



Appendix

Appendix A George Kotwall's (Agent 60) involvement with the BAAG, and Execution

Submitted by David on Thu, 2013-11-28 18:17

Book / Document: BAAG Reports and Weekly Intelligence Summaries

Date(s) of events described: Wed, 19 May 1943

(The following document describes the events leading to the Japanese arresting a BAAG agent working in Hong Kong.)

Attached to RD/28 d/19.5.43.

MOST SECRET AN ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE ARREST OF 60.

60, 61, and 63 have been for some time trying to arrange for the escape of Capt. Ansari from MATAUCHUNG CAMP. Helping them in this enterprise was another man YEUNG TAK YI, not previously heard of at A. H. Q., YEUNG was born in PENANG and was formally a schoolmaster at QUEEN'S COLLEGE, HONG KONG.

In order to further this plan, 60 attended on 12 April 43 and meeting of the Indian Independence league. There he asked several of his acquaintances which Indian was ANSARI. It seems that several people pointed out to him a certain Indian with a moustache, and 60 made up his mind that this was ANSARI. After the meeting was over, 60 accosted this man in the street, addressing him as "LIEUT. ANSARI". The man allowed himself to be drawn into conversation and did not deny that that was his name; the two had tea together in a cafe. When they parted, 60 had asked him to tea the following day in his own house, and was still under the impression that he was ANSARI. The man had accepted the invitation and had asked whether he might bring a close friend of his; to this 60 had agreed and had arranged to meet the 2 Indians at the PEAK TRAM STATION.

On the following day-13 April 43-the mustached Indian and one other Indian arrived at the PEAK TRAM STATION as arranged; 61 and 63 watched their approach to see that they were not followed or accompanied by detectives. There appeared to be no deception, so 60 went forward, met them and took them to his house for tea. Others present were: 61, 63, YEUNG TAK YEE. A distant relative of 60's called A. HING acted as a servant at the tea party and 60's wife saw all the guests, though she did not sit at the tea.

YEUNG and 61 were suspicious before the party about the identity of the mustached Indian whom 60 had met because his description did not tally with that of CAPTAIN ANSARI, especially in that his English was not as good as that of ANSARI was reputed to be. During the tea party, the mustached Indian was asked directly whether or not he was in fact ANSARI. He at once admitted that he was not and explained the deception by saying that he had long been



waiting for a chance to escape from HONG KONG and could not resist seizing this opportunity when it offered. He went on to say that if 60 etc. wanted to arrange for ANSARI's escape, then he and his friend were the ones best placed to help. He said that he and the other Indian were both working in the I.N.A. H.Q. And could through I.N.A. influence arrange at any time for ANSARI to be brought out of the camp. It may here be recorded that A.H.Q. are now reasonably satisfied that the 2 Indians are:-

1. L/NK MOM'D SABAR (mustached), 2/14 PUNJAB REGIMENT

2. L/NK MOM'D IQBAL, 1st HONG KONG REGT., H.K.S.R.A.

It was arranged that some plan on the following lines should be put into operation: the two Indians should bring ANSARI out from the camp, and 60 and his friends should arrange for all three of them to be brought to Free China. SABAR and IQBAL agreed to this, but objected that ANSARI would probably not be prepared to trust them. They therefore asked 60 what means he had previously used to contact ANSARI. 60 revealed to them that it had been done through an Indian named MASTER, also a prisoner in MATAUCHUNG CAMP. MASTER is not actually known to A.H.Q. but it is thought that he is an ex-volunteer, probably local Indian, and it is known that his wife is free and had taken 60's message into the camp; it is thought that she had also been sending messages to ANSARI for 97, but independently. It was finally agreed that SABAR and IQBAL should first of all bring MASTER out of the camp, and that 60 should see him in person and convince him that they were to be trusted. MASTER was then to go back into the camp and inform ANSARI of what was afoot. After that ANSARI was to be brought out at the first opportunity and everyone was to leave at once for China.

As soon as the Indians had left, there was an altercation between 60 and 61 who said that 60 had been most incautious in the whole matter, and that in particular it had been wrong to mention MASTER's name. 60 finally agreed that MASTER ?? and got in touch with the 2 Indians again and told them that the plan had been changed-they were not to bring MASTER out of the camp, but were to wait for favourable conditions and bring out ANSARI himself. In the meantime 60 would do his best to get in touch with ANSARI by other means and warn him to expect some action.

63 was at once sent to A.H.Q. where he arrived on 17 April 43. He brought a brief report from 60 saying that definite headway had been made, and 63 himself gave verbal information that the general plan was to make use of two Indians from the I.N.A. office who had promised to help by bringing ANSARI out of the camp and to come out themselves to Free China with ANSARI. But neither 60's written report nor 63's verbal report contained any information about the mistaken identification of the mustached Indian or about the negotiations which had led up to the plan being formed. 63 is not necessarily to blame for this as he knows no English, and since the conversation at the tea-party was carried on in English he himself was not clear about what had happened. 63 did however explain that 60 was waiting for a letter from ANSARI before taking any action, that a letter was expected at any moment, and that as soon as it arrived 61 would be sent up to A.H.Q. to report. He never actually did so.



There arrived at A.H.Q., at the same time as 63, a report from 19 to the effect that he had made contact with ANSARI through NARANJAN SINGH, an Indian doing guard duty for the Japanese, and was hoping to make arrangements soon for his escape.

Reply was sent to 60 as follows: "good work; hope all is going well. Be quite certain that plan is good before you act. Am ordering close cooperation between all agents." At the same time a message was sent to 19 ordering him to cooperate with 60 and enclosing a note for ANSARI warning him that he might expect action through either of two channels. 63 left A.H.Q. on 19 April 43.

What happened later is not so clear; it is known that neither of the A.H.Q. vestiges reached 60 or 19, but 19 was nevertheless informed (by 25) to some extent of the progress made by 60. 19 certainly knew of the "mistaken identity" episode, and 19 did not approach 60 or suggest cooperation. It is thought that he considered 60's plan rather rash.

On 21 April 43 at about 13:00 hours YEUNG TAK YI took some rice to 60's house and found the house occupied by gendarmes who questioned him closely about his business. The rice provided a pretext and he was allowed to go but was unable at the time to find out what had happened. He got in touch with 63 at once. 63 had already been to 60's house that morning – having just returned to HONG KONG from A.H.Q. – had seen from the street that something unusual had happened, and had not entered the house at all. Both YEUNG and 63 made all efforts to find out what had happened, 63 through an ex-soldier (R.A.) named TO of the LOK TIN TEI Gambling Den, SHAMSHUIPO (this man knew 60, 61, 63 and YEUNG and probably had a shrewd idea of what they were doing) and YEUNG through the friends and relations of 60. By the evening of 21 April 43 the following information was already known to 63 and YEUNG through TO: 60's house was raided at 03:00 hours on 21 April 43 and 60, 61, 60's wife and A. HING were arrested. They were kept under arrest in their own house until about 17:00 hours and meantime a thorough search of the house was carried out. The gendarmes questioned everybody about a man named Lee whom they wanted to arrest. At about 17:00 hours the whole party was taken to the CENTRAL POLICE STATION. As Lee was the false name used by 63 at the tea-party, YEUNG and 63 at once assumed that the raid was the result of information given by the two Indians.

At about midday on 22 April 43 message was received by YEUNG from 60's wife who had been released on the previous night soon after the prisoners arrived at CENTRAL POLICE STATION. This message corroborated the information already received but added that 63's real name was now known to the gendarmes who were searching for him and for a man named YEUNG. YEUNG drew from this the inference that A.HING had probably told the Japanese all he knew, and he at once moved to another house. He arranged for his servant to watch the house where he usually lived, and he received news the same evening that Japanese police agents were watching the house; so he decided to leave HONG KONG at once. He left on the morning of 23 April 43, having looked in vain for 63, and arrived at A.H.Q. on 25 April 43. He was identified by 62 and gave all the information he had. He is still at A.H.Q. and arrangements have been made to support his family in HONG KONG for the time being.



In the meantime 63 had been expecting a call from 25 on 21 April 43. By the morning of 22 April 43 he had still heard nothing from him, so he went to look for him. He was told by a relation of 25's in a SHAMSHUIPO shop that 25 had been arrested in his aunt's house on the 21 April 43. 63 at once went to 75 at Y and reported all he knew. Shortly after his arrival at Y an incoherent report was received through the Gs. To the effect 63 had been arrested and tortured and that he had given away information leading to the arrest of 25 at shop Z together with "two fokies". This is clearly quite false as 63 has never been arrested at all and is safe in Free China. According to orders given to 25 on 7 April 43 he was to cease going to shop Z and the Z collecting work was to be carried out without the shop being used. As far as is known at A.H.Q. 25 had carried out these instructions. 63 was proposing to return to HONG KONG to try to find out the real facts when 62 arrived at Y from A.H.Q. 52 had already seen YEUNG TAK YI on the road and knew that 63's real name was known to the Japanese. 63 rightly decided that he could not return to Hong Kong and at once proceeded to A.H.Q., where he still is. Arrangements have been made to support his family and that of 60 in HONG KONG for the time being.

On 29 April 43, 19's father and other members of his family arrived at A.H.Q. and reported that 19 was arrested in the house where they all lived on the morning of 21 April 43 at about 06:30 hours. The whole house was searched – without anything incriminating being found – and 19 was told that he would be held on a charge of having undesirable associations. It is known that 97 also has been detained (this was learned through YEUNG, who had it from 60's brother JIMMY) but it is not known on what charge or when the arrest occurred. It is believed that 97 has for some considerable time past been in touch with the prisoners in the Indian camp (MATAUCHUNG CAMP) through MASTER's wife. It is most unlikely that 97 was arrested through 19 as the real contact for 97 was 98. 98 went to 19's house on the afternoon of 21 April after 19 had been taken away by the Japanese; he was warned by 19's father, destroyed his reports and got away without doing anything to cause suspicion to be aroused and without being questioned.

A later report from the Guerillas has now been received to the effect that Shop Z was raided at 08:00 hours on 21 April 43. None of importance was caught and no incriminating documents were found. 99's family who lived there were arrested but all except 99's brother have already been set free. 99 himself was at A.H.Q. at the time and his successor at post Z was not in the shop when the raid took place. As 99's successor does not receive his instructions direct from us, it is not known whether he was in fact using the shop at the time of the arrests. The Guerillas were officially informed on about 10 April 43 that we intended to close the shop.

As soon as 60's arrest was reported to A.H.Q. orders were sent to 47 to try to investigate the matter. Reply has now been received from 47; he reports that many people have been arrested including "British and Portuguese". Some Indian traitors, he says pretended that they wish to escape and got full details from Chinese who were willing to help which they at once reported to the Japanese authorities under ENDO. Several Indian P.O.Ws in MATAUCHUNG Camp, including Captain ANSARI and a local Indian Volunteer, have been arrested. Many Chinese have been detained including some peasants from the New Territories who were connected with some escape route. 47 stresses that this affair is "not of gendarmerie but of Indian Independence League" and he lays the chief blame on HAKIM KHAN.



He gives the names of several men who have, he says, acted as informers, including that of MOM'D IQBAL and says he can probably supply fuller details later.

NOTE: the information contained in the above report is drawn from the following sources: 63, YEUNG TAK YI, 19's family, Guerilla Intelligence, 99 and 47. The report summarizes all information available on 6 May 43. Every effort is being made to get fuller information as soon as possible.

(The above text was originally attached to BAAG document RS/28. In the AWM collection its file number is 11/32/130 - 11/32/134. A copy is filed in the Elizabeth Ride Collection here in Hong Kong under the date 19th May 1943.)

Waichow Intelligence Summary #29, 6 May 1943 Attachment to BAAG document RS/28

KWIZ/03, 20 June 1943 NB: Other documents have additional information about this day.

Précis of above

BAAG Roll of Honour.

Arrested by Endo on 21.4.1943, 0300 hrs, detected by Subar Din, to whom he delivered a letter to Ansari by mistake, and Iqbal. Planning the escape of Ansari (by himself and #61 and #63), he attended a meeting of Indian Independence League on 12th April 43, looking for Ansari. He approached a mustachioed Indian, mistaking him for Ansari, and asked him to meet for tea at his home next day (13th), bringing a friend. Those present at this meeting: Kotwall and wife, Lau Kok Ping, Joseph Tsang (using false name Lee), Yeung Tak Yi, and a relative of Kotwall, A. Hing, and the two Indians Subar and Iqbal. Lau and Yeung were suspicious and confronted the mustachioed Indian, who admitted he was not Ansari, but wished to escape themselves and help Ansari. Arrangements were made to bring Ansari out. On visiting Kotwall's house on 21st April, Joseph Tsang found something wrong and did not enter. Later, Yeung tried to deliver some rice, but was turned away by gendarmes - the captives were held on the premises while the gendarmes did a thorough search of the house. At 1700 hrs. the prisoners were taken to Central Police Station, and Mrs Kotwall released.

In Stanley Prison two large trials of those accused of resistance activity in camp and in town are taking place.

That second trial seems to be focused partly on attempts to help Captain Mateen Ansari escape from Ma Tau-chung camp. Ansari himself - another man who has triumphantly resisted prolonged ill-treatment - is sentenced to death, as are Charles Hyde, whose wife and son are in Stanley's Bungalow 'D', and former internee Chester Bennett. Thomas Monaghan, a BAAG agent who was active in relief as well, including a Irish policemen in Stanley, also gets a death sentence. David Edmondston, whose wife and daughter are in Bungalow 'E' gets 15 years (later reduced to ten) and a number of Indian agents and the Eurasian George Kotwall are sentenced to execution or imprisonment.

The condemned are taken to 'C' Block to await execution. 19th Oct 1943



29th Oct 1943 from Gwulo.com

Thirty-three people are executed on Stanley Beach soon after 2 p.m. All have been involved in one way or another with resistance activities organised by the British Army Aid Group. The following is an incomplete list of those executed:

	Mateen Ahmed	Ansari
	Ahmed	Basher
The American Hero of Hong Kong	Chester	Bennett
	Frederick William	Bradley
陳炳勳	Ping-fun	Chan
	Cleveland Elroy John	Changyit
	Yung Sam	Cheung
	John Alexander	Fraser
	Frederick Ivan George	Hall
Ginger	Charles F	Hyde
BAAG No. 60.i	George	Kotwall
劉德愛 Female	Tak Oi	Lau
劉德光	Tak Kwong	Lau
	Hung Hoi	Lee
	Hung	Leung / Leong
	Ching-kit	Luk
	Thomas Christopher	Monaghan
	Stanley	Rees
	Walter Richardson	Scott
	Alexander Christie	Sinton
	Douglas William	Waterton
	William John	White
BAAG No. 71.ii / James Kim	Cheuk-ming	Yan
BAAG No. 105 (?) / 楊守德	Sau-tak	Yeung

The condemned are taken out of solitary confinement and assembled inside Stanley Prison. They are refused a visit from a priest, but are allowed five minutes together to compose themselves. Captain Mateen Ansari gives an impromptu talk:

We will die strong and healthy for an ideal; not as traitors but nobly in our country's cause.

Wong Shui Pun, who had worked at St. Paul's College, leads prayers. Then it's time to go.

As well as the six men arrested in Stanley, there is at least one other whose fate is of deep personal concern: the wife (Florence) and son (Michael) of Charles Hyde are living in Bungalow D. And Thomas Monaghan, who sent in relief to Irish policemen and smuggled in medicines for Tweed Bay Hospital, is also in the execution party.



Former Camp Quartermaster W. J. Anderson has heard the rumours about impending execution that swept the prison in the morning and has managed to get himself on gardening duty so as to witness the condemned starting on their final journey.

The van sets off on the short drive to Stanley Beach soon after 2 pm.

Chester Bennett was briefly interned in Stanley before being released to buy extra food for the Camp. War reporter Hal Boyle tells the story from Bennett's perspective, starting with the American's last moments in his cell:

He gave the note (a final message to his wife) to a friendly guard and soon it was time to go. The crowded black van pulled out from the steel gates of Stanley Prison and moved slowly down the rough, narrow road leading to the small bay where British redcoats had planted the empire flag more than a hundred years before.

As the van passed a number of internees toiling up the slope someone put his face up to the rear wire grill and called out: "Goodbye boys. We shan't be seeing you again." (Believed to be Scott or Fraser.)

At the bottom of the hill the prisoners were forced to dismount and follow a trail winding around the edge of the bay. It must have been torture at every step to Chester Bennett. Rope burns on his left leg had become badly infected, the leg had become gangrenous and needed amputation. But he walked upright and limped only slightly. To all outward appearances he was utterly calm. The prisoners marched in single file to a small clearing. Ringing the hills around them were scores of Chinese gravestones. Before them in the center of the clearing the prisoners saw two trenches dug by Indian warders and knew how they were to die.

The beheadings begin, but the executioner tires and the swords lose their sharpness: some of the victims have to be finished off with bullets - Anderson hears these shots from the prison garden, as do some internees, leading to the idea that the prisoners have all been executed by firing squad.

Anne Ozorio describes the unflinching demeanour of Wong Shiu Pun, who does his best to pray with and comfort the victims, as these dreadful events play themselves out:

By the time it came to him the swords were blunt. But he kept praying.

There were 33 victims in total: seventeen Chinese, eight British, four Indians, one Canadian, one American, one Portuguese, one Eurasian. 32 were male; Lau Tak Oi, the wife of resistance leader David Loie, was the only woman. Rumours fly around the Camp, but official confirmation of the deaths is not given until November 2.

The Importance of Captain Mateen Ansari: Ansari was apparently related to one of rulers of the Princely States of India. The Japanese, knowing this, tried to recruit him, demanding that he renounce his allegiance to the British and foment discontent in the ranks of Indian prisoners in the prison camps. Ansari refused, and so was threatened with torture – hence the plans by the BAAG to aid his escape.





Appendix B The Importance of the BAAG

In the initial stages of our existence, most of the work was done at our Advanced H.Q. at WAICHOW and the reports were embodied in the WAICHOW INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY (W.I.Z.) which was published weekly and passed to the Military Attaché CHUNGKING and the D.M.I., G.H.Q. NEW DELHI.

NA HS 1/166 (SOE papers) To SACSEA (Supreme Allied Commander South East Asia, i.e. Lord Mountbatten) - author unknown (?13.11.44) "... As an escape organisation BAAG has fully justified its formation. Apart from the additional security commitments imposed on the Japanese by its activities in this respect, ... it renders considerable service to the USAAF operating in China, in helping their crashed air crews. GHQ India are of opinion that this assistance alone justifies a request for American help to meet the airlift required for maintenance. Intelligence provided by BAAG is, according to GHQ India, of the greatest importance in connection with the protection of the Indian Army, and of India as a base, from Japanese subversive efforts and espionage. BAAG also provides intelligence to the USAAF operating from China. SOE operations in SE China have been carried out through an SOE wing of BAAG, and SOE ... are anxious to continue to work through BAAG in this area, and attach considerable importance to the maintenance of BAAG. If BAAG were withdrawn, SOE would have to start there from scratch. The Colonial Office also attach great importance to the maintenance of BAAG. It not only provides them with intelligence necessary for their planning, but through it they are organising the recruitment of former Chinese members of the Hongkong police and other departments whose services will be required when a British military administration is set up in Hongkong. ... For the Chinese both BAAG and the Military Mission represent, in large measure, the British war effort in China. As such they have considerable political importance and play their part in the maintenance of Anglo-Chinese relations ..."

Elizabeth Ride on the importance of BAAG agents These agents all did unbelievable service, every one of them. One day you might have use for what my father wrote about them:

"Hongkong's war did not cease with the surrender of her fighting forces in December 1941, but few realize to what extent we can be justifiably proud of the daring deeds of her children, performed during the following period of sustained war effort of which the 18 days of battle was but the prologue. It was Hongkong's own contribution to the final defeat of Japan.

"The aim of this band of men and women was to serve as best they could for the ultimate restoration of the homes and the communities which they and their forebears had built up and which they had grown to love and revere.

"They were resolved to carry on their fight against the Japanese after the defeat of the Colony's regular defenders. This new fight of theirs was not a fight of foxholes and mortars, of ack-ack guns and jungle defence: it was a long, sustained fight of stoical courage and endurance, of intrigue and counter-intrigue, of matching their wits against a cunning foe and, last but not least, of gambling with high stakes for duty's reward alone." BAAG operatives from China formed the basis for what later were to be the Chindits, operating in Burma, behind the Japanese lines.





Appendix C Boris Pasco's involvement with the BAAG

From Gwulo.com

Boris Pasco's shop was used as an exchange rendezvous by Da Silva and Chester Bennet smuggling money into Stanley. Da Silva would collect the money (raised using promissory notes signed by prominent internees) taken to rich Indian and Swiss merchants who handed over the funds and put it in a small basket swinging from his arm – (figure illegible- perhaps 40,000) to 50,000 dollars at a time – and walk boldly past Jap soldiers to a book store around the corner. Bennett would be waiting in the rear of the bookstore. He would take the money to another rendezvous and they'd smuggle it into Stanley by putting it in the bottom of lard cans This went on for several months They got hundreds of thousands of yen in to helpless internees – money that was translated into food and kept them going.

Boris Pasco, a bookseller of Russian origin who'd been in Hong Kong for over ten years, was arrested and charged with allowing his shop to be used for spying, so it seems likely that it was his premises, Brewer's, where the exchange took place. Pasco managed to convince the Japanese of his innocence, and thus survived to give evidence at the War Crimes trials. Bennett was also helped in his Stanley work by the Chinese Stanley Camp supervisor Mr. Chan Kai Wai.





Appendix D

Cedric Salter after the war



Cedric on the left, Ron Smith (Dodwell Motors), Phillip Randall center, far right Kay Bretling, Danish. 1951 HKAAF, Kai Tak

Cedric and his father Alfred were something of a mystery until, through Tony Banham – HK historian, I finally managed to track down Cedric’s brother, Mike, who now lives in NZ. During February 2018 I exchanged numerous e-mails with Mike, who answered many of my questions. This was an exciting correspondence, culminating in finding the final piece of the jigsaw – how Ced and my Dad knew each other. They were both at school together in London, at Henry Thornton, Ced was a boarder, for my Dad it was regular day school. I have included extracts from Mike’s emails below. To Mike Cedric was always Ced.

Dear Jon,

I received an email yesterday from Tony Banham stating that you were trying to get in touch with me. You have succeeded thanks to Tony. It was fascinating to hear of Cedric’s relationship with your Mother of which I knew nothing. He was 13 years older than me so our social circles were worlds apart. Do you know how the letters were smuggled out of Shamshuipo? I expect you have more history of great interest and I can only await your reply to see where we go from here.



Dear Jon,

Thank you immensely for the fascinating information . I could not get to my computer for a day so I have only just finished devouring all the information you have sent, all of which as unknown to me. It has made me very emotional and when I have settled back to normal I will answer all your questions and probably have many questions to ask you.

Regards

Mike Salter

How brave and kind of your Mother to run the gauntlet of Japanese soldiers to get food to Cedric. Those in HK during the occupation suffered greatly whether they were in prison or not.

My Mother died when I was five and I spent more time with our servants - cook boy, his wife, wash amah, fahwong (gardener) and 'baby' amah who attended to me more than my Mother or Father. I saw even less of Cedric as he was always "out". Can't remember ever having a meal with him. I'm pretty sure he was an apprentice at Dodwell Motors in Wanchai near Happy Valley. My Father remarried just before the hostilities and me and my new stepmum were evacuated to Manila on the "Empress of Asia" and we departed from HK with another ship, the "Empress of Japan". The irony was not lost on us! We were billeted at Fort McKinley U.S. Army camp for a few boring months before boarding a Dutch ship the "Christian Huggens" for Australia. I panicked one early morning, when through the mists I saw a submarine following us, ran to tell a sailor and was told "don't worry, it is one of ours protecting us". Phew! Some passengers got off in Brisbane, we got off in Sydney and the rest went on to Melbourne.

We later had news that Dad was a prisoner in Stanley and Cedric a prisoner in Shamsuipo later to be shipped to Japan. I wrote 25 words on a postcard every month to Dad and Cedric and the first words Cedric said to me after the war were "Why didn't you write to me?" So obviously the Japanese never delivered any. Cedric arrived in Australia first followed a few weeks later by Dad. Praying every night for their safe return was rewarded. Cedric returned to England to be demobbed from military service and we returned to HK on the "Duntroon" in September 1946 with a boatload of ex-HK families. Cedric was already there and I now wonder if he was reunited with your Mother. I saw more of Cedric then as I was sharing a small flat with him but I never met your Mother. Reading about "machinegun fire" in Cedric's letter (I am having trouble writing 'Cedric' every time as I always called hi 'Ced'.) reminds me that he said when fighting was fierce he dived into a bunkers as machinegun bullets shot off both heels from his boots. I have a photo of him receiving the Military Medal from Governor Grantham in the late 1940s I think it was. I am sure both Ced and your Mother suffered during the war. I remember that Ced had raw red scars on his arm when he arrived in Australia. Perhaps your Mother was better off in Macau that in HK? Was Macau taken by the Japanese I wonder? This is some of the history that I remember.

I will now attend to your specific questions. My Dad's name was Alfred and my Mother's was Florence. He hailed from Tooting Broadway, South London but was brought up in Putney. He was wounded in the first world, shell exploded under his horse and shrapnel went through his leg.



He was transferred to a hospital in Devon or Cornwall when he met my Mother, a nurse. Went to night school and qualified as a heating and ventilating engineer, joined Dodwell & Co. and was sent out to HK in the 1920s. I was born there in 1932 at the French Hospital, Causeway Bay. (Where my Mother died later). I don't know what else you would be interested in hearing. I leave it to you to ask.

I do have family in UK - only cousins, nephews and nieces now. I just want to add that Kotewall is an old HK name and there is a road in HK called Kotewall, could be mid-levels maybe above Robinson Road. Finally, I used to fly with Ced. In Piper Cubs with the Far East Flying Training School in the late 1940s and in Austers with the HKAAF in the 1950s. We crashed landed at sea off HK in 1947. He was still flying recklessly making me black out in tight turns and aerobatics when I transferred from the HKAAF to the Sniper unit of the HKVDF. I ended my service with the HKVDF as a wireless operator in the Marine Police. I always wanted to try all the three armed services.

I don't suppose you can throw any more light on how and where your Father and Ced's paths crossed? Thank you for all the information and documents. Really interesting and mind boggling to receive all this hitherto unknown history. My wife (Lee) and I have been reminiscing trying to recall incidents and vague comments from our parents and family members to do with Cedric and the war. We are trying to figure out when and where Ced met your Father – do you know?

I am happy to answer any questions you may have;-

My stepmother was Eve Marie Anne Ruffio. Born in Tsingtao of French parents in the hotel industry. Travelled throughout China and ended up in Shanghai. She has Danish and Japanese ancestry. On a two week holiday in HK she liked it so much she got a job as a private secretary to my Father. They married a short time before the hostilities and I ended up in Sydney with her. Life was not good until I persuaded her to send me to boarding school. Ced married Edith Mae Brown in 1948. Her Father was Chief Fire Officer for HK. They had five children, all born in HK. Sandra, Cedric, Sherry, Rose and Stephen. My Father retired to Epsom Downs in 1954 and Ced left with family a few years later to settle nearby. I saw him in 1959 and 1964 when I was on leave from HK. I left HK in 1967 after my wife had been ill for three years with tropical sprue. The specialists said she would not recover unless we lived in a temperate climate. I had to give up a great job with the HK Development Council but with two young children, Arran and Maia, thought that it would lead to a better life for us all. As indeed it proved to be.

I will read through everything again to ensure I have assimilated all the info and I am sure that I will have some questions to ask if that is OK. Your research is greatly appreciated. The story of my life for my children and grandchildren is still going to be written!

Dear Jon,

I gained more insight reading again all that you have sent me.

Without facts we can only surmise the conversation between Phyllis and Cedric at their final parting. The conjecture is bitter-sweet when you think of all that they went through. Three and a



half years waiting during which time their sufferings did change them. I am visualising a poignant film sequence of this last meeting. I wonder if the decision was mutual or that maybe it was made by one person? One false belief of mine has been exposed - I firmly believe that Ced was near Nagasaki whereas it was Hiroshima. I was told he was on an island called Ni-oshima repairing damaged ships.

Dear Jon,

Thanks for latest emails. It may help you to know that Cedric was at boarding school in England in the late 1930s. I think it was called Henry Thorton College. I travelled to England 1938 I think it was and there met Cedric for the first time that I can remember him. He must have been left in England on my Dad's previous leave to England (every four years) and I was too young to remember. Is there a possibility that Ced met your Father pre-war?



Appendix E James Kotwall's (Agent 120) BAAG activities and execution

I don't know how many radios the HKSBC staff had, but I've recently learnt that one of them – perhaps the only one – was hidden in the headquarters of the Abdoolally Ebrahim company, Abdoolally House at 20 Stanley Street (Central).

The Abdoolally Ebrahim group, which deals in textiles and other commodities, is one of the oldest companies in Hong Kong, its origins going back to the year after the Colony's founding in 1841. It now claims to be the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation's oldest client.

Involvement with radios was probably the most dangerous thing of all in occupied Hong Kong: it led to the torture and execution of courageous men in the POW camps, in Stanley and in the city itself.

Early in the occupation the administration decreed that all radios in town should be handed in to an authorized technician to have the short wave section removed – 'castrated' was the popular word – so that they could not pick up Allied broadcasts from London or Chungking. Some people hid their sets and continued to listen, as they were desperate to get reasonably accurate news of the progress of the war. This doesn't seem to have been too much of a problem in 1942, but in 1943 and again after the D Day landings in June 1944, possession of such sets were to have dreadful consequences. It seems that Hyde and Souza were amongst those who kept an intact radio and, realising that it was too dangerous to hide it in the bankers' hotel (the Sun Wah) they asked their clients and perhaps friends at 20 Stanley Street to keep it for them.

The Abdoolally Ebrahim Company also lent money to the bankers for much-needed food and medicine to be sent into Stanley and the POW camps. Hiding the radio meant death if it was discovered, but even making a loan was dangerous – a Turkish restaurant owner and his wife were brutally tortured after incriminating documents were discovered. A quick thinking Abdoolally employee ate a promissory note from HKSBC man Hugo Foy when he realized the Kempeitai were entering the premises. The account book kept by the HKSBC 'cashier' S. Perry-Aldworth survived the war – hidden in the roof of the Chinese banker Ho Wing – and settlement was made after liberation on the basis of these records, so hopefully the fact that the original note was no longer available made no difference!

A letter to the company's Bombay office dated September 25, 1945 implies that a number of staff members experienced 'life under Gendarmes in a cell' but singles out 'Mr Saleh' as having spent 17 months in Stanley Prison. I believe this to be Saleh C. Ebrahim, who became a BAAG operative in 1944. His code name was Shanghai Taipan (the firm had an office in Shanghai) and his agent number was 130. He joined the resistance network during 1943 at the same time as George Samuel Ladd ('Fat Boy Next Door', number 128) who was probably Eurasian, and they formed part of 'K' Group alongside Jimmy Kotwall (number 120), who certainly was.

When the three of them agreed to work as a group, Kotwall was the one who was responsible for actual contacts with Waichow. This was in April or May 1943, and the three courageous men were joining the resistance at a time when many of its existing agents were being rounded-up by



the Kempeitai. One of those arrested was George Kotwall, Jimmy's brother, who was executed on October 29, 1943.

Using code, the team sent a wide variety of intelligence to BAAG Field HQ at Waichow, detailing, for example, the movement of ships through Hong Kong harbour, damage caused by American bombing, conditions at Stanley, and the activities of the pro-Japanese Indian Independence League – it seems safe to assume that Mr. Ebrahim gathered the information about the League. Confirmation that they were sending valuable intelligence came in an early reply from Waichow: 'Good work carry on along same lines'.

All went well until December 1943 when a Chinese agent they'd been working with failed to return to Hong Kong from Waichow. The agent remained missing until February 1944 when he arrived in Hong Kong with an unconvincing explanation of his long absence and it seems that he had betrayed the group to the Japanese, as they were all arrested on March, 26, 1944 and at one point in their interrogation confronted with the message that the agent had been taking to Waichow when he disappeared – he had claimed to have swallowed it when arrested by the Japanese on suspicion. Mr. Ladd's questioning took place at the Happy Valley Gendarmerie, and it's likely but not certain that Mr. Ebrahim's did too. Brutal interrogation put the Japanese in possession of the full details of the group's work.

After 38 days, the Gendarmes had finished with them, so they were handed over to the military authorities at Stanley Prison on May 3, 1944. They were kept there in great suspense, twice being called for questioning by a military attorney. On August 29 they were tried by a military tribunal, and Jimmy Kotwall was sentenced to death. Mr Ladd and Mr. Ebrahim received sentences of eight years, while a Chinese associate, Lau King Sing, was sent to prison for three. Mr. Kotwall was executed two days later, and Mr Lau died in the prison hospital on September 4, 1944. The two survivors were released on August 23, 1945.

I can find no indication of what happened to Mr. Ebrahim after the war, but George Samuel Ladd remained in Hong Kong and gave evidence at war crimes trials. He's described as an accountant in the list of witnesses.

I've seen a number of references to the activities of Indian men and women in relief and resistance, but far too little is known about them at the moment– the heroism of Captain Mateen Ansari is well-documented, and some material is available relating to the work of the Ruttonjee family, but I suspect that what I have so far managed to uncover about the contribution of the Abdoollaly Ebrahim group is part of a much wider story both in relation to the Group itself and to the community they were part of.

Statement by Mrs Doris Kotwall to Captain Rudy Choy BAAG in Macao, October 1945.

....carrying on a brokerage business in a small way. I did not have any knowledge whatsoever of his real motive regarding the connection with the British Army Aid Group. I did have the suspicion of him doing some work for the British Government. Just before his arrest, his movements were most mysterious. He had frequent callers at the house and used to chat with them for hours in private.



One early morning, I was awakened by strange sounds and voices. I looked out of the window and saw our house surrounded by Japanese Gendarmes and Chinese Constables. I at once woke up my husband and informed him of what was happening outside. He at once got up and started to dis-connect the radio set etc. Before he could do very much, the Japanese Gendarmes started to bang on the doors and we had to open the door almost at once. Some time before, my husband had instructed me that should there be anything wrong or the house was searched, we must destroy a marked matchbox lying near our bed. Owing to the excitement that early morning, I did not do so and at the same time thinking J. must have destroyed same before opening the door for the Japanese to enter. After they got us all into one room, I suddenly saw the match-box in question lying in the room, so I asked permission to enter my bedroom in order to see my two children who were then crying. The Japanese Gendarme gave me permission but accompanied me into the room. When I got inside, I ordered my maid servant to go and collect the match-box; she being an old servant and rather excited did not dare to collect the match box until after her third attempt. She eventually got the match box but was so frightened that she threw it out of the window. Within a few minutes another Japanese Gendarme who was waiting outside the house came in and handed the match box to the Officer in charge and informed him he had already got the evidence against J. J. was then very sad, knowing he had been caught red handed. They took J. away at about 11 a.m. after a thorough search of the house, turning everything upside down. At 2 p.m. in the same afternoon, J. came back to the house and asked me to hand him the Bridge Card Table for scores. I did not know where he put that paper and J. had to look for it himself. After a while he found the paper and it appeared to me to be some timetable with lots of squares on it. J. and the Gendarmes left right after and my house was guarded by Chinese Constables for 4 days after their departure.

After the fourth day of J's arrest, I was asked to go to the Happy Valley Gendarmerie Headquarters and was interviewed by a Japanese Officer. He questioned me and asked me many questions, family affairs and also who were the friends of J. and who visited him. I answered the best way I could. Then the Japanese asked about the runner from Waichow and whether I had ever seen that person. I answered that I did not know. Then he asked me about the match box and who threw it out of the window. I replied I didn't know. At this stage he tried to frighten me by saying if I didn't tell the truth he would give me water torture etc. I again replied I didn't know. Then they kept me inside the office until 7 in the evening. In the meantime, I found out later when I got home, this Japanese officer went to the house and made inquiries from my maid servant and she confessed.

On May the 3rd I was asked through the telephone to call at the Happy Valley Gendarmerie again and this time I saw J. for the first time since his arrest - he was looking awful. J. asked me to be good and to look after the children and to have them educated and not to worry. We could not talk very much for the Japanese Officer was present. J. was worried about me getting no money and asked me to sell both the house and office furniture in order to obtain cash. The total time I was together with J. was about 20 minutes.

J. was taken out to Stanley Jail after my seeing him and I never saw him again. I was sending food parcels, medicine, etc. in to J. all the time until the 2nd September 1944, when I was asked



to see an Officer in charge of the Law. He informed me that my husband was executed on the 31st August 1944, because he was a spy for the British Government. I was very shocked and inquired what proved J. was a spy. The Japanese Officer replied that they had all the proof and that J. had confessed. He further said that J. was responsible for the sinking of many ships in the harbour.

A few weeks later I was sent again to see this Officer in question. He handed me back J's clothing, etc. I was also asked to leave the Colony and that he would do all he could to get me and my children away. I then decided to leave for Macao, where I was looked after by the British Consulate.

J. sent me a letter through the Japanese Gendarmerie written just before his death asking me to look after myself, the children and to get the children educated and also to turn Christian. In that letter he also stated he would leave all his possessions and all he had in this world to me. He said he is now leaving this world and that he is proud he is dying for the sake of his country. J. asked me to forgive him and not to get hurt or sore for what he did for all his actions were very honourable. ..."



Appendix F Interview with Mrs. Cicely Kotewall Zimmern - A Recollection of Memories of DGS in the 1930's

Editor's note: The Diocesan Boys' School and Orphanage was founded in 1869. One of its objectives was "...to receive or place children of both sexes, sound in both body and mind, of European, Chinese and half-caste parentage"



Mrs. Zimmern in DGS uniform (1930's)

It was a warm sunny afternoon as our interview team met and entered the doors of Mrs. Zimmern's apartment. There she stood eagerly awaiting us, all changed and prepared for the occasion of our long-awaited interview. Mrs. Zimmern held in her fragile hands some notes she had written and started to take the lead in talking the moment everyone sat down. To our surprise, she spoke perfect Cantonese throughout in a very lively manner and occasionally broke out in little giggles as some thoughts flashed across her mind.

"I am the eighth daughter in the family. After me came my brother, the only son of the family, followed by Patsy (mother of Kim Fenton, and grandmother of Robyn Lamsam, who all attended DGS)."

"At our time, schooling was not as strictly regimented as nowadays. Classes were not divided according to age, but according to academic standard. When I entered DGS, I was placed into



Grade 8 as I knew not a single word of English. St. Paul's where I went prior to DGS, was taught totally in Chinese. DGS however was taught wholly in English."

DGS in those days, according to Mrs. Zimmern, was not divided into Junior and Senior School. Students were placed in Grade 10 to 1, with Grade 10 being the lowest. Having graduated from Grade 1 you would then go on to university level. There were about 15 to 20 girls in one class and all the students sat together in one big hall. The clever ones got to sit in the front row closer to the teacher. Some of the ones in the back row may end up sitting there for several years.

"When I first joined DGS, Miss Sawyer was the headmistress. Every morning, she would stand on a high chair and bellow out each girl's name to take the school roll call, and we had to call out 'Present'. I was terrified of her, as I did not understand any English."

However, it did not take Mrs. Zimmern long to learn some English from the friends she made at school. These were the girls who also lived on the Hong Kong Island like she did. They would cross the Star Ferry each morning (at \$0.25 per trip) as a school bus awaited them at the Ferry to take them back to 1 Jordan Road in time. The Hong Kong girls became a close and friendly community. Some were Chinese and some were English or Portuguese who could converse in Cantonese which they had learnt from their Chinese amahs. They had good fun on this journey and soon, would make use of the ferry ride to collaborate on their homework together instead of doing them independently at home.

So what was school like in those days? Well, school lasted the whole day. A bell would ring after each session to signal a change of activities. The first bell would ring for the Chapel where students had morning prayers and sang hymns. School hymn at that time was "Blessed are the Pure in Heart" (which was also sung at Joyce Symons' Memorial Service recently). Lessons followed afterwards. Lunch was provided by the School at a cost. Everyone ate together at the dining hall - Western style with knife and fork. The menu consisted of potatoes every meal, served with meat, fish or chicken. As there was no tuck shop during those days, students had to bring their own if they wanted a snack during break.

We then prompted Mrs. Zimmern for a view of sports and recreation at that time. "During break and what remained of the lunch time, we chatted and played games. We liked rope games. We also played netball, rounders, basketball and hockey in school. Outside School, I also played tennis and swam (there was no swimming pool at school in those days). I was tall and quite a good sportswoman and good shooter for basketball. This stood me in good stead every year at the Annual Sports Day. We would form our own teams, because there was no system of having "Houses" as you have now. DGS girls were in general quite athletic and energetic. We were known to be good sportswomen, fair, open and fun to be with."

And what about school uniforms in those days? Quite to our surprise the summer uniform was very much like the one we have now, blue and white, except without the cardigan. Mrs. Zimmern explained with pride that they had to wear white shoes and socks and looked very smart indeed. Selina Chan (the youngest member of our interview team) who will be attending DGJS this year,



modestly and respectfully presented Mrs. Zimmern with her brand new summer uniform which Mrs. Zimmern examined carefully with a grin on her face.



Young DGS girl showing our present summer uniform (note the blue V present on the uniforms of many of Mum's DGS friends in early photos.)

"In the winter, we wore a tunic of dark blue wool. Inside, we wore a white shirt of "Vyella" material which was quite soft and warm. When it was very cold, we were allowed to wear woollen knee socks. We had no school blazers at that time. We could wear a Western style overcoat of our choice but not Chinese padded jackets.

Mrs. Zimmern later explained that the entire School was run by one Headmistress together with four teachers for each subject - English, Mathematics, Botany and Gymnastics. Only the Botany teacher was Chinese, or at least looked Chinese. There were no male teachers during that time.

Although not a School Prefect Mrs. Zimmern was usually asked by Miss Sawyer to collect all the students' exercise books to be graded and distributed afterwards. The best students were acknowledged at the Annual Speech Day.

One of the most popular events was the Annual Bazaar. Mrs. Zimmern vividly exclaimed that there would be all sorts of things to be bought and sold such as scarves, shoes, dishes. She could not recall what else were sold, except than it was great fun and that it was open to the public. All the proceeds went to charity for children and everyone bought generously.

And what were the characteristics of DGS girls in those days? "Well, we were lively and inquisitive girls. We respected our teachers, but were not terrified of them although they were quite strict. DGS had quite a liberal atmosphere, and we were encouraged to use our brains and express our opinion. We like to talk and argue and would giggle in class and chat about everything under the sun."

Later on, Miss Sawyer was succeeded by Miss Gibbons as headmistress, who was referred fondly by the girls as "Gibby". Eventually, with the good education provided by DGS, Mrs. Zimmern graduated with three A's and entered the University of Hong Kong to study Economics. Joyce



Symons (known to Mrs. Zimmern as Joyce) was already in HKU before Mrs. Zimmern. After graduating from university, Mrs. Zimmern became a teacher at St. Paul's School before she worked as a secretary at Watsons. Whilst working, she was dated by Archie Zimmern, who was subsequently appointed as a Queen's Counsel and became the first Supreme Court Judge appointed from the local Bar. The Kotewall family survived the War years under the careful planning of their father, Sir Robert Kotewall who was particularly under great pressure to protect the virtue of his nine daughters against the Japanese soldiers. After the War, Cicely and Archie got married (three of the Kotewall sisters eventually married three of the Zimmern brothers!) They have a daughter Annabel, who is a restaurateur and a son Hugh, who is a partner of an international architect firm in Hong Kong.

Even though Joyce Symons was not in the same class as Mrs. Zimmern, the two got on remarkably well. As Cicely Zimmern portrayed, Joyce was kind, clever and great fun to be with. When they traveled together in England, Joyce would tell people in the train that Mrs. Zimmern was a princess, and the gentlemen would give up their seats for her. Joyce also relished on the tale of how she dropped one of her shoes in a LegCo session, and how Sir Maclehoose, the Governor of Hong Kong then, embarrassingly retrieved it for her!

Their friendship lasted more than half a century through life's ups and downs. Whenever Joyce visited Hong Kong after her retirement, Cicely would always take her to the horse races. Joyce also invited Cicely to visit her new home which she had bought about three years ago (because she didn't want to live in a 'home'). The new flat was beautifully renovated by her niece and nephew and overlooked a pond with ducklings. Mrs. Zimmern felt that Joyce was able to enjoy peace in her home in her last days. May she rest in peace.



DGS pageant ~1938
Mum as indicated