

Gavan Daws
PRISONERS OF THE JAPANESE
POWs of the Japanese in World War II
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NOTES

These notes are intended as a supplement to those in the published book.

My purpose in making a separate, fuller set of notes available is to keep book costs down for the 99 percent of readers who aren't interested in more detail about sources, while at the same time providing for the 1 percent who are.

It was my plan to have these notes ready at the same time as the book, but that did not happen. Here is what did happen:

While the book was in press, my computer had a catastrophic hard disk crash. My first, and it was catastrophic for my schedule. The disk had suffered physical damage, and recovering data was a nightmare of a kind totally new to me (where computers are involved, I am the lowest of low tech: a slow-witted, sausage-fingered processor of words, and that's all). It was a long struggle, and I never did get everything back. I bought a new computer, transferred what had been recovered to its hard disk, and added more detail, which had been my plan all along--whereupon *that* computer had a catastrophic hard disk crash.

All this was happening in the middle of post-publication

work connected with the book: traveling for long stretches, doing newspaper and TV interviews, talk radio, and so on. I was pleased that the serious issues raised in the book were being taken seriously--for weeks after publication, then months, in fact all the way to the fiftieth anniversary of VJ Day. But the considerable time I spent in this useful manner was time not spent getting these notes ready. So the notes have turned out to be months late.

And they are by no means perfect. Reconstitution after the two hard disk crashes has left inconsistencies in form of citations, and I have no doubt that the substantial re-keyboarding that was necessary has introduced some new errors. Such is life down among the bits and the bytes and the small print.

All I can hope is that the inconsistencies are not too irritating, and that the errors are not disabling.

And I fervently hope that no user of these notes ever has to endure one catastrophic hard disk crash, much less two.

Nuts and bolts: Read pp. 397-405 of the book for a description and discussion of sources, abbreviations etc. Notes proper begin on p. 407. Everything in the published notes is here (errors excepted), plus additional directly relevant and related material, plus some thoughts on a number of complicated subjects which for one reason or another did not find a place on the printed page, but which may be of interest to those who have been interested enough to want a copy of these notes.

G.D.

September 1995

I. SITTING DUCKS

Notes for pages 31-50

Harry Jeffries, Oklahoma Atkinson, and Wake Island: Principal interviews: Daws with Jeffries, Atkinson, Brown, H., Crow, Davidson, Green, Maple, Nelson, L. Also UNT with McDaniel, Venable.

CPNAB bases: D. Woodbury, *Builders for Battle: How the Pacific Naval Air Bases Were Constructed* (New York, 1948); *A Report to Returned CPNAB Prisoner of War Heroes and Their Dependents* (Boise, 1945). Also Daws interviews with Aitken, Henning, Sterling. For detail on Matson cruise liners, my thanks to De Soto Brown.

Wake Island 1941: Daws interviews with Nye, Pitcher, Williamson. Woodrow Kessler kindly made his MS memoir available.

Florence Teters: Brown/Daws; Woodbury, *Builders for Battle*, 256. Sucker: Atkinson/Daws. Just Plain Shit: G. Urwin, "The Defenders of Wake Island: Their Two Wars, 1941-1945", PhD, Notre Dame, 1983, 40.

The Japanese attack on Wake can be followed in detail in: Urwin, "Defenders of Wake"; R. Heintz, *The Defense of Wake* (Washington, 1947); F. Hough et al, *History of U.S. Marine Corps Operations in World War II*. vol. 1: *Pearl Harbor to Guadalcanal* (Washington, 1958); S. Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*. vol 3: *The Rising Sun in the Pacific, 1931-April 1942* (Boston, 1948); W. Kessler, "Report on Wake Island Operations 7 Dec to 24 Dec 1941, 11 Oct 45", MCHC; J. Devereux, *The Story of Wake Island* (Philadelphia, 1947), and the Devereux interview in Oral History Collection, MCHC; W. Cunningham, *Wake Island Command* (Boston, 1961); D.

Schultz, *Wake Island: The Heroic Gallant Fight* (New York, 1978). See also J. Astarita, *Sketches of P.O.W. Life* (Brooklyn, n.d.); W. Bayler, *Last Man off Wake Island* (Indianapolis, 1943); H. Whitney, *Guest of the Fallen Sun: In the Prisoner-of-War Camps in Japan and China* (New York, 1951); J. Darden, *Guests of the Emperor: The Story of Dick Darden* (Clinton, 1990); R. Kephart, *Wake, War and Waiting* (Stanley, 1993).

SOS. ISLAND OF OAHU ATTACKED: Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 101. I see boats!: Urwin, 167. **ENEMY ON ISLAND:** Urwin, 208. Stay under cover!: Jeffries/Daws. Do you speak English? Devereux, *Story of Wake*, 190.

Race hate in the Pacific war: J Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, 1986) is an excellent treatment of this difficult subject.

Well, thank the son of a bitch: Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 236. The airstrip: Daws with Atkinson, Jeffries; Venable/UNT; Kessler memoir; Schultz, *Heroic Gallant Fight*, 163-164.

The Nitta Maru: See testimony and affidavits in the war crimes trial US v Hida, RG 153, Case Docket 260, WNRC; many statements in RG 331, Box 986, 987, WNRC; IMTFE 13,248ff, PX 2037, 2038.

Notes for pages 50-60

Slug Wright, the 2nd Battalion of the 131st Field Artillery, and USS Houston: For basic information on members of these units, see the annually updated roster of the Lost Battalion and Houston Survivors Association.

Principal interviews: Daws with Wright, Schwarz, Stanbrough. Ronald Marcello's invaluable interviews with 131st FA and Houston survivors are listed in University of North Texas, *Oral History Program, 25th Anniversary Catalog, 1964-1989* (Denton, 1989). Selections are in R. La

Forte and R. Marcello, eds., *Building the Death Railway: The Ordeal of American POWs in Burma, 1942-1945* (Wilmington, 1993), and La Forte, Marcello and R. Himmel, eds., *With Only the Will to Live: Accounts of Americans in Japanese Prison Camps, 1941-1945* (Wilmington, 1994). Published memoirs: H. Allen, *The Lost Battalion* (Jacksboro, 1963); H. Charles, *Last Man Out* (Austin, 1988); C. Day, *Hodio: Tales of an American P.O.W.* (Merrillville, 1984); B. Dunn, *The Bamboo Express* (Chicago, 1979); C. Fillmore, *Prisoner of War* (Wichita Falls, 1973); F. Fujita, *Foo: A Japanese-American Prisoner of the Rising Sun* (Denton, 1993); R. Slone, *The Light Behind the Cloud* (Waco, 1992); H. Teel, *Our Days Were Years: History of the 'Lost Battalion', 2nd Battalion, 36th Division* (Quanah, 1978); T. Woody, *The Railroad to Nagasaki* (privately published, 1992).

Louisiana Maneuvers: Daws interviews with Wright, Prunty, Stanbrough, Worthington; *Life*, October 5, 1941. How the 2nd Battalion went overseas: Clark/Daws; Matlock/UNT. Brother-in-law unit: Tilghman/Daws.

Eddie Fung: Fung/UNT. Frank Fujita: Fujita/Daws; Fujita/UNT; Fujita, *Foo*, 15ff, 328.

Republic: Stanbrough/Daws; UNT interviews with Brown, L., Matlock, Offerle, Reichle, Fillmore, *Prisoner of War*, 2; Woody, *Railroad to Nagasaki*, 16. The convoy out of Honolulu took the name of the principal armed escort, USS *Pensacola*; see R. Underbrink, *Destination Corregidor* (Annapolis, 1971).

Brisbane: Wright/Daws; UNT interviews with Minshew, Knight, Slate. To Java: Stanbrough/Daws; Taylor/UNT.

Java: Daws interviews with Fujita, Wright. Wright; Gee/UNT. Macmac OK! Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 12; Fujita, *Foo*, 58. Corky Woodall and the siren: Daws interviews with Dunn, Fujita, Wright; Evans/UNT.

Capitulation: Stanbrough/Daws; Henderson/AWM; UNT interviews with Armstrong, Hard, Offerle, Rasbury, Stone, Whitehead; Rogers diary, RG 389, B 2178, NA.

USS Houston: Daws interviews with Forsman, Schwarz, Weissinger, Wilkinson; UNT interviews with Burge, Detre, Pryor, Reese; Day, "Saga of the USS Houston", MS, Command File, World War II, Navy, NHC. See also D. Schultz, *The Last Battle Station: The Saga of the USS Houston* (New York, 1986); W. Winslow, *The Ghost of the Java Coast: The Saga of USS Houston* (Satellite Beach, 1974); W. Winslow, *The Ghost That Died at Sunda Strait* (Annapolis, 1984).

Serang: Douglas/UNT; Smith, Command File, World War II, NHC; S. Stening, "Experiences as a Prisoner of War in Japan", *Australian Medical Journal*, vol. 1 (June, 1946), 773. This is not the way: Schultz, *Last Battle Station*, 220.

Bicycle Camp: Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 39. Houston prisoners: Fillmore, *Prisoner of War*, 19; Rasbury/UNT. Deep In The Heart Of Texas: Robinson, M./UNT.

Notes for pages 60-72

Forrest Knox and Company A of the 192nd Tank Regiment: Principal interviews: Daws with Knox, Durner, Stewart. Adaline Knox kindly gave me access to Forrest Knox's private papers.

Company A: the Rock County Historical Society, Janesville, Wisconsin, has a clipping collection and other documents. See also T. Doherty, "Too Little, Too Late: Janesville's 'Lost Children' of the Armored Force", *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 75, no. 4 (Summer 1992), 243-283; D. Schutt, "Tankers on Bataan", MA, University of Wisconsin, 1967; D. Dopkins, *The Janesville 99: A Story of the Bataan Death March* (privately published, 1981).

The Japanese invasion of the Philippines can be followed in: L. Morton, *The Fall of the Philippines*

(Washington, 1953); D.C. James, *The Years of MacArthur*, vol. 2, 1941-1945 (Boston, 1975); W. Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1880-1964* (New York [1978], 1979).

For detailed accounts of the Bataan campaign: J. Whitman, *Bataan: Our Last Ditch. The Bataan Campaign, 1942* (New York, 1990); D. Young, *The Battle of Bataan: A History of the 90 Day Siege and Eventual Surrender of 75,000 Filipino and United States Troops to the Japanese in World War II* (Jefferson, 1992). See also J. Toland, *The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire 1936-1945* (New York [1970], 1971), 325ff; J. Wainwright, *General Wainwright's Story* (Garden City, 1946); J. Beck, *MacArthur and Wainwright: Sacrifice of the Philippines* (Albuquerque, 1974); C. Petillo, *MacArthur: The Philippines Years* (Bloomington, 1981); M. Schaller, *Douglas MacArthur: The Far Eastern General* (New York, 1989); D. Schultz, *Hero of Bataan: The Story of General Jonathan M. Wainwright* (New York, 1981); J. Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond: Memories of an American P.O.W.* (College Station, 1978); A. Ind, *Bataan: The Judgment Seat* (New York, 1944); and especially the oral history by D. Knox, *Death March: The Survivors of Bataan* (San Diego, 1981). Kathleen Rucker kindly gave me permission to use Donald Knox's interview transcripts and research papers. B. Fitzpatrick and J. Sweetser, *The Hike into the Sun: Memoir of an American Soldier Captured on Bataan and Imprisoned by the Japanese until 1945* (Jefferson, 1993) is by a tanker of the 194th Battalion.

One-Horse Shea: Knox/Daws. What do you think?: Knox/Daws. This is as far as I go: Knox/Daws.

Food on Bataan: C. Drake, "No Uncle Sam: The Story of a Hopeless Effort to Supply the Starving Army of Bataan and Corregidor", MS, CMH; Morton, *Fall of Philippines*, 254-259, 367-376; James, *Years of MacArthur*, vol. 2, 32-33; M. Villarin, *We Remember Bataan and Corregidor: The Story of the American and Filipino Defenders of Bataan and*

Corregidor and Their Captivity (Baltimore, 1990), 93-94; S. Falk, *Bataan: The March of Death* (New York [1982], 1983), 34; R. Scott, *90 Days of Rice* (Pioneer, 1975), 38; B. Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men* (Philadelphia, 1947), 41; J. Redmond, *I Served on Bataan* (Philadelphia, 1943), 72; A. Poweleit, *USAFFE: The Loyal Americans and Faithful Filipinos* (privately published, 1975) 32-34; J. Morrett, *Soldier Priest* (Roswell, 1993), 45.

Ladies and gents: E. Whitcomb, *Escape from Corregidor* (Manila, 1978), 52. Japanese propaganda: Morton, *Fall of Philippines*, 385; Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men*, 32. Don't wait to die: W. Rutherford, *Fall of the Philippines* (New York, 1972), 112. You too can enjoy this: Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 36; see also F. Ongpauco, *They Refused to Die: True Stories About World War II Heroes in the Philippines, 1941-1945* (Gatineau, 1982), 91; A. Pena, *Bataan's Own* (Manila, 1967), 174; E. Morris, *Corregidor: The End of the Line* (New York [1981], 1984), 357. Leaflets for asswipe: R. Hibbs, *Tell MacArthur to Wait* (New York, 1988), 78.

You have already cut rations: Morton, *Fall of Philippines*, 269. Use this ticket: Rutherford, *Fall of the Philippines*, 112-113. Battling bastards of Bataan: Toland, *Rising Sun*, 325. Dugout Doug: Manchester, *American Caesar*, 269. I am going to the latrine: J. Toland, *But Not in Shame: The Six Months After Pearl Harbor* (New York [1961], 1974), 306.

Carabao: A. Poweleit, *Kentucky's Fighting 192nd Light G.H.Q. Tank Battalion* (Newport, 1981), 32-33, 57; Wainwright, *General Wainwright's Story*, 48-49, 53; A. Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon* (New York, 1961), 27; R. Levering, *Horror Trek* (New York, 1979), 41; W. Cooper et al.: "Medical Department Activities in the Philippines from 1941 to 6 May 1942, Including Medical Activities in Japanese Prisoner of War Camps", MS, CMH. Shucks, I got proof:

Knox/Daws. See also E. Morris, *Corregidor*, 357; Whitman, *Bataan*, 143; Knox, *Death March*, 80; Wainwright, *General Wainwright's Story*, 53. Matters of taste: P. Ashton, *Bataan Diary* (privately published, 1984), 116; C. Chunn, *Of Rice and Men: The Story of Americans Under the Rising Sun* (Los Angeles, 1946), 1; R. Mallonee, *The Naked Flagpole* (San Rafael, 1980), 85; Hibbs, *Tell MacArthur*, 86; Knox, *Death March*, 80. Monkey: V. Taylor, *Cabanatuan: Japanese Death Camp* (Waco, 1985), 36; Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 33; Poweleit, *Kentucky's Fighting 192nd*, 59; Mallonee, *Naked Flagpole*, 85; Whitcomb, *Escape from Corregidor*, 57. Dynamiting fish: Morrett, *Soldier Priest*, 45; Knox, *Death March*, 84; Poweleit, *USAFFE*, 37, 38. Milky Way: To Victory, Joe, MS, Microfilm 15, NA; see also Ashton, *And Somebody Gives a Damn*, 197. Contaminated sugar: Mattson/Knox. See also Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 34.

Hospitals, hygiene and disease: Cooper, "Medical Department Activities"; J. Gillespie, "Recollections of the Pacific War and Japanese Prisoner-of-War Camps, 1941-1945", MS, CMH; Morton, *Fall of Philippines*, 377ff; E. Jacobs, *Blood Brothers: A Medic's Sketch Book* (New York, Carlton, 1985); Weinstein, *Barbed -Wire Surgeon* (New York, 1961); P. Ashton, *And Somebody Gives a Damn!* (Santa Barbara, 1990), 53ff. Malaria: Falk, *Bataan*, 65-66. Quinine: Whitman, *Bataan*, 448; Hibbs, *Tell MacArthur*, 83.

Homma's message: Morton, *Fall of Philippines*, 418. Effectives: Mallonee, *Naked Flagpole*, 128; see also Poweleit, *USAFFE*, 42-43. Tired hair: Garleb/Knox. Human flesh in trees: Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 53. Arms and legs: Poweleit, *Kentucky's Fighting 192nd*, 70. Japanese in the night: Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 56; S. Mellnik, *Philippine War Diary, 1939-1945* (New York, 1981), 81. The 192nd destroy their tanks: Daws interviews with Knox, Durner, Stewart. White flag: Dopkins, *Janesville* 99, 13.

Surrender: Morton, *Fall of Philippines*, 457, 466;

Whitman, *Bataan*, 583ff; Toland, *Rising Sun*, 333; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 5-13.

Notes for pages 73-84

The Bataan death march. Principal interviews: Daws with Knox, Durner, Stewart.

A basic source is the thirty volumes of testimony and exhibits in the war crimes trial US v Homma, RG 331, B 1671, WNRC.

Stage by stage, the death march can be followed in Knox, *Death March*, 118ff; Falk, *Bataan*, 45ff; Toland, *Rising Sun*, 338-343; D. Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy* (New York [1971], 1972), 955ff; E. Kerr, *Surrender and Survival: The Experience of American POWs in the Pacific 1941-1945* (New York, 1985), 49ff. A sampling of individual memoirs: W. Dyess, *The Dyess Story: The Eyewitness Account of the Death March from Bataan and the Narrative of Experiences in Japanese Prison Camps and of Eventual Escape* (New York, 1944), 68ff; M. McCoy and S. Mellnik, *Ten Escape from Tojo* (New York, 1944), 40ff; C. Gloria, *All the Way from Bataan to O'Donnell* (Quezon City, 1978), 68ff; A. Poweleit, *USAFFE*, 48ff; Morrett, *Soldier Priest*, 56ff. See also these papers in MHI: Moore, Johnson, Mallonee.

Japanese infantrymen march: M. and S. Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun: The Rise and Fall of the Imperial Japanese Army* (London, 1991), 141.

Japanese treatment of officers: these papers in MHI: Johnson, Mitchell; Cooper, "Medical Department Activities", CMH; Wainwright, *General Wainwright's Story*, 94; Falk, *Bataan*, 129.

Dear friends: F. Ongpauco, *They Refused to Die*, 97; Combat History Division, Manila, *Triumph in the*

Philippines (Manila, 1972), 110–111; US v Homma, vol. 8, 1011ff.

Ten American bodies a mile: Poweleit, *Kentucky's Fighting 192nd*, 87; Poweleit, *USAFFE*, 50. Twenty-seven headless bodies: Toland, *But Not in Shame*, 351; see also US v Homma, vol. 7, 834.

Hospital 2: Poweleit, *Kentucky's Fighting 192nd*, 84; Cooper, "Medical Department Activities"; US v Homma, vol. 7, 763, 823.

Killing on the death march: US v Homma, vol. 8, 945, vol. 9, 1105; Mallonee papers, MHI; W. Evans, *Kora!* (Rogue River, 1986), 12; Taylor, *Cabanatuan*, 44. Hit from trucks: Knox, *Death March*, 141. Water: D. Bilyeu, *Lost in Action* (Jefferson, 1991), 74, 77, 78. Shot for water stains: Knox, *Death March*, 128. Falling back through the ranks: Reed, L./UNT. Buzzard squads: Knox/Daws; US v Homma, vol. 7, 733ff; S. Grashio and B. Norling, *Return to Freedom: The War Memoirs of Col. Samuel C. Grashio* (Tulsa, 1982), 43. Filipinos killed for helping: Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 161–162; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 89; Villarin, *We Remember Bataan*, 107. Hospital No. 2: US v Homma, vol. 7, 763, 823; Poweleit, *Kentucky's Fighting 192nd*, 84; Poweleit, *USAFFE*, 51–52; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 120ff; M. Lawton, *Some Survived* (Chapel Hill, 1984), 19.

Sun treatment: Grashio and Norling, *Return to Freedom*, 39; Falk, *Bataan*, 133. Where the hell: Knox/Daws. Worms at Lubao: Poweleit, *Kentucky's Fighting 192nd*, 93. Iron warehouse: Grashio and Norling, *Return to Freedom*, 44. Bayonet game: Knox, *Death March*, 146. Suicide off train: Grashio and Norling, *Return to Freedom*, 44.

Professional Japanese military hardheads: Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, 957. Tsuji Masanobu: E. Hoyt, *Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict, 1853–1952* (New York, 1986), 153; A. Swinson, *Four Samurai: A Quartet of Japanese Army Commanders in the Second World War*

(London, 1968), 65ff; I. Ward, *The Killer They Called a God* (Singapore, 1992), 247.

My discussion of issues raised by the death march is based on the voluminous evidence in US v Homma, both prosecution and defense, especially testimony of Homma and other senior Japanese officers. For a different assessment: Falk, *Bataan*, 225ff. See also Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 357–358, 411–412.

Notes for pages 84–90

Camp O'Donnell. Principal interviews: Daws with Knox, Durner, Olson. Stewart, Tant. Also UNT with Bunch, Halbhook, Reed, L.

A basic source is the war crimes trial US v Tsuneyoshi, RG 331, B 1607, WNRC, and related documents in B 1061, 1640, 9640, 9771, 9787. O'Donnell also figures prominently in US v Homma, previously cited.

J. Olson, *O'Donnell: Andersonville of the Pacific* (privately published, 1985), is invaluable—the most detailed inventory of factual information on any single POW camp. Works previously cited for the Bataan death march also describe experiences at O'Donnell, especially Knox, *Death March*, 153ff. See also the papers of Johnson, Moore, and Wohlfeld, in MHI.

Shakedown: Olson, *O'Donnell*, 42–43. Killed for having Japanese things: US v Homma, vol. 10, 1145–1148; Drummond, prosecution exhibit in US v Tsuneyoshi, vol. 2; D. Cave, *Beyond Courage: One Regiment Against Japan, 1941–1945* (Las Cruces, 1992), 181; Poweleit, *USAFFE*, 68. The Japanese fan: statement of Limpert, prosecution exhibit in US v Tsuneyoshi, vol. 2. Filipinos marked with a red X: Ongpauco, *They Refused to Die*, 149. Tsuneyoshi and his speech: US v Tsuneyoshi, vol. 1, 82; US v Homma, vol. 11, 1509; Olson, *O'Donnell*, 44–47.

Water and food: extensive testimony in US v Tsuneyoshi and US v Homma; Olson, *O'Donnell*, 85ff. You talk too much: US v Tsuneyoshi, vol. 1, 503. I got bleeding hemorrhoids: Knox/Daws. Would you eat the dog: Tant/Daws.

Dysentery ward, death and burial: extensive testimony in US v Tsuneyoshi and US v Homma. See also Olson, *O'Donnell*, 109ff; Cooper, "Medical Department Activities"; Gillespie, "Recollections of the Pacific War"; K. Emerson, *Guest of the Emperor* (privately published, 1977), 22; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 68ff; Evans, *Kora*, 36-37.

Company A deaths, including One-Horse Shea: Knox/Daws; death lists, RG 331, B 1640, WNRC; exhibits in US v Tsuneyoshi, vol. 2. Ted Lewin: Daws interviews with Allen, R., Anloff, Freedman, Hewlett, Jacobs, Jose, Knox, O'Leary, Sellers, Short, E., Weitzner, Whittington; Lawton, *Some Survived*, 41. James Dooley kindly located news clippings on Lewin. The Filipino side of camp: Ongpauco, *They Refused To Die*, 147ff; Villarin, *We Remember Bataan*, 154ff; M. Lichauco, *Dear Mother Putnam: A Diary of the War in the Philippines* (Manila, 1949), 39-40. Lewin and the dice game: Ongpauco, *They Refused to Die*, 216.

Work details: Daws interviews with Anloff, Skinner; McCall/UNT; Olson, *O'Donnell*, 61, 145-146.

II. IN THE SACK

Notes for pages 91-96

Recriminations. The drunken Dutchman: Matlock/UNT. Compare Stanbrough/Daws. Dutch defense of the Indies: Rayburn/UNT; Hoogvelt/Daws; L. Salim, *Prisoners at Kota Cane* (Ithaca, 1986), 41; R. Rivett, *Behind Bamboo: An Inside*

Story of the Japanese Prison Camps (Sydney, 1946), 131ff; Fujita, *Foo*, 78. Dutch courage: see the multi-volume Oxford dictionary, and any substantial American dictionary. Huns with their guts ripped out: H. Nelson, *POW: Prisoners of War. Australians Under Nippon* (Sydney, 1985), 63. Green on the outside: Braddon/AWM; see also E. Hall, *The Burma-Thailand Railway of Death* (Armadale, 1981), 91; R. Bulcock, *Of Death But Once* (Melbourne, 1947), 16ff, 211ff. England for the English: Toland, *But Not in Shame*, 230; G. Weller, *Singapore Is Silent* (New York, 1943), 205.

Cursing MacArthur: R. Haney, *Caged Dragons: An American P.O.W. in WW II Japan* (Ann Arbor, 1991), 38; H. Myers, *Prisoner of War: World War II* (Portland, 1965), 122; W. Brougher, *South to Bataan, North to Mukden: The Prison Diary of Brigadier General W.E. Brougher* (Athens, 1971), 32, 36. Cursing Wainwright: Nugent/Knox; E. Miller, *Bataan Uncensored* (Long Prairie, 1949), 250ff; Emerson, *Guest of the Emperor*, 5; Poweleit, *USAFFE*, 10, 132.

Australian version of fighting time: G. Long, *The Six-Year War: A Concise History of Australia in the 1939-194 War* (Canberra, 1973), 190. A sampling of other recriminations: Daws interviews with Hoogvelt, Medlin; AWM with Neilson, Noble; UNT with Detre, Pryor; documents in CO 980/217/120 and 980/217/48, PRO; Pringle, Documents/IWM; Webber diary, kindly made available to me by Lindy Bradley; A. Reid and A. Oki, eds., *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942-1945* (Athens, 1986), 41, 334ff; J. Mullin, *Another Six Hundred* (Mt. Pleasant, 1984), 214ff, 229-230; Salim, *Prisoners at Kota Cane*, 41; N. Barber, *A Sinister Twilight: The Fall of Singapore, 1942* (Boston, 1968), 331; B. Montgomery, *Shenton of Singapore: Governor and Prisoner of War* (London, 1984), 129; O. Lindsay, *At the Going Down of the Sun: Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, 1941-1945* (London [1981], 1982), 180; D. Russell-Roberts, *Spotlight on Singapore* (Douglas, 1965), 191;

D. Jackson, *Java Nightmare*, (Padstow, 1979), 71. L. Allen, *Singapore 1941-1942* (London, 1977), 197; *Australia in the War of 1939-1945*, vol. 4. L. Wigmore, *The Japanese Thrust* (Canberra, 1957), 204; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 91; R. Parkin, *Into the Smother: A Journal of the Burma-Siam Railway* (London, 1963), 16-17, 108; J. McGregor, *Blood on the Rising Sun*, 11-15; E. van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen in de Pacific-Oorlog, 1941-1945* (Franeker, 1971), 29; C. van Heekeren, *Het Pannetje van Oliemans: Vijfhonderd Krijgsgevangenen onder de Japanners* [1966], (1975), 10.

Combat ratios: these figures are drawn from Allied and Japanese official military histories, and other sources including S. Adachi, "Unprepared Regrettable Events: A Brief History of Japanese Practices on Treatment of Allied War Victims During the Second World War", *Studies of Cultural and Social Science*, no. 45 (Yokosuka, 1982), 261; and H. Zwitter, "Enkele Gegevens over Krijgsgevangenen en Gesneuvelden onder de Europese Militairen van het Koninklijk Nederlands Indische Leger Gedurende de Oorlog in de Pacific (1941-1945)", *Mededelingen van de Sectie Krijgsgeschiedenis Koninklijke Landmacht*, Deel 1 (1978), 5-23. See also G. Kanahale, "The Japanese Occupation of Indonesia: Prelude to Independence", Ph.D., Cornell, 1967, 251-256; S. Falk, *Seventy Days to Singapore* (New York, 1975), 270ff; S. Lapré, *Nederlands-Indië 1940-1950* (Ermelo, n.d.), 52; C. Heshusius, *KNIL: Soldaten van de Kompenie, 1830-1950* (Houten, 1986), 8-9; D. van Velden, *De Japanse Interneringskampen voor Burgers Gedurende de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Franeker [1963], 1985), 175; W. Evans, *Soochow and the 4th Marines* (Rogue River, 1987), 106; R. Scott, *90 Days of Rice* (Bakersfield, privately published, 1984), 7.

Sub-human specimens: Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 99. Japanese pilots: War Cabinet Minutes, Series A5954, vol.

5, February 14, 1941, Australian Archives; Schultz, *Last Battle Station*, 13-14. Planes: Wright/UNT; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 12. Cannot close one eye: C. Browne, *Tojo: The last Banzai* (New York, 1967), 139; see also R. Nieuwenhuys, *Een Beetje Oorlog* (Utrecht, 1979), 18, 53. No sense of balance: Ind, *Bataan*, 3. Japanese as a laughable race: Daws interviews with Atkinson, Jeffries, Medlin, Sellers, Wallace, Wright; UNT interviews with Evans, Minshew; Manchester, *American Caesar*, 188; Kerr, *Surrender and Survival*, 29; R. Searle, *To the Kwai—and Back: War Drawings 1939-1945* (London, 1986), 43; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 72. Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 24.

Japanese armed forces as inefficient: Moss/AWM; S. Kirby, *Singapore: The Chain of Disaster* (New York, 1971), 94-95; S. Chapman, *The Jungle Is Neutral* (London, 1954), 27-28; C. Lee, *They Call It Pacific: An Eye-Witness Story of Our War Against Japan from Bataan to the Solomons* (New York, 1943), 141. For a Japanese view of the Malaya campaign: M. Tsuji, *Singapore 1941-1942: The Japanese Version of the Malayan Campaign of World War II* (Singapore, 1988). See also S. Harries, "British Army Perceptions of the Imperial Japanese Army, 1941-45", in *Aspects of the Allied Occupation of Japan*, Part II, Suntory-Toyota International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines, London School of Economics, Discussion Paper IS/91/229 (September, 1991), 1-24.

Japanese on top: Hodge/Sound/IWM; SNA interviews with Lee, C., Gay, Chan, Marcus, Tan, Lee, K, Fraser, Tay; IMTFE, PX 476; Platt, "Notes Re Conditions in Hong Kong," Londens Archief, 1940-1945, BB 19, Deel 1, 1942-1943, Doos 347, MBZ; Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 149; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 27, 31, 53; Searle, *To the Kwai*, 53; J. Smyth, *Percival and the Tragedy of Singapore* (London, 1971), 199-200; Abkhazi, *Curious Cage*, 25-26; R. Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle* (New York, 1985), 181; de Jong,

Koningrijk, 314-315; Reid and Oki, *Japanese Experience*, 25, 34-35.

Notes for pages 96-99

The Japanese and prisoners of war. Japanese policy and practice is discussed at length in the trial of the A Class war criminals before the International Military Tribunal of the Far East. See the many index entries for Prisoners of War in the published transcript of the IMTFE proceedings: J. Pritchard and S. Zaide, eds., *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, 27 vols. (New York, 1981-1987), cited in these notes as IMTFE—especially entries for 14,295ff, where numerous exhibits are referenced; also 27,117ff, 31,749ff; and the tribunal's judgment, at 49,699-49,751.

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Notes for pages 99-101

Duty to escape and non-escape oaths: Beecher diary; M. Foot and J. Langley, *M19: Escape and Evasion, 1939-1945* (Boston, 1979), 261; A. Lodge, *The Fall of General Gordon Bennett* (Sydney, 1986), 254; L. Bush, *Clutch of Circumstance* (Tokyo), 1956), 82; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 59ff, 181; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 70-71; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 385, 535, 539, 546-547, 631; D. Manes, "Barbed Wire Command," *Military Law Review* (October, 1960), 9. For information on Dutch regulations I thank Dr. H. Amersfoort of Sectie Militaire Geschiedenis Landmachtstaf, The Hague. See also documents in I, xxvi, 75, 17, 12001/12, ARA; M60 v 1122, ARA; Bolt/Daws; H. Leffelaar and E. Van Witsen, *Werkers aan de Burma-Spoorweg: Iedere Twee Dwaarsliggers een Mensenleven 414 Kilometer en 200,000 Doden* (Franeker, 1982), 264ff; Brugmans, *Nederlandsch-Indië*, 340ff; J. Veenstra, ed., *Als Krijgsgevangene naar de Molukken en Flores: Relas van een Japans Transport van Nederlandse en Engelse Militairen, 1943-1945* ('s-Gravenhage, 1982), 43; Nelson, *POW*, 30-31, 110; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 49; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 1984, 234; Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 101; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 28-30; Chunn *Of Rice and Men*, 130; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 15; Vance, *Doomed Garrison*, 183-184; Godbold/UNT; WO 208/3499, PRO; Beecher diary; Pringle/Documents/IWM.

One question that might be raised in connection with possible escape attempts is the ratio of Japanese guards to POWs. The more likely escape attempts were, the more guards would have to be assigned to prison camps, and the more of a drain on Japanese manpower this would have been. Not that this in itself would have won or lost the war. But just for informational purposes: from beginning to end of the

war, and overall, there would have been one Japanese guard to a hundred POWs. Compare this with a battalion of Australian guards assigned to a thousand or so Japanese prisoners at Cowra (see below, citation for Carr-Gregg).

Disincentives to escape: Daws interviews with Atkinson, Bange, Ciarrachi, Davis, H., Jeffries, Knox,, Nelson, L., Neumann, Wright; UNT with Blaylock, Bugbee, Detre, Hard, Minshew, Pryor, Robinson, Sparkman; statements in WO 106/5035, and 193/609, PRO; "Evasion, Survival and Escape Information, Dissemination of, MS, August 14, 1944, Command File, World War II, NHC; SEAC POW Report, November, 1945, VI, Escape, Operational Archives, NHC; IMTFE, PX 3133; documents in I xxvi 75 16 10297/R, ARA; H. Crawford, *The Long Green Tunnel* (London, 1967), 41-42; J. English, *One for Every Sleeper: The Japanese Death Railway Through Thailand* (London, 1989) 21; J. Coast, *Railroad of Death* (London, 1946), 20ff; J. Coombes, *Banpong Express* (Darlington, n.d.), 107; I. Stewart, *History of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders* (London, 1947), 137; C. Nussbaum, *Chaplain on the River Kwai: Story of a Prisoner of War* (New York, Shapolsky, 1988), 32-34; Wills, *The Sea Was My Last Chance*, 46, 52; Poweleit, USAFFE, 94-95.; M. Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike: Forty Months as a Japanese Prisoner of War* (New York, 1977), 143; 205-206; Olson, O'Donnell, 121ff; Knox, *Death March*, 461; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, Joe, 76ff.

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MHI; Owen papers, MHI; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; M. Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike: Forty Months as a Japanese Prisoner of War* (New York, 1977), 143; B. Bank, *Back from the Living Dead* (Tuscaloosa, 1945), 31; A. Feuer, ed., *Bilibid Diary: The Secret Notebooks of Commander Thomas Hayes, POW, the Philippines, 1942-45* (Hamden, 1987), 190-192; Knox, *Death March*, 180-184, 189; Arthur, *Deliverance at Los Banos*, 151; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 91; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 110; Kerr, *Surrender and Survival*, 96-97, 157; E. Dunlop, *The War Diaries of Weary Dunlop: Java and the Burma-Thailand Railway, 1942-1945* (Melbourne, 1986), 14-16; J. Barnard, *The Endless Years* (London, 1950), 18; C. McCormac, *You'll Die in Singapore* (London, 1954), 35-36; J. Edwards, *Banzai, You Bastards* (Hong Kong, n.d.), 70; V. Vining, *Guest of an Emperor* (New York, 1968), 75-77; W. Berry, *Prisoner of the Rising Sun* (Norman, 1993), 149-150; Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men*, 92-95; Morton, *Fall of Philippines*, 237-238; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 91; Mellnik, *Philippine War Diary*, 175; Grashio and Norling, *Return to Freedom*, 61; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 89; Knox, *Death March*, 180-189; Kerr, *Surrender and Survival*, 96-97, 157; Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 320; Allen, *Lost Battalion*, 78; Poweleit, USAFFE, 70-71, 91; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 31; Brugmans, *Nederlands Indië*, 452-453; Nelson, POW, 87, 137; Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men*, 92-95

Lindsay Ride: E. Ride, B.A.A.G.: *Hong Kong Resistance, 1942-1945* (Hong Kong, 1981).

Successful escapes—a sampling (only of escapes from prison camp, not escapes just ahead of surrender, of which there were a number). American: McCoy and Mellnik, *Ten Escape from Tojo*; J. Hawkins, *Never Say Die* (Philadelphia, 1961); J. McGee, *Rice and Salt: A history of the Defense and Occupation of Mindanao During World War II* (San Antonio, 1962). Dyess, *Dyess Story*; Grashio and Norling, *Return to Freedom*; Whitcomb, *Escape from Corregidor*; Australian: AWM interviews with Campbell, Jinkins, Blow, and Blow's

MS memoir; H. Richardson, *One-Man War: The Jock McLaren Story* (Sydney, 1957); W. Wallace, *Escape from Hell* (London, 1958); J. Beaumont, *Gull Force: Survival and Leadership in Captivity, 1941-1945* (Sydney, 1988), 6, 61ff, 188ff; Nelson, *POW*, 87, 113, 133, 137. British: CO/980/217, PRO; Cotton/Documents/IWM; Jones/Sound/IWM; O. Lindsay, *The Lasting Honour: The Fall of Hong Kong, 1941* (London [1978], 1980), 187ff; F. Guest, *Escape from the Bloodied Sun* (London, 1970); D. Bosanquet, *Escape Through China* (London, 1983); D. Gavin, *Quiet Jungle, Angry Sea: My Escapes from the Japanese* (Oxford, 1989); R. Hamond, *A Fearful Freedom: The Story of One Man's Survival Behind the Lines in Japanese Occupied Malaya 1942-1945* (London, 1984). Dutch: S. Lapré, *Nederlands-Indië*, 87ff; L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* ('s Gravenhage, 1985), vol. 11b, part 2, 682ff; A. Klestadt, *The Sea Was Kind* (New York, 1959); Brugmans, *Nederlands Indië*, 370ff; Turner, Documents/IWM.

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Railroad, 149-150; American: Daws with Gaboury, Marlow; documents in RG 331, B 1893, and B 2123, WNRC; Rogers, RG 389, B 2178, NA; Beecher diary; Kessler memoir; Mitchell papers, MHI; the following documents in Microfilm 88, NA: Cabanatuan log, Northway diary, Ransom diary, Arhutick diary; IMTFF, 14, 172-14, 183; Shiomi/Documents/IWM; W. Berry, *Prisoner of the Rising Sun* (Normal, 1993), xiii, 95ff, 132, 136, 139-140; Whitney, *Guest of the Fallen Sun*, 95ff, 139-140; Ashton, *And Somebody Gives a Damn*, 300ff; P. Hubbard, *Apocalypse Undone: My Survival of Japanese Imprisonment During World War II* (Nashville, 1990), 119; G. Colley, *Manila, Kuching and Return* (San Francisco, 1951), 20-23, 31-34; Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 319, 388, 413, 430, 432, 436; Cunningham, *Wake Island Command*, 200-201; Berry, *Prisoner of the Rising Sun*, xiii, 95ff, 132, 136, 139-140; Fujita, *Foo*, 105. Dutch: Daws interviews with Bange, Duizend, Hundscheidt, Visker, Voll, Woudsma; documents in I, xxvi, 75, 16, 916/R, ARA; Korteweg/Documents/IWM; De Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part 2, 685-686; Veenstra, *Als Krijgsgevangene*, 67, 98; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 14-16, 38; W. McDougall, *By Eastern Windows* (London, 1951), 234-235.

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For Japanese soldiers taken prisoner by the Allies, the situation concerning escape was different in every way.

Japanese soldiers had no duty to escape, because capture and captivity were not contemplated. Their duty to the Emperor was to die rather than be captured. If they were so badly wounded they could not help themselves and were captured and disarmed, they were supposed to kill themselves—bite their tongue and bleed to death if they had no other way. If they stayed alive as prisoners, they were dead as Japanese soldiers—the Japanese government did not inquire of the Allies about any Japanese military prisoners they might be holding, and they were taken to be formally dead to their family and their home town. McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 71; see also ATIS Research Report 76, parts 1, 4, 6; ATIS Bulletins 904 and 1478; ATIS Current Translation 105. Allied troops surrendered at the rate of one POW for three dead. For the Japanese, the ratio was 120 dead for each one who surrendered. Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, vii.

The Allies, on their side, never had any serious intention of taking Japanese prisoners, at least beyond a handful for interrogation. They intended not to capture Japanese but kill them. From the start, and especially after the war turned the Allies' way, for every one Japanese they took prisoner they killed hundreds.

Still, something like fifty-four hundred Japanese did wind up as prisoners of the Americans taken from where they were captured in the Pacific to be held in the United States. Camps on the American mainland were hopelessly far from Japan, and the prisoners were trapped in yellow skin in a white world. Camp McCoy, at Sparta, Wisconsin, with about twenty-seven hundred-fifty prisoners, was the only place in the United States where Japanese tried to escape, fourteen altogether. None got far—the one who did best took off down the high reaches of the Mississippi, poling along on a jerrybuilt raft, and even he did not make it across the state line. See A. Krammer, "Japanese Prisoners of War in

America", *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 52, no. 1 (February, 1983), 67–91. As of 1945, there were 7,000-plus other Japanese incarcerated on American soil—in Hawaii, civilian as well as military prisoners, moved from mainland camps: Y. So-ga, *Goju-Nenkan no Hawaii Kaiko* (Honolulu, Yasuo Baron Goto, 1953), 677–679.

Where the Japanese arithmetic of escape showed up most powerfully was in Australia and New Zealand. The Australians and the New Zealanders were no more interested in taking Japanese prisoners than the Americans were. The Japanese were no keener about being held by them. Very few of these Japanese had tried to kill themselves on the battlefield, as they were supposed to do. But at Featherston in New Zealand, where eight hundred-plus Japanese prisoners (including some Koreans) were held, several hundred tried to break out; forty-eight were killed trying, sixty-three wounded. At Cowra in Australia there were eleven hundred prisoners, with a battalion of Australian militiamen guarding them, thirty-nine officers and six hundred-seven other ranks—not top-grade Australian troops, but still something like one white man to two yellow men. One night, more than eight hundred of the Japanese tried to break out. Sharpened knives, staves, baseball bats, barracks set on fire, trumpet calls, an organized rush at the barbed wire, *banzai* screams—it was the biggest military escape attempt in the history of the British empire. The guards turned their machine guns on the prisoners, wounded one hundred-eight, and killed two hundred thirty-four. C. Carr-Gregg, *Japanese Prisoners of War in Revolt: The Outbreaks at Featherston and Cowra During World War II* (New York, 1978); H. Clarke, *Break-Out!* (Sydney, 1965); T. Asada, *The Night of a Thousand Suicides: The Japanese Outbreak at Cowra* (Sydney, 1973); M. Shinya, *The Path from Guadalcanal* (Auckland, 1979). I thank David Sissons for additional information.

Here is the final comparative arithmetic on escape.

Taking Featherston and Cowra together: whether the real motive was mass escape, mass suicide, or a mixture of both (at Cowra, several dozen Japanese committed suicide), on just two days, in just those two camps, totaling fewer than two thousand prisoners, more Japanese tried to escape, and more died trying—orders of magnitude more—than was the case with one hundred-forty thousand-plus white prisoners in all the years of captivity in all the Japanese camps all across Asia and the Pacific.

Notes for pages 102-110

Prison camps. Tenko and bango: Daws interviews with Bange, Brown, H., de Graaff, Luitsz, van Heekeren; Robinson/AWM; Stone/UNT; Rowell, Parrish/SNA; Chandler, Documents/IWM; L. Bush, *Road to Inamura* (Rutland, 1972), 193; Bush, *Clutch of Circumstance*, 158; Edwards, *Banzai*, 48; Barnard, *Endless Years*, 18, 58; Coast, *Railroad*, 225; Searle, *To the Kwai*, 110; Nelson, *POW*, 182; Emerson, *Guest of the Emperor*, 43. Son of a bitch: Atkinson/Daws.

Japanese soldiers looking unmilitary: Knox/Daws; L. Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions* (Burnside, 1985), 36.

Beatings. Schools of thought on beating: every POW has opinions on this. Japanese standing on boxes: Daws with Bras, Medlin; Armstrong/UNT; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 111. Somebody always getting beaten—a sampling: Luitsz/Daws; AWM interviews with Almond, Botterill, Devenish, Short, Smith, K.; UNT with Matlock, McCall, Schwarz, Spencer; Wright papers, MHI; Waldrep, Command File, World War II, Navy, NHC; C. Blackater, *Gods Without Reason: An Account of Internment in a Japanese Prison Camp* (London, 1948), 158-159; A. Archer, *The Way It Was* (Kuala Lumpur, 1984), 109; Edwards, *Banzai*, 74-77, 113; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 113; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 183; Hall,

Burma-Thailand Railway, 74; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 68; K. McKenzie, *Operation Rangoon Jail* (London, 1954), 74ff; J. Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 34; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 286. The Dutch Garden Party: AWM with Devenish, Macrae, Panaotie; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 88-89; Nelson, *POW*, 88.

Korean guards. I thank Utsumi Aiko and Richard Mitchell for information; see R. Mitchell, *The Korean Minority in Japan* (Berkeley, 1967); also S. Ienaga, *Japan's Last War: World War II and the Japanese, 1931-1945* (Canberra, 1979), 156ff; C. Lee and G. De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley, 1981), 37; J. Kim, *The Garrison State in Pre-War Japan and Post-War Korea: A Comparative Analysis of Military Politics* (Washington, 1978), 129, 178-179; Ienaga, *Japan's Last War*, 156ff; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 120ff. For information on comfort women I thank Sekiguchi Noriko, producer of the film "Senso Daughters". After publication of my book, I heard of a book on comfort women by George Hicks to be published in the US by Norton. Japan no pucking good: Coast, *Railroad*, 208. Ingerris-Korean: Barnard, *Endless Years*, 29, 70. You me samo: Nelson, H./Daws. See also Michell/AWM; Lumiere, *Kora*, 120-121. Guards' nicknames: collected from many sources, including war crimes trial testimony, eg WO 235/975, PRO. Blood and Slime: van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 89; H. Cook and T. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York, 1992), 113ff. D. Peacock, *The Emperor's Guest: The Diary of a British Prisoner-of-War of the Japanese in Indonesia* (Cambridge, 1989), 83ff.

Senior officers at Karenko: Spurgeon/AWM; Bunker diary, CMH; papers of the following officers in MHI: Beebe, Gard, Lawrence, Mitchell, Moore, Peck. See also Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*; W. Braly, *The Hard Way Home* (Washington, 1947); Vance, *Doomed Garrison*, 194. The Toad: Mallonee papers, MHI. Heath: Wainwright, *General*

Wainwright's Story, 195ff; Braly, *The Hard Way Home*, 103-104. Hoh-man!: Mallonee papers, MHI. The American mess officer: Mallonee papers and Beebe papers, MHI; Wainwright, 1203; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 50. The mine at Kinkaseki: Edwards, *Banzai*, 92ff.

Officer privilege: Daws interviews with: Adair, Adams, G.P., Bange, Ciarrachi, Drukker, Goodman, Hundscheidt, Luitsz, McInerney, Neumann, Olson, Poidevin, Samethini, Self, van Heekeren, Voll, Woodall, Wright; UNT interviews with Armstrong, Bolitho, Chambers, Hard, Heinen, Lawley, Slate; AWM interviews with Bailey, Braddon, Drummond, Morris, Newton; Marsh, Sound/IWM; the following in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Innes-Ker, Murphy, Pringle, Woodhouse; Thompson, "Into the Sun", MS; these papers in MHI: Montgomery, Owen, Peck; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; "Diary of a Medical Officer", MS, CMH; Gillespie, "Recollections of the Pacific War"; C. Peart, MS journal, LC; C. Fisher, *Three Times a Guest: Recollections of Japan and the Japanese, 1942-1969* (London, 1979), 33-34; G. Cooper, *Ordeal in the Sun* (London, 1963), 38ff; A. Apthorp, *The British Sumatra Battalion* (Lewes, 1988), 64; J. Fletcher-Cooke, *The Emperor's Guest* (London [1971], 1982), 147; R. Gough, *S.O.E. Singapore 1941-1942* (London, 1985), 174; Myers, *Prisoner of War*, 122; J. Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow: The Saga of the Bataan Death March and Battle of Corregidor Survivors 1942-1945* (Valencia, 1991), 345-346; R. Burton, *Road to Three Pagodas* (London, 1963), 58-59; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 105; Hawkins, *Never Say Die*, 71-76; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 248; Myers, *Prisoner of War*, 134; Coast, *Railroad*, 54; Nelson, *POW*, 34-36; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 142ff; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 267; Parkin, *Into the Smother*, 57; van Heekeren, *Pannetje*, 13; Emerson, *Guest of the Emperor*, 91. See also S. Stouffer et al, *The American Soldier. Vol. 1. Adjustment During Army Life* (Princeton, 1949), 367ff; J. Barrett, *We Were There: Australian Soldiers*

of World War II (Ringwood, 1987), 205-206; J. Beaumont, "Rank, Privilege and Prisoners of War", *War and Society*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May, 1983), 67-94; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 143.

Jaarmarkt: Fujita/Daws; Allen, *Lost Battalion*, 76. Bandoeng: Dunlop, *War Diaries*, viii. What's your rank? Atkinson/Daws. Hong Kong: Bush, *Clutch of Circumstance*, 43. Cabanatuan: Hewlett/Daws; Beecher diary, MS, Douglas County Historical Society—I thank Lee Bendell for permission to see the diary; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 20-21; Weinstein, *Barbed -Wire Surgeon*, 123. Bilibid: Gillespie, "Recollections of the Pacific War"; "Diary of a Medical Officer," CMH; J. Vance, *Doomed Garrison—The Philippines (A POW Story)* (Ashland, [1974]), 175; Ashton, *And Somebody Gives a Damn*, 302; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 96. Fat pasha: Skinner/Daws.

Pay, food, and welfare funds: Hayes, Bilibid notebooks, MS, Command File, World War II, NHC; Millar, MS, Command File, World War II, NHC; Morris, RG 339, B 2177, NA; Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 393ff; Adachi, "Unprepared Regrettable Events", 300; W. Rundell, *Military Money: A Fiscal History of the United States Army Overseas in World War II* (College Station, 1980), 195; N. Beets, *De Verre Oorlog: Lot en Levensloop van Krijgsgevangenen onder de Japanner* (Amsterdam, 1981), 210ff; J. Hamel, *Soldatendomee: Ervaringen van een Legerpredikant in Japanse Krijgsgevangenschap* (Franeker, 1975), 65; L. Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions* (Burnside, 1985), 67-68; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 102-103; Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 147; Barnard, *Endless Years*, 69. Separate bathing: Daws interviews with Perrin, Stratton, van Heekeren; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers aan de Burma-Spoorweg*, 29.

Related matters: Daws interviews with Banens, Bras, Ciarrachi, de Vos, Matlock, Mroz, Poidevin, Smith, K., Utsumi; AWM with Botterill, Davis, S., Michell, Morris,

Newton, Peterson, Short, Spurgeon; UNT with Brain, Chambers, Lawley, McCall, Pryor, Spencer; SNA with Parrish, Rowell; March, Sound, IWM; Case 194, File 322.191, MBZ; WO 235/975, PRO; Quan, August 1983; Berry, *Prisoner of the Rising Sun*, 190; Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 193; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 199; W. Elias, *Indië onder Japanschen Hiel* (Deventer, 1946), 80ff; Lumiere, *Kora*, 120-121; McKenzie, *Operation Rangoon Jail*, 74ff; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 203, 205, 208, 222; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 120ff; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 11, 17, 26, 68, 111; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 81, 148, 185; Hamel, *Soldatendomee*, 43, 65; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 129, 155; B. Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 72; Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 31, 32, 41, 60, 84, 119; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 36-37, 69, 86, 93, 288, 290, 362; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 18-19, 68, 71; Bancroft, *The Mikado's Guests*, 36, 56, 61, 94; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 128, 286; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 563; Apthorp, *Sumatra Battalion*, 64, 93; R. Gough, *SOE Singapore 1941-1942* (London, 1985), 174; Davies, *Man Behind the Bridge*, 107; Rosenthal, *Albert Coates Story*, 104, 106, 122; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 137-138, 212-213; Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 29, 56, 70; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 267; Barnard, *Endless Years*, 94; B. Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai* (London, 1966), 171; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 80ff; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 147; van Heekeren, *Pannetje van Oliemans*, 13.

On the question of maintaining discipline in prison camp: Daws with Adams, G.P., Ciarrachi, Crow, de Graaff, Nelson, L., Neumann, Olson, van Dam; UNT with Garrison; Owen, Mitchell, Wright papers, MHI; these in Documents/IWM: Evans, Toosey, Vardy, White, Woodhouse; Gaskill, RG 331, B 957, WNRC; Humber, RG 389, B 2123, NA; Ercanbrack, RG 389, B 2129, NA; Williams, RG 389, B 2129, NA; Bilibid papers, NHC, throughout; Harrell papers, throughout; Devereux oral history, MCHC; Weinstein,

Barbed-Wire Surgeon, 135, 141; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 86-87; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 20, 63, 68, 200-201; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, generally; McCracken, *Very Soon Now, Joe*, 97; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 28; Nelson, *POW*, 91-92; Evans, *Kora!*, 122-123; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, throughout; Rupp, *Threshold of Hell*, 128; Knox, *Death March*, 422-424,

Notes for pages 110-114

Work and food. No work, no food: IMTFE, 14,708-14,709; see also Elias, *Indië onder Japansche Hiel*, 80ff. Japanese and US ration: IMTFE, 10,591; see also Nelson, *POW*, 51. Death Dipper: A. McCracken, *Very Soon Now, Joe* (New York, 1947), 46. No one ever saw a thin cook: every POW says this. A sampling: Daws interviews with: Bange, Drukker, Maple, McInerney, Mroz, Neumann, Olson; UNT with Burke, Detre, King, Kirkwood, Sound/IWM; Owen papers, MHI; Guidos, *Command File*, World War II, Navy, NHC; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 59, 94-95, 228-229; W. Brown, *Hong Kong Aftermath* (New York, 1943), 72; Olson, *O'Donnell*, 102; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 215; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 14, 29, 132. Malingering percentage: my own educated guess based on interviews. Drivers as Kings: Taylor, *Cabanatuan*, 95.

A sampling of related material on work: Daws with Bras, Brown, H., Ciarrachi, Crow, Henning, Schwarz, Smetts; UNT with Armstrong, Bolitho, Bunch, Burns, Clem, Davidson, Detre, Fujita, Hard, Kenner, Pitcher, Pryor, Rasbury, Reed, van Heekeren, Venable; these in Documents/IWM: Chandler, Close, Eastham, Evans, Murphy, Preston; Jones/Sound/IWM; Fraser/SNA; Gallion diary, MHI; these papers in MHI: Owen, Peck, Wright, MHI; Oliver, RG389, B2177, NA; Millar, *Command File*, World War II, NHC; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; Walker, PC 802, MCHC; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 171; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 45,

123; Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 195; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 106; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 251; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 157; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 167; Clarke, *Last Train to Nagasaki*, 25, 39.

Lootin' suits and smuggling: Feliz/Daws; A. Nix, *Corregidor: Oasis of Hope* (Stevens Point, 1991), 86; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 200-202, 340; Vining, *Guest of an Emperor*, 79; Pryor/UNT; Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 194; De Souza/SNA; Bramlett/UNT; Samethini/Daws.

Crotch method: Cabanatuan log, microfilm 88, NA; Tisdelle diary—I thank Ash Tisdelle for access to his father's diary; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 133-134. Australian crutching: Daws interviews with Smith, K., Whitecross; AWM with Panaotie, Peat; Nelson, *POW*, 33; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 77; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 33. Coolie trot: Bramlett/UNT; Tan/SNA; J. Stewart, *To the River Kwai: Two Journeys—1943, 1979* (London, 1988), 122; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 133-134.

For more on scrounging: Daws with Davidson, Pitcher, Pryor, Woodall; Bunker diary, CMH; Kessler memoir; these in Documents/IWM: Chambers, Close, Hoops, Pringle; these in Sound/IWM: Adams, G.P., Hodgson, Jones; UNT with Bramlett, Brantley, Coury, Douglas, G., Halbrook, Mallock, Rasbury, Rayburn, Reese, Spencer; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 77; Chit Chat, No. 73, 1964, No. 74, 1965; Knox, *Death March*, 262; Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 108.

There is no more rice in London!: Reese/UNT; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 114. Low-grade rice: van Heekeren/Daws; UNT with Reed, Stone; Pringle/Documents/IWM; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 148; K. Attiwill, *The Rising Sunset* (London, 1957), 64; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 192; Bradley, *Towards the Setting Sun*, 25; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 128. Rice is the greatest food: another saying that every POW repeats—see Kessler MS memoir;

Daman/UNT; Knox, *Death March*, 211; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, ii; R. Hastain, *White Coolie* (London, 1949), 76-78. Carabao: Bank, *Back From the Living Dead*, 62; compare Adams, G.P./Daws. Dream of slicing the thigh: McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, Joe, 167-168.

An additional slight sampling of rice lore: Daws with Crow, van Dam, van Heekeren; Pierce/SNA; UNT with Brown, L., Rasbury, Stone, Thompson; Kessler MS; Gallion diary, MHI; NA microfilm 15; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 69; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 35.

And a sampling of food fantasies: UNT with Bolitho, Daman, Halbrook, King, Pryor, Rayburn, Reed; Curtis, PC 642, MCHC; these papers in MHI: Gard, Lawrence, Mallonee, Montgomery, Moore, Owen; Bunker diary, CMH; Strongg/Documents/IWM; Hodson/Sound/IWM; Terkel, *Good War*, 96; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 6; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 87; Grashio, *Return to Freedom*, 58; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 77; Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 190.

Doover, snerken, quan: Ruurdje Laarhoven tells me there is a version of snerken in books and documents about the Netherlands East Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is also spelled "snierken." For doover: Leaney/Documents/IWM; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 128; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 69. For quan: UNT with Burns, Read; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 22; D. Smith, *And All the Trumpets* (London, 1954), 57; L. Eads, *Survival Amidst the Ashes* (Winona, 1985), 110. Idiosyncratically it was used to mean "kill"—I hear they quanned off four prisoners: McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 21. Big, blonde: G. Sprod, *Bamboo Round My Shoulder. Changi: The Lighter Side* (Kenthurst, 1981), 60. Goldie: Malaybalay MS, microfilm 15, NA. Quan on the brain: UNT with Halbrook, Robinson; P. Hubbard, *Apocalypse Undone*, 103; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 62. Sugar: Fujita/Daws; UNT interviews with Kenner,

Matlock, Pryor; Boddington, Documents/IWM; B. Proulx, *Underground from Hong Kong* (New York, 1943), 192. Recipes: Knox/Daws; UNT with Schwarz, Taylor; Crawford, *Long Green Tunnel*, 53; Russell-Roberts, *Spotlight on Singapore*, 229-230. Food has taken the place of sex: Vardy/ Documents/IWM; see also Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 150; Pringle/ Documents/IWM.

Here is a mere sampling of sources on trading and black-marketeering. Daws interviews with Bras, Brown, H., Ciarrachi, Crow, Davidson, Davis, de Graaff, Hekking, Henning, Maple, McInerney, Nelson, L., Neumann, Pitcher, Smetts, Stewart, Tant, van Dam, van Heekeren, Woodall; UNT with Blaylock, Bramlett, Burke, Chambers, Detre, Fung, Gordon, Halbrook, Kenner, Minshew, Offerle, Pryor, Rasbury, Taylor, Reece, Wright; SNA with Fraser, Pierce; these papers in MHI: Gallion diary, Johnson, Mitchell, Montgomery, Owen, Wright; these in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Chandler, Cotton, Innes-Ker, Murphy, Philips, Toosey, Turner, White, Woodhouse; these in Sound/IWM: Bird, Hodson, Jones, White; Beecher diary; Bunker diary, CMH; Doos, RG 331, B957, WNRC; documents in RG 200, Box 1021, NA; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 121, 145; Dandie, *Story of I Force*, 51, 63; Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 126ff, 220; Olson, O'Donnell, 89, 91, 104, 106; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 12, 98-99, 131, 307, 315; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 25, 139; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 69; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 80, 102-103, 110, 147, 170-171, 183; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 268; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 20-21; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 77; Grashio, *Return to Freedom*, 68; Rupp, *Threshold*, 128-129; Attiwill, *Rising Sunset*, 1957, 169; Feuer, *Bilibid Diary*, 96, 200; Millar, Command File, World War II, Navy, NHC;

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Smoking. Japanese cigarettes: Daws interviews with Maple,

Snyder; Bunker diary, CMH. Wog tobacco: Daws interviews with Adams, G.P.; Bras, Harrison, Hekking, McInerney, Samethini, van Heekeren; UNT with Brown, Chambers, Kempff, Slate, Summerlin; Philips/ Documents/IWM; Thompson, "Into the Sun," Documents/IWM; T. Lewis, *Changi: The Lost Years—A Malayan Diary 1941-1945* (Kuala Lumpur, 1984), 105. Whoo: Robinson/UNT; R. Whitecross, *Slaves of the Son of Heaven*, 24, 117; G.P. Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 118; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 136, 196;

Rolling paper: Smetts/Daws; UNT interviews with Daman, Rasbury, Reed; Leaney/ Documents/IWM; these in Sound/IWM: Goulding, Hodge; R. Parkin, *The Sword and the Blossom* (London, 1968), 82-83. Books were rolled: Innes-Ker, Documents/IWM; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 119; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 324; B. Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kuai* (London, 1966), 153, 255. Bible paper: Daws interviews with Duff, Goodman, Hoogvelt, Luitsz, Neumann, Prunty, Samethini, van Heekeren; H. Leffelaar, *Through a Harsh Dawn: A Boy Grows Up in a Japanese Prison Camp* (London, 1964), 88; Edwards, *Banzai* 130-131.

Buttsniping: Daws interviews with Bras, McInerney, Woodall; Reed, L./UNT; "To Victory, Joe", MS, microfilm 15, NA; Malaybalay MS, microfilm 15, NA; M. Machi, *The Emperor's Hostages* (New York, 1982), 61; Weinstein, *Barbed Wire Surgeon*, 123; H. Clarke, *Last Stop Nagasaki* (Sydney, 1984), 30.

Related material: Daws interviews with Bras, Davis, Delich, Hekking, Maple, McGrew, McInerney, Mroz, Neumann, Skinner, Tant, Woodall; UNT with Bolitho, Chambers, Clem, Coury, Reed, Stone; Covalesk, RG 331, B 962, WNRC; Wilkens, RG 389, B 2124, NA; these in Documents/IWM: Baillies, Cotton, Honywill, Murphy, Preston, Pringle, White; UNT with Matlock, Tilghman; J. Bertram, *Beneath the Shadow: A New Zealander in the Far East* (New York, 1947), 172; Fujita diary; Beecher diary;

Bunker diary, CMH; these in MHI: Gallion diary, Gamble, Montgomery, Owen papers; documents in Box M57, vii, 13, b, Londens Archiev, ARA; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; Defibaugh, Command File, World War II, Navy, NHC; Bunker diary, CMH; Kessler memoir; documents in RG 200, B 1024, NA; Attiwill, *Rising Sunset*, 163; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 35; Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 152; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, throughout; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 54-55; Clarke, *Last Train to Nagasaki*, 62; Olson, O'Donnell, 65, 107; Whitecross, *Slaves of the Emperor*, 146; Evans, *Kora*, 62; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 93; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 146ff; van Velden, *Japanese Burgerkampen*, 403; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 19.

Oklahoma's cigarette hustle: Atkinson/Daws. Corn beef is 5 today: McCracken, *Very Soon Now, Joe*, 96ff. Cigarettes as medium of exchange: Daws interviews with Atkinson, Carter, J., Jeffries, Kent, Samethini, Tant; these in Documents/IWM: Chandler, Innes-Ker; Kessler memoir; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 141-142, 160, 268; Hubbard, *Apocalypse*, 136-137; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 380; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 5. The old British sergeant: Stewart, *To The River Kwai*, 104. Guards and cigarette butts: Knox/Daws.

Related matters. On food subjects: UNT interviews with Armstrong, Offerle, Pryor, Rayburn; Barnard, *Endless Years*, 11; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 14-15; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 69; Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 27; Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 36. Daws interviews with Filkins, Nooij, Hekking, Samethini, van Heekeren, Woodall; UNT with Armstrong, Bramlett, Brown, Burge, Chambers, Kempff, Kenner, King, Rasbury, Rayburn, Reed, Slate, Stone, Summerlin; AWM with Robinson, Short; SNA with Chu, De Souza; Pringle, Thompson/Documents/IWM; Braly, *The Hard Way Home* (Washington, 1947), 84; Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 159-160, 194; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 68-69; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 80; Hastain, *White Coolie*, 76-78;

Hovinga, *Dodenspoorweg*, 66; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 150; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 62; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 24, 117; Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 118; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 136, 196; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 43, 279ff; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 45-46.

Notes for pages 118-124

Hygiene. Running water: McCone/Daws; UNT with Fields, Gee; Philips/Documents/IWM; La Galle diary—I thank Alex Dandie for access; Barnard, *Endless Years*, 21. Daws with Atkinson, Jeffries; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 71. The Texas toothbrush solution: UNT interviews with Chambers, Pryor, Rasbury, Stone. Whitehead. Shaving gear: Fujita/Daws; Beck/Knox; Robinson/UNT. Clippers take off like a Zero: Minshew/UNT. Shaven heads: Kelley/UNT; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 134; Allen, *Lost Battalion*, 114. Bicycle Camp: Searle papers, diary no. 4—I thank Ian Sayer for access. Rack 'em up!: Wright/Daws; Day, *Hodio*, 61-62.

A boot full of water: Nelson, H./Daws. Trink wasser: Payne/Daws. Dutch too dirty for the British: R. Gough, *S.O.E.*, 171. British too dirty for the Dutch: Daws interviews with Bras, Duff, Hekking, Hundscheidt. Others too dirty for Americans: Fujita, *Foo*, 131. The toilet paper index: L. Kennett, *G.I.: The American Soldier in World War II* (New York, 1987), 96. Paper substitutes: Stone/UNT; M. Machi, *The Emperor's Hostages* (New York, 1982), 60; S. Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor* (New York, 1960), 182.

Quinine doctrine: Daws with Luitsz, van Heekeren; Robinson/AWM; Hoops/Documents/IWM; Cooper, "Medical Department Activities"; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 51-52; Nelson, *POW*, 156; Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men*, 84; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 69-70.

Rice balls: Daws interviews with Adams, G.P.,

Erickson, Nelson. L.; UNT with Fujita, Rea; Arneil/AWM; the following in Documents/IWM: Vardy, Pringle, Springer; WO 235/975, PRO; D. Dancocks, *In Enemy Hands: Canadian Prisoners of War 1939-1945* (Edmonton, 1983), 239; J. Lane, *Summer Will Come Again: The Story of Australian POWs' Fight for Survival in Japan* (Fremantle, 198?), 91; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 126; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 120; Edwards, *Banzai*, 36; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 119; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 68. Scabies: Hastain, *White Coolie*, 161; Coast, *Railroad*, 161; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 181. Oculo-oro-genital syndrome: D. Smith and M. Woodruff, *Deficiency Diseases in Japanese Prison Camps* (London, 1951); Ashton, *Somebody Gives a Damn*, 312-313; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 94-95. Deficiency diseases: Cooper, "Medical Department Activities"; Gillespie, "Recollections"; see also medical MSS in CMH by Bruce, Condon, Duckworth, Sitter, Vanderbogen; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 73; A. Walker, *Clinical Problems of War* (Canberra, 1952), 538ff. Beriberi: Baron Takaki, "The Preservation of Health Amongst the Personnel of the Japanese Navy and Army", *Lancet*, May 19, 1906, 1370-1374, May 26, 1906, 1451-1455, June 2, 1906, 1520-1523; L. Seaman, *The Real Triumph of Japan: The Conquest of the Silent Foe* (New York, 1907), 220ff. Beriberi song: W. McDougall, *By Eastern Windows* (London, 1951), 205ff.

Those who fails: Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 191. Health follows will: Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 259. Japanese medical officers: as an introduction, see "Prisoner of War Journals in Hospital Corps Archives Files," and "List of Documents, Personal Papers, Diaries, Official Records, and Other Items Recovered from the Bilibid Hospital for Military Prison Camps of the Philippine Islands", Operational Archives, World War II, NHC. Also, Daws with Drukker, Poidevin; Gaskill, RG 331, B 957, WNRC; Kostecki, RG 389, B 2123, NA; Hagan, *Prisoners of War*,

World War II, NHC; Philips/Documents/IWM; WO 235/963, PRO; IMTFE, 13923; ATIS Research Report 76, iv, 18-19; USSBS 12, "Effects of Bombing on Health and Medical Services in Japan", 16ff; G. Adams, *No Time for Geishas* (London, 1973), 103; J. Howell, *42 Months of Hell* (Muskogee, 1970), 28; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 242, 324, 367-368; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 260; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 119; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 137; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 292; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 45-49; Coates and Rosenthal, *Albert Coates Story*, 107, 128; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 271, 279.

Japanese medical enlisted men: Daws interviews with Bras, Brennan, Drukker, Duncan, Hewlett, Luitsz, Stanbrough, Utsumi; Kostecki, RG 389, B 2123, NA; Lester, RG 389, B 2123, NA; Pitts, MS, no. 1646, RIOD; J. Bradley, *Cyril Wild: The Tall Man Who Never Slept* (Fontwell, 1991), 124; J. Cannoo, *Bushido: Een Doktersverhaal over de Krijgsgevangenkampen in Siam* (Leiden, 1947), 86; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 175, 279; Barnard, *Endless Years*, 63; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 271; Edwards, *Banzai*, 57-58, 109; Cooper, *Ordeal*, 74-75.

Related matters: Kidd, RG 389, B2130, NA; Daws interviews with Bras, Duncan, van Heekeren; UNT with Gordon, Reed; Bunker diary; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 69; Goodman, M.D.P.O.W., 33, 164; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 56; Kerr, *Surrender and Survival*, 95; Nelson, POW, 50; Ashton, *And Somebody Gives a Damn*, 245; Knox, *Death March*, 259; Weinstein, *Barbed Wire Surgeon*, 95; McDougall, *By Eastern Windows*, 79; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 20-21.

Burning feet: Pryor/UNT; Montgomery papers, MHI; K. Harrison, *The Brave Japanese* (Adelaide, 1966), 98; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 120-121, 143; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 109-110, 119; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 1981, 194; J. Page, "Painful-Feet Syndrome Among Prisoners of War in the Far East", *British Medical Journal*, II, 4468 (1946), 260-262.

Rats: Malaybalay MS, microfilm 15, NA. Never sleep with your mouth open: Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 110.

Vermin: UNT with Burke, Stone; Hinkle, RG 389, B 2132, NA; Gilles, RG 331, B 957, WNRC; "To Victory, Joe", MS, microfilm 15, NA; Fujita, *Foo*, 131-132; Lawton, *Some Survived*, 62-63; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 101; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 75. Bedbugs: Daws interviews with Knox, Mroz, Nelson, L.; Robinson/AWM; UNT with Chambers, Pryor; Pringle/ Documents/IWM; van Heekeren, *Pannetje*, 14. The Dutch chicken: van Heekeren/Daws. Lice: Wyatt, Sound/IWM; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 101. Picking bedbugs off the jacket: Owen papers, MHI.

Related matters: Daws with Davidson, Erickson, Nelson, L., Stanbrough; UNT with Detre, Halbrook, McCall, Rea, Taylor; AWM with Castres, McGrath-Kerr; La Galle diary; Kelley, RG 331, B 920, WNRC; Gaskill, RG 331, B 957, WNRC; the following in Documents/IWM: Hoops, Philips, Springer, Vardy; IMTFE, 13,923; WO 235/975, PRO; Berry, *Prisoner of the Rising Sun*, 183, 186, 192; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 58; Adams, *No Time*, 44, 68, 103; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 292; Carr-Gregg, *Japanese Prisoners of War in Revolt*, 26; Coast, *Railroad*, 141; Cooper, *Ordeal in the Sun*, 74-75; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 120, 156; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 110; Durnford, *Branch Line to Burma*, 83; Fujita, *Foo*, 101, 131-132; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 93-95, 127; Robert Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway: The Secret Diary of Dr. Robert Hardie* (London [1983] 1984), 157; Hartley, *Escape to Captivity*, 204-205; Hastain, *White Coolie*, 161; J. Howell, *42 Months of Hell* (Muskogee, 1970), 28; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 57; Kell, *Doctor's Borneo*, 99-103; Lane, *Summer*, 91; Lawton, *Some Survived*, 76; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 194; McKenzie, *Operation Rangoon*, *Jail*, 100ff; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 80; Ogawa, *Terraced Hell*, 96; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 68, 101; Hardie, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 157; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 107-108; Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men*, 84, 160-161; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 33; Teel, *Our Days Were Years*, 28-29; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 69-70; Weinstein,

Barbed-Wire Surgeon, 119; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 33; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 145; Bancroft, *Mikado's Guests*, 70; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 57.

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Yasume. Entertainment, homosexuality and stage ladies. A sampling: Daws interviews with Becher, Bras, Harrison, Luitsz, Mock, Poidevin, Samethini, van Heekeren; AWM with Chisholm, Drummond; UNT/Knight; these in Documents/IWM: Pringle, Turner, Vardy; Caplan/Sound/IWM; W. Kan, *Burmadagboek 1942-1945* (Amsterdam, 1986); R. Nieuwenhuys, *Een Beetje Oorlog* (Utrecht, 1979), 90-93; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 238ff; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 106, 113; Coast, *Railroad of Death*, 174ff; Braly, *Hard Way Home*, 159; P. Poole, *Of Love and War: The Letters and Diaries of Captain Adrian Curlewis and His Family 1939-1945* (Sydney, 1982), 144, 179; A. Birch and M. Cole, *Captive Years: The Occupation of Hong Kong 1941-1945* (Hong Kong, 1982), 71; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 63ff; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 243ff; Day, *Hodio*, 171; Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 55-56, 81, 83; Russell-Roberts, *Spotlight on Singapore*, 192; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 153; Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 134; Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 171; Coast, *Railroad*, 174ff; Nelson, *POW*, 25, 27-28; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 119; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 78-79; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 316, 345, 376; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 115, 136; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 195, 326. Nelson, *POW*, 25, 87; Weinstein, *Barbed -Wire Surgeon*, 128, 160-161; H. Boon, "De Ontergang van de Nitimei Maru", MS memoir. There's fuck all left: Fujita, *Foo*, 152. See also A. Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (New York, 1990), 3, 70ff.

University of the Far East: Daws with Baijens, van

Heekeren; Offerle/UNT; Honywill/Documents/IWM; *Sunday Tribune* [Sarawak], May 20, 1984; S. Newman, *How To Survive as a Prisoner of War* (Philadelphia, 1969), 21; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 78; Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 55-56; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 516-517; Braly, *Hard Way Home*, 159-160. How now: Nelson, *POW*, 26.

Mental games: Daws interviews with Atkinson, Henning, Jeffries; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 130; Wainwright, *General Wainwright's Story*, 255; Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 214; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 60.

Arts and crafts: Wright/Daws; UNT with Kenner, Rasbury, Stone; Owen papers, MHI; Y. Steinhauer, "Made in Changi", *Good Weekend*, September 24, 1988, 32-34; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 127; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 42. Dream homes: Whitecross/Daws; Tisdelle diary; Gallion diary, MHI; Peck papers, MHI; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 108; Parkin, *The Sword and the Blossom*, 95. Mental escape: Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 515.

Tattoos: Daws with Knox, McInerney, Wallace; these in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Strongg; Bartholemew/SNA; ATIS Research Report 86, 10; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 175; Y. Aida, *Prisoner of the British: A Japanese Soldier's Experience in Burma* (London, 1966), 84; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 28; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 175. The Japanese doctor copying tattoos: Knox, H./Daws; Emerson, *Guest of the Emperor*, 74. Soccer team tattoo: Wallace/Daws.

Mail: N. Gruetzner, *Postal History of American POWs: World War II, Korea, Vietnam* (State College, 1979), 45ff, 132. I am interned: Gruetzner, 68. Outgoing mail: Luitsz/Daws; documents in RG 389, B 2120, NA; these in Documents/IWM: Chandler, Pringle. Incoming mail: Daws with Ciarrachi, Crow, Davidson/Daws, Neumann; UNT with Adair, Gee, Pryor, Whitehead; these in Documents/IWM: Korteweg, Preston; Hodge/Sound/IWM; these in MHI: papers of Mitchell, Owen, Wright; Nelson,

Story of Changi, 123; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 140; Feuer, *Bilibid*, 212-213; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 117-118; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 61; Attiwill, *Rising Sunset*, 147. Reading over shoulder: Knox/Daws. See also: reference to story by White in RG 389, B 2120, NA; Pryor/UNT; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 317-318, 376; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 92; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 196; A. Aphthorp, *The British Sumatra Battalion* (Lewes, 1988), 103; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 130; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 62; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, generally. Letters might commonly take months or even years getting to a prisoner, or might not get to him at all, or might (rarely) be delivered to him in a heap at the end of the war, or even (bizarrely) follow him home after liberation.

Radio messages: Daws with Atkinson, Brown, H., Dandie. Fujita/UNT; Curtis interview, Oral History Collection, MCHC; Kessler memoir; these in Documents/IWM: Innes-Ker, White; Gallion diary, MHI; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 77; E. Fitzgerald, *Voices in the Night* (Bellingham, 1948).

Secret radios—a sampling: Daws with Baijens, Banens, Besters, Briggs, Ciarrachi, Davis, R., Denham, Denholm, Douglas, Duizend, Duncan, Hutchison, Maple, Price, Readwin, Stanbrough, van Iterson, Visker, Wise, Woudsma; UNT with Godbold, McDaniel, Pryor, Reichle, Sparkman; AWM with Chisholm, Davis, S.; Scott/SNA; Kessler memoir; IMTFE, 13,403ff; M. Price, "Communicators in Far East Prisoner of War Camps, 1942-1945", *Journal of the Royal Signals Institution* (Summer, 1981), 89-95; A. Keith, *Three Came Home* (Alexandria [1946], 1981), 257ff; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 47; de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part ii, 651; Russell-Roberts, *Spotlight on Singapore*, 257; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 529-530, 574; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 75; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 176-179; Aphthorp, *British Sumatra Battalion*, 83-85.

British radio doctrine: Daws with Douglas, Price;

Denny, Sound/IWM; the following in Documents/IWM: Adams, Boddington, Innes-Ker, Newell, Philps, Roper, White; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 124; Crawford, *Long Green Tunnel*, 201; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 529-530. The Gordon Highlander: Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 66; English, *One for Every Sleeper*, 33.

Kempei and radios: IMTFE, 12,935-12,945, 13,404-13,419; Pringle/Documents/IWM; Nelson, *POW*, 102ff; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 594ff, 598ff; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 56. Singapore: C. Sleeman and S. Silkin, eds., *Trial of Sumida Haruzo and Twenty Others: (The "Double Tenth Trial")* (London, 1951). Hong Kong: Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 131ff.

There was a highly-developed culture of secret message passing within and among camps, both POW and civilian--well worth concentrated study. It was as elaborate as smoking culture and of course much more dangerous: messages hidden in bicycle parts, flashlights, hollow bamboos, logs of firewood, the wheels of waggon, anywhere and everywhere, all the way to messages pinned inside the habits of nursing nuns, sometimes so many that they rustled when they walked. Priests serving Mass passed on messages in Latin to those who could understand. Natives sang messages in their own language to prisoners who could comprehend. There were signs and signals of every kind set out for passing prisoners to read. Places likely and unlikely became centers of message passing, including the Heineken brewery in Batavia. One especially remarkable part of this underground culture was the ability of some few prisoners to pick up Japanese written language, without previous instruction, just by studying smuggled Japanese newspapers. I have come across mentions of perhaps a dozen such individuals, and have interviewed one, a Dutchman. A sampling of sources: Daws/van Dam; Pryor/UNT; Beecher diary; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; Kelley, RG 331, B920, WNRC;

Toosey papers, Documents/IWM; these in MHI: Owen, Johnson; Beecher diary; Arthur, *Deliverance at Los Banos*, 96ff; Ind, *Bataan*, 160, 179-180; Leffelaar, *Harsh Dawn*, 81ff; Keith, *Three Came Home*, 127-128; Ashton, *And Somebody Gives a Damn*, 249-250, 374ff; Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 147ff, 165ff; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 29, 155, 166-167, 173ff, 181ff; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 64ff; Weinstein, *Barbed - Wire Surgeon*, 93ff, 153ff, 243; Toland, *But Not in Shame*, 433ff.

Rumors--a sampling: Daws with de Vos, Sellers, Whitecross; Rasbury/UNT; Leaney, Documents/IWM; Bunker diary, CMH; Beecher diary; Crandall diary, microfilm 88, NA; these papers in MHI: Mallonee, Owen, Wohlfeld, Wright; Chandler, Documents/IWM; H. Boon, "De Ondergang van de Nitimei Maru", MS memoir; R. Whitecross, *Slaves of the Son of Heaven* (Sydney, 1953), 12, 13; L. Warner and J. Sandilands, *Women Behind the Wire* (London [1982], 1983, 136; McCracken, *Very Soon Now, Joe*, 107; Olson, O'Donnell, 54, 122; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 13, 296; Bradley, *Towards the Setting Sun*, 31; Nelson, *POW*, 35; Morrett, *Soldier Priest*, 109-110; Knox, *Death March*, 260-261; Evans, *Kora*, 66; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 180; Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 22-23; P. Poole, *Of Love and War: The Letters and Diaries of Captain Adrian Curlewis and His Family 1939-1945* (Sydney, 1982), 13; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 66. Rations are increased: Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 47-49; Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 35. Amelia Earhart: Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 108-109. The Davao latrines: McCracken, *Very Soon Now, Joe*, 43, 107. Rumor and Rumor Junior: Matlock/UNT; see also Millar, *Command File, WWII, NHC*. Whores repatriated: R. Gunnison, *So Sorry, No Peace* (New York, 1944), 138ff. White civilians exchanged: P. Corbett, "Quiet Passages: The Exchange of Civilians Between the United States and Japan During World War II", PhD, University of Kansas, 1983; IMTFE, 13,488-13,489. Wangle

Marus: Abkhazi/Daws. Volcano on Java: Banens/Daws. For rumors in war generally: P. Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York, 1989), 38ff.

Diaries. A sampling: Erickson/Daws; Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 123; *Canberra Times*, October 14, 1987. Did nothing all day: Vardy/Documents/IWM.

Related matters: Daws with Baijens, Banens, Besters, Bras. Drukker, Erickson, Henning, Knox, Luitsz, McInerney, Poidevin, van Iterson; AWM with Chisholm, Willis; UNT with Detre, Douglas, Offerle, Pryor, Rasbury, Reichle; Bartholemew/SNA; Tisdelle diary; these in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Hebditch, Honywill, Philips, Toosey; Scott/SNA; these in MHI: Gallion diary, Bonham diary Mallonee, Owen, Peck, Wright; Millar, Command File, WWII, NHC; these in Documents/IWM: Chandler, Innes-Ker, Philips; Beecher diary; Bunker diary; *Canberra Times*, October 14, 1987; *Chit Chat*, February 21, 1970; *Sarawak Sunday Tribune*, May 20, 1984; Abkhazi, *A Curious Cage*, 73; Arthur, *Deliverance at Los Banos*, 131; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 175; J. Bradley, *Toward the Setting Sun: An Escape from the Thailand-Burma Railway*, 1943 (Chichester, 1982), 31; Braly, *Hard Way Home*, 159-160; Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 171; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 83; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 106-109; Coast, *Railroad of Death*, 68; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 316; Feuer, *Bilibid Diary*, 94, 212-213; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 119; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 47; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 93; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 92; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 135; Keith, *Three Came Home*, 257ff; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 66; Leffelaar, *Through a Harsh Dawn*, 102; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 1981, 47; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, Joe, 28, 107; McKenzie, *Operation Rangoon Jail*, 114; Morrett, *Soldier Priest*, 109-110; S. Newman, *How To Survive as a Prisoner of War* (Philadelphia, 1969, 134; Olson, O'Donnell, 54, 122; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 48-49,

61; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 243ff; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 14, 20, 205, 265, 296; Toland, *But Not in Shame*, 291; Vance, *Doomed Garrison*, 209; Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 136.

Notes for pages 134-140

Brotherhood and tribes. Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 82, 99, 102, 109, 354. The strong beat the weak: Daws with Atkinson, Jeffries. British in Hong Kong: Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, generally. Anzac Day: this crops up in many Australian diaries and interviews. Stars and Stripes: Bunker diary, CMH. Long live the queen: de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part 2, 642. See also Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 130-131, 214-215; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 109; Apthorp, *British Sumatra Battalion*, 74; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 94ff. See also Halbrook/UNT;

Damyankees: Dunn/Daws. Dead End Kids: Schwarz/Daws. Texas talk: Burge/UNT. See also UNT with Reichle, Robinson.

Cabanatuan tribes: Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, generally; for the Combine's duck, 172. Pineapple cake: Delich/Daws. Pryor and Willey: Pryor/UNT. One set of uppers and lowers: Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 24. My father taught me: Knox/Daws.

For other affinity groups: Wright/Daws; Adair/UNT; Owen papers, MHI; Stitt/Sound/IWM; Rogers, RG 389, B2178, NA; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 180ff; Caffrey, *Out in the Noonday Sun*, 257; Huxtable, *From the Somme to Singapore*, 126, 132; Knox, *Death March*, 266-267; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 45, 166; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 106; B. Proulx, *Underground from Hong Kong* (New York, 1943), 37-38; Abkhazi, *Curious Cage*, 71; Quinn, *Love Letters*, 159; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 245.

Sub-tribes forming--for a sampling, Daws with

Bange, Bolt, Byrnes, Ciarrachi, Davidson, de Vos, Erickson, Escritt, Evers, Garrison, Heyne, Hundscheidt, Kuslak, McGrew, Mock, Murphy, Nelson, L., Neumann, Newton, Perrin, Schwarz, Stevens, Stratton, van Dam, van Heekeren, Voll, Wilkinson, G., Wolters; UNT with Armstrong, Brown, Bugbee, Bunch, Burge, Chambers, Daman, Detre, Fillmore, Fujita, Fung, Gordon, Halbrook, Hard, Kelley, Kempff, Kenner, King, Minshew, Offerle, Pryor, Rasbury, Rayburn, Reed, Reese, Reichle, Robinson, Slate, Stone, Whitehead; AWM with Clarke, Henderson, Morris, Syer, Thornton; Parrish/SNA; Tisdelle diary; these in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Chandler, Murphy, Price, Pringle, Vardy; Thompson, "Into the Sun", MS, IWM; Jones/Sound/IWM; Beebe papers, MHI; Beecher diary; Collins, RG 331, B957; Fujita, *Foo*, 163; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 130; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 112-113, 251; Hibbs, Tell MacArthur, 183; Hubbard, *Apocalypse*, 115ff; Knox, *Death March*, 265-266; Olson, O'Donnell, 52, 55; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, Joe, 45, 75, 196-197; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 46, 62; Quinn, *Love Letters*, 319; Vining, *Guest of an Emperor*, 26; Morrett, *Soldier Priest*, 312; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 182; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 84; Emerson, *Guest of the Emperor*, 50, 75, 117ff; Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 125ff, 153; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 133, 270; Russell-Roberts, *Spotlight on Singapore*, 229; McDougall, *By Eastern Windows*, 197-198; Hartley, *Escape to Captivity*, 117-119; Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 52-53, 130-131, 223; Burton, *Road to Three Pagodas*, 57-58; Veenstra, *Als Krijgsgevangene*, 168; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 96-97; Hofstede, *Dodenspoorweg*, 12; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 197; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 83, 105-106; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 220; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, viii-ix, 147; Poidevin, *Samurais*, 83; Clarke, *Last Train to Nagasaki*, 7; Nelson, *POW*, 99; Huxtable, *from the Somme to Singapore*, 140; J. Glusman, "Heroes and Sons: Coming to Terms", *Virginia*

Quarterly Review (vol. 4, no. 4, Autumn 1990), 703. Tribes and sub-tribes went by different names: "syndicate," "clique," and, generically among POWs (and civilian internees) taken in SouthEast Asia, "kongsi," a Chinese word defining a group formed for commercial purposes. "Kongsi" expanded in camp among all nationalities of prisoners to cover all sorts of groups formed for survival purposes. For an example of tribes at work in a civilian internment camp, see Vaughan, *Community Under Stress*, 140-143.

Best size for a tribe. Every POW has an opinion—a sampling: Daws interviews with Bange, Bolt, Duizend, Forsman, Goodman, Heyne, Knox, Maple, McGrew, Murphy, Hundscheidt, Nooij, Perrin, Wallace, van Dam, van Heekeren, Voll; Mapes/Knox; UNT with Armstrong. King; AWM with Jeffrey, Morris; Nelson, *POW*, 94; E. Gordon, *Through the Valley of the Kwai* (New York, 1962), 102; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 224; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 83; *Weekend Australian*, December 13-14, 1986. The question of the optimum size of a POW tribe has correlates in combat; see Holmes, *Acts of War*, 296-297.

III. LEARNING ON THE JOB

Notes for pages 141-153

Shanghai War Prisoners Camp. Principal interviews: Daws with Atkinson, Jeffries, Brown, H., Ciarrachi, Crow, Davidson, Foley, Green, Nelson, L., Nye, Williamson. Also: UNT with McDaniel, Sparkman, Venable.

For background on Woosung and Kiangwan: Brown, RG 389, B 2176, NA; Nye, RG 200, B 1021, NA; Kessler MS memoir; Devereux, Oral History, MCHC; UNT interviews with Godbold, Sparkman, Venable; Honywill/Documents/IWM; Urwin, "Defenders of Wake",

282ff; Cunningham, *Wake Island Command*, 163ff; Q. Reynolds, *Officially Dead: The Story of Commander C.D. Smith* (New York, 1945), 35ff; T. Kirk, *The Secret Camera* (Cotati, 1983), 40ff.

Right step!: Atkinson/Daws. What color is horseshit?: Atkinson/Daws. Bread, Whangpoo: Kessler MS memoir. Tojo Water: J. White, *The United States Marines in North China* (Millbrae, 1974), 31. Toranpu nei! Jeffries/Daws. Air the blankets! Atkinson/Daws. Go ahead: Atkinson/Daws. Mount Fuji: Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 345ff. Red Cross packages: Atkinson/Daws. The less you smoke: Jeffries/Daws. Ishihara: IMTFE, 14,170ff; Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 340ff; White, *United States Marines*, 69ff. You British really fuck up the English language, and Why you not giving me SOLUTION: testimony in US v Ishihara, RG 153, B 1662, case 119-19-2, WNRC. Weak sisters: Jeffries/Daws. Eat my soup: Atkinson/Daws.

Notes for pages 153-165

Forrest Knox and the truck detail. Principal interview: Knox/Daws.

At last I am getting the respect I deserve: Knox/Daws. Lumban escape and shooting: Daws with Bigger/Knox; Knox/Daws; US v Homma, vol. 12, 1545ff; Knox, *Death March*, 181-184.

Cabanatuan: A basic source is the Cabanatuan log, microfilm 15, NA. See also Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, generally; Beecher diary; Knox, *Death March*, 198ff.

Ted Lewin: Daws interviews with Allen, Anloff, Carter, T., Herbst, O'Leary, Skarda; Lawton/Knox; Beecher diary; these papers in MHI: Moore, Wright; Kadolph, TR 20, vol. 5, RG 331, WNRC; Levering, *Horror Trek*, 19; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 126-127, 144; Lawton, *Some Survived*,

41; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 223; J. Wright, *Captured on Corregidor: Diary of an American P.O.W in World War II* (Jefferson, 1988), 64.

The Farm: The Cabanatuan log has details. Also: Galos/Daws; Burns/UNT; papers of Johnson, Moore, Owen, and Wright in MHI; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; Knox, *Death March*, 229ff. Officers working: Beecher diary; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 44-45, 51ff, 149ff; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 152. Flower fucking: Knox/Daws.

Airfield construction detail: Knox/Daws; Stewart/Daws.

One major topic among a number that simply got cut along the editorial way is the Cabanatuan underground, with outside connections, to smuggle in money, food and medicine. It was very successful until it was detected, upon which a number of POWs involved were tortured. Two good places to start finding out about it are the Beecher diary and Gladys Savary, *Outside the Walls* (New York, 1954).

Notes for pages 165-181

Bicycle Camp. Principal interviews: Daws with Stanbrough, Wright. The UNT interviews are full of detail. See also: Harrell papers, courtesy of Otto Schwarz and Roger White; Tharp papers, courtesy of Roger White; Day, "Saga of the USS *Houston*", MS, Command File, WWII, NHC; A. Bancroft and R. Roberts, *The Mikado's Guests: A Story of Japanese Captivity* (Perth, n.d.) 22ff; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 111ff; Lost Battalion and *Houston* memoirs previously cited; and Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 532ff.

Mess kits: UNT with Brain, Rasbury; Day, *Hodio*, 48. It's amazing: Wright/Daws. Jack Shaw taking notes: Bramlett/UNT; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 60. Gilders brought into camp: UNT with Kelley, Slate.

Roy Stensland: for background, see R. Underbrink, *Destination Corregidor* (Annapolis, 1971), 29, 34, 59, 60-74. Post-publication, I got a call from a reader of my book who was with Stensland on this mission: Albert Cook. Cook was one of only a few Americans who escaped from Java and thus never became a POW.

For another version of Slug Wright's food system, see La Forte and Marcello, *Building the Death Railway*, 68ff; also UNT interviews with King, Matlock, Rasbury, Rayburn; Rogers diary, RG 389, B 2178, NA. Stensland and Japanese guards: UNT interviews with Douglas, Pryor, Spencer, Stone; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 62. Liquor in camp: Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 116.

Cannibalizing truck and car: Feliz/Daws; Offerle/UNT; Schultz, *Last Battle Station*, 226. Packrat McCone: Daws with McCone, Feliz; also, every American from Bicycle Camp has McCone stories--UNT interviews are full of them. Rasbury's Finer Fudge: Rasbury/UNT. Dynamite Dunn: Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 31, 50, 54. Poodles Norley: Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 121. McManus's mural: Schwarz/UNT.

I want to live: Wright/Daws. The Dutch woman on the bicycle--every Java POW has a story about this figure, e.g. Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 121ff; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 39; Fujita, *Foo*, 102.

Jess Stanbrough's radio: UNT with Stanbrough, Ficklin; AWM with Devenish, Spurgeon. Touch that and I'll kill you: Stanbrough/Daws.

Technicians: UNT interviews with Detre, Kelley, Knight, Minshew, Pryor, Reichle. Australian lies: Harrison, C./Daws; Devenish/ZWM; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 124-125; Clarke, *Last Stop Nagasaki*, 72. Peach-fur pickers: Pryor/UNT. Shipped to Singapore: Harrell papers; Pringle/Documents/IWM. The white ship: this vision turns up in POW stories everywhere. The glass rod: every POW has

stories about this too.

Changi background: Nelson, *Story of Changi*; Nelson, *POW*, 24ff. Sikhs: Day, *Command File*, World War II, NHC. UNT interviews are full of Changi stories. See also the following in Documents/IWM: Baillies, Hebditch, Hoops, Innes-Ker, Pringle, Turner, Woodhouse; Fraser/SNA; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 147ff; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 67; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 34-35; Bradley, *Towards the Setting Sun*, 19ff; Hofstede, *Slaven van Roku Ban*, 78ff; Beets, *Verre Oorlog*, Ch. 7. Java rabble: Schultz, *Last Battle Station*, 232; Hamel, *Soldatendominiee*, 88; Parkin, *Into the Smother*, 17-1; Huxtable, *From the Somme to Singapore*, generally. Animosity between American and British prisoners: UNT with Armstrong, Detre, Evans, Gee, Pryor; Rogers diary, RG 389, B 2178, NA. Food and Red Cross packages: Daws/de Graaff; Pryor/UNT. King's coconuts: De Souza/SNA; UNT with Chambers, Detre. You can't do that! Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 68; Fujita/Daws; UNT with Armstrong, Chambers, Detre; Day, "Houston" MS, *Command File*, WWII, NHC. Niggershooters: Fujita/Daws; Detre/UNT. Latrine sparrows: Fujita, *Foo*, 119. I'm giving you an order: Douglas/UNT. The fat colonel: UNT with Detre, Douglas. Chickens: Rasbury/UNT. Dempsey Key: Dunn/Daws; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 71; Day, *Hodio*, 71; see also Whitehead/UNT. Eating the British dog: Daws with Fujita, Rafalovich; Fujita, *Foo*, 120-123. Bannockburn! Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 70. Their mutton wasn't any good: Burge/UNT. You Limeys can unlock your chicken pens now: Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 78.

"On The Road To Mandalay": Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 166; Stone/UNT. Recognizing Rangoon: Brain/UNT. Moulmein jail: every POW coming to Burma through Moulmein has a jail story. A sampling: UNT with Armstrong, Hard, Rasbury, Rea, Taylor, Whitehead; Bancroft, *Mikado's Guests*, 51.

IV. WORKING ON THE RAILROAD

Notes for pages 183-195

Burma-Siam railroad. Principal interviews: Daws with Wright, Hekking, Adams, G.P., Bras, Forsman, Wallace. Many UNT interviews are excerpted in La Forte and Marcello, *Building the Death Railway*.

A major documentary source is testimony from British war crimes trials. Transcripts in PRO run in total to thousands of pages. The principal case is WO 235/963. See also: SEATIC Consolidated Interrogation Report 83, January 22, 1945; SEATIC Bulletin 246, October 8, 1946.

For railroad background and detail: E. Escritt, *Beyond the Three Pagodas Pass* (privately published, 1988). Escritt's papers, in Documents/IWM, include a translation of Y. Futumatsu, *Santoge wo Koete: Taimentetsudo wo Kataru* [Across The Three Pagoda Pass—The Story of the Burma-Siam Railway] (Tokyo, 1985). Futumatsu published two other works: *An Account of the Construction of the Thai-Burma Railroad* (1955); and *Recollections of the Thai-Burma Railway* (1980). T. Yoshiwara, ed., *Santari Tetsudohei no Kiroku* [Radiant Record of Railroad Troops] (Tokyo, 1965), contains a Burma-Siam section. See also: F. Trager, *Burma: Japanese Military Administration* (Philadelphia, 1971), 231-236; C. Fisher, "The Thailand-Burma Railway", *Economic Geography*, vol. 23, no. 2 (April, 1947), 85-97; C. Kinvig, *River Kwai Railway: The Story of the Burma-Siam Railroad* (London, 1992); Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers aan de Burma-Spoorweg*; C. Evers, *Death Railway* (Bangkok, 1993). ICHI-NI-NESSAIYO: Smith, *And All the Trumpets*, 86-87.

Nobody is permitted to eat: every POW from the Burma end of the railroad remembers Nagatomo's

speech—e.g. Schwarz/Daws; Gee/UNT; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 47ff; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 51; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 146-147.

Trading for Hekking: Daws with Hekking, Wright. The interpreter who set up the trade, Cornelius Punt, published a memoir under the pseudonym Cornel Lumiere: *Kura!* (Brisbane, 1966).

This is depressing: Wright/UNT. Harley Dupler: Wright/Daws; UNT with Detre, Hard; Battles, RG 389, B 2122, NA; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 101; Schultz, *Last Battle Station*, 242; Charles, *Last Man Out*, 44. You sons of bitches: Wright/Daws; for another version of what Slug said, see Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 243. Rivett was one of the Australians who shared the can of condensed milk with Slug at 8 Kilo.

Doc Hekking: Daws interviews with Henri Hekking, May Hekking, Fred Hekking, Wright, McCone. There are as many Doc Hekking stories as there are Roy Stensland stories; they are everywhere in the UNT interviews. A sampling: Brain, Rea, Reichle, Robinson, Stone. See also Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 11; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 54; Jordan, *Tenko on the River Kwai*, 72.

Dutch colonial military medicine: Daws interviews with Bras, de Monchy, Hekking, Stahlie. Medina's paralysis: Medina/Daws. Language on the railroad: Clarke/AWM; Strongg, Documents/IWM; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 184; Coast, *Railroad*, 89; Poole, *Of Love and War*, 207. Delivering the baby: Wright/Daws.

Notes for pages 195-201

Tropical ulcers. P. Manson-Bahr, ed., *Manson's Tropical Diseases*—see especially the tenth through the thirteenth editions, 1935-1951. Timor: Daws with Adams, G.P., Hekking;

Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 15, 44, 50. Philippines: Cooper, "Medical Department Activities"; C. Quirino, *Chick Parsons: America's Master Spy in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1984), 34. Ambon: Hunter/Daws; Weiss, "Below the Horizon", MS—I thank Joan Beaumont for access. Borneo: AWM with Peterson, Short, Wells. Haruku: the following in Documents/IWM: Hodson, Philips, Springer. All POW doctors agree that the railroad ulcers were the worst.

Treating ulcers: Daws with Drukke, Duizend, Duncan, Hundscheidt, Schwarz; UNT with Armstrong, Detre, Thompson; AWM with Drummond, Fagan; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 291–292, 296–297, 308, 311, 387; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 143–144; Hamel, *Soldatendominiee*, 143; Hall, *Burma–Thailand Railway*, 152, 159; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 136ff.

POW doctrine on ulcers: Daws interviews with Bras, Duncan, de Graaff, Luitsz, Neumann, van Dam, Whitecross; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 97, 108; and many UNT interviews, including Armstrong, Brain, Bramlett, Brown, Burge, Carter, Chambers, Detre, Douglas, Gordon, Hard, Heinen, Kempff, Killian, Matlock, Offerle, Pryor, Rasbury, Rea, Reese, Robinson, Stone, Thompson, Tilghman, Whitehead; Chandler/Documents/IWM; Coast, *Railroad*, 118–119, 141; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 138; Evers, *Death Railway*, 56–57; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 200; Hovinga, *Dodenspoorweg*, 76; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 143–144; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 134–135. Fish the size of minnows: Daws with Bolt, Douglas, T.; Offerle/UNT; Michell/AWM; F. Foster, *Comrades in Bondage* (London, 1946), 140; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 139; Parkin, *Into the Smother*, 230; Parkin, *Sword and Blossom*, 11–12.

Albert Coates: A. Coates and N. Rosenthal, *The Albert Coates Story: The Will That Found the Way* (Melbourne, 1977). Coates's testimony in IMTFE is at 11,403ff.

55 Kilo camp: Coates and Rosenthal, 110ff; Schwarz/Daws; Turner, Documents/IWM; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma–Thailand Railway*, 30ff; Hall, *Burma–Thailand Railway*, 92ff.

Doctrine on amputation: K. Fagan, "Surgical Experiences as a Prisoner of War", *Medical Journal of Australia*, vol. 1 (1946), 776; Walker, *Clinical Problems*, 669; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, generally; Daws interviews with de Graaff, Drukke, Duizend, Duncan, Hundscheidt, Luitsz, Neumann; Boddington/Documents/IWM; Douglas, G./UNT; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 136–139. L. Robertson, *The Gap; Or, The Impossible Takes Longer* (Sydney, 1982), 228–229; R. Richards and M. McEwan, *The Survival Factor* (Sydney, 1989) 155ff; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 107; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 136, 142; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 8, 190.

Dr. Coates, I presume: Hekking/Daws. Hugh Lumpkin and William Epstein: UNT interviews with: Armstrong, Brown, Douglas, Gordon, Hard, Offerle, Pryor, Rasbury, Reese, Reichle, Taylor, Thompson; Smith, Command File, World War II, NHC; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 107, 117, 120–121; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 58, Robertson, *Gap*, 228–229.

Coates' death rate with amputations: A. Coates, "Surgery in Japanese Prison Camps", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Surgery*, vol. 15, no. 3 (January, 1946), 150–155. See also Coates, "Fundamental Principles in Medical Practice", *Medical Journal of Australia*, vol. 2, no. 22 (November 30, 1946), 757–763; and E. Dunlop, "Medical Experiences in Japanese Captivity", *British Medical Journal*, 2:4474 (1946), 484. Re Coates's relation with the Dutch: Gerrit Bras kindly showed me copies of testimonial letters Coates wrote for van Boxtel after the war; see also Cannoo, *Bushido*, 99.

Notes for pages 202-218

Siam drafts. Upcountry drafts: Daws interviews with Luitsz, Neumann, Samethini; the following in Sound/IWM: Brown, Denny, Pounder, Woodhouse; Brown, A./AWM; Nelson, POW, 40; Bradley, *Towards the Setting Sun*, 46ff; Coast, *Railroad*, 108; English, *One For Every Sleeper*, 66ff; Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 64ff; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 66ff; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 156; Poole, *Of Love and War*, 187ff; Hamel, *Soldatendominiee*, 102ff; Evers, *Death Railway*, 32ff; Parkin, *Into the Smother*, 107, 125.

Scavenging: Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 216-217, 228, 233; Searle, *To the Kwai*, 102. Any of you blokes speak English?: Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 203. Administrative control and food: Woodhouse, Sound/IWM; Lee/SNA. Trading: Stone/UNT; Denny/Sound/IWM. Burma real estate: UNT with Brown, Gee, Reichle; Teel, *Our Days Were Years*, 82-83. What a beautiful bunch of bananas: many versions of this story are told at POW reunions; see also Lumiere, *Kura*, 252-253.

Meat: Adams, G.P./Daws; Adams ran an epic cattle drive along the railroad, described in his book *No Time for Geishas*. See also A. van der Schaaf, "Veterinary Experiences as a Japanese Prisoner of War and ex-POW Along the Burma Railroad from 1941 to January 1946", *Tijdschrift voor Diergeneeskunde*, vol. 15, no. 104, supplement 4 (1979), 212-228; Hoops/Documents/IWM; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 557; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 135; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 167-168. Malnutrition rodeo: Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 210. Snake!: Wright/Daws; UNT with Bramlett, Burge, Chambers, Fung, Hard; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 87.

Other railroad food: Daws with Heyne, Luitsz, van Dam; Wallace; UNT with Brain, Gordon, Offerle, Pryor, Rasbury, Reed, Reese. Thompson; the following in Documents/IWM: Baillies, Hoops, Vardy;

Wyatt/Sound/IWM; Moore/AWM; Nelson, POW, 42; Archer, *Way*, 98-99; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 97; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 59; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 99. The Gordon Highlanders' lasso: Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 102. Droughtstricken horse: Nelson, POW, 45; Moore/Nelson. Cooking shoe uppers: Matlock/UNT.

Speedo and the kumi quota: Daws interviews with Bolt, Hundscheidt, van Dam; Newton/AWM; Preston/Documents/IWM; Lee/SNA; A. Allbury, *Bamboo and Bushido* (London, 1955), 56-57; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 135; Coast, *Railroad*, 70; Bancroft, *Mikado's Guests*, 58; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 192, 208, 210; Richards and McEwan, *Survival Factor*, 152ff; Japanese medical arithmetic: IMTFE, 11,415.

Sick men on the job: UNT with Burge, Douglas, Rasbury, Reese, Taylor/UNT; Hamlin, RG 389, B 2177, NA; these in Documents/IWM: Turner, Vardy; Caplan/Sound/IWM; G. Bras, "Ziekten en Hun Behandeling in Kampen Langs de Rivier de Kwai", *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, no. 32 (August 10, 1985), 1529-1532; I. Duncan, "Makeshift Medicine: Combating Disease in Japanese Prison Camps", *Medical Journal of Australia*, (January, 1983), 29-32; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 155, 191; P. Adam-Smith, *Prisoners of War: From Gallipoli to Korea* (Ringwood, 1992), 500ff; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 124-125, 167. The British doctor's moral sums: English, 143-144; see also Fagan/AWM. Bandy Galyean: Wallace/Daws; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 104; Robertson, *Gap*, 226; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 110, 116.

The monsoon: Daws with Weissinger, Whitecross, Wright; UNT with Hard, Hinen; these in Documents/IWM: Innes-Ker, Strongg; Smith, *Command File*, World War II, NHC; Allbury, *Bamboo and Bushido*, 57; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 137; Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 155-159; Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 71.

Officers working: Slaughter, Prisoners of War, WWII, NHC; Baillies/Documents/IWM; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 104-105; I. Watt, *The Humanities on the River Kwai* (Cedar City, 1982), 16; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 112ff; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 208; Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 69. Can't see to can't see: Fung/Daws.

Romusha: IMTFE, 13,654ff; Osman/SNA; Kanahale, "Japanese Occupation of Indonesia", 304; J. Pluvier, *Southeast Asia from Colonialism to Independence* (Kuala Lumpur, 1974), 237ff; T. Friend, *The Blue-Eyed Enemy: Japan Against the West in Java and Luzon, 1942-1945* (Princeton, 1988), 165-166; de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part 2, 528ff; Brugmans, *Nederlandsch-Indië*, 505-506; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 66.

Cholera in Japanese occupied territory: ATIS Research Report 92, 6ff. The epidemic on the railroad: Daws with Douglas, T., Drukker, Samethini; UNT with Detre, Douglas, Robinson; AWM with Fagan, Morris; these in Sound/IWM: Denny, Pounder; Lee/SNA; these in Documents/IWM: Baillies, Hoops, Strongg, Turner, Vardy. Also: H. De Wardener, "Cholera Epidemic Among Prisoners of War in Siam", *Lancet*, vol. 1, no. 18 (May, 1946), 637-640; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 573ff; Walker, *Clinical Problems*, 587ff; Coast, *Railroad*, 119ff; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 244ff; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 130ff; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 99ff; Archer, *Way*, 104; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 71, 84, 95-96.

The Dutch and cholera: Daws interviews with Bras, Drukker, Samethini; Beets, *Verre Oorlog*, 243; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 150, 179; F. Wolthuis, "Cholera in Thailand; Was Dat de Voorkommen?", *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, no. 32 (August 10, 1985), 1538-1539; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 104. Cholera precautions: Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 130.

Romusha and cholera: Escritt papers, Documents/IWM; Bancroft and Roberts, *Mikado's Guests*,

81-82; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 130ff; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 105ff; Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 159-160; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 16. All I have is for family: Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 199. Use your hands: Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 119. Burning the cholera dead: Douglas, T./Daws; UNT with Armstrong, Fung, Robinson; Denny, Sound/IWM; Lee, C./SNA; Uren/AWM; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 137. Dead Tamil: Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 136. Spearing the wet beriberis: English, *One For Every Sleeper*, 153. See also Bange/Daws; Woodhouse/Sound/IWM.

Escapes: Scully/SNA; Daws with Voll, Woudsma; IMTFE, 13,050-13,053; Bradley, *Towards the Setting Sun*; J. Durnford, *Branch Line to Burma* (London, 1958), 48-49; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 544; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 134; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 226, 264ff, 279ff; de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part 2, 701ff; Evers, *Death Railway*, 57-59; B. Frank and H. Shaw, *History of U.S. Marine Corps Operations in World War II*, vol. 5. *Victory and Occupation* (Washington, 1968), 766. See also Pryor/UNT.

Suicide: the figure of no more than a dozen is my educated guess. I have not been able to find more than half a dozen or so cases in railroad doctors' written notes, and no doctor I have spoken to thinks there would have been more than a dozen. See Pryor/UNT; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 135; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 301.

Swede Ecklund: Wright/Daws; UNT with Reichle, Spencer, Stone. There is a ship!: Matlock/UNT. Burials: Preston/Documents/IWM; Marsh, Sound/IWM; UNT with Chambers, Gordon, Pryor, Slate.

Radios: Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 557. Tom Douglas: Douglas/Daws. Donald and Max Webber: Lindy Bradley kindly supplied a copy of Donald Webber's diary. Also: Daws with Denham, Denholm, Readwin. The Kanchanaburi radio

atrocities: Lomax/Daws; WO 235/822, PRO; FEPOW Forum, January-February, 1985; Lumiere, *Kura*, 151-152. Post-publication, I heard of a new book by one of the men badly beaten at Kanchanaburi: Eric Lomax, *The Railway Man*.

Finishing the railroad: Daws with Hundscheidt, Whitecross; Stitt/Sound/IWM; C. Kinvig, *Death Railway* (New York, 1973), 108-109; H. Clarke, *A Life for Every Sleeper* (Sydney, 1986), 57ff; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 121; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 140; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 48ff; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 135; R. Hastain, *White Coolie* (London, 1947), 158-159.

H.H. Lilley: Evans, Documents/IWM; Hoops, Documents/IWM; Rowell/SNA; Coast, *Railroad*, 71. Philip Toosey: Toosey's papers are in Documents/IWM; see also Davies, *The Man Behind the Bridge*; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 140, 153-154; Watt, *Humanities on the River Kwai*, 14ff.

Railroad construction figures: for differing compilations, see Escritt papers, Documents/IWM; IMTFE, 27,412-27,428, exhibit 475, "Report by Japanese Government, Burma-Thailand Railway"; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 588.

Completion ceremony: Daws with Bange, Whitecross; Kinvig, *River Kwai Railway*, 167; Clarke, *Sleeper*, 57ff; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 140; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 121; Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 208; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 135. Flying kampongs: Coast, *Railroad*, 145. Tojo presents: Wright/Daws; C. Kinvig, *Death Railway* (New York, 1973), 108-9; Poole, *Of Love and War*, 217.

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After the railroad. Sabotage: Whitecross/Daws; UNT with Burge, Gee; Henderson/AWM; Escritt papers,

Documents/IWM; these in Sound/IWM: Marsh, Stitt; Bradley, *Towards the Setting Sun*, 54; Lumiere, *Kura*, 133. Coming down the railroad: Daws with Bange, Schwarz; UNT with Gee, Stone; Robertson, *Gap*, 231; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 213; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 149-150; Clarke, *One for Every Sleeper*, 31; Nelson, *POW*, 49.

Hopelessly sick prisoners: in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Hoops, Vardy; Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 72; Durnford, *Branch Line*, 116ff; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 104-105. Your 2/30th all present: Nelson, *POW*, 68; AWM with Aspinall, Drummond. See also A. Penfold et al, *Galleghan's Greyhounds: The Story of the 2/30th Australian Infantry Battalion* (Sydney, 1979).

Japanese figures on deaths: IMTFE, exhibit 475; see also IMTFE, 5,568, 27,411ff. Healthy Japanese, discipline, good spirits: testimony by senior Japanese officers Banno, Hachizuka, Ishida, Nakamura, Yanagida in WO 235/963, PRO. See also Matsuura/AWM; ATIS Research Report 83, 3ff; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 261; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 81; Vardy/Documents/IWM.

Japanese punished for mistreating prisoners: IMTFE, 27,421-27,422, 49,656. Sledge hammer to the head: Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 168. Injecting chloroform: Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 588. Romusha crucified: Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 133. Interpreter put in hole: Baillies, Documents/IWM; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 203. Interpreter set on fire: Stitt, Sound/IWM. Staff not from Japan proper, and inadequate preparation: testimony in WO 235/963, PRO.

Exact figures for POW dead: Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 588. Japanese opinion of POWs by nationality: Spurgeon/Daws; ATIS Research Report 72, 115; ATIS Research Report 76, vi, 25; ATIS Enemy Publication 321; SEATIC Intelligence Bulletin 229, Chapter 3; OSS Research and Analysis Branch, Far East Section, Report 77, August 22,

1942, RG 226, E 106, B 44, NA; see also Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 52. One Aussie: Thompson, "Into The Sun," Documents/IWM. See also Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 275; L. Allen, "To Be A Prisoner", *Journal of European Studies*, vol. 16, part 4, no. 64 (December, 1986), 233-248; Vardy.

American deaths: Lost Battalion and Houston Survivors Association roster. Stensland: UNT interviews are full of stories of Stensland on the railroad. A sampling: Rea, Rayburn, Reichle, Robinson, Spencer. See also Hekking/Daws. Officer survival rates: H. Nelson, "A Bowl of Rice for Seven Camels: The Dynamics of Prisoner-of-War Camps", *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 14 (1989), 33-42.

Material relating to differences between national groups of POWs. (Included here is material from the railroad and from other areas as well.) Daws with Adams, G.P., Bras, Crow, Dandie, de Graaff, Henning, Maple, McGrew, McInerney, Neumann, Olson, Schwarz, van Heekeren; McCormac, *You'll Die in Singapore*, 18, 26; these in Sound/IWM: Ferrier, Hodson; these in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Cotton, Innes-Ker, Pringle, Toosey, Vardy, Woodhouse; Perfili, RG 389, B 2197, NA; Kirk, RG 389, B 2132; Moore papers/MHI; UNT with Allen, H., Allen, R., Armstrong, Blaylock, Bugbee, Daman, Detre, Gordon, Kenner, King, McCall, Minshew, Offerle, Rasbury, Reichle; Bunker diary, CMH; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 18-19, 30, 34, 48, 71, 81, 180; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 146; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 313-314; Goodman, *M.D.P.O.W.*, 135-136; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 82; Dandie, *Story of I Force*, 50, 57, 73; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 304; Hofstede, *Slaven van Roku Ban*, 146-147, 207ff; Beets, *Verre Oorlog*, Ch. 7.

The spijkerploeg: Daws with Bras, de Monchy, Schneer-de Haas, Stahlie, van Dorp, Wolterbeek; H. de Monchy, "Ervaringen uit Krijgsgevangenkampen in Thailand", *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, no. 32

(August 10, 1985), 1535-1538; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 127; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 21-31, 150.

Japanese soldiers and wounded: Daws with Adams, G.P., de Graaff, Wright/Daws; Brown/UNT; Morris/AWM; Bangs/SNA; Ienaga, *Japan's Last War*, 146-147; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 79; Aphorp, *British Sumatra Battalion*, 110-111; Escritt, *Beyond the Three Pagodas Pass*, 55; Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 112-113; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 194, 213;

Parkin, *Into the Smother*, 134; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 236; Hastain, *White Coolie*, 158; Peacock, *Prisoner on the Kwai*, 134, 252; Robertson, *Gap*, 231. "Columbia The Gem Of The Ocean": Wright/Daws.

Tha Muang clothing survey: figures are in WO 235/963, PRO. Base camp businesses: Stitt, Sound/IWM; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 332, 365; Durnford, *Branch Line*, 226; English, *One for Every Sleeper*, 175. Cigarette-making: Smith, *And All the Trumpets*, 137ff. Charley Pryor tailoring: Pryor/UNT. Dutch laundry: Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 159. See also Burge/UNT.

Eddie Fung's birthday party: Fung/UNT. Mick the Yank: Douglas/UNT; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 113. "White Christmas": Douglas/Daws. (The song turned up in a camp in Japan at Christmas 1943, brought in by a captured submariner.) Stage ladies: Arneil/AWM; Coast, *Railroad*, 174ff; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 326; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 345. Yasume: NTU interviews with Rasbury, Slate, Thompson; Newell, Documents/IWM; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 174. Horse races: Hoops, Documents/IWM; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 339, 372-373.

Japan shipments: McInerney/Daws; Newton/AWM; Brain/UNT; Allbury, *Bamboo and Bushido*, 126; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 148; Aphorp, *British Sumatra Battalion*, 119-121; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 131; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 147; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 133; Blair, *Return from the Kwai*, 15-16, 42-43; Parkin, *Sword and Blossom*, 58-59; Rivett,

Behind Bamboo, 315; Clarke, *Last Stop Nagasaki*, 5. See also P. Allen, "The Fate of the 18th Division Royal Engineers", *Royal Engineers Journal*, vol. 106, no. 1 (April, 1992), 12-19. See also Fillmore. *P.O.W.*, 82-83. John McNerney has prepared a register of the Australian dead of J Force by name and place of burial.

Cities of the sick: these in Documents/IWM: Newell, Strongg; Webber diary; Walker, *Clinical Problems*, 629ff; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 100-110; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 140ff; Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 141; Coast, *Railroad*, 170-172. I did a bum inspection: Vardy, Documents/IWM. Chungkai, Chungkai: Smith, *And All the Trumpets*, 105.

Tropical ulcers: J. Markowitz, "A Series of Over 100 Amputations of the Thigh for Tropical Ulcer", *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, vol. 86 (April, 1946), 159ff; Walker, *Clinical Problems*, 669. One-legged men at Chungkai: Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 322. Tarsao amputees: Parkin, *Into the Smother*, 264-265. Artificial leg factory: Marsh, Sound/IWM. 'Arry's 'Appy 'Amps: Whitecross, *Slaves*, 128; Turner, Documents/IWM.

Americans and British: Daws with White, Wright; UNT with Bramlett, Gee, Hard, Rayburn, Reichle, Robinson, Spencer, Thompson; Michell/AWM; Apthorp, *Sumatra Battalion*, 95. Preston Stone courtmartialed: Stone/UNT. The Australians are with the Yanks: Ballinger/Daws. For a more affable view: Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 77ff. See also Boddington/Documents/IWM. The colonel's dog: Robinson/AWM. For another dog story: S. de Grey, *Changi: The Funny Side* (Bundall, 1991), 134ff.

Doc Hekking's radio: Daws with Hekking, Wright. Air raids: Pryor/UNT; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 151-153. The can of peaches: Wright/Daws.

V. HARD TIME

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Jails. For Outram Road, a basic source is the British war crimes trial WO 235/975, PRO. See also: IMTFE, 12,913ff, 27,912-27,916, 38,239-38,243, 30,239-30,243; Rogers, RG 389, B 2120, NA; Daws with Duizend, Forsman; Forsman/UNT; Harrell papers; AWM interviews with: Davis, S., Nagase, v. Neilsen, Peterson, Short, Taylor, Trackson, Wells; SNA with Chew, Liau; Innes-Ker, Documents/IWM; Bradley, Sound/IWM; Bradley, *Towards the Setting Sun*, 98ff; J. McGregor, *Blood on the Rising Sun* ([Sydney, 1980]); B. Young, *Return to a Dark Age* (Allawah, 1991); Nelson, *POW*, 165ff; Huxtable, *Somme to Singapore*, 128.

Kempei: Pryor/UNT; Nagase/AWM; SNA with Choy, De Souza, Heng, Lim, Marcus, Soon; IMTFE, 12,779, 13,674ff, 14,166ff, and PX 5732; WO 235/116, PRO; documents in RG 226, E 106, B 47, NA; Reiner, RG 389, B 2177, NA; Harrell papers; SEATIC Intelligence Bulletin 229; OSS/State Department Intelligence and Research Reports, "Japan and Its Occupied Territories During World War II: The Kempei in Japanese-Occupied Territory", July 13, 1945; SCAP, "History of the Non-Military Activities of the Occupation of Japan: Trials of Class B and C War Criminals", 59ff; Kanahale, "Japanese Occupation of Indonesia", 273; L. Allen, "Japanese Intelligence System", *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 22 (1987), 552-554; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 56; Lord Russell, *The Knights of Bushido* (London [1958], 1960), 274ff; R. Seth, *Encyclopedia of Espionage* (Garden City, Doubleday, 1972), 325-328; Shimer and Hobbs, *Kenpeitai in Java and Sumatra*, generally; M. Syjuco, *The Kempei Tai in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1988); *Triumph in the Philippines*, 225ff; de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part 1, 476ff; Cook and

Cook, *Japan at War*, 151ff; O. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record* (New York, 1943), 392ff; T. Sheppard, *Taman Budiman: Memoirs of an Unorthodox Civil Servant* (Singapore, 1979), 122ff, 141ff; H. Sergeant, *Shanghai* (London, 1991), 316; K. Chin, *Malaya Upside Down* (Singapore, 1976), 116ff; N. Low, *When Singapore Was Syonan-to* (Singapore, 1973), 16-17, 74-75; G. Sparrow, *Not Wisely But Too Well* (London, Harrap, 1961), 134-137; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 98-99; J. Le Bourgeois, "Prisonnier des Japonais", *Revue de Paris*, vol. 56 (July, 1949), 120-142; J. Funk, "The Sandakan Story", *8th Division Newsletter*, no. 7 (May-July, 1985), 13, 15; P. Clague, *Bridge House: The True, Chilling Story of a Shanghai Chamber of Horrors* (Hong Kong, 1983), 82.

Haruku: the following in Documents/IWM: Chandler, Godfrey, Korteweg, Philips, Pieterse, Springer, Stubbs, Thompson, "Into the Sun;" these in Sound/IWM: Hodson, Jones; document in 4545/RI xxvi 756, ARA; Luning MS memoir; L. Audus, "Biology Behind Barbed Wire", *Discovery*, vol. 7, no. 7 (July, 1946), 211-215; C. Roland, "Stripping Away the Veneer: P.O.W. Survival in the Far East as an Index of Cultural Atavism", *Journal of Military History*, vol. 53 (January, 1989), 79-94; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 81ff, 139ff; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 167ff; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 101, 159ff; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 114; Veenstra, *Als Krijgsgevangene naar de Molukken*, generally; Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 113ff.

Ambon: the following in Documents/IWM: Chandler, Godfrey, Stubbs; Jones, Sound/IWM; also Carson diary, Prisoners of War, World War II, NHC; register of US Navy and Marine officers in NHC; documents in Prisoners of War, World War II, Ambon, NHC; documents in AS/ARA I xxvi, 11, 2; NEFIS interrogatory report in AS/ARA I, xxvi, 11, 2; Weiss, "Below the Horizon"; Beaumont, *Gull Force*; C. Harrison, *Ambon: Island of Mist* (North Geelong, 1988); Nelson, *POW*, 84ff.

New Britain: I thank Hank Nelson for details of the British prisoners; see also IMTFE, 14,121ff. Rabaul Americans and Australian coastwatcher: Murphy/AWM; McMurria/Daws; J. McMurria, "Trial and Triumph", MS memoir [at the time my book was published, McMurria was planning to publish his memoir privately]; Holguin/Daws; J. Holguin, "The Experiences of Capt. Jose Holguin, USAFR, as a Prisoner of War", MS memoir; Kepchia/Daws; J. Kepchia, *Missing in Action Over Rabaul* (privately published, 1986); J. Nason and R. Holt, *Horio You Next Die!* (Carlsbad, 1987); statements by Holguin, McMurria and Quinones, Prisoners of War, World War II, NHC; IMTFE 14,121ff; Nelson, *POW*, 157ff.

Related matters: documents in RG 226, E 106, Box 47, Folder 2, NA; WO 235/1116; McKenzie, *Operation Rangoon Jail*, 45, 61; Lumiere, *Kura*, 150, 214-215; Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 151ff; Berry, *Prisoner of the Rising Sun*, 173ff, 186ff; Beets, *Verre Oorlog*, 215.

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Medical experiments. The semi-starvation experiment: A. Keys et al, *The Biology of Human Starvation*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis, 1950).

Lifting weights: Murphy, Documents/IWM. American Indians at Cabanatuan: Hutchison/Daws; see also Mroz/Daws; Newman, *How to Survive*, 24-27. Saigon: Cotton, Documents/IWM. Army Medical College, Tokyo: IMTFE, 27,809ff. Limp penises: Duizend/Daws. Nichols Field: Vining, *Guest*, 231. Blood tests: Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 170. See also C. Roland and H. Shannon, "Patterns of Disease Among World War II Prisoners of the Japanese: Hunger, Weight Loss, and Deficiency Diseases in Two Camps", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, vol. 46, no. 1 (January, 1991),

65-85. See also ATIS Research Report 117, 4ff.

The New York clinic: Daws with Holguin, McMurria; in Nason, *Nason You Next Die*, 221, it is the Mayo clinic. Shinagawa: Davis, RG 389, B 2130, NA; *Reports of General MacArthur. MacArthur in Japan—The Occupation: Military Phase, I. Supplement*, 108; SCAP, "History of the Non-Military Activities of the Occupation of Japan: Trials of Class B and C War Criminals", 199-201; *New York Times*, September 2, 1945; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 209-211. Ambon injections: IMTFE 13,961-13,962, 14,001-14,006, 14,050-14,051; Weiss, "Below the Horizon"; Harrison, *Ambon*, 127-128; Nelson, *POW*, 95. Fleet surgeon: "Final Report of Navy War Crimes Commission", 5 vols., December 1949, HNC, case 39, 21; P. Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial: Allied War Crimes Operations in the East, 1945-1951* (Austin, 1979), 79. Khandok: IMTFE, 14,138-14,139. For the first time: ATIS Research Report 72, 37; ATIS Research Report 117, 4ff; IMTFE, 14,139-14,140. Kyushu: *Japan Times*, July 1, 1978. China: Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 145ff. See also Daws with Besley, Herbst; WO 235/869, 235/951, WO 235/1101, PRO; C. Roland, "The Use of Medical Evidence in British Trials of Suspected Japanese War Criminals", unpublished paper; Whitney, *Guest of the Fallen Sun*, 47-48.

Unit 731: J. Powell, "Japan's Germ Warfare: The U.S. Cover-Up of a War Crime", *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 12, no. 4 (October-December, 1980), 2-17; J. Powell, "Japan's Biological Weapons: A Hidden Chapter in History", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 37, no. 8 (October, 1981) 44-52; J. Powell, "Japan's Biological Weapons: 1930-1945—An Update", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, vol. 38, no. 8 (October, 1982), 52; P. Williams and D. Wallace, *Unit 731: Japan's Secret Biological Warfare in World War II* (New York, 1989). Peter Williams and David Wallace kindly gave me access to a copy of the script of their TV documentary "Unit 731: Did the Emperor Know?" S. Morimura has

published a multi-volume account of Unit 731 under the general title *Akuma no Hoshoku* [Gluttony of the Devil]. For Unit 644, the central China counterpart of 731: C. Hosoya et al, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: An International Symposium* (New York, 1981), 85-86; see also Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 146ff.

Related matters: WO 235/829, 1099, PRO; Bush, *Road, Road to Inamura*, 170. Since publication of my book, the following can be noted: In Japan a traveling exhibit about Unit 731 has been drawing much attention, and Japanese media have been running quite large stories. The Cupertino, CA-based Alliance for Preserving the Truth of the Sino-Japanese War has been active on the subject. Washington DC researcher Greg Rodriguez, Jr., has found documentation more conclusive than anything previously available to indicate a continued US government coverup of information that US POWs were used in 731 experiments. Reporter Ken McLaughlin of the *San Jose Mercury News* published a story on this, August 13, 1995, and NBC-TV Dateline ran a long 731 story in the same week.

Cabanatuan fingernails: Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 129. See also: M. Clarke, "Starvation", *Simpalili: The Spectral Tarsier*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1947), 48-50. Bob Stewart's Red Cross routine: Stewart/Daws; see also Henning/Daws. Belawan Chewing Club: Leffelaar, *Through a Harsh Dawn*, 100. Kinkaseki: Edwards, *Banzai*, 130. Food advertisement: Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 150. Hey, let me look: Runge/AWM; see also Kenner/NTU.

Lagi: every POW has lagi stories. A sampling: AWM with Arneil, Morris; UNT with Hard, Kenner, Slate, Whitehead; La Galle diary; Honywill, *Documents/IWM*; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 49; Bush, *Clutch of Circumstance*, 156-157; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 100; Lewis, *Changi*, 101; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 197.

What in the world is the matter: Offerle/Marcello; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 124; see also Fillmore/UNT. Blind and

legless Americans: Glusman, "Heroes and Sons", 710-711.

Yardbird cunning. A huge subject. For a sampling: Daws interviews with Adams, G., Baijens, Bange, Delich, Duizend, Goodman, Levenberg, Luitsz, Medlin, Skinner; Newton/AWM; UNT interviews with Bramlett, Burge, Fung, Halbrook. Pryor, Slate; Wallace/Knox; Luning MS memoir; La Galle diary; Beecher diary; Peart journal, LC; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; Montgomery papers, MHI; these in Documents/IWM: Hoops, Pringle; Hodson, Sound/IWM; K. Todd, "European Into Coolie", *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, vol. 86 (April, 1946), 182; S. Marek, *Laughter in Hell: Being the True Experiences of Lieutenant E.L. Guirey, U.S.N., and Technical Sergeant H.C. Nixon, U.S.M.C. and Their Comrades in the Japanese Prison Camps in Osaka and Tsuruga* (Caldwell, 1954), generally; M. Hileman and P. Fridlund, *1051: An American POW's Remarkable Journey Through World War II* (Walla Walla, 1992), 248-249; R. Brown, *I Solemnly Swear: The Story of a GI Named Brown* (New York, 1957), 130; N. Hostede, *De Slaven van Roku Ban* (Franeker, 1979), 63-64; H. Hovinga, *Dodenspoorweg door het Oerwoud: Het Vergeten Drama van de Pakan Baroe-spoorweg op Sumatra, Aangelegd door Krijgsgevangenen onder de Japanse Bezetting* (Franeker, 1976), 27; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 231; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 21, 97, 174, 177, 197; Coast, *Railroad*, 78; Parkin, *Into the Smother*, 178; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 260, 331; Bradley, *Towards the Setting Sun*, 104; Vining, *Guest of an Emperor*, 72; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 159; Myers, *Prisoner of War*, 151; Fisher, *Three Times A Guest*, 80-81; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 106. Smith, *And All the Trumpets*, 181-182; McDougall, *By Eastern Windows*, 196; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 38; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 21, 49, 97, 197; Attiwill, *Rising Sunset*, 168; Durnford, *Branch Line to Burma*, 84-85.

This is for the doctor: Jackson, PC 93, MCHC. Doctors playing the Japanese: Daws interviews with Bras, Hekking, Hewlett; Moss/AWM; Tisdelle diary; Bilibid death register,

RG 153, 40-792, vol. 1; Kostecki, RG 389, B 2123, NA; Philips, Documents/IWM; J. Goodman, *M.D.P.O.W.*, (New York, 1972), 147; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 230; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 103; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 94-95. See also Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 331, 343; Hardie, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 158; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 266; Emerson, *Guest*, 49. Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 169-170; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 167; Edwards, *Banzai*, 143. Rob All My Comrades: J. Bertram, *Beneath the Shadow: A New Zealander in the Far East* (New York, 1947), 114.

Warning signals: Daws with de Vos, Steltenpool; Swanton, Sound/IWM; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 79; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 213.

Sabotage: Daws with Bange, Davis, Nye; UNT with Bramlett, Burge, Carter, Fujita, Garrison, Halbrook; these in Documents/IWM: Evans, Hodson, Philips, Pringle; Fraser/SNA; Cobb, Command File, World War II, NHC; Clarke, *Last Stop Nagasaki!*, 39; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 24; Goodman, *M.D.P.O.W.*, 107; Hileman, *1051*, 325-326; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 132ff; Woody, *Railroad to Nagasaki*, 83-84. **Fakes:** Burton, *Road to Three Pagodas*, 165-166; Russell-Roberts, *Spotlight on Singapore*, 254. **Lice in guards' clothes:** many POWs did this; see also Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 49. **Spit in soup:** Duizend/Daws. **Crap in applesauce:** van Heekeren/Daws; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 285; Bancroft/AWM. **Peeled bamboo:** Wright/Daws; Slate/UNT; see also D. Wills, *The Sea Was My Last Chance: Memoir of an American Captured on Bataan in 1942 Who Escaped in 1944 and Led the Liberation of Western Mindanao* (Jefferson, 1992), 47. **Whores with VD:** Levenberg/Daws; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 161; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 203.

Harold Johnson and money at Cabanatuan: Johnson/Carlisle; Beecher diary. See also L. Eads, *Triumph Amidst the Ashes* (Winona, 1985), 114-119; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 165; Coates and Rosenthal, *Albert*

Coates Story, 132; Davies, *Man Behind the Bridge*, 127.

Killing snake: Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 140-141. Hat story, various versions: Schwarz/Daws; Fillmore/UNT; AWM with Wells, Aspinall, Bancroft, Davis, S.; Coast, *Railroad*, 152; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 148-149; Nelson, *POW*, 29. Australians and the gold spike: Durnford, *Branch Line*, 139. Simon Legree: Panaotie/AWM; for Australians as ranking thieves: Bolt/Daws. Officer's tattoo: Fisher, *Three Times a Guest*, 85. Book of Revelation: Gordon, *Valley of the Kwai*, 59. Christmas turkey in Albuquerque and yearly variations: every POW can recite these; see McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 29; Myers, *Prisoner of War*, 75; Braly, *Hard Way Home*, 161. Navy bell at Cabanatuan: Knox/Daws; Evans, *Kora*, 69. Officer with beard at Davao: Knox, *Death March*, 262. Thank the Lord: Leffelaar, *Through a Harsh Dawn*, 137. Phases of the moon: Newman, *How to Survive*, 112.

Keeping the mind sharp: Poidevin/Daws; UNT with Adair, Daman. Kraft cheese: Crandall diary, Mic 88, NA. Scabies or rabies: Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 174. Betting on the benjo run: Atkinson/Daws. Poke the hog: Knox, *Death March*, 401. Popping bedbugs: Bugbee/UNT. Igniting fart gas: Scheidecker/Daws. Counting bare feet: van Heekeren/Daws; Hovinga, *Dodenspoorweg*, 100ff.

Fading memory: Hodson, *Sound/IWM*; Boddington, *Documents/IWM*; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 141. My little Jan: Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 252.

Goldfish parade: Burton, *Road to Three Pagodas*, 161. Caged beasts: White, *Documents/IWM*; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 62. No privacy: Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway of Death*, 114; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 98; Bush, *Clutch of Circumstance*, 191; Poole, *Of Love and War*, 178; Burton, *Road to Three Pagodas*, 167; Smyth, *Percival*, 262.

Fujita's artist's eye: Fujita/Daws. Nature: Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 119; Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 81. Changi wild life: Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 179.

Survival: another huge subject, in fact *the* subject. A sampling: Daws interviews with Adams, G.P., Bange, Bras, Collins, Davidson, Davis, de Vos, Drukker, Duizend, Herbst, Heyne, Hoogvelt, Hundscheidt, Luitsz, Knox, Maple, McGrew, Mroz, Murphy, Nelson, L., Obourn, Smetts, van Heekeren; UNT with Armstrong, Blaylock, Bramlett, Bunch, Burge, Burns, Chambers, Clem, Fung, Garrison, Gee, Halbrook, Kempff, Kenner, Matlock, McCall, Minshew, Offerle, Pryor, Rayburn, Rea, Reed, L., Reichle, Robinson, R. Slate, Sparkman, Spencer, Stone, Venable, Whitehead; Willis/AWM; these in *Sound/IWM*: Marsh, Philips, Stitt; Kessler memoir; Gard papers, MHI; Beets, *Een Verre Oorlog*, 210ff; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 127; Nelson, *POW*, 55; Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 76; Grashio and Norling, *Return to Freedom*, 41, 56, 70, 72; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 114-115; Winslow, *Ghost*, 158; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 155ff; Emerson, *Guest*, 90ff. Whitecross, *Slaves*, 116; Burton, *Road to Three Pagodas*, 44; J. Nardini, "Survival Factors in American Prisoners of War of the Japanese", *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 109, no. 4 (October, 1952), 241-248; J. Nardini, "Psychiatric Concepts of Prisoner of War Confinement", *Military Medicine*, vol. 127, no. 4 (April, 1962), 299-307; R. Bergman, "Who Is Old? Death Rate in a Japanese Concentration Camp as a Criterion of Age", *Journal of Gerontology*, vol. 3, no. 1 (January, 1948), 14-17; S. Wolf and H. Ripley, "Reactions Among Allied Prisoners of War Subjected to Three Years of Imprisonment and Torture by the Japanese", *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 104, no. 3 (September, 1947), 180-193; M. Bloom and J. Halsema, "Survival in Extreme Conditions", *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Fall, 1983), 195-206; I. Watt, "The Liberty of the Prison", in G. Moir, ed., *Beyond Hatred* (London, 1969), 139-156; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 207ff. Curly Madison: Knox/Daws. Shorthand: Adams, *No Time for Geishas*, 123. Sketching: Collins/Daws. Sharpening

the knife for Tojo's visit: Sellers/Daws. Faith and digging in garbage cans: Bugbee/UNT. Rats in the bucket: Jeffries/Daws; Atkinson/Daws.

VI. GYOKUSAI AND CHOMANSAI

Notes for pp. 273-279

Red Cross reports: Much documentation is in RG 200, NA, for example B 1020; and in File 313.120, MBZ. See also *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on Its Activities During the Second World War*, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1948); *Inter Arma Caritas: The Work of the International Committee of the Red Cross During the Second World War* (Geneva, 1947), 103ff; A. Robinson, *The History of the American Red Cross*. Vol. 22. *Relief to Prisoners of War in World War II* (Washington, 1950), 247ff, 353ff; Junod, *Warrior Without Weapons*, 252ff. Killing Red Cross workers: IMTFC, 13,512-13,513; see also Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 6-7; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 86-87; *Inter Arma Caritas*, 105. Managed Red Cross inspections: many references, including Sayan, RG 331, B 1557, WNRC; Kengelbacher, RG 389, Box 2123, NA; Keen, RG 331, B 1557, WNRC; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 267. Incomplete lists of names: Adachi, "Unprepared Regrettable Events", 320. For how this affected Forrest Knox's hometown of Janesville, see the scrapbook on Company A in the Rock County Historical Society, Janesville. Seventy pounds of piglet: Daws with Henning, Sterling.

Allied protests: IMTFC 49,738ff; SCAP, "History of the Non-Military Activities of the Occupation of Japan: Trials of Class B and C War Criminals", 28ff; A. Utsumi, *Horyo Toriatsumai ni Kansuru Shogaikoku no Kogishu* [Collection of Protests from Various Foreign Countries on the

Treatment of POWs] (Tokyo, 1989); Hoyt, *Japan's War*, 256; Falk, *Bataan*, 204ff; Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 50ff.

Japanese shipping: M. Parillo, *The Japanese Merchant Marine in World War II* (Annapolis, 1993), generally.

Spirit was crucial: Nagase/AWM; ATIS Research Report 76, iii, 9-12, vi, 9; H. Tasaki, *Long the Imperial Way* (Westport, 1970), 226-227; H. Agawa, *Citadel in Spring* (New York, 1990), 85; Ienaga, *Japan's Last War*, 49-50; O. Cary, *War-Wasted Asia: Letters 1945-1946* (New York, 1975), 268; P. Suzuki, "Suicide Prevention in the Pacific War (WWII)", *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Fall, 1991), 291-298. B29 in Hibiya: M. Kato, *The Lost War: A Japanese Reporter's Inside Story* (New York, 1946), 139; L. De Asis, *From Bataan to Tokyo: Diary of a Filipino Student in Wartime Japan, 1939-1945* (University of Kansas, 1979), 215. Tons against pounds of equipment: Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 296, 313; see also A. Millett and W. Murray, eds., *Military Effectiveness*, vol. 3. *The Second World War* (Boston, 1988), 15ff, 29, 62. If your arms are broken: ATIS Research Report 76, iii, 8; see also T. Friend, *Blue-Eyed Enemy*, 203, 205.

Atrocity stories. Generally: Fussell, *Wartime*, 116ff. Atrocity stories are thick on the ground in the intelligence reports of NEFIS, and everywhere in post-liberation debriefing statements. See also Hoyt, *Japan's War*, 357ff; Scott, *90 Days*, 34. Japanese prisoners: Foreign Morale Analysis Division, OWI, Report 31, "The Attitudes of Japanese POWs: An Overall View", December 29, 1945; Harrington, *Yankee Samurai*, 156; Ienaga, *Japan's Last War*, 49-50; Kennett, *GI*, 164ff. In China: R. Macdonald, *Dawn Like Thunder* (London, 1944), 108. Sittang river: J. Ellis, *The Sharp End: The Fighting Man in World War II* (New York, 1980), 319. Machinegun survivors in the water: Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 66-67. Australians kill Japanese like snakes: Nelson, H./Daws. See also Close, *Documents/IWM*; McCormack and

Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 19; Barrett, *We Were There*, 439-440; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 664ff; D. Warner and P. Warner, *The Sacred Warriors: Japan's Suicide Legions* (New York, 1982), 36; J. McCarthy, *Patrol into Yesterday: My New Guinea Years* (Melbourne, 1963), 208ff; J. Harrington, *Yankee Samurai: The Secret Role of Nisei in America's Pacific Victory* (Detroit, 1979), 113, 156, 201, 206; T. Ichinokuchi, ed., *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service* (Los Angeles, 1988), 69, 72; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 19; R. Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle* (New York, 1985), 385-386; L. Lindstrom and G. White, *Island Encounters: Black and White Memories of the Pacific War* (Washington, 1990), 142. We had one: Harrington, *Yankee Samurai*, 107. Throw prisoners from planes: Nelson, H.,/Daws. See also Halbrook/Marcello/NTU; C. Lindbergh, *The Wartime Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh* (New York, 1970), 818, 853-854, 856, 859, 875, 879-882, 902-903; Cary, *War-Wasted Asia*, 37-38, 173; Stouffer, *American Soldier*, vol. 2, 68, 89; R. Spector, *Eagle Against the Sun*, 409-410; Ellis, *Sharp End*, 319; Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 35, 66ff; Friend, *Blue-Eyed Enemy*, 189-190.

Doolittle raid: C. Glines, *The Doolittle Raid: America's Daring First Strike Against Japan* (New York [1988], 1990); T. Lawson, *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo* (New York, 1943).

Gyokusai: Hoyt, *Japan's War*, 357ff. Attu: ATIS Report 76, i, 3, 12ff; *The Capture of Attu: As Told by the Men Who Fought There* (Washington, 1944); H. Handleman, *Bridge to Victory: The Story of the Reconquest of the Aleutians* (New York, 1943), 219-222; Harrington, *Yankee Samurai*, 101, 107, 201, 206. Japanese drink blood like wine!: S. Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, vol. 7, i (Boston, 1951), 50. Gyokusai: Dower, *War*

Without Mercy, 231-232; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 363ff. Tarawa: IMTFE, 14,141; P. Crowl and E. Love, *Seizure of the Gilberts and Marshalls* (Washington, 1955), 156. Japanese deaths can be followed island by island in vols. 3 and 4 of the official Marine history, H. Shaw et al, *Central Pacific Drive*, and G. Garand and T. Strobridge, *Western Pacific Operations*. See also vols. 7 and 8 of the official Navy history: S. Morison, *Aleutians, Gilberts and Marshalls*, and *New Guinea and the Marianas*.

Saipan: P. Crowl, *Campaign in the Marianas* (Washington, 1960), 257, 264-266; Spector, *Eagle Against the Sun*, 303ff; Toland, *Rising Sun*, 552ff; R. Sherrod, *On To Westward* (New York, 1945). Skulls like shishkebabs: this story came to me from Bob Richards. Korean laborers on Tinian burned: I thank Evangeline Funk for information, including photographs of the ovens. Other suicide attacks: Friend, *Blue-Eyed Enemy*, 203.

Tarawa beheadings: IMTFE, 14,141. Nauru: *New York Times*, September 28, 1945. Ballale: IMTFE, 14,139. Wake: IMTFE, 14,972-14,976, 14,980ff; Wilcox diary, *Prisoners of War, World War II*, NHC; E. Junghans, "Wake's POWs", *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 109, no. 2 (1983), 43-50.

Notes for pp. 279-283

The Davao radio. Principal interview: Hutchison/Daws. See also Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 270ff. Conditions at Davao: C. Jackson, *Diary of Col. Calvin G. Jackson* (Ada, 1992), 83ff; B. Jones, *The December Ship* (Jefferson, 1992); Lawton, *Some Survived*, 101ff; McCoy and Mellnik, *Ten Escape from Tojo*, 69ff; Grashio and Norling, *Return to Freedom*, 82ff; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 71ff. If the Japanese come in: Hutchison/Daws.

Notes for pp. 283-300

Prisoner sea transports: Much documentation, including hundreds of statements by survivors, is scattered through RG 331, WNRC, especially from B 983 on. More survivors' statements are in POW Camp files, NHC. See also IMTFE, 13,227ff, 14,454ff, 40,482ff, 49,675ff; WO 208/971, 209/971, 222/179, CO 980/67, PRO; documents in Londens Archief, M 57 vii 13 B, ARA; ATIS Enemy Publication 321. I never found anything close to a complete and reliable Allied summary of sea transport disasters; the closest was a double-quarto precis of war crimes cases in RG 331, B 983, WNRC. See Adachi, "Unprepared Regrettable Events", 269ff; Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, *Protection des Prisonniers de Guerre Transportés par Voie de Mer* (Geneva, Red Cross, 1944); J. Beaumont, "Victims of War: The Allies and the Transport of Prisoners-of-War by Sea, 1939-1945", *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 2 (April, 1983), 1-7. For a cursory sampling of differing individual experiences: the UNT interviews are full of stories; also Daws with Bras, de Graaff; Fraser/SNA; Horrigan, RG 3289, B 2123, NA; these in Documents/IWM: Cotton, Hazel, Murphy, Turner; Mallonee papers, MHI; La Galle diary; Gallion diary; Kessler memoir; Bunker diary; Jackson, PC 93, MHC; Knox, *Death March*, 337ff; Grashio, *Return to Freedom*, 79-80. Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 8; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 164ff, 172-181, 220ff; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 90ff; Neumann and van Witsen, *Sumatra Spoorweg*, 70; Edwards, *Banzai*, 38; Bertram, *Beneath the Shadow*, 123; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 84-85; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 57ff.

Tsuji training troops for shipping: Tsuji, *Singapore*, 11, 69. Banana transports: IMTFE, PX 475, 41-42; documents in RG 331, B 985, WNRC. Broiler chickens: Cook and Cook, *Japan at*

War, 282; see also T. Moriya, *No Requiem* (Tokyo, 1968), 20-21.

Chomansai, and bodies per ton or tsubo: Much documentation in RG 331, B 983-985, WNRC; see especially statements by Arao, Baba, Fukuda, Hoda, Iio, Inukata, Kambayashi, Kato, Kawasaki, Kaneko, Mononobe, Nishiyama, Yoshitaki. See also Matsuura MS memoir, courtesy of John McBride. Eighteenth-century slave ships: R. Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (London, 1975), 26ff; H. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton, 1978), 228ff; J. Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History* (New York, 1981), 283ff.

Japanese merchant marine: Parillo, *Japanese Merchant Marine in World War II*, generally.

Argentina Maru: M. Boyle, *Yanks Don't Cry* (New York, 1963), 31-35. **Nitta Maru:** IMTFE 13,227ff. **Mate Mate Maru:** Tant/Daws; Kelley, RG 331, B 924, WNRC; Brown, RG 331, B 985, WNRC; Keith, RG 331, B 924, WNRC; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 142ff; Kerr, *Surrender and Survival*, 196-198. **Tottori Maru:** IMTFE, 13,229-13,230; Guidos, *Command File, World War II*, NHC; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 127ff. **Dai Nichi Maru:** IMTFE, 13,287ff. **Montevideo Maru:** A. Sweeting, "Montevideo Maru--Myth or Merchantman", *Australian Territories*, vol. 1, no. 2 (February, 1961), 36-38; Nelson, *POW*, 149-150. **Lisbon Maru.** CO 980/67, PRO; Honywill, *Documents/IWM*; IMTFE, 13,303ff; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 161ff. **Japanese thinking on convoys:** A. Marder et al, *Old Friends, New Enemies: The Royal Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy. The Pacific War 1942-1945*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1990), 377-378.

Shin'yo Maru: Bolitho/UNT; Clem/UNT; Knox, *Death March*, 297; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 291-293.

Rakuyo Maru and Kachidoki Maru: action reports of the American submarines *Pampanito*, *Sealion*, *Barb*, NHC;

Evans/Documents/IWM; also Bancroft, *Mikado's Guest*; H. Nelson, "A Bowl of Rice for Seven Camels: The Dynamics of Prisoner-of-War Camps", *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 14 (April, 1989), 33-43. *Jun'yo Maru*: IMTFE 13, 297ff; Luning MS memoir; H. Neumann and E. van Witsen, *De Sumatra Spoorweg: Documentatie* (Middelie, 1985), 44ff (I thank Hank Neumann for conversation and correspondence on the subject); Hovinga, *Dodenspoorweg*, 34ff; de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, II, ii, chapter 8 generally. *Maros Maru*: the following in Documents/IWM: Thompson, "Into The Sun", Godfrey, Philips, Pieterse, Springer, Stubbs; these in Sound/IWM: Jones, Hodson; WO 235/910, PRO; IMTFE, 13,257ff; Brugmans, *Nederlandsch-Indië*, 349ff; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 167ff; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 139, 145ff; Cooper, *Ordeal in the Sun*, 122; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*; WO 235/910, PRO; IMTFE, 13,257ff; Brugmans, *Nederlandsch-Indië*, 349ff; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 167ff; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 139, 145ff; Cooper, *Ordeal in the Sun*, 122; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 101ff, 159ff. See also Veenstra, *Als Krijgsgevangene*, 212ff; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 90-95. *Toyofuku Maru*: Newton/Daws; Stewart, J.A./Daws; Bilibid Letter Book, Command File, World War II, NHC; Kentner journal, NHC; WO 235/995, PRO; IMTFE, 13,279ff; statement of Winstanley, RG 331, B 294, WNRC; statement of Slaughter, RG 389, B 2122, NA; J. Symon, *Hell in Five* (London, 1992), 59ff; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 258-260. Come over to that island: Blair and Blair, *Return*, 196.

Las Pinas: Daws with Knox, Stewart; Reed, L./NTU; Owen papers, MHI; testimony in the Las Pinas-Nichols Field war crimes trial, RG 331, B 9526, WNRC; A. Martin, *Brothers from Bataan: POWs 1942-1945* (Manhattan, 1992), Evans, *Koral*, 79ff; Feuer, *Bilibid Diary*, 208.

Haro Maru: Knox/Daws; Reed/UNT; and dozens of statements in RG 331, B 957, 985, 986, WNRC, and statements

in Command Files, World War II, NHC. See also: Martin, *Brothers from Bataan*, 178-181; Evans, *Koral*, 107ff; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 284ff; Goodman, *M.D.P.O.W.*, 114ff; Poweleit, *USAFFE*, 120ff.

Arisan Maru: Binder, Command File, World War II, NHC (I have also seen this name spelled "Minder"); C. Graef, "We Prayed To Die", *Cosmopolitan*, vol. 118, no.4 (April, 1945), 53ff; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 295ff; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 173; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 293ff; Lawton, *Some Survived*, 113ff.

Smart penguins: Knox/Daws; see also Bugbee/UNT; Quan, March, 1984; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 299.

Oryokko Maru: A basic source is the war crimes trial *US v Toshino et al*, RG 331, TR 20 Vol 5, WNRC; see also IMTFE, 12,677ff, 13,242ff. Also: Daws interviews with Anloff, Hutchison, Manning; Lewin, RG 331, B 989, WNRC, and many other statements in B 989 and B 920. Command File, World War II, NHC has many statements. See also Sharp MS, CMH, based on the diary of Nash; Peart journal, NHC; and statements of survivors in Command File, World War II, NHC. Also Beecher diary; Bodine diary; and these papers in MHI: Chynoweth, Gamble, Gard, Johnson, Moore. Quan, November, 1978, March, 1984; C. Brown, *The Oryoku Maru Story* (Magalia, 1982); L. Stamp, *Journey through Hell: Memoir of a World War II American Navy Medic Captured in the Philippines and Imprisoned by the Japanese* (Jefferson, 1993), 80ff; Lawton, *Some Survived*, 111ff; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 183ff; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 111ff; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 81ff; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 280ff; Ashton, *And Somebody Gives a Damn*, 221ff. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* published a 14-article series on the *Oryokku Maru* by George Weller, beginning November 11, 1945. For comparison with madness on earlier transports: Collins, RG 331, B 957, WNRC, and these in B 985: Wills, McCann, McDaniel, Macknicki; in B 986: Burk, Bacon; also Knox, *Death March*, 295ff.

A survivor of the *Oryokko Maru* who after the war became a military engineer told me that he once read of a possible explanation for madness in the holds and the drinking of blood. As he recalled it, the Nazis had done experiments on prisoners involving changes in air composition in enclosed spaces: variations in proportions of oxygen and carbon dioxide. This was to see what might happen over time to men in concrete gun bunkers. The finding was that with substantial increases in carbon dioxide, insanity supervened, with the specific component of vampyrisms. He was, however, never able to find that reference again; and neither have I been able to. No relevant Allied military source that I tried had anything on it, and after a fair amount of fruitless searching and inquiring I quit. It is possible that a systematic search of the literature on Nazi medical experiments might turn something up. This is one question among many concerning the hellships that would be worth investigating further.

Policy on marking POW transports: Beaumont, "Victims of War", 1-7. Not until late 1944 did the Japanese start reporting to the Red Cross the sinking of ships with POWs aboard.

United States task forces: I thank Edward Boone of the General Douglas MacArthur Memorial Archives for locating documents in the Whitney papers and the Willoughby papers showing a continuing flow of intelligence concerning ship movements, especially documentary appendixes to vol. 2 of Willoughby's reports. See also Bolitho/UNT; *New York Times*, October 22, 1944; Morrett, *Soldier Priest*, 126; Brown, *I Solemnly Swear*, 140-141. This is another question concerning hellships that would be worth investigating further. A systematic combing of the intelligence reports in the context of recent research on guerrilla activity in the Philippines on the one hand, and directives to task forces on the other hand, would be instructive.

Japanese figures on POW deaths at sea: Adachi, "Unprepared Regrettable Events", 269ff. Britannia Rules The Waves: Allbury, *Bamboo and Bushido*, 168-169; Blair and Blair, *Return from the Kwai*, 165-166, 183; see also Wellard/Daws. It took us all the afternoon: Allbury, *Bamboo and Bushido*, 190-181. Australians taking turns: Nelson, *POW*, 140ff; see also D. Wall, *Heroes at Sea* (privately published, 1991). *Byoki Maru*: Moss/AWM; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 208ff; Adam-Smith, *Prisoners of War*, 436-438, 444-446; Hall, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 213; Parkin, *Sword and Blossom*, 75ff.

Deaths on the *Oryokko Maru*: Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, i; Peart journal, NHC. Company A deaths on the *Arisan Maru*: Knox/Daws; Dopkins, *Janesville* 99, 41.

Related matters: Daws interviews with Adams, G.P., Anloff, Bange, Bras, Ciarrachi, de Graaff, Henning, Hutchison, Maple, McInerney, Neumann, Tant, Newton/AWM; UNT with Adair, Allen, R., Blaylock, Bolitho, Bugbee, Bunch, Clem, Coury, Daman, Detre, Gee, Halbrook, Kenner, Reed, Slate; Fraser/SNA; Kessler memoir; La Galle diary; Bunker diary, CMH; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; Gallion diary, MHI; these papers in MHI: Gard, Johnson, Mallonee, Mitchell, Owen; *Narwhal* war patrol reports, NHC; Bilibid book of war records, NHC; these statements in Command File, WWII, NHC: Guidos, Minder, Roberts, Ryder, Waldrep; Slaughter, *Prisoners of War*, WWII, NHC; these statements in RG 331, WNRC: Collins, B 957, Kelley, B 924, Winstanley, B 924; these statements in RG 389, NA: Hawes, B 2177, Horrigan, B 2123, Rowe, B 2125; these in Documents/IWM: Chandler, Cotton, Cranefield, Evans, Hazel, Hodson, Honywill, Penfold, Shiomi, Turner; these in Sound/IWM: Ferrier, Goulding, Jones, Pounder, Wyatt; CO 980/67, PRO; WO 208/971, PRO; WO 222/179, PRO; Londens Archief, M57, vii, 13b, ARA; IMTFE, 13,228ff, 49,675ff; Beets, *Verre Oorlog*, Ch. 7 generally; Attiwill, *Rising Sunset*, 69,

78-79, 85ff, 92-93, 103, 108ff, 141; Bertram, *Beneath the Shadow*, 123; Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg*, 260ff; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 283ff; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 45; Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 105; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 2ff, 8, 16; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 100; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 84-85, 91, 97; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 67ff; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 118-119, 142-143, 180; Edwards, *Banzai*, 38; Evans, *Kora*, 124-125; Grashio, *Return to Freedom*, 79; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 175ff; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 173; Knox, *Death March*, 296ff, 337ff; Lawton, *Some Survived*, 52; Leffelaar and Van Witsen, *Werkers*, 90ff; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 161ff; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 191ff, 229ff; Morrett, *Soldier Priest*, 114ff; Nelson, *Story of Changi*, 142-143, 152, 224; Neumann and van Witsen, *Sumatra Spoorweg*, 70; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 186; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 57ff; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 228; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 42ff, 84ff, 164ff, 220; Russell, *Knights of Bushido*, 117ff; Smith, *And All the Trumpets*, 1991, 78-80; Vining, *Guest of an Emperor*, 348ff; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 167ff; .

VII. THE LAST STRETCH

Notes for pp. 301-314

Japan. Moji: Every POW shipped to Japan has a Moji story. A sampling: Runge/AWM; Venable/UNT; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 230ff; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 180; Attiwill, *Rising Sunset*, 111; Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men*, 138-139; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 8. Cold winter: Daws interviews with Freedman, Henning, McInerney; Tyson/Knox; Blaylock/UNT; IMTFE, PX 3111; Abkhazi, *A Curious Cage*, 120; Clarke, *Last Stop Nagasaki!*, 23, 61; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 271; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 228. Huddled in the snow, and heads like chilled melons: Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 201. Shit

stalagmites: Nelson, *POW*, 163. Frisco live: Knox, *Death March*, 417.

Japanese on short rations: Daws with McInerney, Nelson, L. Radner; T. Havens, *Valley of Darkness*; *The Japanese People and World War II* (Lanham [1978], 1986); B. Johnston, *Japanese Food Management in World War II* (Stanford, 1953); M. Ibuse, *Black Rain* (New York, 1983), 64ff; E. Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising: The City Since the Great Earthquake* (New York, 1990), 135; J. Yoshida, *The Two Worlds of Jim Yoshida* (New York, 1972), 35; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 219; Bertram, *Beneath the Shadow*, 162.

Bottom feeding: Daws with Olson, Woodall; Knight/NTU; documents in RG 389, B 2129, 2130, NA; Kessler memoir; Gallion diary; Clarke, *Last Stop Nagasaki*, 76; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 326; Evans, *Kora*, 135. Elephant's semen: Bush, *Clutch of Circumstance*, 150. Snotty gobbles: Clarke, *Last Stop*, 76. Stalactites: Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 192.

Maimed guards--a sampling: Burns/UNT; Kirkwood/Sound/IWM; Shiomi/ Documents/IWM; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 16-17; Lewis, RG 389, B 2123, NA; these in RG 331, WNRC: Henfling, B 930, Koury, B 962, Hepworth, B 294. WNRC has a false fist of leather and metal used by a maimed guard named Clubfist.

A general thought on the situation of POWs in Japan. They were all slave labor. Many were used as miners. Mining in Japan was traditionally an extremely low-status form of work, as indicated by two of the other groups used for decades and centuries before WWII: Koreans, and *burakumin* (the Japanese "untouchable" caste). See Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts* (New York, 1982). So POWs sent down the mines were being consigned to the lowest level of existence--as they had been in the holds of the hellships. Mining worldwide, especially in the days before unions, was appallingly dangerous work, and nowhere more so than in

Japan: pre-WWII, the death rate in Japanese mines was multiples that in British mines (themselves no havens of safety).

Kawasaki: Daws interviews with Jeffries, Atkinson, Crow, Davidson, Nelson, L.; Chittenden, RG 389, B 2133, NA; Covalesk, RG 389, B 2133; IMTFE, 14,223, 14,257-258; J. White, *United States Marines in North China*, 143ff.; Whitney, *Guest of the Fallen Sun*, 54-55. Cowalski's rat's nest: Daws with Liskowsky, Nelson, L. No food tonight: Atkinson/Daws. Shinagawa: Reed/UNT; Keschner, RG 389, B 230, NA; SCAP, "History of the Non-Military Activities of the Occupation of Japan: Trial of Class B and C War Criminals", 194ff; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 193-195; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 187-188, 195ff; Junod, *Warrior Without Weapons*, 254ff. Get your ass outside: Atkinson/Daws.

Hard trading: Daws interviews with Adams, G., Carter, J., Goodman, Hubbard, Kasner, Kent, McInerney, Nelson, L., Olson, Sosvielle, Tant, Woodall; UNT with Bunch, Evans; McDavitt/Knox; Allen, *Lost Battalion*, 87; Hubbard, *Apocalypse Undone*, 190ff; Hileman, 1051, 249 Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 199; Symon, *Hell in Five*, 79-80; R. Armstrong, *San Hyaku Go: Tales of a Prison Camp Horsetrader: May 6, 1942-November 1, 1945* (Eugene, 1992). On the jawbone: Goodman/Daws; a scan of dictionaries of slang is interesting on this usage. A big meal: Carter, J./Daws. Nicotine for protein: Every American prisoner knows this phrase; see also Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 146-147. Only Americans traded to the death: I put the question of hard trading to POWs of all nationalities in great numbers, and this was the answer I came up with, beyond reasonable doubt. Note, though, that the Americans of the 131st FA did not trade to the death-it was repugnant to their Texas tribal customs. See also Nelson, *POW*, 184. This we do not tolerate: Carter, J./Daws.

Oryokko Maru survivors. The Czech: Hamel,

Soldatendominee, 195. Lewin: Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 92; Chunn, *Of Rice and Men*, 118. Ninety-five skeletons, and Okay, keep your morphine: Hewlett/Daws.

Bad health at Fukuoka 17: Daws interviews with: Bras, Bronk, Duncan, Hewlett; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 49-50.

Bankruptcy: Daws interviews with Adams, G.P., Bange, Bras, Bronk, Duncan, Feiner, Frances, Goodman, Hewlett, Horton, Humphries, Kent, McInerney, Okonski, Olson, Sosvielle, Wallace, Whitecross, Woodall; McDavitt/Knox; UNT with Bunch, Evans; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 208; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 189ff; Hileman, 1051, 249; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 33. Extensive testimony on trading and bankruptcy is in US v Little, Navy, Judge Advocate General files. Hamel: Hamel and Duffy, *Soldatendominee*, 196-197. I will be your ears: Bras/Daws.

Deficiency diseases: Bras/Daws; T. Hewlett, "Nightmare Revisited", unpublished paper; "Aftermath", unpublished paper.

Self-mutilation, before and in Japan: Daws interviews with Adams, G.P., Bange, Becraft, Dandie, Davidson, Davis, P., Delich, Durner, Knox, Kuslak, Liskowsky, McGrew, Mroz, Obourn, Roland, Schwartz, Stacy, Walk, White. H.; UNT with Garrison, McCall, Pryor, Reese; Robinson/AWM; these in NA: Bandini, RG 200, B 1021, Rogge, RG 389, B 2124, Morris, RG 389, B 2177. Much documentation is in war crimes testimony in US v Iwataka, RG 331, B 9526, WNRC. See also Huxtable, *From the Somme to Singapore*, 155; Woody, *Railroad to Nagasaki*, 78-79; Evans, *Kora!*, 97ff; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 245.

Self-mutilation at Fukuoka 17: Daws interviews with Bras, Bronk, Davis, P., Duncan, O'Leary, Schwarz, S., Stacy; Scott, *90 Days*, 180-181. Holloway, *Happy the POW*, 82-83. Will I ever dance again? Hewlett/Daws.

Self-mutilation turned out to be one of the most

sensitive issues I raised in interviews. After a long time collecting anecdotal evidence as it came my way, and trying to construct a chronology and a "map" of its incidence, I came to what seemed in retrospect to be some fairly obvious conclusions: that it did not begin early, but rather well along in captivity, and that it was most common in the most extreme situations. For example, there was some of it, but not much, on the Burma-Siam railroad, and some of it in the worst circumstances in the Philippines. There was more in the Japan camps, peaking in the last twelve months of captivity. I came to another conclusion as well: that of all national groups of POWs, the Americans were the most likely self-mutilation candidates, both as subjects and practitioners. Having reached those semi-solid (though inevitably still somewhat wobbly) conclusions by way of anecdotal evidence, I then happened by chance upon one of the very few surviving sets of POW medical officers' records from a Japan camp--a mining camp. The medical officer (an American) was still living. I talked to him at length, going through the records with him case by case, name by name, so that he could pick out those that fit the "profile" of self-mutilation, ie an arm (or more rarely a leg) fractured in a certain way, and see if he remembered specifics. I was then able to contact some of the subjects still living; and some of them talked to me about who it was done to (besides themselves), who did it, and on what terms. This way, I got the names of two practitioners. One was no longer living; the other was unwilling to talk to me. From other sources I learned that the one no longer living had regularly gone to reunions, where he had identified himself to the medical officer. The one still living did not go to reunions or participate in any other way in postwar POW activities. It is not putting it too strongly to say that he was spooked when I contacted him; and as in all other cases where my initial inquiries were upsetting, I, as a matter of of policy, did not pursue things any further. Here, in any case, is the arithmetic

that emerged: in this one Japan mining camp of as many as 1500 POWs, including Americans, Australians, Britons and Dutchmen, over roughly a two-year period, there were a couple of dozen obvious self-mutilation fractures, overwhelmingly among Americans. Note that on many other counts this was a bad camp, one of the worst I came across, so it could be imagined that this rate of self-mutilation might have been among the highest.

The Dog Man: Hewlett/Daws. Homosexual counseling: Daws with Bras, Duncan, Hewlett. Good riddance: Daws with Hewlett, Wallace. Rafalovich: Rafalovich/Daws.

Notes for pp. 314-322

Frank Fujita. Principal interviews: Fujita/Daws; Fujita/UNT. I thank Frank Fujita for access to his unpublished diary. All direct quotes in this section are from the diary, entries from which are excerpted in his published memoir, *Foo*, previously cited. See also Fujita, RG 389, B 2177, NA.

For background on Bunka Gakuin: Ishii/AWM; Frankcom, RG 389, B 2132, NA; M. Duus, *Tokyo Rose: Orphan of the Pacific* (New York [1979], 1983); R. Howe, *The Hunt for "Tokyo Rose"* (Lanham, 1990). See also Bertram, *Beneath the Shadow*, 135ff; Bush, *Clutch of Circumstance*, 180-181; Nelson, *POW*, 180.

B-29 bombing of Japan. For background: R. Schaffer, *Wings of Judgment: American Bombing in World War II* (New York, 1985); M. Sherry, *The Rise of American Air Power* (New Haven, 1987); E.B. Kerr, *Flames over Tokyo* (New York, 1991); H. Hansell, *Strategic Air War Against Japan* (Maxwell Air Force Base, 1980); T. Coffey, *Iron Eagle: The Turbulent Life of General Curtis LeMay* (New York, 1986); Havens, *Valley of Darkness*, 176ff. Scorched and boiled: Schaffer, *Wings of*

Judgment, 152. See also La Galle diary; F. Maraini, *Meeting with Japan* (New York, 1960), 408ff; C. Marshall, *Sky Giants Over Japan* (privately published, 1984).

Downed airmen. IMTFE, 13,499-13,500, 13,846-13,865, 15,033-15,040, 28,887, 28,890-28,900, 30,239-30,246, 38,026-38,027, 38,030, 38,032, 38,050-2, 38,056, 38,633, 40,771; ATIS Research Report 72, Supplement 1; ATIS Research Report 134, 3-4; R. Hill, *My War with Imperial Japan: Escape and Evasion* (New York, 1989), 360-368; Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 110-111; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 193ff. Bicycle Camp: Hodson, Sound/IWM. Downed airmen, home islands: Adachi, "Unprepared Regrettable Events", 285-286; SCAP, "History of the Non-Military Activities of the Occupation of Japan: Trials of Class B and C Criminals", 58ff, 127ff; *Reports of General MacArthur. MacArthur in Japan—The Occupation: Military Phase, I. Supplement*, 108; M. Caidin, *A Torch to the Enemy: The Fire Raid on Tokyo* (New York, 1960), 79-80. Kyushu: Ienaga, *Japan's Last War*, 189-190. Niigata: Davidson/Daws. Hakensho: Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 202-203. Beaten to death by fishermen: R. Manoff, "American Victims of Hiroshima", *New York Times Magazine*, December 2, 1984, 116.

Notes for pp. 322-327

Retaking Corregidor and Manila. E. Flanagan, *Corregidor: The Rock Force Assault*, 1945 (Novato, 1988); E. Flanagan, *The Angels: A History of the 11th Airborne Division* (Novato, 1989), 199ff; Toland, *Rising Sun*, 667ff; Manchester, *American Caesar*, 476ff. If we run out of bullets: Friend, *Blue-Eyed Enemy*, 205. When killing Filipinos: A. Arthur, *Deliverance at Los Banos* (New York, 1985), 183. See also G. Savary, *Outside the Walls* (New York, 1954), 178ff. Iwo Jima—figures on deaths vary; see Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 45.

Okinawa: R. Appleman et al, *United States Army in World War II. The War in the Pacific. Okinawa: The Last Battle* (Washington, 1948); Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 376-377. One Hundred Million Die: Sherry, *Rise of American Air Power*, 240. See also: Harries and Harries, *Sheathing the Sword: The Demilitarization of Japan* (London, 1987), 36; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 204. Fujita's plan: Fujita/Daws; Fujita diary.

Prevent prisoners of war: IMTFE 14,533, 14,725; see also ATIS Research Report 72, Supplement 1, 15ff. Palawan: CINCPAC-CINCPOA Escape and Evasion Report 23, and statements of Bogue, Barta, McDole, NHC; ATIS Research Report 133; de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part 2, 587; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 11, 49; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, 1094.

Oru men die: Edwards, *Banzai*, 172. Japanese digging, building pillboxes: IMTFE 11,487; Luitsz/Daws; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 281-282; Marder, *Old Friends*, vol. 2, 575; Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 173.

Extreme measures: IMTFE, 12782-12783, PX 1465, 14,724-14,728; see also Military Intelligence Division, "Captured Japanese Instructions Regarding the Killing of POW", February 26, 1945, RG 389, B 2223, NA; Edwards, *Banzai*, 259ff.

Miyata: Fetcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 315. Fukuoka 17: Hewlett/Daws. Kanchanaburi: Hard/UNT. Prisoners take action: Knight/UNT; Kessler memoir; Knox, *Death March*, 433; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 135, 140. Frontally towards a machinegun post: Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 378. Molotov cocktails: Jackson, PC 93, MCHC. Fujita: Fujita/Daws; Fujita, *Foo*, 252. See also Frank and Shaw, *Victory and Occupation*, 774-775; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 214; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 379; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 329; Berry, *Prisoner of the Rising Sun*, 214; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 281-282; Knox, *Death March*, 433.

Related material: Daws with de Graaff, Gordon, Hundscheidt, Luitsz, van Dam, Voll, Wright; UNT with Blaylock, Bunch, Detre, Fujita, Hard, Kelley, Kempff, King, Knight, Matlock, Offerle, Rasbury, Reed, Robinson, Tilghman; AWM with Campbell, Cook, Michell, Nagase; Jackson; Kessler memoir; these in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Cotton, Honywill, Pringle, Vardy; these in Sound/IWM: Hodson, Larkin, Stitt; IMTFE, 11,441-2, 14,260-1; Luning memoir; *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1945; Friend, *Blue-Eyed Enemy*, 205; Allen, *End of the War in Asia*, 75; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 119, 128; Dunlop, *War Diaries*, 379; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 315; Arthur, *Deliverance at Los Banos*, 178, 183, 192, 229; Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 250ff; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, xxii, 1093ff, 1290; McGee, *Rice and Salt*, 88; Cannoo, *Bushido*, 225; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 196; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 329, 343, 375; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 280-282; Braddon, *Naked Island*, 280; Dandie, *Story of I Force*, 202-203; Hamond, *The Flame of Freedom*, 154; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 265; Lumiere, *Kura*, 154; Hofstede, *Slaven*, 190; Neumann and van Witsen, *Sumatra Spoorweg*, 170ff; Brackman, *The Other Nuremberg*, 246; Coleman, *Bataan and Beyond*, 147; Dandie, *Story of I Force*, 139

Pakenbaroe railroad: for background and detail, Neumann and van Witsen, *Sumatra Spoorweg*, generally; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 69ff; IMTFE, 13,569, 13,784-90; Gorski, RG 389, B 2120, NA; Thompson, "Into The Sun", Documents/IWM; Robinson/AWM; Luning memoir; Hartley, *Escape*, 157ff. Long walk: Hodson, Sound/IWM; see also Daws with Duff, Murphy. Sandakan-Ranau: IMTFE 13,344-13,404, 13,420-13,435; A. Moffitt, *Operation Kingfisher* (Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1989); D. Wall, *Sandakan Under Nippon: The Last March* (Sydney, 1988); D. Wall, *Abandoned?: Australians at Sandakan* (Sydney, 1990); Adam-Smith,

Prisoners of War, 375ff; *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 1, 1989. Australians escape: AWM with Botterill, Braithwaite, Campbell, Short. Formosan guard: IMTFE, 13,378.

Notes for pp. 327-332.

Harry Jeffries and Oklahoma Atkinson at Odate. Principal interviews: Daws with Jeffries, Atkinson. All direct quotes are: Atkinson/Daws. For the Sendai camps generally: these in RG 331, WNRC: Gilles diary, B 957, Groneck, B 957, Collins, B 957, Bowers, B 962, Zivic, B 962, Covalesk, B 962; Covalesk, RG 389, B 2133, NA.

Notes for pp. 333-349

A-bombs. Prompt and utter destruction: P. Wyden, *Day One: Before Hiroshima and After* (New York [1984], 1985), 227. A-bombs: Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atom Bombings* (New York [1979], 1981. Hiroshima POWs: *New York Times*, July 12, 1970; B. Bernstein, "Unraveling a Mystery: American POWs Killed at Hiroshima", *Foreign Service Journal*, vol. 56, no. 10 (October, 1979), 17ff; B. Bernstein, "Hiroshima's Hidden Victims", *Inquiry*, August 6 and 20, 1979. Look there: Manoff, "American Victims of Hiroshima", 124. A rain of ruin: Wyden, *Day One*, 288. Nagasaki POWs: R. Schafer, *Terug Naar Fukuoka 14: Krijgsgevangene in Nagasaki* (Amsterdam, 1985); J. Stellingwerf, *Fat Man in Nagasaki: Nederlandse Krijgsgevangenen Overleefden de Atoombom* (Franeker, 1980); Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 96ff; B. Bernstein, "Doomsday 11", *New York Times Magazine*, July 27, 1975, 7ff.

Americano joto nai: Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 205; Automatic bomb: Rayburn/UNT. The size of a grapefruit: Mallonee papers, MHI. Genshi bakudan: J. Hersey, *Hiroshima* (New York, 1985), 82. Adam bomb: Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 107. The Emperor's broadcast: Toland, *Rising Sun*, 944ff.

Related material: Daws with Duizend, Maple, Pitcher; UNT with Adair, Blaylock, Brantley, Bunch, Chambers, Detre, Evans, Halbrook, Knight, Minshew, Nelson, Pryor, Rayburn, Venable; Fraser/SNA; these in Documents/IWM: Evans, Murphy; these in Sound/IWM: Denny, Hodson; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 226; Dunn, *Bamboo Express*, 76; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 300.

Osaka: SCAP, "Trials of B and C Class Japanese War Criminals", 140ff; Fukuoka: 156-157. Celebes: D. Sissons, "War Crimes Trials", *Australian Encyclopedia* (Terrey Hills, 1988), vol. 8, 2,980-2,983. Unit 731: Williams and Wallace, *Unit 731*, 84-86. See also WO 235/1021, PRO.

The war is over—a sampling: Daws with Bras, Davidson, Douglas, T., Hewlett, Horton, Okonski, Pitcher; UNT with Adair, Chambers, Fillmore, Godbold, Halbrook, Kenner, King, Minshew, Reed, Reichle, Spencer; La Galle diary; Luning memoir; these papers in MHI: Mallonee, Moore; these in Documents/IWM: Boddington, Price; Hodson/Sound/IWM; Lee/SNA; Evers, *Death Railway*, 73ff; Coombes, *Banpong Express*, 153; L. Allen, *The End of the War in Asia* (London, 1976), 53; White, *United States Marines in North China*, 201-202; Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men*, 170-172; Adam-Smith, *Prisoners of War*, 440ff; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 110ff, 206; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, generally; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 330ff; Knox, *Death March*, 442-443; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 143ff; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 311; Hofstede, *Slaven van Roku Ban*, 200.

Reprisals and Nonreprisals. Mistreating guards to leave: IMTFE 14,718-14,719; McCormack and Nelson,

Burma-Thailand Railway, 77. Reprisals and non-reprisals—a sampling: Daws with Bange, Davis, de Graaff, Duizend, Fujita, Mroz, Nelson, L., Olson, Pitcher, Schwarz, Sherman, Tant; Stecklein/Knox; UNT with Bramlett, Bunch, Burge, Douglas, G., Evans, Garrison, McDaniel, Minshew, Offerle, Reese, Slate, Venable; these in SNA: De Souza, Lee; these in Documents/IWM: Bonnes, Chandler, Middleton, Murphy; these in Sound/IWM: Denny, Greenberg, Hodson, Larkin, Marsh; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; Luning memoir; La Galle diary; L. Allen, "Not So Piacular—A Footnote to Ienaga on Malaya", *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies*, vol. 5, part 1 (1980), 113-120; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, generally; Berry, *Prisoner of the Rising Sun*, 218; Hamel, *Soldatendominiee*, 217; Parkin, *Sword and Blossom*, 232; Kerr, *Surrender and Survival*, 288; Coast, *Railway of Death*, 255; Bush, *Clutch of Circumstance*, 224; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 314, 320; Symon, *Hell in Five*, 89-90; Woody, *Railroad to Nagasaki*, 113; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 157; Beaumont, *Gull Force*, 205; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 290; Lawton, *Some Survived*, 235; Edwards, *Banzai*, 252; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 371. Like kicking a kitten: Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 121.

Food drops: Daws interviews with Atkinson, Bange, Brown, H., Crow, Davidson, de Vos, Henning, Jeffries, Kent, Luitsz, Maple, McQuinn, Nelson, L., Olson, Pitcher, Sellers, Spurgeon, van Heekeren, Wallace; UNT interviews with Adair, Brantley, Bugbee, Bunch, Coury, Detre, Evans, Fujita, Garrison, Halbrook, Kenner, Knight, Koury, Minshew, Sparkman, Venable; these papers in MHI: Johnson, Moore, Wohlfeld; these in Documents/IWM: Baillies, Evans, Honywill, Newell; Gilles diary, RG 331 B 957, WNRC; Kennedy, RG 331, B 962, WNRC; Beecher diary; Maraini, *Meeting With Japan*, 422ff; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, generally; Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 424ff; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 114, 169; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 322ff; Edwards,

Banzai, 243; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 294ff; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 170; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 254-255; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 224; White, *United States Marines in North China*, 209; Parkin, *Sword and Blossom*, 220ff; Nix, *Corregidor*, 125-127; Abkhazi, *Curious Cage*, 134; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 122; Attiwill, *Rising Sunset*, 189-190; Knox, *Death March*, 446ff; Colley, *Manila-Kuching and Return*, 44-45; Vining, *Guest of an Emperor*, 407ff; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 256; Whitney, *Guest of the Fallen Sun*, 61ff; Edwards, *Banzai*, 245; Neumann and van Witsen, *Sumatra Spoorweg*, 192ff; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, generally. Glad to meet you: Sparkman/UNT.

Arithmetic of food drops: Twentieth Air Force Tactical Mission Report, August 27-September 20, US Air Force Historical Research Center; W. Craven and J. Cate, eds., *The Army Air Forces in World War II* (Chicago, 1950-1958), vol. 5, 734ff; *Reports of General MacArthur. MacArthur in Japan—The Occupation: Military Phase, I. Supplement*, 97-99. See also Tenth Air Force Operations in China, HQ, November, 1945, Document 9162.27. Deaths on the ground: this is my estimate, arrived at simply by noting every on-the-spot report.

Overeating: Jeffries/Daws. Stay in camp: Gordon/UNT. Sport: Daws interviews with Hewlett, Duncan, Okonski; Allen, H, *Lost Battalion*, 132. Taking swords: Emerson, *Guest of the Emperor*, 86ff. Commandeering trucks and trains: Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 259ff. Robbing bank: Nelson, *POW*, 201; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 6; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 268; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 154-155, 209-210.

Related material: Daws with Adams, G., Carringer, Davidson, Davis, Tant, Woodall; AWM with Clarke, Moore; Beecher diary; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 374; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 116-117, 141; UNT with Brantley, Evans, Gordon, Kenner, Knight, Minshew, Reed, Robinson, Sparkman; Johnson

papers/MHI; these in Documents/IWM: Bonnes, Evans, White; Johnson papers, MHI; Lumiere, *Kura*, 218; Smith, *And All the Trumpets*, 120ff; Kirk, *Secret Camera*, 240ff; Knox, *Death March*, 452.

The second-best geisha house: Luitsz/Daws. **Sprinkling salt:** Evans/UNT.

Liberation in Manchuria: Gibson/AWM; Daws with Spurgeon, Herbst; Tisdelle diary; Curtis, *Oral History*, MCHC; the following papers in MHI: Beebe, Lawrence, Mallonee, Mitchell, Peck; Nelson, *POW*, 194-195; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 393ff, 421ff; Allen, *Lost Battalion*, 155ff; Quinn, *Love Letters to Mike*, 317; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 145ff; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 208ff; M. Tsuji, *Underground Escape* (Tokyo, 1952), 222.

Fujita swims out: Fujita/Daws. **Recovering POWs:** Action reports of the navy task forces evacuating POWs are in NHC; for an overview, see "Report of Surrender and Occupation of Japan", February 11, 1946. Reports of the army recovery teams are in RG 389, B 2244, NA. **Forrest Knox:** Knox/Daws. **The scene at the ports:** Green, RG 389, B 2177, NA; RG 200, B 1020, NA; Hileman, *1051*, 344ff; Woody, *Railroad to Nagasaki*, 15; Yoshida, *Two Worlds*, 137ff; Parkin, *Sword and Blossom*, 248ff; Bertram, *Beneath the Shadow*, 216; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 190ff; Green/UNT. **White women:** Daws with Brown, H., Luitsz, Samethini; UNT with Bugbee, Detre, McCall; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 299; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 201-202; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 92; Coast, *Railroad of Death*, 254; Reynolds, *Of Rice and Men*, 179-181. 389, B 2244, NA. **The scene at the ports:** Nooij/Daws; La Galle diary; *Benjo News*, December, 1988; Hileman, *1051*, 344ff; Woody, *Railroad to Nagasaki*, 15; Yoshida, *Two Worlds*, 137ff; Parkin, *Sword and Blossom*, 248ff. Reynolds, *Rice*, 179-18; Attiwill, *Rising Sunset*, 195; Bilyeu, *Lost in Action*, 338; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 201-202. **On board ship:** Daws with Goodman, Pitcher,

Wallace; Quan, August, 1981, 13-15; Allen, *Lost Battalion*, 178-179.

Everything was new: Daws with Bange, Boyce, Bras, Syer; Upton/Knox; Fujita diary; Myers, *Prisoner of War*, 188; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 184ff; Nix, *Corregidor*, 133; Birch and Cole, *Captive Years*, 179; Arthur, *Deliverance at Los Banos*, 249; Ashton, *Bataan Diary*, 253, 319; Knox, Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 261. Shirley Temple was engaged: Sellers/Daws; Innes-Ker/Documents/IWM.

Pilots: Bange/Daws; Mitchell papers, MHI; Woody, *Railroad to Nagasaki*, 116; Harrison, *Brave Japanese*, 273; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 332ff; Fujita, *Foo*, 321.

Deaths on the way home: Dandie, Maple/Daws; Sellers/Daws; Gibson/AWM; Curtis, Oral History, MCHC; *Benjo News*, August, 1991, 5; Lane, *Summer Will Come Again*, 206; Petak, *Never Plan Tomorrow*, 431; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 328; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 85; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 120; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 301. I was never able to nail down with certainty the factuality of the story about the bomb bay doors opening; as with some other such matters, I tried for a reasonable time and then just stopped--maybe someone else can go further.

In Command File, World War II, NHC, I saw a book of about a hundred pages, mostly pictures, of the transit camps in the Philippines that processed POWs on their way home from Asia, mostly Americans, but also of other nations. Many men, especially officers, are named in captions. See also Daws with Maple, Pitcher, Smith, K.; UNT with Evans, Halbrook, Woodall; Mitchell papers, MHI; Massey/Documents/IWM; Jacobs, *Blood Brothers*, 111; Edwards, *Banzai*, 255-256; Knox, *Death March*, 458; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 155; Evans, *Kora*, 64. In a Manila nightclub, Gerrit Bras saw the trader, Ted Lewin--first out of Fukuoka 17--loudly introducing the Dutch chaplain Carel Hamel as the best goddamn padre in the whole goddamn army. The club was Lewin's, with a four

or five-piece dance orchestra and female company available: Bras/Daws. One of the immediate postwar Manila stories about Lewin was that he had a Cadillac and a Packard convertible under wraps there all through the war, and he was driving them around again. I was not able to confirm this.

Good and bad Japanese: A saying of British POWs and internees was, What can you expect of a pig but a grunt? Here is an American reflecting in his diary on seeing Tokyo from the air on his way out of Japan, the great city in ruins. He thought of the Japanese who had kicked and beaten and tortured him. "My hell lasted for three and a half years, theirs will last for life and they asked for it." Gilles, RG 331, B 957.

Baka: Stewart, *To the River Kwai*, 35. The boy interpreter: Shiomi, Documents/IWM. Now we are friends: many POWs have a version of this. Yokohama Earthquake Fund: Nelson, *POW*, 203. Re inexplicability: see also Hewlett/Daws; AWM with Devenish, Newton; IMTFE 40,006, 49,690; Wyatt/ Sound/IWM; La Galle diary; Gee, Pryor/UNT; Bank, *Back From the Living Dead*, 107; Bush, *Road to Inamura*, 201-203, 225; Caffrey, *Out in the Noonday Sun*, 232; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 115; Edwards, *Banzai*, 53, 55, 79; Whitecross, *Slaves*, 71; Hamel, *Soldatendominee*, 44; Peacock, *Emperor's Guest*, 86-87, 121. Coast, *Railroad*, 243; Allbury, *Bamboo and Bushido*, 95-96; McCracken, *Very Soon Now*, 88; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 150; Kerr, *Surrender and Survival*, 283; White, *United States Marines in North China*, 210; Iritani, *Group Psychology of the Japanese in Wartime* (London, 1991), 186ff.

I studied his face: Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 123. Singapore guard: Botterill/AWM. Uncle John: Liam Nolan, *Small Man of Nanataki: The True Story of a Japanese Who Risked His Life to Provide Comfort for His Enemies* (New York, 1966). Charlie Chaplin: *Benjo News*, December, 1991, 2. Tateyama: Douglas/UNT. Smiley: Pryor/UNT. Kanemura: Offerle/UNT. Niihama: de Vos/Daws. Widow woman:

Detre/UNT. See also Daws with Bange, Byrnes, Erickson, Luitsz, Voll; UNT with Fields, Gee; Hoops/Documents/IWM; IMTFF, 11,501ff, 27,846-27,847, 27,942ff; WO 208/3499, PRO; Jackson, PC 93, MCHC; M. Fortier, *The Life of a P.O.W. Under the Japanese in Caricature* (Spokane, 1946), 4; Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 202; Hileman, 1051, 308; Morrett, *Soldier Priest*, 201ff; Weinstein, *Barbed-Wire Surgeon*, 261-262, 292; Lindsay, 1981, 208, 256; Dandie, *Story of J Force*, 23, 28; Myers, *Prisoner of War*, 140ff; Reynolds, *Rice*, 73, 128, 154; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 70; van Heekeren, *Pannetje van Oliemans*, 203-206; Coast, *Railroad of Death*, 151. Many POWs report that kind Japanese were Christians—statistically a very small minority in the Japanese population and the armed forces; see ATIS Research Report 76, 1; Douglas, T.,/Daws; Fraser/SNA; Halbrook/UNT; Fletcher-Cooke, *Emperor's Guest*, 142-143; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 158. You can't hate them all: Nelson, POW, 156. See also Willis/AWM; Puller and Lee, *Oral History*, MCHC.

Cowalski on Guam: Jeffries/Daws; Commander Marianas to CIC US Pacific Fleet, October 16, 1945, Operational Archives, NHC; documents in Command File, World War II, NHC. Icecream: Pitcher/Daws.

Notes for pp. 349-358

RAPWI. The basic document on RAPWI is Earl Mountbatten, *Report to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by the Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia, 1943-1945* (London, 1951). See also: WO 208/3491, PRO; these in Documents/IWM: Cotton, Escritt, Godfrey, Newell; Hodson/Sound/IWM; documents in RG 226, E 110, Box 25, NA; S. Kirby, *The War Against Japan*, vol 5. *The Surrender of Japan* (London, 1969), 243-149; C. Cruickshank, *SOE in the Far East* (New York, 1983), 239ff; G.

Jacobs, *Prelude to the Monsoon: Assignment in Sumatra* (Philadelphia, 1982), xi-xxxiv; Allen, *End of the War in Asia*, generally; Wigmore, *Japanese Thrust*, 632ff; *The Netherlands Red Cross Feeding Team Report on Nutritional Survey in the Netherlands East Indies* (n.p., 1946); van Velden, *Japanse Burgerkampen*, 457ff; Pavillard, *Bamboo Doctor*, 202ff; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 330ff; van Witsen, *Krijgsgevangenen*, 244-245; Warner, *Women Behind the Wire*, 253ff.

POWs off the Burma-Siam railroad: Blackater, *Gods Without Reason*, 206; Coast, *Railroad of Death*, 240-241. Children: Daws with Muijser, Powning, ten Brummelaar, van Iterson. Airdrop: Colley, *Manila, Kuching and Return*, 44. Peeling bread: D. Kell, *A Doctor's Borneo* (Brisbane, 1984), 160. See also Miller/Documents/IWM.

Reprisals. Documents in file 313.123, Indonesia 1946-1951, MBZ, including statement of Shibata Yaichiro; and much documentation in 313.120, 1945-1949, MBZ; Parrish/SNA. Irrawaddy River: Aida, *Prisoner of the British*, 51. Bougainville: Nelson, H./Daws. Balikpapan: Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 129. Labuan: Duff/Daws. Borneo story: R. Braddon, *Japan Against the World, 1941-2041: The 100-Year War for Supremacy* (New York, 1983), 146; I thank Hank Nelson for clarification; see also T. Harrison, *World Within: A Borneo Story* (London, 1959), 313ff. Nakom Pathon: T. Nagase and M. Watase, *Tigers and Crosses* (Bangkok, 1990), 22. See also Brown, L./Daws; R. Adams, *The Day Gone By* (New York, 1991), 367-369; L. Allen, "Not So Piacular", 113-126; Ellis, *Sharp End*, 319. Kempeitai: B. Shimer and G. Hobbs, *Kempeitai in Java and Sumatra*, 61ff; Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 119-120; *Mainichi Daily News*, July 9, 1976.

Related material on Japanese as POWs: conversations with Leith Morton, whose father was assigned to guard Japanese officer POWs; memoirs of Matsuura Toshiro, for

which I thank John McBride; documents in 313.120, 1946, MBZ; Aida, *Prisoner of the British*, generally; Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 411. Note that the British in Southeast Asia held 100,000 Japanese POWs to aid in reconstruction; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 35. (There is a huge separate subject with a large literature, outside the scope of this book: Japanese as POWs of the Soviet Union.)

The Indonesian situation: Daws interviews with Banens, Bange, de Graaff, Hundscheidt, Neumann, Schepel, van Heekeren, Voll, Wollraven. In UNT are many interviews with men who were in Saigon when the war ended. See also these in Documents/IWM: Close, Eggleton, Tull; photos in RG 200, B 1020, 619.2, French Indo-China, NA; documents in RG 226, E 110, Box 25, NA; Wehl, *The Birth of Indonesia* (London, 1948), 92ff; B. Anderson, *Java in a Time of Revolution: Occupation and Resistance* (Ithaca, 1972), 125ff; Reid and Oki, *Japanese Experience in Indonesia*, 334ff; Hofstede, *Slaven van Roku Ban*, 207; Beets, *Verre Oorlog*, 320; Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 341ff, 350ff, 380ff, 403ff; Neumann and van Witsen, *Sumatra Spoorweg*, 29-30, 160ff, 198ff; Nagase, *Crosses and Tigers*, 22; Adachi, "Unprepared", 323-324; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 390-391. I thank David Marr for information on Japanese who stayed in French Indo-China after the war.

Have you got a roster?: Wright/Daws. See also Taylor/UNT; Do you have malaria? Do you still like girls?: Wright/Daws. The barefoot army captain: Fillmore, *P.O.W.*, 132. Blucher Tharp, and the song about one meatball: Thompson, RG 200, B 1023, NA. UNT interviews are full of stories about the trip home.

Of related interest: In UNT interviews are many references to continuing tribal war between the British and Americans--competing for available plane seats, etc. Also (among the British) immediate reversion to pre-war class distinctions. Tribal-national strife was also apparent between

different nationalities exiting Japan, and between different branches of the services: see Weitzner/Daws; Curtis, *Oral History*, MCHC; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 95.

You tell my friend Slug: Wright/Daws; Hekking/Daws.

My god: Wright/Daws. Are you kidding? Wright/Daws. Be our guest: Wright/Daws.

John Harrell: I thank Roger White and Otto Schwarz for access to copies of the Harrell papers. Schwarz and the Australians: Schwarz/Daws; Schwarz/UNT. *Houston* menon Borneo: Colley, *Manila, Kuching and Return*, 39. On Sumatra: Schwarz/Daws. In Thailand: Schwarz/Daws; N. Smith and B. Clark, *Into Siam: Underground Kingdom* (Indianapolis, 1946), 249.

Matlock, you want a ride; and Son, is that you?: Matlock/UNT. A POW from the Philippines, Cletis Overton, another country boy, told me an almost identical story about coming home to a house in darkness, the lamps unlit, but knowing where everything was, from memory. Abilene reunion: Fujita/Daws; Fujita, *Foo*, 344. Slug Wright and Doc Hekking: Daws with Wright, Hekking.

Notes for pp. 358-359

Put it behind you: Every POW has a version of this. They looked down my throat: Minshew/Marcello/NTU. Two out of three dead in Asia: Dopkins, *Janesville* 99, 41-44. I don't remember: Knox/Daws. Is that right: Knox/Daws.

Notes for pp. 359-361

Deaths. Forrest Knox's outfit: Doherty, "Too Little, Too Late", 275-283. 131st and *Houston*: Lost Battalion and *Houston*

Survivors Association roster. Wake Island: Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 440ff; Frank and Shaw, *Victory and Occupation*, 750. For the Pacific-Asian theater context of these deaths: Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 294ff, 327, 363. Comparisons with Europe: Kennett, *GI*, 185-186. Comparisons with the Eastern front: McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 162ff. See also IMTFE, 40,537, 49,594; Urwin, "Defenders of Wake", 446ff; Roland and Shannon, "Patterns of Disease", 67ff; R. Severo and L. Milford, *The Wages of War: When America's Soldiers Came Home—From Valley Forge to Vietnam* (New York, 1989), 293. See also Leffelaar and van Witsen, *Werkers*, 16-17; Brugmans, *Nederlands Indië*, 372; IMTFE, 14,904ff; documents in RG 200, B 1020, NA; Evans, *Soochow*, 131; Cave, *Beyond Courage*, 380.

Black Plague: The Black Plague lasted between three and four years and killed about one in three. What happened POW camp by POW camp approximated in duration and severity what happened village by village in Europe.

IX. EVER AFTER

Notes for pp. 363-376

War crimes trials. Note that the Nuremberg trials were over before the Tokyo trial started. For the Tokyo trial, the basic source is the 27-volume edition of IMTFE by Pritchard and Zaide; for context, see the introductory essay in Vol. 1 by D. Watt, and the judgment. See also *History of the United Nations War Crimes Commission* (London, 1948). For B and C class crimes, see copious trial documents and reports in various archives: American, NA (for example, RG 226, E 110, B 25, report on Operation Embankment and other documents), WNRC, and NHC. Australian, AWM and Australian

Archives. British, PRO. Dutch, MBZ, and RIOD. Also, Y. Chaen, *Nihon B-C Kyu-Sempan Saiban Shiryo* [Materials Relating to Japanese B and C Class War Crimes Trials]. In the 1980s, Chaen published several other collections of documents relating to trials of B and C Class criminals. See also Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial*. Russell, *Knights of Bushido*, summarizes atrocities. Also Adachi, "Unprepared Regrettable Events", 322; L. Allen, "Japanese Literature of the Second World War", *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1977), 129ff; C. Roland, "The Use of Medical Evidence in British Trials of Suspected Japanese War Criminals, unpublished paper. See also documents in 288.3, CMH; IMTFE, 12,576ff, 49,671ff; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 405ff; M. Jansen, *Japan and China: From War to Peace* (Chicago, 1975), 453. See also the amazing Japanese documentary film "Yuki Yukite Shingun" [English-language title "The Emperor's Naked Army Marches On"]; it is discussed in *American Film*, March, 1988. For a running record of war crimes trials as they occurred, see *War Crimes News Digest*.

Tojo's suicide attempt: W. Craig, *The Fall of Japan* (New York, 1967), 315ff; Browne, *Tojo*, 5-6, 211ff; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, 148ff; "Snafu Suicide", *Life*, September 24, 1945, 36-37. Tell this yellow bastard: Toland, *Rising Sun*, 986.

Yamashita: F. Reel, *The Case of General Yamashita* (Chicago, 1949); R. Lael, *The Yamashita Precedent: War Crimes and Command Responsibility* (Wilmington, 1982); Ichinokuchi, *John Aiso and the M.I.S.*, 142-143. Homma: US v Homma, RG 331, B 1671, WNRC; Swinson, *Four Samurai*, 242-3; *New York Times*, April 3, 1946.

Sugamo: much documentation in RG 331 and RG 338, WNRC; and in Vol. 22 of the published IMTFE. See also J. Ginn, *Sugamo Prison, Tokyo: An Account of the Trial and Sentencing of Japanese War Criminals in 1948*, by a U.S.

Participant (Jefferson, 1992); Y. Kodama, *Sugamo Diary* (Tokyo, 1960); S. Hanayama, *The Way of Deliverance: Three Years With the Condemned Japanese War Criminals* (New York, 1950); S. Shiroyama, *War Criminal: The Life and Death of Hirota Koki* (New York, 1974), 227ff, 278ff; D. Kurzman, *Kishi and Japan: The Search for the Sun* (New York, 1960), 225ff; Brackman, *Other Nuremberg*, 227ff; O. Statler, "The Barber and the Brass: Recollections of the 1946 Tokyo Trials", *EastWest* (Spring, 1985), 12-17. Shanghai hangman: Roper, Documents/IWM. I'm going to rip your bloody head off: an eyewitness told this story at a dinner party forty-five years later—I thank Norah Forster for recording it; see also Kennedy/SNA. See also United States Navy: "Final Report of the Navy War Crimes Commission", 5 vols., December, 1949, NHC. If you need me to find them: Laporte, RG 389, B 2126, NA. I am at complete liberty: Covalesk, RG 331, B 962, WNRC; see also statement of De Lapp, US v Tsuneyoshi, RG 331, B 1607, WNRC; Newell/Documents/IWM; Bugbee/UNT; Brown, H./Daws; Edwards, *Banzai*, 42. Hangman from Yokohama; Ginn, *Sugamo*, 234. Springing the trap: Private letter of the hood and lever man; Feiner/Daws.

Remember Pearl Harbor: "The Bridge of General Hideki Tojo", *United States Navy Dental Corps Update* (August, 1991), 12-13. Hanging A class criminals: *New York Times*, December 24, 1948; W. Sebald, *With MacArthur in Japan: A Personal History of the Occupation* (New York, 1965), 171ff; Browne, *Tojo*, 235-236; Brackman, *Other Nuremberg*, 308, 405; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, 1123; Shiroyama, *War Criminal*, 291ff; Hanayama, *The Way of Deliverance*, 254ff; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, xiv, xxv. 156, 174; Hoyt, *Japan's War*, 419; C. Boyd, "Exaltation and Hindsight: Tojo's 'Reflections upon Parting with Lieutenant Colonel Kenworthy, A Man Bearing the Spirit of an Ancient Samurai'", *Montclair Journal of Social*

Science and Humanities, vol. 3, no. 2 (1974), 79-96.

Sentences on B and C Class criminals are collated nation by nation in Piccigallo, *Japanese on Trial*. Burma-Siam railroad: McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 78. The Shinagawa doctor: Craig, *Fall of Japan*, 285ff; *New York Times*, September 2, 1945; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, 140-141, 1197. The Australian Ambon trial: CRS, A471, item 81,709, AA; see also WO 2325/886; Harrison/Daws. Sone Kenichi: The trial of Sone is in file 322.191, Japan Vonnissen, 1-50, MBZ. See also: Daws interviews with Besters, Muijser, Samethini; Goulding, Sound/IWM; Luning memoir; Thompson, "Into the Sun", Documents/IWM; Jackson, *Java Nightmare*, 82, 86, 137; Bulcock, *Of Death But Once*, 164ff; Cooper, *Ordeal*, 117ff, 172-173; Poidevin, *Samurais and Circumcisions*, 85, 88; Rivett, *Behind Bamboo*, 127; Hofstede, *Slaven van Roku Ban*, 37ff; de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part 2, 775 ff. Sone's brain: Bras/Daws.

Opinions on the war crimes trials: Daws with Dandie, Utsumi; Escritt/Documents/IWM; R. Minear, *Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial* (Princeton, 1971); C. Hosoya et al, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: An International Symposium* (New York, 1986); K. Tsurumi, *Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II* (Princeton, 1970), 138-179; T. Iritani, *Group Psychology of the Japanese in Wartime* (New York, 1991), 201ff; Maruyama, *Thought and Behaviour*, 11; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 392ff; Ienaga, *Japan's Last War*, 237-238; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, 1108-1109; P. Hodson, *A Circle Around the Sun* (New York, 1992), 71-74, 139, 150-154, 210-213, 264-267; K. Steiner, "War Crimes and Command Responsibility: From the Bataan Death March to the Mylai Massacre", *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 58, no. 2 (Summer, 1985), 293-298; J. Pritchard, "The Nature and Significance of British Post-War Trials of Japanese War Criminals, 1945-1948",

Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies, vol. 2, part 1 (1977), 189–219; J. Pritchard, "The Historical Experience of British War Crimes Courts in the Far East, 1946–1948, *International Relations*, vol. 6, no. 1 (May, 1978), 311–326; J. Pritchard, "Lessons from British Proceedings Against Japanese War Criminals", *Human Rights Review*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer, 1978), 104–121; G. Dickinson, "Manus Island Trials: Japanese War Criminals Arraigned", *Journal and Proceedings, Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 38, no. 2 (July, 1952), 67–77; R. Glenister, "B and C Class War Crimes Trials Held by Australia: Fair Trial and the Geneva Convention" (unpublished paper); S. Adachi, *Gendai Senso Hoki Ron* [A Discussion of Modern War Legislation] (Tokyo, 1979), 174–178; I. Fujiwara, *F Kikan: Japanese Army Intelligence Operations in Southeast Asia During World War II* (Hong Kong, 1983), 194, 289ff; F. Hart, "Yamashita, Nuremberg and Vietnam: Command Responsibility Reappraised", *Naval War College Review*, vol. 25, no. 1 (September–October, 1972), 19–36; A. Gilchrist, *Bangkok Top Secret: Being the Experiences of A British Officer in the Siam Country Section of Force 136* (London, 1970), 222–231; M. Gayn, *Japan Diary* (New York, 1948), 338–40; Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 423ff; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Siam Railway*, 78–79, 83, 85ff, 96–97, 112, 127ff. See also the documentary film produced by Kodansha, "The Tokyo Trial: International Military Tribunal for the Far East"—5 years in the making, budgeted at \$16 million, 20 reels, more than four hours long; an English version of the script was published by Kodansha in 1985.

Five years a slap: The Sugamo Committee, "A Factual and Statistical Survey of the Inmates in Sugamo", File 322.191, Japan, Algemeen, part II, 1952–1953, MBZ; and much documentation in I, xxvii, 23941/R, ARA. See also Friend, *Blue-Eyed Enemy*, 189. See also Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York,

1994), published after my book went to press.

Note: Scattered throughout documentary material are many self-exculpatory statements by defendants under sentence, and appeals for clemency from their families, almost uniformly describing men convicted of atrocities as mild of temper, humane, loving, serious Buddhists, fine family men, writers of sensitive poetry, kind to animals, and so on. The tonalities are strikingly different from anything that might be expected under similar circumstances from Western defendants. Tsurumi, cited above, is interesting on this subject.

Australian executions: Sissons, "War Crimes Trials", 2,980–2,983; McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 78, 83ff, 127ff. For perspective on Australian views of wartime Japan: H. McQueen, *Japan to the Rescue: Australian Security and the Indonesian Archipelago During the American Century* (Port Melbourne, 1991), 295ff.

MacArthur's deal with Unit 731: J. Powell, "Japan's Germ Warfare", 2–17; J. Powell, "Japan's Biological Weapons", 44–52; Williams and Wallace, *Unit 731*, 133, 195, 207, 210, 2125; E. Behr, *Hirohito: Behind the Myth* (New York, 1989), 163ff. Soviet trial of Unit 731 men: *Materials on the Trial of Former Servicemen of the Japanese Army Charged with Manufacturing and Employing Bacteriological Weapons* (Moscow, 1950).

Clemency: documents in 314.2, Japan, MBZ; documents in RG 338, B 80, Sugamo 19454–1952, WNRC; J. Mendelsohn, "The United States and the Problem of Clemency for Japanese War Criminals," SCAP Final Report on War Crimes Activities, June 21, 1946; R. Wolfe, ed., *Americans as Proconsuls: United States Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944–1952* (Carbondale, 1984), 226–259. Sasakawa Ryoichi: D. Kaplan and A. Dubro, *Yakuza: The Explosive Account of Japan's Criminal Underworld* (New York [1986], 1987), 79–81; J. Roberts, "Ryoichi Sasakawa: Nippon's Right-Wing Muscleman", *Insight* (April, 1978), 8–15. Kodama

Yoshio: Kaplan and Dubro, *Yakuza*, 64ff; D. Boulton, *The Lockheed Papers* (London, 1978), 45ff, 270. Naito Ryoichi and Kitano Masaji: Williams and Wallace, *Unit 731*, 240-241. Tsuji Masanobu: Allen, *End of the War in Asia*, 40-41; Tsuji, *Underground Escape*, generally; H. Murakami, *Japan: The Years of Trial* (Tokyo, 1982), 110-112; Ward, *Killer They Called a God*, 248ff, 274, 280, 288, 295ff, 305ff; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 190ff, 291-292; Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, 915, 943, 956ff, 1107, 1173; Toland, *Rising Sun*, 325, 336-337, 1028; Swinson, *Four Samurai*, 77ff, 161ff, 170-171, 177, 188-189; 246. Kishi Nobusuke: Kurzman, *Kishi and Japan*, 302.

Kempeitai executions: WO 2325/895; Shimer and Hobbs, *Kenpeitai*, 68; Friend, *Blue-Eyed Enemy*, 207. Refined Spirit Association: Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 167, 14. Korean guards: I thank Utsumi Aiko for detailed information.

Shrines: *New York Times*, December 23, 1948; *Nippon Times*, May 7, 1956; Shiroyama, *War Criminal*, 1-2; Browne, *Tojo*, 235-236, 242-243; Harries and Harries, *Sheathing the Sword*, 174.

Yasukuni: Cook and Cook, *Japan at War*, 448ff; Harries and Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, 76, 174, 276; J. Potter, *A Soldier Must Die: The Biography of an Oriental General* (London, 1963), 1-3; R. Brines, *Until They Eat Stones* (Philadelphia, 1944), 289; Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics* (London, 1963), 332; Brackman, *Other Nuremberg*, 27-28; de Asis, *From Bataan to Tokyo*, 64-65; H. Naito, *Thunder Gods: The Kamikaze Pilots Tell Their Story* (New York, 1989), 21; H. Funasaka, *Falling Blossoms* (Singapore, 1986), 41, 114; ATIS Research Report 76, iii, 19; ATIS Enemy Publications 72, 2; Escritt, *Beyond Three Pagoda Pass*, 56; Shimer and Hobbs, *Kenpeitai*, 14; W. Newell, "The Nature of the *Kami* in the Yasukuni Shrine at Its Foundation and at the Present Time", unpublished paper.

Related matters: A subject worth some detailed study

is the question of collaboration by POWs with the Japanese. In the debriefing statements taken post-liberation are a good many accusations along these lines. Very few such accusations were followed up, with only the smallest handful of cases actually mounted against alleged collaborators. I think probably several factors were at work here. Most accusations would have been baseless anyway, the product of prison camp suspicions, which often verged on paranoia. Then too, at a time when the victorious Allies were in the process of cranking up war crimes trials against the Japanese, there would not have been a strong incentive for at the same time making public any evidence of collaboration by POWs. But beyond these considerations, it is my best (though unquantifiable) estimate that in fact there was surprisingly--amazingly--little active collaboration. For a handful of American cases that attracted public attention, see the *New York Times* index for mid-to-late 1947, entries under the names Gascoigne, Hirschberg, Little, and Provoo. The question came up again in the trial of Iva Toguri, "Tokyo Rose"--see M. Duus, *Tokyo Rose: Orphan of the Pacific* (New York, 1979), and R. Howe, *The Hunt for "Tokyo Rose"* (Lanham, 1990). Frank Fujita has some interesting things to say about this. See also Lindsay, *At the Going Down*, 258-259, and Savary, *Outside the Walls*, generally.

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POWs postwar. The second thing: Nelson, *POW*, 210. If I don't do it every day: Erickson/Daws. See Reese/UNT: he speaks of taking his back pay and spending it on houses and lots--whorehouses and lots of alcohol. Robert Taylor: B. Keith, *Days of Anguish, Days of Hope* (Garden City, 1972). The little boy holding the stick: Nardini/Daws. The Texas family

funeral: Self/Daws. Didn't you get bored: every POW has a version of this; see also P. Brain, *Soldier of Bataan* (Minneapolis, 1990), 67.

Wellenkotter's: Daws interviews with Knox, Durner, Stewart. Jacksboro courthouse lawn: Armstrong/UNT; Daws with Prunty, Tilghman. Gone fishing: Clarke/Daws. Mel Forsman: Forsman/Daws. See also Davidson/Daws; WO 208/3499, PRO; Edwards, *Banzai*, 258; Knox, *Death March*, 461ff; Dandie, *Story of I Force*, 87; Grashio, *Return to Freedom*, 145; J. Beaumont, "Gull Force Comes Home: The Aftermath of Captivity", *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, no. 14 (April, 1989), 43-52.

The Australian cobbler: Wallace/Daws; see also Daws with Adams, G.P., Payne; Clarke, *Twilight Liberation*, 157. The boy from D Battery: UNT with Bramlett, Chambers. Eight Americans from the Philippines: *New York Times*, August 15, 1947; see also Knox, *Death March*, 396.

Working imitation of normality. Every POW has his own private version—a sampling: Daws interviews with Crow, Dandie, de Graaff, Harrison, Hutchison, Iovino, Maple, Mroz, Nelson, L., Neumann, Okonski, Pitcher, Roland, Skinner, Sosvielle, van Heekeren; UNT with Brain, Douglas, Gordon, Kenner, Knight, Matlock, Minshew, Robinson, Thompson, Tilghman; Fraser/SNA; Kessler memoir; Beets, *Verre Oorlog*, Chapter 6; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 254. An instructive way to learn about it is to listen to POWs' wives. Monroe Woodall: Woodall/Daws. Kelly Bramlett: Bramlett/UNT. Frank Fujita: Fujita/Daws. Here is an American on the way his past and his present keep overlapping and overlaying each other: everywhere in his house he has scraps of paper; "as a little window from my memory opens, and a few words tumble out, I quickly jot it down, sometimes on corners of any writing material, sometimes on just arrived mail . . ." Galos/Daws. Halbrook/UNT said: "Don't bother me and I won't bother you, just put a flag over

my casket when I die."

Jeffries and Atkinson postwar: Daws with Jeffries, Attkinson. I believe I'll quit these big casinos: Atkinson/Daws. Atkinson at reunions: Daws with Davidson, Nelson, L./Daws. Goddamn: Atkinson/Daws.

Reparations: R. Ward and F. Schulman, *The Allied Occupation of Japan: An Annotated Bibliography of Western-Language Materials* (Chicago, 1974), 1117ff; T. Ohno, "United States Policy on Japanese War Reparations, 1945-1951", *Asian Studies*, vol. 13, no. 3 (December, 1975), 23-45; Adachi, "Unprepared Regrettable Events", 323.

Compensation. Canada: C. Vincent, *No Reason Why: The Canadian Hong Kong Tragedy—An Examination* (Stittsville, 1981), 237ff; T. Strachan, ed., *In the Clutch of Circumstance: Reminiscences of Members of the Canadian National Prisoners of War Association* (Victoria, 1985), generally. Dutch colonials: I thank Nick Vos of Stichting ICODO and Sjoerd Lapré of Stichting Japanse Ereschulden for information. See *Guide for the Victims of Persecution During the 1940-1945 War Who Are Resident Outside the Netherlands* (Rijswijk, 1975); J. Ellemers and R. Vaillant, *Indische Nederlanders en Gerepatrieerden* (Muiderberg, 1985); Beets, *Verre Oorlog*, 336ff. The Hague is the widow of the Indies: Daws with Bras, Duizend, Hekking, Hoogvelt, Luitsz, van Dam, van Heekeren, van Itersen. See also McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 140ff; Nelson, *POW*, 211.

Physical suffering. A sampling of postwar medical studies from different times and places: B. Cohen and M. Cooper, *A Follow-Up Study of World War II Prisoners of War* (Washington, 1954). H. Richardson, *Report of a Study of Disabilities and Problems of Hong Kong Veterans, 1964-1965* (Canadian Pension Commission, 1965); Veterans Administration, *P.O.W.: Study of Former Prisoners of War* (Washington, 1980); D. Patrick and P. Heaf, *Long-Term*

Effects of War-Related Deprivation on Health: A Report on the Evidence (London, 1981); I. Duncan et al, *Morbidity of Prisoners of War* (Sydney, 1985); P. Watson, *A Study of the Post-Captivity Health of Ex-Prisoners of War of the Japanese* (Blackpool, 1985); G. Gingras and C. Chapman, *The Sequelae of Inhuman Conditions and Slave Labour Experienced by Members of the Canadian Components of the Hong Kong Forces, 1941-1945, While Prisoners of the Japanese Government*, 2 vols. (War Amputations of Canada and Hong Kong Veterans' Association of Canada, 1987); *Lifelong Captives: The Medical Legacy of POWs of the Japanese* (Commonwealth of Australia, 1990); A. Venn and C. Guest, *Studies of Morbidity and Mortality of Former Prisoners of War and Other Australian Veterans* (Melbourne, 1990). Some of these major studies include psychological data. See also Stan Sommers, ed., *The Japanese Story* (Marshfield, 1980), 65ff (this is one of many compilations done for American Ex-Prisoners of War, Inc); Spector, *Eagle Against the Sun*, 400; Mitchell MS, CMH. Dear Charles: private letter from one POW to another.

Forrest Knox: Knox/Daws; Knox, *Death March*, 478ff. The deaths of Oklahoma Atkinson and Harry Jeffries: personal knowledge.

POWs and the United Nations: Gingras and Chapman, *Sequelae of Inhuman Conditions*; Queensland Ex-POW Reparations Committee, *Nippon Very Sorry—Many Men Must Die* (Bowen Hills, 1990); McCormack and Nelson, *Burma-Thailand Railway*, 7-9, 57, 120ff, 140ff. Other compensation suits: from the beginning of the 1990s there has been a steady stream of media reports on various suits. For an early Dutch attempt, see: de Jong, *Koninkrijk*, vol. 11b, part 2, 753; also Beets, *Een Verre Oorlog*, 336ff. As of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war, a consolidated suit was in progress in Japanese court, representing many organizations, POW and civilian. A clearing house for information on this

subject is the Center for Civilian Internee Rights, Inc., 6060 La Gorce Dr., Miami Beach, FL 33140.

Japanese internees in the US: United States Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority, *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, 1946); *Impounded People: Japanese Americans in the Relocation Centers* (Washington, 1946); and Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Washington, 1982). Internment camps as concentration camps: A. Bosworth, *America's Concentration Camps* (New York, 1967). R. Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York, 1971); M. Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York, 1976); M. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago, 1949); J. Tateishi, *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps* (New York, 1984); D. Kitagawa, *Issei and Nisei: The Internment Years* (New York, 1967); D. Myer, *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority in World War II* (Tucson, 1972); D. Davis, *Behind Barbed Wire: The Imprisonment of Japanese Americans During World War II* (New York, 1982); R. Daniels et al, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (Seattle, 1991); *Honolulu Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser*, February 25, 1990; *Hawaii Herald*, March 16, 1990. Published since my book went to press: P. Smith, *Democracy on Trial: The Japanese-American Evacuation and Relocation in World War II* (New York, 1995). Pissing on the plaque: another judgment call where I am withholding a name.

Stanbrough and Reed at Bicycle Camp: Stanbrough/Daws. Slug Wright and Doc Hekking touring: Daws with Wright, Hekking. See also Stewart, *To the Kwai*, generally. Manila: Daws with Delich, McGrew, Skinner, Walk, White, H. Compare Woodhouse/Documents/IWM.

And here is the Dutchman J.H.A. Bange reflecting upon his trip back up the Burma-Siam railroad as far as Takunun: The Thai people touched him, told him he was lucky; at Kinsayok a small girl couldn't do enough for him; she found him a railroad spike. "I wasn't sad at all, as it seemed that certain period hadn't happened--couldn't have happened in the peace and tranquility of that beautiful river. The memory was there, it looked the same and yet it seemed as if it had not happened after all." Bange/Daws. Bange died not long after he wrote me that letter.

The Thai with bad dreams: *US News and World Report*, December 3, 1990, 14; *Los Angeles Times*, February 24, 1991; *Sunday Age*, March 3, 1991. Nightmares: every POW has bad dream stories—another topic on which POWs' wives can speak in detail; see AWM with Braithwaite, Henderson; Daws with Balaza, Bradley, Brookman, Hewlett, Maple, Nelson, Snyder, Stone; Knox, *Death March*, 475; Haney, *Caged Dragons*, 224. See also J. Kluznik et al, "Forty-Year Follow-up of United States Prisoners of War", *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 143, no. 11 (November, 1986), 1443-1446. The Australian Roy Whitecross wrote a book to get over being a POW--it was either write or go mad---but he has never been able to read *Slaves of the Son of Heaven* right through because it upsets him too much; Whitecross/Daws. The POW in the trailer camp: another case where I think it best to withhold a name--I have also changed the location of the trailer camp.

Arisan Maru reunion: this took place in September, 1983. Rabaul reunion: Daws interviews with Holguin, Kepchia, McMurria; Murphy/AWM; *New York Times*, August 6, 1986; *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1990.

Amarillo sukiyaki: *Chit Chat*, February, 1968. The khaki undershirt: Scheidecker/Daws. Wakeup call: Hekking/Daws. Man from the *Houston*: Wilkinson/Daws. Otto Schwarz's newsletter is called *The Blue Bonnet*.

The yearly Lost Battalion and *Houston* Survivors reunions are described in their roster and newsletters. The plaque was finally dedicated on May 4, 1994. They held their fiftieth reunion, in August, 1995, at Wichita Falls, where they held their first. Slug Wright made it.