseas. Thanks to Andrew Suddaby for this quote.
- 104 Letter to author.
- 105 Actually five Canadians and one British, though on the same day in Japan a further six *ex-Lisbon Maru* men died.
- 106 Budden would never be reunited with his family. He died as a POW a year later.
- 107 I am indebted to Kathleen Porter, sister of John Cassidy RN (who died in Japan the following year) for this message. The exact date of the broadcast is not clear from the headings, and could be either 11 October or 15 October; 15 October seems more likely. Many further broadcasts were made by POWs as the war went on, with the next being on 29 October. In some cases, such as Kenneth Baird's message of 17 December 1943 from Hong Kong, the broadcast was read by a Japanese announcer.
- 108 As Norah Stutchbury, she would be murdered by guerrillas in Malaya when her transport was ambushed in the summer of 1950. Redwood's diaries also mention Stanley internee Joyce Moxon, who became a headmistress post-war, and lost her life in one of the infamous De Havilland Comet crashes.
- 109 Ichioka Ward was established under the stand of Osaka municipal field athletic ground at Yawataya-Matsuno-cho, Minato-ku, Osaka City in October 1942, and closed in July 1944. When it was closed, Kobe POW Hospital was established at Kumochi-cho 1-chome, Fukiai-ku, Kobe City and the POW patients were transferred there. There was only one other dedicated POW Hospital in Japan during WW2: Shinagawa Hospital, which was established in 1943. However, POWs sometimes entered the Japanese Army Hospitals or the Hospitals attached to the companies that employed POWs. The army hospitals used by POWs were: Hiroshima Military Hospital, Kokura Military Hospital, Osaka Military Hospital, Sagami-hara Military Hospital (at Sagami-hara City, Kanagawa Prefecture, Tokyo) and Tokyo #2 Military Hospital.
- 110 Correspondence with author.
- 111 Stericker noted: "Where there is youth there is generally a certain amount of happiness, and the young men and maidens were not slow to make the most of things. After a time there was a good deal of pairing-off. This latter could be divided into two groups; the permanent and the convenient."
- 112 Note that the very large number of Indian escapes precludes the inclusion of all but a representative few. See Appendix 7.
- 113 All from AWM PR/82/068 — Series 10, No. 31, p. 33.
- 114 Red Cross parcels were enormously important to the POWs, and their

- distribution disrupted all other focuses for days. Diaries discuss in great detail the contents, how they were swapped and exchanged, and how they were eked out over weeks in order to bring taste to otherwise excruciatingly dull diets. I have resisted the temptation in this work, to report on each and every distribution; but those involved in their manufacture, packaging, and delivery should be in no doubt as to the high esteem in which they were held by the recipients.
- 115 Oxley continued: “. . . I was determined I was not going like that. I knew of a civilian in the camp who had a rough-haired lavatory brush . . . he let me have it. I went to a makeshift shower where there was nobody around, took my shorts off, stood under the shower, and scrubbed my back until all the big sores were gone. The blood ran down my legs; how could I stop it?”
- 116 The only other person to die that day there was Mann, Rifleman Maxwell Alastair.
- 117 These included the Begleys (Australian), Victor Billon, the Binks, Sir and Lady Blackburn, Margaret Davies, John and Robert Davis, Linda Day, Arthur and Charles Evans, Joseph Faly, Dorothy Focken, the Gilchrists, the Greenalands, Harry Greenwood, Sidney Herrett, Richard Knox, Mrs Manners, the Metcalfes, Thomas and Donald Mulholland, the Murdochs, Walter Noble, Laurence Olsen, William O’Neill, Melville Pearce, Henry Reed, Percy Rosser, Alexander and Nina Smith, Andrew Swanson, Douglas and Edith Weir, Reginald Westcombe, Edward Williams, the Woulfes, Ethel Wyllie, and Smith Yates.
- 118 Delaney, Polson, Gillies, Wojnarsky, and Remer were hospitalized at the QMH on 28 December.
- 119 Causes of death are taken from a number of sources including HK PRO HKRS 112-1-1 (the ‘Provisional List’ which contains the remaining wartime hospital records) and the Ride Papers for Hong Kong, NARA for Japan camp records and Shinagawa, Kobe, Tokyo and other hospitals (cross-checked with the Japan POW Network), previous research for *The Sinking of the Lisbon Maru* (and associated CWGC records), personal diaries and unit records in private and public hands.
- 120 QMH records include a Private Foster, J. HKVDC who was hospitalized on 26 December at QMH and died either on 27 December 1941 or 4 January 1942. As no one of that name is officially recognized as dying, this may be a duplicate of Polson, J.
- 121 Wounded at Wong Nai Chong Gap police station on 19 December and taken to QMH. Leg amputated.
- 122 Died of grenade wounds sustained near PB 29, morning of 22 December.
- 123 Grenade shrapnel wounds sustained on 20 December.
- 124 Wanchai. Originally buried RNH.
- 125 Multiple wounds, toxæmia. Had been wounded at Wong Nai Chung Gap.
- 126 Compound fracture of leg, multiple GSW.
- 127 Shot in both knees at North Point Power Station.
- 128 A number of such partial records for Chinese personnel imply that they actually died out of the camp, possibly after evading capture.

- 129 Intestinal obstruction.
- 130 An 'Unknown' for a regular at this date is unusual.
- 131 Had been wounded on 25 December.
- 132 Initially hospitalized on 22 December, at QMH, then transferred to SAH.
- 133 From toxic poisoning caused by eating soil.
- 134 Multiple injuries. Killed by a landslide at Kai Tak.
- 135 Wiseman: "He had been a lab technician in the hospital dispensary where he had been making 'hooch' and had drunk so much that it killed him. The Nips regarded him as a hero, driven to suicide by the shame of the Surrender, and gave him a slap-up funeral to which all the doctors, nurses and up-patients had to go."
- 136 CWGC internal documents give an alternate date of 3 April.
- 137 Compound fracture of the skull, septic GSW.
- 138 Initially taken to QMH, 25 December, with GSW.
- 139 His brothers Leslie and Robert also died during the war. Leslie was in the King's Own Royal Regiment and died on 14 July 1943. He is buried in Poland. Robert was in the Royal Corps of Signals and died on 15 September 1943. He is buried at Kanchanaburi, Thailand. Basnett had been wounded on 9 December.
- 140 In 1946, Sergeant Kawamoto was executed, having been found guilty of killing Lloyd through water torture. The annotated list of POWs which was smuggled out of Shamshuipo (the 'smuggled list') states 'cardiac failure', which was either a euphemism or, quite likely, the clinical cause of death.
- 141 Malaria, anaemia, dysentery, colitis, beri-beri.
- 142 See comment for Walker above.
- 143 Stephens had been taken to WMH on 21 December with GSW to spine.
- 144 Not in the personnel list in the HKDDC war diary.
- 145 Cellulitis at scrotum.
- 146 Pemphigus.
- 147 STH records quote a Private A. Miller, Royal Scots dying there of acute appendicitis the following day, but he neither appears in the smuggled list nor CWGC records.
- 148 CWGC internal documents give 6 July as an alternative date.
- 149 Other documents claim June 1943 as date of death.
- 150 CWGC internal documents give an alternate date of 2 March 1942.
- 151 Broncho-pneumonia, paralysis of diaphragm following diphtheria.
- 152 Yoong Yew Moy George's death was confirmed by the late Arthur Gomes of the HKVDC: "I have a G. Yoong No 5183 Sgt. Corps Signals, HKVDC whom I presume is the name you seek. He died in Shamshuipo POW Camp 8/9/42" (letter to author). He was awarded a posthumous Engineering degree by the University of Hong Kong in 1942. See Clifford Matthews and Oswald Cheung (ed.), *Dispersal and Renewal: Hong Kong University during the War Years*, p. 301. He does not appear in CWGC records.
- 153 The execution was also mentioned in the *South China Morning Post* of Tuesday, 18 September 1945.

- 154 Paralysis of diaphragm, broncho-pneumonia.
- 155 First buried at BRH No. 1 HP Cemetery.
- 156 Auricular Fibrillation. Not in CWGC but reported dead in the smuggled list under 'Merchant Seaman'.
- 157 Capes was also in the HKDDC. Malnutrition, at 16.15. The HKDDC war diary confirms the 18th, though other records state the 16th. The smuggled list states the 18th.
- 158 The smuggled list states 4 October 1942.
- 159 The smuggled list states 22 December 1942.
- 160 CWGC internal documents give an alternative date of 21 November 1942.
- 161 In some documents as 'Lavoix'.
- 162 CWGC internal documents give a date of 2 April 1942.
- 163 Died of wounds from the 16 December bombing of Lyemun (according to the late Ray Smith, RRoC: correspondence with author).
- 164 Hospitalized at QMH on 28 December 1941. GSW. "His wounds never healed." See Grant Garneau, *The Royal Rifles of Canada in Hong Kong*, p. 294.
- 165 Depressed fracture of skull. "Had a bad head wound and was in hospital ten months". See Grant Garneau, *The Royal Rifles of Canada in Hong Kong*, p. 298.
- 166 Atrophy of yellow of liver.
- 167 Post-diphtheria paralysis and myocardial degeneration.
- 168 Mal. BT. Ankyol.
- 169 Hospitalized on 24 December 1941.
- 170 Inanition.
- 171 Wounded in the 16 December bombing of Lyemun.
- 172 Initially at RNH. Shell wound perineum and rectum. GSW and anaemia.
- 173 Amputation at hip joint at RNH. Died of thrombus.
- 174 Initially hospitalized at QMH on 28 December 1941, GSW to leg and rectum.
- 175 First buried at BRH No. 1 HP Cemetery.
- 176 Endocard.
- 177 C. Beri and cystitis.
- 178 Diphtheria and intoxaemia.
- 179 First buried at BRH No. 2 HP Cemetery.
- 180 The CWGC lists some deaths as 1 October or 1–2 October. As research has shown that the first two men to die (while still aboard the boat) were CERA Herbert Thomas Bevis of HMS *Tamar* and Shipwright First Class Cyril Alfred Lifton of HMS *Tern*, and they died after midnight on the 1st, these dates have all been corrected to the 2nd.
- 181 Some might question why these men are not listed as 'Ff' — 'Friendly fire'. This is due to the fact that the fire in question was directed at a purely legitimate target (i.e. a Japanese freighter), and the deaths of these men could perhaps be described therefore as 'collateral damage'. However, the latter term lacks the necessary respect to be used in this context.
- 182 The smuggled list shows him to have died on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 183 The smuggled list says *Lisbon Maru*, but this is not noted by the CWGC. This is true of many RN records for 2 October 1942.

- 184 The smuggled list states he was lost on the *Lisbon Maru*. His POW Card says: "42.Sep.27 dept from HK to Japan by Lisbon Maru and assumed that on 1/Oct at East China sea N30.17 E123.13 got shipwrecked and drowned." We can assume the CWGC date is a mistyping of 1-2 October 1942.
- 185 The smuggled list states that he died on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 186 His brother Frank, of 36 Bty. 8 Coast Regt, predeceased him on 26 October 1940. However, CWGC internal documents contain a strange note giving date of death as '1943', and place of burial as BRH.
- 187 Confusingly, the CWGC record Burrows under HMS *Sultan*, and the smuggled list repeats the number of Bow. CWGC gives the serial as C/KX 83472.
- 188 The smuggled list puts him, and all other police who were on the *Lisbon Maru*, in the Dockyard Police.
- 189 An eyewitness, Jack Etiemble, describes Childs being kicked in the head and thrown overboard, having previously gained the deck of a Japanese patrol craft.
- 190 The smuggled list states that he died on the *Lisbon Maru*. His POW Index card says: "42.Sep.27 dept from HK to Japan by *Lisbon Maru* and assumed that on 1/Oct at East China sea N30.17 E123.13 got shipwrecked and drowned." We can assume that the CWGC date is a mistyping of 1-2 October 1942.
- 191 Foster's POW Index Card states: "27 September 1942 Unknown." Most probably he was muddled by the CWGC with J. Foster RA, 872412, who died in Japan on 11 October 1942.
- 192 The smuggled list claims he survived the *Lisbon Maru*, but this seems to be incorrect.
- 193 The Signals war diary claims he died on 11 November 1942.
- 194 Incorrectly described as 'Major' Greenwood in BAAG reports at the time.
- 195 Shot. See Tim Carew, *Hostages to Fortune*, p. 132.
- 196 Not recorded as dying on the *Lisbon Maru* in the smuggled list, though this seems to be incorrect.
- 197 The smuggled list gives Jones, Thomas Davy the serial 6204938, listing him as surviving the *Lisbon Maru*. Possibly there were two men, and Jones, Thomas David 6213447 was simply inadvertently left off this list.
- 198 The smuggled list claims that McKay [sic] was on the 5th draft and survived. Presumably that was in error.
- 199 This name does not appear at all in the smuggled list.
- 200 The smuggled list claims he was lost on the *Lisbon Maru*. Investigation of his POW Index Card indicates that on Showa 17 September 12 he died of chronic enteritis between 06.00 and 07.00. However, this is clearly in error as it continues: "Showa 17 September 27 transported to inland by *Lisbon Maru*. On the way, October 1, shipwrecked in East China Sea and assumed to drown. Shipwreck position: N30.17 E123.13."
- 201 Platoon Sergeant Major was a short-lived rank, better known as WO III.
- 202 The smuggled list implies that Robertson survived the *Lisbon Maru*. This is presumably incorrect.



- 203 CWGC internal documents include a strange note that Samuels was originally buried at Barton's Bungalow (Bungalow C) Stanley.
- 204 The smuggled list implies that Seager survived the *Lisbon Maru*. This is presumably incorrect.
- 205 Commemorated by the UCWD as Clerk, of 69 Elia Tervon Stra., Athens, Greece.
- 206 The smuggled list claims he was lost on the *Lisbon Maru*. The CWGC probably had the date muddled with Webster, George Alfred 6201926.
- 207 See *Hostages to Fortune*, p. 116, which maintains that Wigzell died of diphtheria onboard the *Lisbon Maru* before the sinking. Interestingly, the CWGC internal documents claim he was buried at Argyle Street in September 1942.
- 208 The brother of Robert William Richards, also lost on the ship.
- 209 "Died and was buried at sea", PRO ADM 1-24284, p. 241.
- 210 The smuggled list claims he died on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 211 Died on the *Shensei Maru*. The smuggled list claims he died on the *Lisbon Maru*, but adds 'Sea burial'.
- 212 Poulter's diary states: "Our Signal Officer Lt Young died today. He was given a proper burial at sea." The date is uncertain, but the context indicates he was on the *Shensei Maru*. Wright concurs: "More men died on the journey to Japan, among them Lieutenant K.E. 'Chippie' Young, Signal Officer of the Middlesex Regiment. The passing of this fine officer filled us with sorrow. He was buried at sea, and there was not a man of the Middlesex group, well or ill, who was not present to see his body committed to the water." From the context, 8 October is probably the most likely date.
- 213 The smuggled list claims that he died on the *Lisbon Maru*, and states 'Sea burial'. Uniquely in this list, Stewart is commemorated on the New Zealand Naval Memorial in Auckland. Stewart's burial at sea was witnessed by Lynneberg.
- 214 The smuggled list implies he survived the *Lisbon Maru*. Osaka #1 Branch Camp (Minato-ku, Osaka). Makel's POW Index Card states: "42.10.11 Transferred to Osaka prison camp. No acceptance of death on the ship (related to *Lisbon Maru*) / died on the ship and Osaka did not receive him." The most likely explanation seems that he was lost on the *Shensei Maru* on or around the 10th.
- 215 His POW Index card states: "42.10.11 Transferred to Osaka Prison Camp. *Lisbon Maru*. On the way to Japan, died on a ship. No death certificate. Unknown the time got sick." Despite the CWGC date, it seems most probable that he died and was buried at sea from the *Shensei Maru*.
- 216 His POW Index Card says: "42.10.11 Transferred to Osaka prison camp. Died on the ship. No acceptance. Not processed in Japan. (Related to *Lisbon Maru*). Date of sickness: Unknown. No death certificate." It seems most likely he died on the *Shensei Maru*.
- 217 The smuggled list has provided the correct dates here in most cases.
- 218 The smuggled list claims he died on board, but adds "Dysentery" and the



- correct date. PRO ADM 1-24284, p. 243, states: "Following are known to have reached safety and been recaptured, Skipper Bailey RNR . . ." His POW Index Card states: "42.2.Oct got sick. Since 9 Oct, admitted to Woosung prison camp. On 7 Oct [sic], died of bacillary dysentery (sat) a.m. 5.30. Place of death: Jiangsu, Shanghai. Burial: Buried at Shanghai prison camp."
- 219 The smuggled list has a S/Sgt with this name under 'Miscellaneous' and dying on the *Lisbon Maru*. Campbell's POW card states: "4 Oct got sick. Since 42.Oct 9 admitted to Jiangsu. 23 Oct died of dysentery 14.00 (sat). Place of death: Jiangsu, Shanghai prison camp. Buried at cemetery in prison camp."
- 220 For POWs who died in Japan, the draft they arrived on is listed. For this, I have created a code which is simply XD (transferred draft) followed by a number from 1 to 6 indicating which draft it was. XD2, as in this case, is the *Lisbon Maru*. These are from the smuggled list, and experience shows that they are around 98 percent accurate.
- 221 Tim Carew claims 6 November rather than October; see *Hostages to Fortune*, p. 158.
- 222 The smuggled list claims he died on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 223 Other documents claim November 1942 as time of death.
- 224 The Signals war diary says he died at Moji.
- 225 Osaka #1 Branch Camp (Minato-ku, Osaka). Died at Osaka Military Hospital.
- 226 Brother of Harry Badger of Command HQ.
- 227 Harry's father, Edwin Jones, was CSM of the Middlesex in WWI, posted missing 2.5.15.
- 228 His POW Index Card says: "42.10.4 Became sick. 42.10.11 Transferred to Osaka prison camp. 42.10.17 Died of anaerobic cellulites and sepsis. Place of death: Osaka Kobe Office. Ash: Jyugan-ji. 45.11.9 Handed over to QM Corps 1st Lt. Guymen, Clarence B."
- 229 The Signals war diary says he died at Moji. Osaka #2 Branch Camp (Kobe) acute pneumonia. However, his POW Index Card says: "42.10.11 Transferred to Osaka Prison camp. 42.10.19 Got sick. 42.10.21 Died of acute pneumonia at Osaka prison #1 office. Handed over to QM Corps 1st Lt. Guymen, Clarence B at Jyugan-ji." See Appendix 11.
- 230 Thorpe's brother Ronald Clive of the Northamptonshire Regiment died on 26 August 1942.
- 231 Blood poisoning.
- 232 Other documents give an alternative date of death of 30 November.
- 233 However, his index card reads: "Sep 15 1942 transferred to Tokyo #1 prison camp. Feb 5 1943 became sick. Feb 20 1943 at 15.40 died of malaria. Place of death: Oshima-machi, Kawasaki City, Tokyo #1. 1945 Sep 10 Handed over to Lieutenant Bryan, James (American army #8) at Tokyo main prison camp. Cremated."
- 234 "During the air raid on Oct 25th and 26th/42 when ordered to fire anti aircraft guns [the HKSRA] refused. Two Indian officers [sic] were shot and the remainder were returned to prison camp." WO 208/3035.
- 235 Beaten to death with rifle butts. See Russell Clark, *An End to Tears*, p. 53.

- 236 Died in Stanley Camp. Probably the 'Shepherd' noted by Stott to have died of dysentery in Tweed Bay Hospital.
- 237 According to the *South China Morning Post* of Monday, 24 September 1945, Jackson was killed by a shark on the 23rd. Wright-Nooth claims that Goldie was killed by the fish, but other documents show Goldie repatriated after the war's end and then rejoining the police. Jackson is shown as being in Hong Kong immediately after the Japanese surrender, but does not appear later. It seems therefore that the CWGC date is incorrect. Thanks to force historian Mike Watson for confirming these details.
- 238 The Civilian Roll also lists: "MacNAUGHT, Civilian, MISS, Civilian War Dead. 8th July 1942." In the absence of any other evidence, I suspect this is a duplication of the McNaught entry.
- 239 At Stanley. Listed as 'Hotel proprietor', while the other two Ellis' are 'Café owners'.
- 240 BAAG members already listed in the unit roles above will be repeated in the BAAG lists between parentheses for completeness.

## 1943

- 1 Parker, a cellist, also noted, after a donation from the Vatican for POWs had been partly spent by the Japanese on band instruments: "with the band instruments it was possible to put on some pretty good shows and it can be said that the shows were as good as you could want to see anywhere. Altogether there were about eight shows put on that would have been a success in any large city both from a point of view of talent and scenery. Everything was made from bits and pieces picked up here and there. The colours in the stage settings were beautiful to look upon, the plot of the plays and the musical scores were composed by talented people who worked long and hard but were glad to have something to occupy their minds."
- 2 Major Cecil (commonly known as 'Queenie' or 'Cissy') Boon would be tried on charges of collaboration after the war, and acquitted. See Appendix 9.
- 3 Hideo Wada had of course been in charge of the POWs on the *Lisbon Maru*, and was widely held responsible for the deaths of so many. Interestingly, he was not generally disliked in this new role.
- 4 A number of such benefactors were recognized by official letters of thanks from the camps soon after liberation.
- 5 Men were graded by health, with 'A' being best.
- 6 In most respects, the experiences of the British and Canadian members of the garrison were remarkably similar. However, I have yet to discover why only one Canadian officer accompanied Canadian men to Japan, whereas some seventy-five British officers (excluding the thirteen sent to Taiwan as a 'punishment') travelled with theirs. These numbers are so skewed as to imply that this was a policy, but whether set by Japanese or others is as yet unknown.

- 7 All quotes from Skelton come from Rifleman Sydney Skelton's Diary, as kindly supplied by his son.
- 8 Some of the best coverage of the HKVDC at Innoshima comes from an RAF pilot there. See Terence Kelly, *Living with Japanese*.
- 9 Quotes from Bob Moore are taken from documents in the possession of his daughter.
- 10 Gunstone's index card is a good example of an Amagasaki POW, though unlike Hart he would be transferred to Hiroshima #3B: "Showa 18 Jan/22 Transferred to Osaka prisoner camp, Showa 20 Jun/2 Transferred to Hiroshima camp (2nd branch), Showa 20 Sep/2 At Hibi, Tamano-shi, Okayama pref, pass to RA Condr. Davies Thomas John." (It is not clear why it states #2B, as Tamano was in fact #3B.)
- 11 All quotes from Berard are from his book, *17 Days until Christmas*.
- 12 All quotes from Speller are from an interview with Dr Charles Roland recorded on 27 May 1990.
- 13 Poulter adds: "We had to carry them from the barge, across the quayside, into the Godown and up a series of steep planks. This job is much too heavy for us as well as being very tricky work, going up a steep plank with a two hundred-pound load on your back. We went on strike! They went mad and some of us got beaten up but we stuck it out and refused to carry the stuff up the planks. We won! In the afternoon I fell into the harbour. It was bleedin' cold! Our chaps threw me a line and pulled me out and then carried me to one of the Jap rest huts. They stripped me off and, lit a fire and let me dry my clothes off. Drummy had pinched some rice and I cooked it and we had a good feed. My clothes were not quite dry by the time we had to leave for camp, so I had to march back in them. When we got back to camp we were again searched for cut blankets."
- 14 All quotes from Weedon are from his book, *Guest of an Emperor*. He often notes how the men, working at the docks, would bring extra food back for the officers who lacked their opportunities for foraging. This is also emphasized in Poulter's diary and Wright's account.
- 15 Ride Papers, Series 11, No. 6, pp. 36–41.
- 16 Note that the poor quality of the original copy does not permit certainty in the spelling of some names therein.
- 17 A handwritten addition notes '? — Punjabs'.
- 18 Wright would write, date uncertain: "The sick men back from Kowsaki [*sic*], the resort to which they had been transferred, were much fitter, but news of Private Bowles was not so good, for he seemed likely to lose some of his toes through beri-beri." Osaka #5D is now Maruyama Hospital.
- 19 For anyone interested in 1941 cocktail recipes, here are two examples verbatim: "THE FRENCH CANADIAN. (Major F. T. Atkinson, Royal Rifles of Canada). + Maple Syrup, + Lemon Juice, + Scotch Whisky. Ice and shake. Tim Atkinson gave me this one. Need I say more? THE GLENCORSE. (Capt. C. R. Jones, The Royal Scots.) + Scotch Whisky, + French Vermouth, + Lime Juice. Ice and shake. This one comes from an Englishman with a Welsh name who lives in Edinburgh and wishes to remain anonymous."

- 20 This arrest concerned money being smuggled by Dr Talbot at the request of Grayburn and Hyde. Neither Grayburn nor Hyde survived. It is hoped that a future volume will cover this episode in appropriate detail.
- 21 BAAG. Dated 2 April 1943.
- 22 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 35, p. 14.
- 23 Ansari was a highly respected Indian officer of the 5/7th Rajputs. Although very much pro-Indian independence, he was equally anti-Japanese and actively resisted their attempts to popularize the Indian National Army in Ma Tau Chung POW Camp. Soon after sixty was arrested, he too was tortured and executed, later being awarded the George Cross.
- 24 On George's death, his brother Jimmy promptly joined the BAAG well knowing what his fate might be. He lost his life in similar circumstances to George in 1944. The detailed story of George's betrayal and arrest are in the Ride Papers: AWM Series 11, No. 32, p. 130. Note that Edwin Ride's book, *British Army Aid Group: Hong Kong Resistance 1942–1945*, confuses the two brothers; see *British Army Aid Group*, p. 160.
- 25 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 35, p. 15. It was believed that 'Inky custodian' was Ansari's reference to himself as the hockey goalkeeper for the Rajputs, whereas Clague (an R.A. officer at Lyemun, who had sent him two previous messages) played on the right wing. 'Overhauled' was recognized as a reference to health recovering after interrogations, and "always ready to rush out" as a willingness to attempt to escape.
- 26 From his autobiography, *Footprints: The Memoirs of Sir Selwyn Selwyn-Clarke*.
- 27 The arrival of letters from home was of course a major event. Men evolved all sorts of ways to eke them out (reading a sentence per day, for example). Most arrived between a year and eighteen months after they were sent. Diaries make many mentions of them, though I have limited the repetition in this work.
- 28 The book *USS Arizona's Last Band* lists a Musician 2nd Class by the name of James Harvey Sanderson as being amongst those killed during the attack on Pearl.
- 29 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 38, p. 9. Quotes WIS 38 (11 July 1943) as saying: "All bankers, with the following exceptions, were interned in STANLEY with their families on 2 July. They were given 1 week's notice to get ready and took all their belongings with them. The following were still working in the YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK: OLIVE — Inward Bills Department, MACLATCHIE, DAVIS — Sub-Accountants, PERRY — Cashier, MAC — Book-keeper. Their families are still with them residing in Chinese hotels. All above are HONGKONG & SHANGHAI BANK. HAWKINS (Mercantile Bank Manager) and 1 Chartered Bank man (name NOT known) are also still at 'liberty'."
- 30 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 37, p. 24.
- 31 Meaning HKVDC.
- 32 Some forty-eight people would be arrested concerning this matter. It is hoped that a future volume will cover this incident in appropriate detail. Meanwhile, the fullest coverage can be found in Anderson PRO WO 325/42.

- 33 Actually Zindell. Rudolf Zindell was a Swiss businessman based in Hong Kong, appointed by the Red Cross as their representative. He visited the camp this day.
- 34 It is hoped that a later volume will cover this incident with appropriate detail. Meanwhile, probably the most complete coverage is Boxer PRO WO 311/561.
- 35 In fact Bertram himself would arrive, with three others from the fifth draft, at Omori in January 1944.
- 36 Bertram noted another example while on a ten-day sentence for dropping a pack while on parade at Omori: "Some months before, Alf Mansfield, a genial and incorrigible thief in the Middlesex had done a stretch in the guardhouse for stealing red cross parcels. By a triumph of legerdemain he had succeeded in stealing sixteen more parcels *while within the cell*" (my emphasis). This was presumably Joseph Mansfield.
- 37 Goodwin continued: "Before he left the Brigadier bequeathed me a tin of 'Bemax', a heart of wheat meal, and that formed a valuable item of food during my subsequent escape."
- 38 Rose was an original 'old contemptible' who had won his MC in France. Of the Wiltshire Regiment, he was assigned to command The Volunteers in 1938. Following Lawson's death in the Hong Kong fighting, he took over West Brigade and Mitchell replaced him commanding the HKVDC.
- 39 Winkworth's interview card, WO 344/409/2: 13 Burlington Gardens, Acton, London, states he was in Hong Kong from 25 December to 4 August 1943, in Formosa from 9 August 1943 to 9 October 1944, and Manchuria from November 1944 to August 1945. In the latter two camps, the camp commander is correctly listed as Air Vice Marshal Maltby, General Maltby's brother.
- 40 See Bush, *The Road to Inamura*, p. 173. In fact the printed date is the 25th, but it seems certain this is an error. See also his diary at NARA RG407 Box 128.
- 41 Cambon notes with regret that he died an alcoholic in Vancouver after the war. See *Guest of Hirohito*, p. 80.
- 42 Almost certainly Harold Barlow Shepherd, Winnipeg Grenadiers, who Bush notes was very keen on seizing the ship and making for China.
- 43 Bush makes it clear that 'Cardiff Joe', a Japanese man by the name of Matsuda who had been the Cardiff manager for Yamashita Steamship Company until late 1940, was of great help to the POWs.
- 44 He continues: "His brother, an unarmed stretcher bearer, was killed by Japs while tending wounded men during the battle of Hong Kong."
- 45 Though Bush himself was sent to Omori.
- 46 All quotes from Bevan come from his diary.
- 47 Shinagawa.
- 48 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 39, p. 23. It also states: "HK News of 9 Sep 43 quotes Mr ZINDEL, HK representative of the International Red cross as saying that the first batch would move in on the following week. A total of 800 persons is [sic] expected to live at this centre. A Mr. SUTER is mentioned as

- Superintendent of the Home." Later (Series 10, No. 39, p. 35) reports on 10 October 1943: "An advertisement issued by the ROSARY HILL RED CROSS HOME, 43 STUBBS RD., announces visiting hours as twice weekly — Sundays and Wednesdays, 1400–1700 hrs." Series 10, No. 14 (p. 5) includes names of all Red Cross in Hong Kong, and the 'Administrative Council' of Rosary Hill.
- 49 This, and the 'daily menu', come from Peter White's memoirs of Rosary Hill, which he kindly supplied to the author.
- 50 Others called this plane 'Hank' (presumably Hank the Yank).
- 51 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 39, p. 17.
- 52 Prata is buried in a grave in the Catholic Cemetery in Happy Valley. However, even today his family cannot be certain that the bones therein are truly his.
- 53 It is hoped that a later volume will cover this incident with appropriate detail. Meanwhile, a good narrative version exists in Goodwin's book, *Passport to Eternity*.
- 54 The *Teia Maru* was built as *Aramis* — the second craft of that name — for Messageries Maritimes' Marseilles-Far East service in 1932. It was seized by the Japanese at Saigon in April 1942 and renamed. She was sunk by submarine USS *Rasher* off the Philippines on 18 August 1944.
- 55 All quotes from this work under Taylor are from his diary, now held privately by his family. Thursday, 21 October 1943 is the first entry.
- 56 Rumours persist that this was the result of executions following an escape attempt, but nothing exists in known files to corroborate this.
- 57 Though when the ship sailed, O'Toole noted: "Selection leaves. Smith & Wright taken off, also Jefferys who had malaria. All given wind-breaker and two blankets all quite orderly. Marched off after breakfast. Taken by tug from Bamboo Pier to boat so they didn't have to walk through."
- 58 To Chiu. Her brother was To Kom Wing (see Ride Papers, Series 11, No. 22, p. 2). The report itself comes from Ride's papers, Series 11, No. 21, p. 142.
- 59 A sample POW Index card for this voyage (from WO344/378/2): Alexander Gordon, Royal Scots, 36 Glasgow Road, Perth Scotland.  
Sham Shui Po 25.12.41 — 18.12.43 Major Boon Captain Ford, later Capt. Campbell
- Narumi 7.1.44 — 20.6.45 Lt. Riley RAF  
No. 8 Toyama 21.6.45 — 5.9.45 Lt. Riley RAFRSM Ashman RAEC
- The reference to Humphreys suggests that his recorded date of death in 1942 is incorrect.
- 60 Presumably at Kaohsiung (previously known as Takao).
- 61 These three men would be posthumously awarded the George Cross, as were Ansari and Fraser.
- 62 The smuggled list claims 10 January 1942.
- 63 Hydrocephalus avitaminosis.
- 64 Endocard.
- 65 Killed by accident on Shamshuipo's electric fence.
- 66 The Stanley grave register notes: "Served as Rosario, Peter Norman . . . Also served in British Army Aid Group." The type of grave ("Special Memorial C")

- is one of 24 that refer to people buried in the cemetery, but whose exact grave location is not known. The 1955 Sai Wan Memorial book also listed him as U 29 October 1943.
- 67 The smuggled list notes “tortured”.
- 68 Burns was also in the HKVDC.
- 69 The smuggled list claims 16 November 1942.
- 70 Nephritis.
- 71 Not recorded in the HKDDC war diary. It would appear that the CWGC recorded the majority of Royal Naval Dockyard Police fatalities as HKDDC, whether or not they were actually in that unit.
- 72 Not recorded in the HKDDC war diary.
- 73 I assume this is the “Fred Charles Granville” referred to as a Boom Engineer in the smuggled list.
- 74 Gardiner’s POW Card states: “42.10.11 Transferred to Osaka prison camp. 43.4.9 at 21.50 died of beri-beri. 43.2.19 got sick. Place of death: Osaka prison, Kobe office. Place of ash: Osaka minami tani-cho, Jyugan-ji. Handed over to QM Corps 1st Lt. Guymen, Clarence B, at Jyugan-ji.”
- 75 Osaka #2 Branch Camp (Kobe). Sturges’ POW Card states: “42.10.11 Transferred to Osaka prison. 43.1.25 got sick. 43.7.2 died of acute colitis. Place of death: Osaka Kobe office. Place of ash: Jyugan-ji, Minami-ku, Osaka City. Handed over to QM Corps 1st Lt. Guymen, Clarence B, at Jyugan-ji (Osaka American occupation force, 1st Division).”
- 76 Other documents state he died on 5 November or 26 November.
- 77 The Signals war diary states that he died at Moji.
- 78 Fracture of left ribs, internal haemorrhage of the lungs. A ‘factory accident’ according to Bevan’s diary.
- 79 Fracture of the skull and legs.
- 80 Fracture of pelvis and left fibula and tibia.
- 81 Contusion of brain.
- 82 Cerebral haemorrhage.
- 83 Handwritten in CWGC internal documents is a date that looks like 27 June 1943, followed by the words: “cardiac beri-beri”. However, the *Royal Rifles of Canada in Hong Kong* (p. 330) reports that one Canadian died on board the draft. From the context, it looks like the date of death should be 21 January 1943, and this may well be Lawrence. Further research is required.
- 84 At the age of eighteen, thus he was sixteen at the time of the battle.
- 85 From the *London Gazette* of 18 March 1946: “Awarded the George Cross for most conspicuous gallantry in carrying out hazardous work in a very brave manner.” All the military GC winners had the same text. Only Fraser’s civilian award had more detail: John Alexander Fraser was interned by the Japanese in the Civilian Internment Camp at Stanley. Fully aware of the risks that he ran he engaged continuously in most dangerous activities. He organized escape plans and a clandestine wireless service and succeeded not only in obtaining news from outside but also in getting important information out of the camp. Subjected by the Japanese to prolonged and most severe torture he steadfastly



- refused to give any information, and was finally executed. His fortitude was such that it was commented upon by the prison guards, and was a very real source of inspiration to others. His magnificent conduct undoubtedly saved the lives of those others whom the Japanese sought to implicate.”
- 86 Also recorded as “unknown” on the Sai Wan Memorial.
- 87 CWGC lists him as a civilian. He died of an internal haemorrhage and is buried in Stanley.
- 88 A note says, “Of Hong Kong Dockyard.”
- 89 The CWGC lists Private Ivan Patterson, 7536265, RADC, K 10.2.43 as being “BAAG”, and this is echoed in Edwin Ride’s *British Army Aid Group: Hong Kong Resistance 1942–1945*. However, as yet there seems to be no evidence that Patterson was involved in BAAG, and in fact he was a POW in Taiwan who was re-interred in Saiwan after the war (though it should be noted that Taiwan was within BAAG’s jurisdiction for some time).

## 1944

- 1 It is not always clear when individual medical officers were sent to their camps, thus these may not feature in such lists. However, their POW Index cards should record this information.
- 2 Although not all of the BAAG victims had, strictly speaking, been POWs or Internees, all had been prisoners before execution.
- 3 However, at Moji, Bertram, Abbott, Rae Watson (HKVDC) and Ken Seyer (HKVDC) — all with pre-war media experience — were separated from the draft and taken, via Moji Camp, to Tokyo, to be ‘encouraged’ to join the Bunka centre that provided pro-Japanese propaganda in English. When this failed, they were posted to Omori HQ Camp. All quotes from Howard at Narumi are from his diary.
- 4 This view was endorsed by Stenning, the senior medical officer there at the time: “Generally this was a very bad camp with much sickness, bad water supply, and most severe weather and working conditions . . . Hard work working in the wet and cold and snow and the incessant driving of the work bosses to make men work harder and harder and harder, made this the worst camp in the Osaka area for the percentage of deaths and sickness.”
- 5 From *It Was Like This* . . . In her diary, Barbara Redwood had also noted that an internee by the name of Betty McGowan was in Stanley, who appeared on stage in London after the war as Chin Yu. She also mentioned the ‘Misses Woods’ who had a stage/film career before the war.
- 6 Her book, *Twilight in Hong Kong*, gives a good description of Rosary Hill.
- 7 Mortimer had been caught trying to find Red Cross parcels in a storeroom. He was with an American POW by the name of Yetman, who was also killed.
- 8 Cambon says he died two months later. See *Guest of Hirohito*, p. 77: “Mortimer showed incredible courage and tenacity, knowing he had almost no chance of survival. He never complained, joked about his black feet and



- actually comforted those beside him. He fought the inevitable for almost two months and died in his sleep. I cannot forget this change of character into a person of such strength, a model for us all.”
- 9 From Stenning’s (senior medical officer at Oeyama, 15 October to 23 June 1944) war crimes affidavit.
  - 10 See Appendix 9.
  - 11 The child, presumably still born, does not appear in the Stanley lists or CWGC records, but there is a grave in Stanley Cemetery.
  - 12 Presumably Private Albert V. Fenn, 6208367, from the first draft.
  - 13 Mynatt is not in Hong Kong records. The majority of deaths and diseases reported by Taylor appear to be in Merchant Navy men — such as David Wilson — at the same camp, few of whom came from Hong Kong.
  - 14 Presumably Sapper Dennis Edge.
  - 15 Also from the *Lisbon Maru* and the Hong Kong garrison.
  - 16 I once asked Dennis Morley of the Royal Scots what he thought of Jackson. He answered in just three words: “He was God.” Weedon noted, 8 July 1945: “Talk in next-door hut after supper by new Dr. (Hockman) giving us resume of news he knew . . . Is convinced that Nips are trying to kill off Dr. Jackson (who did such heroic work in early days) because he knows too much. Was sent to punishment camp on framed up charges about February this year.”
  - 17 For this ‘crime’, Coxhead was assigned to the ‘bottles’ (particularly hard physical work), though his diary makes no complaint. Most POWs believed that survival was primarily a matter of one’s mental state and thus ability to withstand such blows, and Coxhead’s survival is very probably an example.
  - 18 All Hong Kong’s senior officers and, in practice, the majority of those ranked Major and above, had served in the first war.
  - 19 Fisher’s writings are full of such references to Boon, a man who he clearly detested. I have not included most as they are repetitive in nature.
  - 20 As an example POW MI9 interview for this draft: Samuel Hewitt, RASC, 52 Philips Park Road, Lancs.  
 Sham Shui Po: 28 Dec 41 — 19 Dec 42. Maj Gen Maltby  
 BRH: 19 Dec 42 — June 43  
 Sham Shui Po: June 43 — April 44 Major Boone [sic] QMS Keast  
 Sendai: May 44 — Dec 44 Captain Robinson QMS Casey  
 Tokyo Hospital: Dec 44 — July 45 Commander Cleaves  
 Sendai: July 45 — 18 Aug Captain Smyth QMS Casey
  - 21 Misidentification of ships was common, although it is still not completely clear which ship this really was. The *Naura Maru* does not appear in other known records.
  - 22 All quotes from Rakusen come from his letters, kindly supplied by his son Ron.
  - 23 See entry for 26 July.
  - 24 On the subject of Stanley’s younger internees, Stericker noted: “They were undisciplined children and quite without class-consciousness. Their friends were of all colours, and their vocabularies were unprintable. However, they

- were happy children. What they had never known they never missed. They knew nothing of Christmas or birthdays, nor of special food or treats. To toys they were also strangers.”
- 25 Dodwell’s grave, as one enters Stanley Cemetery, is immediately behind the cross of remembrance, and thus the first that one sees on arrival.
  - 26 Letters from home were of course extremely good for morale, and diaries make it clear that they were as welcome as Red Cross parcels. Readers of Coxhead’s diary may notice use of the word ‘jeep’. This is not an anachronism. As Kelly explains: “We had others employed by the dockyard who were dressed in a quasi military uniform whom we called jeeps for whom the official title was, I understand, *gunzoku*.”
  - 27 Often spelled ‘Ma Tau-wei’.
  - 28 News of the military situation in the wider world was another dominant theme in diaries. This manifested itself particularly in comments on visible activities (such as Allied bombing of areas adjacent to camps), and — especially post-6 June 1944 — on advances reported as the Allies recaptured territory. While the documentation of these facts tells us nothing new, their perceived importance is clearly indicative of the implications as to the coming of the end of the war, and subsequent liberation.
  - 29 Hatt died in the UK in June 1946.
  - 30 Shrigley’s repeated arrest and death are something of a mystery. However, according to Geoff Knee, a relative: “One Sunday morning in about 1947, as my parents and I were walking home from church, a man approached my father, saying, ‘You are Mr Knee, aren’t you?’ He went on to explain that he was a Barnsley man and had been in a POW in Hong Kong with Ralph Shrigley. He and Ralph had shared many conversations about Barnsley and our family. He said he had a message for my Dad from Ralph. After the first interrogation, Ralph had told him that the Japanese had found his (Ralph’s) groundsheet with his name on it, in a tunnel that had been started for an escape. Ralph had given the groundsheet to the escapees for dragging earth out of the tunnel. The Japanese wanted to know the names of the escapees, but he would not tell them. They had beaten him up badly and he told his friend that if he (the friend) got back to England he should try to tell my father about it. After a second interrogation, Ralph did not return to the camp.” When hostilities commenced, Shrigley had hidden the HKVDC’s Regimental Colours. As he did not tell anyone where they were, they were only discovered by accident when the foundations of the American Consulate in Garden Road were laid in the 1970s.
  - 31 Such notes, usually tucked into Red Cross parcels, were not uncommon and were the source of much entertainment. Packers sometimes also deliberately used newspapers with interesting articles as wrapping; for example, this is how the Stanley internees learned of Bill Evans’ escape and evasion from the *Lisbon Maru* and his repatriation to Canada to rejoin his wife.
  - 32 Goodwin was concerned about the strength of his right leg, which had been severely injured in the fighting.

- 33 Baird was right in that there were extra parades, missed meals, slapping and extra discipline, and the purchase of cigarettes was stopped. However, Baird went on to say that it: “takes lots of guts to do what that chap did”, and “I hope he is safe.” Goodwin himself noted: “The two officers who slept either side of me, Lt. (E.) Chown, RNVR, and Lt. Trapman, 12 CRRA, were arrested for interrogation, as also were my closest friends, Lt. Glover, HKRNVR, and Lt. Thomson, RNR . . . However, no one suffered any very severe beatings, and reprisals against the camp were very much lighter than they might have been.” Parker reported that these reprisals were so comparatively light that “it should have been easy for us to realize that the end of the war was much closer than we had believed.”
- 34 Saipan fell on the 9th, and next-door Tinian was invaded on 2 July. This loss so close to the Japanese heartland would lead to the resignation of Tojo’s cabinet. Slightly over a year later, from Tinian, the two atomic bombs would be flown to Japan, bringing the war and the POWs’ incarceration to an end.
- 35 Both these remains would be lost. Coils and Barry were presumably captured in Singapore.
- 36 Ride Papers, Series 10, Number 20, p. 19.
- 37 Presumably a reference to Sapper Hale, whose parents hailed from Vancouver.
- 38 Charles Frederick Hyde, of Hong Kong Bank. Michael Hyde would die in a freak accident on a firing range during National Service in 1956.
- 39 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 17, p. 8.
- 40 Beadnell had been captured in Java, having been sent there from Singapore. He arrived at Oeyama on 26 June 1944 — taking over from Stenning — and was senior officer there until 9 September 1945 when all Oeyama POWs were put on the train to Yokohama. All quotes from Beadnell are from his war crimes affidavit held in the Canadian archives.
- 41 In August 1944, approximately 200 American POWs arrived at Oeyama. However, initially these men were relatively fit, and thus the men discussed in this letter are the Hong Kong POWs (though Beadnell notes that the Americans’ health, too, deteriorated rapidly after their arrival, and the senior American officer produced an addendum to this letter, listing the 32 sickest American POWs).
- 42 In early 2007 I received an email from the grandson of Lance Corporal John Laird, Royal Scots: “After rescue [from the *Lisbon Maru*] he was transported to Kobe. Not sure on the camp exactly, I do know his work detail was in the docks in Kobe. Would there be record or diaries of this time there? I know he rescued the Harbor Master’s daughter from drowning when she fell into the dock; he jumped in and saved her. I think he got slightly better treatment from his work masters as a result of this bravery.”
- 43 Ride Papers, Series 10, No. 19, p. 43.
- 44 The exact medical circumstances of the deaths of Corporal Townsend H/6135, Corporal Grainger H/6578, Lance Corporal Rees 6297, Private Delorme H/6758, Pte. Paul H/40700 and Private H. Bazinet, all of the Winnipeg Grenadiers, are also given in Beadnell’s war crimes affidavit. See also 6 June 1945.

- 45 Edward James Tandy was the brother of Jessica Tandy, the celebrated actress. Jessica became well known shortly after the war for her role on Broadway in *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Her Hollywood career was even more impressive, encompassing such classics as Alfred Hitchcock's *The Birds*, and culminating in an Oscar for best actress in 1994 for *Driving Miss Daisy*.
- 46 See Appendix 11.
- 47 Presumably Stoker P. O. James South, from the first draft.
- 48 Presumably Leading Stoker Thomas Ostend Yates, from the first draft.
- 49 The spelling of the three American officers is uncertain, and none of the three appear to match the liberation rosters of the camps, indicating perhaps that they had been transferred elsewhere by then.
- 50 From Consuelo Delgado y Perez' granddaughter, Joyce.
- 51 Myelitis.
- 52 King also served in the HKDDC. CWGC records state the date of death as 15 February 1944.
- 53 Davis' details appear in the smuggled list but not on CWGC.
- 54 Stevenson's shipmates were captured at sea on SS *Ben Nevis* on 23 December 1941 and interned at Osaka #13B (Tsumori) where three of them perished.
- 55 The smuggled list says 13 April 1944.
- 56 The smuggled list says 2 May 1943.
- 57 Killed in a fall from a second floor window in Yaumatei while under interrogation. It is not known whether he jumped or was thrown. See Goodwin's second book, *Passport to Eternity*. The smuggled list says 'beri-beri', 2 July 1944.
- 58 As another man of this name exists in CWGC records for 1940, when the *Glenmoor* was actually sunk, the addition of the vessel's name in Stanley Cemetery's printed register is probably incorrect.
- 59 Aged fifty-five and believed to have been retired. Buried in Stanley.
- 60 Cancer of the oesophagus.
- 61 Mining accident. See Grant Garneau, *The Royal Rifles of Canada in Hong Kong*, p. 377. Pelvic fracture.
- 62 Mining accident. See Ken Cambon, *Guest of Hirohito*, p. 122 and Garneau, *The Royal Rifles of Canada in Hong Kong*, p. 377. Cranial fracture and brain haemorrhage.
- 63 Fleming had been with the Blue Funnel Line. He died of suspected stomach ulceration after eating food found in a barrel at Innoshima. See Terence Kelly, *Living with Japanese*, p. 156.
- 64 At Narumi, as a result of beating by Niimori, having been unable to produce a sweater for inspection. See Grant Garneau, *The Royal Rifles of Canada in Hong Kong*, p. 139.
- 65 Contusion in the middle of forehead, epithelial exfoliation, pneumonia.
- 66 Served as Baladin, G.
- 67 Ling's POW Index Card, as an example, states: "43.9.1 Transferred to Osaka 12 Office. 43.12.14 got sick. 44.1.21 at 18.15 died of beri-beri. Place of death: Osaka #12 office. Place of Ash: Jyugan-ji. Handed over to Lt. Guymen."

- 68 Beri-beri and acute colitis.
- 69 After the war, Harvey of the RAMC was charged with Friesen's murder, but was acquitted. See Appendix 9.
- 70 And rheumatism in the lambrosacral region.
- 71 Atrophic libereirrhose [sic].
- 72 George Alfred Webster's POW card, as an example:  
43.1.22 Transferred to Osaka prison camp  
44.3.19 got sick  
44.3.21 died of chronic enteritis  
Place of death: Osaka City, Osaka #4 office. Place of ash: Jyugan-ji  
45.11.9 Handed over to QM. Corps 1st Lt. Guymen, Clarence B. at Jyugan-ji
- 73 The *South China Morning Post* for Tuesday, 18 September 1945, gives the following alternative dates of death: Bearman 28 April 1944, Blair 28 March 1944, Cole 5 February 1945, Deakin 20 January 1944, Stoneham 15 December 1945. The provenance of these dates is not known, though the last is clearly in error.
- 74 Right wet pleurisy.
- 75 Mann's father, also Alexander, was lost in Hong Kong on 22 December 1941 as a CQMS of the RASC and has no known grave.
- 76 Acute pneumonia.
- 77 Reed, Stephen Arnold is also attributed to this serial number. Japanese records state 3586. Dislocation and fracture of the 11th thoracic vertebrae.
- 78 A letter from Alfredo Prata, HKVDC, notes that: " 'Fuzzy Fernandes' was killed in a mine collapse during an earthquake." Thanks to Prata's daughter Francesca Sankey.
- 79 Condon's POW index card confirms that he was transferred to the main building of the Tokyo POW Camp on 15 September 1942. He died of heart failure at 22.30 (the card adds 'Methanol Intoxication'). His remains were handed to a Lt. Bryan, James of the Salary Section of the Eighth American army on 10 September 1945. A letter from Kawasaki City Council states that his remains were sent to Hong Kong in error at the end of the war. As he is commemorated on the Sai Wan Memorial, despite dying in Japan; it is possible (though certainly not proven) that his remains were lost in the B24 Liberator crashes of 10 September 1945.
- 80 Father of Bliss Cole. He died in Kawasaki #3D.
- 81 Fracture of 2nd and 3rd cervical vertebrae. Lacerations.
- 82 Killed by a building collapse at Niigata Camp #5B. See Charles G. Roland, *Long Night's Journey into Day*, p. 234, although the cause is also recorded as chronic enteritis. Date of death suggests the former cause is correct.
- 83 Acute pharyngitis, catarrh pneumonia.
- 84 Catarrh pneumonia, acute pharyngitis.
- 85 The smuggled list is approximately 98% accurate in the listing of drafts. This is an example where it is probably incorrect.
- 85 Scars of pleurisy, malaria.
- 86 Beaten and left in the snow for more than twenty-four hours after allegedly stealing a Japanese workman's lunch, Mortimer died two months later.

- 87 Address given as: Repulse Bay Hotel.  
 88 A note says: "Also known as William PATTINSON."  
 89 One-armed Sutton.  
 90 Room 2A, Church Guest House.

## 1945

- 1 MacCulloch AE (Ammunition Examiner) had led the party that had reopened the Little Hong Kong magazines during the fighting.
- 2 Ian Quinn, the expert on the topic, notes: "These were two Avengers, witnessed by Stanley Camp 'guests' as well as other crews.' Chutes were seen, one wrapped around the tail of one Avenger, but one or two may have survived. There was a report of someone picked up in the hills that day, but that was the day Major Houck of the 118th flying a P-51 was shot down (he was the one later executed) so not sure if that was him but very likely it was Lt Hunt, pilot of one of the Avengers who later died in a POW camp in Japan from 'untended burns' . . . Two gunners were picked up that day from Helldivers (survived as POWs in Japan) and one Hellcat pilot was seen in a raft near Repulse Bay but consensus is that he was executed that day . . . several luckier pilots made it to Kunming after being picked up by junks and taken to Macau." Those last men referred to, were escorted to British lines in China by Nelson Mar, BEM, a friend of the author today.
- 3 Watanabe was a Japanese interpreter who took great risks to give humanitarian aid to POWs and Internees when possible. His story is documented in the book, *Small Man of Nanataki*, by Liam Nolan.
- 4 Redwood: Including "Mr Holland (whose wife had been killed during the war)" (see *Not the Slightest Chance*, note 103). On 26 January Redwood noted that the bungalow "isn't nearly as wrecked as I had imagined". Wally Scragg, a policeman interned in Stanley, noted that the bomb fell on the concrete roof of the garage, hence the fact that blast caused the fatalities and the bungalow itself was relatively undamaged. While it has often been said that the USN were aiming their bombs at a lighter just offshore, Scragg also noted that the Japanese had a mobile gun on the road nearby, and this may also have been the target (conversation with author).
- 5 All quotes from Collyer (Head Attendant at the Mental Hospital before the war) are from his diary.
- 6 Wiseman noted: "SSM Williams RASC died of heart failure, being very weak from malaria. In our Camp C.A. Stansfield (Major RIASC) and R.S. Richards (Lt QM RASC) were slightly wounded by AA fragments."
- 7 Née Mason.
- 8 This compliment is amplified by the context of Collyer's many negative remarks about women in Stanley who "should not be here". There was widespread resentment amongst internees, about women who had found ways to avoid the 1940 evacuation. Stericker noted: "Now that we were

- interned it was obviously a perfect nuisance that a situation which was desperate and difficult as it was, would have been enormously complicated by the large numbers of women and children, as well as babies, many of whom belonged to government employees." Others, however, complained of the presence of missionaries. It seems that each group had different definitions of who should or should not have been in Hong Kong.
- 9 Fenn was another of those who died in Japan whose remains were subsequently lost. He had died on the 6th.
  - 10 In fact Maurice had died in March, but news was slow to arrive. Further confusion is added by the fact that Weill's date of death is officially recorded as 27 April 1944.
  - 11 Speller had the following to say about Birchall: "As far as I'm concerned, Birchall was the best officer ever seen for standing up. Now, in other places he might not have done the men any good, but the Japs sure respected him. It was surprising. The Camp Commandant there would, as mean as he was — 'little Fat Pig' we called him -- he respected Birchall. 'Birchall comma here.' And Birchall would say, 'What the hell do you want now? Is it important? You come here.' Just that way. Oh no, he was a fine man, old Len Birchall. I get a kick out of him."
  - 12 There is some uncertainty over the date of these moves. Trick notes that he moved on 31 March, Marsh says 'April', Birchall says 'May', and Speller — at different times — states that he was at Suwa for five or six months (which would imply March). Other sources state that Kawasaki 3D was closed on 13 May rather than March. All agree that this move happened after a heavy air raid, but as the three biggest raids were Tokyo on 10 March, Kawasaki City on 15 April, and Yokohama City on 29 May, it is still unclear.
  - 13 Later Marsh noted: "The British were the survivors of Singapore and had been sent to help build that infamous railroad along the peninsula through Indo China. They were riddled with malaria and other tropical diseases as well as severe malnutrition. The Japanese hated the British for their defiant stubbornness and unwillingness to cooperate. The Japanese had reduced them to dumb driven beasts, sick both in mind and body. Later when we spoke to them they told us it was only a matter of time until we would all die. They had seen thousands of their comrades die. They had heard no news from anywhere for years, no letters, no Red Cross parcels, nothing. We told them that Germany had surrendered and that Japan too would soon fall. They refused to believe us. They hated the Jap and lived to thwart him. Perhaps it was only hate that kept them alive."
  - 14 The building remains though. Both of the author's children attended kindergarten there, the younger 'graduating' in 2007.
  - 15 This quote comes from his War Crimes depositions, Record Group 331, Box 496, NARA.
  - 16 Presumably the six other *ex-Lisbon Maru* officers left Hiroshima #1B for Fukuoka #9B (Miyata) at the same time, though some sources state that this move was in July.



- 17 Heather's POW Index Card states: "42.Nov.9 transferred to Shanghai prison camp. By the order from stationary troop at Shanghai prison camp, hospitalised to entrust to Shanghai army internment on May 8 45 because of seriousness sickness. Next day: Released by 13th army's 66th order." Heather was one of twelve men released from St Luke's Hospital in Shanghai and transferred to 'Peking Military Internment Camp'. From there he was liberated by the Americans and flown home, becoming the first London FEPOW to be reunited with his family.
- 18 Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to determine precisely which camps these were.
- 19 Email communication.
- 20 Bush noted, however, that the B29s were not invulnerable, having seen at least a dozen hit on a previous night.
- 21 The reference to #15D is not a mistake. Although this work consistently uses the final camp designations in the text, all quotes have been left with the designations used at the time. #15D would not be renamed #15B until August.
- 22 This was the old site of Kobe Kawasaki Branch Camp (Osaka #5D), which had been closed on 21 May 1945.
- 23 Hiroshima #3B (Tamano), opened on 1 June. However, there is some doubt about the date of the POW's arrival, as Gunstone's POW card indicated 2 June.
- 24 The vast majority of the 996 men on board were American. All quotes from Spooner are from his diary.
- 25 This was the original site of the Kobe Wakinohama Branch Camp (Osaka #18B) which was closed on 20 May 1945.
- 26 The USS *Massachusetts* is today preserved at Battleship Cove, Mount Hope Bay, Massachusetts.
- 27 Hook died on 7 July. Baird added: "He was a damn good officer and soldier, the best on the force that came out here and to think that now it is nearly over, to have to pass on."
- 28 Taylor's diary ceases at this point. This diary, being written in its entirety in Japanese camps by someone who lost his life in one, is probably unique. His granddaughter notes: "My Gran received his diary and some belongings after the war from a Scotsman who just turned up after door some time after the end of the war. No-one knows his name but the information we have is that he had made a pact with my grandad that whoever survived would ensure their belongings were returned to their family."
- 29 A Sergeant Bentley of 7HAA Regt. RA was killed in the same manner. That being a Hong Kong Regiment, one would assume he was also a Hong Kong POW. In fact, his index card shows that he was captured on 10 May 1942 on the SS *Nankin* in the Indian Ocean by a German raider, and was handed over to the Japanese on 25 August 1942. Most probably the regimental information is incorrect.
- 30 Poulter and 123 of his comrades had been transferred to Nomachi. Andrews was Private James H. Andrews, Middlesex Regiment.



- 31 Presumably Brian Byrne, buried in Burma, 18 January 1945, son of George Thomas Byrne and Ethel Byrne, of Fairhaven, Lytham-St.-Annes, Lancashire. Gittins confirms that their only son, a Cambridge graduate, was killed in Burma.
- 32 The Japanese foreman of Coxhead's working party.
- 33 Lt.-Col. Simon White was in command of the 2nd Battalion the Royal Scots, and was at this time the Senior Officer in Shamshuipo.
- 34 The following day, Weedon names this man 'Benson', though Bertram had claimed it was Mansfield. As Benson was CQMS of the Royal Scots, perhaps Mansfield is more likely.
- 35 This was not the J. I. Bevan quoted elsewhere in this text.
- 36 Quotes from George MacDonell come from his excellent work, *One Soldier's Story*. This is from page 137.
- 37 Later, when Harcourt's fleet arrived, Stericker was to note: "Then, and only then, did the Chinese turn on the hated aggressors. Some were torn limb from limb. Others were thrown from the tops of tramcars. The executioner from the gaol, recognised on a ferry, had a rope slung round his neck and was towed across the harbour, ending up a very drowned man."
- 38 Sadly, the transfers went both ways. *Swiftsure* alone left at least three of her young crew in the cemeteries of Hong Kong — victims of accident or disease in those early days of September.
- 39 Parker continued: "Later, some Flying Officers from the Aircraft Carrier VENERABLE invited Charlie and me to dinner. We passed a very pleasant evening. When we left to go home it was raining cats and dogs. The fliers commandeered a car that wasn't running too well to take us safely home. One of them had to sit on the bonnet and hold a wire in place but we got home, wet inside and out. They came into camp with us and after polishing off a \$100 bottle of Gin we went to bed and they went back to their ship."
- 40 Seven days later, Houghton was dead. His POW Index Card simply says: "Showa 17, Oct 11th; transferred to Osaka P.C. Showa 20, Sept 9th; handed over to Pit at Ikuno station." At the time of writing it is not clear how he ended up in a grave in the UK, with a headstone dated September 10th, as he was lost on *Ginny* (see below).
- 41 Cambon goes on to describe his deep gratitude to the Americans, and then notes: "Not that I agree too often with their foreign policy!"
- 42 *Gosselin* stayed moored in Yokohama, acting as a barracks for shore-based personnel, until 15 December.
- 43 This was the main station of Kobe. Possibly this was Captain Man of the Middlesex, though most such transfers seem to have been to American officers.
- 44 *Tryon* had brought Occupation troops to Japan, having picked them up at Leyte, Philippines, on the way.
- 45 The original is hard to read, but "wharfs" seems most likely.
- 46 It is not clear which ship Wiseman refers to, as neither an AP nor APA of this name appears to have existed. However, the *Goodhue's* captain was called Sharp.

- 47 From an interview conducted in 2004, and kindly supplied by Mr Armacost. In his reply to my formal request to quote him, Bob rather nicely noted: "Any little kid who can track down total strangers half-way around the world is most certainly entitled to use whatever material in whatever way he pleases". Of course, the "tracking down" was done with the help of a number of kind people, and the indispensable Internet.
- 48 Gollege's CWGC record states 8 September 1945, but his name was on this aircraft's manifest.
- 49 From MACR # 14936. The aircraft was also carrying twelve other British POWs who were not from Hong Kong (five of whom survived and were picked up at sea), one Dutchman who survived, and four Americans, two of whom survived (though there is some doubt about the identity of Taylor). MACR # 14972 B-24M #44-42052, describes another aircraft, "Liquidator", also lost on 10 September 1945, flying from APO 903 (Okinawa). Five on board were Australians. They were not members of the Hong Kong garrison, but were reinterred in Hong Kong after the war as they had initially been buried in Taiwan. A further fifteen passengers, all but two (who were Dutch) being American, were also lost in this crash, as were the crew. The bodies were retrieved from Kanzan Mountain, north of Tai To, in an epic recovery.
- 50 See RG407 Box 185.
- 51 Miller was a survivor of the *Lisbon Maru*. This account was provided by his daughter.
- 52 Shiogama is on the coast between the city of Sendai and the town of Matsushima.
- 53 When transferred to this camp, Parker reported: "When one of these Doctors was checking up a HKVDC soldier, then only a mere private, he asked the man all about the troubles he was having and was getting the most intelligent replies imaginable. It amused me to see the Doctor sort of prick up his ears and I heard him say to this man, 'Who are you?' The reply was I am so and so, formerly Professor of Surgery at the University of Hong Kong and a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons etc. I mention this because in the HONG KONG VOLUNTEER DEFENSE CORP there were many just such men . . . privates, but serving their country."
- 54 From Guam they would return home on the *Catron* to San Francisco. MacDonell recounts how one of his men, on landing, demanded silence from the huge crowd that met the ship, and said: "If you Yanks have any more trouble with the Japanese, you know where to find us!" After a short stunned silence, the whole port howled with glee at the sheer audacity of the remark.
- 55 Aboard these ships, and in the temporary camps, a number of publications took the place of regular newspapers. These included "Aquidaily", "Pair O' Dice", "Renville Informer" and others.
- 56 Esquimalt is a municipality at the southern point of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, and is the base of Canada's Pacific Naval Fleet.
- 57 Ilford was his hometown — a small farming community 214 kilometres west of Sydney.

- 58 Major Paddock of the Gloucestershire Regiment was OC Troops, HT *Takliwa*. From the papers of Major Kamta Prasad, 2/14th Punjabis, kindly provided by his son, who notes: "This is all I have on HK from my father's records. Everything was lost on the *Takliwa*, and then the Regiment was transferred to Pakistan after Partition."
- 59 Although all concerned claim that there was no loss of life, four Indian ex-POWs were reported lost this day. Major Hancock of the Hong Kong Mule Corps, who was on board, was kind enough to send me a cutting from the *Madras Weekly* of 20 October 1945: "Eight hundred prisoners of war from Hong Kong who were rescued from the ill-fated S.S. *Takliwa* which caught fire and was abandoned off the coast of the Nicobar Islands last Monday while on its way to India, arrived in Madras Harbour this evening . . ."
- 60 Rifleman Arnold Joseph Carrier (suffering from diphtheria and wet beri-beri) was on this carrier and will suffice as a medical example. On arrival in Canada, he was placed in a military hospital in Vancouver until the end of November. From there, he was put on a hospital train and taken to a military hospital in Quebec City. He left that hospital on 30 March 1946 and was taken to Lancaster Hospital in Saint John, N.B. In April 1946, he was transferred to Sussex Hospital, but a year later in April 1947 he was transferred back to Lancaster Hospital. In April 1948, he was shipped to a convalescent centre in London, Ontario, from where he was finally discharged in November 1949.
- 61 This is not in CWGC records. It appears that he was American.
- 62 Also known as Mok Fook Hing. Tortured to death by the Kempetai. His wife was also tortured, and lost her sanity shortly after the war.
- 63 See Leo Paul Berard, *17 Days Until Christmas*, p. 163. It tells of Lesieur in Camp 12 Sendai being kicked by 'The Frog'. However, there is some uncertainty over the name, and Lesieur is buried in Hong Kong rather than Yokohama.
- 64 Admitted to BMH from Shamshuipo on 29 June 1945 with suspected Japanese B Type encephalitis.
- 65 Severe haemorrhage, BMH.
- 66 Easter's POW Card states: "43.1.23 Transferred to Fukuoka prison camp Omine Office #5. 43.3.1 Changed to Fukuoka #5 prison camp. 43.12.1 changed to #8 prison camp. 44.12.3 Transferred to #1. 45.7.2 at 12.30 died of acute enteritis and beri-beri. Place of death: Fukuoka City Hakozaiki-cho Fukuoka #1 Office. Ashes at Fukuoka, Fuji Saki-cho cemetery. Around July / Showa 21 (1946), handed over to Lt. Tarjee (?) 108 regiment cemetery registry at the above cemetery."
- 67 And otitis media.
- 68 More likely 7 September 1945, as with the other cases of poisoning.
- 69 This is probably 'Moore, Donaghan Victor' listed at Argyle Street Camp and the smuggled list.
- 70 Died in Osaka.
- 71 Burgin was transferred to Narumi on 16 January 1944; he became ill on 4

- April 1944 and died on 14 February 1945, 9.35 a.m. The remains were taken to Juganji Temple (see Appendix 11) and on 9 November 1945 were handed over to the QM Corps 1st Lt. Clarence B Guymen of the First Division of the US Army.
- 72 Only one death, British, is reported at #8B. Mears' POW Card confirms: "44.1.16 Transferred to Osaka prison camp 11 Office [Narumi]. 45.4.6 Transferred to Nagoya prison camp. 45.7.30 Died of cardiac failure 14.15 pm. Place of death: Toyama City, Shimo Okui Nagoya #8 Office. Handed over to British Air Force Lt. Riley at Toyama Prefecture Toyama City #8 Office."
- 73 As a result of synthetic alcohol poisoning after the surrender in Kobe. See James Bertram, *The Shadow of a War*, p. 177.
- 74 Sergeant Poulter carried the ashes of both Andrews and Keeler to the UK. While in Nomachi after the surrender, awaiting repatriation, he noted: "Twenty planes came over and restocked us with food. Later a correspondent from the 'Yank' came to the camp taking photographs and notes about the camp. Boy, does he hate the Nips, anybody would think that he had been a prisoner to hear him talk. He was very interested in the two white boxes that I have; they contain the ashes of Keeler and Andrews."
- 75 Emphema.
- 76 Motor Torpedo Boat and HMS *Tramp*.
- 77 Right wet pleurisy.
- 78 Shipped to Japan on the sixth POW draft, Organ and his friend Harold Hall were sent to Sendai camp. When Organ fell seriously ill, Mr Hall took him, unconscious, in a coal trolley to the nearest railway station and put him in a goods van with a label saying 'POW Hospital Tokyo'. Amazingly he arrived there, but died soon afterwards, on 4 January 1945, of beri-beri and dysentery. Shinagawa hospital records say that he was ex-#14D, and died of a "paralytic stroke", and that he entered hospital on 19 December 1944 (though the original mistakenly quotes the year as 1943).
- 79 Shinagawa hospital records give cause of death as beri-beri.
- 80 Both of burns, following the second US naval bombardment of the camp.
- 81 Camp records indicate that Downs also died on the 10th. This is born out by the fact that he does not appear on the list of those taken to hospital after liberation, so it can be assumed that the CWGC date is incorrect.
- 82 His POW Index Card reads: "Showa 17 September 15 Transferred to Tokyo #1 prison camp. Showa 20 February 5 got sick. Showa 20 February 6 (a.m.) died of angina pectoris. Place of death: Oshima-machi, Kawasaki City, Tokyo office #1. Showa 20 September 10 Handed over to Lieutenant Bryan, James (American army) at Tokyo main prison camp. Cremated." Probably he should be recorded as being at Tokyo #23D when he died.
- 83 In an air raid on Mitsui, Japan. Fragmental fracture of the skull, complete fracture of right humerus. His diary had indicated, in the previous few weeks, his fear of the ever-nearing American bombing raids.
- 84 From drinking glycol at Marutsu Docks. See Ken Cambon, *Guest of Hirohito*, p. 91. Glycol poisoning.

- 85 James Bertram notes that this camp was originally called “The Coconut job”, when it was a railway job for Omori POWs. See *The Shadow of a War*, p. 161.
- 86 Induration of lungs. The Shinagawa Hospital records state that he entered on 28 August 1945 and died on 29 September 1945 of cirrhosis of the liver.
- 87 Forth’s POW card states: “Showa 20 Jan 5 got sick. Showa 20 Jan 11 04.45 died of beri-beri. Place of death: Heian-mach, Turumi-ku, Yokohama City, Tokyo #1 Dispatch centre. Showa 20 Sep 10 Handed over to Lieutenant Bryan, James (#8 American army) at Tokyo main prison camp. Cremated.”
- 88 Megson is listed under #18D in some reports. #18D is where #17D relocated to after the latter was destroyed in the fire raid of 29 May 1945.
- 89 A Major A.C. Houghton 49563 died on 10 September 1945 and is buried, or commemorated, in Surrey. See note 40 above.
- 90 His name appears in Bromley’s diary as “Died after our release and on Hospital Ship to Australia, W Forsay Chargeman Foundry, F Jones, Chargeman Factory, P Tancy, F Bryce”. The other three names appear neither in HKDDC nor CWGC records.
- 91 Hart’s POW Card says simply: “42.10.11 Transferred to Osaka Prison camp. 45.9.8 Handed over to John Rock at Osaka Station.”
- 92 According to internal documents at CWGC, he died at sea following release from POW camp. He was not in Japan according to the smuggled list so most probably he perished on the *Oxfordshire*.
- 93 Most probably on USS *Rescue*. Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to locate the records of the hospital ships, so there is some doubt about these four men’s fates.
- 94 Killed in an air raid. WMH or Matilda Hospitals, according to the internal records of the CWGC.
- 95 Died after being thrown against a wall by the Japanese. See Russell Clark, *An End to Tears*, p. 51.
- 96 Metals Control Office, St John’s headquarters.
- 97 Husband of M.C. Barber.
- 98 Merchant, 16 MacDonnell Road.

## Release

- 1 Sergeant Bill Poulter, Middlesex, finished that diary, and it has been quoted several times in this work.
- 2 In 2007, this institution received a well-deserved UNESCO Heritage award for preservation.
- 3 From Brigadier John H. Price, with thanks to Grant Garneau.
- 4 These are the final words of ‘Willy’ Lowe’s wartime diary.

## Appendices

- 1 Other Dutch personnel are interred at Sai Wan cemetery, but these men perished outside Hong Kong and were re-interred here after the war.
- 2 Note that the numbers listed for each ship and each group are taken from the 'smuggled list'. This can be estimated, as has been stated above, as 98% accurate on average.
- 3 Circumstantial evidence implies that the move to #14B came from the Stadium Camp, but this is not confirmed.
- 4 HKDDC, Police personnel, and ex-HKVDC officers now with other Regiments were also on board, but were treated as regulars.
- 5 Possibly the *Darien Maru*. No records of this vessel appear to have survived.
- 6 Initially as a hospital, but it seems that either some POWs stayed at #5D, or others arrived later.
- 7 The *Tatsuta Maru* would be sunk by the USS *Rasher* on 8 February 1943.
- 8 The *Manryu Maru* was the Norwegian *Bordvik*, captured by the Japanese at Surabaya in January, 1942. She would be sunk by USS *Sunfish* on 16 April 1945, off Kamaishi, Japan.
- 9 It is not certain whether these two were ex-Niigata or ex-Oeyama, but the latter appears more likely.
- 10 On 29 June 1944, the *Toyama Maru* was bound for Okinawa, carrying some 6,000 men of the Japanese 44th Independent Mixed Brigade when she was sunk by USS *Sturgeon*. There were fewer than 600 survivors.
- 11 Darian being the Chinese city today known as Dalian.
- 12 Many other hotels had housed civilian internees on their way to Stanley, but as these were only occupied for a matter of days, they are not listed individually here.
- 13 Other hospitals used during the fighting continued to operate for the first month or two of 1942. These included the Queen Mary Hospital, the Royal Naval Hospital, St Albert's Convent and the Indian General Hospital. When these were closed, the patients and staff were transferred either to the two main hospitals or to the camps themselves.
- 14 The 18 September 1931 attack on the northeastern city of Shenyang, which had been known as Mukden until 1911 and is situated northwest of China's border with Korea, led to the Japanese occupation of China's northeast. This was followed by the occupation of much of China in 1937.
- 15 Vernacular names appear to have varied amongst different groups of POWs, and sometimes duplicate each other. I have tried to steer the best course.
- 16 Thanks to Wes Injerd.
- 17 Thanks to Toru Fukubayashi of the POW Research Network Japan.
- 18 Where possible, for each camp one or two illustrative names of men in the text are provided.
- 19 Note that Nagoya #10D was virtually next door to Nagoya #6D (Fushiki Hokkai Electro-Chemical), and to some degree their records seem to be mixed.

- 20 Murata's report on the Osaka Camps, at NARA, does not specify which camps these were, and further research has not yet been fruitful.
- 21 Rowland's POW card reads: "Showa 17 Sep 15 Transferred to Tokyo #2 prison camp. Showa 20 May 14 Transferred to Sendai prison camp. Showa 20 August 26 Transferred to Morioka Army Hospital as result of burns. Showa 20 September 13 Discharged. Showa 20 September 13 Handed over to American Major Sign at Kamaishi port."
- 22 Ran aground and burnt out on the Nicobar Islands.
- 23 Via Keelung, Taiwan, and Manila. There were 111 patients embarked from Hong Kong, 108 from Taiwan, and finally 156 from Manila. Three hundred and sixty-two were brought back to New Zealand where, except for a number of Australians transferred to an American hospital ship bound for Sydney, they convalesced before being repatriated to their own countries (with British POWs travelling on the *Maunganui* again on 23 November).
- 24 In the early days of September, it seems that some 48 Canadians who had initially recuperated on the USS *Iowa* (including Leo Berard and Frank E. Christensen) flew from Okinawa to Iwo Jima, then via Guam, Johnston Island, and Honolulu, to Oakland CA.
- 25 *Benevolence* anchored off Yokosuka, Japan, on 29 August and started accepting liberated RAPWI. As a hospital ship, she was primarily concerned with treatment rather than transportation, and remained in Japanese waters until 27 November before carrying wounded back to San Francisco, arriving on 12 December.
- 26 *Crescent* was involved in an unusual incident less than four years later while supporting British Commonwealth diplomats during China's civil war. On 20 March 1949, at Nanjing (then just weeks away from being overrun by Mao's People's Liberation Army) 83 of *Crescent's* crew locked themselves in their messdecks, refusing to obey orders until the captain had heard their grievances.
- 27 For coverage of Kyoda's trial, see *The Sinking of the Lisbon Maru*.
- 28 The majority of this information comes from coverage of the trial by the *Times*, and by the depositions of Major Arthur Grieve and Captain G. Crew at the PRO WO32/14550. My thanks to Jacky Kingsley and Keith Andrews for these details.
- 29 Carkeet had been accused of stealing food.
- 30 Said to have appeared in the 'Tokyo Times & Advertiser'.
- 31 Strictly speaking, this was not 'libellous' as the *Guardian* waited until the year after Boxer died before printing this article. Both quotes are from private letters to the author. Other officers who knew Boxer well expressed identical views, though employing less printable vocabulary. Towards the end of the war, as described in the text, Boxer and others were jailed by the Japanese in very poor conditions in Guangzhou.
- 32 This letter was kindly supplied by Kathleen Porter, sister of John McFerran Cassidy, RN, who was a *Lisbon Maru* survivor who died in Osaka #1B.
- 33 Potter is not on the St John's Ambulance memorial, but is listed at Sai Wan



- as being an officer of that unit. Lt. Col. Ride described the situation vis-à-vis Potter in a letter to Col. Murray Brown of the Volunteers in 1962, quoted in full in *The Sinking of the Lisbon Maru*.
- 34 In New Zealand, Peter Gillmore, son of Stanley Gillmore, R.A., notes: “My grandparents saw an advertisement in a newspaper, which asked for home stays for British ex POWs while they recuperated. They replied that they were willing to have a young man stay with them and it was arranged that my father would travel from Auckland — I think he was at this time at the Papakura Army Camp — just south of Auckland to Te Ringa in Hawkes Bay. He had previously been in Auckland Hospital recovering from malaria and other diseases, as well as from some of the shrapnel still in his left leg.” The astute reader will realize that these kindly New Zealanders had a daughter of marriageable age!
  - 35 “Medical Services in New Zealand and The Pacific”, XV: Ex-prisoners of War from Far East — Hospital and Convalescent Treatment in New Zealand.
  - 36 See also Martin Booth’s description of the suicide of ‘Nagasaki Jim’ in his autobiographical book, *Gweilo*, p. 132.
  - 37 For these details, I am indebted to David Murphy of the Royal Scots Regimental Museum, Edinburgh.
  - 38 Killed in Korea according to Oliver Lindsay’s *The Lasting Honour* (p. 182), and John S. Whitehead and George B. Bennett, *Escape to Fight On*, p. 168.
  - 39 The Royal Scots did not serve in Hong Kong after the war, but when they were en route to Korea, their troopship called in and Majors Ritchie and Pinkerton — with seven SNCOs who had served in the colony in 1941 — visited the area. This may well be when and where the well-known photo of a Royal Scots officer looking through binoculars at the Shing Mun Redoubt was taken.
  - 40 He was survived by his wife who he had met in Korea, daughter Nina (ten years old at the time — who kindly provided these details), and two sons (aged eight and six). He was inducted into the US Army Ranger Hall of Fame in July 1999. McCoy’s service record includes three Silver Stars for gallantry, two Bronze Stars for valor, two Purple Hearts and numerous campaign ribbons from the US, Canada and Vietnam.
  - 41 He was not. He was sent to Guangzhou (Canton) by the Japanese soon after, and presumably executed there.
  - 42 It seems likely that he was, though hard evidence has yet to surface.
  - 43 I am indebted to the late Professor Jimmy Cummins for this information, the original of which can be found in WO 311/0563.



# Index

## Notes:

1. Garrison personnel: Many of the works quoted here are personal diaries or letters, the writers of which assume familiarity with those named. Where a quoted name (for example, 'John') can be clearly resolved as a specific individual ('Adams, Private John H. [Winnipeg Grenadiers]'), that name has been indexed in full. Diarists are also typically cavalier with spelling. The spellings in their original texts have been left untouched (even when I suspect it was the transcription from the handwritten original that led to the error), but I have attempted to index with the correct form. Ranks and honours are, as far as possible, those at the start of internment.
2. Place names: Japanese mainland POW camps typically changed their names two or three times during the war, and they often had one or two vernacular names too. Whatever the name in the text, I have consistently indexed by using what I believe is the most accurate version of the Japanese name as at August 1945. Where place names have changed since 1945, I have indexed using the version that predominates in the text.
3. Lists: Rolls of honour and numbered lists have not been indexed, except for the camp name headers in the rolls of honour themselves. To keep the index to an acceptable size, appendices and notes have also not been indexed.

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