

The Sinking of
the *Lisbon Maru*
Britain's Forgotten Wartime Tragedy

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1 Introduction

Full fathom five thy father lies,
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes;
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange.
Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell.
(*Burden*) Ding Dong.
Hark, now I hear them, ding dong bell.

The Tempest, Act 1, Scene 2

July 2003: A typhoon is approaching Hong Kong. The trees lining the road outside my study are leaning at impossible angles, leaves flowing away from their branches in a maelstrom of airborne flotsam and jetsam. They relax for a moment, the screaming wind at my window dies down, and then they jerk forward again.

* * *

In the middle of this tempest, I am trying to summarize the story that I will spend the next two years writing:

On the seabed east of Shanghai, some six miles from the easternmost islands of the Zhoushan Archipelago, lies the rusting hulk of a sunken freighter. Its hull is ripped open by

the jagged impact of a torpedo; its holds are lined with skeletons.

Launched in Japan in 1920, the old ship sailed the seven seas for more than twenty years as the *Lisbon Maru*. She was sunk by the American submarine USS *Grouper* in October 1942, but the sinking did not just deprive Japan of essential war materials. Unknown to the Americans, it was also carrying almost two thousand British Prisoners of War captured at the fall of Hong Kong ten months earlier.

Over 800 died in the sinking; a further 90 died of shock, wounds, and sickness before the month of October was out. Over 100 more would never see Britain again, succumbing to the rigours of the Japanese POW camps.

In more recent wars, 'Friendly Fire' incidents in which American forces accidentally attacked British have been cruel but relatively small in scale; the two-man crew of an RAF Tornado here, eleven men in a Warrior armoured fighting vehicle there. During the first or second world wars, such incidents were seldom fatal; before the days of 'first strike, first kill' weapons, one could normally defuse a blue-on-blue incident before anyone got hurt.

In this case, however, less than a year after America's entry into the Second World War, there was a far greater tragedy than had been seen in any other war. Just one torpedo hit its target and led to the death, then or later, of more than one thousand British servicemen.

Yet, the American submarine captain was never blamed. He was simply doing his job, neatly and professionally, when the wrong ship happened to pass his bows.

This is the story of that ship, the war that brought the two craft together, and the fate of all those on board all the vessels concerned.

I had been familiar with the name *Lisbon Maru* for many years. While writing the history of the wartime defence of Hong Kong against Japanese invasion,⁴ I had taken it upon myself to assemble a complete list of the Colonial garrison there as it was in December 1941 (some 14,000 men and women in all) and trace their fates. Repeatedly the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's records recorded deaths as 'lost in the *Lisbon Maru*'. More than seven hundred bore this label, and later research showed that many others listed as dying on the first or second of October 1942 had in fact lost their lives on the same vessel. More than half as many

people had perished on this dirty little ship than had been lost on the *Titanic* thirty years earlier; but while the latter had spawned eternal interest and the world's biggest box-office success, the former had been completely forgotten. The scale of the tragedy took some time to dawn, but finally I realized I was looking at the biggest American-on-British friendly fire incident in military history.⁵

And tragedy is the right word. Although my earlier work had been strictly focused on the events of December 1941, a constant trickle of people contacted me to ask for details of their relatives who had been lost ten months later on the *Lisbon Maru*. So many had died (having had little or no contact with their families since the beginning of the Pacific War) that there was constant confusion about the exact date and place of death of those many who — weakened by the sinking, wounds, malnutrition, disease, exhaustion, shock and cold — may have survived the sinking by a week or two. A number of these families were desperately searching for a booklet written in the 1960s by one of the survivors, Geoffrey Hamilton. Entrancingly entitled “The Sinking The Of [sic] *Lisbon Maru*”, it was the only work available on the subject. Finally, a relative of a man who had been on board the ship was kind enough to post me a copy. I waited in great anticipation, only to find that it was just some thirty pages in length, and had been quoted from in so many other works that it added little to my knowledge of the story.

It was a tragedy, too, for the American submariners. Hugely courageous men, they were almost the only effective Allied force in the Pacific in 1942. The eastern seas had become a dangerous place for the Allies, and the ability to strike back at Japanese shipping — even on a small scale — was as vital for morale as Doolittle's airborne attack on Tokyo. The crew of the *Gato*-class American submarine, USS *Grouper*, which sank the *Lisbon Maru*, learnt of its human cargo and their fate almost the first moment they surfaced to recharge their batteries (having been subjected to depth-charge attacks by the Japanese non-stop for some forty-eight hours after the attack). The submariners lived with this knowledge for the rest of their lives.

For me, the starting point of the serious research was the compilation of a complete list of those who had lost their lives on the ship. For the majority of the army's fatalities this was simply a matter of typing up the *Lisbon Maru* entries from the Sai Wan Bay Memorial, in Hong Kong, to those with no known graves. The Royal Navy, as always, was a harder task. They commemorate their unburied dead not at the place of their

loss, but at their home ports. Assembling all these names required months spent trawling through the Royal Navy's complete lists of fatalities for October 1942.

But what of those who had survived the sinking? Personally, I have never been satisfied by the fact that in the United Kingdom there is little official recognition of the suffering of families damaged by war, and the servicemen themselves are only commemorated if they die on active service. The experience of war is itself so destructive that those forced to endure it also require remembrance, and never has this been so true as for those unfortunates who became Prisoners of War of the Japanese.

Here I received unexpected aid. In November 2002, a friend of mine, Elizabeth Ride (the daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Lindsay Ride who led the Combined Field Ambulance during the Japanese attack on Hong Kong, and then escaped from prison camp to form the clandestine British Army Aid Group in China) presented me with a complete list of Prisoners of War in Hong Kong. This list had been marked up to record all those who had embarked in the *Lisbon Maru* and other transportations to Japan.⁶

The list itself — compiled by an unimaginably brave Chinese gentleman, who worked for the Japanese as a clerk at the POW camp and took a sheet or two home every night to type up for the British spies — was a fascinating document in its own right.⁷

Finally I had a complete list of all those who had embarked on the vessel on 25 September 1942.

* * *

A sudden gust of wind screams insanely at my window. The rain is so hard that I can hardly see the trees now, and each drop spawns more mist as it slams into the water already cascading down our hill. The list of men is in front of me as I write. Saying 'nearly two thousand men' is easy. Looking at their names and ages — and for more than half, their deaths — is not.

17 Epilogue

Sir, he may live.
I saw him beat the surges under him
And ride upon their backs; he trod the water,
Whose enmity he flung aside, and breasted
The surge most swoll'n that met him; his bold head
'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oared
Himself with his good arms in lusty stroke
To th' shore, that o'er his wave-worn basis bowed,
As stooping to relive him. I not doubt
He came alive to land.

The Tempest, Act 2, Scene 1

And there the story of the *Lisbon Maru* ends. Yet life continued for the survivors, and the families of those who had perished. Without the glue of war, they spread out from Australia to Canada, from Hong Kong to New Zealand, the Philippines, South Africa, and every part of the United Kingdom.

Let the pages of this epilogue pull their stories back together.

We followed Master Gunner Charles Brooks, from capture to drowning, and his family from evacuation from Hong Kong to the end of the war. They, by mid-1945, were now back in the UK where they received this letter from Lieutenant Colonel Richard Penfold, the commanding officer of Brook's unit, 12 Coastal Regiment, Royal Artillery:

Fleet, Hants, 27.11.45

Dear Mrs Brooks,

At this late date I am writing to tell you how grieved I was to hear of your husband's death in the sinking of the "Lisbon Maru" — and to offer you my deepest sympathy in your great loss.

I recently got back from Hong Kong and applied to Records for your address which it took some time to obtain.

We were told by the Japanese in Oct 1942 that the Lisbon Maru had been sunk — but we could get no details out of them. It was only after we took charge on 17th Aug this year that we managed to get a list of those who sailed and those who were lost; I was sad to see your husband's name among them. I met some of my men in Manila, and those who had sailed in that ship confirmed that your husband was unfortunately among the missing.

It is a great sorrow to me that such a valuable member of the Regiment and one who I knew so well should have been lost in this way after surviving the fighting in Hong Kong, where he had, as you would expect, done his job well and thoroughly. It is bad luck too that he should be taken when he was so near to getting his commission which of course he was recommended for.

There seems to have been no need for any casualties in the sinking, as the ship remained afloat for at least 27 hours after it was torpedoed — all the Japs were got off — but our men — particularly the RA were kept battened down in the holds. When eventually some got out it was rather late in the day — even then some were shot by the Japs and when they did start picking them up undoubtedly they intended that all British ranks should go down with the ship — it was only when some started getting clear that they attempted to pick up those still afloat.

If there is anything else I can do for you please let me know,

Yours sincerely

Like all commanding officers at this time, Penfold was kept busy with writing to the families of all the men who had fallen under his command.

Fleet, Hants — 12 December 1945

Dear Mrs Brooks,

Thank you for your letter of 30 Nov — I am sorry not to have answered it before — but I have been away and also got some more “next of kin addresses” from war office that I had to write to.

I am very sorry indeed to hear of your illness — I have no doubt the strain and anxiety have helped to bring it on.²⁶⁴

I feel that the R.A. Prisoners of war fund Artillery House Earl’s Court S.W.5 should be able to help you in your difficulties — write to the secretary — I will also do so.

Mrs Penfold joins me in wishing you the happiest possible Christmas under the circumstances, and we hope that the New Year will be a more fortunate one for you.

Yours Sincerely

PS Let POW fund know full details of your family — how old would your boys be now?

Ron Brooks: “The most important aspect to me is how my father’s death and all the events of that time affected and shortened my mother’s life. Compared with many other people’s war experiences my brother and I were relatively fortunate. Looking back at my mother’s background from provincial Cork, how she married a British soldier and was transported to the relatively exotic locations of Malta and Hong Kong, makes the tragedy more poignant as her life all fell apart and she was left to cope alone with two young boys far from her home and family. She died from TB in 1949.

I think that Geoff was meant to be going to some sort of technical school but I know that my mother was very worried that he was ‘mixing with the wrong sort’. I expect that he was a normal teenager who had had more than a usual few months of freedom from control. On a Travel Identity Card I have for Geoff dated July, 1946 his occupation is given as electrician’s mate.

It was about this time that my mother found that she had tuberculosis of the throat. She was confined to bed and was not allowed to speak. She had to communicate in writing with us. We had to observe strict hygiene taking care not to use the same cutlery, dishes etc. as she did. I really don’t know how she and Geoff managed. There were no

hospital places for her and I don't think any treatment other than bedrest. A nurse came in regularly but I can't remember any domestic help. I was sent off to stay with the family of my Father's elder brother in Fetcham, Surrey. My Uncle Fred and Auntie Em had a son of about eighteen who travelled to work in London each day and a daughter Avril about sixteen. They were very kind to me and I was happy enough at my new school. However, I missed my mother very much. I can remember writing secret letters to her from the local post-office.

I don't know when it was that I returned to Dover. My mother was then allowed out of bed and to speak again. She still had a visiting nurse. It must have been a grim time for Geoff and her. He never spoke to me about it afterwards. My mother had decided to return to Ireland in 1946. Her brother Bertie and his wife Vera offered her a flat they had in a large imposing house they rented in Dublin. My Mother had become very friendly with the nurse who visited her in Dover and she accompanied my mother, brother and I to Dublin. My mother paid for her return fare.

Dublin was a different world, a land of plenty in contrast to the bleak austerity of England. I started school again at the High School, Dublin. This was a fee-paying school but I think I had some sort of a scholarship. I, at long last, was given a bicycle to travel there. Through my Uncle Bertie's contacts, Geoff became an apprentice to be a motor mechanic at a garage in nearby Blackrock. I remember when my mother's father came to Dublin to visit her. They wouldn't have seen each other for about sixteen years. She never went back to Cork where her other two brothers lived.

Strangely, I don't remember my mother having any further treatment for her TB. It was a much feared disease in those days and considered very infectious. We still observed strict culinary hygiene. Although the house was large and imposing it only had one bathroom and the arrangement of our flat on the top floor was not ideal. My Aunt was a chiropodist and ran a business from her surgery on the ground floor. Her mother lived with them and kept house. My mother didn't get on well with her. After less than a year, my mother bought an end of terrace house in a poorer but respectable suburb of Dublin.

I think my mother very much valued her independence but her health was failing. Geoff acquired a motor-bike to enable him to get to work. I was still able to cycle into the High School. Lack of money was quite a problem. I think that she had run through whatever family savings

there were. She advertised in the paper and took in lodgers, mainly bed and breakfast for people visiting Dublin on business. In spite of all this I think the short time we lived in Kimmage as a family were happy months for her. Geoff had settled in well to his apprenticeship and a trade that he enjoyed and I was doing well at school. Through school I had made friends with a family who also befriended and helped my mother and who were to be extremely kind to me.

My mother died in her sleep in September 1949. My mother's youngest brother Arthur was her executor. He and his wife Gladys came up from Cork to sort things out. I went to live for a short time with my Aunt Vera and Uncle Bertie so that I could continue day school. Geoff went to live in a hostel for young men whilst he continued his apprenticeship. This was a very rude shock for him and he soon found digs for himself with a family of undertakers in Dun Laoghaire where he was more settled. He finished his apprenticeship and moved on to London to work. I left the High School and went as a boarder to Mountjoy School in Dublin and spent my holidays with my Uncle Arthur and his family in Cork. My Uncle had a seaside cottage near Roches Point at the mouth of Cork Harbour beneath Fort Carlisle where my father had been stationed in 1927 and where he and my mother had met. I began to learn a little of our family history. I won a scholarship to Trinity College, Dublin where I took a degree in engineering, qualifying in 1956. Margaret, who is from Scotland, was also there studying Social Science. We met and the romance blossomed. I took a job with a consulting engineer in London and we were married in October 1957. We have a family of three children and four grandchildren. Geoff married Jean in 1958. He and Jean have no children. Geoff's asthma caught up with him and he died in 1997."

* * *

And what of the remaining survivors who helped with this book?

Frank Bennett of the Hong Kong Signals Company, thinking back to the POWs landing in Shanghai after the sinking, recalled: "Of all the survivors who finished up on that quay-side, I never came across my nephew, and have never seen him since." Frank had intended signing on for 21 years' service, but whilst a POW, finished his allotted Colour Service and was transferred — without knowing it — to the reserve. He found

himself demobbed at Guildford, issued with a demob suit and a Post Office savings account book worth 410 pounds sterling — his pay accrued during the war years. Learning to become a civvy, Frank joined his two brothers (Maurice had worked nights for four years in the aircraft industry, and George had spent four years in The Pioneers and The Royal Sussex regiment) in their painting business. At this time he discovered that his father had been raised by a maiden aunt called Johnson, and that his real name was Bennett. He changed his surname to the latter by deed poll. "I am still learning to be a civilian", he said, in a letter of May 2004. "I've just about got the hang of it now. Good luck with the book."

Tom 'Taffy' Evans, the despatch rider of the Middlesex regiment, returned to Hong Kong after the war and remarried. He enlisted in Hong Kong's Dock Yard Police as sergeant, later inspector. On the closing of the dockyards, he was transferred to CSOS Police with six others. After marrying again in 1990, he moved to Manila where he still lives at time of writing. He has a son and a daughter. He summed up his experiences very nicely in the last line of a letter dated 30 August 2003: "Anyway, it's all over now. Lucky me."

Wallace Hastings of the Royal Navy did not have an easy time after liberation. Even the surrender ceremony at Hirohata did not go smoothly. As the only two non-Americans in camp, Hastings and Australian Aircraftman William Blackman had had the job of raising the Union Jack:

"I must tell you about the ceremony. On the day, it poured with rain and my flag fouled the lines when half raised, and by tradition this must not be lowered for correction. It took some time to unravel and by the time this was done the Stars and Stripes flew freely and the whole camp was singing the American nation anthem with Bill Blackman and I crying with frustration and the emotion of the moment."

Fortunately, he was luckier with his marriage: "My fiancée Bonny, to whom I had said goodbye in November 1938 was still waiting for me even after seven years apart and we were married in January 1946." On the recommendation of the American CO in Hirohata Camp, he was Mentioned in Dispatches. He stayed in the navy, and in 1948 was stopped while carrying a bottle with his rum issue in it. In those days, this was considered a smuggling offence, and after this run-in with authority Hastings decided to leave the service.

After a few difficult years of self-employment, which he survived "because my dear wife, Bonny has been with me throughout", he worked for local government for twenty years and then bought a newsagents in 1973. This he sold in 1977, buying another in 1979 in a run-down state. Turning the business around finally gave him enough money to retire.

He has one son, in the computer business, who introduced him to the PC ("with his tuition I am beginning to get the better of the beast. My main complaint is that it cannot spell correctly and some of its grammar is appalling") via which we still communicate today.

Alf 'Nobby' Hunt, who was lucky not to have been killed in the fighting of 1941: "I would say that about two hundred of us were on the *Joseph T. Dickman* (APA13) and the rest went to Australia (mostly the stretcher cases and sick people) and some went to Victoria in Canada and got home from Halifax Nova Scotia on the *Ile de France* landing in Southampton on the 4th of November, the day before us. Also there were a few went via India. Don't know how many.

[We left Manila, and via Hawaii, San Francisco, Phoenix, New York Halifax and Southampton, arrived back in the UK in November 1945].

From there, I was sent home on indefinite leave and all my brothers met me at Stratford station. After two months I was taken into a RN hospital at Bristol where I spent four months recuperating and was then discharged from the service as being unfit for military service due to multiple gunshot wounds.

I then spent three months helping out on my sister's farm and there met my future wife who was a land girl in the Women's Land Army. Then I did a refresher electrical course for nine months and joined a large electrical engineering company in Birmingham. There I spent three years working on electrical installations in different parts of the country.

I then joined a medium-sized engineering company, making steel fabrications up to fifty tons in weight, as the works engineer, in charge of maintenance where I stayed until retirement. I then did a three-year night school course learning Japanese.

In 1954, I was made Chairman and Secretary of the Birmingham Association of FEPOW, these offices I still hold. Also, I was Chairman of the Birmingham branch of the Royal Naval Association for a time in the 70s and am now a life member and also represent the Midlands area on the National Federation of FEPOW clubs.

In April [2004], we shall have been married fifty-six years. We have three sons, 54, 46 and 42 and six grandchildren."

Post-war, Alf remembered two Chinese wireless operators named Joe Siong and Charlie Ong who served on HMS *Cicala* with him. "They were both super lads and I had no success when I tried to contact them after the war."

Ross Lynneberg of the Royal New Zealand Naval Reserve, returned to New Zealand on 27 November 1945. "During the early days of our marriage I had no sense of feeling in my feet so when in bed Bernice had to tell me when the hot water bottle was safe to place my feet on it. She also had the worry of shaking me awake, as I would drop into such a deep sleep that my breathing would apparently stop for some time. Along with this problem, there were nightmares revolving around being captured again by the Japanese and the camp life being relived and discussed with other first time POWs — all the time feeling that this time I would not be getting home. These nightmares recurred occasionally for a number of years — then I seemed to grow away from the dreams.

I worked at the Soap Factory till it was later sold and demolished. During that time, with the financial help of my father, I built a shop and set the wife up as a General Draper in the seaside resort where I was building a larger home over the original one, this being necessary as we had a girl and boy.

After the sale of the factory I spent time as an earthmoving contractor, then on my father dying sold the shop and disposed of the earthmoving machinery, purchased a new caravan, having the one built years earlier parked on a leased section on the edge of Lake Taupo, the purpose was to seek out a source of income nearer the lake. First I wasted many months trying unsuccessfully to negotiate the purchase of a pub. Next I purchased a warehouse being built, only to find I was mixed up with smart lawyers and a similar contractor, hence [it took] another four years before recovering our money. During this time, I took a job with a local body while my wife worked at a tourist hotel in the area. The excavation for an underground Power Station was the last station to be built along the Waikato river so I joined the work scheme as a member of the maintenance workshop crew, finally acting as caretaker for the company for several years after the completion of the hydro scheme, then finally full retirement."

Following retirement, Ross made an interesting discovery. During

the Second World War he had been underpaid! The New Zealand pay rate for his rank was higher than the Royal Navy's, so there was an agreement that the Royal Navy would pay the base, and that the New Zealand government would top it up. The New Zealand government indeed paid the top up sum to Ross's father during the years, but due to Ross's paysheet never arriving in Hong Kong (he was advanced HK\$30 when he arrived, pending the paysheet's arrival, but the Japanese victory came too swiftly), he was never paid his due by the Royal Navy.

Ross put in a claim to the British government in 1998, which was declined. At the beginning of 2004, he was still owed 238 pounds and 10 shillings (in 1945 currency).²⁶⁵

James Miller of the Royal Scots, post-war, worked at the Edinburgh Corporation and at Ferranti. He emigrated to Australia in 1956 and worked at the Weapons Research Establishment, spending most of his time in Logistics in Woomera. Miller met his wife-to-be at a party being held for one of his ex-POW friends who just happened to live next door to her parents. They were married two weeks later, and fifty-eight years on [at the time of writing] are still together. Today they have five daughters (Isabella, Patricia, Christine, Janet and Fiona), ten grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren.

Dennis Morley, also of the Royal Scots: "After the war I did several jobs to make up my mind what I wanted to do with my life. I married a wonderful woman and had a daughter. Unfortunately, she died at the young age of thirty years of cancer. I have travelled to Canada six times with my second wife who unfortunately passed away last year. Together we have travelled over most of England. I went to Hong Kong once and I found it very emotional, especially at the War Cemetery. I finally retired about six years ago still going strong at 84 years old." And on my questioning his change of name from Dennis Hickenbottom to Dennis Morley: "The name change worked like this. My full name was Dennis John Morley Hickenbottom. So, it was just a case of knocking off the end bit officially."

William Grant Shepherd of the Royal Navy recalls: "I arrived home [in Scotland] on November 1st 1945 and fairly soon thereafter I realized that life as a POW had left some scars. The full extent of those scars was not realized until I returned to work as a journeyman mechanic in the

plant I left as an apprentice in September of 1940. I soon discovered that my nerves were in terrible shape and I struggled against this condition for the rest of my working life. Thankfully the effects of the condition eventually improved, particularly after I emigrated to Canada in March of 1949, settling in Winnipeg, my home ever since. My first job in Winnipeg was as a machinist in the Canadian National Railways repair shops. I worked here from March 1949 until December 31st 1951. On January 1st 1952 I became a Provincial Civil Servant, having been hired as a Factory Inspector with the Manitoba Government, Department of Labour. In June of 1960, I transferred to another branch of the Department of Labour, becoming an apprenticeship supervisor. I held a number of positions in the apprenticeship division before retiring on March 4th 1982 as acting Director of the Division. Considering my fate during the war years, I feel very lucky to be alive today and to have enjoyed almost 22 years of retirement. Many people have contributed to my ability to do so, none more than my wife and two daughters. My wife Margaret especially, had much to contend with during my days of deep depression. I often wonder what the girls thought when they were young, but I'm sure their mother was a great source of strength for them. Margaret is also a native of Forfar, Scotland and she was brave enough to join me in Winnipeg in April of 1950 solely on the promise of marriage. We were married on July 5th 1950 and are grateful we have smoothed the bumps on the road to matrimonial happiness. During my working career, I have also had patient and understanding supervisors.

I don't think I told you anything about our two daughters. Moira is the elder and was born in Winnipeg in 1953. She and her husband have a son and daughter in that order. Their home has been in Regina since 1982, and both children are in their twenties. Linda is the younger daughter and she too was born in Winnipeg, in 1960. She and her husband have one son who just turned eleven years of age, they live and work in Winnipeg. We are proud of them all — but don't tell them that every day. Honestly though, we have much to be thankful for."

William Spooner of the Royal Scots: "This tale is nearly complete, except that I arrived home, eventually married. We had four children — grandchildren 8, so far, and 3 great-grandchildren, and who sit around, looking bored whenever I mention the war, with expressions that say 'here he goes again'. I have never seen Mick [Myles] again, but have been told that he was thrown out of Hong Kong. I don't know if it was true or

not, but with him it was credible. Micky, a loveable rogue, a con man, a man with many faces, a face that one could trust, yet a calculating face, like 'what's in it for me?' But he saved my life. I owe him fifty-seven years of married life to a good lady, who was taken from us recently. I owe him four children all of whom have been a great solace, help and comfort to me, although grieving themselves, for the loss of a loving wife, mother and grandmother." Today, Spooner lives in Basildon, Essex.

* * *

Of the others whose writings and memories are referred to:

Arthur Aley, who had joined the Royal Scots as a bandsman in May 1933, serving overseas in India (Quetta and Lahore) and Hong Kong before the outbreak of the Second World War, changed units after the war. He stayed in the army, joining the Royal Artillery at Woolwich as a musician. He served there for eighteen months until early 1948. After that, the trail goes cold.

Sam Atkins of the Middlesex (from daughter Barbara Tindle): On 4 September 1945 he was flown to Tokyo and put aboard Hospital boat *Marigold*. Transferred to the British on 5 September, he arrived at Auckland, New Zealand, on 3 October 1945. Leaving Auckland on 20 November 1945, he arrived at Sydney on 23 November and sailed for home on 10 December 1945 aboard the *Aquitania*. "His stay in New Zealand was at a recuperation camp, I believe the powers that be thought they could not send freed prisoners of war home, looking the way they did, so they cared for them and got their weight up to a reasonable level before shipping them home. My father was full of praise for the care and attention he received during his stay in New Zealand."

Sam records his weight on 4 October 1945, one month after liberation, as being 52 kilograms. By the end of October, it had increased to 65 kilograms (between 23 May 1943 to 6 December 1944, his weight had ranged from 52 to 63 kilograms, and towards the end of his captivity, September 1945, it went as low as 43 kilograms). "It surely was a close call when he was liberated, I remember him telling me he was lying on his bed when the Americans came into the camp, and they walked past him twice, thinking he was dead! He certainly was lucky to have survived, as so many did not. His illnesses were also written down, dysentery,

beri-beri, chronic bronchitis, asthma, as well as accidents whilst working on the docks at Kobe.”

He died on 9 January 1992, at the age of seventy-six.

Jim Fallace of the HKRNVR had served in the Royal Marines in the First World War, then spent twelve years in China in the Tientsin Police Force. He moved to Hong Kong in 1939 and joined the HKRNVR. After escaping the *Lisbon Maru* and the Japanese attempts to round up the POWs, he joined the Royal Indian Navy, though did not go to sea again. In 1947, after ten months with the War Crimes Commission in the Far East, he returned to the UK where he was presented with the Royal Human Society Medal for saving the life of Cadet Laloe when the *Lisbon Maru* sank. Post-war he became a pub landlord, but served the Royal Marines again as a steward in the Officers' Mess from 1956 until he retired in 1972 at the age of sixty-nine. Following 'retirement' he worked at the 'Ship' public house in Deal, Kent. He passed away in Deal in 1998.

Geoffrey Hamilton of the HKVDC and Royal Scots, returned to the UK on the *Empress of Australia* together with several old friends including Chris Man and Martin Weedon. One of the first things he did when he arrived was write to a friend, Frau Anneliese Goerdeler in Germany, and like many returning Far Eastern POWs he discovered that the war in Europe had taken its toll too, of friend and foe alike.

Pre-war, Hamilton had stayed with the family of Dr Karl Goerdeler (Lord Mayor of Leipzig and Reichskommissar of price supervision) for four months, and Goerdeler's son Christian stayed with his parents. Christian had been killed on the Eastern Front in 1943, and Dr Karl Goerdeler — as one of the leaders of the July 1944 bomb plot to kill Hitler — was murdered by the Nazis. Frau Goerdeler and their other four children spent the remainder of the war in concentration camps.

Frau Goerdeler replied: “My dear Geoffrey ... After July 20th 1944 Marianne and I were arrested in Leipzig, Nina and my daughter-in-law (wife of Ulrich) here on the farm, Ulrich on an airport of the Lueneburger Heide and Reinhard at the Italian theatre. For months all of us were in jails and afterwards in different concentration camps ... My husband and his youngest brother Fritz of Koenigsberg whom you also know were murdered on February 2nd and March 1st 1945 after a long time of martyrdom. Then we had to seek the two little sons of Ulrich who were displaced by the Gestapo under another name. At last we found

them in the Harz Mountains. It is very kind of your parents, dear Geoffrey, that they will take one of the boys to their home. But they are still very little ..."

Dan O'Hanlon of the Royal Navy (from Alf Hunt in 2004): "Danny stayed in the navy until he was forty and then he emigrated to South Africa and joined the South African navy. He learned Afrikaans and finished up at the age of sixty-five as a Commander in charge of all their radar. He died two years ago and I still communicate with Pat his widow who lives in Capetown. He had two sons who were both Lieutenant Commanders in the South African navy."

Hargreaves Howell of the RASC (from daughter Adrienne): "After the war he was working for a company dealing with timber — if I remember lately and towards the end of his life, he worked for a stock broking company. He was a dedicated member of the Hong Kong Kennel Club and arranged many dog shows and also Secretary of the Hong Kong Society of Prevention to Cruelty to animals, the result of which we had many exotic animals living in our house from time to time! He died of a stroke on 27th August 1966 on the way to Kai Tak airport where he was taking a puppy to be shipped to England. My mother, Carolyn Howell is perhaps better known by her professional name Carol Bateman under which she ran a ballet school in the Helena May for many years. I was born on 2nd October 1952 and adopted by my parents in 1957."

John Inglis of the Royal Artillery worked in the Manchester area as an instrument mechanic after the war. He was married in 1946 and had a son and a daughter. Suffering from respiratory problems, he was advised to get out of the city, and thus in 1954 gained employment at the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority at Windscale, Cumbria. In 1961 he was transferred to British Nuclear Fuels Limited. He retired in 1980, aged sixty-three, and died suddenly on 26 June 1986.

William Poulter of the Middlesex Regiment was repatriated to England to be reunited with his wife Dorothy (Doff) and son Robin who had already returned there by sea after two years in Australia, not knowing if he was alive or dead.

When Bill finished his service in the Army, he was employed as a telephone operator by the Post Office. Another son, Christopher, was

born in June 1947. Robin eventually joined the Royal Navy and Christopher, the Royal Air Force.

Four months after his sixty-fourth birthday Bill died of a massive heart attack on 31 July 1973. Doff died of cancer on 1 May 1994.

Andrew Salmon of the Royal Artillery returned to Hong Kong, left the Royal Artillery, and started a career with the Hong Kong Prison Service in 1949. There he had an interesting experience. At Stanley jail he immediately recognized a Japanese man, growing vegetables quietly and humbly in the prison farm. It was the 'beast of Shamshuipo'.

"I think actually he had expected to be sentenced to death. Now here was this man who I had seen slap and beat my fellow prisoners, on the other side of the fence. But he was very different, he would have got down on his knees and polished your shoes if you had asked him. He was just the opposite of how I remembered him during the war. We didn't take any liberties with them but that wasn't to say we didn't feel like doing so."

The skipper of the *Lisbon Maru* was also among the group of about forty Japanese war criminals imprisoned in Stanley, but all of the Japanese prisoners were repatriated a few months after Mr Salmon arrived back in Hong Kong.²⁶⁶

Martin Weedon of the Middlesex (from his son Mark): "Martin had been at Harrow and Sandhurst (with Tony Hewitt and Chris Man, of the same Regiment) before joining the Middlesex. He and his wife Liz divorced shortly after the war. Both had become rather different people; for example, Liz couldn't tolerate Martin carrying his camp commandant's samurai sword about (clinging to his possessions, as many ex-POWs did), and both had had 1941 wartime affairs. Martin then married Jean Leslie (a friend of Liz's, both being in the Wrens), and Elizabeth remarried in 1949. Her new husband was Tony Hewitt, previously adjutant of the 1st Battalion the Middlesex regiment, who had successfully escaped from Sham Shui Po with two others.²⁶⁷

After the war, Martin left the Army, qualified as a barrister, and worked as a Legal Advisor to William Cory (a coal mining concern), then the Rhodesian Selection Trust (also mining, in Lusaka, then Salisbury). Later, he went into education as Clerk to the Governors of the Greycoat Foundation (as a super-bursar to six schools, to one of which — Queen Anne's, Caversham, both his granddaughters went).

With his new wife, he had a son Christopher (now a chartered surveyor in Somerset) and a daughter Susan (now living in Australia) both of whom also had their own children. Jean, at time of writing, is 82 and living in Wincanton. Liz and Tony are also still around, and living in Buderim, Queensland, Australia.

Retiring aged 60, in poor health, Martin Weedon died just two years later. Prison camp had taken a lot out of him (as it did others).²⁶⁸

Reg Westwood of the Royal Engineers (from Alf Hunt): "After liberation we got split up, he came home on I think the *Ile de France* and got in to Southampton just before us. We kept in touch after the war and met at several reunions, firstly at the Royal Albert Hall and then the Festival Hall. He married Joyce in 1951 and they emigrated to Canada in 1957 where he worked as a Dock superintendent. From there, he moved on to North Battleford where he was chief engineer at a large hospital complex. He retired to Westbank, near Kelowna and lived there until last year. My wife and I have been over to see them on several occasions, we helped them move house and lay out their garden on their last move. Like us, they had three sons and Roger their oldest is now a Rear Admiral in charge of shipbuilding for the Canadian navy. After Reg died, Joyce moved to Chilliwack in BC where she now lives. I regularly communicate to her by email."

Alf Taylor of the Hong Kong Signals Company (from friend Marjorie Bray):²⁶⁹ "Alf was over ten years older than [my husband], so we think he must have been born around the First World War. He married a daughter of Dr. Atienza (I think after the Second World War). They had a daughter, and mother and daughter went to live in England, leaving Alf in Hong Kong, working as a Land Bailiff with the New Territories Administration. Marie Atienza [his wife's adoptive aunt] was fond of Alf and spent a lot of time with him. Marie had a retirement house on Cheung Chau and I think Alf lived there for a while. Later Austin Coates²⁷⁰ rented it from her in the seventies."

Robert Wright of the Middlesex retired to Yorkshire and wrote his account of his experiences, *I was a Hell Camp Prisoner*, in 1964.

From the USS *Grouper*:

Rob Roy McGregor was awarded the Silver Star "For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in action as Commanding Officer of the USS GROUPEL during a patrol in enemy Japanese controlled waters from August 22, to October 20, 1942 ... Daringly pressing home attacks on Japanese shipping, Lieutenant Commander McGregor, with great courage and aggressiveness, maneuvered the GROUPEL in hostile waters, sinking two enemy merchantmen totalling 12,000 tons, and damaging one ship of 4,000 tons. Despite Japanese counter efforts of depth charges by surface and aircraft, he handled his vessel with such outstanding skill and excellent judgement that he was able to bring her through without damage and his crew home without injury ..."

Leaving *Grouper* in March 1943, he took command of *Seacat* (SS-399) in July 1944, and of Submarine Division 202 as from January 1945. He stayed in the navy post-war, with a number of significant desk and sea jobs, the final one (before retirement to Coronado, California, as a Rear Admiral) being command of Destroyer Squadron 5.

Married in Manila in 1940 to Mary Elizabeth Osborne, they had three children, Rob Roy Jr., Mary Cameron, and Allison Gay.

John Denning Mason served six further war patrols in *Grouper* before becoming Executive Officer and Navigator of USS *Bugara* (SS-331). Staying with submarines post-war, he held numerous positions, including command of the experimental vessel USS *Baya*, and of Submarine Division 81 from 1954–55. After a posting to Gosport, England, he became Chief of Staff and Aide to Commander Submarine Force, Atlantic Fleet in 1964.

Married to Margaret B. Ross of Norwich, Connecticut in March 1941, they had three children: Harrison D. Mason III, Ross M. Mason, and Matthew C. Mason.

Robert Hamilton Close served three further war patrols in *Grouper*. He was awarded the Bronze Star Medal with Combat 'V' for "outstanding heroism in the line of his profession during the Second and Third War Patrols of the USS GROUPEL in which two large and one medium-size cargo ships were sunk and two medium-sized cargo vessels were damaged. As Division Officer and Engineer Officer he distinguished himself during each action by his skill and exemplary coolness, and rendered inestimable assistance to his commanding officer ..."

From December 1943 until October 1944, he commanded USS *Pilotfish*. He stayed with submarines until the end of the war, and then after a period with a training unit took command of USS *Collett* (DD-734) in the Korean War (being again decorated for action at Inchon). After Korea, he took postings in the Philippines (at the Pacific Defense College, Baguio) and Thailand.

He married Virginia M. Lent of Bremerton, Washington, and they had three children: Marian Harriet, Stephen Lent, and Daniel Edward Close.

Edward Rowell Holt left *Grouper* in October 1943 and joined USS *Baya*. In February 1945 he was assigned to USS *Sealion* which was awarded a Presidential Unit Citation. Interestingly, in light of the *Lisbon Maru* experience, that citation reads in part, "Daring and skilled in carrying the fight to the enemy, the SEALION also braved the perils of a tropical typhoon to rescue fifty-four British and Australian prisoners of war, survivors of a hostile transport ship torpedoed and sunk while enroute from Singapore to the Japanese Empire."

Married to Mary Herndon Davis, he lost his life, as related above, in USS *Bullhead*.

* * *

Many of the *Lisbon Maru's* survivors returned to Hong Kong. They had not forgotten the kindness of the Chinese fishermen who had rescued so many, and who in doing so probably encouraged the Japanese to pick up the remainder of those who survived. Major General Chris Man started a fund among the survivors for the Chinese people who had saved their lives. In February 1949, the governor of Hong Kong presented Mr Woo Tung-ling and other islanders a motor fishing launch and some funds. Thirteen *Lisbon Maru* survivors were there that day.

Taffy Evans: "After the war, in February 1949, Captain 'Micky' Man MC (later Major-General) organized a fund among the survivors as a token of gratitude. We held a party at Queen's Pier, Hong Kong. Present were, His Excellency the Governor, Micky Man, Hargreaves Miles Howell MBE, Geoffrey Hamilton, Frank Kekewick Garton, J. Hill, Andy Salmon, William Taylor, William Johnstone who escaped from the island, Thomas Gorman, myself Tom Evans, James Robson, J. McDougall, A. Woodhead, and J. Campbell."²⁷¹

Many men received recognition for the services they had performed during the war. Three examples will suffice. Howell was made a Member of the British Empire (MBE) for his role in breaking out of the holds. Lieutenant Norman Brownlow of the Royal Scots was also awarded the MBE, for rescuing men trying to clamber ashore at the islands. RPO Bernard Charles Lilley of HMS *Tamar* was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal (DSM): *London Gazette*, 2 July 1946: "For distinguished service during the Defence of Hong Kong and whilst a prisoner of war in enemy hands." The following information was supplied by the recipient's family: "Following the fall of Hong Kong, R.P.O. Lilly [sic] led a party of sailors into the hills and held out for nearly four weeks before being captured. En-route to Japan as a P.O.W. the ship was torpedoed and badly damaged by an American submarine. Whilst working as a P.O.W. in Japan he had to rely on food thrown to him by passers-by."²⁷²

* * *

And what of the families of the other nine of the ten men we watched drift out to sea, never to be seen again, on 2 October 1942?

William Arthur Barlow has defied all attempts to uncover his roots. A group based in Jacksdale, Nottingham, UK, researched their village war memorial and discovered that one of their men, Warrant Officer Class 2 Barlow, had lost his life on the *Lisbon Maru*. They found the newspaper articles quoted in this text, but have not yet been successful in tracing any of his relatives. His details are included in a special Book of Remembrance presented to their village church, St Mary's Westwood, on 19 July 2003.²⁷³

William James L. Boyes's entire set of medals (1939–45 and Pacific Stars, War Medal) — unnamed as issued, but with a named Condolence Certificate and box of issue, addressed to his wife in Plympton, Devon was put up for sale by Toad Hall Medals, Newton Ferrers, near Plymouth in November 2003 for £145. What happened between his death, and the sale of his medals sixty-one years later, has evaded amateur sleuthing techniques.

Sidney Charles's wife, Alice, and son, David carried on as best they could without him. But then tragedy struck again; David was accidentally killed — then aged thirteen — along with some sixteen other Royal Marine

cadets, when a lorry ploughed into their marching column. Alice would never recover from the double blow.

Thomas Hamill was well remembered by his two brothers and seven sisters. His niece, Mary Barker: "I always remembered mum (Janet) and her sisters talking about Uncle Tommy, what a lovely brother he was, and how he died during the war, having been taken a prisoner of war on the *Lisbon Maru*. Sunk by the Americans. The only other bit of folklore I remember was from one of his mates who was from Tayport, and on the *Lisbon Maru* — that they were swimming for their lives, and sharks surrounding them. No idea who the other man was, or how he survived and my uncle didn't."

Andrew Flett would never go home to his wife Isabella, and his four children Ian, Joseph, Alec, and Isobel at their home, Glenelg, Queen Street, Lossiemouth. He would never return to his peacetime occupation, fishing as skipper of the *Plough*. Today, although his bones lie on an unmarked seabed thousands of miles away, he has a gravestone in Lossiemouth. "Sacred to the memory of Andrew Flett who was lost off S.S. *Lisbon Maru* while a prisoner of war in the Far East on 2nd October 1942 aged 44 years. Beloved husband of Isabella Murray. Also their son Joseph M. Flett who died 14th October 1939 aged 16 years. And the said Isabella Flett who died 23rd July 1996 aged 98 years."²⁷⁴

Ronald Langley-Bates had three children (Douglas, born 1930, Derek, 1932, and Denise, 1933), who with the advent of war were evacuated with his wife to Australia. Kathleen at first believed the war would soon end and they would be reunited. She never recovered from his death and never went back to England. Like many other Hong Kong widows in Australia, she made a new life for herself and her family thousands of miles away from her original home. She died in 1999 at the age of ninety-one, having worked like a slave to send her three children to good schools, and having finally achieved her ambition of owning her own home at the age of seventy-one.

Her son Douglas remembers: "We went from Hong Kong to the Philippines, being billeted with Americans on a sugar plantation at Carmen del Pampanga for a short while. They were very friendly; mother kept in touch for many years. As the Japanese approached, we were sent on to Melbourne, Australia on the *Johan de Witt*.

Our first 'home' was an old guesthouse 'The Fernery' in Frankston. While there, us children went to the local state schools. Mother then joined forces with another evacuee to rent a big house in a prime location on top of Oliver's Hill overlooking the bay.

She was offered it for 2,000 pounds but did not buy it as we would return to HK one day after the war. The land was later subdivided, and the house sold for \$AU500,000. The house is still there today.

After receiving the news of father's death, mother decided on a long stay in Australia until after the war. We moved to a guesthouse in St Kilda and she got two jobs, one as a clerk in the Lost Property section of the Railways and one as a waitress. She was well known in the railways as one who did her job efficiently and honestly, and willing to help others. She worked there for thirty or more years and became a surrogate mother to many of the junior staff.

She saved money and sent us three children to private schools. Both boys went to Trinity Grammar School. As she really did not have a great deal of money, she dressed in her best outfit and went to see the headmaster. She told him her story which touched him so much she was given half fees for her two sons.

Then the guesthouse was sold and she needed to find another home. While looking around, she saw some people moving out of a basement flat in St Kilda near the beach. She rushed back to the guesthouse, quickly packed all the belongings, got a taxi to take her to the flat, moved in and squatted there. The agent was furious and sent for the owner.

I was at boarding school but coming home for the weekend. When I arrived, I found I knew the owner as I was taking his daughter out. Mother told him that if he evicted her she would go to the daily papers with the story of a British war widow with three children callously thrown out into the street. He calmed down and said mother could stay.

The flat consisted of a single room, about 20 feet by 24 in a basement. It was divided at one end into two cubicles. One held a table and small tabletop oven/hotplate, the other a bed. The toilet/bathroom were outside down a passage. It was cold and damp but she made it a home.

From there, as things improved, she took the family to a much better flat in Elwood. She was always struggling for money and could not afford carpet so she bought some carpet under felt to keep the place warmer. I can remember bringing a friend home from University, came from well-off family. Very amused by the under felt.

She supported her children to the limit. Attended all our events — sports meetings, concerts, etc. Came to watch me play lacrosse for my University and helped with the afternoon tea. I will never forget how proud she was as she attended the presentation of my Master's Degree.

But one of her major ambitions was the home, and she finally achieved it. A three-bedroom house with a garden she turned into a real English beauty — roses, camellias, a magnolia, and a pond with goldfish. She was passionate about it. She lived there with my brother Derek who never married.

After she retired and grew older, her health deteriorated — she suffered from atrial fibrillation, hiatus hernia, asthma and severe arthritis. The final blow occurred when my brother died before her. She had never considered it and was shattered. She never adjusted, would go into his room and say 'good morning' and 'goodnight' as if he was still there. Put a fresh flower in there every day.

She had an army of friends from all over. At her funeral, as well as family and friends, we saw ex-workmates, her doctor, dentist, podiatrist and many neighbours."

Percy Albert George Robinson's father had spent nearly two years and five months in hospital as a POW in the Great War, finally being repatriated to England on 7 January 1919. No doubt he held out hope for his son for many months. But there was to be no repatriation this time; his mother and father, in Dagenham, Essex, would wait in vain.

When **Frederick Stanford** was in the camp in Hong Kong, his family's Amah would sneak up to the fences and pass food through to him and his best friend James Clark. When the *Lisbon Maru* was torpedoed, they ended up in the water together. All that Jim Clark ever told Stanford's family was that he was with him one minute, and the next he had drifted away, never to be seen again.

Jim himself endured three years in Japanese camps as a prisoner working in the docks. After the war, and liberation, he found that his wife had died. He then searched for his two sons, whom he found in Australia. He returned to England where he met up with Stanford's wife Alice. They eventually married. They were two people who as friends had shared a common loss, both victims of the war, who found solace in each other. If not deep love, they did at least enjoy many years of companionship until Jim died of cancer in 1973 just after retirement as

Chief Commissionaire at the Industrial Design Centre in the Haymarket. Jim was a quiet, tall, strong accented Scot, dour, but with a heart of pure gold. Although he would never talk about his experiences, his nose (broken by rifle butts three times) and his back were heavily scarred. He always smoked the thinnest roll-up cigarettes, a legacy of his time in the camps when such luxuries were scarce and had to be made to last. He would often chastise Stanford's grandchildren (kindly) for using more than two squares of toilet paper, telling them that it should not be wasted.

George Trinder would never even see his third child, Charles. His pregnant wife, Lena Emily, and his two sons, Bernard and George had been evacuated from Hong Kong in July 1940 to Manila, where Charles was born later in the month. Like the other evacuated families, they were then transferred to Australia. Lena died in 1953 when Bernie was twenty and his brothers George, seventeen, and Charles, thirteen. The three boys, as soon as they were old enough, joined the Royal Australian Navy. Bernie trained as an Aircraft Engineer while in the Navy and joined Qantas in January 1958, continuing to work there until his retirement in 1993.

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As for the Japanese: The cruel and unpopular Japanese Interpreter **Niimori Genichiro** was tried in Hong Kong in September 1946 before a war crimes tribunal. He was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. Expecting the death sentence, witnesses claim that he danced for joy.

Kyoda Shigeru, Master of the *Lisbon Maru*, was brought before a court in October 1946, and sentenced to seven years (see appendix), but Lieutenant **Wada Hideo** died before he could be brought to trial.

* * *

The submarine *Grouper* survived the war too. Her third patrol, the next after that which led to the loss of the *Lisbon Maru*, lasted from 12 November to the last day of 1942. It was a patrol to Brisbane, Australia, but on the way (on 17 December) she sank the Japanese troop ship *Bandoeng Maru*, which was on its way to bring reinforcements to the Japanese positions in the Solomon Islands.

On her following patrol, from 18 January to 21 March 1943, *Grouper* returned to the Solomons. There, her crew rescued an airman who had

spent several days stranded on Rengi Island. Patrols five to eight produced no concrete results in terms of sinkings, though several targets were attacked. However, during these four patrols, *Grouper* rescued another airman, this time on New Britain, and also landed a force of fifty men and all their equipment, who were tasked with waging war behind Japanese lines there. After her eighth patrol, *Grouper* returned to the United States for a much needed overhaul. She berthed at San Francisco on 19 October 1943.

Grouper made four more war patrols before the Japanese surrender brought the war to an end. On the ninth war patrol, starting 22 May, *Grouper* made her last kill of the conflict; in a night surface attack on 24 June she sank the *Kumanoyama Maru*. On her last overhaul, after the twelfth patrol, COMSUBPAC modified her SV air-search radar for periscope mounting and operation at shallow submergence, as a prelude to her expected role in the invasion of Japan. Exactly one month after the plutonium bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, on 9 September 1945, *Grouper* sailed from Pearl Harbour to New London together with submarines *Toro* and *Blackfish*. For the next four years she undertook exercises in the seas around New London, Florida, and the Caribbean. But the *Grouper* had been earmarked as something special in the US Navy's submarine portfolio. A year after the end of the Second World War she became the first American submarine to have a Combat Information Centre installed, and, in 1947, she carried out the first egress and ingress of crewmen from a submerged and underway submarine.

On 5 March 1950, *Grouper* returned to the Mare Island Ship Yard for conversion to become the US Navy's first hunter-killer submarine. Her number was therefore changed from SS-214 to SSK-214 on 2 January 1951. Some six months later *Grouper* emerged from Mare Island equipped with the latest electronic warfare equipment (including radar and sonar) and a snorkel. Attached to Submarine Development Group 2, *Grouper* spent the next eight pioneering many of the submarine versus submarine concepts that would define future hunter-killer antisubmarine warfare. She sailed all over the Atlantic Ocean, taking part in US Navy and NATO exercises from Florida to Scotland.

Recognized as an elite boat, *Grouper* was awarded the Battle Efficiency 'E' rating in 1964. In November 1965, she had her final overhaul, and had various items of equipment updated to prolong her life as a floating underwater sound laboratory. She returned to the Caribbean in mid-1966 for intensive research, again making the Atlantic her home and

sailing to Narragansett Bay and Bermuda. At the beginning of 1967, she was at New London resuming research into underwater sound propagation. Finally, her sleek shape looking completely different from the *Gato*-class boat that had been launched nearly thirty years earlier, *Grouper* was decommissioned on 2 December 1968 and sold for scrap on 11 August 1970.²⁷⁵

But **Groton, Connecticut**, the American city where the *Grouper* was born, survived and thrived, and holds a dirty little secret of its own.

Home to privateers during the American War of Independence, it became a thorn in the side of British forces. In September 1781, guided to the site by Benedict Arnold, some 800 British regular forces and colonial loyalists attacked the 150 volunteers holding Fort Griswold on the heights outside the town.

It was an unusually fierce battle. The defences were strong, and the defenders determined, but the British troops were disciplined and experienced. Knowing he was beaten, the commander of the defenders gave up his sword in surrender. Eyewitnesses claim that he was then killed with it, and that the British attackers then massacred the other survivors. Before this, the eyewitnesses claim, less than ten defenders had been killed. However, when the fighting ceased it was found that eighty of the garrison lay dead and mutilated and more than half of the remainder were severely wounded.²⁷⁶

* * *

Hong Kong survives, of course, though the majority of the built-up areas are totally unrecognizable to anyone who was here in 1941. But every now and then, on a remote hillside or the corner of a forgotten alley, reminders of the fighting can still be found; a corroded cartridge case here, the marks of shrapnel or bullets on a stone wall there. Stanley and Sai Wan have their war cemeteries; quiet, beautiful places now, though the Stanley cemetery had itself been a battlefield on the last day of the fighting. Tourists pass through today, looking at the headstones and butterflies, pausing sometimes to read an inscription. There is as yet no memorial to the *Lisbon Maru* in Hong Kong,²⁷⁷ despite the fact that her loss was so devastating to so many of the population.

The *Lisbon Maru* is, for the moment, still lying where she sank in the East China Sea. Tired businessmen, flying from Shanghai's stylish new Pudong Airport to Hong Kong on the regular Hong Kong Dragon Airways

(Dragonair) Airbus service, unknowingly fly right over her. The UK Hydrographics Office (Wrecks Section) lists her as lying at a depth of fifty-two metres, at latitude 29 57'.000 N, longitude 122 56'.000. But according to the islanders she lies further north, in considerably shallower water of twenty-seven metres; not exactly Full Fathom Five, but still in easy diving depth. Being so far outside UK waters²⁷⁸ the wreck is not protected, though by definition she is a war grave. But these are busy waters; she may not lie undisturbed forever.

While writing this book, I was contacted by some of the inhabitants of the Zhoushan Archipelago. They are more interested in the *Lisbon Maru* than I had ever guessed. They say that the Chinese Navy dived on the ship in the 1950s, and that a father and son followed in the 1990s — with the son losing his life in the process. Now they want to set up a museum or memorial park, and there are persistent rumours that some elements even wish to raise the wreck. An earlier dive raised the helm, they say, and they want to follow this with a film on the subject.

As for those who were on board, well, in 1990 when I started collecting notes for what would eventually become this book there were probably one hundred survivors still around. When I started serious work on it in 2003, I knew of just eight. By March of that year, that group had been whittled down to seven; by July, I knew of only six. Then, to my surprise, over the next eighteen months five more turned up out of the blue.

Two of those five, Signalmen Maynard Skinner and James Dignan, passed through Hong Kong in mid-2005 while this work was being copy-edited. I met them in their hotel. "While I was in the water", said Skinner, "resigning myself to death, some words from *The Tempest* were running through my mind: 'Full Fathom Five ...' ". I could not have been more astonished. We recited the remainder together.

* * *

One never knows. The Internet is a wonderful thing, and for at least the next few years there is still a chance that I might receive one or two more emails with the goose-pimple-raising sign-off, "and by the way, I was on the *Lisbon Maru*."

Tony Banham
Hong Kong
2006

Notes

1. A second photo was taken fifteen minutes later but is now missing from the War Crime Trials papers at the PRO. Examination of a poor quality copy at Hong Kong University Library shows that it was taken at the same angle, with most of the vessel abaft the funnel now submerged. A few heads can just be made out lining the bows.
- 2 In 1942, Bennett was known as Lance Corporal Frank 'Johnny' Johnson.
- 3 Née Redwood.
- 4 *Not the Slightest Chance: The Defence of Hong Kong, 1941*, Hong Kong University Press, 2003.
- 5 Sadly, there were other non-British friendly fire disasters on an even bigger scale. Four months earlier, on 22 June, 1,053 Australians being transferred from Rabaul to Hainan Dao had lost their lives when the *Montevideo Maru* was sunk by USS *Sturgeon*. The *Tango Maru*, on 24 February 1944, was sunk by USS *Rasher* with the loss of 3,000 Indonesian labourers. Over 1,000 Indonesians were also lost on the *Koshu Maru* later that year, with a similar number of Allied POWs of various nationalities being lost on the *Rakuyo Maru* in June, the *Hofuku Maru* in September, and the *Arisan Maru* in October 1944. However, the single largest loss of life was on board the *Junyo Maru*, with 5,620 Indonesians losing their lives when she was sunk by the British submarine HMS *Tradewind* on 17 September 1944.
- 6 There were six such transportations from Hong Kong to Japan in total. All arrived safely except the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 7 See Appendix 2: The History of the List of the Men on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 8 Goat Island, in San Francisco Bay, is now better known as Yerba Buena.
- 9 Based at Pearl Harbour from 1931–1939, USS S-28 (the S boats did not have names) then transferred to San Diego, California. On 7 December 1941, the boat, then a unit of SubDiv 41, was being overhauled at the Mare Island Navy Yard. This work was completed by 22 January 1942, and she returned to her San Diego base to resume her pre-war training duties for the

- Underwater Sound Training School. The S-28 (SS-133), under her new skipper Commander J. G. Campbell — who had been on board less than a month in this, his first command — was finally lost in 1944 while conducting torpedo exercises with the Coast Guard cutter *Reliance*. The precise cause of the boat's loss was never determined.
- 10 Confusion is often caused by the fact that Pearl Harbour was attacked on 7 December, while Hong Kong, Malaysia, and the Philippines were attacked on 8 December. This is simply an artefact of the positioning of the International Date Line just east of New Zealand (i.e. between Hawaii and Southeast Asia). These attacks, therefore, were in fact almost simultaneous.
 - 11 Some women found positions with the Essential Services at the last minute, thus avoiding the evacuation, and regretted at leisure in Stanley Internment Camp. Others, though considering themselves 100 percent British, were declared 'Eurasian' and rejected by Australia.
 - 12 See photo, 'The Brooks family before the war'.
 - 13 The Crown Colony of Hong Kong consisted of part of the Chinese mainland (the built-up area of Kowloon, plus the New Territories to the north), various outlying islands, and Hong Kong Island itself lying immediately south of Kowloon.
 - 14 Despite the 'Redoubt' label, the position was no more than a handful of sparsely occupied pillboxes and shelters linked by concrete tunnels and open-air passages.
 - 15 Hunt had six brothers and one older sister. Five of the brothers were old enough to see service in the Second World War. Two were pilots in the RAF, one flew Supermarine Seafires in the Fleet Air Arm, one more was in the Royal Navy, and the last served in the 8th Army in North Africa and the Italian campaign. Remarkably, all survived hostilities.
 - 16 The skipper, first lieutenant, and engine room P.O. were John Baxter Colls, George Spedding McGill, and Thomas Elliot respectively. All were lost.
 - 17 Alf's adventures did not stop there. On 23 December, a large shell came over from the island and demolished the house next door to where he and two other survivors from the MTB were held. They were covered with plaster and rubble and several of the Japanese were killed. Alf was put on an old wooden door and taken to Argyle Street "to meet up with about thirty lads that had been captured". He had no medication or bandages for his wounds but they healed up well. In Argyle Street an American doctor took a bullet from his arm and one from his leg using a razor blade. After about three weeks the men were transferred to Sham Shui Po camp.
 - 18 *Tern* was a Bird Class River Gunboat built by Yarrow in 1927. *Cicala* was an Aphis Class River Gunboat built by Barclay Curle in 1916.
 - 19 Shepherd was moved to Queen Mary's Hospital on 23 December for surgery to remove a bullet from his upper thigh. While this surgery was not serious, it led to a spinal infection that took longer to recover from.

- 20 St Albert's was at the site now occupied by 43 Stubbs Road. Morley adds: "I was admitted to St Albert's Hospital after the Mount Nicholson episode [where he had fought with HQ Company 2nd Royal Scots on the west side of Wong Nai Chung Gap] suffering from what was supposed to be malaria. On looking back with a clear mind I am sure it [was what's] now called battle fatigue, as I was on the go from day one."
- 21 Presumably 'kurosei': 'kill them'.
- 22 The officer had been brought in from the battlefield by Peter Allain, Royal Rifles of Canada, and a British soldier (thanks to Michael Palmer for this detail). Sister Mary Currie is credited with both following the tradition of wrapping the body in a Japanese flag, and ensuring that the Japanese entering the hospital were made aware of this; they thus spared the hospital's occupants. She was awarded the Royal Red Cross medal.
- 23 Lieutenant Peter Grounds died and was buried in the gardens of the hotel, outside the pantry. His body could not be identified after the war. The original hotel was knocked down in 1982, but the garage is still there and is in use to this day.
- 24 Hamilton's diaries are held by the Imperial War Museum in London. All quotes in this work are from that document and his published booklet "The Sinking The Of [sic] *Lisbon Maru*".
- 25 CQMS Tierney had been badly wounded in a Japanese bombing attack near Wanchai Gap just after the surrender. He died on 27 December at the Hong Kong Hotel on Pedder Street, which was then being used as an emergency hospital. Today the site is occupied by The Landmark.
- 26 This number includes all units engaged in the defence, including the police, who were sworn in as militia, and nurses (who often found themselves on the frontline and also suffered casualties).
- 27 The author, Sergeant Tom Marsh, survived the march, despite having been shot through the head. He also survived the war, having been on the next draft to Japan after the *Lisbon Maru*. This quote comes from a full-length manuscript held by his son.
- 28 Although the term is not widely used today, in 1941 'Victoria' was regarded as the capital of the Colony. In the twenty-first century, the part of town roughly corresponding to that area is known as Central.
- 29 Carew, in *Hostages to Fortune*, page 116, maintains that Wigzell died of diphtheria onboard the *Lisbon Maru* before the sinking. The internal files of the CWGC even claim he was buried at Argyle Street in September 1942. However, their official records state he was lost when the vessel sank and has no known grave.
- 30 The Jubilee Block was a large two-storey complex originally built to house officers. While North Point camp was originally a hastily constructed refugee camp finished in 1938, Sham Shui Po had been a purpose-built barracks and offered a much better standard of building.

- 31 The author, James Bertram, was a newspaper reporter from New Zealand, who had volunteered at the last minute for service with the HKVDC and fought in the defence of Stanley. Bertram was spared the *Lisbon Maru*, but was on a later transportation to Japan. This quote is from his book, *The Shadow of War*.
- 32 A strip of cloth wound around the lower leg.
- 33 Ma Tau Chong camp was on the south side of Argyle Street, Kowloon.
- 34 In fact, the period as militia only lasted three days. After that, at their own request, they officially became ordinary police again. However, those police captured during their period as militia ended up in Sham Shui Po with the regular POWs.
- 35 As noted, the majority of British wives and children had been ordered to evacuate to the safety of Australia. However, a number had chosen to find 'essential' work in Hong Kong instead and had stayed. Evacuation was not offered to wives and children who were not recognized as 'British'.
- 36 Nurse Mary Hope Goodban was wife of Private Gerald Archer Goodban, HKVDC, headmaster of the Diocesan Boys School. Son Nicholas had been born in December 1941, shortly after the Japanese invasion, at Queen Mary's Hospital. This quote is from *At the Going Down of the Sun* by Oliver Lindsay. Selwyn-Clarke was Hong Kong's Director of Medical Services.
- 37 Official letters relating to Brooks of the Royal Artillery, and Atkins of the Middlesex Regiment will be used as examples throughout this book, though hundreds of other families received almost identical communications.
- 38 British POWs who had been held temporarily in North Point had already been sent to Sham Shui Po. Etienne notes, for example, arriving at Sham Shui Po camp after it had been cleaned up: "The entire barracks at Sham Shui Po had been completely ransacked. On arrival from North Point we were put into rooms which I suppose could be classed as liveable conditions."
- 39 A number of men reported seeing these decomposing remains. However, it seems more than likely that they were Indian soldiers of the 5/7th Rajputs whose bodies had been thrown into the sea by the Japanese.
- 40 Some claim that the impostor was Marine Eric Horsley, who in fact perished on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 41 These POWs would move to Sham Shui Po following the departure of the *Lisbon Maru* draft. Interestingly, many of the Canadians had arrived in Hong Kong on board the *Awatea* that had evacuated so many women and children from Hong Kong. The ship, a famous liner in her day, would be sunk by bombing off Algeria in 1942.
- 42 Captain Botelho, quoted, commanded 6th Company HKVDC. Botelho stayed in Hong Kong POW camps until the end of the war. This quote appears in *Captive Years* by Birch and Cole.
- 43 A particularly distressing ailment in which pain in the feet is so extreme that those afflicted cannot sleep.

- 44 Any of several diseases caused by deficiency of one or more vitamins.
- 45 In 1964, Wright published an excellent book called *I Was a Hell Camp Prisoner*. All quotes from Wright in this book are taken from that work.
- 46 Jones had commanded A Company, 2nd Battalion Royal Scots at the Shing Mun Redoubt, and had been captured early in the fighting.
- 47 The ‘squeeze’ referred to was the infamous Mimi Lau affair; in fact the blocks of these structures were popularly known as ‘Mimi Laus’ in Hong Kong long after the war. Mimi Lau had had an affair with Wing Commander Steele-Perkins, which resulted in her family’s business being given the contract for much war-oriented construction work. They saved money on the project by using rather less than the traditional amount of cement in the mix. Steele-Perkins died in 1945. Post-war, Mimi Lau is said to have had an affair with another VIP: Richard Nixon, later to be President of the United States.
- 48 A fellow New Zealander, who would be lost on the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 49 From papers supplied by Atkins’ family.
- 50 An unpleasant condition known as ‘Strawberry Balls’, or ‘Hong Kong Balls’ by those afflicted.
- 51 Post-war an officer and two sergeants were tried as collaborators. All were acquitted.
- 52 When American bombers started appearing in the skies above Hong Kong, attacking Japanese ships and installations, the boost to morale was tremendous. However, the first raid was not until 25 October 1942, a month after the *Lisbon Maru* was boarded.
- 53 Argyle Street Camp was, for a short period, a separate camp for officers. It was soon closed, and the officers moved back to join the men in Sham Shui Po though they remained in a separate area of the camp. The author of this poem was Roger Rothwell.
- 54 Son of William A. Potter and Florence Potter, of Norwich, Norfolk; husband of Olive Mabel Potter, of Broadwater, Worthing, Sussex.
- 55 This whole sentence beginning ‘Conditions’ had been heavily crossed out by the censor, but the majority is still just legible in the original.
- 56 This number includes Allied civilians.
- 57 Soon after surrender, the POWs were ordered to sign a chit promising that they would not try to escape. Many refused, and suffered privations until their officers informed them that documents signed under duress were meaningless.
- 58 According to Howell’s testimony at the war crimes trial of Kyoda Shigeru, “At a parade at 9 a.m. [18 September] in the morning, 46 officers’ names were called out, of whom about 10 are alive at the moment, and we were detailed within 40 minutes to go to Shamshuipo camp.”
- 59 The remaining Royal Naval and Canadian POWs at North Point were brought across the harbour on 26 September to fill the places vacated at Sham Shui Po by this transportation.

- 60 A term that refers to ranks other than officers.
- 61 In 1941 Kai Tak was the RAF's main base in Hong Kong, as well as a civilian airport. It remained in service as Hong Kong's International Airport until replaced by Chek Lap Kok in 1998.
- 62 It has not proven possible to prepare a definitive list of these men, many of whom presumably died of disease soon after. However, BQMS Albert Reakes is known to have been one.
- 63 In command of all the POW camps in Hong Kong, Colonel Tokunaga Isao faced a war crimes trial post-war. Found guilty, he was sentenced to death. This sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.
- 64 All details of the Japanese side of this story — including time lines, Japanese personnel, cargo, conversations on board, and the state of the vessel at various times — are derived from the war crimes transcripts of the trial of the master of the *Lisbon Maru*, Kyoda Shigeru, in Hong Kong in 1946, WO 234/1114.
- 65 Fallace's statements are taken from PRO CO 980/67. He not only survived the sinking, but (as will be seen) escaped.
- 66 Some of the sickest of these men would be removed from the ship before she sailed. It appears that 1,834 were still on board when the *Lisbon Maru* departed.
- 67 Through Danyll Wills, a Japanese-speaking friend, I asked Takao Okamoto, a Japanese scholar in Kobe, why all Japanese ships are called the '*Something Maru*'. He responded: "Thank you very much for an interesting question. But my answer might disappoint your friend and you, because I could not find any linguistically well-grounded interpretation. Anyway, I'll tell you why the names of most Japanese ships end with 'maru'. The first reason is very simple and convincing. It is almost obligatory to name ships with 'maru' according to the law. But the regulations usually come after the recognized tradition. 'Maru' was added as a suffix to the names of pets, armour, flutes (musical instrument) and ships since mediaeval period (please don't ask me when the Middle Ages began and ended in Japan — perhaps from the ninth century). All objects except ships are private things in themselves. So it is highly probable that owners of ships (usually those who were in power or with wealth) named their precious ships with 'maru' (remember that Japanese who are really well-off are essentially atheistic). The most difficult moment is the etymology of 'maru'. The weakest point of Japanese linguistics is an etymology. As long as the origin of Japanese language is the point of dispute, linguistically well-founded etymology of Japanese word cannot be."
- 68 From Mr. T. Uchida, Manager of Class NK Information Service Department of the Mitsui O. S. K. Lines, Japan. Yokohama Dock Co. Ltd. was later merged with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd.
- 69 Kyoda, in the war crimes trial, noted that this damage had been sustained at Ruku.

- 70 It reads: "MALAY EXP. FORCE AKATSUKI 2948 BUTAI HQ, KAGEYAMA TAI (LISBON MARU)
Comdr. of UJINAK EMBARKATION HQ.
(Lt. Gen. SAEKI, Fumiro)
Comdr. of #3 Shipping Group (SENPAKU HEIDAN)
(Maj. Gen. SAKURADA, Takeshi)
Comdr. of #3 DEBARKATION UNIT (YORIKU TAI)
Lt. Gen. ASAO, Takimasa"
(ATIS, Comdr. 7th Fleet, SoPacArea, Current Translations, Serial 0457, Captured Document, Dated 2 April 1943) US National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).
- 71 Although the cargo of gold dust appears clearly in the diagram of cargo loads prepared for the war crimes trial, it is not mentioned in the typed cargo manifest found in the same set of documents. Twice during the trial of Kyoda Shigeru it was hinted that there was a mistake in the description of the cargo, but what the mistake was, was never made explicit.
- 72 The *Chikuzan Maru* was sunk off Vietnam in 1943. Built as the *Hunter* in Leith, Scotland, in 1907 for use in Australia, she was sold in 1938 to A. P. Moller (Maersk) in Shanghai and renamed *Ariadne Moller*. By coincidence, the *Ariadne Moller* had been caught in Hong Kong by the Japanese invasion, and was scuttled there on 12 December 1941, before being raised by the Japanese and renamed.
- 73 Normally there would have been eleven officers, but an extra second mate was on board as a passenger, and took Ariki's duties while he was sick. Ariki resumed his duties on 30 September.
- 74 In fact, Nobby's 'death' was reported to his parents. His name appears on the Naval memorial to the missing in Portsmouth, though at time of writing he is still alive and well.
- 75 Bailey was no stranger to tight spots. During the fighting in Hong Kong he had been commended for taking an ambulance, with Lieutenant R. Whitfield (RNVR), to rescue wounded at Wong Nai Chung Gap.
- 76 Readers with elementary mathematical skills, plus some knowledge of the *Lisbon Maru*, will note that this grand total of 1,834 men is slightly higher than the oft-quoted figure of 1,816 (see note 215). There are several possible reasons for the difference (imperfect lists, uncertainties over which sick men were removed from the ship before it sailed, and so forth).
- 77 The dividing line between civilians and combatants was blurred by last-minute recruitment into the HKVDC and HKRNVR.
- 78 Howell wrote an account of the sinking for possible publication; today it is held by his daughter. All quotes attributed to Howell in this work are from that document. Niimori was not in fact in command, but was the mouthpiece of those who were.
- 79 Post-war, Weedon wrote an account of his experiences entitled "Guest

- of an Emperor". All quotes attributed to Weedon in this work are from that document.
- 80 As a foretaste of what is to come, Iles, Hughes, Tivey, Hayward, Hatchett, Gale and Iszard would not survive the sinking. Steele would be picked up from the wreck with a broken back, but would die on the way to Shanghai. Meakin too would die before the year was out. Only Bowles the beri beri sufferer, Gorman, and Wright himself, would survive the war. (Wright's book actually refers to 'Typhoon Sale'. However, no one by the name of Sale was on board, and later he refers to a 'Gale'. The British Army's tradition of simple nicknames makes it all but certain this was in fact Gale.)
- 81 Alsey's diaries are held by the Imperial War Museum in London. All quotes attributed to Alsey in this work are from that document. It was written longhand in a 1966 diary, but presumably this is a transcript of a fading original.
- 82 Lance Corporal Harold Sharrock of the Royal Scots. He would not survive the sinking.
- 83 Alsey was suffering from 'happy feet', or dry beri beri. Next day he stated again, 'my feet keep me awake all night.'
- 84 The Japanese soldiers occupied part of the upper deck, and also the holds towards the stern of the vessel. Howell refers to them being in the 'afterholds', and Fallace (describing the *Lisbon Maru* as having four holds) states they were in hold 'No. 4 abaft the bridge', adding: 'A number of Japanese men were accommodated in the top half of No. 4 hold, the officers in a space allotted them under the bridge.' This is perfectly correct, but perhaps 'number 4' is best viewed as the third hold (i.e. the Japanese were behind the Gunners). The confusion is caused by the fact that the second hold had two hatches. I have maintained the convention that the second hold was that under hatches 2 and 3, and the third hold was that under hatch 4. As illustration, '*Lisbon Maru* cutaway', shows, there were a number of other holds further after.
- 85 Presumably a battalion of the 228th Regiment on its way to Guadalcanal. There appears to have been no communication between the British POWs and these Japanese troops. As the former included several Japanese speakers, it seems the two groups were completely segregated at all times.
- 86 Presumably this was Sergeant Thomas Gorman of the Hong Kong police.
- 87 In the war crimes trial of 1946, Kyoda Shigeru noted that he had seen a senior POW officer, on board the *Lisbon Maru*, negotiating with Lieutenant Wada through the interpreter Niimori. "I do not know the small details but I think one point which was decided was that food articles were to be issued to the POW and that they themselves would cook the food."
- 88 Interestingly, all these 'entertainers', with the exception of Green, would survive the war.
- 89 Although Spooner and others spell the name 'Miles', the formal records state 'Myles'.

- 90 Japanese for toilet.
- 91 The culprit survived the war, and Middlesex Regiment tradition has it that he never smoked again from that day till he died.
- 92 Mulligan eventually escaped to Shanghai where he sat out until the end of the war. He passed away in 1999, shortly after getting back in contact with the Chinese sisters who sheltered him during that period.
- 93 From his autobiography, *Footprints*. Clark was a particularly strong-willed character. His insistence on aiding POWs ended with his imprisonment and torture from which he never fully recovered.
- 94 The University of Hong Kong Library, Ride Collection. BAAG were not permitted any encoding equipment, thus all message had to be sent in clear. A basic set of some one hundred code words soon evolved (ALFS was Sham Shui Po, Hbs [Hissing bastards] were Japanese, Selwyn-Clarke was SEPTIC, KELLOG was the Hong Kong Bank, etc.). Where code words did not suffice, the first letters of words were to be read, or other languages were used. The original 'encoded' text of this communication read:

RIDE KWEILIN

FIFTYONE DATED 10/9 STOP. ALFS VALUE SIX HUNDRED IN NAVE AD SOLEM ORIENTEM NOCTE TRES OR QUATRE STOP FURTHER CARGO VALUE ONE THOUSAND BEING ARRANGED FOR MONTH END STOP SOURCE ADDRESSEE YOUR CHIT NUMBER SIXTEEN AND SUBJECT MY L/15 STOP
DUGGIE.

(Note that the city of Kweilin is now spelled Guilin. Duggie was Major Douglas Clague who commanded BAAG Advanced Headquarters at Waichow, 1942–43. The addressee of chit 16 was Edmondston who was a banker still at large at that time at the Sun Wah Hotel. Later he was killed by the Japanese. The subject of L/15 was Selwyn-Clarke).

- 95 The original read: "MACHIN [Military Attaché CHINA] CHUNGKING FOR RIDE QUOTE DOUGGIE SIXTYFOUR DATED 25/9 STOP CONFIRMATION DUGGIE FIFTYONE DATED TENTH STOP REPORT SIX HUNDRED POWS GOING QUOTE FREDDIE ORANGE ROBERT MONKEY ORANGE SUGAR ACK UNQUOTE TWELVE HUNDRED QUOTE MONKEY ORANGE JAMES EYE UNQUOTE ISLAND NEAR QUOTE JAMES ACK PUDDING ACK NUTS UNQUOTE TODAY STOP IF IN DOUBT ABOVE SUBSTANCE CONSULT ANY MAXIE SPARKER STOP UNQUOTE
OLSEN

Kweilin
26.ix.42

2/Lieut.,
for C.O., British Army Aid Group
37/2 Wen Woo Road"

The final reference is advising asking a radioman's assistance if the code was not understood. Agent 64 was Sergeant Lo Hung Sui, ex 4 Coy HKVDC.

- 96 Some assert that only one book was on board, but Alsey also recalls reading *J'Accuse*.
- 97 *Thanet* had escaped Hong Kong on 8 December 1941, some twelve hours after the Japanese attack.
- 98 Royal Naval losses had not been light in the European Theatre either, and had of course included the pride of the fleet, the *Hood*.
- 99 *Balao*-class boats would be numbered 285–416. Four *Gato*-class boats survive today: USS *Silversides* SS236 (Muskegon, Michigan), USS *Drum* SS228 (Mobile, Alabama), USS *Cobia* SS245 (Manitowoc, Wisconsin), USS *Cod* SS224 (Cleveland, Ohio).
- 100 CTF-7 was Rear Admiral Robert H English. The Midway Patrol Group was Task Group TG 7.1. All details of the *Grouper* and her patrols come from the log held at NARA, fiche number 357, available as National Archives Microfilm Publication No. M1752.
- 101 Duke, in a letter to Clay Blair dated 30 March 1972, stated that "I made a short Top Secret patrol of about two weeks at French Frigate Shoal. The object was to intercept and destroy a Japanese submarine. This patrol was terminated by Midway." Although the log of *Grouper's* First War Patrol starts on 4 June at Midway, the "Description of all Aircraft Sighted" starts on 11 May at "100 miles SW of Pearl Harbor", and from 14 May onwards, "Over French Frigate Shoal".
- 102 He continued: "I wrote to the RCAF and explained what I had done. However, they replied that I was listed as a deserter. Everything must have been forgiven, as after the war I was sent a war bonus check for time served in the RCAF." Gar did indeed become a skilled private pilot post-war.
- 103 A wise move, as *Utah* — converted from a Battleship laid down in 1909 into a floating target for USN practice — was lost at Pearl Harbour just weeks later. The wreck and sixty of her crew still lie in Hawaiian waters, largely forgotten as the tourists head for the famous *Arizona* memorial.
- 104 Although Tokara is the accepted transliteration today, 'Takara' is the name actually used in the log.
- 105 D-V(G) is found in the *Naval Reserve Register* as one of the Classes of Naval Reserve Officers — Volunteer Reserve (General Service). "D-V(G) — Deck officers, commissioned and warrant, including boatswains, gunners, and torpedo men, qualified for general detail afloat or ashore." The term "S&A, Asst. Elec & Eng." defied the translation attempts of the Naval Historical Center, but their best guess was "Supplies & Administration, Assistant Electrical & Engineering".
- 106 Ensign is the officer rank between Lieutenant Junior Grade (jg) and Chief Warrant Officer.
- 107 It is clear that the submarine historian Clay Blair felt that English (commanding CTF-7) relieved Duke of command because of some issue with his abilities. However, Duke received a Bronze Star and a Gold Star

- for service on his next appointment, as Navigator & Tactical Officer on the battleship *Pennsylvania*. His personal records were destroyed when *Pennsylvania* was torpedoed at Okinawa, and his records covering later periods were destroyed when his house was flooded in a Florida storm of 1956. Duke's children from his wife's first marriage passed away when young. Note 118 contains details of the Mark 14 torpedo.
- 108 NARA: National Archives microfilm publications. Pamphlet describing: M 1752.
- 109 To protect a submarine from magnetically triggered ordnance it was normal procedure to reduce the permanent magnetic field of a boat (deperming) by using external coils carrying a powerful electric current.
- 110 *Litchfield* was the flagship of Submarine Squadron 4, Submarine Force, Pearl Harbour. At the outbreak of Pacific war, *Litchfield's* duties included escorting submarines both into and out of port. She survived the war and was scrapped in 1946.
- 111 A small island off the south western tip of Japan.
- 112 Although the *Grouper's* log makes no attempt to identify this vessel, after the war it has usually been recorded as the *Tone Maru*. However, there is some uncertainty about this identification, as will be seen.
- 113 Known as Backgammon in the UK.
- 114 Confusingly, the summary of the submarine's log indicates that the *Lisbon Maru* was spotted at 07.04 at 29-57 north, 122-56 east. This does not fit the body of the log, which times the first encounter at 04.00. However, they note seeing a Japanese aircraft at 30-11 north, 123-17 east — which they also claim is the position where the *Lisbon Maru* was torpedoed. If we assume that the first position was that of the first sighting, and the second position is correct, then this fits exactly. Plotting these positions on a map, we see that the latter could have been reached from the former by steaming for about one hour on 010, and two hours on 060 at just under 9 knots (the speed recorded by the *Grouper*, and the final heading reported when the *Lisbon Maru* came in sight again while *Grouper* waited submerged). According to the Japanese report of positions, it seems that at some point after the torpedo hit, the *Lisbon Maru* continued heading north north west until she came under tow.
- 115 This was a sensible precaution. USS *Tang* (SS-306) was lost to just such a circular. She had launched a night surface attack on 24 October 1944 against a transport that had been stopped in an earlier encounter. The first torpedo was fired, and when it was observed to be running true, the second followed. It curved sharply to the port, broached, porpoised and circled. Emergency speed was ordered and the rudder was thrown hard over. This resulted in the torpedo striking the stern of *Tang*, rather than amidships. The explosion was violent, and crewmembers as far forward as the Control Room suffered broken limbs. The boat went down by the stern with the after three

compartments flooded. Of the nine officers and men on the bridge, three were able to swim through the night until picked up eight hours later. One officer escaped from the flooded conning tower, and was rescued with the others. The submarine came to rest on the bottom at 180 feet, and the men in her moved forward as the after compartments flooded. All secret documents were burned, and the crew assembled to the Forward Torpedo Room to escape. The escape was delayed by a Japanese patrol, which dropped charges, and started an electrical fire in the Forward Battery. Thirteen men escaped from the forward room, and by the time the last made his exit, the heat from the fire was so intense that the paint on the bulkhead was scorching. Of these escapees, only eight reached the surface, and of these only five were able to swim until rescued. Nine survivors in total were picked up by a Japanese destroyer escort.

- 116 The torpedoes were fired ten second apart so that, if an earlier torpedo hit its target and exploded, the following torpedoes would not be close enough to be exploded by sympathetic detonation.
- 117 The *Grouper* was indeed to port of the *Lisbon Maru* when the torpedoes were fired.
- 118 The Mark 14 torpedo dated from 1931. Intended as a replacement for the Mark 10 that was then in use, it was plagued with faults. At the time of Pearl Harbour, the Mark 14 was in short supply, and all those then in service were fitted with the Mark 6 exploder. This was a particularly poor combination. Four main faults were the primary causes of the torpedo's initial problems: two related to the exploder, and two to the depth setting mechanism of the fish. The depth problem was suspected early on, and in June 1942, COMSUBSOWESPAC (Commander Submarines South West Pacific, Rear-Admiral Lockwood) ordered running tests to be conducted at Frenchman's Bay submarine base outside Perth, Western Australia. These proved the suspicions to be correct, with torpedoes on average running eleven feet deeper than set. However, the US Navy's Bureau of Ordinance at Newport Torpedo Station did not immediately admit the problem, eventually conceding that — due to the warheads being heavier than test heads — the Mark 14 ran with a nose-down attitude. However, they then estimated that they ran just four feet deeper than set. Lockwood, in August, ordered submariners to fire ten feet above their usual settings. Compounding this problem was the fact that the torpedo's depth sensor had been designed for a slower (33 knot, Mark 13) torpedo. The pressure gradient over the torpedo's surface at the higher speeds of the Mark 14 gave the wrong feedback. The sensor was later relocated to a neutral position. Even if the torpedo ran at the right depth, the detonator still could not be trusted. The magnetic exploder had been designed in the northern latitudes and did not work as well at or near the equator. The British and Germans had disabled their magnetic exploders much earlier than the US Navy

ordered theirs disabled. The conventional contact exploder, like the depth sensor, had been designed for the slower Mark 13 torpedo. The new 46 knot Mark 14 torpedo had higher inertial impacts that could cause the firing pin to miss the exploder cap. These problems were all fixed by the end of 1943. Until that time, many Japanese vessels had lucky escapes. Interestingly, Kvalheim always believed that one of the first three torpedoes did hit the stern of the *Lisbon Maru*, but failed to explode, and the Master of the vessel confirmed this.

- 119 Torpex (TORPEdo EXplosive) was a mixture rather than a pure chemical compound such as TNT. The components were TNT 41 percent, RDX (Cyclonite, Hexogen) 41 percent and aluminium powder 18 percent. Torpex was valued because of its increased explosive energy, the higher detonation velocity of RDX as compared to TNT, and the prolongation of the pressure wave thanks to the aluminium. Weight for weight, Torpex is at least 50 percent more effective than TNT as an underwater explosive against ships. Torpex is, however, more sensitive than TNT, and RDX is costly and challenging to make safely. The process of converting to Torpex torpedo warheads started with an order for 20 million pounds in early 1942, with the first Torpex loaded warheads following later that year. The 643 pounds of Torpex in a Mk.14 warhead was at least equal to 960 pounds of TNT, giving nearly twice the destructive power of the original warhead. Torpex saw many other uses during the war, being the explosive chosen by Dr Barnes Wallis for his Tall Boy and Grand Slam heavy bombs, and that which killed Joe Kennedy (elder brother of JFK) in 1944 in a specially converted Liberator flying bomb over the UK, while on a vain mission to destroy the giant 150 mm German 'Super-Gun' site at Mimoyecques near Calais.
- 120 The guns were variously described as being 4-inch and 12-pounder QFs (QF, Quick Firing, simply means that the round comes in a single piece, rather than a separate shell and cordite bag or cartridge).
- 121 Six feet. The fact that it still passed under the ship clearly demonstrates the untrustworthiness of the Mark 14.
- 122 The submarine's log consistently refers to this machine as a 'Davaï'. Whichever way it is spelled, this aircraft did not exist. The Mitsubishi 108 type 97 is an aircraft that the Allies incorrectly believed to be in the Japanese inventory. It has not proved possible to identify what type of aircraft the *Grouper* actually observed, though one POW witness described it as a biplane.
- 123 There is no evidence that this torpedo hit the ship. The Japanese gunners claim to have hit it in the water. Improbable though this sounds (and in keeping with other Japanese propaganda claims to have shot down allied aircraft with rice balls and so forth), it is probably true. Many witnesses, including those aboard the *Grouper*, agree that the torpedo exploded. It did not hit the ship, so a sympathetic detonation caused by a close high-explosive shell could well have been responsible. However, the gunners did not impress

- everybody. Lieutenant Bucke of the Royal Signals Corp, in a post-war report noted of the incident: "Forward gunners horribly late into action."
- 124 56 degrees Centigrade.
- 125 An Escort Destroyer with a displacement of 1,160 tons, length of 85 metres, speed of 23 knots, and two 4.7 inch guns — *Kuri* was launched on 19 March 1920 and commissioned on 30 April 1920. One of the few of her class to survive the war, she was captured in September 1945 and was destroyed by accident in Korea on 8 October 1945.
- 126 This had been transferred from the *Toyokuni Maru*.
- 127 Etiemble had a great deal of respect for Dicks. He continues: "My last memories of 'Q' Dicks are just after the war ended, he was running what passed as our cookhouse and trying to salvage food from the 44 gallon drums that the Americans had dropped without parachutes, and had finished up flat as pancakes."
- 128 By an interesting coincidence, *Toyokuni Maru* was sunk by *Gato*-class submarine USS *Lapon* SS260 (sister ship to USS *Grouper*) on 8 March 1944.
- 129 Sunk by USS *Plaice*, 30 June 1944.
- 130 *Grouper* erroneously believed that the ship sank where she was torpedoed (i.e. at 30-11N, 123-17E). However, after towing an estimated fifteen miles west (from 20.30 on the first to 07.30 on the second), the Japanese NYK Line believed she sank at 30-17N, 123-13E. While 30-17N is believable, 123-13E is too far east, and would have meant the men swimming (later in our story) some twenty miles to the islands! Interestingly, the Master's report states that she was torpedoed at 30/17, 123/13, which is far more believable. While only those who have dived on the wreck can confirm this, a resting place in the region of 30-17N, 129-57E (after towing) seems more likely. The Master himself gave the position of the sinking as "5 or 6 miles from Tofuku Mountain at 352 degrees." It appears this means on a bearing of 352 from Tofuku Mountain (Dongfu Shan in Chinese).
- 131 These names, though they came from the *Lisbon Maru's* second mate, are suspect as *Tone Maru* was reported sunk by USS *Grouper* herself on 21 September 1942. *Unkai Maru No. 10* was sunk by USS *Cobia* (SS-245) northwest of Chichijima on 18 July 1944. The fates of the others are uncertain; the Japanese habit of repeating the same name and adding a number makes them hard to trace. All these gunboats, including the *Toyokuni Maru*, were in fact converted freighters. Kyoda Shigeru also gave the names *Fukoku Maru*, *Wampole*, *Ritsushima*, *Tadashi*, and *Rikan Maru*.
- 132 He continued: "As these naval personnel have a good knowledge of ships and navigation and if they revolted it would be quite serious." During his war crimes trial it became clear that the main Japanese fear was that these men might man the forward gun and use it against the other Japanese vessels in the area.
- 133 Henderson did not survive.

- 134 The use of the nickname ‘Tommy Atkins’ (often shortened to ‘Tommy’) to represent the British infantryman dates back, according to the Imperial War Museum, to at least 1743.
- 135 The butcher’s knife, according to Carew, came from Private Speight of the Middlesex, a pre-war butcher’s assistant from Croydon. Howell, in his war crimes testimony, described “a collection of bread-knives, razors, and pen-knives which had been sent to me.”
- 136 See photo, ‘The sinking of the *Lisbon Maru*’.
- 137 The deck under the Captain’s Bridge, which was itself the deck immediately below the Bridge.
- 138 One of those shot and wounded in the hold at this time, according to Challis, was Bandsman Plummeridge of the Middlesex. Plummeridge survived.
- 139 The shot Lieutenant was most probably Potter. In the war crimes trial of Kyoda Shigeru, Howell described how he opened the bulkhead door before Potter was shot, and the gunners started to come out immediately. However, Howell also mentions a dead body lying shot on the deck after he had retrieved Potter.
- 140 Potter’s sacrifice was forgotten post-war by the St John’s Ambulance in Hong Kong, and his name is not even on their memorial to those members of their organization who lost their lives during the conflict. However, he is named on the Sai Wan memorial to the missing.

In a letter to Colonel Murray Brown of the Volunteers in 1962, Lieutenant Colonel Lindsay Ride, wartime commander of the Combined Field Ambulance wrote: “The situation concerning Potter was this. The Defence Scheme for Hongkong in 1941 included the formation of the Hongkong Field Ambulance on mobilization being ordered. The duties were the collection of all sick and wounded military personnel from both Kowloon and Hongkong and their evacuation to hospital. The HK Field Ambulance was formed from RAMC, RASC, and HKVDC Field Ambulance units, but these could not fill the establishment required and St. John Ambulance was called upon to help. They did so by setting aside a Military Unit which was attached to the HKVDC Field Ambulance for training sometime in 1940 or 1941. Potter was the officer who came with this unit and was responsible for the discipline, pay, etc. of its members. He was never a member of the HKVDC.

On mobilization he reported with his unit to the HKVDC Field Ambulance for duty, and was posted to the HQ of the HK Field Ambulance with me; he remained at these HQ throughout the hostilities, and came with us when the Japanese put us in the POW camp.

I can’t understand why the St. John Ambulance do not recognize him, but that really does not concern us. It can be taken as quite definite that he was attached to the HKVDC Field Ambulance for duty on mobilization, that he served with us throughout the hostilities, and I think this attachment

- should be recognized as continuing throughout the period of his internment." The University of Hong Kong Library, Ride Collection (with thanks to Ride's daughter, Elizabeth).
- 141 Whichever account is more accurate (the latter is from Carew), the body of one of the guards was later found and buried by POWs when they were sheltering on a nearby island (probably either Private First Class Teranishi Seijiro, or Private First Class Sugimura Minoru, as Japanese records show the former drowned and the latter missing). Both accounts may, however, be incorrect, as Japanese eye-witnesses giving testimony in the war crimes trial stated that the last guards had jumped into the sea of their own accord.
- 142 Eaton did not survive.
- 143 Langley survived the war.
- 144 Inglis had boarded with beri beri which had become far worse during the voyage.
- 145 A post-war interview with John Inglis, RA, appears to confirm this: "We released the men in the other holds and killed the Jap sentries." From a newspaper cutting of unknown provenance.
- 146 In a post-war letter to Ross' mother, Zaz Pitt wrote: "S/Sgt Ross remained with the sick until the last and then would have swum from the ship without a life-jacket carrying haversack full of medical supplies had he not received a direct order to the contrary from an officer ... [Later, in the discouraging circumstances of Kobe prisoner of war camp hospital] your son displayed the very highest qualities of leadership, courage, devotion to duty, patience, and complete disregard for himself. He inspired confidence in other orderlies and patients, of which I was one. He accepted responsibilities far greater than he would have been called upon to bear in normal times, and absolutely refused to give way or admit defeat although a sick man himself, suffering stomach ulcers from which he died (on May 15th 1944)."
- 147 Kyoda stated: "On the starboard side I saw about ten POWs trying to lower a sampan. I helped them to lower it. I showed them how the sampan should be lowered." At about 9.40 he jumped into the sea himself, and was rescued by a Japanese patrol boat.
- 148 Weedon, normally an excellent observer, records Panting's death in a POW Camp in Japan on 12 March 1943. In fact this was Corporal Painting.
- 149 CWGC records confirm that Allison died soon after arrival in Japan, just three weeks after the sinking.
- 150 Years later, Rix would be best man at Ross Lynneberg and his fiancé Bernice's wedding.
- 151 It has been hard to identify many men who were shot in the water, but Carew explicitly mentions Lance Corporal Charles Henry Hatfield, Middlesex Regiment, being killed in this manner.
- 152 John Edward Pearman. This is quoted from a deposition in the war crimes trial documents.

- 153 This number is arrived at in the following manner: In both number one and number two holds, Pollock and Cuthbertson respectively had returned to check that all living men had left the vessel. That means that no one had been trapped in either of these holds and drowned, and that the only dead were those who had died earlier of disease, been shot trying to break out, or had fallen from the ladders and died. Estimating those numbers as two for hold one (though both were removed before the sinking), and nine for hold two gives a total of eleven. However, whilst the mortality rate on 1/2 October for the men in holds one and two were an average 41 percent, that for hold three was 62 percent. Making the assumption that the difference (21 percent) reflects the men in the third hold who were unable to escape when the ship went down, in real terms this equates to about 70 men. Assuming that hold three, like the similarly populated hold one, had had two deaths up to that point, the sum of those who went down with the ship can be approximated as $0 + 9 + 70 + 2 = 81$. If 1,834 POWs were on the vessel when it departed Hong Kong, and two from hold one were already dead, then around 1,751 would have made it alive into the sea.
- 154 Interestingly though, the western end of Zhejiang Province had, just six months earlier, hosted many of Doolittle's raiders who had crashed or bailed out in that area after their carrier-launched attack on Tokyo.
- 155 Neither Edwards nor Hemmingfield, RA, survived.
- 156 Gunner Spiller died in Japan less than a year later.
- 157 Hare, Whitham and Green all perished. Whitham was the acting Branch Manager of the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada in Hong Kong, and lived in Shek O. He had been transferred to the Middlesex from the HKVDC.
- 158 In rough figures, it seems that about 60 percent of the survivors were picked up by the Japanese, while 20 percent were picked up by the fishermen and 20 percent swam to the islands under their own power.
- 159 Qingbang Dao and Sing Pan Island (or Tsing Pang Island) are the modern and previous transliterations of the same Chinese name.
- 160 Wright, and others, mentioned an officer — picked up at nearly midnight — who claimed that hundreds of bodies had been swept passed him.
- 161 Gunner Haywood confirmed: "A total of 53 of us reached the island. I saw an officer whose name was Officer, and who had been in charge of the venereal department at Hong Kong, get smashed up against the rocks and drowned near the island." Haywood's statements are taken from the war crimes depositions.
- 162 Howell was familiar with Shanghainese as he had been born and brought up in that city. However, he was lucky to be understood as these islands have a dialect of their own.
- 163 In April 2005 the government of Zhoushan were kind enough to invite me to visit and meet three of the fishermen involved in this rescue. Shen Agui, with his father and uncle, rescued about seven men in two trips. Guo Ade

- rescued about ten. The third, Wang Baorong, said very little but I was told he had personally rescued twenty.
- 164 In his original report, Fallace refers to Laloe as 'Laolo'. Laloe had been wounded in the Hong Kong fighting by an air attack on *Indira*.
- 165 Although men were too busy surviving to take a great interest in the geography, it appears that the biggest group landed initially on Qingbang Dao, the nearest island due west of the sinking. Fallace's group was most probably on the then uninhabited island of Xifu Shan.
- 166 Ferris died sixteen days later.
- 167 This reference, from Wright, appears to be to one of the three escapers, Fallace, Evans, or Johnstone. He calls this man 'Thurso', but no one of that name had been on board the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 168 Wright refers to a Royal Scot with four broken ribs, but does not name him.
- 169 Ross had the advantage of being an exceptionally strong swimmer. One of the founding members of the Titahi Bay Surf Life Saving Club, he took part in many exercises pre-war: "Later the club then held their big swim for the life saving cup — everyone starting from the beach, running into the sea, swimming out around a buoy back to the shore and then a sprint up the beach and over the finish line. I recall at the start of this race that Frank, my cousin living next door to us at Ngaio and not a club member, started off when the gun fired alongside me. I don't recall when I next saw Frank but I finished the race collapsing after the effort, and cursing and swearing, to find Ethel my mother wiping my face with a handkerchief. The result was I became the first holder of the club's surf cup and after research of the records — possibly the last."
- 170 Like many other survivors, Shepherd could not remember the names of the men with whom he had boarded the *Lisbon Maru*, but recalled the name of the first person he saw afterwards.
- 171 Shen Agui estimated that a hundred men were ferried from Xifu Shan (though some say Miaozihu Dao) to Qingbang Dao in this exercise.
- 172 Eight hundred forty-three is the figure often quoted for those who lost their lives that day. However, this estimate was based on the number of men missing when the roll was called at Shanghai on 5 October. In fact, some survivors died between the sinking and that date, and others simply had not been located by that time, and were brought to Shanghai later.
- 173 See note 153 for an explanation of this figure.
- 174 Hong Kong's harbour was protected by floating booms. These appear clearly in Pathe newsreel footage taken from the air shortly before the war.
- 175 The rank of Warrant Officer III, Platoon Sergeant Major, was a short-lived experiment. Trinder was appointed to this position in October 1938.
- 176 *Hayashio* was a *Kagero* class destroyer. She is not mentioned elsewhere.
- 177 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).
- 178 Miles survived. McGillivray (listed as McGilvery by Carew) did not.

- 179 Estimates of numbers of men rescued by the Chinese, and those picked up from the sea by the Japanese, vary. However, the general consensus is that three hundred or more made it to the islands (the islanders themselves say 384), and five hundred or more were picked up at sea by the Japanese.
- 180 In 1996, Fallace received a letter from May-Yung Wang Sun, who remembered her family looking after the three men when she was a girl of fourteen. She now lives in the USA.
- 181 Fisherman Wang Baorong stated that the three men were initially in his house, but were then moved to a seldom-visited cave.
- 182 Wright actually refers to an 'Able Seaman Letts'. However, no one of that name was on board, so this was presumably Alexander Lees, Engine Room Artificer 3.
- 183 Quoted from the war crimes trial of Kyoda Shigeru.
- 184 Post-war documents make it clear that Niimori and Nomura are two names for the same man. Woosong is the previous spelling of Wusong.
- 185 Presumably this was the Nakazawa who was used by the Japanese as an interpreter in Hong Kong during the occupation, and appeared in the trial of Colonel Tanaka Hisakazu in September 1946.
- 186 POWs were sent on working parties to extend Kai Tak's (then Hong Kong's airport) runways for Japanese use.
- 187 Captain Mathers was not on the *Lisbon Maru*. The quote comes from Jean Mather's book, *Twisting the Tail of the Dragon*.
- 188 The vessel was known as both the *Washington Maru* and the *Shinsei Maru*.
- 189 From the war crimes trial of Kyoda Shigeru.
- 190 Lance Corporal Bertram Poulter, also of the Middlesex Regiment.
- 191 Cuthbertson contracted diphtheria and died in Japan.
- 192 The others who appear to have been buried at sea are: Frederick Archer, Robert Bromley and George Makel.
- 193 These men would spend most of the war in a POW camp in Shanghai, reclaiming cordite from old Japanese shells, before being transferred to the Tokyo area late in the war.
- 194 Uniquely of all those recorded here, Stewart is commemorated on the New Zealand Naval Memorial in Auckland.
- 195 All POWs queried stated that the so-called 'interviews' were falsified. They have no merit in terms of understanding the loss of the *Lisbon Maru*, but are interesting as examples of wartime propaganda (see photo, 'Lisbon Maru survivors landing at Moji').
- 196 In fact, as Horswell well knew, the Japanese attack on Hong Kong had been punctuated by massacres of captured British, Indian, and Canadian prisoners (and Chinese civilians) from beginning to end. Further, it appears that a greater percentage of Allied fatalities were caused by murder post-capture, than in any other battle of the war. See Tony Banham, *Not the Slightest Chance: The Defence of Hong Kong, 1941*, Hong Kong University Press, 2003.

- 197 9 October to 15 October, 1942.
- 198 Jack Etienne confirmed that the same train delivered POWs to both camps: "It was the same train that took POWs to Kobe and Osaka. In Osaka mainly Royal Navy and Royal Artillery plus a few Royal Scots ... Matheson, James Cockburn, Charles Duthie. Middlesex ... William Ure, Tom Rolfe and Eric Leonard. Royal Signals ... Thomas Wright, Montague Truscott, there were some more ..." All Royal Scots officers with the exception of Hamilton were in Kobe. Bombardier John Inglis recalled that this was the first passenger train to use the new undersea tunnel to Shimonoseki; the Kanmon tunnel officially opened for passengers in November 1942.
- 199 Kokura no longer exists as a separate entity, having been absorbed into the modern city of Kitakyushu. It was lucky to suffer this fate, having been the original target of the second atomic bomb which, due to poor visibility over the primary target, was eventually dropped on Nagasaki. Kokura was a fortified town, with its suburb Moji guarding the straits of Shimonoseki. Today, Moji is also part of Kitakyushu.
- 200 Men who perished in these hospitals included: Kokura: John Allison, Frederick Ayres, James Badger, John Foster, Edwin Goodwin, Leslie Mullet. Hiroshima: Ronald Bairstow, Thomas Castle, John Duffy, Frederick Goldsmith, James Harrison, Colin Hart, Edward Hewett, Donald Matheson, Thomas Matthews, Melville Morgan, Ernest Neil, Alexander Taylor, William Tibble, Thomas Wall.
- 201 Frank Walter Gibbs, a wireless operator.
- 202 The CWGC lists Wilson and Daly as dying 1/2 October. There are many inconsistencies for those who died in the days immediately following the sinking.
- 203 ALFS was Sham Shui Po camp, POINTERS was North Point. GEORGE was Hong Kong, thus this quote is presumably from the Japanese English-language propaganda newspaper, Hong Kong News. 'Major' Greenwood was probably Commissioned Telegraphist Norman T. J. Greenwood, RN. The identity of Wrenbrook remains a mystery, as no one of that name was onboard.
- 204 'Sid' (Harry Hale, Royal Scots) had been dropped off at Shanghai as too ill to travel, and would be one of the few from that group to survive the war. Arthur Alsey had been aboard the *Lisbon Maru* but would survive. Joanie was lucky; her husband (in the HKVDC) had not been aboard the vessel. However, one of Joanie's fellow nurses, Sister Constance Godfrey, did not yet know that she had lost her husband, Lieutenant Alfred Godfrey, who had been in the third hold with the Royal Artillery.
- 205 Others known to have had the opportunity to broadcast were: Guy Castleton HKRNVR, Frank Cotton HKRNVR, and Fred Woodhead HKPF.
- 206 Presumably Jupp.
- 207 Jones' father, a CSM with the Middlesex, was listed as missing in 1915 during the First World War.

- 208 Normally transliterated as 'Ichioka' today.
- 209 The war crimes transcripts of the Master's trial note that the names Tsuneda and Kyoda were often confused.
- 210 Extract from *Japan Times Weekly*, 20 October 1942, quoted from Martin Weedon's book, *Guest of an Emperor*.
- 211 In my correspondence with Shepherd, he noted: "In the course of your research I expect you have heard of Lt. Colonel H. W. M. Stewart of the Middlesex Regiment. He above all officers impressed me by his dedication in doing all he could to resist the cruelty displayed by the Japanese Military. They physically abused him to the point where he could no longer survive. I hope he received full recognition for the bravery shown during these difficult times."
- 212 In a diary entry for November, Poulter continued: "Captain Man and Lt Graham of my regiment arrived today along with some other officers. I handed over Col Stewart's cap badge to Capt. Man. This may seem like a trivial thing but to the majority of regular soldiers a cap badge is a thing to be prized."
- 213 He died on 26 November.
- 214 In 1952, Evans would be murdered by bandits in Saigon. His friend and colleague John Stericker discusses him at some length in the book *Tear for a Dragon*.
- 215 This was an official press release. On 21 December the Office of HM Military Attaché, British Embassy, in Chungking sent the following memo to London:

Director Military Intelligence
 M.I.2. (2)
 The War office
 London

Owing to the great interest that the local news agencies have shown in these three escapers, I have issued the attached statement through the Press Attaché of the Embassy. I hope by this means to prevent the appearance of wildly garbled and harrowing accounts of their experiences and to safeguard to some extent their Chinese benefactors on the coast of Chekiang.

The press release itself holds nothing unexpected, but mentions that: "According to a report issued by the Japanese in the 'Hongkong News' there were 1816 prisoners of war on board." This is presumably the original source of this commonly quoted, though apparently slightly incorrect, number.

- 216 Lloyds weekly casualty reports, 18–24 December 1942. By this time, the three escapees were under firm military control. Evans' Movement Order, for example, states bluntly:

You will report at the Airport Chungking at 0830 hours on 26/12/42 and will embark in a C.N.A.C. plane for Calcutta.
 On arrival in Calcutta you will report to the Embarkation Commandant and

will request him to give you a passage to New Delhi. You will show him this letter.

On arrival in New Delhi you will report to Major W. R. P. Ridgway G.S.I.(e) General Headquarters.

You are herewith provided with Rs.50/- for expenses on first arrival in Calcutta. You will show the Customs Officials this letter as your authority for bringing this money into India.

Sd/-

Major R.A.

for H.B.M. MILITARY ATTACHE.

- 217 At Kobe, each work detail had a nickname. Mintagowa was "Iron Ore", Showa Denki was "Graphite", Dai Ichi Shinko was "Rice Ball Rubber", Higashinada was the "Coal Job", Itsumigumi's was "Sweets", etc.
- 218 This was Private Fred Slann.
- 219 I am indebted to Carol Taylor-Cockayne of Jacksdale Heritage for these newspaper clippings.
- 220 This excerpt is illustrative of several hundred pages from the Colonial Office papers relating to those on board. Brotherston had in fact been lost in the sinking.
- 221 Cheesewright's pillbox (PB 17, which he had commanded during the battle) still exists in Hong Kong today, buried (but for the topmost metre) in the sand at the western corner of Repulse Bay beach. Picnickers often sit on the roof on summer days, unaware that their seat is anything more than a concrete bench.
- 222 Private Frank James Bindon, Middlesex Regiment.
- 223 Man, Ewan, and Challis are Captain Christopher Man, Lieutenant Ewan Graham and RSM Robert Challis. Oddly, Weedon and Man — best friends — shared the emperor's and Hitler's birthday respectively.
- 224 Meat and vegetables.
- 225 This card was addressed to: "Prisoners of War Post, Services Des Prisoniers de Guerre, 6213420, Pte. S. Atkins 1st Batt. Middlesex Regt. "C Company, Nanking Barracks, Shamshuipo, Hong Kong, British Prisoners of War, C/O Japanese Red Cross, Tokyo".
- 226 This may possibly have been Phyllis Harrop, a civilian who had escaped from Hong Kong shortly after it fell to the Japanese and wrote the book *Hong Kong Incident*. Frustratingly, the 'Harrop' part of this lady's signature appears on one of the Admiralty documents, but without the initial.
- 227 As related by David Stanford.
- 228 The arrival of a Red Cross parcel, even shared between several men, was a major event for POWs whose major concern was lack of food, both in quantity and variety. Ex-POWs speak of British, Canadian, and US parcels, with the Canadian ones generally getting the highest rating. As an example, the content of a typical American parcel was:

American Red Cross
STANDARD PACKAGE NO. 8
for
PRISONER OF WAR
FOOD
CONTENTS

Evaporated Milk, irradiated	1 14 1/2 oz. Can
Lunch Biscuit (hard-tack)	1 8 oz. Package
Cheese	1 8 oz. Package
Instant Cocoa	1 8 oz. Tin
Sardines	1 15 oz. Tin
Oleomargarine (Vitamin A)	1 1 lb. Tin
Corned Beef	1 12 oz. Tin
Sweet Chocolate	2 5 1/2 oz. Bars
Sugar, Granulated	1 2 oz. Package
Powdered orange concentrate	1 7 oz. Package (Vitamin C)
Soup (dehydrated)	1 5 oz. Package
Prunes	1 16 oz. Package
Instant Coffee	1 4 oz. Tin
Cigarettes	2 20's
Smoking Tobacco	1 2 1/4 oz. package

229 Most of Weedon's rabbits died. His diary states later: "Ceased to look after rabbits — I think it best so."

230 South African film star and comedian, 1909–1956.

231 The fall of Saipan marked the end for Japan. It enabled the capture of the neighbouring island of Tinian, from which the atomic bombs would be launched just over a year later.

232 Nottinghamshire.

233 Four American airmen involved in this raid were shot down into the sea and made their way to Macau. From there they were escorted to the Chinese guerrillas by operative Nelson Mar. Mar, still around at time of writing at the age of 92, was the man who introduced me to the Zhoushan government.

234 Later, on a visit to the author in Hong Kong in 2004, Ron recalled his older brother Geoff telling him that their mother had returned to England rather than Ireland because she never really believed her husband was lost, and thought that if he ever came looking for them, he would come to England.

235 Kobe house was finally hit by incendiaries and burnt out on 5 June. The body of CPO Ray, who had died the night before, was lost in the blaze. The POWs were then moved to Maru Yama camp.

236 Poulter and 123 of his comrades had been transferred to Nomachi. Andrews was Private James H. Andrews, Middlesex Regiment.

237 Ron: "My mother always hoped that by some miracle my father would be

- found to be alive at the end of the war. These letters and Lt Col Penfold's [in November] must have put an end to that hope ... I can remember when [she] was visited by the lady in uniform who broke the news to her. My mother and the lady then came into the room where my brother and I were and told us."
- 238 Notagawa is over one hundred miles from Hiroshima, and considerably further from Nagasaki, so this probably was indeed a secondary explosion.
- 239 Hamilton confirmed: "Then the Japanese Camp Sergeant told us in a drunken moment that as soon as the Americans landed in Japan all prisoners would be killed. Discreet enquiries from other staff led us to believe that this was true, and indeed we found after the war that several other camps had received similar information." While this story has sometimes been disputed, documentary evidence suggests there is no doubt whatsoever that this was the Japanese 'final solution' to the POW problem.
- 240 Wilshaw was Chairman of Cable & Wireless.
- 241 Bearing in mind the number of servicemen, POWs, and casualties, the mind boggles at the number of such letters that must have been produced — and all laboriously hand-typed. To illustrate this, the volunteers of the Central Prisoners of War Agency of the Red Cross, for example, sent over 50 million letters and telegrams during the Second World War, and received almost as many back — making very nearly 100 million communications in total.
- 242 Eitemble recalled: "Before the Americans came down from Yokohama to arrange for our repatriation, a friend of mine, Danny O'Hanlon had made signal contact with some of the fighter planes, luckily one of the pilots understood and signalled back asking what we required. Danny said food and several hours later back came the fighters and dropped kitbags full of bread etc. Later over came some bombers and dropped forty-four gallon drums of food but without parachutes, luckily they didn't kill anybody but the drums were completely flattened, so no grub. Still, they must have learnt their lesson as later they were dropped by parachute."
- 243 Eitemble added, when asked for his own recollections of this incident: "I don't think I can give you much help about the POWs falling from the B24. On arrival at Atsugi airfield Yokohama, we were loaded onto the planes but I cannot recall names being taken. It was not until we arrived in Manila that I heard of the bombs doors opening, for some unknown reason and 22 ex-POWs falling to their death. I do not think the Americans were very keen for too many people to know about it."
- 244 The CWGC entry for Gollege states he was lost on 8 September 1945, but his name was on this aircraft's manifest.
- 245 Hong Kong POW Major A. C. Houghton, RE, who has a grave in Surrey, also died that day. Interestingly, a note in Admiralty files states: "Believed lost in air crash between Japan and Manila."
- 246 Unfortunately, the *South China Morning Post* refused permission for two

paragraphs from the original article to be reproduced here, unless a fee relating to the number of copies of this book to be published was paid.

- 247 The actual date was the 10th.
- 248 Whitehead states: “Joe Hanley [presumably Gunner Thomas James Hanley] went on to tell me a remarkable tale of how the plane taking him home from Japan ran into a typhoon and he had to bale out over the South China Sea. He dog-paddled in the gloom for almost twenty-four hours and then, when he was on the point of giving up, the lookout on an American [*sic*] warship spotted his tiny head in the vastness of the China Sea and he was rescued” (Whitehead, “Escape to Fight On”, p. 192). As Wright’s friend Bill Pope does not appear in any casualty list, it must be assumed that he was also one of the lucky few to be picked up. Clearly they never met again, which is not necessarily surprising, as they would have been repatriated via different routes.
- 249 Built in 1911, *Maunganui* served as a hospital ship in the Second World War. She picked up these survivors in Keelung.
- 250 The discrepancy in dates is probably not significant, especially as lists of men who were said to be on board do not match. Note also that a second aircraft (B-24M #44-42052, ‘Liquidator’ — also of the 494th Bomb Group) carrying Australian ex-POWs crashed on the same date, probably in Taiwan. Although the aircraft is recorded as not being found, the following five men from the crash are buried in Sai Wan Military cemetery, Hong Kong:

Cooper, Ronald Simmons	Gunner	VX58497	4 A/Tk Regt.	RAA
Gilding, Jack Livingstone	Corporal	SX10013	8 Div. Amb. Sub.	AASC
James, Albert Arthur	Sergeant	NX/60056	2/19 Bn. Aust. Infantry	
Noble, Richard Thomas	Sergeant	NX35741	2/30 Bn. Aust. Infantry	
Rogerson, Harry	W.O.II	VX35009	2/29 Bn. Aust Infantry	

Albert Arthur James was the father of the well-known entertainer, Clive James. According to the first volume of James’ autobiography (“Unreliable Memoirs”) the plane went down in a typhoon in Manila Bay. However, other sources state that it flew into a mountainside in Taiwan. As CWGC graves in Taiwan were re-interred at Sai Wan post-war, the latter seems more likely. See MACR #14972 and #14936.

- 251 As just three examples of the fates of this fleet of repatriation vessels, *Admiral Hughes* was built late in the Second World War. This troopship (AP-124) survived many years post-war at Suisun Bay, California. *Joseph T. Dickman* went into trans-Atlantic service with the United States Line in 1922 as *Peninsular State*, and was renamed *Pierce* and then *Roosevelt* in mid-1922. She rescued the crew of the British ship *Antigone* in 1926 and was taken over by the US War Department in 1940 as transport *Dickman*. She took part in the D-Day landings at Utah Beach, and was finally scrapped at Oakland, California, in 1948. She was a “535”-class liner (E.F.C.), 535-ft, 13,869 gross

- tons, one funnel, two screws, 644 passengers. *Goodhue* (APA-107) was sold as the freighter *Hawaiian Citizen* post-war, and was scrapped in 1982.
- 252 The other urn was that of Private Alfred Keeler, who had died on 15 August — the day of the Japanese surrender — and whose remains are now in Acton cemetery. Andrews, for unknown reasons, is commemorated on the Sai Wan memorial as having no known grave.
- 253 Though in fairness it should be noted that the United Kingdom was still under strict rationing and their people could not be as generous as their New World Allies.
- 254 Of *Lisbon Maru* survivors who died as POWs, Hamilton states: “114 died in Kobe, 55 in Osaka, 21 in Kokura, 24 in Moji, and an estimated 30 in other places, making a total of 244” (versus the 245 recorded in lists prepared for this work). Those who survived in Kokura were lucky. It would have been hit by the second Atomic Bomb, had bad weather not led to Nagasaki being selected in its place.
- 255 Hilary Llewellyn-Williams is a poet with four published collections. ‘My Father Swimming’ appears in her book, *Greenland*, published by Seren (2003).
- 256 It has not been possible to determine the exact number of these men. At least three (one HKRNVR, one Royal Scots Regiment, and one Middlesex Regiment) appear to have moved to New Zealand and made new lives for themselves there. In fairness to their families, their names will not be recorded here. Some men returned home, but later cut off all contact with their families. At least one (see Martin Booth’s biography, *Gweilo*, pp. 127–132) committed suicide.
- 257 Since those four submarines were in the same general area as *Bullhead*, and two further submarines (*Cod* and *Chub*) also passed through those seas at various times, it is difficult to be sure which Japanese anti-submarine attack was the one that sank *Bullhead*. However, most probably it was one that occurred on 6 August 1945 — the very first day of *Bullhead*’s patrol on station — when a Japanese army aircraft attacked an Allied submarine with depth charges. It claimed two direct hits, and observed a large quantity of oil and air bubbles at the water’s surface. The position stated was close to the coast of the Indonesian island of Bali. The submarine probably lies there to this day.
- 258 *Grouper* crewman Carl Kjellin’s nephew Barney Deibert, for example, reports: “Apparently he never talked to anyone about his time in service. I get the impression that he wanted to forget it all. I even talked to some of the guys that served in the navy at the same time and they told me that he never talked to them about his service time either.”
- 259 Japan Reinforcement Base Depot.
- 260 Gar says: “I wanted to retire in Hong Kong but my wife insisted moving back to the Great Northwest where our children resided.”
- 261 Blow the ballast tanks to surface, Vent the tanks to dive; hence, Blow and Vent.

- 262 Rear Admiral.
- 263 With kind permission of the West Australian Newspaper.
- 264 On return to England Mrs Brooks had discovered that she had tuberculosis of the throat, and was confined to bed and not allowed to speak.
- 265 The British government closed all cases regarding personal pay in the Second World War many years ago. However, to the delight (and surprise) of all who know Ross, he was finally paid his due in August 2004!
- 266 Shortly before he passed away, Salmon was working with a Dr Christine Henderson on an as yet unpublished account of the sinking of the *Lisbon Maru*.
- 267 Hewitt's wartime experiences are described in his book, *A Bridge with Three Men*. He passed away in Australia in August 2004 as this book was being written up.
- 268 Martin's son Mark (also a Harrow student, followed by Cambridge and Harvard) was at one time an advisor with McKinsey & Co. to the governor of Hong Kong, Sir Murray McLehose, in the 1970s. Later, he was a top headhunter in London for over a quarter of a century.
- 269 Daughter of Major Bottomley, HKVDC. Her husband Denis was District Officer of Tai Po.
- 270 Author of *A Mountain of Light*.
- 271 These were: Campbell (Police), Evans (Tom himself, ex-Middlesex, and at this time Hong Kong Dockyard Police), Garton (HKRNVR), Gorman (Dockyard Police), Hamilton (Royal Scots), Hill (Police), Howell (RASC), Johnstone (HKRNVR), Man (Middlesex), Robson (Middlesex), McDougall (Royal Scots), Salmon (Royal Artillery), Taylor (Hong Kong Signals Company), and 'A' Woodhead was presumably Fred Woodhead of the Police.
- 272 Bernard Charles Lilley was born in West Ham, London, on 8 February 1907. He joined the RN as a Boy 2nd Class aboard HMS *Impregnable* on 30 May 1923. He subsequently served aboard *Valiant*, *Clematis*, *Norfolk*, and *Caledon* where, rising through the ranks, he was made an Acting Petty Officer in December 1935. Accepted as an Acting Regulating Petty Officer (RPO) during April 1936, he transferred to *Leander*. Drafted to Hong Kong and *Tamar* (February 1939 to May 1940), he received his L.S. and G.C. award on 3 April 1940, and after a few months aboard *Dauntless*, returned to *Tamar*, only to be taken prisoner of war by the Japanese in December 1941. Whilst a POW on the books of *Drake*, he received advancement to Master at Arms (MAA) on 22 July 1942. He was pensioned on 24 May 1947.
- 273 The book, *A Village Remembers*, tells the story of Jacksdale, the Memorial and the men who gave their lives. It is available from Jacksdale Garden Centre. MCM, Main Road, Ironville Post Office, Selston Library, and both Selston Post Offices.
- 274 Thanks to Donald Stewart for the details. He adds: "Andra went with Joe Gault, another Lossie Skipper, out to the Far East to work the Boom Defences.

- Joe stopped at Ceylon, Andra went on to Hong Kong. Joe came back to be a successful fisherman. Bella Flett, Andra's sister, married John Gault and became a trawlerman in Aberdeen."
- 275 Researchers should be aware that the majority of surviving photos of *Grouper* were taken well after the war and thus show very different lines to those she had in 1942.
- 276 British records do not mention a massacre, nor the manner in which Ledyard died. I am grateful to the Web site of Michael Meals of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park for these details.
- 277 Though a plaque to the RA personnel lost on board is in the Chapel at St Stephen's in Stanley.
- 278 The ship is not protected under the British legislation regarding treating such wrecks as war graves, as that legislation only applies to British registered ships.
- 279 Federal Communications Commission report, 3 June 1943.
- 280 This correspondence can be found in FO371/57578, The National Archives.
- 281 The Treasury Solicitor's Department provides legal services to central government departments and other publicly funded bodies in England and Wales.
- 282 See note 209.
- 283 Foreign Secretary, 1945–51.
- 284 Thus they are unfortunately not preserved at the PRO.
- 285 Peter Alan Lee Vine had obtained, in Singapore shortly after the war, his solicitor's Final Qualifying examination. After this fact was reported in Singapore's the *Straits Times*, he was recruited by Colonel Kieran and Brigadier Davis as a prosecuting officer (Deputy Assistant Judge Advocate General) with the temporary rank of Major. After serving on two trials in Singapore, he was posted to Hong Kong for the *Lisbon Maru* case and one other concerning Taiwan. He returned to Hong Kong after the war and had a long and successful career there with Deacons. He lives in Hong Kong to this day.
- 286 He was lucky again, as on 29 April 1945 a Grumman Avenger torpedo-bomber sunk the I-44 off Okinawa, with the loss of all 134 men on board.
- 287 In an amazingly close parallel, the *Arandora Star* had sailed from Liverpool on 2 July 1940, carrying 1,673 people, of whom 374 were the British crew and guards, and the remainder German and Italian internees (plus nearly 100 German POWs). Torpedoed off Ireland by *U-47*, the after engine room was flooded at once and the generators were put out of action. Most of the German and Italians on board rushed on deck from the dark holds, but many refused to board the life rafts which the crew and guards led them to. As the ship sank, the Canadian destroyer HMCS *St. Laurent* arrived and started picking up survivors from the boats, and individuals and small groups from the water (mainly by lowering their own personnel over the sides of the destroyer by rope, to physically drag them up, many being soaked in oil and unable to help themselves). Eight hundred

- and five of those on board perished, including almost one hundred of the British crew and guards.
- 288 Although the document is undated, it presumably relates to an enquiry made shortly after the initial British protest. It was recovered from the files of the First Demobilisation Bureau, Tokyo, on 9 September 1946, and placed with the International Prosecution Section for translation on 17 September. The translation was concluded by 8 November.
- 289 “The Nuremberg trial has made clear that at least an action in consequence of an order should be considered strongly in mitigation of punishment.”
- 290 In this text the third Geneva Convention, of 1929, plus the relevant parts of the second Convention, 1907 (the Hague Convention), are referred to. The fourth Convention, of 1949, strengthened some of these provisions.
- 291 Now at the University of Hong Kong Library as The Ride Collection.
- 292 Major Rob Cooper, BAAG.
- 293 Military Yen and Chinese National Currency respectively.
- 294 Sergeant John Payne, executed on 26 August 1942, with Private John Adams, Lance Corporal George Berzenski, and Private Percy Ellis. All were Winnipeg Grenadiers.
- 295 Private James Stopforth (RAOC), executed on 14 September 1942, with Private Paul Connolly (HKDDC), Private Maurice Dunne (RAOC), Private Victor Branson (1st Middlesex), and Lance Corporal William George (1st Middlesex). Three other men were involved in this escape but lived. *Lisbon Maru* survivor Dennis Morley had actually tried to escape with Connolly previously. Dennis 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.”
- 296 Prata was buried in Hong Kong Roman Catholic Cemetery. Date of death was given as 14 Septemer 1943.
- 297 Actually Captain Douglas Ford. The executions were carried out on 18 December.
- 298 They were in fact imprisoned and later released.
- 299 Shrigley was in the HKVDC pay detachment. He was: “Killed in a fall from a second floor window in Yaumatei while under interrogation.” The date of death is given as 28 June 1944. Hale was in the Field Company Engineers of the HKVDC. His death is listed as 26 August 1944. The possibility of an error in one or other date leads to speculation that both may have lost their lives in the same incident.
- 300 Detested by the POWs for his pro-Japanese stance, Boon was tried as a collaborator after the war. He was acquitted.

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