

Resist to the End

Hong Kong, 1941–1945

Charles Barman

Edited by Ray Barman



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About the Author

Charles Edward Barman was born at Canterbury, Kent in England on 14 May 1901, the eldest of four children. He was the son of a gardener, Richard Thomas, and Emily Barman from Tenterden, an area of Kent where many people of the Barman name still live.

Charles had two brothers, Richard and George, and a younger sister, Elsie. As a boy, he attended the local primary school at Canterbury and attended services at the Cathedral.

He had a reputation for playing practical jokes; once roping the front doors together at the Cathedral thus preventing the congregation from getting out. He left school at the age of fourteen with an average educational standard, to earn a living to sustain the family — a necessity as his mother was going blind. Charles was mad about horses and obtained additional work as a 'strapper'. His mind was set on enlisting in the Army and although he attempted to apply early, he was told to wait until he reached the required age. When he reached that age he applied for enlistment in the Royal Hussars, preferably in Churchill's old unit — the 4th — but was rejected (as he once said, 'there were no vacancies'), but possibly this rejection was also due to his lack of education as the Hussars were an elite unit. Therefore, he enlisted in the Royal Horse Artillery at Canterbury in October 1919, and transferred to Royal Field Artillery in January 1920.

He was promoted to Lance Bombardier and posted to Ireland with the 81st Field Battery RA of the 5th Field Brigade, who were redesignated the 5th RA Mounted Rifles. There, they were ordered to support British troops during the rebellion. The Regiment was housed under canvas with the horses stabled in Phoenix Park, Dublin. They were formed into troops to patrol the outlying areas of the city, locating suspected small arms and ammunition caches buried under the peat moss in the countryside and amongst the graves in the various cemeteries located around.

Whilst serving, he regularly sent money home to the family including paying fees for his brother George who gained a scholarship to Cambridge University, finally obtaining a position as Master of Mathematics and

Geography at the University and later at Worksop College Nottinghamshire. Charles himself very quickly passed the Army 3rd, 2nd and 1st Education Certificates, as these would improve his prospects of promotion.

Promoted to Bombardier, Charles was posted to India on the troop ship *SS Derbyshire* on 4 October 1921, together with thirty other ranks, to join the various artillery units stationed at places between Bombay and Peshawar, North West Frontier (such as Jhansi, Jubulipore, Lahore, Rawalpindi and the farthest outpost — Landi Kotal — that overlooked the Khyber Pass). Later, he was posted to 119th Field Battery of the 27th Field Brigade, which was stationed at Nowshera and Peshawar during the years 1921–1925.

Charles never forgot the outbreak of bubonic plague of 1922, and the removal of dead bodies by six-horsed wagons to huge fires prepared on the banks of the river Kabul. About twenty bodies were laid on each pyre where they were cremated. This thankless job went on for about four days, when the city of Nowshera was finally burnt to the ground, thereby burning the plague out.

The disastrous earthquakes of 1922 and 1924 also caused a heavy loss of life. The quakes covered an area running from Peshawar and along the rivers Kabul and Indus to Attock Bridge. That of 1922 was Charles's first such experience, and when it struck he thought the end of the world had arrived. The surrounding area showed huge movements of the ground like giant sea waves. He could not stand, and had to crawl to escape from the Barracks which were disintegrating behind him. As he gained the veranda of the building he fell into a huge crack that opened up in front of him, from which a Bombardier Shinstone very smartly pulled him out just before the earth began to close on him. The quake of 1924 struck when they were watering about 150 horses at the edge of the river Kabul. The horses instantly stampeded, causing the deaths of four British drivers and one British gunner. Well over twenty horses had to be destroyed due to their terrible injuries; others were lost in the jungle and no doubt became prey to the tigers roaming this area. Two guns used for tying and securing horses completely disappeared, and the tents of the whole camp collapsed. Some Ghurkhas in a camp a few miles away, finished up on an island caused by the diversion of the River Indus.

During his time on the North West Frontier, Charles also witnessed an officer being shredded by a tiger, with its claws exposing the bones of his back. On another occasion, a British officer had his throat slashed by a Pathan, who Charles then had to subdue in a hand-to-hand

encounter. Not everyone could adapt to the situation; two soldiers at the Khyber Pass committed suicide by jumping off a cliff, and even Charles was surprised when he woke from a two-hour siesta to find a cobra curled up under the sheet at the bottom of the bed.

After serving in this region for over five years, with a loss of a good number of men caused by enemy action, earthquakes and tropical diseases, the 27th Field Brigade moved to Mhow in Central India — about half way between Mumbai (Bombay, as it was then known) and Delhi — in 1925.

Charles met his wife-to-be on a tennis court in Mhow that same year. Merlyn (Peg) Harland had been born in Mhow in 1908, her mother being Indian and her father — who was an engineer on the Indian railways — had been born in Reading, UK. Their friendship blossomed with horse-riding as well as tennis and spending time with her parents. This courtship was short and they married towards the end of 1925 at All Saints Church of England Church in Mhow, which to this day remains, as do all the records including the births of their first three children in Mhow, Winnie, Pam and Richard.

His wife being Anglo-Indian had its drawbacks, as this was frowned upon by some people, both British and Indian, at the time. This was one of the reasons Charles declined a commission three times, but the main reason being that with three and eventually five children, his hand would have been in his hip pocket all the time.

The 27th Field Brigade was then posted home to England, but Charles was retained in Mhow for a few months after the takeover of their duties by the 8th Field Brigade who had recently arrived in India. He was then posted to the 12th Field Brigade in Meerut where he joined the 25th Field Battery as acting RQMS.

He became quite fluent in Hindi and Urdu and had a smattering of some of the many other languages in his ten years in India, an asset that was later to be a distinct advantage during his years in Hong Kong.

Following promotion to BQMS, he was posted to 70th Field Battery stationed at Fenham Barracks, Newcastle upon Tyne, England, where his fourth and fifth children, Derek and Ray, were born. Here, during the depression, Charles introduced a soup kitchen outside the back gate. He formed a roster including ORs, all the cooks of the messes, with Sergeants to replace him as necessary to collect all the leftover food for issue to the civilians. Any soldiers caught disposing of food was immediately charged. The small queue which formed at first outside the gate soon grew when the word got around, to the extent that he had tickets issued to those people that missed out, to ensure they would be first in line the

next day. Later, Charles became depot quartermaster at Redesdale Artillery Practice Camp in Northumberland before, in 1936, being posted to 4th Medium Battery of the 1st HK/SRA stationed at Kowloon, Hong Kong, as Battery Quartermaster Sergeant.

Introduction

By the late 1930s, the Japanese had conquered South China. Hong Kong was still at peace, and the border with China ran along the Sham Chun River. Fortunately it was impossible for the Japanese to launch a surprise attack upon the New Territories and Hong Kong, as British observation posts established on the hills overlooking the river plain were able to observe any significant concentration of enemy troops. These observation posts noted, around 5 December 1941, that a large mass of Japanese forces were building up across the river. Their report triggered off the Hong Kong garrison's emergency plans. Orders were then given for all units to deploy and occupy Battle Stations.

The Hong Kong garrison at that time consisted of six infantry battalions, being from the 1st Middlesex Regiment, 2nd Royal Scots Regiment, Winnipeg Grenadiers Regiment, Royal Rifles of Canada, 5th/7th Rajputs Regiment (Indian), and 2nd/14th Punjabis Regiment (Indian).

There was also The Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps, a considerable force of the Royal Artillery, a naval base with nothing more formidable than destroyers, a small RAF detachment with a handful of biplane bombers, and all the supporting units (such as ordnance men, signallers, engineers, medics, pay staff, etc.) that an isolated and self-contained garrison needed.

The army was initially deployed in two brigades: the Mainland Brigade, under Brigadier Wallis, was in Kowloon and the New Territories, while the Island Brigade, under Brigadier Lawson, was distributed across Hong Kong Island.

The mobile field artillery for Hong Kong was predominantly provided by the 1st Regiment of the Hong Kong and Singapore Royal Artillery manned by Sikh and Mohammedian gunners in the command of British Officers and Senior NCOs. This consisted of five batteries: 1st Mountain Battery, 2nd Mountain Battery, 3rd Medium Battery, 4th Medium Battery, and 25th Medium Battery.

The Regiment comprised in all 28 field guns with a mixture of 3.7-inch, 4.5-inch, and 6-inch howitzers.

In the event of an all-out attack by the Japanese, the plan was that these batteries would be deployed as follows: the 1st and 2nd Mountain Batteries were to occupy positions on the mainland to support the troops manning the forward defences. The 3rd Medium Battery was to occupy positions on the eastern part of Hong Kong Island and under control of 'Eastern Administrative Pool'. The 4th Medium Battery was to immediately occupy positions at Mount Austin and Mount Gough, on the western side of Hong Kong, with one section of guns at each site. The 25th Medium Battery was to occupy a position near the road bridge in Prince Edward Road, Kowloon, and to carry out counter bombardment duties in support of the forward line of defences in the New Territories, and if necessary to support the withdrawal of troops to the island of Hong Kong.

At the same time, the residence of Sir Robert Ho Tung would be taken over and used as 'West Administrative Pool'. This residence was situated on the west of the island of Hong Kong and not very far from the well-known Victoria Peak. Charles Barman was instructed to take over this building and the surrounding estate from the Secretary to Sir Robert Ho Tung (who resided there at all times), and the whole of the house and estate would be used for:

1. Accommodation for British Officers, Indian Officers, British and Indian other ranks and technicians
2. Storage of British and Indian rations
3. Storage of small stores, etc.
4. Storage of petrol and oils, etc.
5. Storage of reserve clothing and bedding
6. Storage of small arms, e.g. Thompson sub-machine guns, 0.38 revolvers, 0.303 rifles, including ammunition and grenades
7. The surrounds of the estate to be used for vehicles and assembly park
8. A telephone exchange to be connected to the following:
 - (a) Battle headquarters
 - (b) West Group headquarters
 - (c) Wong Nei Chong Counter bombardment headquarters
 - (d) Wanchai Gap headquarters
 - (e) All gun positions deployed around the west of the island
 - (f) An area to be selected to stable mules of 2nd Mountain Battery including areas for the storage of fodder, grain and harnesses
 - (g) A detail of duties for British and Indian ranks within the residence including the surrounds of the estate
 - (h) The siting of machine gun posts and defensive positions around the perimeter of the estate

In case of a complete withdrawal of defence forces from the mainland, the 1st Mountain Battery would occupy a position allocated to them in the eastern part of the island and the 2nd Mountain Battery and the 25th Medium Battery would occupy positions in the western half of the island. The two 4.5 Howitzer's and vintage 18 pounders being used as defence in the Kowloon area would re-establish positions at 'Sanatorium' and 'Matilda' sites in the western part of Hong Kong.

The supply of artillery and small arms ammunition was located on Hong Kong Island at the following magazine locations:

1. RAOC Depot, Queen's Road
2. RAOC Depot, Lei Yu Mun
3. RAOC Depot, Little Hong Kong
4. 4 Medium Battery HK/SRA at their depot

The magazines at Queen's Road were situated near the Hong Kong Naval Dockyards, while the magazines at Lei Yu Mun were near the 5th AA Artillery Barracks at the eastern entrance to the harbour. The magazines at Little Hong Kong were situated in the south centre of the island in an area not far from Shouson Hill and overlooked by Mount Nicholson. The magazines at Lei Yu Mun and Little Hong Kong were extremely well built and constructed underground. Large stocks of artillery ammunition of all types, including small arms ammunition and high explosives, were stored in huge underground departments leading off a series of passageways. However, the planners of these sites did not consider how vulnerable the highways would be for the convoys to and from the gun positions.

By early December 1941, all the positions to be occupied by the island and the Mainland Brigade were fully stocked with equipment, stores, clothing and non-perishable food, with a build-up of shell and cartridges amounting to 300 per gun. Reserve stocks were also stored in the east and west administrative pool. A source of further supplies could also be obtained from the RAOC and RASC depots scattered around the island and the mainland.

Exercises were carried out continuously at the various positions and all units were at 'action stations', leaving only a few men in barracks for security reasons. In the case of the mainland defences, all commanders were in direct contact by telephone to battle headquarters.

The total defence strength on 8 December 1941 was approximately 14,000 men. No modern Air Force or Navy had been allotted to the defence of the colony. They were faced with a ground force of

approximately 60,000 experienced Japanese troops, most of whom were four-year battle tuned, together with a modern air force and navy.

As Winston Churchill would say, in a telegram to the commander-in-chief and governor of Hong Kong, Sir Mark Young: 'We expect you to resist to the end. The honour of the empire is in your hands.'

The Battle

8 December 1941

I returned to Gun Club Hill Barracks, [the home of the 1st Regiment HK/SRA]¹ at about 1.00 a.m. this morning, after making further deliveries of ammunition and supplies to the gun positions that have been established on the Island of Hong Kong, in the event of an outbreak of hostilities in the Far East, including the estate of Sir Robert Ho Tung situated in the 'Peak District' which will be taken over and known as West Administrative Pool.²

I ensured that the lorries used for this purpose were returned to the garages, finally dismissing the men to their respective barrack rooms. After a few hours sleep in my quarters, I proceeded to the Sergeants' mess for breakfast at about 7.45 a.m. which was prepared for me by the Chinese Compradore employed there. The dining-room main window faced to the well-known Lei Yu Mun Pass in the far distance, being the main entrance to the harbour of Hong Kong. From this dining-room window, one could obtain a beautiful view of the harbour facing east to the island from Kowloon.

I commenced my breakfast at about 8.00 am when I heard in the far distance a drone of a great number of planes, which appeared to be coming from the east in the vicinity of Lei Yu Mun Pass. The noise from these planes increased in volume and suddenly about fifty of them hurtled out of the brilliant blue sky. As they became closer I identified them to be Japanese torpedo bombers. Suddenly, this large formation broke up, with one flight of approximately twelve planes flying westwards towards the island of Hong Kong, with about six to eight heading for Gun Club Hill Artillery Barracks flying directly over the Sergeants' Mess. The remainder of the formation headed in the direction of Kai Tak Aerodrome that was situated off to my left. Within a very short time the planes above the barracks were flying very low and started dropping bombs in all directions. In this attack, a string of bombs demolished the cookhouses of the Sikhs and Mohammedan's killing two Indian gunners and one Chinese and severely wounding three other Indian gunners.

A large number of bombs were dropped upon the infants' school, situated at the south end of the married quarters which was completely destroyed. All my children had attended this school prior to the evacuation of all families from Hong Kong to Australia via the Philippines. After the raid, I arranged to remove the dead and wounded to the medical base at Whitfield Barracks, this being about two miles from Gun Club Hill. In about an hour, another raid took place with the Japanese planes flying low over the parade ground strafing it with machine gun fire and at the same time dropping more bombs that caused huge craters in the gun park area. We could hear huge explosions vibrating and coming from Hong Kong and the areas of Shamshuipo and Kowloon City. In the distance we could hear the wailing and screaming of women and children who were massing and fleeing with men down the side streets below the barracks and past the Roman Catholic Church in Chatham Road.

The planes were easy to identify as being Japanese, being distinguished by large yellow round markings under the wings. At this stage I had rather a problem with the thirty Sikhs who were a batch of recruits that had recently arrived from India to join the Regiment. They became completely demoralised with the sudden attack, as of course did everyone. To ease the nervous tension of these disastrous scenes I moved them around on various jobs that had to be carried out immediately, such as the loading of stores that had to be removed across to West Administrative Pool on the island of Hong Kong. By mixing them amongst the Mohammedan gunners in the loading of the lorries at my disposal, it appeared to have settled their minds temporarily, although they still looked quite anxious. As these were very young Sikhs, I decided to house them at West Administrative Pool and not post them out to the various gun positions but instead, to retain them for the forthcoming convoys that will surely be necessary in the very near future and for general duties around the pool. During the lull in these air attacks, I collected whatever could be carried on the lorries and finally assembled the Indian NCOs and gunners for further instructions.

I instructed Havildar Sher Khan to take charge of five lorries and about twenty-five gunners, to proceed to West Administrative Pool on the island of Hong Kong. I told him to closely guard the stores on the lorries and instructed him to use the men if necessary to disperse the crowds of Chinese, who by now must have gathered at the wharfs of the ferries and who could become a hindrance in moving the vehicles on to the vehicular ferry. Due to the chaotic situation amongst the Chinese populace in Kowloon, it was impossible for me to forecast where I would

be under the circumstances. Air raid sirens appear to have gone haywire, as one minute you can hear the 'all clear' and the next 'air raid warnings'. Heavy clouds of smoke can be seen drifting in from all directions and the fire engines can be heard in the far distance. My foremost intentions at this point, were to collect as much ammunition from the magazines at West Fort adjacent to Whitfield Barracks (that could be entered from Nathan Road, Kowloon),³ the ammunition etc. being delivered to the 25th Medium Battery in action near the overhead bridge that spans Prince Edward Road. To accomplish this, I had to confiscate five lorries with drivers from Whitfield Barracks and together with the four lorries of mine at Gun Club Hill Barracks; I would have sufficient vehicles to transport the ammunition. I had sufficient number of gunners for loading purposes.

Just as I was about to leave Gun Club Hill Barracks, Mr and Mrs (Joe) Henson approached me and requested me to allow his wife and himself to escape to the Island of Hong Kong on one of the lorries. They were a fairly aged couple, each about 65 years of age. Joe Henson was an employee with the RASC Barrack Department at Sha Tau Kok, a suburb of Kowloon for quite a number of years. I told Joe to collect whatever personal belongings they may have and to embark upon the first lorry of the convoy, which was in charge of Havildar Sher Khan. I instructed the Havildar to transport them to Hong Kong and drop them off near the Shanghai Bank in Queen's Road or at a place of their choosing. I felt very sorry for both of them, particularly as they were getting on in years and also for having witnessed such a sudden and devastating attack by the Japanese. I think they should have accepted the advice of the Hong Kong Government in June 1940 that all civilian nationals should evacuate to a country of their choice. It was compulsory that all wives and children of those men serving in the HM Forces to be evacuated to Australia via the Philippines on the first of June 1940. Now of course, if the Japanese are successful in overrunning Hong Kong, the Hensons will have to suffer the period of confinement as internees.⁴

Increasing flights of Japanese planes continued to strafe and bomb Hong Kong and Kowloon indiscriminately causing widespread destruction of buildings and heavy loss of life amongst the Chinese population. Dense, black clouds of smoke are lying heavily over the whole area. The shells from the 9.2-inch coastal guns from Stanley and Mount Davis are at this time whistling overhead and no doubt being directed by observers on to targets on enemy formations in the New Territories. The guns of 5th AA Battery are also blazing away at the flights of Japanese planes that appear to be increasing by the hour. As I moved

down Nathan Road to gain entrance to West Fort, I came in contact with a dreadful scene of mutilated bodies of the dead and the dying, lying scattered along the roads and pathways. Vehicles of all types were completely wrecked and burning fiercely. The defence units are doing their best to remove the injured to hospitals and other medical bases. The Health Department is endeavouring to remove the dead as quickly as possible to prevent disease and epidemics spreading. The fire brigade are attempting to control the huge fires that are raging in the heavily populated areas in Kowloon. The whole scene looks a complete shambles in such a short period of time. The Jubilee married quarters in Hankow Barracks received direct hits from the bombing causing quite a number of casualties amongst the remaining military personnel.

Eventually I arrived at West Fort to withdraw ammunition. This Fort stored 6-inch How and 3.7-inch How shells, also small arms ammunition and amatol for the Royal Engineers for demolition purposes. It was about 7.00 p.m. when I arrived at the magazines with my four lorries plus the loading parties of British and Indian gunners. I had about an hour's daylight to load the vehicles, so therefore I had to force the quick loading of the ammunition. At about 9.00 p.m., all lorries were loaded and ready to proceed to 25th Medium Battery in action along Prince Edward Road. As the first lorry moved forward to a position just past the main gate, all hell broke loose. A flight of Japanese planes came suddenly out of the semi-moonlight sweeping low over Whitfield Barracks and West Fort dropping loads of bombs right along the coastline of the harbour. This sudden attack must have caused hundreds of casualties amongst the Chinese population living in these areas and near to the Barracks. At the time, the only place we could take cover was in the underground rooms of the magazines that stored shell and high explosives. After the raid, we felt very lucky; as I am sure the intended target by the Japanese was West Fort. They also missed the lorries that were already loaded to full capacity with high explosives.

Outside the Barracks and in the far distance, we could hear the terrible screaming and crying of a great number of Chinese coming from the district that had been bombed and from which flames could be seen for miles around. I decided to re-route the convoy of lorries to the west of the barracks so as to avoid the huge sparks coming from the burning buildings and settling upon the lorries containing the explosives. I met a Chinese inspector who was in charge of a civil defence unit. He was giving instructions on the removal of dead bodies from the devastated area and I suggested very quickly to him, that it would be advisable to remove all wounded casualties firstly to the hospital or other medical

bases and to leave the dead to the health department. He agreed with me even though I was unable to stay and watch him carry out this task. The heavy pall of smoke coming from the bombed-out areas caused a real 'pea souper' fog that blanketed the sky for miles around. As I moved the convoy along Austin Road and into Nathan Road, to proceed to Prince Edward Road, in the semi-darkness we came slap-bang into masses of Chinese fleeing towards the Yaumati Ferry, who were endeavouring to board her or any other sea-craft on hand to make their escape to Hong Kong Island. Finally, after massed obstructions, I was able to deliver the ammunition to the 25th Medium Battery position and then return to Gun Club Hill Barracks.

9 December 1941

It is now the early morning of 9 December 1941 and when we returned to Gun Club Hill Barracks via Nathan Road, we saw lorries and vehicles of all types, fully crammed with wounded British and Indian troops with bedraggled able-bodied troops following on foot. They all looked utterly exhausted in these early hours of the morning. At Gun Club Hill at about 6.30 a.m., with the convoy of lorries standing at my office door, was Lieut Vinter⁵ who informed me that a further amount of 6-inch shell cartridges was required by the 25th Medium Battery as they had already blazed away near on 200 shells since I had left them in the late hours of yesterday. Therefore, I gathered the lorries and loading parties and once again proceeded to the magazines at West Fort. I entered the barracks by the north side so as to avoid the devastated areas nearby on the east and south. At this stage, the Japanese were keeping up their air raid attacks upon Hong Kong Island. Within the two hours I had, the lorries were loaded without any opposition from the air and we proceeded on to the 25th Medium Battery who we could hear blazing away as we moved along Prince Edward Road and were no doubt engaging long-distance enemy targets. Our 9.2-inch coastal guns were also blazing away on the enemy positions. As we passed the isolated areas that were previously bombed by the Japanese, we had to use rags to cover our mouths and noses to smother the dreadful smell from decomposed bodies lying across and along the sides of the roads.

There were still streams of vehicles pouring in from the forward positions carrying British and Indian troops. Quite a number were from the Royal Scots, 2/14th Punjabis and 5/7th Rajputs. As I turned into the south of Prince Edward Road from the dirt track near the C.B.S. (Central

British School)⁶ and not far from Kowloon Hospital, I noticed that the Chinese masses had thinned out considerably and thereby was able to continue my journey much easier than I anticipated. When I arrived at the 25th Medium Battery position, I reported to the Gun Position Officer of my intentions and future movements depending on the situation. The six-inch How Shell and cartridges were offloaded. I then asked the GPO what stocks of ammunition he had on hand at the site and he said that he was down to about 100 shells per gun. This meant that I would have to arrange a further supply. I told him that I would endeavour to make a further supply probably late in the afternoon, or during the hours of darkness. As I left this position and about to enter Prince Edward Road near the overhead bridge, a flight of planes suddenly appeared and commenced bombing and strafing the main highway, presumably trying to locate the 25th Medium Battery position that I had just left.

As I turned into the road near the bridge, strings of bombs rained down upon the fleeing Chinese who were endeavouring to take shelter under the bridge, but unfortunately, one group received a direct hit killing all but a few. As a result, I was prevented from moving my vehicle forward because the Chinese bodies were jammed against the chassis of my car. A piece of shrapnel from a bomb killed one of my gunners outright. He received a gash in the side of his neck, which nearly severed his head. The gunner on my left in the forward seat received a splinter in the right eye. I received small pieces of shrapnel in my right arm and shoulder. A piece of metal or small stone struck me in the nose feeling as though a needle had penetrated my forehead. I suffered a terrific bout of sneezing with blood spurting everywhere. One gunner riding in the rear of my vehicle received a piece of bomb that removed a portion of his right shoulder. One large piece of bomb buried itself into the abdomen of an aged Chinese woman, which completely disembowelled her and at the same time her blood and flesh splashed right across our car and over our faces. I took my casualties to the Kowloon Hospital about a mile away where they were admitted, the dead gunner being placed in the morgue. The doctor told me that I should also be admitted for observation, but I declined, as I could call for dressings when necessary. The doctor did remove bits of shrapnel and grit from my right arm and shoulder followed by an anti-tetanus injection. He dressed up my nose, which made me look like a stuffed pig, and with two black eyes I must have looked a fine sight. During my absence at the hospital, the gunners took the opportunity and wisely so, to hose off the dried flesh and blood from my car, which no doubt would eventually attract large groups of flies. I was finally able to proceed to West Fort and withdraw further

6-inch How shell and cartridges for delivery to 25th Medium Battery late that night.

After making this delivery, I then returned to Gun Club Hill Barracks, where I allowed the gunners to collect any clothing or other articles of a personal nature. I went to my quarters at No. 10; where I recovered whatever personal belongings I could gather quickly which included the photographs of my dear wife and family. I secured these photographs in the folder of my gas mask haversack where I intended they would remain always. As time was running out, which was limited because I had received instructions to take over Sir Robert Ho Tung's Estate at the Peak on Hong Kong Island immediately and also to establish that the Yaumati vehicular ferry was still operating from Kowloon that was so necessary at this stage as it was the only means of moving transport and guns etc. across to Hong Kong Island. Also I did not know as to whether the masses of Chinese refugees had decreased by now, which could be a problem for the movement of troops and mobile equipment from the defences. Prior to this, I prepared the gunners and NCOs for the move to Hong Kong Island with all the available transport I had that was now loaded with stores. I proceeded to the ferry at the Yaumati wharf, which by now was free of congested traffic and refugees and without any problems the transports were moved onto the ferry.

Luckily at this time, the air raids had abated in this area and they now appeared to be confined to the New Territories and to the East of Hong Kong Island. The journey across the harbour was completed without incident where the lorries were driven onto the wharf at Hong Kong Island. As I moved the transports from the wharf towards Queen's Road — and towards the Peak tramway terminal to get on to the main Peak highway that leads to Magazine Gap Bridge which was my objective — suddenly, a flight of about twenty planes swooped along the foreshores of the harbour strafing and bombing right along the coastal front and in the direction of the village of Aberdeen. I hastily ordered the lorries under cover near a bank with an avenue of huge trees secreting the convoy and practically opposite the Peak tramway terminal. Following this sudden attack and the 'all clear' siren, I moved the convoy along the zigzag Peak Road towards Magazine Gap Bridge where I would turn off to the south side of the island and out of view from the mainland of Kowloon. It was imperative that I take over the residence of Sir Robert Ho Tung as soon as possible, so as to establish the 'West Administrative Pool'. I contacted the Secretary to Sir Robert Ho Tung, a Chinese by the name of Ah Cheung, for an inventory of the estate and for his presence in the taking-over and checking of the inventory.

Mr Ah Cheung and his wife was an aged couple and had been in the employ of Sir Robert for many years. They were very pleasant and assisted me tremendously in the layout of the estate, and the rooms of the residence. He requested that he and his wife be allowed to stay in their quarters whilst we were in occupation. I agreed to that as they were completely isolated from the main part of the building, but I pointed out that they would have to be prepared to accept the bombing and artillery bombardments that would arise if the Japanese were successful in gaining a foothold in Kowloon or on the island where they could unmercifully shell and bomb the whole of the foreshores of Hong Kong. They fully understood the situation and that if it was necessary, they would take shelter in the basements of this huge building.

I have just heard that our Air Force, which comprised of five obsolete planes (two Walrus amphibians and three Wildebeeste dive bombers), was destroyed at Kai Tak Aerodrome. They never got into the air.

10 December 1941

I planned the full use of this house and the huge area of the surrounds organising the following:

Accommodation for three reserve officers who were permanent residents in Hong Kong and in the Business world.

1. Accommodation for British NCOs and other ranks.
2. Accommodation for Indian Officers, NCOs and other ranks.
3. Accommodation for Chinese who were on the staff of Sir Robert Ho Tung.
4. Cooking arrangements for 1, 2, 3 above.
5. Latrines for 1, 2, 3 above.
6. The installation of emergency water pump chlorination system by Spr Nichols, RE,⁷ who was held responsible for its operation and serviceability.
7. Storage facilities for food, clothing and equipment etc. plus petrol and oil filling points. Also small arms ammunition storage.
8. Suitable rooms to be selected for 1, 2, 3 and 4 above for decontamination purposes in case of gas attacks etc.

The reserve officers were as follows:

2/Lieut Parks, Royal Artillery

2/Lieut Simpson, Royal Artillery (from Hong Kong University)

2/Lieut Andrews, Royal Artillery⁸

I arranged for the following duties to be carried out during my absence which I could foresee being for long hours for me as the campaign intensified.

2/Lieut Parks would be in charge during my absence.

S/Sgt May (now Acting BQMS) is responsible for the withdrawal of perishable and non-perishable rations from the officer in charge of the RASC depot in Queen's Road Hong Kong daily or whenever possible.

Subadar Mohammad Khan to be responsible for feeding and rationing the Mohammadian gunners.

S/Sgt Fitter Gollege will be responsible for the maintenance and the servicing of the guns at Mount Austin and Mount Gough gun positions and all other associated equipment.

S/Sgt Farrier Holmes is responsible for the feeding and the welfare of the mules under his charge that are to be stabled in the grounds of the estate.

S/Sgt Wilson will take charge of all clerical administration and the telephone exchange.

Mr Ah Cheung and his wife will be responsible for the feeding of the Chinese personnel in and around the estate.⁹

Maj Proes at Wong Nei Chong Gap headquarters informed me on the phone that I was to ensure that all gun positions were fully stocked with shell and cartridges. This meant I would have to withdraw as much ammunition as possible from the magazines available on the island and at West Fort in Kowloon. He told me that the latest information to hand is that the Japanese are attacking fiercely at night, penetrating our forward defence positions in the New Territories and near Fanling. However, these attacks have been halted by very effective fire from the 9.2-inch guns of 12th Coast Regiment. In the communiqué he says that severe casualties have been inflicted upon the Japanese forces by the 9.2-inch guns and our 6-inch How's having contributed their share. One can hear the huge shells whistling overhead and the gun flashes just light up the sky resembling a firework display. From the Peak and in the darkness one can see Kowloon fully ablaze from the continuous bombing in the last two days and Hong Kong itself is burning fiercely at points in the East and West of the island.

11 December 1941

During the early hours of this morning, the guns at Mount Austin and Mount Gough have been blazing away these past three hours with the coastal guns also doing their share. As the Japanese artillery gain ground and to a position where they can readily bombard the island, we shall be under constant artillery barrages and relentless air attacks.

I received a telephone call from Maj Proes who was in charge of headquarters at Wanchai Gap. He informed me that a problem had developed at the Mount Austin gun site. Jemadar Kishen Singh had reported to him that the guns are unable to engage enemy targets upon the mainland due to the house at 'No. 11 The Peak', which is obstructing the crest clearance of the guns. I told him to contact the Royal Engineers for a demolition squad to remove part or all of the building, but he said there were no squads available at the moment and that at this present time they are all under pressure on other priority jobs. This house at present is being used by thirty other ranks of the Royal Army Pay Corps in the charge of one officer. I told Maj Proes that this problem being of extreme urgency, that I would demolish the top of the building to a height of about eight feet by shelling it with one of the 6-inch How guns lying below. He was a bit concerned about this proposal but finally agreed for me to carry out the job as per my advice. I explained that I would lay one of the guns directly on to the top of the building by open sites and shell the highest portion of the brickwork until I had completely cleared sufficient space to allow the guns to gain crest clearance. I further said that as the building would be about thirty yards in front of the guns, I would have to fire from this distance by attaching a lanyard to the firing mechanism of the gun to avoid the possibility of debris falling back onto the men and guns. Maj Proes agreed and told me to go ahead.

At the time, I was about three miles from the Mount Austin gun position and therefore I asked Maj Proes to phone the OIC of the Pay Corps at No. 11 The Peak to evacuate all of his men from the building immediately and to explain to him my intentions. On my way over Magazine Gap Bridge, I was spotted by two Japanese planes. I told the four Indian gunners riding with me to lie down on the floor of the vehicle and to get as much cover as possible. Within a few seconds, the planes commenced strafing me along the highway to the Peak where there is no cover whatsoever for about one and a half miles. All I could do was to zigzag the car along the road to avoid the bullets that were being sprayed at me from right to left of the road and in front of the

vehicle. How lucky I was to be able to reach safety under a small overhead bridge where I sheltered for about fifteen minutes until the planes withdrew at which time I continued my journey to Mount Austin.

I was quite relieved to escape from these attacks and the Indian gunners gave me a pat on the shoulder saying 'Shah Bash Sahib' (meaning, 'well done', or 'very good'). As I turned the car to the left at the Peak tramway terminal and onto the narrow pathway leading up to the Mount Austin gun site, I passed the men of the Royal Army Pay Corps coming from the Peak, which indicated to me that the order from Maj Proes to No. 11 to evacuate the building had been carried out and thereby giving me the all-clear-to-proceed with the task of demolishing a portion of the house to give clearance to the guns which was essential to engage the enemy forces concentrating in great force upon Kowloon and beyond into the New Territories. Meanwhile, Battle headquarters has been trying to contact me for a convoy movement of ammunition to take place this evening. I informed Maj Squires¹⁰ that I would be at the appointed rendezvous as ordered and that I would phone him as soon as I had completed the task at Mount Austin gun site. As soon as I arrived at the Mount Austin site, I informed Jem Kishen Singh what I was going to do. I told him to order the gunners to open up the breaches of each gun and ensure that the barrels of the 6-inch How's were clear so as to enable me to lay the guns on the portion of the building to be demolished. After I had sighted the guns, I arranged to secure the light drag ropes on charge to the equipment, which gave me at least thirty feet to be attached to the firing levers of each gun. I ordered the guns to be loaded and to prepare for firing. The lanyards were handed over to two or three gunners to take hold to pull the lanyards on the order of fire. I ordered 'FIRE', the result of the first two shells striking the building was fairly satisfactory, having removed quite a large amount of brickwork to a reasonable height and quite successful in width. I ordered the guns to be reloaded and traversed about fifteen degrees to the left. Once again, I gave the order to 'FIRE' and the result was extremely good. When the dust was cleared; we saw that a thirty-yard breach had been made to a height of about eight feet. This left a large enough gap to allow clearance for both guns, which were now able to engage the enemy on the mainland.

Within a very short time, the guns were blazing away over the crest of Victoria Peak. I informed Maj Proes that clearance had been achieved to allow the guns elevation. The Maj was delighted with the success and informed Battle headquarters accordingly. As I walked away from the gun position towards the pathway running down from No. 11 The Peak,

an agitated officer of the Royal Army Pay Corps, Capt Thompson,¹¹ shouted to me with annoyance saying, 'Quartermaster, you never gave me time to finish having a shit.' During this abusive language, he was still attempting to tuck his shirt into his shorts. His face was livid and red with rage. I said to him, 'Did you not receive orders from Maj Proes to vacate the premises?' He said, 'Yes, but I did not think you would be so damn quick to shell the building.' Anyway, I did not have time to discuss his complaint and I told him so. I finally departed, leaving this officer in the process of adjusting his shirt and shorts. I reported the incident to Maj Proes and he and the other officers at headquarters burst out laughing. Whenever this officer was seen or spotted amongst the groups, the men would say, 'There goes that officer that was blown out of the shithouse by the quartermaster.'

The demolition squad from the Royal Engineers arrived on the site just before I left and they were quite surprised to see that the job had been done. The sapper officer told me that considering it was a very primitive attempt, I had carried out an excellent job.

It was now evening of 11 December and upon my return to West Administrative Pool, I was told that the convoy of twenty-four lorries had been cancelled for the time being, thank goodness, as at this stage I was completely exhausted, as it was impossible to have any real sleep since 8 December. The RAOC instead, had withdrawn the 6-inch How shells which had been delivered to the Mount Gough gun position. As I entered the huge estate of Sir Robert Ho Tung, I was met by S/Sgt May, who had recently been promoted to A/BQMS, he said to me, 'Charles, for goodness sake get some rest.' Apparently, he prepared for me a couple of sandwiches and a cup of tea, but when he brought them to me he noticed that I had gone into a deep sleep in an armchair still clutching my Tommy gun. 2/Lieut Simpson told May and S/Sgt Gollege and in the presence of S/Sgt Farrier Holmes to let me rest and not to wake me until it was absolutely necessary. I had about thirty minutes sleep when BQMS May woke me to tell me that Maj Temple at Wong Nei Chong Gap headquarters wanted me on the telephone, the time being about 7.00 p.m. He wanted me to collect clothing and equipment, etc., from the RAOC Depot, Queen's Road, Hong Kong.

The following items had to be collected:

1. Binoculars, compasses, revolvers, etc., required for officers of the HKVDC units who had recently joined West Group on 8 December.
2. Clothing and armbands, etc., for Chinese followers.
3. Non-perishable rations to be drawn from RASC supplies and to be delivered to all positions.

Due to air attacks, which were increasing daily, the movements of the vehicular ferry was being restricted because of the build-up of traffic towards the wharf and near the embarkation area, which was completely blocked. The situation was so serious that I contacted two officers informing them of this situation and advised them to contact Battle Headquarters by telephone of this problem — suggesting civilian and military police control the area. This advice was passed on and after a lapse of about thirty minutes, a force of civilian and military police moved in and dispersed the congested vehicles into smaller groups off the main thoroughfares leading to the entrances onto the vehicular ferry. Eventually, after a long wait, I was able to embark on the ferry with my five lorries and men and shortly we left the wharf and headed for Kowloon. When the vessel was in mid-harbour we heard the sudden blast of sirens from the mainland and the island. Suddenly, a flight of Japanese planes appeared and commenced bombing and strafing along the foreshores of Hong Kong harbour. They dropped everything they were carrying from Aberdeen to Lei Yu Mun and then followed up by machine-gunning about every form of sea-craft they could see. Seeing that the vehicular ferry would be an obvious target, the coxswain put the ferry into a zigzag course at the fastest speed possible towards Kowloon. By the time we reached Kowloon Wharf, the planes had disappeared.

Due to the strafing and bombing, the Chinese crowds had sought cover and we were able to disembark without obstruction. We then headed to Gun Club Hill Barracks without any serious incidents.

Quite a large number of battle-weary troops were making their way down the highways of Kowloon to the ferries for transportation over to Hong Kong Island and to occupy the defence positions allocated to them. There were quite a number of lorries and other vehicles carrying wounded and destined for the military hospital at Bowen Road¹² on the island. We also passed trucks of all types carrying mortified dead bodies of Chinese that caused everyone to cover up their faces and mouths to avoid the stench. When we arrived at Gun Club Hill Barracks, we noticed that further air raids had taken place during our short absence. The Gun Park and other buildings had been completely demolished which included my office and store block.

We could now hear the Japanese guns in the far distance and I fear that our troops are gradually retiring to other defence lines established nearer to Kowloon. It appeared to me that the GOC, Major General Maltby,¹³ would have to withdraw the remaining survivors of the Mainland Brigade to the island in the very near future. I collected

whatever stores were remaining in the buildings at Gun Club Hill and loaded the five lorries at my disposal and finally proceeded towards the vehicular ferry in Jordan Road. As we moved down the road between the officers and sergeants' messes into Chatham Road, the first shells of the Japanese Artillery started to bombard the area in the vicinity of the marina, which runs parallel with the Kowloon Railway. I turned right into Austin Road and straight across Nathan Road, then on to the vehicular ferry in Jordan Road with the five lorries fully loaded en-route to Hong Kong Island.

Shells from the Japanese long-range batteries were now dropping in and around the Star Ferry Wharf and in the areas around the Peninsula Hotel. Once again this caused further panic amongst the Chinese living there and now fleeing from these districts and they began to mass on the main roads to the harbour foreshores. To avoid these masses, I directed the convoy down the side streets towards the vehicular ferry with very little obstruction. Luck was on our side and we made the ferry without hindrance and were able to board the vessel immediately. The vessel made the crossing without being caught in an air attack, which could happen at any time. As soon as we disembarked at the wharf in Hong Kong, I made haste with the lorries towards Peak Road and then on to West Administrative Pool. It was now about 11.00 p.m., and as we reached Magazine Gap Bridge, which was off to the right from Peak Road and out of view of the mainland, suddenly a flight of Japanese planes appeared and at once commenced low-level attacks on my convoy. I zigzagged my car along the road hoping that the drivers of the lorries following me would do the same and at the same time put on speed. Luckily, we escaped the low-level attacks unscathed and made the cover of the trees and embankments. The low-level attacks ceased and the planes disappeared allowing me to make West Administrative Pool without further incident. I asked L/Naik Lall Khan if there were any casualties, he said, 'Naheeng (no) sahib.' After unloading the lorries, I dispersed the gunners who were now exhausted as much as I was.

BQMS May and S/Sgt Gollege arranged a meal for me after which I headed for a bed in one of the small rooms in this enormous-sized house. May and Gollege sat on the bed and gave me all the news to what had happened since I was there last. I asked if there were any problems and they both said, 'Nothing serious, Charles.' May said to me, 'Charles, the Mount Gough and Mount Austin gun positions are running short of shells and cartridges and will need re-supplying as soon as possible.' I told them both that I would deal with this matter after having something to eat and if possible a short rest.

Notes

- 1 Unusually for pre-war buildings in Hong Kong, these still exist.
- 2 The mansion was called 'Ho Tung Gardens' and was situated at 75 Peak Road. It still exists today. Ho Tung himself lived in Macau during the war years.
- 3 The site is now the Kowloon Park, though four of the original barracks buildings have been preserved.
- 4 In fact, Joe Henson would become one of the oldest POW's at Shamshuipo, while his wife would be a civilian internee. She would pass away in Stanley Camp on 16 April 1944.
- 5 John Vinter survived the war, and passed away in 1997.
- 6 Now King George V School.
- 7 Nichols survived the war, ending it as a prisoner in Japan.
- 8 All three officers survived the war.
- 9 Gollege and May would survive the infamous *Lisbon Maru*, though Gollege himself would die when the plane flying him home from Japan crashed. Wilson would die as a POW in Japan of acute gastritis.
- 10 Squires would survive the war.
- 11 Thompson survived the war and was later awarded an MBE.
- 12 This building still exists, being used to house several different kindergartens.
- 13 Maltby survived the war, being imprisoned in Taiwan and Shenyang, China.
- 14 In September 1942, Sergeant Waterhouse would be shipped with the 'hard men' in the first draft of POWs to Japan, and Blofield would be on the third draft.
- 15 Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din would be lost on 19 December and has no known grave. Dalip Singh, who died in 1943, also has no known grave.
- 16 Adjutant of the HKVDC, and therefore a regular officer. Thursby survived the war.
- 17 Gray survived the war.
- 18 Willcocks had been captured as the Japanese took the southernmost part of the Redoubt. Two of his Indian signalmen had been killed.
- 19 Captain Thomas Pardoe of Fortress HQ was killed in this manner.
- 20 Nurses Brenda Morgan was killed and Kay Christie wounded.
- 21 Frank Daniels survived the war.
- 22 Lance Sergeant Frank Ewens was lost on 24 December and has no known grave. Herbert Ealey was on the fifth draft to Japan. James Stopforth would be executed in 1942 after a failed escape attempt.

- 23 Henry Searle would be lost in the sinking of the *Lisbon Maru* in October 1942.
- 24 The Canadians reported a number of men injured at Lei Yu Mun by an air attack at that time; they were taken to St Albert's Convent. Presumably the 'twenty men' lost were also injured, as there are no reports of HK/SRA deaths on that day.
- 25 Torquil McLeod was one of the senior officers shipped to Taiwan and then Shenyang, China, as POWs.
- 26 Robert McPherson would be killed on 22 December, along with Horace (Vic) Morris, Ronald Bliss, John Singleton and Cyril Walker (though there is some doubt about Walker as CWGC claims he died in January but has no known grave). Frank Haynes died at BRH in 1943 of dysentery. Of this whole group, only Wilfred Markey and Arnold Collinson survived the war.
- 27 Alex Sutherland was on the fifth draft to Japan.
- 28 Robert O'Connell was on the third draft to Japan.
- 29 George Ryan survived the war.
- 30 Walter Peters was on the third draft to Japan.
- 31 Henry Marsh survived the war.
- 32 William Hoyland, RA, survived the war.
- 33 Potts survived the war.
- 34 Hermione and Wendy Wilson spent the war interned in Stanley.
- 35 The Aberdeen Industrial School. Herbert Millet survived the war.
- 36 Ian Blair, of C Company Punjabis, survived the war.
- 37 George Tinson, MC.
- 38 Jack Smith survived the war.
- 39 Killed on 20 December.
- 40 CWGC records for this day report the deaths of one Havildar and seven gunners from the HK/SRA (mainly 1 Mountain Battery).
- 41 Henry Duncan commanded 3 Medium Battery. He survived the war.
- 42 Herbert Dawson, 8th Coastal Regiment, RA, survived the war.
- 43 Clarence Cooper had died of wounds from Belcher's on 15 December.
- 44 Christopher Holberry was on the first draft to Japan. Albert Yearling survived the war.
- 45 Caesar Otway was one of the two officers on the first draft to Japan. Fred Field, commanding the 5th AA Regiment, survived the war.
- 46 Fred Thompson and Ian Tavendale would be on the *Lisbon Maru*. Thompson died in the sinking. Tavendale survived, but died of dysentery in Japan shortly after.
- 47 There were two Sgt Walkers whom this may have been. Both were on the fifth draft to Japan.
- 48 Dr E. W. Kirk was at the War Memorial Hospital. He survived the war.
- 49 CWGC records show nine HK/SRA gunners killed that day, mainly from 1 Mountain Battery, who were probably these.
- 50 After the war the surviving men testified against Colonel Tanaka, who was tried at the war crimes trial and subsequently sentenced to death.

- 51 Hugh McKechnie survived the war.
- 52 Stanley had not yet been established at this time. On 11 February, Barman notes that the civilians were transferred to Stanley on 20 January.
- 53 Postwar author of *Darlings, I've Had a Ball!*
- 54 James McGhee would be lost on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 55 Harry Rudolf would be on the sixth draft to Japan.
- 56 Herbert Dobson died of these wounds on 23 January.
- 57 For a list of patients at that time, see Appendix 1.
- 58 Cedric Shackleton, William Bartlett, Phillip Knightly, and Gerald Harrison survived the war. Ken Brown was on the sixth draft to Japan.
- 59 Osborn won the only VC of Hong Kong, defending his men during the retreat from Jardine's Lookout.
- 60 Hankow Barracks was in fact the name for one side of the camp, and Nanking Barracks was the other.
- 61 Richard Penfold survived the war. John Eves and Alfred Lloyd were on the *Lisbon Maru*, but only Lloyd survived.
- 62 Edwin Soden was on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 63 Lindsay Ride and Francis Lee went on to found the British Army Aid Group.
- 64 Most likely David Henderson, Royal Scots, who would be lost on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 65 For nominal roles of POWs known to the author, see Appendices 4 to 7.
- 66 Gordon Bennett survived the war.
- 67 Douglas Clague, Lynton White, John Pearce, and David Bosanquet escaped successfully. Clague became a very important member of BAAG, and both he and Pearce were successful businessmen in postwar Hong Kong (where Pearce still lives at time of writing). Alec Pearce, John's brother, also survived the war. L/Bdr Robinson is presumably Richard Robinson, who was on the fifth draft to Japan.
- 68 Alfred Lloyd would be on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 69 Alex Warrack was on the sixth draft to Japan.
- 70 Fred Bullimore and Albert Pontin survived the war.
- 71 Sidney Hedgecow survived the war.
- 72 Charles Earnshaw would be sent to Taiwan with the senior officers.
- 73 Stanley Kerr survived the war.
- 74 For a list of batmen at Argyle Street, see Appendix 2.
- 75 Peter Belton and Henry Selby survived the war.
- 76 Barman noted that he was reunited with his family in 1946 and was fully compensated for his secret activities in assisting the conditions of the prisoners of war in the camps at Shamshuipo and Argyle Street. The British government recognized this and fully supported him financially in the business he had in Cardiff before the war, which included the education of his family. Major General Maltby and the remaining staff officers of Argyle Street camp reported to the British government of his undercover work in our interests to help wherever possible.

- 77 Robert Simpson survived the war.
- 78 Jack Grenham, George Prince, and James Sutcliffe survived the war. Arthur Francomb was on the fifth draft to Japan.
- 79 William Sprague survived the war.
- 80 Alf Bennett, a Japanese speaker, survived the war.
- 81 Thomas Mattison survived the war.
- 82 They died of avitaminosis and enteritis respectively.
- 83 Barman noted that the diphtheria outbreak claimed 500 victims, which was almost one man in ten and of these, more than fifty died.
- 84 Possibly Henry Cole, who was on the fifth draft to Japan.
- 85 David Lam, following his release, crossed the border into China and became a BAAG stalwart.
- 86 Arthur Dewar survived the war.
- 87 Sapper Moore was shipped to Japan on the fifth draft and survived the war.
- 88 Cedric Blaker survived the war.
- 89 Woodcock in fact survived. Knowles did not.
- 90 Fred Thomson had been wounded in the neck during the fighting. He survived the war.
- 91 Eric Elsworth was on the fifth draft to Japan. George Flood also survived the war.
- 92 Arthur Strachan survived the war.
- 93 Simon White survived the war, ending as the Senior British Officer of the POWs in Hong Kong.
- 94 Richard Penfold survived the war.
- 95 Ronald Snell was on the fifth draft to Japan. Ronald Holland also survived the war.
- 96 Donald Howell and Anthony Atkinson survived the war.
- 97 See Appendix 9.
- 98 Henry Handsley was on the fifth draft to Japan.
- 99 See Appendix 8.
- 100 Jack Fraser survived the war.
- 101 Thomas Roche was on the fifth draft to Japan.
- 102 James Robinson was on the sixth draft to Japan.
- 103 John Hastings was sent to Taiwan with the senior officers. Ken Hobbs also survived the war.
- 104 Hugh Haughey would be on the fifth draft to Japan. Major Parsons also survived the war.
- 105 For batmen groups and general duties, see Appendix 11.
- 106 Desmond Loncraine survived the war.
- 107 Alex Fowler would be on the fifth draft to Japan. John Browning, Kenneth Glasgow, and Arthur Perry also survived the war.
- 108 Joseph Haddock survived the interrogation. Manuel Prata did not.
- 109 Barman noted that Lieutenant Haddock was the unfortunate one. He received a Japanese trap message from a Chinese lorry driver, whom he had in the past been receiving news of the world situation. As soon as Lieutenant

- Haddock saw the blank piece of paper on top of the cistern in the officer's toilet, he must have realised that it was a trap set by the Japanese.
- 110 Doctor Selwyn-Clarke survived his interrogation, but never fully recovered physically. Many of his team were executed.
- 111 John Hale would be on the fifth draft to Japan.
- 112 John Cadogan-Rawlinson survived the war.
- 113 At the time of writing, the Argyle Street Camp Commandant's house still exists.
- 114 Presumably Kenneth Allanson.
- 115 Joseph Randle was on the fifth draft to Japan. Alfred Chainey also survived the war.
- 116 John Cheeseborough, Gordon Ferguson, William Robertson, and Leslie Smart survived the war.
- 117 Stoker Hodgson, Harold Bushell, and Ronald Sanderson were on the fifth draft to Japan. Frank Chamberlain also survived the war.
- 118 Peter Hoskins survived the war.
- 119 For a full list of batmen who left on 8 December 1943, see Appendix 12.
- 120 Austin Spearey survived the war.
- 121 Ben Hammett survived the war.
- 122 George Simon survived the war.
- 123 Latimer Cleave was on the sixth draft to Japan.
- 124 Joseph Fraser survived the war.
- 125 Norman Llewellyn survived the war.
- 126 Ralph Shrigley did not survive interrogation. He died on 28 June 1944.
- 127 Thomas Hunter survived the war.
- 128 Sergeant Tupper survived the war.
- 129 Ernan Dinner survived the war.
- 130 Barman noted later that apparently each of these two bombs' explosive power was equal to 20,000 tons of TNT, which is something beyond our comprehension. Hiroshima was apparently the target for the first bomb.
- 131 After the war, like a lot of evacuated families whose father did not come home, the College family remained in Australia.

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