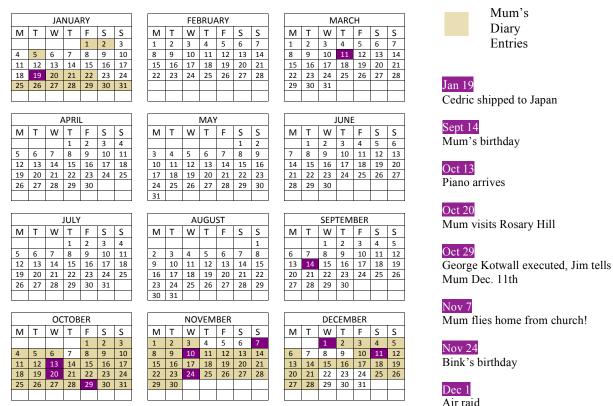


# 1943

Mum turns 21 in September 1943. This is the second year of Hong Kong's military occupation by Japan, with no relief in sight and the war in Europe dragging on. The start of the Kempeitai "Reign of Terror" arresting BAAG operatives and their associates, many of whom are Mum's friends. Food is increasingly expensive and disease more common. American air raids welcome in 1942 become more threatening and deadly in 1943. Mum loses her Uncle George to the Japanese and Cedric is shipped to Japan.

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# **Harry Ching**

As with many of Mum's friends mentioned in her diary, a little bit of searching on the Internet reveals resistance connections. The world of Eurasians in wartime Hong Kong was a tightly knit web, and familiar names regularly come up. Harry Ching's Wartime Diary (Gwulo: Old Hong *Kong*) was a useful reference in my attempts to untangle this web, and gives a vital Eurasian perspective on the Hong Kong occupation. Harry was an editor for 33 years with the South China Morning Post. During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong Harry had no regular employment. The South China Morning Post temporarily ceased publication, and he declined to work for the Japanese-run English language newspaper The Hong Kong News. To enable his family to survive he relied heavily on the charity of better off friends and (like the Lang family) on the sale of his possessions. He was arrested by the Kempeitai in 1943 and briefly incarcerated in the gendarmerie located in the Le Calvaire Convent in Happy Valley. George Kotwall (Mum's uncle) and Dorothy Lee receive mention as fellow internees. Harry's son Henry Ching has attempted to organize his father's diaries (much as I am attempting to do with Mum's) and made them available on the Internet. Being a reporter by trade, Harry's diary has wonderful detail. Unlike the Lang's, he didn't leave for Macau, but stayed in Hong Kong for the duration. Among Mum's friends, Harry's Diary's mentions the Pascos, Bishop Hall and the Landau boys (Jimmy's Kitchen) and George Giffin, newspaper editor.

# "Met Mr. Pasco who ing. why I have not been round" January 25<sup>th</sup> diary entry

# **Boris Pasco** (see Appendix C)

Boris Pasco was Paddy Pasco's father. Paddy is Patricia Pasco nee Denholme. Boris Pasco was a Russian bookseller (many 'white Russians' fled to HK following the Bolshevik revolution). He first appears on the HK Jurors List for 1921. The name of the shop is given as Brewer and Co. On October 25, 1922 he married Kathleen Josephine Harris at St. Joseph's Church. After a reception at the Hong Kong Hotel, the couple left for a honeymoon in Canton and Macao. Boris often found books for Mum (see pg. 143) and was involved with the BAAG.

#### Henry Ching writes:

"I was very interested in Brian's post on Boris Pasco. During the Japanese occupation my father and I used weekly to walk to Central to buy what little food we could afford, as it was cheaper than shopping in Happy Valley where we lived. We often dropped in at Pasco's bookshop in Ice House Street. I was not yet ten years old then, but my father tried hard to get me to read, and I remember he bought me a book from Pasco. It was Rudyard Kipling's Just So Stories. After I finished it we returned it to him, and he let us choose another book without further charge. We did this with each successive book. It really became a sort of lending library, the fee for which was the cost of the initial book."



"Pasco had an assistant, a Chinese lady whose name I forget. She was very loyal, and continued to operate the shop while he was a guest of the Kempeitai. Pasco, incidentally, was an Old Boy of the Diocesan Boys' School."

"My guess is that few readers of the Hong Kong newspapers of the 1920s and 1930s would have expected Boris Pasco to play any part in the highly dangerous job of providing relief to the Allied prisoners, let alone to have anything to do with the resistance. The news stories don't suggest a man willing to risk everything to help others, and after the Japanese invasion, as a 'third national', he could have stayed away from any activity that could be labelled 'pro-British' and thus spared himself the risk of imprisonment, torture and death. But, although the full story of his contribution during the occupation will probably never be known, enough is visible to suggest that when called upon to show his courage and his humanitarian commitment he responded magnificently."

"Mr. Pasco was taken by the Kempeitai in the course of their crackdown on the resistance, which reached its height in the spring of 1943. According to a report that reached the British Army Aid Group, Mr. Pasco was arrested and taken to the Kempeitai Headquarters at the Supreme Court at about the same time as the Jesuit Fathers Joy and Casey, the Canadian Thomas Monaghan, and the British banker David Edmondston. Giving evidence at a post-war collaboration trial, Mr. Pasco added 'Kookel' (probably the man Selwyn-Clarke calls Khorkel) and George Kotwall to the list of his fellow detainees. He was taken in because he was suspected of allowing his bookshop to be used as a meeting place for Charles Hyde, Chester Bennett, Marcus da Silva and other BAAG agents. On preliminary questioning, the Japanese could find nothing to substantiate this charge and he was released about a fortnight after being sent to Stanley Goal."

"He died aged 65 on March, 8, 1966 and was buried in the Jewish Cemetery, Happy Valley. Perhaps this lifetime bookseller was able to hold in his hands Liam Nolan's book on Kiyoshi Watanabe, which was published in the year he died- the only one to give a hint of his own service in the dark world's fire of occupied Hong Kong."

# "Dorothy Lee invited me to tea." N

November 12<sup>th</sup> diary entry

# Dorothy Johannah Ahlmann Lee 1915-2004

Emily Hahn (see pg. 319) claims that what she calls 'the Reign of Terror opened with a 'bang' in February, 1943. The first action in the 'reign' to involve someone working directly for Selwyn-Clarke was the arrest of Dorothy Lee. Dorothy Lee was a Hong Kong citizen of non-British origin (Eurasian) and so not liable to internment. She lived with her family in Robinson Rd., and worked as a secretary. Because she had done voluntary social work before the war, Selwyn-Clarke asked her to help him look after about 40 Chinese wives of Allied pows – he was supporting these women with a grant from the British Consulate in Chongquing.

On 11<sup>th</sup> February 1943 Dorothy was arrested on Queen's Road and taken to Central Police Station. The purpose of her arrest was to get her to incriminate Selwyn-Clarke, who, the Kempeitai believed, was head of a British spy ring. She was questioned about Selwyn-Clarke and



brutally beaten with a truncheon when her answers failed to satisfy the gendarme, the notorious Corporal Lishi, nicknamed 'the killer', and not metaphorically. She resisted her questioners for three hours, after which the beatings became more brutal. Lishi took a dinner break at 6 p.m. and returned to continue his obscene work at 7. Miss Lee had been given no food or water that day, a standard Kempeitai method to weaken the victim's will to resist. These interrogations continued over the next week.

It could be that one of the reasons Dorothy Lee was arrested was that the Kempeitai thought it would be easy for one of their most feared interrogators to break such a young woman; if so, they couldn't have been more wrong.

While in prison, Miss Lee found herself in a cell next to Dr. K. W. Chuan. She was suffering from severe dysentery but given no treatment, although she repeatedly asked for a doctor. Dorothy Lee, although in the middle of her own pain and fear, unselfishly smuggled bread into Dr. Chuan's cell. She was held in appalling conditions until her release on March 13. All this time this courageous woman refused to say anything to incriminate Dr. Selwyn-Clarke. According to the introduction to her article in *China Remembers*, she was not involved in his smuggling ring, but in her own account she says she was arrested while waiting for the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank to open so that she could pass on a message from Selwyn-Clarke to one of the 'expatriate' staff; many of these messages concerned illegal activities and, even if Miss Lee knew absolutely nothing of such matters, the Kempeitai would have been happy to listen to fabrications, as they proved after Selwyn-Clarke's own arrest.

Lee was eventually released and arrested again on May 6 and held for questioning until May 14, but this time without mistreatment. The Medical Director had influential Japanese support at the time of Lee's first arrest, so the Kempeitai obviously felt that they needed some 'evidence' before they proceeded against him. This support disappeared around the end of April, when two of his Japanese 'protectors' were transferred away from Hong Kong, so Dr. Selwyn-Clarke was himself arrested and Miss Lee's treatment when she was re-arrested probably reflects the fact that the Kempeitai expected to get Selwyn-Clarke's own 'confession' so her evidence would have been relatively unimportant.

In her account of these events Miss Lee does not draw attention to the fact that her month of suffering in a Kempeitai prison obviously did not deter her from continuing to help Selwyn-Clarke in his work. In fact, she did voluntary work for most of the war, so she must have found a way to continue even when he'd been arrested.

After the war, she was sent to England on an Attlee Government scholarship to study social work. She returned to Hong Kong and became one of only four workers in the Social Welfare Office, concentrating on youth work. She died on January 25, 2004.

Selwyn-Clarke makes no mention of this incident in his autobiography, but it further highlights his own bravery, as he must have known on March 13, if not before, that the Kempeitai were after him. See page 204 for a picture and more on Dorothy. Dorothy is also mentioned in KWIZ report #33 1.2.44.



"Landau boys came to fetch me over to theirs"

17<sup>th</sup> October diary entry

# Adolphe 'Aaron' Landau, also Jimmy of Jimmy's Kitchen

A French citizen from Shanghai and subscriber to Hong Kong's Ohel Leah Synagogue, Landau employed seven refugees at two of his restaurants: Jimmy's Kitchen and the Parisian Grill, both popular hangouts with Mum and her friends. Landau partnered with Shanghai-based Jimmy James to open a Hong Kong branch of 'Jimmy's Kitchen' in 1928, a popular western style restaurant with branches in Shanghai. Landau employed several German and Austrian refugees as managers and cashiers of his restaurants in Hong Kong and procured professional musicians directly from Shanghai. He entered into a bond of \$7,000 at the Colonial treasury on behalf of at least three of these refugees, all of whom were musicians. Landau's employment of husband-wife partnerships and the undertaking of government bonds on behalf of refugees indicate a clear humanitarian motive. Emile Landau was tortured by the Japanese as a result of his BAAG involvement.

"Emile Landau (son of Aaaron), the owner of a popular pre-war restaurant was one of those loaning money to the British through Hyde, and suffered greatly for it".

From Gwulo Old hongkong

# "Walked out on Mum and Jo to go to Yamsaki 'bout red cross"

25<sup>th</sup> December diary entry

# Shimokawa Yamasaki

Shimokawa Yamasaki seems to have been my mother's family dentist, as well as a spy before the war. Yamasaki and other Japanese businessmen would golf in Shatin on the weekends where they would spy on British Army movements and the like.

"Prior to the war, our grandfather JCL had a good friend in his dentist, Dr. Yamasaki (I believe his name was). They used to sit in John's book-lined study for hours talking and smoking and, no doubt, gazing out on Hong Kong Harbor. The day of the invasion, Dr. Yamasaki dressed in military uniform – fairly high ranking in the Japanese Army, unbeknownst to anyone in Hong Kong. Like many of the other professional Japanese businessmen in HK – he had been spying and planning for the forthcoming invasion for a long time. After John's death, the family, as you have described, were stranded and forced to survive within a black market system – using bolts of silk and other valuables as collateral. Grandma applied for permission to leave for Macau and tried to see Yamasaki to see if he would help. This was met with the cold shoulder treatment – which one would assume to be Yamasaki shaking off any hint of colluding with the locals – but the permission slip was posted eventually (in some public venue where hopefuls would visit daily in hope of being granted permission) and my father (Archie) seems to credit Yamasaki's influence in this."

Email Derek Lang July 8 2016



#### **January 1943**

up vefore daybreak & saw the sun rise lotte hew year. Over is St. Joseph's is meet Bill walked home to treekfast with her this Botanical gardens. Toto eternal talk of tomorrean The black days started with a walk there forme & the tright ones were starting the same thought 1. We had a drink & I met Danny the criffle. Bill mo-Korach walked ne Jan as Bowen Rd. & Paddy's we had a merry time & a real tiddly Emotean wished as a traffy how years up the fath alone - Rather neworis when Wiff called is me for vater works. mer m. Canol 5 Kin on Way. Pwas waship hair. Gave rest of Chubtmas Presents

#### January 1<sup>st</sup> 1943 Friday

Up before daybreak and saw the sun rise to the new year. Over to St. Joseph's to meet Bill. Walked home to breakfast with her through the **Botanical Gardens** and the eternal talk of TOMORROW. The black days started with a walk there for me and the bright ones were starting the same thought I. We had a drink and I met Danny the cripple. Bill & Mrs. Kovach walked me far as Bowen Rd. to Paddy's. We had a merry time and a real tiddly European wished us a Happy Noo Year! Up the path alone - rather nervous when Wiff called to me from water works. Met Mr. Cainof? and Kim on way. P was washing hair. Gave rest of Christmas Presents



of knocho & socks. They had is swop cos knichs did ast fit P. Had lovely day there. Mrs. Pin bed for. Tipp. of criscinto, tomatoes, cheese Jain collee. Pr 1 had senois talks 'rout Bill, us. She realizes The changed. Dibtreased by strained relationship . /. Bills her. Reminisce over hospital var days with is from. Had lear cene. Peno 5 chat over what Russ. littling Raddy & reading Dunies of chinese chows I got real heady & gayon 2 glasses Sha shine to Ps amusement. Chatted till late by jace. PT i spoke of Old times Four chaps. I cleaned up on lete ouffer. Didn't sleep very well. if very carly. Cold bath. Breakfast of charlow it lefter B.4. mrs. Pas gor up.

of knicks and socks. They had to swop 'cos knicks did not fit P. Had lovely day there. Mrs. P in bed. Tiff of biscuits, tomatoes, cheese, jam, coffee. P and I had serious talks 'bout Bill, us. She realizes I've changed. Distressed by strained relationship / Bill and her. Reminisce over hospital war days with to P & Mrs. Had tea and cake. piano and chat over what Russian Literature Paddy is reading. Dinner of Chinese chow. I got real heady and gay on 2 glasses Shain?-shine to P's amusement. Chatted till late by fire.

P and I spoke of old times and our chaps and cleaned up our late supper. Didn't sleep very well.

Up very early. Cold bath. Breakfast of chow fan (*stir fry rice etc.*) and left B4 Mrs. Pas got up.

#### "Reminisce over hospital war days"

Jan. 2nd. Sat. Tram is Shamphuips foryfull of camp people. Sat at wach with P. J could see U. Lovely crossing. could see jubiles Bldgs our quite deserted. Heard is parcels when we armied but as I was not u dissaff. cause did not have any anyway. walked part way home with psor getwip george k. there. went home with him S 2 dependented 5 jo. up to area man provis. reaparty in afternoon mo. Keepia Grus. Tomash there. mis K. new prend v. sweet 23 only married 5 grs. she's cheech & spend had lonely flife in Kloon Tong B.4. war. chatted hours with her. V. shillful needle woman. Promised to teach melt sen,

### Saturday January 2nd 1943

Tram to Shamshuife Ferry (*ferry from Main to Sham Shui Po*) full of camp people. Sat at back with P. and could see it. Lovely crossing. Could see Jubilee Bldgs.

But quite deserted. Heard "no parcels" when we arrived (usually punishment for pow misdemeanor) but I was not v. disapp. 'cause did not have any anyway. (Mum must have been visiting Cedric in the pow camp?)

Walked part way home with Jess and Gehrings. George K (*Kotwall*). there – went home with him and 2 old but soldt\*\*\* and Jo (*Hazel*). Up to Ava Mansions (*May Rd*.). Tea party in afternoon. Mrs. Keafia and Mrs. Tomash (*Czech names*) there. Mrs. K. new friend v. sweet 23 only married 5 yrs. She's Czech & had lovely life in K'loon Tong B.4. war. Chatted hours with her. V. skillful needle woman. Promised to teach me to sew.



1930s Sham Shui Po Barracks and Jubilee Buildings

& Ramboo Pier



# Sham Shui Po

"The camp lay between the hills and the sea, on a reclaimed harbor flat scored by deep typhoon drains. The whole area had formerly been used as a British military barracks. There was room for several thousand men: and the general design of the camp was not too bad – two large gravel parade grounds at either end, and two broad surfaced avenues shaped in cruciform. Everything reflected the sort of military mind that delights in chessboard uniformity – the barracks huts, spaced as rigidly as tent lines, were long low affairs with concrete floors. A freak amid all this severity was a fantastic four-storey block of flats (jubilee buildings) that rose like a mirage along the water front"

We Shall Suffer There pg.30, Tony Banham

Sham Shui Po camp had been the barracks of the Middlesex Regt. pre war. The large 4-story set of flats was known as Jubilee Buildings used to be married quarters. SSP was the main pow Camp in Hong Kong, operating from before the British surrendered the Colony, to the Japanese surrender. By the latter date, it was the only pow facility operating in Hong Kong, bar the hospital at the Central British School (now King George V School). Many pows died here, especially in the diphtheria epidemic of 1942, and all shipments of pows to Japan left from Sham Shui Po's Bamboo Pier. Modern day Sham Shui Po Park has a pow memorial.

For another account of Sham Shui Po from a Canadian perspective read *Dark Side of the Sun* by Michael Palmer pgs. 30, 54/60.



Relatives and friends with parcels for pows in Sham Shui Po waiting to have them examined by the Japanese, from Red Cross archives.



Practiced I did some Russian in the morning. We started having bread on breakfast. Hi stayed till after & devided to leach the hids lows. E. Seares came & invited us la H.K. collee Faches at Bene Brids. alen "mend Boys Corn"an unforgettable priture of advocation on all my new ideas of life . we laughed 5 anied this it I went up & DFs with awollen ages. Somehow its an augul atmosphere there despite happy surroundings of yesteryear. The people are server so that the place seems scenn the nanagement to anyway. Eleft pt. for lovent up for rations unsuccessfully we came over at back of downstand on Ferry to Jun up 15 quiands inited it party on thurs mphy cochtail there. yome. Practice & shorthand.

Tuesday January. 5<sup>th</sup> 1943

Practiced and did some Russian in the morning. We started having bread for breakfast. Vi staved till after and decided to teach the kids for us. E. Soares came and invited us to H.K. coffee and cakes at Blue Birds then "Men of Boys Town" (1941 sequel to Boys Town with Spencer Tracy and Mickey Rooney) an unforgettable picture of advocation on all my new ideas of life. We laughed and cried thro' it & went up to DFs (*Dairy Farm*) with swollen eyes. Somehow its an awful atmosphere there despite happy surroundings of vestervear. The people are scum so that the place seems scum & the management is anyway. E left first. Jo & I went up for rations unsuccessfully. We came over at back of downstairs on ferry its fun! (downstairs on the Star Ferry is lower class) Up to Gilliards invited to party on Thursday night. Cocktail there. Home. Practice & short-hand.

The military occupation was a disaster for the 1.6 million people of Hong Kong, Dairy Farm and its staff were no exception, all but a handful were marched off to internment in the camps, the remainder were those who were forced by the Japanese to keep the farm going



P.m. with Edilt. bit o'shorthand with ky lea a E's I finally stayed come out will me in vain. Discussed our bleck futures. Refused to believe news from maple that lads were seen leaving this morn. On yes - up leshis - even may all matched up in prepara-tions for new life - wedlock.

#### Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> January 1943

p.m. with Edith bit o'shorthand with Ivy. Tea at E's and finally stayed night after she waited for bus to come out with me in rain. Discussed our bleak futures. Refused to believe news from Maple that lads were seen leaving this morn.

Oh yes – up Leslie's in evening. May all wrapped up in preparations for new life in wedlock.

"Discussed our bleak futures. Refused to believe news from Maple that lads were seen leaving this morn."



Having decided that it made more sense to turn the pows into slave laborers so that more Japanese might be freed up for the armed forces, a series of transportations to the Japanese homeland began. The first, the Shi Maru, left Hong Kong in September 4th 1942 with 620 pows aboard These were the 'hard men', many of whom had refused to sign the 'no escape' chit. The majority came from the Royal Scots, the Middlesex, and the Royal Artillery, with a handful from the Royal Navy and other units. The second, the Lisbon Maru, sailed with 1,834 men on September 27th. Torpedoed by the SS214 Grouper (US submarine) on October 1st, it sunk off the Zhoushan archipelago on October 2nd with great loss of life (see below). The third (must be the one Mum is talking about given the date) the Tatsuta Maru left Shamshuipo camp January 19<sup>th</sup> bound for Nagasaki – arrived 22nd January. Records indicate Cedric was on this ship.



19<sup>th</sup> January 1943. At 1300. TATUTA (aka Tatsuta) MARU departs Hong Kong carrying 1,180 men including 663 Canadian pows from the Sham Shui Po pow Camp. The pows are packed so tightly that there is no room to lie down. 22 January 1943: At 0400, T. M. arrives at Nagasaki. The pows are disembarked and board a train for five different camps including Hiroshima #5 Branch Camp (Innoshima) where Cedric Salter was sent.

By C.L. Rozario, sketch by his daughter Anna

Shi Maru September 1942

Lisbon Maru sunk by US sub Oct.2 1942

Tatuta Maru January 1943 (Cedric)

The fourth left Hong Kong on August 18 1943 with 473 men.

The fifth was on Dec 15th 1943 and included 563 pows.

The last occurred on April 29th 1944 with just 221 men.





When she was sunk by USS Grouper (SS-214) on 1 October 1942, the Lisbon Maru was carrying, in addition to Japanese Army personnel, almost 2,000 British prisoners of war captured after the fall of Hong Kong in December 1941. Over 800 of these men died either directly as a result of the sinking, or were shot or otherwise killed by the Japanese while swimming away from the wreck. The ship should have carried appropriate markings to alert Allied forces to the nature of its cargo but did not do so. See *The Sinking of the Lisbon Maru* by Tony Banham.

They have done their worst-Our lads were all shipped away yesterday morning. In afathetic. Even the it may be histon man again a below Over 15 shorthand - leach, where ada commiced me of the tidings. Finished "Invitation 15 hiles" Read 'Sun'- lawrence - Beautiful ~ resealing anging gelb bout the sun Shortland . Went will Robin bong V some cakes for lea. Walk with connie i creenf Down to dois after de

Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> January 1943

They have done their worst – our lads were all shipped away yesterday morning. I'm apathetic. Even tho' it may be the Lisbon Maru again.

Over to shorthand – teach, where Ada convinced me of the tidings.

Finished 'Invitation to Live' (*author Lloyd C. Douglas 1940*) Read 'Sun' Lawrence (*D.H. Lawrence*) – Beautiful and revealing amazing facts 'bout the sun. Shorthand. Went with Robin (youngest brother) bought some cakes for tea.

Walk with Connie in evening. Down to doc's after dinner.

"They have done their worst – our lads were all shipped away yesterday morning. I'm apathetic. Even tho' it may be the Lisbon Maru again."





Innoshima (Hiroshima #5B).

# **Cedric Salter**

Cedric was shipped to Japan 19<sup>th</sup> January 1943 on the Tatsuta Maru. Norman McKenzie was a fellow Shan Shui Po internee who served on work parties to Kai Tak with Cedric, was transported on the Tatsuta Maru and ended up in Innoshima with Cedric. The following is his account of the experience:

"A big change took place in 1943 when a hundred volunteers (HKVDC'ers) were taken by ship, battened down in the hold, to Nagasaki, Japan. From there we travelled by train across the island of Kyushu, by tunnel under the narrow

channel separating it from Honshu, then through the ill-fated city of Hiroshima to a station on the beautiful Inland sea.... We eventually found ourselves on the little island of Innoshima, in a two-storey wooden barracks with rooms sleeping 32 men each, close to the Habu shipyard in which we were to work.

As I was comparatively fit, I was drafted into one of the more onerous gangs, 22 men assigned to the steelyard. Our job was to manhandle all the girders, rods and steel plates required each day for ships being built on the slipways, or damaged vessels being repaired in dry docks.

Our transference to Japan was beneficial in several ways. We had 'luxuries' denied us in Shan Shui Po - a small stove in our dormitories, burning from 5:00 pm till lights out...and in the bitter winter when our tubs of drinking and washing water were heavily sealed with ice we were allowed a shallow oriental-style bath every second night.....

Our gang was a motley one, including Hong Kong Volunteers (ranging from bankers and accountants to health-inspectors and restaurant staff) along with RAF ground crew."

For a more detailed account of the Tatuta (Tatsuta) Maru transport from a Canadian perspective read *Dark Side of the Sun* by Michael Palmer pgs. 66/69.



Thursday. 21st. for

Did Russian most of morning. Green is connib for till with fo. 188. Daw m. Suiter cont relief find. asked is returns mon.

up to church guest house with CF jo by choirs practice after borronig" Bisgace abounding" from Harris' Finished. "Investation to hive" Inopining. Reading Caurence. lent

"Diog. abo" is miss morstup. Mon jo mi ited is the at D.F. with up she suggests we should learn mandarings "tomonos." HK. will still reject is them. The interiors the only place. Ill stick is my

> "She suggested we should learn Mandarin for "tomorrow". HK. will still reject us then. The interiors the only place. I'll stick to my Russian."

#### Thursday 21st. January 1943

Did Russian most of morning. Over to Connie's for tiff with Jo. H.K. Saw Mr. Suiter bout relief fund. Asked to return Monday

Up to church guest house with C and Jo for choir practice after borrowing "Disgrace Abounding" (*by Douglas Reed pub. 1939*) from Harris! Finished "Invitation to Live" Inspiring.

Reading Lawrence. Lent 'Disg. Abo.' to Miss Mow Fung who Jo invited to tea at D.F. with us. She suggested we should learn Mandarin for "tomorrow". HK. will still reject us then. The interiors the only place. I'll stick to my Russian.



Friday 22rd Jan. H3. I think that reaction from laster bad news is now settling in . I've been crying inside all day. Busy day reventueless - Shorthend, music, leach. K. medar's goip Is have operation cancer - creast. Enjoyed my Russian P.M. mo. Lebedell is a bit of a 'kindred mind! was mentally "at home" ms. Kan Bergen brithday harly. but ies with unde fin By. that then Ed. returned with fo. Party was a bit of a farce where in concerned. Somehow I makes us dif. I ceds still here or no. chatted with miss anchargelsky - Am.

Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1943

I think that reaction from latest bad news is now settling in. I've been crying inside all day. Busy day nevertheless - shorthand, music, teach. K. Madar's going to have an operation cancer - breast. Enjoyed my Russian in P.M. Mrs. Lebedeff is a bit of a kindred mind! Was mentally "at home." Mrs. Van Bergen birthday party (Eileen Van Bergen, daughter in law of Sir Robert Kotewall, was Mum's bosom friend, until her death in the

*war*) but tea with Uncle Jim B4 that then Ed. returned with Jo.

Party was a bit of a farce where I'm concerned. Somehow it makes no diff. if Ced's still here or no. (*Mum is jealous and bitter?*) Chatted with miss Archangelsky in AM.

"Somehow it makes no diff. if Ced's still here or no"



Saturday 23rd January 1943

Blank

Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> January 1943

Blank

Sophie Bard, wife of Solomon (Solly) Bard, White Russian. Solly was a conductor and violinist with HK Philharmonic, medical doctor and archeologist. Solly (HKVDC) was in Shamshuipo and involved in an escape where he played his violin to warn when the coast was clear.

Monday 256 an. hercely creamy mint tea for break at undly pris. up town with him The Sali waited for mum at hatel lobby. met Sophie Band there chatted old times with her o wir ited her over on man. met m. Pasco who ing why I have not been round. mat mum cuentrally up to red cross waited then asked by mu Suiter to cell again in pm. So had is cancell curagenal 15 go down cemetry with Ed. Tilli-will aunt Dor. D.F. lop side for Dim Sim. Ed came along. then walk along Kennedy Rd. Teater Hotel. then 't apahe W 3rd Bind. successful! 1254 Took Bill & tea walked her home to save for row eventually stayed night Of news came this that talanta marss annied safely.

#### Monday 25th January 1943

Lovely creamy mint tea for break at Uncle Jim's. Up town with him and Mr. Sali. Waited for mum at hotel lobby. Met Sophie Bard there chatted old times with her and invited her over on Mon. Met Mr. Pasco who inq. why I have not been round. Met mum eventually up to Red Cross waited then asked by Mr. Suiter to call again in pm. So had to cancell (*sic*) arrangement to go down to cemetery with Ed.

Tiffin with Aunt Dor. D.F. top side for Dim Sum. Ed came along, then walk along Kennedy Rd. Tea at Hotel. Then I spoke to <del>Zed</del>-Zind. Successful! 175¥

Took Bill to tea walked her home to save from row eventually stayed night. Official news came thro' that Tatsuta Maru arrived safely.



# "Then I spoke to Zed-Zind. Successful! 175¥"

# **Rudolph Zindel**

During the war years The International Red Cross was active in Hong Kong. The Red Cross delegate was a Swiss National, Mr. Rudolph Zindel. He had to operate under very difficult conditions as the Japanese had not ratified the Geneva Convention of 1929, and hence he was only unofficially recognized as delegate and was subject completely to the authority of the Japanese. The British government provided £10,000 a month for internees (e.g. Stanley Camp) For the first 6 months of 1944 an additional £5,000 was provided by an unidentified donor. The Irish Red Cross also represented in HK stopped giving aid to Stanley Camp in mid-1943 in order to help HK neutrals and dependents of pow's who were not receiving aid from the Red Cross (Rosary Hill). Pre-war exchange rate was £1/¥17 but inflation during occupation was rampant. Initial Stanley Camp funding was ¥20 per adult per month and ¥5 per child. (the Japanese replaced the HK\$ with the Japanese ¥ - 2HK\$/1¥ Jan 1942, 4HK\$/1¥ July 1942. In June 1943 the Military Yen became sole legal tender.

"In this document Zindel does not mention many aspects of the work of the Red Cross Delegation: inspecting the Camps, paying small 'pocket money allowances' to the internees, answering requests for information from friends and relatives back home, equipping the schools in Stanley Camp, sending out messages for the prisoners, providing unofficial relief for people who fell through the gaps like Eurasians (another risky activity), receiving, storing and distributing 'comfort parcels'... The list could be continued."

Tom and Lena Edgar in War

By many (including Emily Hahn) Zindel was seen as working too closely with the Japanese, and not reporting the true conditions in the pow camps, earning himself the nickname "the Swindler", however, like Sir Robert Kotewall, Zindell was walking a tightrope in his dealings with the Japanese, and after the war he was found to be next on the Kempeitai's 'most wanted' list.



Tuesday 26<sup>th</sup> January 1943

Did not go in to teach. It came on diarhoea with it.

Wednesday 21th Jan Suged functioned is pom. to hits for till optimized Did not go ign liding after this ofter all wear - to trugs ofter all wear - to trugs bot o' shorthold is nonisie Home shipted function coming ame area weat watch is spend ignt with her. Did hissianall cuency.

#### Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> January 1943

Shifted furniture in pm. To Lils for tiffin after teaching. Did not go to see Kays after tiffin after all. Went in to Ivy's bit o'shorthand and music.

Home shifted furniture Connie came over went back to spend night with her. Did Russian all evening.

This deay 28ths Jail is tangaring in Tipp at curss. Was going it funds by gos his no lessons: is in the CUB won after some cahebor we took them with Chatted there down is solettie Voypat conver in they did not think up: Cyce at semann. Back is gos had cahes of chatted 1 was missible mored. Hed coupled home jo.

# Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> January 1943

Taught in AM. Tiffin at C and Bs. (*Connie and Bill?*)Was going to \*\*ses B4 glos' (*Glouster Hotel Renamed the Matsubara by the Japanese*) but no lessons.

C and B bought some cakes and we took them up. Chatted there, down to see the boys at corner but they did not turn up. Coffee at sun sun. (*Sun Sun Café Des Voeux Rd.*) Back to glos' had cakes and chatted. I was in miserable mood. Had coupla' home jos.

Friday, 29th Jan Teach. HK. anangedlogs a m. Pases. nol Ced . bonos 15 chonfree ousless this think and . Breakfast of ster onlette!

#### Friday 29th January 1943

Teach. HK. Arranged to go up with Mr. Pasco. Met Connie. Sent ¥10 into? Ced (*Cedric is not in HK so could this be a '42 entry*). borrowed from C. up to choir practice. Asked to sing at Dr. Wintersteins' wedding tomorrow. Up with Mr. P. Dinner of Oyster Stew & Chinese Chow. Mrs. P up. Breakfast of stew omelette!

Salinday 30th Jan 43 The end of the 1st month of the year. I have kept up the effort at keeping my resolutions wh In me is semething pressure 15 le more successful inny warhed, music Inothing el tyend of Ferbr. Tempte day loday lovely brend omelette coffee etc Reasant pm. Weldlip, look at Bowen Hosp. Russian on back Lorch reading stayed Thed was ached in the and is stay night but Pad. peculia. So left at for cuedon way down pranghow greeg daip inevitably effecting moods lich to quest house toget to met new mo, willestein hit of tea Home. To wohenews of new Job. conse sation in return to board lodging mo wong below uncle fin . Funny

#### Saturday 30th January 1943

The end of the 1<sup>st</sup> month of the year. I have kept up the effort at keeping my resolutions which for me is something. Resolve to be more successful in my work especially music if nothing else by end of February. Terrible day today. Lonely breakfast of omelet coffee etc. Pleasant AM. Iolling, looking at Bowen Hospital. (*A number of hospitals were used by the Japanese for pows during the years of occupation. The biggest of these was the Bowen Road Hospital*)

Russian on back porch. Chow mien Late for wedding stayed and had tif. Was asked to and meant to stay night but Pad. (*Paddy Pasco*) peculiar. So left at \*\* cried on way down funny how grey days inevitably effect my mood and luck. To guest house to get Jo. Met new Mrs. Winterstein bite of tea. Home. Jo broke news of new job. Conversation in return for board & lodging. Mrs. Wong below Uncle Jim (*could be first mention of Glenda Wong*).



indo how

Funny how Jo is the only person I depend on. Somehow I have a peculiar attachment to her. I didn't like the news. But she has been so unpleasant all evening. Refuses to have anything to do with shower she suggested for May. I had the first jolly good howl in a long time.

Connie had neighbours around to dance. I popped over. Damn sorry I missed wedding. I'm going to give that damn shower if I have to feed them rice!

> "I'm going to give that damn shower if I have to feed them rice!"

"Jo broke news of new job. Conversation in return for board & lodging. Mrs. Wong below Uncle Jim" Glenda Wong became a close friend of Mum's, and her flat a refuge when Mum moved in. Mum taught Glenda English and learned Russian from Boris Pasco

3pt an still as they was no l when we got

#### Sunday 31<sup>st</sup> January 1943

Over to church. Ferry with Miss Mow Fung. Up to Ava Mansions (May Rd. demolished 2002 now Branksome Towers.) tiffin with Uncle George. Up to see Mrs. Kiafier tea with her chatted. She's helping me to alter my honey jacket. Walk with her after tea. She's really very sweet and simple. The walk along Branksome path was lovely. So I had a lovely afternoon. She asked me to go up again on Thursday pm. to finish jacket. Met Madame Kovach and Bill over K'loon ferry and they insisted I went home with them for night. Did so 'cos it was mad. It turned out madder still as there was no 'lectricity when we got there.

This is the last mention of Mum's Uncle George Kotwall in her diary until she learns of his execution from her Uncle Jim (see November 10<sup>th</sup> diary entry). George was executed October 29<sup>th</sup>. He was arrested by the Kempeitai 21<sup>st</sup> April (see Appendix C), this means he would have spent over six months in prison, God knows what suffering he may have endured in this time.



# 10<sup>th</sup> February 1943

Dear Mr. Salter,

Your card came the other day as a wonderful surprise as I had not heard from you since----, thank you so much. But I was so disappointed to find the sentence after "I'm in perfect condition and ---- absolutely unreadable because it was so indistinct.

I understand tat you may not be able to write me a letter due to lack of paper so I enclose some and continue to wait hopefully. It was cheering to hear that you are so well - I'm sorry if I sounded some what grim in my last letter - it was rather disheartening of me, but I'm not always that mournful really.

It was delightful news to hear of Cedric's card to you as I still have not heard from him -I can well imagine what it's like and I won't fail to thank him next month - tho' I have just learnt that you can also write him you know!

*I'll say cheerio now Mr. Salter and don't forget about the Manhattans – one thing we won't be able to do tho' and that is to run down the hill during Black out – remember?* 

#### Affectionately Phyl

The above letter was found as a draft in Mum's Diary. Cedric's father Alfred was a pow in Stanley Camp, and Cedric at a slave labour camp in Japan.



#### March 1943

Thurs, 11th, March as not Ta 100 0 100 4 mb 010

# Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> March 1943

Russian and teach – AM. to have time for May's wedding pm. It was not a very impressive occasion. I remained apathetic but somewhat puzzled and annoyed by Edith's rather cool and isolating attitude towards me.

Reception at Peninsular, a party up the newly weds flat in the evening. Beautiful dance music and eats. Regrets and Hopes. Music – all was there for gaiety but Olgar Aich. Jess Jo Self. Hearts and minds at Shamshuipo (*pow camp*).

Was in borrowed finery all day thru.

> "Hearts and minds at Shamshuipo"

#### September 1943

Tues. Sept. 14" 1943. Up at 7. Told Doreen it was my B. Read "Private Worlds". Glenda up late. taught. to golden city Restam. Tiffin with him, was going to be 21 there & them but m Sare duc. Back to kormat 4. Dropped in 15 be greated by Billwith present for me, met nich Duly worg. Babies workthem to tailors & milliners, Duik at D.F. with Duley, Back, 5 10- Cham- Ron. presents waiting for me 1 alm had to swallow him Thoon Restrical So heak of a feast. The moon is one of my presents. Rangup, ma sionise it willhelder ch also pist signof writer

14th Lept 1943 my clear Phil, Happy brittday and may God bles you mych with many returns. Love, mum.

#### Tuesday September 14<sup>th</sup> 1943

Up at 7. Told Doreen it was my B (Birthday). Read "Private Worlds" (Phyllis Bottome 1934) Glenda up late. Taught. To Golden City Restaur. Tiffin with him. Was going to be 21 there and then but m sane duc (Fr. without doubt). Back to town at 4. Dropped in to be greeted by Bill with present for me. Met Rick Duley Wong. Babies took them to tailors and milliners. Drink at D.F. with Duley. Back and Jo -Cham – Ron presents waiting for me . I almost had to swallow lumps. Moon Festival (The Mid-Autumn Festival is held on the 15th day of the eighth month in the Han calendar-essentially the night of a full moon—which falls near the Autumnal Equinox on a day between September 8 and October 7 in the Gregorian calendar) so heck of a feast. The moon is one of my presents. Rang up. Made promise it will never change. Also first sign of winter. First dance with Ron.

"The moon is one of my presents."



Happy boithday capital P. I wenty one today and we? you and us can share this joke The Joneses are having a hell our stroke. Our besteat wishes for many a return, Be good, dear P, you're our concern. We wish you luck, and health, and joy, and pray youll get a steady boy. Though last this be, its far from least, Next year we want, a damn good freast. Our love, Mary + Hogal 14th Deplamber 1943



October 1943

#### Friday 1<sup>st</sup> October 1943

Did not teach A.M. David rang. To tif. with him @ Wuthering Heights. He got bread for Glen. whom I left cheery.

D brought me "unoffic. H" Waited in ship like room for while he told me of magis Chung Shan offer and opium (*Boxer Rebellion?*)

Ate 2 \*\*\* of mein (*noodles*) Told me never to leave it. To "red and white" (*cigarettes*) for coffee and had to go to lav. I'l m'a dit quil maimait aux les fragments (*he told me he loved me to bits?*).

Walked along waterfront. Took different ferries.

Il est les joli cette jour habille en blanc (*it is nice that the day dressed in white*). Says D (*David?*) likes the way I "hi ~" Stayed home and read.





Guarding homes 1.16 hada, this throughout the World! of thirty fe rep ntatis and in THE MANUFACTURERS LIFE INSURANCE CORPANY HEAD OFFICE TORCHIO, CANADA HONG KONG OFFICE : 2nd Floor, Asiatic Building. Telephone 20601. J. E. KOTWALL REPRESENTATIVE

Saturday October 2<sup>nd</sup> 1943

Tidied room and gave attentions to new amah. Mrs. Leb came up and sayed E and my plans for 791 was changed to see it at hers at 3.

Left us seul (*alone*) To make tea. Je tombait et nous felt the sans espoir (*I was falling and we felt without hope*). Left on Ben's bike.

I home to finish work. Dinner walk and ice cream with Ron and Spud. Marys Casino (*card game*). Fell asleep there.



Domes 3rd Oct etas

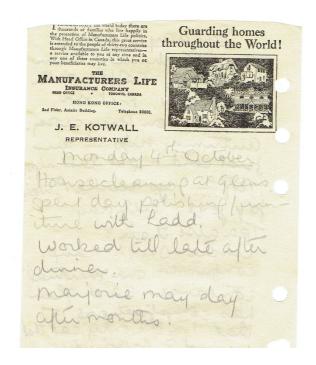
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# Sunday 3rd October 1943

Over to church. Mum Jo Robin. Coffee with same and V. Met Mr. Horonha on ferry crossing. Autumn nip in the air first cold night last night. Tiffin. Up Auntie P Wee's joy joys. Birthday.

Tea also their Uncle Oh Oh rang confirmed our mutual tombance (*fall*) Said Glen has complications. And that I'm the only cat that does not? G (*Glenda Wong*) bound to be in glooms 'cos not included upstairs.





George Samuel Ladd became agent 128, code name 'Fat Boy Next Door', he was a Eurasian and part of 'K' group in the HKVDC along with Jimmy Kotwall and Saleh Ebrahim. The three of them were collecting information on shipping in HK harbor. In December 1943, George Ladd was imprisoned and brutally tortured by the Kempeitai, but survived to give evidence as a witness in the War Crimes Trials held in HK in 1945. (see Appendix E)

#### Monday 4<sup>th</sup> October 1943

Housecleaning at Glen's. Spent day polishing furniture with Ladd. Worked till late after dinner.

Marjorie May day after months.

is leave money n. Reananged encing with I met par littered stains Talked assimilation grownin art that

#### Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> October 1943

#### Taught

- Into town up croix rouge (*Red Cross*) by 2. David appeared for a minute.
- Lara came up to see me. Got our remittance 170¥. Lara walked to H.K. silk store with me to leave money for mum. Rearranged for dancing with Lara. Met E at little cafe up stairs. Talked of assimilation of learning? My growing up. His manufact. plans.
- Told me of m and matriarchy. Awoke horrified to the fact it was 7.



A<sup>FTER</sup> middle age men divide into two classes —the dependent and the independent. Your position in later years will not be determined by the amount of monty you have saved, but by the amount you have saved. The deciding factor u what you save. An investment of fify cents a day in Endowment Insurance is the sure road to independence.

2nd Floor, Asiatie Building; Telephone 2000L

J. E. KOTWALL



millo

Thought I heard M. below at telephone.

Stayed on. Rang back to G. Walked back in clean October air. <del>Told me</del> to halfway up hill where he gave me a handful of stars. Took down to station where I stung. Left left

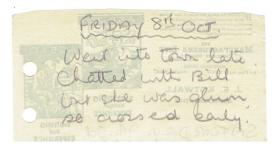
(*dreaming?*) It's so unnatural. Woke up to uncle & Aunties pffft upstairs – didn't realize it could be them.



Prano Tremble inthe E 6 Glen over phon

#### Wednesday October 6th 1943

Lazy day. Finished unofficial Honeymoon. Piano Trouble with E and Glen over phone.



#### Friday October 8<sup>th</sup> 1943

Went into town late. Chatted with Bill but she was glum so crossed early.

AGE 2C MANUFACTURERS LIFE J. E. KOTWALL EVERYTHING REPRESENTATIVE EXPERIENCE 912.0d SATURDAY. EXPERIENCE woke me up. Th d me up to go in with her with message from D whom she Jacked in to hers for lu layed night. May hee s Derolly there. Saw voys 2000 in Fruchs. Gaue and Eve x10. for pala.

#### Saturday October 9th 1943

Ivy woke me up and hurried me up to go in with her with message from D whom she met on way.

Walked in to hers for lunch stayed night. May Lee and Dorothy there. Saw boys pass in trucks.

Gave aunt Eve. ¥10 for eats.

"Saw boys pass in trucks."



SUNDAY 10 BOO walk is morekok any crossed with Locack met maple gone over energency to play ber us. Robin met mi walch. Rush this til 5 ian away milt Builds at Plane on up is night at the leak there's cost duily . hotted sar @ kunst hotted Wardered back the youmati streek. Home. Ron took me 15 ico cream, 5 peanulis up to manyo, casino

MANUFACTURERS LIFE HONG KONG C J. E. KOTWALL EVERYTHING REPRESENTATIVE EXPERIENCE US OCTEXPERIENCE NOTHING MONDAY. Crossed @ 11 " of martial law on . met helljof c Bin sons on Jeny. Back is cause way Bay. Tanght. Glen them kido. Into town to meer have loting 7 Back home will her for Just lesson. Enjoyed the loosening up unmens dy Prepared lish sandurch Burn night Could not sleep. Bright moonlips night.

#### Sunday October 10th 1943

Walk to Mongkok (*West Kowloon*) ferry, crossed with Locock. Met Maple going over emergency to play for us. Home with Jo and Robin met Mr. Walsh. Rush thro' tif and ran away with Binks.. Met my own at Piano company.

Up to nips at Tai Kok Tsui (*is an area west of Mongkok in Kowloon – ship yards*) Wandered round there and got dirty.

Sat @ ruins and chatted. I was so much. Wandered back thro' Yaumati streets (*an area in the Yau Tsim Mong District in the south of the Kowloon Peninsula*) home. Ron took me to ice cream & peanuts. Up to Mary's casino.

# "Up to nips at Tai Kok Tsui Wandered round there and got dirty".

#### Monday 11<sup>th</sup> October 1943

Crossed @ 11 because of martial law on. Met Nell Jaf and Bunsons on ferry. Back to Causeway Bay Taught. Glen then kids. Into town to meet Lara @ lobby 7. Back home with her for first lesson.

Enjoyed the loosening up immensely. Prepared fish sandwich. Burnt? Right?

Could not sleep. Bright moonlight night.

Kelly and Walsh had bookshops in Hong Kong



 $B_{\rm LIVEC}$  , we during and sumset or your business competence for the time when series during which you should provide a competence for the time when enread theorem will cause. Why not invert 30 centry, a day in Endowment Insurance for a recurs evening of life? MANUFACTURERS LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY HONG KONG OFFICE 2nd Floor, Asiatic Building Telephone 20601. J. E. KOTWALL EVERYTHING REPRESENTATIVE except EXPERIENCE NOTHING but EXPERIENCE 0.0 101

Wednesday October 13th 1943

Made egg sandwiches for babies. Up at 7. Taught before breakfast of tea bread red beans. Darned table cloth PIANO CAME! Moutrie (*make of Chinese upright*) with the tone of a grand. It was big of Ed to do it for me. Lent to ah Fun (*ahma?*) will get it back for us later says she.

Met Jo Cham Mum in lobby yarned over getting electric units and star stor (*fridge?*) and not going to key man because Silea's flat tho' Ed will have nothing to do with it.

Up to V's for tea on Robi Rd. (*could be Robinson Road*) Rush back for phone but G b4 (*before*). Down in dumps.



#### Thursday October 14th 1943

Uncle J (*Jim*) breakfasted with us. I had boiled egg. E rang @ 9 to my desperation.

Mixed face powder. Tidied rooms. Sewed up my brown cardigan.

David rang and I felt chirrupy out of my last nights D in D (*Down in dumps*) all until he brings up about seeing him tomorrow and then – gosh Frustration.

I D in D straight away to extent of blubbering and hanging up. Felt better later.

Went down to catch grasshoppers with uncle Jim and kids.

To Lara's for lesson.

"Went down to catch grasshoppers with uncle Jim and kids."



Mum spent time with the Landau boys (see below). The restaurant, now Jimmy's Kitchen on Ashley Road where the Lang's lived before the war, was used by the BAAG. On the 15<sup>th</sup> April 1944 the Landaus were taken by the Kempetai. (From Harry Ching's wartime diary)

### Friday October 15th 1943

Taught. Late to Restaurant opposite Kam Lung. Out for blood and in. Oh was so fed up made David feel so and he wanted to leave. But somehow got out of it. Home with Archie for ice cream. Up to Mary's for bit home.

# Saturday 16<sup>th</sup> October 1943

Over to D.F. to meet Eddie (Eddie Gossano?) waited ages. Fein Ca\*vathe kindly came over and knowing my plight invited me in to tea. E finally appeared. Went up to Pokfulam (a residential area on Hong Kong Island) to Madames. Tea at Landau's (now Jimmy's Kitchen, Landau's was popular with movie stars) Babe Hung's there. Mme. came for me Dinner Mr. Tai northerner speaking French. Chatted with Mme till late. Told her about my pain in the neck and she says its my heart. (David?)



gu. Por 1º 1 St DEA cent no ea

## Sunday 17th October 1943

Landau boys came to fetch me over to theirs. Loafed at the farm. Did some raking of weeds. Mended fencing carpentry hammered holes in table up for eggs.

Back for lunch. Read GBS "Intel womans guide to C.S.F" (*George Bernard Shaw's The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*" *1937*) Took Grissly for walk. Back downtown. Coke with Lara.

Back to Causeway Bay. Glen not informed so sulked so I went up to Auntie D's dinner. (*Aunt Doris Kotewall*)

## Monday 18<sup>th</sup> October 1943

Glenda lessons early and out. I walked to my lessons in evening.

Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup> October 1943

TUES . GA. OCT David came eased me GRAN notie Den len returned had les had to teach

David came in p.m. Teased me. Met Gran and Auntie Dor. Glen returned. We had tea. I had to teach.

## Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> October 1943

Up 8 dressed for town. David rang up. Delay arguing about our next "DATE". Town saw Miss Noom's? Italian Convent (half way up the peak of Mt Victoria, Cain Road) about commercial classes (Italians were part of axis forces thus allowed to continue to operate by the Japanese?). Too expensive Lara not in so up to Red Cross – Got form for boys to see doctor. Into salon de mode. Scolded by

Mrs. Kovatch re buying bread for her.

Back dead tired. Tif and taught. Archie came. Had nap. Tea Up to "Rosary Hill" with him what a trudge only to stay for a while too, Nell showed me around saw Kay, Archie Zim, surprising serious chat with brother Archie about mum.

Back to dinner. Eddie Bressil Dead Beat. \*\*\*\*\*\* rang.



## Rosary Hill (also known as Rosary Hell)

The Hong Kong News, 26 August 1943 announced that : "*The Hong Kong Branch of the International Red Cross will stop cash allowances to dependents of PW and civilian internees, and establish a center for them at St. Albert's Hall Convent, ROSARY HILL, no. 43 STUBBS ROAD*" (pg. 132 *We Shall Suffer There*).

In September 1943 Rosary Hill became a Red Cross internment camp for a large number of Filho de Macau and other Eurasian and 'Third National' families whose fathers, brothers and sons had been serving in the British HK Volunteer Defense Force and who had been interned either in Sham Shui Po in Kowloon or taken to Japan. With no earner in the family they had to rely on the Red Cross and were ordered into Rosary Hill. The diet was not brilliant but food throughout the colony had become more difficult with shipping being harassed by US submarines and the land connections cut intermittently by Chinese guerillas. Many moved themselves to Macau when they could find the money, where the British Consul was able to help in some cases.

Rosary Hill housed 1,100 women and children dependents of the HKVDF and Colonial Service personnel interned in other camps in Hong Kong. <u>Make no mistake, it was an internment camp</u> <u>under control of the Japanese</u>. "*It was beneath Col. Tokunaga (Japanese commander of pow camps) to deal with women and children so the* ICRC (*International Committee of Red Cross*) *delegate was ordered to find a place to house these worthless beings*". An agreement was reached and the ICRC delegate rented the Dominican Monastery. The Japanese then decided to excuse the taxes and furnished the rations to feed these dependents. The records are available from the ICRC at the Archives in Geneva Switzerland.

"The British government may deny that this was an internment camp to avoid the "ex-gratia" payment to pows, but even the War Crimes Tribunal saw this as a civilian internment camp."



Prisoners of War and civilian internees the group that consistently causes the Red Cross the most difficulties. Life here will be spartan and rather regimented. It will not suit everyone - one nickname is 'Rosary Hell'

"Most but not all of the people who live here will be 'dependents' of British

Rosary Hill Priory is the large building highest above Happy Valley Race Course (center)



A ... the dependent and the independent. Your position in later years will not be determined by the amount of money you have earned, but by the amount you have saved. The deciding factor is what you save. An investment of fifty cents a day in Endowment Insurance is the sure road to independence. MANUFACTURERS LIFE INSUBANCE COMPANY END OTACL - NORME, CAMPA HONG KONG OFFICE, The Telephone 2080E End Floor, Asiatie Building, Danger Line-Age 40! J. E. KOTWALL REPRESENTATIVE 2131.0 uRS, In bed till messed about olothes. to is have rang for longht. Over to visit Mrs. Fun miss Shiri will Glen. Drang. - bornip. says day O.K. now. the heck dan come up Tang Wash He

Thursday 21<sup>st</sup> October 1943

In bed till 9. Messed about mending clothes. Taught. Lara rang to cancel lesson for tonight.

Over to visit Mrs. Fungs Miss Shui with Glen David rang – boring. Says Friday O.K. now. The Heck! He can come up. Taught Dinner Wash Hair

"David rang – boring. Says Friday O.K. now. The Heck!"



Why set loven 50 casts a day MANUFACTUREES LIFE J. E. KOTWALL REPRESENTATIVE EXPERIENCE EXPERIENCE FR1. 22 d Oct. Taught. Practice Pranie E came up Lett at 6. 1 was hunons. taught Into town to meet 6 lale assed, intervented almake Had ie-crea Back to chame for cryp of tea

#### Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1943

Taught Practice Piano

E came up.

Left at 6. I was furious. Taught

Into town to meet G Late

Crossed (*ferry*) interviewed ahmahs. Had ice-cream Back to Cham's for cup of tea

thday. H. B. Cod ayed on to the Peter white to to nails with p walked in. Powwow. Her in lans there. She's infanticipating Walks Tiel - cream with Ron Spud. Rarrid appeared Offeredne come wir I dropped Ed. Ron sore cos I perio for our recoreans. He went home us onto spend

"Cedric's birthday. H. B. Ced!"

Saturday 23rd October 1943

Cedric's birthday. H. B. Ced! Mrs. Leb. Glen stayed on to tif.

Peter White to tif? He didn't show up.

(Peter White has an account of his time at Rosary Hill – it seems he was 11 years old? – could this be the same Peter White?)

Nan's (*Mum was close to her maternal grand mother Katherine Patterson – this could be her*) with Jo. Walked in. Pow-wow. Her in laws there. She's infanticipating Walk and ice-cream with Ron and Spud. David appeared offered me cone which I dropped. Ron sore 'cos I paid for our ice-creams. He went home, us onto Spud's.



2. Calke Don Iny may. 4-80 Return hey photos 14:20 Tranelting Cops, 7.65. 30 - garce E. 4.60. - 2 Rounds d) ice coffee. 160 16 36. 50 heft of 100, 28. 14 15 be payed back 12:20 helr for this menth, herr month, 30-14, =26. 4.9 Eta fo che years during which you stockd provide a companiora der the finan which you stockd provide a With year locket SD error is day in Endowment Emergence for a accore contain of Line? AGE 20 MANUFACTURERS LIFE HISUTALINUS MILEONI, CANADA MONO KONG OFFICE : Aulufa Belling Telephone 2000. 1 J. E. KOTWALL EVERYTHING except EXPERIENCE REPRESENTATIVE OCTOBER 1.20. Cigarettes, 3.60 Tram. NOTHING but EXPERIENCE 3.60 Ken. 2.20 Bananas, 2.20 Ice Cream Bananas, 1. Lines. 170. Goth Bush. E- 2:40 Ice cream. 1. 1.

	2	
<u>2.</u> 4.80 <u>.90</u> 5.70	coffee Do Return Ivy	or Ivy May / photos.
14.20 <u>5.70</u> 8.50 – Travelling exps.		
7.65 .30 – gave E. 4.60 – 2 rounds of ice cream.		
3	coffee	
7.90	100	10
	_36	10
64	5	
25 50 Left of 100 14 to be payed back 12.20 left for this month next month 30 – 14 = 26		

**OCTOBER** 

1.20 cigarettes 3.60 Tram 1. Ken 2.20 Bananas 2.20 Ice Cream E 1. Limes .70 Tooth Brush Bananas

E -2.40 ice cream



For the longest time I thought Binks was some kind of monocled Wodehouseian' friend of Mum's until I came across mention of de-worming and de-fleeing Binkie JR

## Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> October 1943

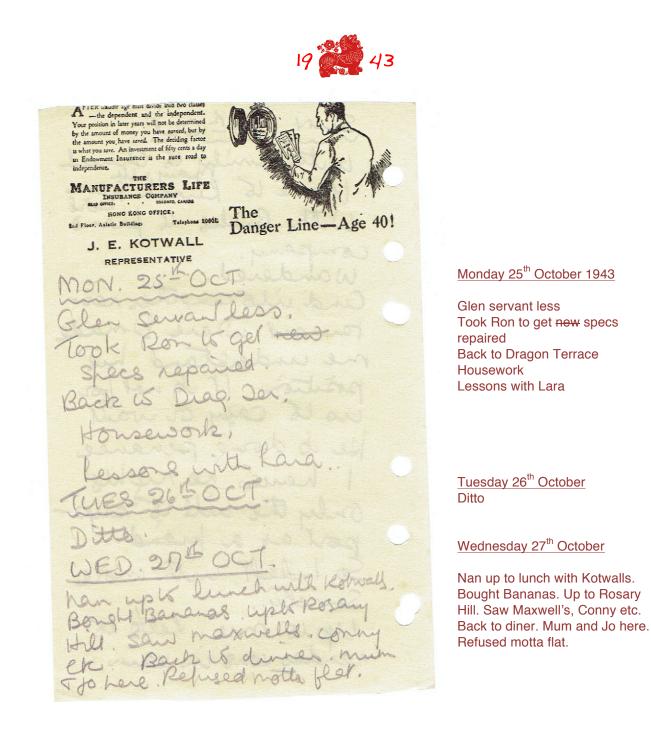
With family to church. Home to lunch. Mary with gum boil. With Binks to piano company. Wandered.

And into another restaurant where David made me understand his position. It is not for us to say or want. He is doing penance.

I have no rights. Only the will to support as a friend. So I left with more surety.

Up to me. Leb's to rendez vous in vain.

"With family to church. Home to lunch. Mary with gum boil. With Binks to piano company."





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THE MANUFACTURERS LIFE INSURANCE OFFANY READ OFFICE .

Ad Floor. Asiatic Beilding. Telephone 200

REPRESENTATIVE



Vinner upstand Olenhorde afterwards THURS. 28MOCT Fed up. Choked up. Hate ercenjone messed about Glen out did work, My came up in hotime to go for lessons upstaining to dunier. tome aperwards

FRIDAY 295 OCT a. rang to go for well rand, ashed is nonow more have cos lat kang up for tea date

Dinner upstairs Glen home afterwards

### Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> October 1943

Fed up. Choked up. Hate everyone. Glen out messed about did work. Ivy came up but no time to go for lessons. Upstairs to dinner. G home afterwards.

## Friday 29th October

Lara rang to go for walk. E rang. Asked to see him tomorrow. Missed Lara cos (*because*) late. Rang up for tea date with

Dorothy met her al Donceller e on leny will Walke lo Tter Chalter with Spuddownstang Over to his home saw S. Tareares there. He play. Ed records forme.

Dorothy. Met her at Gloucester. Home on ferry with May La. Dorothy Lo walked home with latter. Chatted with spud down-stairs. Over to his home saw S. Tavanes there. He played records for me.

Saturday 30<sup>th</sup> October 1943 SAT 3012 Rushed to meet E. Cold morning. Felt friendly and chatted my head off till he suddenly says he has to be back at store by 12. I shut up like a clam. My heart dropped to my 0 shoes while unreasonable fury welled up. I feel so 610 50 "I must work things out I cannot shut up and run away Guarding homes throughout the World! like this!" MANUFACTURERS LIFE CE COMPANY J. E. KOTWALL REPRESENTATIVE hateful hateful, hated & perverse. percergo I just dismissed him. I must work things out I cannot shut up and run away like this! Read K.F. (Kitty Foyle) Read K Mr. Cham Cham & Jo came over. micham a > our. Back USpe Back to spend night with them. thomas Sunday 31<sup>st</sup> October 1943 SUN, 315/00 Up late did not go to church. Home to lunch. Round to Cham's banana pancakes. opla Powwowed, stayed to dinner. wowe Casino. Read some Maugham (Somerset?)

196



#### November 1943

ner Casino Read som mangham MON. IST. NOV Over with forc to Dr. Tos. met mus. Box while leaving. Back to cause bay Had I ont with Glen about my unwill Is work, Taught Glen U Washed hair self Doeen Lessong Dancing. also I came out that annit. D. did not so like new is til be other day.

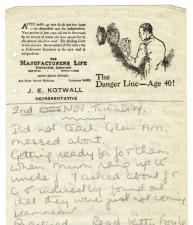
#### Monday November 1 1943

Over with Jo and Cham to Dr. Tcs' Met Mrs. Boc while leaving. Back to Causeway Bay. Had it out with Glen about my unwillingness to work.

Taught Glen then Kids.

Washed hair self & Doreen Lessons Dancing (*added in very light pencil later?*)

Also it came out that Aunt D. did not like Nan to tif. the other day. 31902



Practiced. Read Kitty Poyle The pathetically human of here t learn - It does seems the prothing means, any them copil lone & each has the monon kind, KFS 100

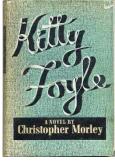
even natural true satisfield

## Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1943

Did not teach Glen. A.M. messed about

Getting ready for Jo and Cham when mum rang up to Uncle J. I asked about J and C and indirectly found out that they were just not coming. Damnem!

Practiced (*Piano?*) Read Kitty Foyle (*a 1939 American novel by Christopher Morley*) Its pathetically human live and learn – it does seem that nothing means anything 'cept love and each has their own kind. KF's is even maternal but satisfies her.



the Glen Kick ica un and l me Ch 00

Forgot next few days. Taught, knitted. Read Kittiky Foyle & her human slant on life bucked ne up. Got over the grumps with E K.F. did it & also one evening when we were at the little Tea with Glen, Kids and uncle Jim who is worried thin Taught so's to take a holiday another day. E rang A.M. said wanted to see me but hung up on him in exasperation and tho' Jo & ch (*Cham*) did not appear there was no regret or disappointment that I could not see him.

Bathed kid.

Rang again. Swallowed six lumps felt bit better. Dinner. Made banana pancakes. Started shorthand.

"Tea with Glen, Kids and uncle Jim who is worried thin."

Forgot next few days. Taught, knitted. Read "Kitty Foyle and her human slant on life bucked me up. Got over the grumps with E. K.F. (Kitty Foyle) did it and also one evening when we were at the little



throughout the World! MANUFACTURERS LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY HONG KONG OFFICE and Floor, Aslatic Building. J. E. KOTWALL REPRESENTATIVE Wandai restamant - 1 told him what preyed upon me - mentally haufing, he calls it. But all said & done he is a kindred spirit of the left. degree & a pel after my own heart Why the ai yas the -So I seems the madame 16 right - Just because I wanted to be kissed of all things - what sort of à creature must 1 be! Well anyway we walked went is candle petery Then is on moonly common - there was nothing common about

it though. Soul satisfaction. From then on too. Wednesday Glen FI look kids out. To doctor's ex. Inch tea at urseman's.

Wanchai restaurant – I told him (E?) what preyed upon me – mentally harping, he calls it.

But all said and done he is a kindred spirit of the 1st degree and a pal after my own heart. Why the ai ya's (*Chinese exclamation of frustration, annoyance, anger, etc. similar to d'oh, and a favorite exclamation of my Dad*) then – so it seems tho' madame is right – just because I wanted to be kissed of all things – what sort of a creature must I be!

Well anyway we walked. Went to candle factory. Then to our moonlit common – there was nothing common about it though. Soul satisfaction. From then on too.

Wednesday Glen and I took kids out. To doctor's etc. High tea at Wiseman's

> "just because I wanted to be kissed of all things – what sort of a creature must I be!"



#### IE HONGKONG NEWS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1943

S

IG ei



Pleasant suprise Con. M. Lere when Doreen I flewhome on air lane from church Stayed is lunch. Tried to contact nam varia. Into town shaffing Starley St. where I bought pearl earings for him for me from him, Hot mi & cinammon brins. Home carly.

"Doreen & I flew home on air-plane from church."

November 1943

Pleasant surprise con (Connie?). m. here when Doreen and I flew home on air-plane from church. Stayed to lunch. Tried to contact nan in vain. Into town. Shopping Stanley St. (Stanley Street is a street in Central on the Island of Hong Kong) where I bought pearl earrings for him for me from him. Hot milk and cinnamon buns. Home early.

This could be Doreen Xavier of Ava Mansions one of Dr. Selwyn-Clarke's 'network' of people he organized to send in parcels to Shampshuipo.



MON V 43 105 p up 80 tr.

## Monday 8<sup>th</sup> November 1943

Messed about tidying up at home. Felt dogged tired.

Back by 5 after borrowing Arnold Bennet from Pasco. (*Stoke on Trent Novelist died 1931*) Spoke to E who had been ringing frantically no answer.

New kiddy ahmah came.

To Young Wo (*Happy Valley*) to see Doreen B4 lesson. Dor. has cute suite of rooms.

Chat with uncle Jim 'bout my future and University past – Dad etc.

"Chat with uncle Jim 'bout my future and University past – Dad etc"



throughout the World! MANUFACTURERS LIFE COMPANY TORONO, CANADA HONG KONG OFFICE : Asiatic Building. Telephone 2000 J. E. KOTWALL REPRESENTATIVE TUES. 96 NOY 1943 Washed hain Came on my friend mar orie. Read glamou mag 2 rang. coming over Wrote glen 5 Doreen Went is bed after tik Played piens. Rushed but was the late is hat milk with my warm one ist milk Sa ha fun, het milk Then to our montit common hothing com-mon about it the world to us

WED. 10th NOV.

mer. comie max. D.F.

coffee their met filian

Over wath to hand

Spent attendon waiting

for tilling Gossifhed

for demesaround

Sum Joelf walked 15

town.

there is in

over

J. E. KOTWALL

Tuesday November 9th 1943

Washed hair Came on my friend Marjorie. Read Glamour mag. E rang. Coming over Wrote Glen & Doreen. Went to bed after tif Played piano. Rushed but was 1/2 hr. late to hot milk with my warm one. Sa hor fun (eggs and noodles), hot milk Then to our moonlit common. Nothing common about it tho' wanted to rebuild world for us.

#### Wednesday November 10th

Met Connie, Max. D.F. coffee there met Lilian Sum. Over walk to nan's. Spent afternoon waiting for tiffin. Gossiped 'bout dames around town. Sum and self walked to Mongkok ferry and over. To hospital Got Alan? there. Uncle Jim just broke it upon me about our own beloved Black Sheep. Gone 29th Oct. (George K.) Felt cold did not sleep. I needed my heart to feel. HE RANG BUT.

> "Uncle Jim just broke it upon me about our own beloved Black Sheep. Gone 29<sup>th</sup> Oct. (George K.) Felt cold did not sleep."

mongkok ferrys to hespitel cola uncle fin just troke it upon me abour our beloved Black sheep . cone 29' Felt cold did not slee I needed my heartito

throughout the World! you at any time and in you at any time and in MANUFACTURERS LIFE SUBANCE COMPANY TORONIO, CANADA NONG OFFICE J. E. KOTWALL REPRESENTATIVE 11-10 THURS facts nan rended is se I so at new rendesity dast knew, he awed me. couldnot been to leave but she had is. welhed me back. slept with me.

FRI. 12th Mer

Doubty fee intertea

V LS hosp

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with Dorothy

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leasant time

43

Thursday November 11<sup>th</sup> 1943

Cold and numb.

Desperately trying to run away from facts and when he rang I demanded to see him.

Did so at new rendezvous. And as I knew, he thawed me.

Could not bear to leave but she had to. Walked me back. Mum spent night. Slept with me.

## Friday November 12th 1943

Dorothy Lee invited me to tea. Mary and Jo came down. Mum and Jo and Cham went to hospital Refused to have me.

Had pleasant time with Dorothy.



## **Dorothy Lee**

"How was Dorothy Lee, still heroically emptying the ocean with a tea spoon."

1963 letter from Dad to Mum in HK. Mum met with Dorothy during subsequent HK visits.

See page 153.



In his book "In The Web" Peter Hall says the following of Dorothy:

"Back in the late 1980's, Dorothy had been worried for some time about the handover of Hong Kong to China in 1997 and asked me if I could help her prove her surname was really 'Ahlmann', so she could a US passport in an emergency, I reminded her that, although her father, Simon Leslie Ahlmann was the son of Jens Anton Ahlmann, he had also used the surname 'Lee' all his life, and he like her, had worked for the Hong Kong Government known by the name 'Lee'.

"Dorothy was awarded an MBE, then an OBE for her social service work in Hong Kong. She died in Hong Kong in 2004."

See Ahlmann Genealogy in Being Eurasian. Dorothy Johannah Lee is top right. Dorothy never married.



D life lie the years during for the time when carne west 50 cents a day in Er ANUFACTURERS LIFE ie Building J. E. KOTWALL EVERYTHING REPRESENTATIVE except EXPERIENCE NOTHING but EXPERIENCE SAT. 13th NOV writer Got out vy ca 1,20 hed in m to came my vor camer said hello. 0 pea Bough us. wewe s where erd the ian there nana pancak alber Q walked part way out with us ner.on ago Saturday n make i more sze n

Saturday 13<sup>th</sup> November 1943

Got out winter things. Ivy (Aunt Ivy Lang) came. Walked in with her Binks came. My boy friend came (David?) and said hello but left. Bought peanuts. To nan's (Katherine Patterson) where we were all knitting and chatting Lilian there. Banana pancakes. Albert Q walked part way out with Dinner – out again. Saturday night. Big night boy! Edwin (is this E?) and I - got into trouble too to make it more exciting and I didn't lose my head. We were at King's Park (The kempeitai routinely performed executions at King's Park in Kowloon by using Chinese for beheading, shooting and bayonet practice)

*"I got into trouble too, to make it more exciting, and I didn't lose my head. We were at King's Park"* 



SUN. 142. NOV.

43 to declined to go to church with me when I sent Boo. Boo over with note. Over alone - But how can a glowing moment, part of this B.C. evenity be alon 0 letter an came up to service marketed. Rang mum also. 15 rey happy with day hom Back over with there. walsh. Home not enough tip for Rolin G I & cooked with cocoand oili Fiddled with writer things till letter from my love ca inside Edgar Wallace cover It was so beautiful -1 Over is cham's - The till 5. Knitted Pas quest for d curi sages no and

#### Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> November 1943

Jo declined to go to church with me when I sent Boo Boo over with note.

Over alone (*I think they used ferry* to go to church in HK) – But how can a glowing moment, part of eternity be alone. (then inserted later between lines) Felt this B4 letter. Cham came up to service also. Marketed (grocery shopping) Rang mum to say happy birthday from there. Back over with Walsh.

Home not enough tif for Robin and I and cooked with cocoanut (sic) oil

Fiddled with winter things till letter from my love came inside Edgar Wallace cover. (EW was English writer who created King Kong) It was so beautiful - I howled. Over to Cham's - they napped till 5.

Knitted tea.

Pa's guest for dinner. Beef chub (ground beef) cucumber salad Sausages Casino Stayed night

"letter from my love came inside Edgar Wallace cover. It was so beautiful - I howled."



D life lie the years during which you should pre-competence for the time when earned income will occese. Why not invert 50 cents a day in Endowment Insurance for a secure evening of life? MANUFACTURERS LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY HONG KONG OFFICE : Telephone 20601. 2nd Floor, Asiatie Building . E. KOTWALL EVERYTHING REPRESENTATIVE except EXPERIENCE NOTHING but EXPERIENCE 1943 5 NOV Early breakfast of bread anoagest pearus butter on Themas versudal e to joure on ten up on rick . ated. Bought coffee &!! dothes. po mi for Walsh 15/ix. of let her ayca lonigh 1 bought mel Kloon steah du 201

"Cham & Jo left without me – Caught them up on rick (rickshaw)"

#### Monday 15<sup>th</sup> November 1943

Early breakfast of bread sausages and peanut butter on Cham's verandah. Home to figure out winter clothes.

Cham and Jo left without me – Caught them up on rick (*rickshaw*) Vaccinated. Bought coffee ¥11for Ed and self for mum. Gave watch for Walsh to fix. Lara holiday cannot let her know 'bought tonight. Back Davy rang. Rested. Taught.

Over to K'loon @ 7. Met David @ Lebedeffs. Walked round corner to Mary's. Mum's party. Not pleased about coffee from E and P Beef Steak dinner. Bird Man FRIGHT



TUES. DAY. Stayed in, air Raid in carly P.m. Started anold hara ill. Bennets "Strange Van quard." Wash Docenshair. Rush before Blackout in Evening. Rlayed Records J Sal around. They danced. WED. 17K. Hairwash Ist. Thing in Glenda set it for me Taups. E rang lo cance coming over . Shi Sal around in Blac alain. Ahmed madec ed clothos URS. 18 conni & han lo Started deeres of can Cold turn we Korwall's de no Blackord had to man

#### Tuesday 16<sup>th</sup> November 1943

Stayed in. Air Raid in early P.M. (*The HK news, a Japanese* controlled Newspaper reported a formation of over 10 enemy planes attempted to raid HK about 10:53 am) Lara ill. Started Arnold Bennet's "Strange Vanguard" Wash Doreen's hair. Rush before Blackout in Evening. Played records and sat around. They danced.

#### Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> November

Hairwash first thing in AM. Glenda set it for me. Taught. E rang to cancel coming over. Spirits zoomed (*dived?*). Sat around in Blackout again. Ahmah made curry puffs. I mended clothes. Cold weather set in.

### Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> November

Conni and Nan to tea. Started sleeves of cardigan Cold turn weather. Kotwall's down. No Blackout. Knitted.



H.K. News tegistered as third-slass Shows 17th Year, A NOVEMBER 18, 1943. PANESE Raiders On ULTURE Hongkong e Held In Intercepted f Next Year Two Shot Down In in he Sci stu stu with The da ese and Japanese cul-anese oll and water and Chinese calli-ning from January Fierce Combat Undisclosed Base (Our Own Correspondent A. Tozava), Nov. 16—The formation of over 10 enemy planes which attempted to read Hongkong about 10.53 a.m. today and which were given a hot reception, were intercepted on their return flight by Japanese fighters. It he learned formation was sight-ed over a undisclosed place. Whereupon our planes immediate-by gave chase. In the ensuing flerce combat, the enemy planes were badly damaged, one of them being shot down, another was jeen to emit black smoke, and it is be-lieved to have also been shot dowr. Shanese air force in China, at-tempted to regain their lost prestige by frequently endeavour-ing to disturb out sea route along the South China coast. The at-tempted raid on Hongkong was for the purpose of attacking our ship-ping. Fierce Combat ie South China Arts, ly. omise Of Better ividends amme For Next aday's Racing tice at the programme of meeting of the Horigkong ib to be held at Aobadani ay gives promise of better s than the last meeting, "tries appear to be well-r each event. Aill be four races over MANUFACTURERS LIFE HONG KONG OFFICE J. E. KOTWALL EVERYTHING REPRESENTATIVE EXPERIENCE NOTHING EXPERIENCE FRIDAY 194 Dissappointed by David Und got overit. met seen in town shaft Hot mill Tunianon but at ursen SATURDAY 20 have how one partake k with Buiks in Bouch lost pass.

dunes.

## "Walk with Binks and Robin. Bought peanuts and lost pass"

### Friday 19<sup>th</sup> November 1943

Disappointed by David but got over it. Met Glen in town shopping Hot milk and cinnamon Guts at Wiseman's (*Mrs. Guts American friend of Mum's*)

### Saturday 20<sup>th</sup> November 1943

Note from E. – "some other time." Jo home pancake tea. Walk with Binks and Robin. Bought peanuts and lost pass (*Mum as a Eurasian required a 3<sup>rd</sup> National pass to show to Japanese if demanded*). To Cham's – casino after dinner.



### Sunday 21<sup>st</sup> November 1943

SUNDAY 2105 MOY Boo Boo Everything late. - up or Bills with fara But Bill was out Rusted down glew princip 600 1 a do late Bragged her of Rosany Will. Reason time there solvall tea when anged to gang up It us is go shopping peaner vulter. She sauls me is teach her codish Juli kitchen was que paneates by chef. Egan Green Klown. niper with cham

MANUFACTURERS LIFE INSULATOR COMPANY NUMBER OF COMPANY HONG KONG OFFICE Boo Boo Could not make church. Everything late. Up to Bill's with Lara. But Bill was out. Rushed down glen furious 'cos I was late. Dragged her up Rosary Hill. Pleasant time there softball. Tea in her room. Arranged to gang up with us to go shopping and peanut butter. She wants me to teach her English. Into kitchen was given pancakes by chef. Logan. Over K'loon. Dinner and night with Cham.

> "Cham spectated me cold showering and I was glorious Breakfast on veranda."

## Monday 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1943

Dinner Cham spectated me cold showering and I was glorious

Breakfast on veranda.

Ivy came to cross (*ferry*) with me. Working with D. (*Dorothy*) Lee now.

To foreign affairs. Chased about passport photo (*for replacement pass?*). Dot bought me matsubara lunch (*the Gloucester Hotel became the Matsubara*). Did not go dancing 'cause Glen home late. New amahs Ying, Leen, Yuk.

J. E. KOTWALL EVERYTHING REPRESENTATIVE EXPERIENCE EXPERIENCE MONDAY, 22nd Nor Cham spectated nels me cold chowen was glonous Brek on veran I very came to cross with me working with Plee To breign allaire pars photo. Dor longh me matsubara lunch Did not go dancing cause gen home late. new atalas ying, Lean, yuk

TUES. 23rd NOV IL CRATTATURAL Public holiday. Taught all in Am. E. KOTWALL ner David at theatre. Went up Broadwood Rd Fenjoyed each other. Till suddenly, he was learing I so what. WED. 24th NOV. y, tulo Dan anne conni who did as il round back esson for Darry rang. what did I'do l could come orer. me @ Bottom Sto hill Walked.

#### Tuesday November 23rd 1943

Public holiday. (*November 23 was celebrated by the Japanese as an imperial harvest festival called Niiname-sai*) Taught all in AM. Met David at theatre. Went up Broadwood Rd. (*Happy Valley HK*) and enjoyed each other. Till suddenly, he was leaving & so what ------

#### Wednesday November 24th

Taught early. Into Dairy Farm with Glen to wait for Connie who did not show up 'cos ill. Wandered round. Back early. Glen back U. J. (*Uncle Jimmy*) down for tea. Taught. Davy rang. What did I do

to deserve it he could come over. Met him @ Bottom of the hill. Walked.



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REPRESENTATIVE THURS 25th NOV Taught early. Spent Am. staring breakfast up down for it. poached egg i the most delicions centraceffee Range informed make was not coming over I By I sounded dejected But I look I like a man may be the Gods had july or comething. Raig again aprility Twas ming out Bread wood Rd. opain. we had an amusing pour He taked Tassurlete Bech on dinner kide uper USS

## FRI. 26- NOV

Glen in som mood. and not teach. Hem grey bock Bath. Ivy reng. met her in torn. Left her for French Unir pertiponed till Dec. caught her @ ferry. with have loget race ticked Teach Wsendis I's self. 5 I bectured me on Dur Bach is glars, teach dinner, cards homeward long halles so we continued. along cox's path. Gascongue Rd. where I barbed wied mystockings insists that I shall draphing when one fellows return.

#### Thursday November 25th 1943

Taught early. Spent AM having breakfast Uncle Jim. Down for it. Poached egg & the most delicious cupacoffee. Rang and informed me he was not coming over (*David*) and in the same breath asked why I sounded dejected. But I took it like a man and maybe the Gods had pity or something.

Rang again after tif and was coming over. Broadwood Rd. again. We had an amusing pow wow on facts of life. He talked and I assimilated. Back for dinner. Blind Man's Buff with kids (*Monica and Lawrence*) up at Uncle Jim's.

## "Blind Man's Buff with kids up at Uncle Jim's."

#### Friday November 26th

Glen in sour mood. Did not teach. Hem grey frock. Bath. Ivy rang. Met her in town. Left her for French but postponed till Dec. Caught her @ ferry. With Lara to get race ticket. Tea at Wiseman's. I (Ivy) and self and I lectured me on Dwin (*Darwin?*). Back to Glens. Teach. Dinner. Home to K'loon. Singing Carols homeward 'long Nathan Road (*Nathan Road is the main thoroughfare in Kowloon*) and bumped into Darcy. So we continued along Cox's path. Gascoigne Rd. (*a main road in Kowloon*, *Hong Kong, going west-east from Nathan Road*) where I barbed wired my stockings but what matters. Still insists that I shall drop him when our fellows return.

> "Still insists that I shall drop him when our fellows return."



MANUFACTURERS LIFE NON ROO OTACT TANAN SOLE THE Danger Line—Age 40! J. E. KOTWALL BURKES SAT. 27 NOV BIRTHDAY! Binics quebery & wormy poor sweetheart, Gaul in such a saubbring P deflead him for next of Speet P. m. Cataloguie Dads books cham to came home womed me practicing cards hav drepped in B. 4 show 1. rathed her to theoatre 2. Chickens. Binks brith day dinner. But Papa camminade could not Liquer of por wow with

## Saturday 27<sup>th</sup> November 1943 "BINKIES" BIRTHDAY!

Binks. Grubby and wormy poor sweetheart. Gave him such a scrubbing and defleed him for rest of morning. Spent P.M. cataloguing Dad's books. Cham and Jo came home and worried me practicing carols. Nan dropped in B. 4 show. Walked her to theatre. 2

Chickens. Binks birthday dinner. But Papa Caminiade could not come with 'flu.

Liquor & pow wow with him. Home and tucked in.

## "Binks. Grubby and wormy poor sweetheart. Gave him such a scrubbing and defleed him"

### Sunday 28<sup>th</sup> November 1943

#### Church with Jo

To Vi for lunch met Cham

To see mousie as novice. So depressing and she was affectedly nunnish.

To Wiseman's for tea where waitress had to apologise to Cham. Dinner @ Caminades. Stayed night. Planned for Xmas.

SUN. 285 NOV. church will fo. Vie for Runch met Danger Line ma To see monsie as nonce. So depressing I she was so affected by usemans for ted. Lere waitress, had to apologise to cham Junier @ camminades stayed night. Planned for Xmas



TUTE 52 O

## Monday November 29th 1943

Delayed crossing with mum.

Met Miss Panu? on ferry. Ditched by mum and Jo. Back to Wongs. Glen out back early I went into town for bread for her. Borrowed Philip Gibbs (English journalist and prolific author of books). Wouldn't phone. Tea with Glen, taught. Dinner. Lesson with Lara. Shorthand.

#### Tuesday 30th November 1943

Peter ill with 2 kinds of malaria. Did not go out. Practice shorthand. Rang.



## December 1943

MANUFACTURERS LIFE J. E. KOTWALL PRESENTATIVE EXPERIENCE NED. 18th Dec Icuific Raid over illow . Rilled Planes 3000 mad. Stayed in with Peter cause glen out Frantic When He didn't ming mined

#### Wednesday December 1<sup>st</sup> 1943

Terrific raid over K'loon. Mrs. Madar killed. Planes zoomed like mad. Stayed in with Peter cause Glen out (*Peter is a child?*)

"Big air raid while I with Kotewall in China Building Full of glass. Felt very nervous. Big explosions. Home to find family very scared. Paper says ten planes. Alleged twenty P40s protecting bombers and seven shot down. Mrs. Amy Madar killed, George Manley's sister from Shanghai. Connie Lum's sister nurse in Matilda also killed. Taikoo 200 casualties. Kowloon a mess. Hillwood, Kimberley, Cameron, Granville, Canton Roads. Two dud 200 lb bombs in Hillwood Road in Kowloon. Dud 500 lb bomb in Chunking Arcade" from Harry Chings Wartime Diary

Q'h. Der THURS in any way Situation had been So tense 5 gloomy howled at thought i loosing thin Bucke on gran Republic Jamed, To haras straighter Dunier there steamed lish. mis Tesars sweet we denomiced was together.

### Thursday 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1943

Inveigled Davy over with no prick of conscience. Gray day anyway. Situation had been so tense and gloomy I howled at thought of loosing Him Binks or Gran. Republic formed. To Lara's straight way. Dinner there steamed fish. Mrs. Tesar's sweet, we denounced war together.

"I howled at thought of loosing Him Binks or Gran."



MANUFACTUREES LIFE J. E. KOTWALL ESENTATIVE EXPERIENCE 3rd Dee ARI Shepping with glen F maxwell in town. ShBought bucks & bucks worth of wool ~ still nch Szechnan lood Windson: Korloon with Conny lle Rd wreck pretty Chern Pa 10

## Friday 3rd December 1943

Shopping with Glen and Maxwell in town. She bought bucks and bucks worth of wool and stuff. Lunch Szechuan food at Windsor. To Kowloon with Conny. Granville Rd. wreck pretty grim. Good to see Jo, Cham, and Pa in time for tea. Booms reconciled (*explosions from bombing*) Pa and Henry Shuia? hugged Jo.

Saturday 4th Dec Cold drassly weather Out to see pomb sights with Are Prosention gramille Rd not a patch on youmati Bonghr bottle and

#### Saturday December 4th 1943

Cold drizzly cheerful weather. Out to see bombsights with Archie in P.M. Granville Rd. not a patch on Yaumati Area Bought bottle of milk. Jo made mince meat doughnuts for tea.



Cold Shower of ar chanks Depressingly line clear day, Bonger view wath to choose and in installments. Didle find the choose is to be sieny interferences so cleary into them over to church I wanted to stay with them over to church I wanted i belong I belong. I matter I matter I matter. Back to gland teaparty My medamono's humming storp. Pay raised 40 y

Guarding homes throughout the World! MANUFACTURERS LIFE SUBANCE COMPANY J. E. KOTWALL EPRESENTATIVE 6th. Dec. 1943 up carly cold sha Egg for breakfast. Taught Practice piano. Sanson Del Rang. to cham to lunch To first head class at Broadbridges - Bot Rotanal mis. chen. Back knight. Sulked & refused tea because i interfered with my lessen asking lovanetter ant.

Sunday 5<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Cold showered at Cham's. Depressingly fine clear day. Bought black walking shoes off Jo. ¥ 18 down to 15 to be paid in installments. Didn't find the cheerios so cheery. I must be a terrible sissy after all – I wanted to stay with them. Over to church. I belong I belong I belong. I matter I matter I matter. Back to Glen's teaparty. My mechanisms humming strong. Pay raised 40 ¥

The Broadbridges were a Eurasian family – the name is on the DBS memorial. Norman was Hazel's boyfriend and there is also mention of a Reggie and Janet Broadbridge.

Eurasian Sir Robert Kotewall' s children receive several mentions in Mum's diary including Bobbie, Zimmern and Choa (see genealogy in Appendix).

## Monday 6<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Up early. Cold shower. Egg for breakfast. Taught. Practice piano. Samson Delilah duet. ? Rang. Jo Cham to lunch To first French class at Broadbridges – Bob Kotewall (*Sir Robert Kotewall's 27yr. old daughter Bobbie*) Mrs. Chen. Back taught. Sulked and refused tea because it interfered with

my lesson and which Glen would not call off. Cup 'o tea sent in. Ticked my self off and delighted Glen by asking for another cup.





maxwell cane helf glen kuit. Phone & niched off to what mattered - the it will not be agreed that I ricshed. for was naturally late. Never remember what we talk about.

Says I'm just a younger version of him Twill goos Is dis claim that people about the respectable. assed home late with Polith anaugement Verigodoff Didtir like to familiarty. Says 1d been shulling him lor a year since gilliard party Durner at chans.

## Friday 10<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Maxwell came to help Glen knit. Phone and rushed off to what mattered – tho' it will not be agreed that I rushed 'cos was naturally late. Never remember what we talk about. Says I'm just a younger version of him and will grow to disclaim that people should be respectable. Crossed home late with Polish arrangement Veriadoff?. Didn't like is (*his?*) familiarity. Says I'd been snubbing him for a year since Gilliard Party. Dinner at Cham's.

#### Saturday 11<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Air Raid says Cham. Ack ack woke us up. Cham cycled me in to collect camel from Ivy's. They're moving up to Kotewall Rd.

P.M. with A. Lang's gang (Archie) to buy football tube. Was glared at by Marie Wong in passing – it punished the devil in me.

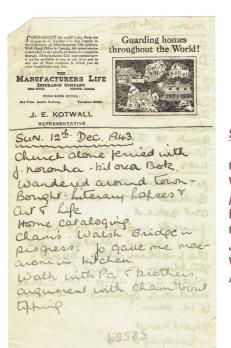
Cham's to tea.

Bicycle lesson (*Mum never learned to ride a bike*). Played Cham's classics. Walk with Pa. Dinner Cham's. Powwowed about old time flicks – it was hilarious till they brought up the spook pictures then hid from me in the kitchen.

> *"it was hilarious till they brought up the spook pictures then hid from me in the kitchen."*

is kand says chandich achurche us up. Cham Cycled me in 15 collect camel from Iverps. Therefie morning up is Kotewall Rd. P.M. With A. Langs Gang 15 buy loorball tube. was glared at by marie worp in passing - it pumbhed the devil in me. cham's is tea. Byciele lesson. Played charls walk with Pa. Dinnier chams. Pow wowed about ald time flicks -Ir was helanous till they brought up the spook pictures then hid from me in the Kitchen. and we respectable hangement Vierigd





Sunday 12<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Church alone ferried with J. Noromha-bitova Bok. Wandered around town – Bought Literary Lapses (*Stephen Leacock pub. 1910*) and Art & Life (*Samuel Halpert*) Home cataloging. Cham's Walsh Bridge in progress. Jo gave me macaroni in kitchen. Walk with Pa and brothers. Argument with Cham 'bout tipping.

## "Scrapped with the firebreathing Dragon"

Monday 13th December

Scrapped with the fire-breathing Dragon. Jawwed over Shuna? @ breakfast Causeway Bay. Marjorie Did French Lesson "Spot Back to teach my Taught. Glen. Shorthand.

"Spoilt and stubborn my eye! Magazine quiz says – I'm either mad or a genius – remains to be seen."

Tuesday 14th December

Jo and Cham over to lunch. **be seen.**" Boked Him or rather out Boked. Jawed problem of Ken (*brother Kenneth?*) and B4 I knew what, I was the problem also. Spoilt and stubborn my eye! Magazine quiz says – I'm either mad or a genius – remains to be seen. Shorthand Enjoying it too!

mon. 13th. Dec. Scraffebrith the fie-breathing Diagon Janwwed over Shina @ Brekper. Causeway Bay. Did Irench. Lesson. Back is teach Tauphr. Glen. Shorthand TUES 14th. for cham over. Is lunch. Baked Irin a rather our soked. Jawed problem of Kenr B.4. 1 knew what & I was the problem also. Sport 5 stubbon my eye! mag. quiz says - I'm either mad or a genius. - remains 15 be seen Shorthand Enjoying too



WED. 15th. DEC. 1943.

Telephone day. a hundred vorces in me pays a hundred things but Not one is heard so we listen 16 each other listening. Slight such session cause mightree but didit cross. Shoch of J. Kew's dealth. T 2 why head is using fillows. Whired - neither slept conding is patisfactory reforts Common.

THURS DAY.

Since I can be late for this I do believe I set an naturally ine vocably ( stress on vo). T The whatchenney allums came orcer me - truly thought it was malaria a something for a minute. To my great consternation i was something - 110 not an unge, its an itch. But you can scratch inside . So withat? I shocked im - my Tongue is quite independant of me there daips is evident ly happier on its own. Don't mind me? Enjored compris of m. Pondah sigs hib goalb He m. Singh F / the goalbthe goals 16 yrs old indeed 1 He reminised himm. a fellow needs to you hub wild oats. Seen that I'm helping him eat the first led

Wednesday 15<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Telephone day.

A hundred voices in me says a hundred things but not one is heard so we listen to each other listening. Slight sulk session 'cause might've but didn't cross. Shock of J. Ke\*'s death.

and two weeks holiday but nearer than my head is to my pillow.

Whined – neither slept 'cording to satisfactory reports tomorrow.

## Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> December

Since I can be late for this I do believe I nat am naturally irrevocably and irretrievably late. The whatchewmacallums came over me – truely thought it was malaria or something for a minute. To my great consternation it was something – tho? not an urge, its an itch. But what can you scratch inside. So WHAT?

I shocked 'im – my tongue is quite independent of me these days and is evidently happier on its own. Don't mind me?

Enjoyed company of Mr. Pandah Singh and his goats? – He, Mr. Singh and I the goats. 16 years old indeed!

He reminisced hmmm.

A fellow needs to sow his wild oats. Seem that I am helping him reap tho' and GOLLY if Broadwood Rd. doesn't leed (*sic*) to Rosary Hill ask us! (*Broadwood Rd. although in the vicinity doesn't actually lead to Rosery Hill – but metaphorically?*)

"my tongue is quite independent of me these days and is evidently happier on its own. Don't mind me?"

43 19

Dec. lice at . Wise. 17 e Pols ULN pencels.

Friday 17<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Into French. Tea with Dot and Vi at Wisemans.

Saturday 18<sup>th</sup> December

Lunch @ Ivy's Dot and Charlie. Stanley parcels for her.

Sunday 19<sup>th</sup> December

Did not church.

Monday 20<sup>th</sup> December

HK Red Piano co. Was liverish

Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> December E Saw one of these days In a world of our own On \*reck

The above dates are assumed to be 1943.

"Charlie, Stanley parcels for her."

43 19

255 DEC. Art

## Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> December

**Did not church** Rushed to St. Joseph's then to ours (St. Andrews?) With Cham and Jo. Stared at Norah Kew (The Kews were a very prominent Eurasian family from Australia -H.K. family with BAAG involvement and some interned at Stanley -Norah's real name was Marion Honoria) Mum waited Lunch with me. Last night's stew and an egg ea. Cup o'tea. Walked to ice cream shop. Hoping and also ring nan. News, she's had a little girl. (Cammiede's (see pg. 46) almost

driven home with boredom. Henry came, yarned up a bit. Wrote Auntie Ruby. Bed early.

Mary Smith (Camiard). Mum's friend and neighbor



## Sunday 26<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Walk alone – p.m. Mary Jo over stayed to dinner. Roast beef, curried chicken. Joined Ron's party.

Monday 27<sup>th</sup> December

To see crib at Rosary church with Cham & Pa. Gave Binks worminfuge. To H.K. Red Cross. Nips inquiring into remittance. To apply or not with poss. of Stanley. (*if Mum qualified for remittance, did this then mean she should be in Stanley Camp as a pow Brit?*) Slumped me. Did not go to French. Went and bought Xmas present for E. Read it at D.F.

Tea at H.K.H. (*Hong Kong Hotel*) with Lara who gave me my solitary present cuff links. Home. I and all depressed. Cham and Jo made me play mah jong to make it worse.

"To H.K. Red Cross. Nips inquiring into remittance. To apply or not with poss. of Stanley. Slumped me."



BETWEEN the survise and sunset of your business life lie the years during which you should provide a competence for the time when served incomes will eases. Why not invest 50 easts a day in Endowment Insurance for a secure evening of life?

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> J. E. KOTWALL REPRESENTATIVE

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allow.

FRIES, 28" DEC

To Broadwood Rd

gave mod-amer poel

EVERYTHING EXPERIENCE NOTHING but EXPERIENCE Walked out on mun & Joho go to yoursahis bout. red

hey

except

# Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup> December 1943

Walked out on mum and Jo to go to Yamsaki 'bout red cross. (Shimokawa Yamasaki - see pg.155)

To Broadwood Rd. and intimacy chewing gum & tongues. Gave Modern American poetry. Gave me ¥ 2.

Naturally had to leave "Business you see".

\*\*\*ted tea in gree red & white cake shop from him.

To see him off ferry with Delcie guilt a pill to swallow. Ice creaming with brother.



"Christmas 1943 was not so good {as 1942}. Residential Kowloon had just undergone its worst air raid of the war and planes were overhead nearly every day. Every other house in Tsimshatsui was housing a bomb that had failed to explode. The Gendarmerie reign of terror was touching the Christmas celebrating communities. Christmas at Stanley Goal was far worse than at the internment camps. There was little food and no medicinal alcohol. The news was much better. Nerves were very much on edge and the great majority had discovered that familiarity breeds contempt. The best way to express the latter feeling was by snubbing all invitations for Christmas Eve."

From Gwulo Old Hong Kong - events pertaining to Stanley Camp

"Hunger is like a ghost that can find no peace...It is always there, a perpetual groaning in one's stomach...It pervades every thought; it sets you dreaming of steaks...you must fight with your all your will power against these dreams....or they will become your master. It is a hard fight that only those who have been really hungry can understand."

George Wright-Nooth, Prisoner Of The Turnip Heads

