

ESCAPE
from
HONG KONG

*Admiral Chan Chak's
Christmas Day Dash, 1941*

TIM LUARD



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(Maps 1, 2, and 3 by Rachel Kesal. Map 4 by Lt Alexander Kennedy.)

1

Last Ship Out

7 December 1941

Lieutenant Alexander Kennedy drove eastwards along the coast of Hong Kong Island till he had left the city behind. Just before the beacon at Lyemun Pass, he parked his car—a sporty little Standard 9 saloon with sliding sunroof—and stood on the headland, gazing down at the entrance to one of the finest harbours in the world. Across the narrow blue strait, 500 yards away, Devil’s Peak reared up from the mainland. Beyond it, a range of higher mountains—the ‘nine dragons’ that gave the Kowloon peninsula its Chinese name—rose dreamily in a grey-blue mist above the scattered villages and paddy fields of the New Territories. Just behind them, on the Chinese border, 20 miles from where he stood, the Imperial Nipponese Army was readying for attack.

The handsome, red-headed young Scot needed little reminding of just how close the Japanese were. He was commanding officer of a motor torpedo boat—one of a flotilla of MTBs that formed a major part of Hong Kong’s token navy. On their patrols around the waters of the British colony, the unit’s eight small boats had from time to time come across wrecked fishing junks which had been attacked by Japanese warships. These attacks were apparently meant to discourage Hong Kong people from smuggling war materials or other goods to their compatriots in China, who had been resisting Japanese aggression for years. Kennedy and his crew had also exchanged wary looks with Japanese soldiers stationed along the Chinese coast near Mirs Bay. It was his favourite part of Hong Kong, where the innumerable bays and inlets of crystal-clear water and the surrounding steep green hills reminded him of his sailing days back home.

Kennedy had joined the Clyde Division of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve (RNVR) as a midshipman in 1937, while still in his first year of a science tripos at Cambridge. He signed up partly to open an avenue of escape from his family’s prosperous laundry and dyeing business in Glasgow, but mainly because of a visit to the 1936 Olympics. His parents—proud of their only child’s excellent sporting and academic performance at one of Scotland’s finest schools,

Loretto—had taken him to Berlin as a treat before he went up to university. The Games themselves had been well organized and spectacular, he later recalled. But the ‘hysterical sieg heils’ had come as a shock. As those around them leaped to their feet with right arms extended, the family from Kelvinside remained silently and defiantly seated.

After mobilization in August 1939, Kennedy was promptly dispatched to Hong Kong. Defending a small colony in South China against possible attack from Japan—a country Britain wasn’t even at war with—didn’t seem the most obvious way to stop Hitler, to either Kennedy himself or the rest of the colony’s 10,000-strong British garrison. But his grandmother’s parting words remained with him: ‘Remember, Alick, always do your duty.’

As well as the regular troops—from Britain, India and Canada—there were locally recruited volunteers. While they may have been less well trained than the professionals, many of these were more motivated, since this was, temporarily at least, their home. Even so, there were few places available among their ranks (and still fewer at officer level) for the ethnic Chinese who formed the overwhelming majority of the population. On land, there was the Volunteer Defence Corps (VDC), up to 2,000 strong; at sea, the HKRNVR, or Hong Kong Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, whose strength of just 300 at the outbreak of the war in Europe had now been brought up to 800. Almost all the dozen or so young officers in Kennedy’s flotilla belonged to this local branch of his own ‘Wavy Navy’.

In fact, the only one of them wearing the straight stripes of the regular Royal Navy was Kennedy’s flatmate, John Collingwood, who had moved in just last month to share his spacious naval officers’ bachelor flat on the upper floor of a two-storey building on the corner of Cameron and Nathan Roads. Aged twenty-eight—four years older than Kennedy—Collingwood was a fellow lieutenant who had come to Hong Kong two years previously as a gunnery officer, and was now second-in-command of the MTB flotilla. Some thought he might even have got the top job when it became available in April, 1941, but instead, the unit was now led by a crusty World War One veteran, Lieutenant Commander GH Gandy, RN (Retd). Fair-minded but set in his ways, Gandy was fond of his men but not afraid to berate them as ‘fools and dolts’ if they got their splicing or anchor work wrong. Many of the senior officers in Hong Kong’s forces were men like him who had been brought out of retirement, since the few younger qualified men were needed in Europe and other parts of the world where their presence was considered more important.

The eight motor torpedo boats each had a lieutenant and a sub-lieutenant, and a crew of between eight and ten Royal Navy ratings. Twice a week, Kennedy and his men carried out dummy attacks on a tame and elderly British destroyer. Firing their 17-foot-long torpedoes from the cramped engine room was not easy. The water had to be the right depth, the MTB had to be accelerating, and to make things even more difficult, the torpedoes came out backwards from the stern of the boat. Hence the warning on the flotilla's flying-fish crest: *Caudae Spiculum Cave* (Beware the Sting in the Tail).

There was a tendency among other sailors to treat the 'glamour boys' of this branch of the navy with good-humoured tolerance: to scoff, for example, at their simple hand signals to turn right. But while they were hardly the most modern or formidable of craft, Hong Kong's MTBs were small and fast, like speedboats. With their 1500-horsepower engines and multiple Lewis machine guns mounted fore and aft, their officers and crews were confident that when the time came, they could at least put up a useful fight. Little did anyone know just how crucially useful these sleek 'Spitfires of the Sea' would soon become.

A steady stream of ships, mainly small merchantmen, was now coming from the harbour to Kennedy's left. A small gunboat towed away the end of the defensive net that had been stretched across the narrow strait to keep out submarines and torpedoes. One by one, the cargo ships passed through the boom and began to steam off into the distance. All of them were heading south—away from China and the approaching Japanese troops.

Japan had invaded the Chinese interior in 1937, after concluding that the puppet state it had previously set up to the north in Manchuria no longer satisfied its needs. Western countries had grabbed colonies and treaty ports from the no-longer-mighty Middle Kingdom, so why not an Asian power? Japanese troops soon captured the capital, Nanking, celebrating their victory by massacring hundreds of thousands of civilians and raping tens of thousands of women. The Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek withdrew a thousand miles farther up the Yangtze to the ramshackle city of Chungking. The war then dragged on, with some five million Chinese soldiers confronting the invaders in a virtual stalemate along a 2,000-mile front. But there was no disputing the fact that the tiny country of Japan now controlled the north and much of the east and south of the world's most populous country—including almost all its key cities, ports and communication lines.

The refugees now slept in tens of thousands on Hong Kong's streets, a daily reminder of what was happening across the border. The population had doubled to 1.5 million since the fall of Canton in 1938. There were calls for Britain to take a tougher line with Japan, but the Foreign Office in London was unwilling to do anything that might increase the chances of a new war on yet another front. In many people's view, Japan would never dare take on Britain, let alone America too.

Kennedy wasn't sure, but he remained upbeat. A few weeks ago, on hearing news of some rare German reverses in Russia and the Middle East, he had written to his parents:

Recent events should make the little Japs put their thinking caps on again and realise that perhaps after all their waiting . . . they're still in danger of backing the wrong horse. I think they'll hold their hand yet awhile, although after some of their recent belligerent speeches one feels itching to give them a damn good hiding.

The fact was, most of the colony's leading citizens were too preoccupied with money-making, sporting activities and dancing to bother much about any war, be it far away in Europe or on their own doorstep. At thirteen shillings a day, a naval lieutenant such as Kennedy couldn't be said to be making a huge amount of money, but even the most junior officers and the lowest level of white civilians such as clerks lived far better than they would at home. Among the luxuries they came to take for granted was to have at least one Chinese servant, or 'boy', to wait on them in his long white gown and even shave them in the morning. The ordinary British soldier was more likely to have a 'downhomer', or Chinese live-in girl—the going rate for providing all the comforts of home and more being ten shillings a month.

'Some Chinese girls can look remarkably attractive and many a soldier gets married to one,' Kennedy tells his parents in another of his letters, before adding the hasty rejoinder: 'the shortsightedness of such a policy is sometimes quite beyond the powers of their officers to explain to them.' He also admits that prostitution is a problem, complaining that 'one doesn't need to leave the street to be accosted'. He praises sport, on the other hand, because 'it gives men something to do and think about instead of going ashore to the less healthy haunts'. As flotilla sports officer, he not only played rigger himself—for the Navy, against teams such as the Hong Kong Club and, fiercest rival of all, the Army—but also organized everything from athletic leagues to inter-ship swimming relays.

After a morning of work and an afternoon of sport, the typical colonial day ended with cocktails, dinner and dancing. Kennedy himself was more likely to go out to the cinema. But his fellow MTB officer, Ron Ashby, whose wife had been evacuated to England, was a *bon viveur* who had recently helped him celebrate his twenty-fourth birthday at a lively dancing party in a nightclub. And it was noticeable that as war grew closer, some sectors of Hong Kong society had been partying ever more wildly, as in Rome before the Fall.

Kennedy took a letter from his pocket and read it, occasionally looking up to check on the vessels passing below, or simply to gaze into the distance. He would remember the view clearly years later.

It was at the Saint Andrew's Day Ball at the Peninsula Hotel in 1940 that he had danced for the first time with Rachel, a girl he had been introduced to a few months previously. Afterwards they had gone back to the MTB officers' mess, a place he later remembered fondly for its smell of camphor wood and the sounds from next door of clattering mah-jong tiles and high-pitched Chinese singing on the radio. But this was a moment for a tune on the pipes. His late-night bagpipe playing had recently drawn a complaint from a neighbour, the director of the Royal Hong Kong Observatory. But as the smitten Kennedy later recalled:

Nobody cared that night, least of all myself, and I managed the difficult feat of playing the pipes walking along the mantelpiece without falling off. I saw Rachel home to the lovely house on the Peak where her father, Mr. N.L. Smith, the Colonial Secretary, lived, and this evening turned out to be the first of many wonderfully happy associations and memories shared against the background of Hong Kong.

Rachel was nineteen, small and dark-haired. She had recently returned to Hong Kong from art college in Bournemouth, and was now doing ciphering work for the VAD, or Voluntary Aid Detachment. Over the past twelve months the two of them had spent almost all their free time together. While Britain was enduring the darkest nights of the Blitz and letters from the Kennedy parents spoke of school-friends missing in action, they had lived each moment to the full—exploring the New Territories, swimming off remote beaches, or playing tennis in the garden of the house on Peak Road, against a backdrop of bays and islands stretching to the horizon on a broad expanse of blue. As Alick reflected later, those were happy but hardly carefree days: they could sense what was coming, yet never knew just 'when the balloon was going to go up, as it finally did in December, 1941'.

Rachel's father, Norman Lockhart Smith—or just 'NL'—had served as Acting Governor between the departure of the former Governor, Sir Geoffrey Northcote, and the arrival of the new one, Sir Mark Young.* As Colonial Secretary, he had also received the envoy from Tokyo, Saburo Kurusu, when the senior Japanese official passed through the colony in mid November en route for a final, ill-fated round of peace talks in Washington. But the official policy of getting on with the Japanese had its limits. When the chairman of the Royal Hong Kong Golf Club asked NL whether the club should admit Japan's Consul General as a member, he replied: 'Would *you* want to share *your* changing room with a Jap?'

Rachel's father was now about to retire. His wife (who had overawed Alick when he first sat next to her at a dinner in Government House) had returned to Britain ahead of him, so his daughter was to accompany him home. Their departure on the Blue Funnel ship *Ulysses* had been put back until the week of Christmas due to damage the ship had suffered in a typhoon. The young couple had been looking forward to having the extra few weeks together, though the gathering war clouds made it an anxious time for all. They were surprised to find that the ship's passenger list was still far from full, which meant many were ignoring the government's advice that anyone able to leave should go.

Alick's letters home, meanwhile, had become increasingly full of Rachel—or Ray, as he called her. He was desperate for his parents to like her, assuring them: 'She's a grand girl with no nonsense about her.' Such a grand girl that on Monday, 24 November 1941, he asked Ray to marry him. His proposal was gladly accepted and the couple celebrated at the Gloucester Hotel with the most expensive champagne they could find. Rachel wrote home to her mother that it would be heartbreaking to leave Alick, but it would be good for her to be able to meet 'his people', and since he had already done two and a half years in Hong Kong he would surely be home soon.

Sir Mark Young: A former governor of Tanganyika, Young was not overimpressed by his deputy in the weeks after arriving in Hong Kong. In a letter to a colleague in London he described NL as 'charming but exasperating' and 'ineffectual'. The word 'flibbertigibbet', he decided, summed him up well. During an earlier period as acting governor in August 1940, Smith was replaced by a general on the advice of local military commanders, who thought he was not decisive or organized enough in the face of a possible military threat from Japan.

A large Blue Funnel passenger ship was now making its way up the harbour towards the boom. Kennedy strained to pick out the figures on deck who were leaning over the railing to get their last look at Hong Kong. He even convinced himself he could see a tiny Ray, waving at him. Farther up the hill behind him, the big guns of the Pak Sha Wan Battery, manned by the 4th Battery of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps (HKVDC), looked stolidly back across the strait.

The night before—Saturday, 6 December—there had been another dance at The Peninsula, the Tin Hat Ball, to raise funds to build bombers to defend Britain against Germany. There were prizes for ‘the most original and humorous costumes’. But the most smartly turned out were the young naval officers, the gold braid on their dress uniforms a perfect complement for the cream and gold lobby with its long line of chandeliers and pillars, palms and ornamental gilt. The 600 guests included the Governor and the man in charge of Hong Kong’s defence, Major General CM Maltby. Soon after 11 p.m., the orchestra was halted in mid flow by a man on the balcony waving a megaphone for silence: ‘Would all naval personnel, including merchant service personnel, return to their ships immediately,’ he announced. Passengers for the *Ulysses* were told they didn’t have until Christmas after all—they would be leaving within twelve hours.

Kennedy had offered to see Rachel and her father onto the ship, since he himself was not on duty until later that night. According to his diary, he woke at 5.45 a.m. and made his way across the harbour and up to 297 The Peak. He helped Ray finish her packing, and then accompanied her and her father down to Queen’s Pier. At 8.30 a.m., the three of them took a launch out to the ship. The *Ulysses* was just securing to a buoy, her repairs barely complete. On board, NL shuffled his feet as his daughter and prospective son-in-law had a few last precious minutes together. Amid all the leave-taking and raising of anchors, one coaster had just arrived, carrying among its few passengers the Colonial Secretary’s successor, FC Gimson. Like almost every other British citizen in Hong Kong, he was about to spend the next three and a half years in an internment camp.

Before driving out to wave his final farewell from the Lyemun headland, Kennedy had returned to Kowloon for a quick lunch at his flat. The radio news was announcing the mobilization of all Volunteers. Regular troops had been on alert for weeks, but this was the most serious sign yet that Hong Kong’s war was about to commence. General Maltby had been summoned from the morning’s service at St John’s Cathedral, where he was reading the lesson from

St Matthew, to be told there were now as many as 20,000 troops from the Japanese 23rd Army moving up to the border. It was just a few months since Maltby—a lightly built man with greying hair and a trim moustache—had arrived in the colony as the new General Officer Commanding, Hong Kong. His thirty years in the Indian Army had taught him plenty, but hadn't prepared him for defending a small, isolated island, with neither armour, sea nor air cover, against a battle-hardened and numerically superior enemy. He gave orders for the entire garrison to stand-to in their battle positions.

The *Ulysses*—the last passenger ship to leave—was now starting to clear the boom defences. 'Read Ray's letter—watched ship' was as much as Kennedy had to say in his diary. But in the book he later wrote about his escape, he admitted he was torn between relief that Rachel had got away, sorrow at losing her and worry that she might still be too late to reach safety. There were reports of a Japanese armada steaming into the Gulf of Siam. The *Ulysses* was bound first for Manila, and would be at risk for several days from bombers in mid ocean. He watched the ship go, trailing a plume of brown smoke and a long white wake like the train of a bride's dress.

Kennedy's engagement to Rachel was still not public knowledge. They had agreed that he would place a notice in the papers the following day. But he had at least managed to write home to Scotland about it. His closely written, 16-page letter would be leaving on tomorrow's flight of the Clipper—the large Pan Am flying boat that was even now sitting by the jetty at Kai Tak Airport, ready for its 8 a.m. take-off.

He drove back into town, past the barbed wire entanglements along the waterfront and the half-frightened faces of bankers and teachers and other Volunteers, heading for the hills in their tin hats and clattering boots. The harbour looked eerily empty, apart from the occasional familiar green-and-white Star Ferry and criss-crossing sampan.

Maybe the announcement—and even the wedding itself—would have to wait a little longer than they had hoped. But at least he had a better reason than ever for ensuring he survived the coming battle—and got away afterwards. If it did come down to making a quick exit, the men in the flotilla knew a motor torpedo boat would be the best thing you could have in a place almost entirely surrounded, as Hong Kong was, by sea.

When he reported in as night duty officer at the MTB base that evening, Kennedy took with him many of his most treasured small possessions, including Rachel's letters, some photos and cufflinks. To his later regret, he left behind his sword and bagpipes.

It was a five-minute walk to the Kowloon Naval Yard along Haiphong Road, full of the usual raucous shouts, overpowering smells and vibrant colours at hawkers' stalls selling everything from cotton shirts to curried squid. Whitfield Barracks lay silent. The Indian troops usually on parade there with their brass bands, turbans and other emblems of imperial glory were now crouching in their darkened dugouts in the New Territories alongside the Royal Scots, who made up the other half of the Mainland Brigade. Hong Kong Island was in the hands of the 1st Middlesex and two battalions of Canadians, last-minute additions to the garrison.

All seemed in order at the naval yard, with the usual boats out on patrol. Each one was known by its number. *MTB 07* had just left its berth (or 'slipped camber' as the skipper, Ron Ashby, wrote in his immaculate logbook) and was heading off to mount overnight guard at the harbour boom. Also not due back till morning were John Collingwood and his crew on *11*, out west patrolling the mouth of the Pearl River, and Tommy Parsons on *27*, up in Mirs Bay. Kennedy did his rounds of the base and turned in well before midnight on his own boat, *MTB 09*. He felt an 'underlying current of restlessness and tension'.

It was still dark, at 5.50 a.m., when his torpedo rating, Bobby Hempenstall, came down the ladder from the wheelhouse with a signal from the Commodore ordering all ships to raise steam. Forty minutes later came another, more explicit order: 'COMMENCE HOSTILITIES AGAINST JAPAN.'

But as the warm glow of dawn turned to a brilliantly clear, cool day, it was Japan that struck first. Just before 8 a.m., more than forty warplanes appeared from over the Kowloon hills and headed for Kai Tak. A few minutes later, the small group of stick-insect-like aircraft lying carelessly dispersed about the aerodrome had gone up in flames. The three obsolete Wildebeeste divebombers and two Walrus amphibians that comprised Hong Kong's entire air force were put out of action with scarcely a shot fired in their defence. Eight civil aircraft were also burnt out—including the graceful Clipper, which had been about to take off with its cargo of mail.

The battle had begun.

Later . . .

RON ASHBY got back to England to find his wife Doreen—believing him dead—had found another man. He remarried in 1946, and he and Eileen celebrated their golden wedding shortly before he died. Ron spent the rest of the war as a flotilla leader, serving finally as Senior Officer, Coastal Forces, in the Arakan campaign to retake Rangoon. This earned him a Mention in Dispatches and a ‘bar’ to the DSC that he had won in the defence of Hong Kong. He retired from the navy after the war with the rank of commander and bought a boatbuilding and hiring company in Norfolk. For the next forty-one years, he and his family lived on a 72-foot motor torpedo boat, converted into a houseboat. According to his son, Vaughan—also a professional mariner—Ron remained ‘the life and soul of any party’ until his death at the age of eighty-seven in 1998.

LES BARKER married his prewar girlfriend, Ida, in 1943, and later that year took part in the invasion of Italy. After the war he found work as a mechanic in a sock factory. The job gave him the chance to move south from his mining town to the fresher, coastal air at Margate, where he brought up his two children. Les was a religious man, taught himself to play the piano and organ, and was an amateur painter. He looked after his wife, who died of cancer in 1992, and he lived on until 2002. It was his grandchildren to whom he told his war stories. Wanting to learn more after finding his wartime diary, his daughter Carol’s eldest son, Russell, retraced the escape party’s route in 2008 from Hong Kong to the China-Burma border.

TOMMY BREWER was Mentioned in Dispatches for services off the coast of Burma in May 1942 while serving as first officer on *HDML 1104*. After returning to England the following month, he transferred to the RNVR and was posted to HMS *Drake*, the Royal Naval shore establishment at Devonport, with the rank of temporary sub-lieutenant. Keen as ever for more excitement, he at once applied for transfer to the Fleet Air Arm, writing to his former commanding officer for

a reference. Gandy gave him 5 out of 10 for professional ability, 5 for power of command, and 7 for zeal and energy. But his reply was returned unopened with a note giving the news of Brewer's death in a crash on the A1 on 28 July 1942. He was buried at Gillingham Cemetery in Kent.

EDMUND BRAZEL returned from his job at the Jardines office in Kunming to Wolverhampton in England, where he married Louie Hemingway at St Philip's Church on 12 July 1945. Soon afterwards the couple travelled out to Madras, where Eddie took up a job as a chartered electrical engineer, working for the local agents of English Electric (Stafford). They remained in India for more than twenty years, before returning to the UK to live at Fair Oak in Hampshire. Eddie died in June 2001 aged eighty-seven. His wife Louie passed away a few years before him.

CHAN CHAK worked closely with the Americans and British in the fight against the Japanese forces who continued to occupy much of China for the rest of the war. He was involved mainly in the exchange of intelligence and distribution of military hardware. In 1945 he became Mayor of Canton, but held the job for little more than a year. He was widely considered to be an incorrupt, capable and just official, and was, as ever, a clever strategist, but he continued to think of himself more as a military man than a politician. He was also outweighed in power and influence by General Chang Fa Kuei, effective commander of South China. Admiral Sir Andrew Chan Chak died in Canton at the age of fifty-six on 1 September 1949, the day after hosting a large dinner party at which Leung Wingyuen was one of the guests. There was speculation that the Admiral might have been poisoned by an agent of Chiang Kai-shek, but his doctor blamed a recurrence of the stomach ulcer he had suffered during the escape, brought on by drink. He was buried with full military honours after a state funeral.

HOLGER CHRISTIANSEN gained a Mention in Dispatches for 'skilful and courageous services which enabled a party to make a daring escape from Hong Kong'. No further trace could be found of what befell the young Danish cadet in later life.

JOHN COLLINGWOOD returned home from India a few months after the rest of the flotilla, having stayed in Akyab until 18 April before making his way in late May from Calcutta to Ceylon. He was stationed at the Royal Navy base in Colombo from June to August, 1942.

He was Mentioned in Dispatches for distinguished service during the defence of Hong Kong. He married in 1943 and later in the war was based at Dover and Malta. Because of poor eyesight he retrained as an electrical officer. Then came a tour of duty in Istanbul, training Turkish officers. He retired from the navy after twenty-seven years' service and formed his own company specializing in the installation of electronic equipment on ships. He died in 2002. Seven years later, his widow Kay, at the age of eighty-nine, was the only first-generation member of HERO's visit to China.

LEN DOWNEY, *MTB 10's* 'most reliable Able Seaman', had been advised by Kennedy in Burma to put in for advancement when he got home, but had replied: 'No, I'm quite happy, Sir, as a 3-badge A.B.' In the event, the two met up again in 1943 when Downey arrived at Fort William in Scotland as coxswain of one of the training motor launches. Len went on to serve on *ML 196* in the D-Day landings at Gold Beach, winning a Distinguished Service Medal after taking over the boat when his skipper was shot. According to his mother, he had suffered from nightmares ever since the Hong Kong escape and had begged her 'not to let the Navy send him to mental hospital.' He retired from the Royal Navy as a petty officer in 1948 and joined HM Customs, serving as a skipper of customs launches for twenty years before retiring to Totnes in Devon, where he died in 1979.

HORACE GANDY was Mentioned in Dispatches for 'daring and resource in Far Eastern waters' and for 'escaping as ordered'. He spent the rest of the war mostly at sea in Europe. He commanded HMS *Kingfisher* for two years, and led a squadron of landing craft in the relief of Holland. In 1946, Gandy was promoted to commander on the retired list. His wife, Dorothea, never fully recovered from the four years she spent in Stanley internment camp. The couple returned to Hong Kong, where Horace had worked before the war as a PWD land surveyor. For the next four years he was acting superintendent of Crown Lands and Surveys. In retirement, the Gandys lived in southeast England, Scotland and Holland. They finally settled in Devon, where 'Dolly' died in 1974 and 'Holly' thirteen years later at the age of ninety-one.

ARTHUR GEE stayed in Chungking doing cipher work at the embassy until June 1942, when he was seconded to the Army. On the way back to Britain, his ship was torpedoed in the Indian Ocean and he found himself adrift in a waterlogged raft, splashing the water to

keep marauding sharks at bay. He was later commissioned into the Imperial RNVF and served as first officer on *ML 237*. He married in 1944, and after the war, went back to work at the *Hong Kong Mail* as night editor. Two years later, by now with two children, he moved to Canada and joined the Royal Canadian Air Force as a flight lieutenant ground crew. He developed his cipher skills and became an expert on nuclear defence. He returned to England in 1962 and worked for the Foreign Office as a cipher officer, but died three years later at the age of fifty-one.

ARTHUR GORING was promoted to lieutenant colonel in May 1942 after returning via Chungking to General Staff Branch in Delhi. He stayed on in India, where his brother Harold was also a general staff officer, and marked the first anniversary of the Christmas Day Escape by joining fellow officers Macmillan and Guest for a reunion meeting of what they christened the 'Aplichau Aquatic Club'. In August 1943, Goring was posted back to his old cavalry regiment, Probyn's Horse, which had recently become mechanized, and next year, was given command of a tank regiment in the Indian Armoured Corps. David MacDougall wanted to have him as his military adviser in the new administration in Hong Kong, but the appointment was turned down by Whitehall. Goring retired in the 1950s to a fruit farm in Devon.

FREDDIE GUEST and his friend Peter Macmillan carried out lecture tours for the Army in India, telling the story of their escape and giving tips on how to fight the Japanese. Freddie also gave instruction in the use of mules and packhorses to cadets bound for Burma. Towards the end of the war he rejoined his wife and young children in England. He was posted briefly to Germany after V-E Day but returned to civilian life in 1946, settling down with his family in Cheltenham, where he went to race meetings and played tennis, golf, snooker and bridge. His three books include one on a new variant of contract bridge. The idea for the game had come to him during his escape, he said, when he had kept a pack of cards in his pocket through thick and thin. The former Bengal Lancer, who by this time wore a monocle, also enjoyed going up to London to meet old friends for dinner at the Cavalry Club. He suffered a heart attack while driving his car in November 1962 and was dead before the ambulance reached hospital.

LES GURD, seen in photos of the escape with his nickname 'Lofty' on his helmet, stayed on in Calcutta, returning to join his wife and young son in Portsmouth after the war. His wife said later she was

convinced 'he had met someone out East and had another family'. They later divorced. Les joined the Portsmouth City Fire Brigade and fought many local fires, some later in life with his son David by his side. In 1970, he was one of the first firefighters to board the blazing 3,000-ton Liberian supertanker *Pacific Glory*, which was carrying 70,000 gallons of crude oil when a collision off the Isle of Wight led to an explosion and a huge inferno. He never spoke about the war or his part in it, and had no inclination to travel abroad again, preferring to spend his retirement gardening, watching cricket and walking his dog. He died in 1999.

ROBERT HEMPENSTALL, who had spent some time in India in hospital with fever, returned home and joined HMS *Defiance* on 13 July 1942. He served in the Atlantic and later in support of the campaigns in France and Germany, qualifying for both the Atlantic and the France and Germany Stars. The cessation of hostilities in 1945 did not herald the end of Robert's service. He was then called upon to police the Mandate of Palestine. He was on the strength of HMS *St Angels*, which in October 1946 was being maintained, serviced and provisioned in the Palestine police security area at Haifa. Robert died there on 7 November 1946, at the age of twenty-seven, as a result of an explosion and not through enemy action. He was buried in the New War Cemetery at Haifa.

BUDDY HIDE married his longtime girlfriend eleven days after arriving back in England, and soon afterwards was sent back to sea. He was Mentioned in Dispatches for his role in Hong Kong, and in May 1945, was promoted to chief petty officer stoker mechanic. He remained in the navy until 1955. He then moved with his family to Tanganyika, working as a mechanical engineer in a diamond mine. On his return in 1958, he settled down to jobs in Hertfordshire, Essex and finally his home county of Sussex, where he worked in a water processing plant and enjoyed a quiet country life. He died in 1977 at the age of sixty-four. One of his three sons, Richard, runs the Hong Kong Escape website and became founding chairman of HERO. Another son, David, became the Australian representative on the committee.

JOHN HOLT, a former weaver at the Coronation Mill in the northern English town of Burnley, continued his naval service as an Able Seaman on many different ships and MTBs until the end of the Pacific War, when he was present on HMS *Teazer* at the surrender

ceremony in Tokyo Bay. He returned to Burnley, met and married Edith, and they had two sons. John, known as Jack, worked for Marks and Spencer's department store and was active in the local Roman Catholic church. He died of a heart attack in 1963, when the boys, David and Stephen, were still very young. It was on the 60th anniversary of V-J Day in 2005 that they decided to find out what their father had done in the war. They learnt for the first time of the escape from his service records, and tracked down a local newspaper article from 6 January 1942 headlined 'Burnley Sailor in Hong Kong Escape'. After further enquiries they compiled a booklet about the escape in their father's memory, *John (Jack) Holt, A Biography 1941–46*.

HENRY HSU ended the war as captain of the Chinese Navy ship *Yung Ning*. He later began a successful business career in Hong Kong, becoming owner of the Hotel Fortuna Hong Kong. He also developed his earlier links with sporting and Christian communities. He was a member of the International Olympic Committee from 1970 to 1988, remaining an honorary member till 2009. He moved to Taiwan in 1982. As head of its Olympic Committee, he won recognition for Taiwan by the IOC under the name 'Chinese Taipei'. As well as developing his hotel business, he also served as a Member of Parliament and a presidential adviser. He attended the Beijing Olympics in 2008. Henry Hsu died in Taipei in February 2009, aged ninety-six, leaving a son and two daughters. He was given a state funeral, attended by Taiwan's President.

FW KENDALL was recommended by Britain's military attaché in China for a George Medal for his role in the escape, but he ended up getting nothing. He was forced to leave China in July 1942 because of political problems stemming from his communist contacts. There were also allegations from some of his senior British colleagues that his wife, Betty, who had joined him in Guangdong from occupied Hong Kong, was asking 'far too many indiscreet questions'. She was 'undoubtedly a nuisance and perhaps even a menace,' said one Foreign Office official. In one incident, Mike Kendall was alleged to have drawn a gun when his houseboat in Kukong was raided by police. He moved on to India, where he taught at the Force 136 Eastern Warfare School in Poona. He was then put in charge of an ambitious scheme to set out from Australia with a group of Canadian-Chinese he had trained as commandos and land by submarine on the South China coast. But the plan—Operation Oblivion—was cancelled after the Americans objected. In later years he worked in the airline business

in Hong Kong, where he died in 1973. He was survived by Betty and their two children.

ALEXANDER KENNEDY served at the MTB training base at Fort William and the Naval College at Greenwich before joining the British Pacific Fleet to witness the Japanese surrender in Hong Kong. He took part in several small reunions of the escape party which took place soon afterwards in Hong Kong and Canton. He earned a Mention in Dispatches for his earlier role in the raid on Kowloon Bay. After the war, he returned to the family business and chaired many organizations associated with Glasgow or the laundry industry. Rachel died, tragically young, in 1956, after suffering stoically from asthma for many years. She left three sons, to be step-mothered two years later by Joy, a widow with three daughters, later joined by a half sister. Alexander's eldest son, Alick, says his father remained a popular 'pied piper' figure and enjoyed playing his bagpipes until his death in 1999.

DAVID LEGGE stayed on in China for most of the war, but soon found he hated living in the feverish atmosphere of Chungking and returned to Kunming, continuing to work in intelligence. After demobilization he returned to Shanghai, where his mother had remained, and married a medical secretary from Ireland. They moved in the 1950s to California, where he worked first for the coffee importer, Otis McAllister, and then, for seventeen years, for the airline, BOAC. David died in 2007. He spent his last years living in the home of his stepson, Steve, who described him as a 'sophisticated man-about-town who read voraciously and (when asked) loved to share his life's adventures'.

LEUNG WINGYUEN for a while became more powerful than ever following his official recognition by the Nationalists. But a split soon developed within his Mirs Bay group, and some members left to join the East River Column—taking with them weapons and stores from the MTBs. Leung was already at odds with other local guerrilla chiefs and had his first brush with the powerful communist group in October 1942. He was defeated and for a while switched allegiance to the East River band himself. But he was considered unreliable and the relationship ended in more conflict. He went his own way and soon disappeared from the area. In 1947, the British authorities in Hong Kong handed out monetary and other awards to various ex-guerrillas and ordinary fishermen and villagers for their 'gallant service in the Allied cause during 1941–45'. They included Leung Wingyuen, who received the King's Medal for Courage. Leung's son later worked for

Chan Chak's son Donald in Hong Kong, but the two families lost contact after the former guerrilla chief's death in the mid-1990s.

DAVID MACDOUGALL was posted soon after the escape to the United States, where he was reunited with his wife and daughter and worked to counteract American anti-colonial rhetoric. When Japan surrendered, he was rushed out to head Hong Kong's new civil administration, with the rank of brigadier and the task of feeding and rehabilitating the stricken colony. He also strove to reform aspects of prewar imperialism, such as 'whites only' areas, and to give the people a fuller share in government. In 1946 he became Colonial Secretary, a position in which he excelled. When he resigned in 1949, under the more conservative governorship of Sir Alexander Grantham, a petition was raised to keep him, but he wanted to return to Britain and try his hand at farming. He did, though, maintain a keen interest in Hong Kong. He had two more daughters by his second wife, Inez. David died in 1991 in Perthshire. His decorations included the CMG and, from China, the Order of the Brilliant Star.

PETER MACMILLAN stayed in India as a staff officer for almost two more years, lecturing and attending the staff course at Quetta. He returned to England and saw service with the Royal Artillery in north-west Europe, finishing up in Germany at the end of the war. By V-E Day he was at the Naval Staff College, where he met his wife and son off the SS *Cynthia* in the last convoy of the war. They had spent more than three years in prisoner-of-war camps at Baguio and Manila. Peter served briefly in the War Office before being given command of a Royal Artillery battery in Nigeria. At this point he left Viola and Robert—he and his wife were later divorced and both remarried. After postings to the Pentagon and the British Army of the Rhine, he formed a new RA unit in Edinburgh in 1956. He then served in Cyprus where he was badly wounded by a roadside bomb. He retired in 1965 as a colonel and died in Yorkshire in 1973 at the age of sixty.

COLIN MCEWAN remained in Guangdong Province for almost the entire war as a member of the BAAG. In his first letter home to his mother he said nothing about his escape—just that like all good gym teachers he had 'landed on his feet'. During a short spell in India in 1943, he helped sink a German ship in a sabotage operation in Goa—a story later turned into a Hollywood film, *The Sea Wolves*. For his war work in Hong Kong and China he received the MBE. After the war, and marriage to Elizabeth MacMillan, he returned to Hong Kong

where he continued his career, becoming director of physical education. A keen proponent of outdoor activities, he introduced canoeing for young people. Ever the man of action, he chafed at promotion to a desk job and took early retirement to retrain as a chef in Scotland. Colin died in 1985.

CHRIS MEADOWS served in Gibraltar and on convoys to the Russian Arctic port of Murmansk. He met Doreen Bangay—a member of the WRNS whose brother had also been in the navy—at HMS *Mercury*, the naval shore establishment near Petersfield in Hampshire. The couple were married at Banham in Norfolk on 13 October 1944. They settled in Leicester, where Chris had been born. The former *MTB 10* telegraphist worked for the next twenty years as a carpenter, till his health deteriorated and he took up a new career as a clerk. He died in 1981 at the age of sixty-one. He is survived by two children—Ingrid and Christopher—and four grandchildren, one of whom married ‘a gorgeous Japanese girl’.

HUGH MONTAGUE stayed only a short time in Rangoon after leaving Chungking, and in March 1942 served briefly as senior naval officer in Chittagong. He then returned to New Zealand, where he became boom defence officer. When an American naval party started to rig the anti-torpedo boom in Auckland Harbour, on 20 July 1942, he was moved to protest that ‘while it is gratifying that the actual work should have been started, the feeble share borne hitherto by the R.N.Z. Naval Service is deplorable’. Commander Montague was made an OBE and was Mentioned in Dispatches ‘for good services in charge of a party who made a daring escape by motor boat from Hong Kong’.

ALBERT ‘PONY’ MOORE, who had lifted spirits along the road to Waichow with his mouth organ, went back to his home town of Portsmouth to see his wife and two young daughters before returning to naval duty. He was soon seeing action in the Mediterranean, where he won a bravery award from the Greek government for his role in rescuing a merchant ship that had been hit by a German torpedo in rough seas. After the war, with an expanded family of four children, the Moores moved to North Wales, where Albert served as a lieutenant at the HMS *Conway* training school, teaching seamanship and signalling skills to cadets from the Royal and merchant navies. He retired to Leicester, where he joined the Corps of Commissionaires and worked in the front office of a printing firm. He remained fit,

lively and 'fond of a lark', dying at the age of eighty-five 'of a broken heart', a fortnight after his wife, Bertha.

MAX OXFORD stayed on in Chungking till 1944 as Britain's assistant air attaché. While there he met and married Audrey Watson, an embassy secretary who had made her own hazardous journey to China from London, where she worked for the SOE. Max was promoted to wing commander and was later awarded the OBE. In October 1945, he returned to Hong Kong, becoming deputy director of civil aviation. In 1951 he became head of civil aviation in Malaya, staying on through the country's independence six years later. On retirement to Devon, he enjoyed music, brewing beer, gardening and family life with Audrey and their two daughters—one of whom, Emma, is on the committee of HERO. Max died in 1980 while out sailing his beloved boat.

TOMMY PARSONS, after recovering from his fall into a trench in upper Burma, flew to Calcutta, and then returned by boat to Britain. He was posted to HMS Hornet, a Coastal Forces base in Hampshire, where he saw active service in the English Channel, and in 1943 moved to another shore base, HMS Europa in Lowestoft. Later in the war he worked for naval intelligence in Ceylon. He was also involved in MI6 operations in southern China alongside the future Hong Kong Governor, Murray MacLehose. After the war he returned to Hong Kong, where, like his brother David, he worked for Jardine Matheson. He retired to England in 1969 but took up employment again for a few years with a shipping company in Cairo. He died in Tonbridge Wells in 1995.

DOUGLAS PETHICK was killed when his ship, the *Marilyse Moller*, was torpedoed and sunk northeast of Port Said on 6 July, 1942. The 786-ton steam merchant was on her way to Alexandria with a cargo of cased benzine, or petroleum ether. The master and 30 crew were lost. Four survivors were picked up by a passing ship.

ARTHUR PITTENDRIGH was Mentioned in Dispatches for 'skilful and courageous services which enabled a party to make a daring escape from Hong Kong'. By the end of the war, the former Chinese Maritime Customs officer had been promoted from temporary lieutenant to lieutenant colonel. He returned to Hong Kong after its liberation and joined MacDougall's new civil affairs administration, becoming commander of marine police. One of his first jobs was to bring the colony's more remote coasts and islands back under the rule of law and make them safe from pirates. He personally led a force to

reoccupy the fishing ports of Tai O and Cheung Chau on 5 October 1945 at the request of villagers.

LEN RANN, the twenty-one-year-old stoker from *MTB 27*, spent the rest of the war on Atlantic duty. After being demobbed in 1945, he returned to the family home at Whippingham on the Isle of Wight, where he continued to live for the rest of his life. He started work at the Island Creameries, doing a daily milk round, and retired as area manager in 1983. He married in 1957, and he and his wife Sue had two sons, Ian and Keith. Len's main hobby after retirement was his large garden, and he also enjoyed walking and reading. He died in 2004. Seven years later, while looking for some old photos in the attic, Sue found an unknown diary that her husband had written during the escape.

WILLIAM ROBINSON returned to Calcutta but soon seized the chance to see more action. He flew to Lashio and took a train to Rangoon, but arrived just days before the evacuation. He went back to his old post in the Punjab, and from 1942 to 1949 was Superintendent of Police in Lahore and then Delhi. He received the Order of the British Empire in 1945 and the King's Police Medal in 1947. He and his wife, a member of the SOE, met and married in Lahore and returned in 1949 to Britain, where their daughter Philippa was born. In the 1950s Bill held senior police intelligence posts in Malaya and Cyprus. In the '60s he worked for the Commonwealth Relations Office, finding himself abroad again in 'interesting places at interesting times'. He retired to Dorset and died suddenly in 1972.

TED ROSS discovered that among his colleagues in his new position as transport manager for the British military mission was SK Yee. The two continued to meet for the rest of their lives. Ted's next job was with the British Political Warfare Mission in San Francisco, working alongside David MacDougall—with whom he also kept up a lifelong friendship, acting as best man at Mac's second wedding. In 1946, he accepted an offer to head up the Tokyo headquarters of Scott & English, a principal supplier to General MacArthur's administration in Japan. He later contracted tuberculosis and recuperated in Australia, there marrying June Kiel. Ted Ross returned to the Far East as head of the Hong Kong and Eastern Shipping Company Ltd and its Malayan mining affiliates. He held directorships of several other Hong Kong companies before retiring, with June and their two

children, to their rural property in Australia in 1966. He died in 2005, aged ninety-three. His son Warwick is making a film of the escape.

CHARLES SKINNER, the merchant mariner from Sunderland with a taste for rice wine, returned to Hong Kong after the war and worked briefly for Swire shipping company as a 2nd/3rd officer. In December 1946, at the age of forty-six, he married a Miss Leung Loi-ye, daughter of Mr Leung Yung-ye of Aberdeen.

ROBERT STONELL, the stocky, bearded football captain and 'custodian of chow and cigarettes', received a Mention in Dispatches for his bravery and skill in taking over from *MTB 11*'s injured coxswain during the raid in Kowloon Bay. He went on to serve on HMS *Theseus*. His son, Christopher *Theseus*, was christened on board, using the ship's bell as a font. In later life Bob worked as a security man. His grand-daughter, Julie, remembers going into town on a Saturday 'to get his Baccy, his half bottle of whisky and to place a few bets on his favourite horse at the bookies'. Almost 40 years to the day after his dramatic escape, Robert Stonell died in December 1981 after falling out of an apple tree.

MONIA TALAN left China with Kendall in July 1942 and joined Force 136 in India. He was stationed in Calcutta as a general staff officer III and later as an assistant quarter master general. He returned to Hong Kong after the war, as Major Talan, MBE. He worked first as a member of the civil affairs section and later as an entrepreneur, with interests in both the travel and laundry businesses. He was often to be found playing tennis or bridge at the Jewish Recreation Club and became a director of Jimmy's Kitchen. His first marriage, to a glamorous English socialite, was a failure. The second, to an equally attractive East European called Tatiana, was very happy and resulted in two children. Monia's continued attempts to gain British citizenship met no success and he eventually moved to Australia. After Tatiana's premature death, he lived alone on an estate outside Melbourne where he kept his own horses—a lifelong interest. He died in 1999 aged eighty-six.

JACK THORPE was reported missing on war service on 19 January 1942, and his family feared the worst. More than four months later, his mother looked up from washing the dishes to see through the window, in his navy uniform, her only son opening the garden gate, smiling from ear to ear. After two weeks' leave, which saw the blossoming of a prewar romance with an Irish fisherman's daughter, Anne, Jack

was posted to HMS *Defiance*, the naval training station at Devonport, Plymouth, where heavy German raids continued that summer. He then joined the destroyer, HMS *Mahratta*, based in northern waters off Scapa Flow. On leave in December 1942 he married Anne, but two months later, while escorting an Arctic convoy to Murmansk, his ship was hit by two torpedoes from a German U-boat. There were 17 survivors from a crew of 240. Of the newly married Jack Thorpe, there was no trace. His nephew, Jack Rosenthal, later wrote about the Hong Kong escape in a family history, *Letters from an Airfield*.

GILBERT THUMS got back to Plymouth at the end of May 1942 to find that not only was there a French sailor living with his wife, H el ene, but the couple had also had a baby. Now a commissioned bosun, Thums threw himself back into the war. In 1946, he was serving in a tug towing a 'battle practice target' when a shell intended for the target hit and sank the tug instead. He survived and was later Mentioned in Dispatches for distinguished service. He was divorced in 1947. After leaving the navy he returned to Nottingham, estranged from his children. He worked in the Royal Ordnance Depot, living in lodgings. He found it hard to adapt to his clerical job and to civilian life generally, and became increasingly isolated and depressed. His health deteriorated and he died in 1962, with his son living only a short distance away, unknown to either of them.

WILLIAM MORLEY WRIGHT was awarded the DSC for 'skilful and courageous services which enabled a party to make a daring escape from Hong Kong'. But there is no apparent record of what happened to him after he was sent upcountry from Rangoon soon after the escape party's arrival there on 14 February 1942. According to Gandy, 'all trace was lost'. However, the former Warrant Officer is known to have retired years later to a cottage on the banks of Loch Earn in Perthshire. Tommy Parsons' son Hugh recalls visiting him there as a schoolboy in the 1960s. "My father had said he ought to look after me well as he owed him a favour because he had fished him out of the water off Hong Kong. He seemed a very quiet old chap who spent his time gardening and listening to classical music on the radio." He died in 1981, at the age of 82.

YEUNG CHUEN continued living in China after the communists came to power in 1949. He owned a certain amount of land and leased his fields to peasants. Both his wives bore him children. His 'country' wife, in Longchuan, had two girls and a boy, but he

left her soon after the end of the Japanese war. His 'town' wife had six sons, some of whom played with Chan Chak's sons in Canton in the late 1940s, flying kites together from the rooftops. The names of Yeung's sons, when put together, meant 'Chinese people be strong and steer the country towards the right route'. During the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, Chan's former bodyguard suffered because of his background and lost his possessions to the Red Guards. But he was never seriously harmed, as no one would testify against him. He died in 1976 at the age of eighty. His 'country' wife continued to live in Longchuan until her death in 2011, and one of his seven sons is based in Nanao, where the MTBs were scuttled.

JOHN YORATH went on from Calcutta to Ceylon and from March 1942 was posted to HMS *Lanka*, the Royal Navy base in Colombo. In June 1943 he joined HMS *Highflyer*, the British naval base on the other side of the island at Trincomalee. At the end of that year he returned to the UK and from February 1944 until the end of the war was based in Cardiff as staff officer (Operations and Intelligence) to the flag officer in charge, HMS *Lucifer*. He died in 1980 in Surrey.

Notes

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Chapter 1 *Last Ship Out*

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Chapter 2 *One-Legged Admiral*

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Page 13

'A tough little fellow': Morris 'Two-Gun' Cohen, quoted in *Life and Times of General Two-Gun Cohen*, by Charles Drage. New York, 1954, p. 282.

'Shoot first': interview with Duncan Chan, 22 Dec 2008, Hong Kong.

Chan's nickname: interview with Donald Chan, 1 June 2008, London. Chan Chak's original name was Chan Ming Tong. He later also became known as Chan Chau-shek ('clever and strong').

Chan's injury, operation and recovery: interviews with Donald Chan, and email 18 July 2010.

Page 14

'dark streaks of light': Freddie Guest, *Escape from the Bloodied Sun*, London, 1956, p. 18.

'If the Pacific War': Jen Yu-wen (Jian Youwen—or in Cantonese, Kan Yauman), *Ce Shu tuwei xiang ji* (A record of the escape of Uncle Chak), from the journal *Zhanggu Yuekan*, no. 4, Dec 1971, p. 22.

Page 15

calligraphy: Revd. James Smith and Revd. William Downes, *The Maryknoll Mission, Hong Kong 1941–46*. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch, Vol.19, 1979, p. 29.

Page 16

Malby . . . in Battle Box . . . fighters: Tony Banham, *Not the Slightest Chance: The Defence of Hong Kong, 1941*. Hong Kong, 2003, p. 340.

Page 17

militarily mismanaged . . . 'willingness to fight': Maochun Yu, *The Dragon's War: Allied Operations and Fate of China 1937–1947*. Annapolis, Maryland, 2006, p. 60.

Page 18

kept a residence . . . and married: Carl Smith Collection, Hong Kong Public Record Office (images: 168983 and 761). The marriage ceremony was performed by Sun Yat-sen's son, Sun Foo, who was Mayor of Canton.

'gallantly . . . not equipped': Chan Chak, Chinese national radio broadcast on 'Youth and the Hong Kong Fighting', 20 Mar 1942; transcript in Kew, London: WO 208/381.

barefoot soldiers . . . banquets: Peter Moreira, *Hemingway on the China Front*. Washington DC, 2006, p. 96, 75.

Chungking's offers of army, etc.: Philip Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China and the Japanese Occupation*. New Haven and London, 2004, p. 46.

'widespread delusion': report by Capt Charles Boxer, GSO III (Intelligence) on his visit to Japan, Sep 1939. Kew, London: FO 371/23573.

'so that British troops': Chan Chak broadcast, 20 Mar 1942. Kew, London: WO 208/381.

Page 19

'I created quite a stir': papers of Lt Col Harry Owen-Hughes, Imperial War Museum, Documents Section: 67/127/1. War Diary, 9 Dec 1941.

Chapter 3 Men from the Ministry

Page 21

'All well here': telegram to Catherine MacDougall, 11 Dec 1941.

'Get up': interview with David MacDougall conducted by Dr Stephen Tsang, 26 Feb 1987; transcript in Rhodes House, Oxford.

'pig-headed provincials . . . We cannot combat': letter to Catherine MacDougall, 27 Feb 1941.

Page 22

Meetings with Dai Li and Zhou Enlai: interview with David MacDougall conducted by Dr Stephen Tsang, 26 Feb 1987; transcript in Rhodes House, Oxford.

statues had been removed: Colonial Office papers, note by MacDougall, 27 May 1942. Kew: CO 129/591/20.

'I used a tin can': MacDougall, *Notes on the Siege*. Kew: CO 129/590/25.

Page 23

'The naval yard': CE Ross, letter to his mother written after arriving in Chungking, Jan 1942. Later published as 'Escape from Hong Kong' in *Maclean's magazine*, Canada, in three parts: 15 June, 1 July and 15 July 1942.

'cryptic': James Bertram, *Shadow of a War*. London, 1947, p. 109.

'The mainland . . . evacuated': *The Times*, London, 17 Dec 1941.

'They spotted . . .': Ross, letter to his mother.

Page 24

Chan's shadow government . . . vigilantes: Snow, pp. 59–61; Chan memoir, pp. 15–16.

'All the central government': MacDougall, *Notes on the Siege*.

'The Chungking representatives': Phyllis Harrop, Hong Kong Diary, 11 Dec. Kew: CO 129/590/23; and Harrop's book, *Hong Kong Incident*. London, 1944, pp. 71, 74.

Page 25

'wonderful . . . Arrests are being': Harrop, Hong Kong Diary, 12 Dec.

a hundred fifth columnists killed: interviews with Duncan and Donald Chan.

'SK Yee burst': Warwick Ross email, 28 May 2008.

'Internal order': MacDougall, *Notes on the Siege*.

Chapter 4 Battle Box

Page 27

'It felt so safe': Ross, letter to mother.

Page 28

'We're a bit in the dark': Alan Birch and Martin Cole, *Captive Christmas, the Battle of Hong Kong, December 1941*. Hong Kong, 1979, p. 160.

'psychological tomb': papers of Col. OJM Lindsay, IWM Documents Section: 65/124/1–9. Letter from Iain MacGregor, 28 Mar 1977.

'One rapidly became': Max Oxford, letter to his sister Margaret, written on the East River, 3 Jan 1942.

'most beautiful dug-out': Oxford, letter to Margaret.

Page 29

'Max Oxford had a . . . Everyone in Hong Kong': Emily Hahn, *China to Me*, 1944, p. 159.

'gentlemanly war . . . But the thought': Oxford, letter to Margaret.

Page 30

'It seemed a very long way': Arthur Goring, 'My Escape from Hongkong', *Wide World*, 'the magazine for men', Mar 1949, p. 295.

Goring's career: *Indian Army List*, Jan 1942.

'Suddenly a large number': George Wright-Nooth, *Prisoner of the Turnip Heads: Horror, Hunger and Humour in Hong Kong*. London, 1994, p. 37.

Robinson background: India Office Records, British Library (V/12/340–347).

Page 31

Robinson's careful handling . . . 'sullen and uncooperative': Colin Crisswell and Mike Watson, *The Royal Hong Kong Police, 1841–1945*. Hong Kong, 1982, p. 180. See also Snow, p. 68.

'Indian and Chinese families . . .': *War Diary of the Hong Kong Police*, 8–25 Dec 1941. Kew: CO 129/592.

'animated beehive': Lindsay papers, letter from MacGregor.

colourful scrapes: Freddie Guest, *Indian Cavalryman: Memoirs of a British Cavalry Officer in India*. London, 1959, pp. 48, 159.

Page 32

'we would not stand a chance': quoted by Anthony Hewitt in *To Freedom Through China*. Barnsley, 2004, p. 2. (Also published as *Bridge with Three Men*, London, 1986.)

'Freddie Guest came bursting in': Lindsay papers, letter from MacGregor.

flashing signals: Freddie Guest, *Escape from the Bloodied Sun*. London, 1956, p. 29.

'you're a tough beggar': Guest, p. 50.

Japanese cavalry: Lindsay papers, letter from MacGregor.

Page 33

'Robust, red-faced': Guest, p. 22.

Chapter 5 Cloak and Dagger Boys**Page 34**

'took booby-traps': letter from Harry Owen-Hughes to Arthur Goring, 30 Dec 1942.

Page 35

'Canadian Bison': Col John Newnham, in a message from his POW camp in Hong Kong to the British Army Aid Group in China. BAAG archives, Ride Collection, the University of Hong Kong.

'Number One Guerrilla': Owen-Hughes papers, War Diary, 30 Dec 1941.

'quiet, soft-spoken': Dr Solomon Bard, email to author, 7 Feb 2009.

'Like all Mike's plans': Colin McEwan, *Tales from the City of Inexpensive Benevolence*, p. 16.

Page 36

Z Force's formation and role: see 'Introduction' by Dan Waters to *Colin McEwan's Diary: the Battle for Hong Kong and Escape into China*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch, Vol. 45, 2005. Also papers written by Kendall (*Statement A*) and other members of Z Force (notably Maj. DR Holmes and Hugh Williamson), passed to Dr Waters by David Parsons, the last surviving member of the group, who died in 2006 without disclosing where he obtained them. Many of the papers are in the form of rough notes, with no indication of the date, or in some cases, the author. For the sake of convenience they are referred to here collectively as the 'Parsons papers'. NB: David was the younger brother of Lt Tom Parsons of *MTB 27*.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Free China passes: Hugh Williamson, *Statement on Z Force*, Parsons papers; see also Wright-Nooth, p. 39.

Kendall history: Anne Ozorio, *The Myth of Unpreparedness: The Origins of Anti-Japanese Resistance in Prewar Hong Kong*. RAS Vol.42, 2002; Marjorie Wong, *The Dragon and the Maple Leaf*, 1994; Kendall, *Statement A*, Parsons papers; SOE personnel files (PRO: HS 9/828/9).

Hainan agents . . . guerrillas: SOE Survey of global activities, Oriental Section, Oct 1941. Kew: HS7/221.

'pretty little piece': letter from Lt Col H Owen-Hughes to Col A Goring, 30 Dec 1942.

Page 37

visits to Flagstaff House: Lindsay papers, letter from MacGregor.

'Mike was endowed': Colin McEwan, letter to Bill Matheson, 20 Oct 1982.

\$1000 a month: Daniel S. Levy, *Two-Gun Cohen: A Biography*. New York, 1997, p. 201.

Force 136, Singapore training: see papers of Maj. Gen. GE Grimsdale, IWM Documents Section: 8521; *Thunder in the East*, unpublished memoir, 1947.

Page 38

Minishant . . . 'Being a miserable': *Colin McEwan's Diary: The Battle for Hong Kong and Escape into China*, Dan Waters and Alison McEwan (eds.), Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch, Vol. 45, 2005, 9 Dec 1941.

Page 39

'Out the platoon tumbled': McEwan diary, 9 Dec.

Page 40

'Some . . . threw hand grenades': Doi Teihichi diary, quoted in Oliver Lindsay, *The Lasting Honour*. London, 1978, p. 49.

'Aladdin's Lamps': Lane Crawford advertisement in *South China Morning Post*, 12 Dec 1941.

Chapter 6 Naval Light Brigade

Page 41

'windy buggers': papers of Lt Col JH Monro (10/16/1), IWM Documents Section.

Page 42

two small dry docks: The Lamont and Hope dry docks were built in 1868, when they were the only ones in Hong Kong. The No. 1 (Hope) dry dock was 428-feet long; No. 2 (Lamont) was 310 feet.

Thornycroft: The two old-style, 55-foot Thornycroft boats, with stepped hulls, had originally been ordered from Britain by China and were then reacquired from the Chinese by the Royal Navy for Hong Kong. They were not designed for extensive operations, being even smaller than the six Scott-Paine MTBs, produced by the British Power Boat Company, which made up the bulk of the flotilla.

'proceed into Kowloon Bay': John Collingwood, battle notes (unpublished, handwritten notes on the MTBs' role in the battle for Hong Kong; he also left a shorter, four-page account of the escape, also in note form).

'nothing remains': Ron Ashby, report to Admiralty on the 19 December raid. Kew: ADM 1/12382.

'the most daring adventure': Collingwood, battle notes.

'Our flotilla of MTBs': diary of Leslie Raymond Barker.

Page 43

'As we approached': papers of C Meadows, part 1. Imperial War Museum, Documents Section: 91/14/1.

Page 45

'Saw nothing': Ron Ashby, report to Admiralty.

Page 46

'slowest any of us': Arthur Gee, article in *Hong Kong Sunday Herald*, 9 Nov 1947.

'We went for': Collingwood, battle notes.

Page 47

'boring . . . Cantonese so-called seamen': David Legge, letter from China in January 1942 to his brother Brian, an RAF pilot. An edited version was published anonymously under the title 'With the MTBs, Escape from Hong Kong 1941' in the Hong Kong Defence Force journal, *The Volunteer*, Vol. 1, 1950.

'her motor mechanic': Gee, article in *Hong Kong Sunday Herald*, 9 Nov 1947.

Page 48

'They're not the only ones': Meadows papers, part 1.

'all ships in the harbour': papers of Capt AC Collinson RN, commodore in charge. IWM Documents and Sound Section: 66/361/1. *Commodore's*

Report on HK Operations, Admiralty, 1946. Enclosure C: *Events at Aberdeen*. Compiled by Commander HC Millett. 19 Dec. Also Kew: ADM 199/1286.
'Around us': Legge, letter to Brian.

Chapter 7 Exit Strategy

Page 51

'the power station': Ross, letter to mother.

Page 52

'The Japs don't love me': MacDougall, letter to Catherine MacDougall, 17 Jan 1942.

'certain duties': MacDougall, Tsang interview.

'I had good reason': MacDougall, letter to Lord Moyne, Secretary of State to the Colonies, from hospital in Chengdu, 3 Feb 1942. Kew: WO 208/733A.

Page 53

'Ross was keen': MacDougall, letter to Catherine.

Shaukiwan: (now spelt Shau Kei Wan). The fishing village near Lyemun had the biggest floating population in Hong Kong.

'Beyond that': Ross, letter to mother.

Page 54

'slow death': Guest, *Escape from the Bloodied Sun*, p. 58.

'What, planning your escape': Ted Ross, in one of a series of audio recordings of biographical interviews conducted and recorded by his son Warwick.

Page 55

Kendall meeting with Maltby: Marjorie Wong, *The Dragon and the Maple Leaf*, 1994, p. 120.

'so that Hong Kong information': Kendall, *Statement A*, p. 3.

'Chinese are still. . . We cannot do': Colonial Office cable. Kew: CO 54058.

Page 56

'highest level': Wright-Nooth, p. 57.

'gentlemen's understanding. . . He condemned himself': MacDougall, Tsang interview. NB: Ted Ross was more specific, saying in one of his recorded interviews with his son that 'the Governor guaranteed China Chan Chak's evacuation'.

'In general, the best chance': MacDougall, letter to Lord Moyne.

Page 57

'I was then given . . . The escape was': papers of Commander GH Gandy RN, Imperial War Museum, Documents and Sound Section: 66/42/1. Diary, 20 Dec 1941. NB: Gandy's various sets of notes are in rough form and often have no titles or page numbers, so it has been thought best to list them simply as 'diary' with the relevant date. All are to be found in the large box

of his papers in the documents section of the Imperial War Museum. He also sent some later, slightly different notes on the escape to the author, Oliver Lindsay, the original copy of which can be found in papers of Col OJM Lindsay, IWM Documents Section: 65/124/1–9.

Page 59

'feeding and argument': McEwan diary, 20 Dec.

'Her house': Harrop, *Hong Kong Incident*, p. 81; and diary, 20 Dec.

'since she looked': quoted in Ken Cuthbertson, *Nobody Said Not to Go: The Life, Loves and Adventures of Emily Hahn*. Boston, 1998.

'heaving our bedding': McEwan diary, 20 Dec.

Chapter 8 *Death of a Gunboat*

Page 60

Boxer injury . . . Forster, Price: Collinson papers, Appendix D, 21 Dec.

'all the British': Chan Chak memoir, p. 18.

Page 61

'There are indications': Major General CM Maltby, Despatch to the War Office: *Operations in Hong Kong from 8th to 25th December 1941*. Supplement to *The London Gazette*, 27 Jan 1948, par. 81.

'almost on a sixpence': quoted in Tim Carew, *The Fall of Hongkong*, 1960, p. 81.

'Oil fuel remaining': Collinson papers; report by Lt Cdr John Boldero on the last days of HMS *Cicala*.

Page 62

'Insolently': Bertram, *Shadow of a War*, p. 122.

'Stick after stick': Lieutenant Commander RB Goodwin, OBE, RNZNVR, *Hongkong Escape*. London, 1953, p. 6.

Page 63

'of great assistance': Gandy diary, 21 Dec.

Chapter 9 *Ducking and Diving*

Page 65

'The story of how': McEwan diary, 21 Dec.

'Here was the best . . . those heavenly twins': McEwan diary, 22 Dec.

Page 66

'They had been doing': Kennedy, *Full Circle*, p. 40.

Page 67

'authentic contact': Gandy diary, 21 Dec.

'Were we selfishly pleased!': Legge, letter to Brian, Jan 1942.

'shoot quick': Gandy papers, IWM: *Breaking from Encirclement: Unsensational Version*, 21 Dec.

Page 68

'liable to knock a man': Kennedy, *Full Circle*, p. 10.

'Flying Bedpan': Kennedy, *Full Circle*, p. 26.

Page 69

'while climbing out . . . that gallant sailor': McEwan diary, 24 Dec.

Page 70

Bush's Japanese wife: Lewis Bush, *The Road to Inamura*. Tokyo, 1972, p. 145.

'very worried': Gandy diary, 23 Dec.

'tough, bronzed': article in *South China Morning Post*, 17 Nov 1941.

'absolute chaos . . . the men were': Lt Col FW Kendall, *My Army and S.O.E. recollections*; sound recording of interview by Reginald H. Roy, 16 July 1968. Special Collections Library of the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

Page 71

'optimistic and encouraging': Gandy diary, 20 Dec.

'All of them': McEwan diary, 23 Dec.

'the Chungking people . . . nothing but intense anxiety': Harrop diary, 24 Dec.

Kendall in town: Richard Gough, *SOE Singapore 1941–42*. London, 1985, p. 63. NB: Gough acknowledges the help he received from FW Kendall in this account.

Page 72

'He left us with a': Benny Proulx, *Underground from Hong Kong*. New York: EP Dutton, 1943; quoted in Birch and Cole, *Captive Christmas*, p. 157.

'splendid rumour': Gandy diary, 24 Dec.

nearly adrift: *Note on Lt Parsons*, Gandy papers.

private letter: Gandy diary, 24 Dec. Gandy gave the commodore's letter to Montague in Kukong on January 14 and it was finally posted in Chungking.

Chapter 10 Surrender

Page 74

'the town was now helpless': Hong Kong Director of Public Works, quoted in Maltby Despatch, par. 116.

two of the civilians: Andrew Shields, an Executive Council member, and Major Charles Manners, a prominent businessman.

massacred: report to the British government on the fall of Hong Kong by Mrs Aloha Shields (the American wife of Peace Mission member, Andrew Shields). Kew: CO 129/590/25.

Page 75

'ruffians and Triad members': Wright-Nooth, *Prisoner of the Turnip Heads*, p. 56.

'What happened': MacDougall, *Notes on the Siege*, final paragraph.

'radical deterioration': Chan memoir, p. 18.

'imminent end of resistance': Jen Yu-wen, p. 23.

most disheartening Christmas Eve: Henry H. Hsu, *The 1941 Battle of Hong Kong*, unpublished report in English, p. 2.

Page 76

'break through . . . I then wrote on': Chan memoir, p. 19.

'I asked him if': Chan Chak broadcast, Mar 1942. Kew: WO 208/381.

the Governor invited: Henry Hsu, filmed interview with Donald and Duncan Chan, Hong Kong 2006.

Page 77

'Of course, but you've got': quoted by Ross, audio recording of family interview.

'coolie clothes': Ross, letter to mother.

only ones . . . asked to contact Chan: Guest, pp. 59–60.

Guest not a member: Lindsay papers, letter from MacGregor; GB Endacott, *Hong Kong Eclipse*. Hong Kong, 1978, p. 185.

Page 78

Guest destroying documents: Lindsay, *Lasting Honour*, p. 145; Banham, *Not the Slightest Chance*, p. 257.

'It's no earthly good': Charles Drage, *General of Fortune: The Story of One-Arm Sutton*. London, 1963, p. 256.

'thin, wan': John Stericker, *A Tear for the Dragon*, London, 1958, p. 43.

Robinson invitation: Wright-Nooth, p. 57.

Page 79

'I went into . . . "Sorry Iain"': Lindsay papers, letter from MacGregor.

'I told him again': Collinson papers, *Commodore's Report on HK Operations*, 25 Dec.

'Five minutes!' Goring, *My Escape from Hongkong*, p. 296.

Chapter 11 Waiting for the VIPs

Page 80

Aplichau: Ap Lei Chau, as it is now known, is today linked to Aberdeen by a bridge and boasts several high-rise estates, making it one of the three most densely populated islands in the world.

British battery: The battery's two four-inch guns pointed out to sea and had therefore been scarcely used throughout the battle.

Page 81

'received an Xmas . . . a good breakfast': Gandy diary, 25 Dec.

'Dinner consisted': diary of Leonard Rann, 25 Dec 1941.

'Except for a distant': Legge, letter to Brian.

Thums, Collingwood remarks: McEwan diary, 25 Dec.

'We returned from patrol': PO Stephen John Hide RN, *Sussex Express and County Herald*, Lewes edition, 5 June 1942.

Page 82

chicken . . . turkey: Gandy, who wasn't there, maintains in his diary that the Telegraph Bay group had turkey for their Christmas Day lunch—Kennedy, who was, says in *his* diary that they had chicken.

nuns . . . apple pie: John Robert Harris (Royal Engineers 1938–41), audio recording of Imperial War Museum interview, IWM Sound Section (22679/3).
'to swell their Xmas dinner table': Kennedy letter to parents, 5 Oct 1941.
'Go . . . Are you sure . . . We looked': Kennedy, *Full Circle*, p. 43.

Page 83

'unfit or unequal': Gandy papers, *Breaking from Encirclement*, 25 Dec.

'Propose go after dark': Lieutenant Commander Gerard Horace Gandy, official report to Admiralty, 8 Mar 1942: *Operations by the 2nd MTB Flotilla in Hongkong Waters December 8th 1941 to December 26th 1941*. Kew: CO 129 590/25 and ADM 267/131, 25 Dec.

'Go all boats': Gandy diary, 25 Dec.

'Ask Commissioner of Police': Gandy report, 25 Dec.

Page 84

'Should you be forced': Gandy report, 21 Dec.

'it was unheard of': Oliver Lindsay, *At the Going Down of the Sun, Hong Kong and South-East Asia 1941–45*. London, 1981, p. 7.

'Not only was I . . . come what may': Gandy diary, 25 Dec.

Chapter 12 Getaway Cars

Page 89

Japanese soldiers on Garden Road: Guest, *Escape from the Bloodied Sun*, p. 63.

plain-clothed agents: Chan memoir, p. 19.

'Christ, I wish we could go . . . Of course': Ross audio.

Page 90

hadn't the faintest idea: MacDougall, Tsang interview.

practice on stairs: Donald Chan, interview with author.

'Sino-British commander-in-chief': Ou Daxiong, *Dujiao Jiangjun Chen Ce chuan* (Biography of the One-Legged Admiral Chan Chak). Hainan, 1993, ch. 39.

'We go now': Guest, p. 64.

Page 91

craft along waterfront: Hewitt, *To Freedom Through China*, p. 1.

'Stop . . . MacDougall quickly . . . No, I'll take': Ross audio. Unlike One-Arm Sutton, Cohen survived prison camp, living till 1970. He made several visits to the People's Republic of China, first as a guest of Prime Minister Zhou Enlai and later as a consultant for various British defence firms.

Page 92

'For the local residents': Chan memoir, p. 19.

'I like the British': Sun Yat-sen, quoted in Drage, Cohen biography, p. 93.
 ugly, gaping hole: Paul Tsui-ka Cheung, *My Life and My Encounters* (unpublished memoirs), ch.10.

Page 93

most intense shelling: Collinson Papers, *Events at Aberdeen*, Dec 25.

Page 94

'There were a lot of dead bodies': Henry Hsu, filmed interview by Donald and Duncan Chan, Hong Kong, 2006.

HMS Robin: Captain Douglas, *Weekly Intelligence Report no 122*, pages 8–11, 10 July 1942. Kew: ADM 267/131.

Chapter 13 Cornflower's Launch**Page 95**

'most surprised': Commander Hugh Montague, report to Admiralty, *Proceedings of Party which Escaped from Hong Kong to China*. Kew: ADM 199/357, p. 7.

'The boats must . . . that's not much . . . if you can wait': Hsu, interview by the Chans; other details from Montague report and the various accounts by Ross and MacDougall.

Page 96

'Naval blokes are sly dogs': Guest, *Escape from the Bloodied Sun*, p. 67.

'continually passing': Guest, *Indian Cavalryman*, p. 182.

'we simply started': Guest, *Escape from the Bloodied Sun*, p. 65.

'We left it standing . . . Gosh': Ross, letter to mother.

Page 97

'getting quite worried': quoted by Goring, *My Escape from Hongkong*, p. 296.

'before a party of women': Guest, *Escape*, p. 67.

Page 98

'We set off': Goring, pp. 296–297.

Page 99

forty rifles: Goring, p. 297.

'thanks to the excellent': Chan memoir, p. 19.

through a blizzard . . . cool head: Hsu, *The 1941 Battle of Hong Kong*, p. 3.

Page 100

'that wonderful Damsgaard': Ross audio.

'it seemed every rifle': MacDougall, letter to Catherine.

abandon ship: Goring, letter to Harry Owen-Hughes, 20 Apr 1942.

Chan instructions: Poon Fook-wo, 'A Miraculous Charge' in *Young Companion Weekly*, Hong Kong, 17 Feb 1962; Chan memoir, p. 19.

Page 101

'harder than climbing to heaven': Henry Hsu, 'Xianggang Lunxian xing Chen Ce Jiangjun Tuwei', in *Huaxia Jibao*, No. 2, Aug 2005, p. 21.

'As a Christian': Hsu, *The 1941 Battle of Hong Kong*, p. 3.

become a convert: In a national broadcast a few weeks later, Chan, who was a Buddhist, thought it more expedient to attribute his survival to the miraculous powers of the Kuomintang than to God. He said he had been saved 'only by the Divine assistance of our National Father (i.e. the late Dr Sun Yat-sen) in the Heaven and the inspiration of the spirit of our leader (Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek)'.

'surrender like a slave . . . Any more talk': Hsu, 'Xianggang Lunxian', p. 21.

Page 102

'The bullets were once again': Ross, letter to mother.

Chapter 14 *The Island*

Page 103

'It's just a small': Hsu, 'Xianggang Lunxian', p. 22.

'Although I was': Chan memoir, p. 19.

'sank like a stone': Goring, p. 297.

Page 104

'These horrible things': Guest, p. 70.

'I swam first . . . I reached': MacDougall, letter to Catherine, 17 Jan 1942.

'like someone putting in': Ross audio.

Page 105

'No sooner had I': Chan memoir, p. 19.

Page 106

'I tried to get over': Oxford, letter to his sister, Margaret, 3 Jan 1942.

'came across . . . parked behind a rock . . . run like a hare': Goring, p. 297.

'D.M. MacDougall, aged 37': MacDougall, letter to Catherine.

Page 107

'stupidity and futility . . . my feet soon became': Ross, letter to mother.

Page 108

'parley': McEwan diary, Dec 25.

'There's lots of chaps . . . lots of Japs': Christiansen as quoted by David Legge in his letter to his brother Brian the next month.

'quite a flap . . . Suddenly, over the top': Legge, letter to Brian.

Page 109

'Figures appeared': McEwan diary, Dec 25.

'It was extremely discouraging': Oxford, letter to Margaret.

'Grabbed by many hands': Gough, *SOE Singapore*, p. 64.

Page 110

'They might also think': Hsu, interview by the Chans.

'the mere thought': Guest, pp. 73–74.

very grateful: Oxford, letter to Margaret.

'Some angel': Goring, p. 297.

'dodged like water-rats': MacDougall, letter to Catherine.

Page 111

'it's okay' . . . beautiful and gratifying: Ross, letter to mother.

'a short, thick-set figure': MacDougall, letter to Catherine.

Chapter 15 Finding the Admiral**Page 112**

'Call me Henry . . . hiding in a cave': Henry Hsu quoted in Gandy diary, 25 Dec.

'It was astonishing': Guest, p. 75.

'My wound was dressed': MacDougall, letter to Catherine.

Page 113

'apparently unarmed . . . kitless . . . unhealthy': Gandy diary, 25 Dec.

'still full of gunpowder smoke': Ou Daxiong, ch. 40.

Page 114

'Merry Christmas': Interview with Donald Chan, 30 Mar 2011.

'The admiral was': Yorath, quoted in Lindsay, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, p. 9.

'Thank God': unpublished 21-page account by William Robinson, beginning 'Here is a story for what it is worth', p. 12a.

Chinese versions: e.g. Ou Daxiong, ch. 40; Jen Yu-wen, p. 24.

ovation: Hsu, *The 1941 Battle of Hong Kong*, p. 4.

Page 115

'I no mind': Guest, p. 76.

'cheerfulness, pluck': Gandy diary, 25 Dec.

presenting it to him: Kennedy talk to HMS *Pioneer*, 10 Sep 1945.

'great pang of despair': Kennedy, p. 44.

Page 116

'meet west of Aberdeen': Gandy diary, 25 Dec.

'Out we came': McEwan diary (full original version), 25 Dec.

Chapter 16 Night Voyage

Page 119

'all this damned regatta stuff': Guest, p. 79.

'comfortable distribution': Gandy diary, 25 Dec.

Page 120

'If they get hold of': quoted by Wright-Nooth, p. 60.

'into the silence': Goodwin, pp. 19–20.

Page 121

'everyone on our floor': Harrop diary, 25 Dec.

'Signal by flashing . . . Sorry, Impossible': Meadows papers, 25 Dec.

Page 123

last sight of Hong Kong: Collingwood, escape notes.

Chapter 17 Shore Party

Page 124

'Although he was lying . . . spearhead': Hsu, *The 1941 Battle of Hong Kong*, p. 5.

Page 125

A biographer of Chan Chak: Ou Daxiong, *The Empty City strategy*, ch. 40. Henry Hsu in his later interview with Chan's sons says it was not in fact the Admiral who gave the advice but he himself. Since Chan was down in the cabin and Henry was standing on the bridge next to Gandy, this does seem a more likely scenario.

A young, tough Volunteer: Ross audio. Who this was we don't know—very possibly, William Morley Wright, the HKRNVR Warrant Officer.

no order given: Collingwood, escape notes.

'an escaping enemy': Kaigun ichihan shiryō, Dai ni kenshi kantai senshi nisshi sentō shōhō (Wartime Diary of HQ, Second China Fleet), 25 Dec 1941.

Ping Chau: the name literally means 'Flat Island'. The island in Mirs Bay is sometimes called Tung (East) Ping Chau to distinguish it from an island of the same name near Lantau.

Page 126

'Make for Ping Chau': quoted in Gandy/Lindsay papers, 25 Dec.

'We were all armed': Goring, p. 298.

Page 127

'We had 8 Lewis': Ted Ross, *Diary 1* (written in a notebook in the form of a letter, beginning 'Dear Folks').

'Anyone there?': this and the following passage are based on material in Hsu interview; Jen Yu-wen, p. 25; Ou Daxiong, ch. 40; McEwan diary; and interviews with the Chans and residents of Ping Chau.

Page 131

£25,000 MTBs: Goring, p. 298.

Chapter 18 Guerrillas**Page 135**

'He smelt': Gandy diary, 26 Dec.

'Train the Lewis guns': Gandy diary, 26 Dec.

'A-hoy there': Goring, p. 298.

Page 136

false teeth: Kennedy, p. 47.

'most plausible individual': According to Gandy's diary for 30 Jan 1942, the British Consul in Kunming made out an official letter that day authorizing the police further along the escape party's route to take Skinner into custody if requested by the flotilla commander. Gandy added that he could never work out how Skinner got hold of the wine as he had 'stopped his money' long before.

'drunk while scuttling': Gandy diary, 26 Dec. In a letter the following year, Gandy wrote: 'The bottle of gin put out in the forecandle for the soaked and confused refugee party of military staff officers and Chinese crowding on board my boat must have been partaken of by others for it was a lachrymose coxswain who assisted me in scuttling the boat he'd spent 3 years in. He was admonished next day.' (Gandy papers, Nov 1942, IWM.)

'Not finding': Montague report, p. 8. By 7 p.m. MTBs 10 and 27 would have just moved round the headland to the southwest of Aplichau. The torpedo boats seen by Montague before sunset on the northwest corner of the island near Magazine Island must have been *MTB 10* giving *11* its tow start en route to Telegraph Bay.

Page 137

as long as ten minutes . . . 10.30 p.m.: Edmund Brazel, letter to his brother Bill, 16 Mar 1942.

'we were greatly alarmed': Montague report, p. 8.

Page 138

'We're Chinese and British': Hsu quoted by MacDougall in Tsang interview. expecting a Japanese . . . trained their guns: recollections of villagers in Nanao, 27 Dec 2009.

'the commander's here': Hsu, interview by the Chans.

'They're anti-Japanese': Ross, *Diary 1*.

set up a 'market': Gough, p. 65.

launch . . . escorts . . . chests: Jen Yu-wen, p. 25; Donald Chan interview.

Page 139

'keen to fight': Chan memoir, p. 20.

Page 140

'During this period': McEwan diary, 25 Dec.

'With a hatchet': Kennedy, p. 47.

Page 141

'We had still to': Goring, p. 298.

'We have a hundred . . . without turning': Robinson, p. 13.

Page 142

'An interesting crowd': Guest, p. 85.

Chapter 19 Ready to March

Page 143

Kowtit: is today under a reservoir. The map used the Wade-Giles romanization of the Cantonese versions of place names. In Mandarin, using the modern pinyin system, the name would be written alphabetically as Gaotie.

map: War Office Map of HK & Canton, 1927 (names revised 1938); scale 1/250,00 (1 inch = 3.95 miles); British Library: 60875.

Page 144

'Excluding Admiral Chan Chak . . . The officer': Gandy diary, 26 Dec.

'Knowing that': Guest, p. 84.

Page 145

'Mr. Kendall of the Special Service': Montague report, p. 8.

'After we had landed': Arthur Goring, letter to Lt Col Colin Mackenzie, General Staff, India, 2 Jan 1943.

'Canadian with a various past': Hugh Williamson, *Statement on Formation of Z Force*, Parsons papers. Williamson was an early member of Kendall's SOE unit.

'continually obstructive': S/Ldr Russell. G.S.I.(e), G.H.Q. India, *Report on M.I.9, China* (PRO WO 208/3260), Appendix.

'totally unreliable': Lindsay Ride, letter to British embassy, Chungking, June 1942; BAAG Series Vol. 3, Ride Collection, the University of Hong Kong.

'a complete failure': Gordon Grimsdale, British Military Attaché, Chungking, Grimsdale papers, *Thunder in the East*.

'brave and tough': PA Macmillan, letter to Lt Col Colin Mackenzie, General Staff, India, 6 Jan 1943. Kew: HS 9/828/9.

'there are opportunities': A Goring, letter to Mackenzie, General Staff, India, 2 Jan 1943. Kew: HS 9/828/9.

Page 146

an 'army': Goring, *My Escape* magazine article, p. 298.

'we could not help': McEwan diary, 27 Dec.

'Our Tommies': McEwan, *Discourse on Guerrillas and Cakeshops*, unpublished essay.

'They're experts': Gandy diary, 26 Dec.

'Mostly they were . . . The average guerrilla': MacDougall, newspaper article, 'Japs Dread Guerrillas', *The Standard*, Montreal, 21 Feb 1942.

Page 147

'a devil of a lot of rice': Guest, p. 90.

'dreaded hum': Guest, p. 87.

Page 148

'Ready to march! . . . You'll need': Kennedy, p. 49.

muttered the staff officers: Guest and Macmillan, quoted by Guest, p. 87.

explosives . . . fish: recollections of Nanao villagers, 27 Dec 2009.

'It's yours, old boy': Kennedy, pp. 48–49.

Page 149

'In all, the pack': Legge, letter to Brian.

'From Albion Point': Gandy diary, 26 Dec.

Page 150

'But Brucie's': based on information from Collingwood's widow, Kay, son Nigel and daughter Pippa.

'Shells from': Bush, *The Road to Inamura*, p. 139.

'most tiresome mongrel': Goring, p. 298.

Page 151

hard to sleep on: Kennedy diary, 26 Dec.

'matey places . . . most penetrating': Gandy diary, 26 Dec.

Chapter 20 Through Japanese Lines

Page 153

'like a team of . . . However': Kennedy, p. 50. Montague and Pethick may have seemed old to the others, but official records show them to have been only fifty-three and fifty-two respectively.

'Our following train': McEwan diary, 27 Dec.

Page 154

'The rarefied air': Guest, p. 91.

threw away their rifles: Ross audio.

'This march . . . But willpower': Gandy diary, 27 Dec.

'The only thing': BBC Radio talk recorded in July 1942 by *MTB 07's* leading stoker, Charlie Evans. BBC Sound Archives/4889. IWM Sound Section (acc. no. 2556).

Dafengkeng: Taifunghang in Gandy's diary. Now Lowutian reservoir, just east of the town of Kuichong.

'in a meadow for tiffin': Gandy diary, 27 Dec.

smugglers' route: this section of the old stone path, over a wooded hill between Lo Wu Tian and Shitouhe reservoirs, still survives today.

Page 155

'The guerrillas knew': Ross, letter to mother.

'masterly scouting': Montague report, p. 8.

'Those guerrillas': Legge, letter to Brian.

little devils: Chan Sui-jeung, *East River Column: Hong Kong Guerrillas in the Second World War and After*. Hong Kong, 2009, p. 50.

Tangpu: or Tong Po, as McEwan has it in his diary, using the Cantonese version. The village and duck pond remain but are now next to a large hydro-electric complex.

Heshuxia: Hoshueha in Gandy's diary, again using the Cantonese. The name literally means 'down the river and under the tree'.

Page 156

Wang Jingwei: was a Nationalist Party rival of Chiang Kai-shek's who ran a Japanese-supported collaborationist government in Nanjing.

'pro-enemy agencies . . . I organized': Chan memoir, p. 21.

'The guerrillas went': Ross audio (1974).

'The guerrillas . . . What a mix-up': Gandy diary, 27 Dec.

Page 157

'prepared to put up': Barker diary, 28 Dec.

'It was again': Kennedy, p. 51.

'we all crashed': Goring, p. 299.

'However, our guerrilla escort': Ross, letter to mother.

'You could almost reach out': Ross audio.

Page 158

'Ready to march . . . the road stretched': Kennedy, p. 52.

'Once again we were free': Edmund Brazel, letter to brother Bill, 16 Mar 1942.

'My heart would pound': Guest, p. 95.

Page 159

'To our astonishment': Goring, p. 299.

'negotiating . . . sumptuous gifts': Jen Yu-wen, p. 25.

McEwan said: statement to Sub-Lt DF Davies, HKRNVR, of Lindsay Ride's escape group, Jan 1942. Kew: CO 129/590/23.

second river: the Xishu—another branch of the earlier one, the Danshui River.

Sishui: what was then a lychee orchard is now the site of the Palm Island Golf Resort, with a course designed by Jack Nicklaus Junior, aimed at today's weekend escapers from Hong Kong.

'Apparently acting'. . . 31 miles: Gandy diary, 27 Dec. Kennedy put the total for the day at 25 miles. As the crow flies the distance is more like 16 miles, but that does not allow for the twisty paths and circuitous route.

Page 160

'the moon for a blanket': Barker diary, 28 Dec.

Chapter 21 Into Free China

Page 162

'Just a rough track': Barker diary, 28 Dec.

'Ready to fall over': Evans, BBC talk.

'I belong to the New China': Gandy diary, 28 Dec.

Page 163

pro-Nationalist guerrilla group: MacDougall, *Japs Dread Guerrillas*.

Yenan: Yan'an, Shaanxi Province—now a communist shrine.

East River Column links: Chan Sui-jeung, p. 27.

Zeng Deping: interview with author, 27 Dec 2009.

'was sighted . . . I took aim . . . Puff!': Gandy diary, 28 Dec.

Page 164

Spandau machine guns: German-made MG 42's.

'Here we were': Montague report, p. 8.

'smart, pleasant-looking': McEwan diary, 28 Dec.

'cooks of messes . . . now that the eyes . . . I made the mistake': Gandy diary, 28 Dec.

Page 165

\$1 oranges: Ashby log, 28 Dec.

'great fresh duck eggs': McEwan diary, 28 Dec.

military post: David Bosanquet, *Escape through China*. London, 1983, p. 135.

Dashanxia: Taisanha in Kennedy's diary—literally, 'below the big mountain'. The half-ruined walled village was still there in 2011, with the Chinese characters for 'Kill Japanese' scrawled on one wall.

Page 166

reinforcements . . . What a pity: Chan memoir, p. 20.

One story has it: Jen Yu-wen, p. 26; Snow, p. 76.

'Really good Chinese food': Ashby log, 28 Dec.

'Dinner was': McEwan diary, 28 Dec.

Page 167

'extremely comfortable': Goring, p. 299.

'My recollection': Gandy diary, 28 Dec.

Chapter 22 Welcome to Waichow

Page 168

'My particular host': Goring, p. 300.

Page 169

'I was worried': Ross audio.

'No hardship': quoted in Gandy diary, 29 Dec.

six men: Kennedy diary, 29 Dec.

Fenghuang Gang: listed by Kennedy as Fung Wong Kung. Teahouse, temple and duck pond were all still there seventy years later.

'At about 1200': Barker diary.

Page 171

'A host of dogs': Kennedy, p. 54.

'I felt an irresistible': McEwan diary, 29 Dec.

Page 172

'milling conglomerate': Bosanquet, p. 145.

'a most delightful place': Goodwin, *Hongkong Escape*, p. 137.

Page 173

Stars and Stripes: Tsui, ch. 14.

'the Chinese nurses': Barker, 30 Dec.

'a great treat': Kennedy, p. 54.

'by some form of': McEwan diary, 29 Dec.

3,000 people: Hsu, *The 1941 Battle*, p. 5.

twenty courses . . . 'unlimited delicacies': Kennedy diary, 29 Dec.

week's meat ration: Goring, p. 300.

Page 174

He thought fondly: Kennedy, p. 54.

'None of us sailors': Barker diary, 31 Dec.

small china spoon: Lindsay, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, p. 14.

toasts: Ashby log, 29 Dec.

'very keen': Collingwood, escape notes.

'I don't remember': Gandy diary, 29 Dec.

Chapter 23 Photos and Shopping

Page 175

'close-packed organization': Gandy diary, 28 Dec.

'It did seem a pity': McEwan, 30 Dec.

Page 176

'had not made a sound': Collingwood's family, interviews.

'as spick and span': Gandy diary, 30 Dec.

'I shall always keep': Barker, quoted in his local paper, *The Hucknall Dispatch*, 10 July 1942.

Page 177

'It was a warm': Goring, p. 300.

'very agitated': Kennedy, p. 55.

Canton Bay: present-day Zhanjiang.

cosy agreement . . . generals' concern: Gough, p. 66.

Page 178

'A good meal': Gandy diary, 30 Dec.

'dear old Chinese dame' . . . wash up: Goring, p. 300.

'Up rose the Major': McEwan diary, 30 Dec.

Page 179

'our memories . . . for the honour . . . No point': Gandy diary, 30 Dec.

Page 180

'How many are you': Owen-Hughes papers, message sent via Maj. Gen. Chu Lai Chuen, 29 Dec.

'surgical aid . . . virtually a guerrilla': Gandy diary, 30 Dec.

Page 181

'fantastic' prices: Ashby log, 30 Dec.

'My camera': Legge, letter to Brian.

'took out a great': Ross audio.

Page 182

'It was very new': MacDougall, Tsang interview.

'One could speak': Kennedy, p. 56.

Chapter 24 River Boats

Page 186

'for some purpose . . . unnecessary . . . it didn't take' Gandy diary, 31 Dec.

'usual fee': Kendall, *Statement A*, Parsons papers.

Shuihu Juan: also published in English under various other titles, including *Men of the Marshes* and *All Men Are Brothers*.

Page 187

'I see 108': Ou Daxiong, ch. 41.

Page 188

'A grander trio': Robinson, p. 15.

Waichow hogmanay: McEwan diary, 31 Dec.

'b. cold' . . . 'v. unpleasant': Kennedy diary, 31 Dec.

'open fore and aft': Ashby log, 31 Dec.

'the wind whistled': Legge, letter to Brian.

Page 189

'pretty gorge': Collingwood, escape notes.

'They'd all look': Russell Joyce, told to author, Jan 2010.

'The scenery': Barker diary, 1 Jan 1942.

Page 190

'Old Pethick . . . Our boat': Gandy papers, *V2's Diary*, 1 Jan.

'much overcrowded': Oxford, letter to sister Margaret, written on the East River on 3 Jan 1942.

'take the damned': Guest, *Escape from Bloodied Sun*, p. 102.

'To think that': Guest, *Indian Cavalryman*, p. 188.

\$300 . . . police: Gandy diary, 1–2 Jan.

Page 191

1.5 million people: Graham Peck, *Two Kinds of Time*. Boston, 1950; Beijing, 2004, p. 24.

getting enough to eat: Kennedy, *Hong Kong: Full Circle, 1939–45*, p. 57.

buns and oranges: Ross audio.

dispute over bully beef: Guest, *Escape*, p. 103.

chickens: Guest, p. 109.

Guanying (Guonyumkok): Ross, *Diary 2* (day-by-day notes), 2 Jan.

warmer and pleasanter: Ashby log, 2 Jan.

'very little room': Goring, p. 301.

Gandy shouting: Ashby log; Kennedy diary, 3 Jan.

'I got considerable': Gandy, 2 Jan.

Page 192

Heyuan: Kennedy diary, 3 Jan. (Mr Deng's is one of several original name cards included in the *Escape From Hong Kong* exhibition.)

'Under way again': Barker diary, 3 Jan.

'barbel-like fish': Gandy, 3 Jan.

Chapter 25 'Bow, You Buggers, Bow'

Page 193

'where the hell': Owen-Hughes papers, *Report from Kwangtung Province—December 1941/January 1942*, 18 Feb 1942.

Page 194

'We had to': Legge, letter to Brian.

'excellent preparations': Owen-Hughes papers, War Diary, 3 Jan.

'for our comfort': Barker diary, 4 Jan.

Page 195

'went down . . . perforce': Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 4 Jan.

'you heroes . . . you heels': Collingwood, escape notes; Kennedy, p. 59.

'a deep shade of pink': Guest, p. 112.

'British Party': Kennedy, p. 59.

'Ship's Company': Goring, p. 302.

'Come on': Guest, p. 112.

'Never before': Goring, p. 302.

Page 196

'Where his troops ate' . . . long chat: Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 4 Jan.

'the inevitable result': Oxford, letter to Margaret.

'It did seem . . . The personnel': Owen-Hughes papers, Report on Mission to China.

'excuses of one sort . . . A study of': Owen-Hughes papers, Mission to China.

Page 197

clear evidence . . . 'carved up with knives': Capt PA Macmillan, *Reported Japanese Atrocities during the Siege of Hong Kong*, Kew: CAB 106/11.

'The latter': Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 5 Jan.

Page 198

'Our Chinese hosts': Kennedy, p. 60.

'As these came': Goring, p. 302.

'excellent' coffee: Brazel, letter to Bill.

Page 199

'pleasant little town . . . in two long lines': Kennedy, p. 60.

10,000 troops: Ashby log, 6 Jan.

'looked as if': MacDougall, Tsang interview.

Page 200

'one some 1,200 years': Ashby log, 6 Jan.

'I do not imagine': Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 6 Jan.

Chapter 26 Kukong Comforts**Page 201**

'choir of maidens': Goring, p. 303.

Page 202

parade . . . 'good public parks': Gandy diary, 6 Jan.

Hankow: On the north bank of the Yangtze in central China, Hankow was one of three adjoining cities which merged to form present-day Wuhan.

attack by thirteen planes: Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 31 Dec 1941.

a hundred people: memorial plaque in today's central Shaoguan.

Page 203

'rather primitive': Gandy diary, 6 Jan.

'English pictures': Guest, p. 116.

Minsheng Street ('People's Life' Street): now called Dong Di Yi Lu.

Page 204

drinking contest: Moreira, *Hemingway on the China Front*, p. 75.

black patch: Gandy diary, 6 Jan.

fat and prosperous: Kennedy, p. 62.

high circles: Legge, letter to Brian.

share the room . . . Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 6 Jan.

first bath: MacDougall, letter to Catherine, 17 Jan.

Page 205

'Welcome . . . Smash': Ashby log, Kennedy diary, 7 Jan.

'Democracies . . . Hail': Ross, *Diary 2*, 7 Jan.

speeches: Barker diary, 7 Jan.

'spouts like a': Owen-Hughes, *Report from Kwangtung* and War Diary, 7 Jan.

'No fancy': Gandy diary, 7 Jan.

Japanese plane: Goring, letter to Owen-Hughes, 26 July 1942.

Page 206

dependable hospital: Tsui, ch. 12. The mission hospital is now the Yuebei People's Hospital, the largest in the region. One of the old houses in the compound where the foreign doctors lived has been turned into a charming museum.

'very short . . . the peanut butter': Jean Moore, 'Bend in the River', in *Daughter of China*, edited by Margaret Moore, privately published, 1992, p. 5.

Colin MacDonald: Ross, audio.

'first direct contact': *The Times*, London, 8 Jan 1942.

Page 207

discovery of a jacket: Guest, p. 99.

one member of the party: Brazel, letter to Bill, p. 3.

Page 208

air raid alarms: Ross, *Diary 2*, 12 Jan; Kennedy, p. 64.

'feverish buying': Ashby log, 8 Jan.

'the ministration of the barber': Owen-Hughes papers, *Statement of expenses incurred by party which escaped from Hong Kong with Admiral Chan Chak*, 22 Jan 1942.

'iniquity of': Gandy diary, 8 Jan.

'Shopping is difficult': Oxford, letter to Margaret.

Page 209

'very homey . . . piles of tea': Papers of Major EB Teesdale, IWM Documents Section: 90/6/1, diary, 20 Feb 1942.

'custodian of chow': Gandy papers, summary of later stages of journey: *2nd MTB Flotilla Party ex-Hongkong crosses China to Burma*, Jan–Feb 1942, p. 13.

'ground too small': Gandy diary, 9 Jan.

'small football': Ashby log, 9 Jan.

to play in goal: Kennedy diary, 9 Jan.

Christiansen . . . Pethick: Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 8 Jan.

Page 210

'must have been': Moore, p. 6.

IXL an Australian company that began making jams in 1898.

Chan's operation: Jen Yu-wen, p. 26; Ou Daxiong, ch. 41; Moore, p. 6; Owen-Hughes war diary, 8 Jan. Having almost fainted when he learned for the first time that the bullet was still inside him, the Admiral later had the offending item mounted in gold and wore it on the end of a chain for the rest of his life.

Peredur Jones: letter from the missionary's brother, G Whittington Jones, to A Kennedy, July 1942; Moore, p. 6.

'bereft of paint': Moore, p. 7. The British Army Aid Group later paid to have the stairs repainted.

Chapter 27 Parting of the Ways**Page 211**

'bold and patriotic': Jen Yu-wen, p. 26.

Leung appointment: Ou Daxiong, ch. 41.

'typical Cantonese officer': J Arthur Duff, 'Escape from Hong Kong to Free China, January and February 1942', *South China Morning Post*, Hong Kong, p. 29.

'In the evening . . . It is the business': Duff, p. 29.

Yeung mission: interview with his sons, Yeung Yu-kwok and Yeung Yu-zhong, Hong Kong, 28 Oct 2009; email from his granddaughter Ellen Sin, 15 July 2009.

Page 212

Chan family escape: interviews with Anita, Donald and Duncan Chan.

'flatly despised': Peck, p. 417.

hadn't even fought . . . **military HQ visit:** Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 20/10 Jan.

'concrete and . . .': Major A Goring, *Some notes on Japanese methods used in their invasion of Hong Kong*. 1942. Kew: CAB 106/11.

'fanatical bravery': Capt PA Macmillan, *Notes on strength, organization and tactics of Japanese troops employed against Hong Kong*. 1942. Kew: CAB 106/11.

Page 213

'raging fever' . . . **left for Chungking:** Goring, p. 303.

'I had come': Guest, *Escape from the Bloodied Sun*, p. 116.

'great relief . . . own people': Guest, *Indian Cavalryman*, p. 188.

'flew by the seat': Ross audio.

'My gosh': Ross, letter to mother.

Page 214

'charming and intelligent': Wladimir Petro, *Triple Commission*, London, 1968, p. 190.

Page 215

'Here I am': MacDougall, letter to Catherine, 17 Jan 1942.

'rather unsatisfactory': letter to Sir Archibald Clark Kerr from EC Wilford, Chief Surgeon, West China Canadian Mission Hospital in Chengdu, after examination of MacDougall's wound, 31 Jan 1942. Kew: WO 208/733A.

'the East': Guest, *Indian Cavalryman*, p. 189.

'to talk about Hong Kong': Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 19 Jan.

Page 216

'fit and cheerful': letter from David MacDougall to Alexander Kennedy's mother, 26 March 1942.

rags and a monocle: Dr Douglas Scriven, who joined the Red Cross after his escape and remained in southern China.

Page 217

birth of the BAAG: Elizabeth Ride, email to author, 15 Jan 2010; Edwin Ride: *BAAG, Hong Kong Resistance 1942–1945*, 1981, p. 49; and Owen-Hughes, War Diary, 30 Jan.

'09 still had': Colin McEwan, letter to Alexander Kennedy, 17 May 1970.

'made to pay hell': Gandy diary, 14 Jan (quoting news from Chinese military HQ).

Page 218

'doing some practice . . . During their terrible': letter from Suyamu, 3 Mar 1942. Kew: ADM 199/1287.

Page 219

Harbour Mission Church: *South China Morning Post*, 28 Dec 1945.

Henry's Bible: Hsu, interview by Chans.

SK arrest: Owen-Hughes, War Diary and personal diary, IWM, 5–8 Feb; Kendall, *Statement A*; Ross, audio; McEwan, *Tales*, ch.1.

Page 220

'Unhappily, by this time': Report on Mission to China.

'He is a very loyal': War Diary, 30 Jan.

'foster and return': Owen-Hughes papers, report from Kwangtung Province.

'In appreciation': Owen-Hughes papers, letter to Major General Chu Lai Chuen, 6 Feb 1942.

'The officers who': GE Grimsdale, cable to War Office from Chungking, 31 Mar 1942. Kew: WO 208/301.

Page 221

'great energy': General Archibald Percival Wavell, cable to War Office from Delhi, 19 Apr 1942. Kew: WO 208/301.

'Throughout our trip . . . To this end': Montague report, final page.

Page 222

'**stump up**': handwritten note on letter to Colonial Office from Sir Horace Seymour, July 1943; Kew: FO 371/35862.

'**In the fake war**': Jen Yu-wen, p. 26. Chan pays the British the compliment of favourably comparing the defence of Hong Kong with that of Canton three years before.

'**An ancient saying**': broadcast on national Chinese radio, 20 Mar 1942.

Chapter 28 Journey to the West**Page 224**

'**And to you**': Gandy diary, 16 Jan.

'**\$80,000**': Gandy summary (of last part of journey), p. 2.

Page 225

'**I believe that**': Gandy, quoted in Lindsay, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, p. 17.

'**Before we knew**': Barker diary, 23 Jan.

'**I found myself**': Legge, letter to Brian.

Page 226

'**He should have . . . capable of . . . not on results**': Gandy papers, letter addressed to the Admiralty, Dec 1942.

'**Who looked after**': Collingwood, letter to Gandy, Nov 1942; Gandy papers.

Page 227

'**all I can get**': Kennedy, p. 73.

'**finished . . . entire stock**': Dr John Grindlay diary, Manuscripts Division, University of Minnesota library.

'**cigarettes**': Barker, *Hucknall Dispatch*, 10 July 1942.

'**We all bunked**': Legge, letter to Brian.

Page 228

'**prosecute the war . . . Lieut. Commander Yorath**': Gandy diary, 24 Jan.

'**very thoughtless . . . huge British**': Grindlay diary.

'**We were totally**': Kennedy, p. 76.

Page 229

'**stiffen like a**': Kennedy, p. 77.

Page 230

'**a rowdy lot**': Gandy summary, p. 7.

'**But the amazing . . . Yes, absolutely**': Kennedy, p. 80.

Page 231

'**I can only pray**': Kennedy letter, 31 Jan 1942.

'**haven of rekitting**': Gandy summary, p. 8.

Page 232

'The Burma Road': Evans, BBC talk, July 1942.
twenty to Dali: Ashby log, 3 Feb.

Page 233

'Saw 3 Tibetan': Gandy diary, 3 Feb.
Dali church: Kennedy diary, 3 Feb. Fifty years after Lt Kennedy was there, his granddaughter Liza visited the church, and it was she who found out from local people the story of how it was built.
'Delay over eggs': Kennedy diary, 5 Feb.

Page 234

'despite the failings': Kennedy, p. 85.
'own folk': Gandy, summary, p. 11.
'tasted like nectar': Kennedy, p. 86.

Chapter 29 *Burma Shave*

Page 235

Burmans: or Bamar, as Burma's dominant ethnic group are now known.
commandeered Dodwell trucks: Ashby log, 7 Feb 1942.

Page 236

'it seemed a': Kennedy, p. 86.
billiard score: Kennedy diary, 10 Feb.

Page 237

'hot compress': Gandy papers, medical report from Dr Wong, 9 Feb.
'in rather . . . so far . . . I consider': Gandy summary, pp. 12–13.
an 'astonishingly cheap': Gandy papers, Itinerary and Expense Accounts.

Page 238

'For the wind': Kipling's poem *Mandalay* was first published in 1892 in the collection *Barrack Room Ballads*. It was adapted for the song 'On the Road to Mandalay' by Oley Speaks and recorded by Peter Dawson in 1939.
'quite a good-looking': Meadows papers, 13 Feb.
'gaunt and ragged': Field Marshal Sir William Slim's famous description of the state of his British, Indian and Gurkha soldiers after their initial withdrawal, before they regrouped and eventually retook Burma by the end of the war.
some reflected: Kennedy, p. 87.
'ghastly odour . . . like flocks': Eve Curie, *Journey among Warriors*, 1943, p. 316.
'Waiting for a train': *Daily Sketch*, 27 Feb 1942.

Page 239

'A few bombs': Gandy, quoted in Lindsay, *At the Going Down of the Sun*, p. 18.

Page 240

'The Silver Grill': Kennedy, p. 89.

Fleurette Pelly . . . 'much better': Kennedy diary, 15–17 Feb.

Page 241

Jessen gun plan: Ashby papers.

Page 242

'Officers are walking': Rann diary, 3 March 1942.

'Fires being lighted': Ashby log, 26 Feb.

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