

## Intro

1. J. Leasor, *Singapore: The Battle that Changed the World*, New York, 1968.
2. For a full discussion of relevant primary sources, see Appendix One.
3. P. Elphick, *Singapore, the Pregnable Fortress: A Study in Deception, Discord and Desertion*, London, 1995; P. Elphick, *Far Eastern File: The Intelligence War in the Far East, 1930-1945*, London, 1997; M.H. Murfett and J.N. Miksic, B.P. Farrell, Chiang M.S. *Between Two Oceans: A Military History of Singapore, From First Settlement to Final British Withdrawal*, Singapore, 1999; M. Smith, *The Emperor's Codes: Bletchley Park and the Breaking of Japan's Secret Ciphers*, London, 2000; R.J. Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War Against Japan: Britain, America and the Politics of Secret Service*, London, 2000; A. Warren, *Singapore 1942: Britain's Greatest Defeat*, Sydney, 2002.
4. S.W. Kirby's volume in the British official history, *The War Against Japan: Vol. 1: The Loss of Singapore*, London, 1957, and his own *Singapore: The Chain of Disaster*, London, 1971, along with L. Wigmore's volume in the Australian official history, *The Japanese Thrust*, Canberra, 1957, established this "received explanation" for the fall of Singapore.

## Chapter 1-

1. Public Record Office (PRO), ADM116/3104, Admiralty Memorandum, Imperial Naval Defence, 31 October 1919; CAB4/15, Imperial Conference of 1926, minutes, 19 November 1926; CAB8/11, ODC537-M (draft), Memorandum by Oversea Defence Committee, General Principles of Imperial Defence, November 1927; CAB21/315, Admiralty Memorandum, Some General Principles of Imperial Defence, 12 March 1928; N. Tracy (editor). *The Collective Naval Defence of the Empire, 1900-1940* [hereafter *CNDE*]. London, 1997, xi-xxxii, 251-61, 420-21, 432-34, 436.
2. PRO, CAB21/159, Hankey to CID, July 1919; CAB63/40, MO(28)13, Hankey Memorandum, November 1928.
3. Useful discussions include P. Kennedy, *The Realities Behind Diplomacy*, London, 1981, Corelli Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power*, London, 1972, J.R. Ferris, "It is our Business in the Navy to Command the Seas: the Last Decade of British Maritime Supremacy," in G. Kennedy and K. Neilson (eds.), *Far Flung Lines: Essays on Imperial Defence in Honour of Donald Mackenzie Schurman*, London, 1997.
4. D. Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army 1860-1940*, London, 1994; N. Gibbs, *Grand Strategy, vol. 1, 1919-1939*, London, 1976; Barnett, ch. 4.
5. Gibbs, 3-6; J.R. Ferris, *Men, Money and Diplomacy: the evolution of British Strategic Policy 1919-1926*, Ithaca, 1989; Barnett, 277-78.
6. US Army, Office of the Chief of Military History, Japanese Monograph Series, Number 150, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part IV (hereafter JM); R. Storry, *Japan and the Decline of the West in Asia 1894-1943*, London, 1979, 89-99.
7. PRO, CAB5/4, CID137-C, Memorandum, Churchill to CID, Mr. Hughes on Naval Defence, 28 April 1921; CAB32/2, Imperial Conference of 1921, minutes, 19 July 1921; National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 25, vol. 3414, files 1-1921/6-11, papers from Imperial Conference of 1921; *CNDE*, pp. 280-82, 300-03; Storry, 121-22; I. Hamill, *The Strategic Illusion: The Singapore Strategy and the Defence of Australia and New Zealand*, Singapore, 1981, 29-30.
8. Barnett, ch. 4; J.R. Ferris, "'The Greatest Power on Earth': Great Britain in the 1920s," in *The International History Review*, vol. XIII, #4, 1991; L. James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, New York, 1994, part 4, ch. 6.
9. NAC, RG25, vol. 3412, file 1-1-1918-7, Naval Defence of the British Empire, 17 May, ? to Borden, comments on Admiralty proposals, 27 July, Borden to Geddes, 15 August, Christie to Borden, 6 October 1918; Proposed Visit of Lord Jellicoe, 17 December 1918 [British copies can be found in PRO, ADM116/1831 and ADM116/1815]; *CNDE*, 233, 241-42.
10. PRO, ADM116/1815, Admiralty Minute on Jellicoe Report to Commonwealth Government of Australia, 31 October 1919; M.H. Murfett et al., *Between Two Oceans: A Military History of Singapore From First Settlement to Final British Withdrawal*, Singapore, 1999, 146-47. The great expansion in the size and displacement of capital ships from the 1900s, and the shift from coal to oil for fuel, left the RN by 1919 with no base east of the Mediterranean capable of docking the largest ships in the fleet, and no fuel reserves for major fleet operations.
11. PRO, ADM1/8570/287, Naval Staff Memorandum, British Empire Naval Bases in the Pacific, 26 April 1919; ADM116/3104, Admiralty Memorandum, Imperial Naval Defence, October 1919; ADM1/8571/295, Admiralty Memorandum, Naval Situation in the Far East, 21 October 1919; Murfett et al, 147-48.

12. PRO, ADM116/3100, Report of Conference of Cs-in-C China, East Indies and Australasian Stations, 7 March 1921; ADM116/3102, Memorandum by DCNS, Oil Fuel Reserves, 24 May 1921; CAB5/4, CID143-C, ODC Memorandum, Singapore, Development of as Naval Base, 7 June 1921; CAB2/3, CID Minutes, appendix, 13 June 1921; *CNDE*, 278-79, 282-95.
13. PRO, CAB32/2, Imperial Conference of 1921, minutes, 4, 19 July 1921; CAB21/187, Imperial Conference of 1921, minutes, 5 August 1921; ADM116/3415, Admiralty Memorandum, Empire Naval Policy, 11 July 1921.
14. M.H. Murfett, "Look Back in Anger: The Western Powers and the Washington Conference of 1921-1922," in B.J.C. McKercher (ed.), *Arms Limitation and Disarmament: Restraints on War 1899-1939*, Westport, 1992; Gibbs, 19-24; S.W. Roskill, *Naval Policy Between the Wars*, vol. 1, London, 1968, ch. 8.
15. PRO, CAB5/4, CID176-C, Naval Staff Memorandum, The Washington Conference and its effect upon Empire Naval Policy and Co-operation, 28 July 1922; *CNDE*, 316-22.
16. The most severe critic is undoubtedly Barnett, 272-73; see also Roskill, chs. 9, 11; and Murfett, "Look Back in Anger."
17. Storry, 128-30; W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894-1945*, Oxford, 1987, chs. 8-9.
18. Storry, 123-28; Beasley, chs. 9-1; Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific*, London, 1987, ch. 1.
19. For an example, see the Reservation to the ODC recommendation to develop Singapore as a main naval base submitted by the Treasury Representative, E.W.H. Millar: "In short the financial position is such that in my opinion there is no alternative but to face such risks as may be involved in the present condition of our defences in the Far East and to rely upon diplomacy to obviate them." PRO, CAB5/4, CID143-C, 7 June 1921. See also below, ch. 2.
20. PRO, CAB27/236, Hankey Memorandum, Committee on Replacement of Fleet Units other than Capital Ships and Singapore, 22 February, Note by First Lord, Naval Strategical Policy in the East, 25 February 1924; *CNDE*, 347, 378-81.
21. Cmd. 2083, *Correspondence with the Self-governing Dominions and India regarding the development of Singapore Naval Base*, House of Commons Parliamentary Paper, 25 March 1924; PRO, CAB23/47, Cabinet Minutes, 17 March 1924; ADM116/2311, Director of Plans Memorandum, New Zealand Naval Policy, 19 October 1926; CAB4/15, Imperial Conference of 1926, minutes, 15 November 1926; CAB27/407, Committee on the Fighting Services, minutes, 22 May 1930; CAB5/7, Report of UK-Australia-New Zealand Committee to the Imperial Conference of 1930, 27 October 1930.
22. Roskill, *passim*; C.M. Bell, *The Royal Navy, Seapower and Strategy Between the Wars*, Stanford, 2000, ch. 1.
23. Murfett et al, 150-54; W.D. McIntyre, *The Rise and Fall of the Singapore Naval Base 1919-1942*, London, 1979, ch. 2.

24. Hamill, 99-101; Roskill, 464.
25. Murfett et al, 156-57; Hamill, 103-09, 124-27, 133-34; McIntyre, ch. 3.
26. PRO, CAB104/17, Extract from statement by Mr. Bruce on the Defence of Pacific, Melbourne, 6 March 1929; CAB27/407, Committee on the Fighting Services, minutes, 22 May 1930; CAB5/7, CID354-C, Report of UK-Australia-New Zealand Committee to the Imperial Conference of 1930, 27 October 1930; NAC, RG25, vol. 2508, CID papers, 1930; Murfett et al, 158-59; Hamill, ch. 8; McIntyre, ch. 5.
27. Murfett et al, 154-55; Hamill, chs. 5-6; Bell, ch. 3.
28. PRO, CAB104/17, Extract from statement by Mr. Bruce on the Defence of Pacific, Melbourne, 6 March 1929.
29. Murfett et al, 155; Hamill, 57-59.
30. Hamill, 128-30; Bell, ch. 3; Roskill, 461-62; B.D. Hunt, *Sailor-Scholar: Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond 1871-1946*, Waterloo, 1982, ch. 7.
31. PRO, ADM1/8571/295, Admiralty Memorandum, Naval Situation in the Far East, 21 October 1919; CAB5/4, CID143-C, Singapore: Development as a Naval Base, 7 June 1921; *CNDE*, 262-64, 287-89.
32. PRO, CAB5/4, CID176-C, Naval Staff Memorandum, The Washington Conference and its effect upon Empire Naval Policy and Co-operation, 28 July 1922; *CNDE*, 316-22.
33. Ong C.C., *Operation Matador: Britain's War Plans Against the Japanese 1918-1941*, Singapore, 1997, 27-36.
34. PRO, CAB53/1, COS minutes, 24 February 1925; CAB5/6, CID273-C, CAS Memorandum, Singapore Naval Base, 9 July 1926; Ong, 23-25; Murfett et al, 157-58; Hamill, 110-24.
35. Hamill, 110-24.
36. Hamill, 122-24; Murfett et al, 157-58; McIntyre, chs. 4-5.
37. PRO, CAB2/4, CID Minutes, 2 April 1929; Bell, 24; Roskill, 560.

## Chapter 2

1. P. Haggie, *Britannia at Bay: The Defence of the British Empire Against Japan 1931-1941*, Oxford, 1981, 164-66; Hamill, 305; D. Horner, *High Command: Australia's Struggle for an Independent War Strategy 1939-45*, New South Wales, 1982, 29.
2. Storry, 138-40; Ienaga Saburo, *The Pacific War 1931-1945*, New York, 1978, ch. 1.
3. Storry, 39, 140-41; Haggie, 16-18; Ienaga, chs. 1, 4; Beasley, ch. 12.
4. Storry, 140-41; Ienaga, ch. 4; Iriye, ch. 2.
5. Haggie, 18-22; Gibbs, ch. 3; Barnett, 300-01.
6. Haggie, 5, 18-20; W.N. Medlicott, *British Foreign Policy Since Versailles*, London, 1968, chs. 5, 8; S.W. Roskill, *Hankey: Man of Secrets*, vols. 2- 3, London, 1974.
7. R.A.C. Parker, *Chamberlain and Appeasement: British Policy and the Coming of the Second World War*, London, 1993, 39-41; R. Vogel, "Chamberlain and Appeasement," in Brian P. Farrell (ed.), *Leadership and Responsibility in the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Vogel*, Montreal, 2004.
8. Ienaga, 57-75; W.N. Medlicott et al (eds.), *Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939*, Second Series, Volume X, *Far Eastern Affairs, March-October 1932*; Barnett, 300-05.
9. Iriye, ch. 1; B.J.C. McKercher, "Our Most Dangerous Enemy: Great Britain Pre-Eminent in the 1930s, in *The International History Review*, vol. XIII, #4, 1991.
10. PRO, CAB4/21, CID1082-B, COS Annual Review for 1932, 23 February 1932; Haggie, 32-33; Hamill, 215-16. The First Lord put the situation more bluntly in a private comment: "He told me that there had been a strong move [in Cabinet] to take an unfriendly attitude towards Japan over Manchuria but when he had convinced them that in case of trouble Japan could clear the sea of us all the way to Aden they had toned down," J. Barnes and D. Nicholson (editors) *The Empire at Bay: The Leopold Amery Diaries 1929-1945*, London, 1988, diary entry, 16 September 1932.
11. PRO, CAB53/4, The Far Eastern Situation, Chatfield to COS, 25 February 1933; CAB4/22, CID1103-B, The Situation in the Far East, 31 March 1933; NAC, RG25, vol. 2508, COS Annual Review for 1933; *CNDE*, 475-79; Haggie, 39-42, 50-52; S.W. Kirby, *The War Against Japan, vol. 1, The Loss of Singapore*, London, 1957, 11-12. Years later, Japanese historians conferring with British scholars working on volumes of the official history of the war against Japan made this interesting comment on the Admiralty's 1932 fears of an attack on Singapore: "There is not an iota of truth in the report, which is mentioned in the British Official History, Volume 1, page 11 [Kirby, *The Loss of Singapore*]. It is a matter of astonishment to the Japanese that London must have been so poorly informed as to consider seriously such a report." PRO, CAB106/180, Report on discussions held in Tokyo in September 1966 between Col. Wards, Historical Section, Cabinet Office, and Japanese official historians, War History Institute [Wards report].
12. Haggie, 52-61; Hamill, 217-21; Roskill, *Hankey*, vol. 3, ch. 2; Gibbs, ch. 4.
13. Parker, 41-44; Vogel, "Chamberlain and Appeasement," in Farrell, *Leadership and Responsibility*; F. McDonough, *Neville Chamberlain, Appeasement, and the British Road to War*, New York, 1998, ch. Ch. 3.
14. Storry, 148-49; Haggie, 56-57; Iriye, 22.

15. PRO, CAB16/111, Naval Defence Requirements, First Lord to Cabinet, 18 July 1934; Haggie, 57-65, 72-73; Parker, 43-44; Bell, 101-03; Murfett et al, 161-62; E.M. Andrews, *The Writing on the Wall: The British Commonwealth and Aggression in the East 1931-1935*, Sydney, 1987, 148-49.
16. Parker, chs. 1-4; Vogel, "Chamberlain and Appeasement"; McDonough, ch.
17. Storry, 148-53; Haggie, 110-11; Ienaga, chs. 5-6; Beasley, ch. 13.
18. Haggie, 115-16; Storry, 154; Iriye, 48-49.
19. M.H. Murfett, *Fool-Proof Relations: The Search for Anglo-American Naval Cooperation during the Chamberlain Years 1937-1940*, Singapore, 1984, chs. 7-9; Haggie, 115-19; Storry, 154; Hamill, 302-03; Parker, 105-07.
20. Iriye, ch. 2; M. and S. Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun: The Rise and Fall of the Imperial Japanese Army*, New York, 1991, Part V.
21. Haggie, 126-30; Parker, 124-25; Iriye, ch. 2.
22. D.C. Watt, *How War Came*. London, 1990, 349-56; Parker, 248-52; Haggie, 148-49.
23. PRO, CAB53/10, COS to Cabinet, 18 June 1939; Haggie, 149-53; Watt, 356-57; Parker, 252-55; Murfett, *Fool-Proof Relations*, 251-53; Gibbs, 426-28.
24. Parker, chs. 11-12; Vogel, "Chamberlain and Appeasement"; McDonough, chs. 6-7.
25. Parker, ch. 17; Gibbs, ch. 17.
26. R.Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy 1932-1945*, New York, 1979; W.F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman*, Princeton, 1991, ch. 1.
27. Murfett, *Fool-Proof Relations*, 236-55; Haggie, 142-44; Hamill, 304.
28. PRO, CAB104/170, minutes of meeting between Chamberlain and Australian and New Zealand High Commissioners, 28 June 1939; Watt, 356-60; Parker, 255-59; Haggie, 153-58; Murfett, 250-55.
29. Watt, 473-77; Parker, chs. 11, 12; Vogel, "Chamberlain and Appeasement"; S. Aster, "Sir William Seeds: The Diplomat as Scapegoat?" in Farrell, *Leadership and Responsibility*.
30. PRO, CAB4/21, CID1082-B, COS Annual Review for 1932, 23 February 1932; *CNDE*, 466-68; Haggie, 31-32; Hamill, 205.
31. PRO, CAB29/148, Foreign Office/Admiralty Memorandum, 23 March 1934; *CNDE*, 484-86; Roskill, *Naval Policy*, vol. 2, ch. 10; Gibbs, 323-32.
32. PRO, CAB23/75, Cabinet Minutes, 12 April 1933; *CNDE*, 458-59, 463-64, 475-79; Murfett et al, 160-61; Hamill, 206-16; Haggie, 36, 44-46; Andrews, 110.
33. PRO, CAB2/5, CID Minutes, 6 April 1933; ADM167/90, Board of Admiralty Minutes, 13 December 1934; Haggie, 45-46; Roskill, *Naval Policy*, vol. 2, ch. 6; P. Dennis, "Australia and the Singapore

- Strategy,” in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
34. PRO, CAB24/261, CP105(36), COS Paper, Conditions of Forces to meet the possibility of War with Germany, 18 March, 1936; CAB53/5, COS Minutes, 31 March 1936; Haggie, 99-100; McCarthy, chs. 3 and 6, and P. Dennis, “Australia and the Singapore Strategy,” in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*, quite rightly note the Australian Army was never as willing to accept the “Singapore strategy” as the Navy and government; see also below, note 38.
  35. PRO, CAB32/127, CID1305-B, COS Review of Imperial Defence, 25 February 1937; CAB53/7, COS Minutes, 16 March 1937; CAB53/30, COS Paper, Malaya: Period Before Relief, 6 April 1937; CAB2/7, CID Minutes, 4 March, 1938; Ong, 57-58; Haggie, 106-08; Hamill, 276-77.
  36. PRO, ADM1/9081, Admiralty Memorandum, The New Standard of Naval Strength, 26 April 1937; CAB5/8, CID450-C and CID451-C, COS answers to Questions Relating to General Defence Problems in the Far East, submitted by the Australian and New Zealand Delegations, 4 June, 1937; Hamill, 276-86; Haggie, 107-10.
  37. PRO, ADM1/9081, Admiralty Memorandum, The New Standard of Naval Strength, 26 April 1937; NAC, RG25, vol. 2508, CID papers, Summary of Proceedings, Imperial Conference 1937; C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, vol. 2, Toronto, 1981, 202-09; McCarthy, ch. 6.
  38. Hamill, passim; Andrews, 127-29, 179-80; Horner, ch. 1; Peter Dennis, “Australia and the Singapore Strategy,” in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
  39. PRO, CAB53/9, COS minutes, 13 January 1939; Hamill, 288-93; M.H. Murfett, “Admiral Sir Roger Roland Charles Backhouse,” in M.H. Murfett (ed.), *The First Sea Lords: From Fisher to Mountbatten*, Westport, 1995; Gibbs, 422-23.
  40. PRO, CAB53/10, Measures to accelerate the despatch of the field force to the continent, 20 February 1939; Haggie, 130-33; Hamill, 290-91; Murfett, “Admiral Backhouse,” in *First Sea Lords*.
  41. PRO, CAB104/18, Lyons to Chamberlain, 10 March, related correspondence 11 and 16 March, Chamberlain to Lyons 20 March 1938; ADM1/9831, minute on 14 March telegram from Naval Member Navy Board Melbourne to Admiralty, 15 March 1939; NAC, RG25, vol. 2508, CID papers, March-April 1938; Haggie, 144-46; Hamill, 299-300; Gibbs, 422-26; McCarthy, 145-46.
  42. Haggie, 131-36; Hamill, 289-95; Murfett, “Admiral Backhouse”; Bell, 86-90, for a different view.
  43. PRO, CAB16/209, memorandum by DCNS, Dispatch of a Fleet to the Far East, 5 April, 1939; CAB16/209, Strategic Appreciation Committee minutes, 17 April, 1939; ADM116/3803, letter from U.K. High Commissioner in New Zealand to Dominions Secretary, 28 April 1939; Haggie, 141-46.
  44. PRO, CAB5/9, CID502-C, Malaya: Period Before Relief, 6 June 1939; CAB2/9, CID minutes, 6 July 1939; Haggie, 147-58; M.H. Murfett, “Reflections on an Enduring Theme: The Singapore Strategy at Sixty,” in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
  45. PRO, CAB79/1, COS minutes, 8 and 29 September 1939; Haggie, 166-68. This time the increase in the “period before relief” was “unofficial,” not endorsed formally by the CID. The stated reason was that this would require a complete review of the garrison strength of all three services and the necessary stocks, and there was not enough information available to conduct such a review. For ‘information’ it is fair to substitute ‘resources’; the CID decided to make the adjustments unobtrusively.
  46. Ireland insisted on remaining neutral. South Africa fell into a bitter internal debate about policy towards the war, ultimately opting to participate only in an African theatre of operations. India and the other colonies were not consulted about entering

the war.

47. PRO, CAB66/2, WP(39)56, 28 September 1939.
48. PRO, CAB66/3, WP(39)125, 17 November 1939; CAB99/1, War Cabinet minutes, Visit of Dominions Ministers, 20 November 1939; Haggie, 164-66; Hamill, 304-06; Horner, 28-31.
49. Haggie, 146-47; McIntyre, ch. 8.
50. Imperial War Museum (IWM), Percival Papers, P.21 F.39, Deductions from Japanese Appreciation of the Attack on the Singapore Fortress, 1937; Ong, 42-43, 55-69.
51. PRO, CAB106/80, Notes on the Malayan Campaign by Lt.-Gen. L.M. Heath, including margin comments by Percival and replies by Heath, August 1947 [Heath Notes]; IWM, LMH7, ? to Heath, 15 September 1947; Ong, chs. 2, 3.
52. PRO, ADM116/3121, Report of the Flag Officers Conference at Singapore, January 1934; Haggie, 48, 65-69; Andrews, 132-33; Bell, 79-80.
53. NAC, RG25, vol. 2508, CID papers, 1933-34; A. Gilchrist, *Malaya 1941: The Fall of a Fighting Empire*, London, 1992, 20; Ong, 84, n. 100.
54. PRO, AIR23/1971, Report on tour of the Far East and Overseas Commands October to December 1936 [Darvall report].
55. PRO, WO106/2441, Dobbie to Director of Military Operations and Intelligence (DMOI), 10 January; reply 6 February 1936, DMOI to Dobbie, 6 February 1937; Ong, 66-67; H. Probert. *The Forgotten Air Force: The Royal Air Force in the War Against Japan 1941-1945*, London, 1995, ch. 1 discusses the airbase controversy.
56. PRO, AIR23/1971, Darvall report; Kirby, *The Loss of Singapore*, 14-15; C. Kinvig, *Scapegoat: General Percival of Singapore*, London, 1996, 107.
57. PRO, AIR23/1971, Darvall report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F41, Combined Operations Exercise 1938, Appendix D, The Island of Singapore, Appendix E, The Malay Peninsula [focused exclusively on the State of Johore].
58. Ong, 61-69; Kinvig, 103-07.
59. PRO, CAB106/80, Heath Notes; IWM, Wild Papers, 66/227/1, Notes on the campaign in Malaya [n.d., probably 1942]; Heath Papers, LMH4, Lecture on the Malayan Campaign, 21 June 1942; Kirby, *The Loss of Singapore*, 14-15; Probert, ch. 1.
60. PRO, AIR23/795, Notes on 230 (GR) Squadron Exercises, 6 February 1939; AIR23/1971, Darvall report; Probert, 12.
61. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.41, Hutton to Percival 13 January 1936, Notes on Singapore [n.d., December 1935], Percival to Dobbie, 13 January 1937. Ironically the author of these notes was the same Lt.-Col. S.W. Kirby who after the war wrote the volume of the British official history dealing with the fall of Singapore, and later



published his own more critical analysis.

62. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.41, Notes on Singapore [n.d., December 1935]; Kinvig, 107.
63. IWM, Percival Papers, P. 26, F.69/1, Malaya Command Lecture on The Strategical Problems of Singapore, January 1937; P.22, F.41, Memorandum on The Defence of the Fortress of Singapore, May 1937; P.26, F.67, Aldershot Command Lecture: The Defence of Singapore, March 1938.
64. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.41, Memorandum on The Defence of the Fortress of Singapore, May 1937.
65. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.41, Memorandum on The Defence of the Fortress of Singapore, May 1937; P.21, F.39, Deductions from Japanese Appreciation of the Attack on the Fortress of Singapore, 1937; P.26, F.67, Aldershot Command Lecture: The Defence of Singapore, March 1938.
66. IWM, Percival Papers, P. 26, F.69/1, Malaya Command Lecture on The Strategical Problems of Singapore, January 1937; P.22, F.41, Memorandum on The Defence of the Fortress of Singapore, May 1937; P.21, F39, Deductions from Japanese Appreciation of the Attack on the Fortress of Singapore, 1937; F39, Clarke to Dobbie, 9 December 1937; P.26, F67, Aldershot Command Lecture: The Defence of Singapore, March 1938; The Defence of Malaya, Precis, October 1937 and March 1938; P.23, F.47, Vlieland to Percival, 31 May, 1947. Ong, ch. 3, and Kinvig, ch. 10, are important discussions of these developments.
67. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Pennywick to Percival, 5 December 1945; Ong, ch. 3; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*.

## Chapter 3

1. B.P. Farrell, *The Basis and Making of British Grand Strategy 1940-1943: Was There a Plan?* Lewiston N.Y., 1998, ch. 1; J.R.M. Butler, *Grand Strategy*, Vol. II, London, 1957, chs. 1, 4.
2. CNDE, 645-46; Haggie, ch. 7; Marder, ch. 3.
3. PRO, CAB80/11, COS(40)390, 25 May 1940; Farrell, 30-31.
4. PRO, CAB80/12, COS(40)397, 26 May 1940; Farrell, 29-30.
5. Martin Thomas, "Disaster Foreseen? France and the Fall of Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
6. JM, Number 146, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part II; Iriye, ch. 3; Marder, ch. IV, part 3.
7. JM, Number 146, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part II; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report, September 1966; Marder, 112, 135; Iriye, ch. 3.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Farrell, ch. 1; Butler, ch. 11.
11. Farrell, ch. 1; Raymond Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
12. PRO, CAB66/12, WP(40)339, 29 August 1940; CAB66/11, WP(40)362, 4 September 1940; Farrell, ch. 1.
13. PRO, WO106/5158, DMO & P to DP etc., 17 June 1940; *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy*, vol. III, 459; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, 169; Horner, 35-37.
14. PRO, CAB66/11, WP(40)362, 4 September 1940; Farrell, ch. 1; Horner, 37-41.
15. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Some Personal Observations of the Malaya Campaign, Lt.-Col. B.H. Ashmore [hereafter Ashmore Report, dated spring 1942]; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, 169, 180-81; Kirby, 35, 41, 45-46; Ong, 96-97.
16. PRO, WO106/2440, Bond to WO, 13 April 1940; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, 169; Ong, 96-97.
17. PRO, WO172/2, GHQ Far East War Diary, appendices, COS(40)489, 25 June 1940.
18. PRO, CAB80/15, COS(40)592(Revise), The Situation in the Far East in the Event of Japanese Intervention Against Us, 15 August 1940.
19. M. Simpson (ed.), *The Somerville Papers*, Aldershot, 1995: Subjects of Interest to Senior Officer Force H, August 1940; Butler, 330-39.

20. PRO, CAB80/15, COS(40)592(Revise), 15 August 1940.
21. Farrell, 31-37.
22. PRO, CAB79/6, COS minutes, August 1940; CAB69/2, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, August 1940; Farrell, book 1, 37-38.
23. PRO, CAB79/8, COS minutes, December 1940; CAB65/16, War Cabinet minutes, December 1940; Farrell, 76-77.
24. Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*; Farrell, chs. 1-2; Butler, 417.
25. PRO, CAB79/6, COS minutes, 31 August 1940; Farrell, 53-55.
26. W.F. Kimball (ed.), *Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence*, vol. 1, Princeton, 1984: C-9x, Churchill to Roosevelt, 15 May 1940; Marder, 142.
27. PRO, CAB122/159, Bailey Subcommittee Files, September 1940; Marder, 142-47; Butler, 417-18.
28. Marder, 146-51; Farrell, 77-78, 95-96; M. Matloff and E.M. Snell, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare 1941-42*, Washington, 1953, 25-28.
29. Marder, 148; Farrell, 97-98; Greg Kennedy, "Symbol of Imperial Defence: The Role of Singapore in British and American Far Eastern Strategic Relations, 1933-1941," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
30. PRO, CAB65/10, War Cabinet minutes, 21 November 1940; Kimball, C-43x, Churchill to Roosevelt, 7 December 1940; Farrell, 96-98.
31. PRO, CAB80/24, COS(40)1052, British-U.S. Technical Conversations, 19 December 1940; Marder, 148-51; Haggie, 188-89.
32. Farrell, ch. 2.
33. PRO, WO172/3, GHQ Far East War Diary, Tactical Appreciation of Defence Situation in Malaya, 16 October 1940.
34. PRO, ADM199/1472B, Supplementary Report on Events in the Far East 1940-1945, Admiral Sir G. Layton, April 1947 [Layton Report]; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, 180-81.
35. PRO, ADM199/1472B, Layton Report; CAB106/40, Despatch on the Far East 1940-1941, Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham [Brooke-Popham Despatch]; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 56-57; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, 181.
36. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch.
37. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report.
38. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; Brooke-Popham to Ismay, 5 December

1940; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; LHCMA, Vlieland Papers, Appreciation by the Secretary For Defence, Malaya, July 1940; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Vlieland to Percival, 31 May 1949.

39. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; ADM199/1472B, Layton Report; Kirby, 65-66.
40. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; A.B. Lodge, *The Fall of General Gordon Bennett*, Sydney, 1986, 34; Horner, 51-53.
41. PRO, AIR23/1970, Japanese Tactics and Strategy 1940-41, Darvall to Brooke-Popham, minutes on FECB intelligence summary, 7 December 194; WO106/4481, Brooke-Popham to COS, 7 December 1940.
42. PRO, CAB79/6, COS minutes, September 1940; CAB80/18, COS(40)732, 10 September 1940; DAFP, vol. IV, 282-89; CAB79/8, COS minutes, December 1940; CAB120/615, Secretariat Files, Churchill to Menzies, 23 December 1940; Ong, 104-05, 131-32.
43. PRO, CAB79/8, COS minutes, January 1941; CAB120/521, COS to Brooke-Popham, 10 January 1941; CAB120/521, Churchill to COS, 13 January 1941.
44. PRO, CAB120/616, Churchill to COS, 1, 10 September 1940; Churchill to DO, 15 December 1940, 5 January 1941; CAB79/6, COS minutes, September 1940; CAB79/7, COS minutes, November 1940; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, 181-82; Ong, ch. 4.

## Chapter 4

1. PRO, CAB79/12, COS minutes, 23-24 June, 1941; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, book II, chs. 1, 5; Farrell, ch. 4; Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
2. JM, Number 147, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part III; Number 150, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part IV; Nobutaka Ike (ed.), *Japan's Decision for War: Records of the 1941 Policy Conferences*, Stanford, 1967, Part One; Marder, 164.
3. JM, Numbers 147, 150, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Parts II-IV.
4. JM, Number 147, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part III; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report; Iriye, ch. 5.
5. JM, Numbers 146-47, 150, 152, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Parts II-V; Iriye, chs. 5-6.
6. JM, Number 150, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part IV; Nobutaka, *Japan's Decision for War*, Parts Two and Three.
7. JM, Number 147, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part III; Waldo Heinrichs, *Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II*, Oxford, 1988, chs. 6-7; Iriye, chs. 5-6.
8. JM, Number 147, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part III; Nobutaka, *Japan's Decision for War*, Parts Two and Three; Iriye, ch. 5, sees the September decisions as definitive.
9. JM, Numbers 147, 150, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Parts III-IV; Nobutaka, *Japan's Decision for War*, Part Three; Iriye, ch. 6; Marder, 174.
10. JM, Numbers 150, 152, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Parts IV-V; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report.
11. JM, Number 150, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Part IV; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report; Marder, 325-27.
12. JM, Numbers 150, 152, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War*, Parts IV-V.
13. Ibid; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report.
14. Ibid.
15. Farrell, 132-35; Haggie, 188-89; Butler, 423-27.
16. PRO, CAB79/8, COS minutes, 23 January 1941.
17. PRO, CAB79/11, COS minutes, April 1941; CAB69/2, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, April 1941; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, 188-92; Kennedy, 108-12; Horner, 58-64.
18. PRO, CAB79/12, COS minutes, June-July, 1941; 79/86, Secretary's Standard File, 23

July 1941; 79/13, COS minutes, August 1941; 79/14, COS minutes, September 1941; 79/86, Secretary's Standard File, 26 September 1941; CAB69/2, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, October 1941; CAB69/8, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, Secretary's Standard File, October 1941; B.P. Farrell, "Yes, Prime Minister: Barbarossa, Whipcord, and the basis of British Grand Strategy, Autumn 1941," in *The Journal of Military History*, 57, 4, 1993.

19. PRO, CAB69/2, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, September-October 1941; CAB70/4, Defence Committee (Supply) minutes, September-October 1941; Cabinet Office, *Principal War Telegrams and Memoranda 1940-1943*, Lichtenstein, 1976 [PT], vol. 7, Assistance to Russia, telegrams, June-September 1941[a complete set of originals is in CAB105]; Farrell, ch. 4.
20. Kimball, 227-32, R-53x, Roosevelt to Churchill, 18 August 1941; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, 427-32, 438-40; J.M.A. Gwyer, *Grand Strategy*, Vol. III, Part 1, London, 1964, 134-37; Heinrichs, 148-63.
21. PRO, CAB80/59, COS(41)569, 14 September 1941; WO172/12, GHQ Far East War Diary, 19 September 1941.
22. PRO, CAB80/59, COS(41)214(O), 22 September 1941.
23. PRO, WO172/25, Malaya Command Q Branch War Diary, April 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; Brooke-Popham to Ismay, 3 July 1941; Kirby, 72-73; Louis Allen, *Singapore 1941-42*, London, 1977, 234-42; B. Montgomery, *Shenton of Singapore: Governor and Prisoner of War*, Singapore, 1984, 75-76.
24. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch.
25. PRO, AIR23/1970, FECB appreciation, 18 February 1941; AIR23/1868, Anglo-Dutch-Australian Discussions, February 1941.
26. PRO, AIR23/1868, Anglo-Dutch-Australian Discussions, February 1941; WO172/5, GHQ Far East War Diary, Report of the Anglo-Dutch-Australian Conference 22-25 February 1941. Horner, 54-57, notes that Brooke-Popham visited Australia the week before the conference, deliberated with both the Chiefs of Staff and the War Cabinet, and worked with the Australian Chiefs on their appreciation.
27. PRO, AIR23/1868, GHQ FE, Administrative Action to Implement Three Party Agreement, 24 February 1941.
28. PRO, WO172/5, GHQ Far East War Diary, Report of the Anglo-Dutch-Australian Conference 22-25 February 1941.
29. PRO, AIR23/1970, GHQ FE to COS, 7 March 1941. Layton was convinced Darvall was the prime mover beyond the optimism that settled in with Brooke-Popham and his staff: ADM199/1472B, Layton Despatch.
30. PRO, WO172/7, GHQ Far East War Diary, ADB Conversations Singapore, 21-27 April, 1941; Haggie, 189; Marder, 189-202.

31. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; WO172/7, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, April 1941; CAB79/9, COS minutes, April 1941; Heinrichs, *passim*; Thorne, 71-78.
32. PRO, WO172/25, Malaya Command Q Branch, War Diary, March, May, June, August 1941; Lt.-Gen. A.E. Percival, *Operations of Malaya Command from 8 December 1941 to 15 February 1942*, London Gazette, February 1948 [Percival, *Despatch*, submitted April 1946]; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F49, Ashmore Report; Kirby, 71-72, 90.
33. PRO, AIR23/1870, RAF Far East Papers, Organization and Requirements 1941, minutes of meeting to discuss air defence network, Fort Canning, 24 February 1941; GHQ FE to Air Ministry, 20 March 1941; Squadrons in Far East Command and their Locations, 21 February 1941; Note on COS336-Aircraft for Far East, August 1941; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, February 1941; C. Shores et al, *Bloody Shambles*, Vol. 1, *The Drift to War to the Fall of Singapore*, London, 1992, 64; *Percival Despatch*, paras. 40-41; Probert, ch. 2.

34. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; AIR23/1870, Appreciation on strength of RAF required in Far East Command, 3 September 1941; AIR23/4636, Papers on operation Matador 1941, Brooke-Popham to COS, 20 August 1941 (also found in LHCMA, Brooke-Popham Papers, V/4/26); WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, is littered with warnings sent to London.
35. PRO, AIR23/4636, Brooke-Popham to COS, 20 August 1941.
36. Haggie, 200; see note 22 above.
37. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch.
38. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; AIR23/1870, Squadrons in the Far East and their Location, 21 February 1941; Probert, 35-37, calls the unoccupied bases “a liability.”
39. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Probert, 5-7.
40. PRO, AIR23/1865, Malaya Policy and Defence Requirements, Effect on our Dispositions of the Japanese in Indochina, 26 July 1941; AIR23/1870, Operation of Air Forces in the Far East, 4 September 1941. This latter memo concluded that in order to carry out all air operations “a Combined Operations Room for the three services is an obvious requirement.” No such facility was ever established in Singapore.
41. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH 5, Heath to ? [Harrison?], 30 July 1946; LMH7, ? [Harrison?] to Heath, 15 September 1947. Controversy over the “reduce by 40%” pledge spilt into postwar research; see below, Epilogue.
42. A full and indispensable discussion is the standard work by Ong, *Operation Matador*, especially chs. 4 through 7.
43. PRO, WO172/1, GHQ Far East, War Diary, January-February 1941; CAB79/8, COS minutes, December 1940-January 1941; WO106/2509, Brooke-Popham to WO, 8 February 1941; Ong, ch. 5.
44. PRO, AIR23/1868, Anglo-Dutch-Australian Discussions, February 1941.
45. PRO, WO172/1, GHQ Far East, War Diary, March 1941; Ong, ch. 5.
46. PRO, CAB79/11, COS minutes, April-May 1941; CAB69/2, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, April-May 1941; CAB80/27, COS(41)227, 7 April 1941; WO172/1, GHQ Far East, War Diary, April-May 1941; Ong, chs. 5-6.
47. PRO, AIR23/1865, Operation Etonian Without Prior Military Occupation of Thailand by the Japanese, 9 May 1941.
48. PRO, AIR23/1970, Some Notes on Present Situation, 28 July 1941; Percival, *Despatch*; Ong, chs. 6-7.
49. PRO, CAB79/13, 79/14, COS minutes, August 1941; CAB69/2, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, August 1941; AIR23/4636, Brooke-Popham to COS, 7, 20, 28 August, COS to Brooke-Popham 19 August 1941; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, August 1941; Ong, chs. 6-7.
50. PRO, AIR23/4636, COS to Brooke-Popham, 1 September 1941; Brooke-Popham to COS, 3 and 4



September 1941; Ong, ch. 7.

51. PRO, AIR23/1970, Possibilities of the Japanese Attacking in the South, 8 September 1941.
52. PRO, AIR23/4636, COS to Brooke-Popham, 17 September 1941; Brooke-Popham to COS, 21 September 1941; CAB65/19, War Cabinet minutes, September 1941; CAB79/14, COS minutes, September 1941. Kirby, 110, argues that a good four days warning was really required to give the advance any chance to reach Singora first. See also below, ch. 5.
53. PRO, CAB69/3, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, October 1941; CAB66/19, WP(41)230, 30 September 1941; CAB79/14, 79/15, COS minutes, October 1941; WO106/2509, COS to Brooke-Popham, 9 October 1941; Ong, ch. 7.
54. Ong, chs. 7-8; see also below, ch. 5.
55. CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; Kirby, 118-19; Gilchrist, 67.
56. PRO, CAB80/59, Report by U.S. Mission on ADB Report, 6 August 1941.
57. The controversy over the decision to dispatch Force Z can be examined in CAB69/2, Defence Committee (Operations) minutes, October 1941, and CAB79/13-15, COS minutes, August-October 1941; see also ADM 199/1472B, Layton Despatch; M. Middlebrook and P. Mahoney, *Battleship: The Loss of the Prince of Wales and the Repulse*, London, 1977, ch. 3; Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely*, 393-400; Murfett, "Living in the Past," 95-97; Haggie, 202-06; Marder, 200-01; Bell, 93. HMS *Indomitable* did not in the end join Force Z because it ran aground and had to be docked for repairs. That accident saved the RN an aircraft carrier and its aircraft.
58. PRO, WO172/13, GHQ Far East War Diary, appendices, Strategy in the Far East in the Presence of a British Fleet, 30 October 1941. The report was rated Most Secret, the most restrictive circulation. Heath shared this optimism: WO172/15, Appreciation by Comd. 3 Ind. Corps, 11 December 1941, covering a note written "ten days before."
59. A recent discussion of this point is this author's essay "1941—An Overview," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.

## Chapter 5

1. Kinvig, 123; Kinvig, "General Percival and the Fall of Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*; Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 180; K. Simpson, "Percival," in J. Keegan (ed.), *Churchill's Generals*, New York, 1991, 258-59.
2. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; PRO, ADM199/1472B, Layton Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 30; Kinvig, 125, 128-29.
3. Percival, *Despatch*, Section XI; PRO, ADM199/1472B, Layton Despatch; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham to Ismay, 5 December 1940; Kinvig, 125-26; Morrison, 155-57.
4. Percival later argued that Heath's greatest handicap was suffering from "the Indian Army complex": IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on draft of official history, n/d. Bennett came to loath Heath and thought Percival was "overawed" by him: PRO, CAB106/151, Kirby interviews with Australian officers, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953; Kinvig, *Scapegoat*, 126; C. Kinvig, "General Percival and the Fall of Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*, called the coinciding appointments of Percival and Heath "one of the great military mismatches of the war."
5. AWM67/3/25, Part I, Gavin Long Papers, extracts from Bennett Diary [hereafter Bennett Diary], is replete with references to friction over the role and authority of the AIF in Malaya: 8, 10, 25, 29 May, 6 June for examples, 5 September 1941 being illustrative: "Malaya Comd. still does not understand that AIF units are not *theirs* to do what they like with." On the other hand Bennett had to press Canberra for some time to clarify his own authority, not being satisfied until 13 October. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on draft of official history, n/d; Kirby scolded Percival in reply: Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Kirby to Percival, 2 February 1954; PRO, CAB106/162, Report on Operations of 8<sup>th</sup> Division AIF in Malaya, compiled by Col. J.H. Thyer from narrative by Col. C.H. Kappe, 1945 [hereafter Thyer Report], 191; Percival, *Despatch*; Lodge, 45-49; Wigmore, 73, 97.
6. AWM67/3/25 part I, Bennett Diary, 21, 23, 30 May, 10 August, 22 October 1941 entries, are samples of a clear pattern of friction within 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Headquarters; for Bennett's first unflattering impressions of Percival, see 2 June and 15 July 1941 entries. AWM, 67/3/25, part 2, Bennett to Long, n/d; Long regarded Bennett's failure to pull his staff together as his worst mistake: AWM54/554/11/38 is labelled Comments by Thyer and Kappe on the Bennett Escape and Conditions in Captivity, but is actually a draft written by either Long or Wigmore; Lodge, 34-37, 39-41, 58; Grey, 143-44; Kirby, 132; Elphick, 160; Kinvig, "General Percival and the Fall of Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*; Simpson, "Percival," 263-64.
7. PRO, WO172/17, Malaya Command General Staff War Diary, September 1939-December 1941. Percival defended his staff: Percival, *Despatch*, Section V. Percival summed up his attitude towards staff training in this postwar remark about orders being misunderstood because accepted procedure was not followed, "one happy exception" being Maj.-Gen. A.E. Barstow, GOC 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division: "Having been a contemporary of his at the Staff College at Camberley I found it much easier to discuss things with him than with some of the other commanders": IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on draft of official history, n/d. Arguing the matter with Kirby, Percival denied there was any prewar rift with Heath's headquarters, and objected to being called jealous, but admitted "If you amended it to read 'there was a lack of mutual confidence between men in authority' I would be prepared to agree": P.23, F.48, Percival to Kirby, 12 November 1954. Bennett claimed he was "never consulted by Malaya Command about the system of defence": PRO, CAB106/151, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953. That claim seems belied by AWM67/3/25, part I, Bennett Diary, repeated references to discussions with Percival and others about defence plans: 2 June, 15 and 26 July, 26 August, 8-9 September 1941 entries; Kinvig, *Scapegoat*, 130-31. For the Simson controversy, see I. Simson, *Singapore: Too Little, Too Late*, London, 1971, 24-33, Kirby, 91, 116-17.

8. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; ADM199/1472B, Layton Despatch; Kirby, 119-20; Montgomery, 114; Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 164.
9. Akashi Yoji, "General Yamashita Tomoyuki: Commander of the Twenty-Fifth Army," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*; J.D. Potter, *The Life and Death of a Japanese General*, New York, 1962, chs. 2-4; E.P. Hoyt, *Three Military Leaders: Togo, Yamamoto, Yamashita*, New York, 1993, part III; M. and S. Harries, *Soldiers of the Sun*, chs. 16-19, 27-28.
10. PRO, WO172/12, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, COS to Brooke-Popham, 17 September 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Kirby, 76.
11. PRO, AIR23/4636, Brooke-Popham to COS, 7 August 1941.
12. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, January-April 1941; WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, April 1941; Percival Despatch. One friend and sympathetic biographer noted that Percival supported the decision to defend on the beaches: J. Smyth, *Percival and the Tragedy of Singapore*, London, 1971, 71.
13. PRO, AIR23/1870, Visit to Air Headquarters [Darvall], 12 June 1941; Dispositions of Air Forces in event of Strained Relations with Japan or Hostile Move by that Power, August 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*.
14. Percival, *Despatch*; PRO, AIR23/1865, Effect on our Dispositions of the Japanese in Indochina, 26 July 1941; CAB106/162, Thyer Report; Wigmore, 98.
15. Percival, *Despatch*; PRO, WO172/25, Malaya Command Q Branch War Diary, August 1941; AIR23/4636, Brooke-Popham to COS, 7 August 1941; WO172/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, February 1941; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on draft of official history, n/d; P.88, Percival to Butler, 7 January 1962; LHCMA, Brooke-Popham Papers, V/8/36-45.
16. PRO, WO172/53, Singapore Fortress War Diary, October 1940-November 1941; Percival, *Despatch*.
17. AWM67/3/25, part I, Bennett Diary, 26 July, 26 August, 8 and 9 September 1941 entries; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, comments on official history draft, n/d; Wigmore, 98.
18. Percival, *Despatch*; PRO, CAB106/80, Heath notes; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, ch. 11.
19. PRO, WO172/103, 8<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, May 1941; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 1941; WO172/44, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, April 1941; Percival, *Despatch*; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes and Reports on the Malayan Campaign, n/d [written while in captivity]; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 112.
20. PRO, WO172/103, 8<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, November 1940-November 1941;

- IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes and Reports on the Malayan Campaign; Percival, *Despatch*.
21. PRO, WO172/33, III Indian Corps War Diary, 24 July 1941.
  22. PRO, WO172/11-14, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, August-November 1941, especially COS to Brooke-Popham, 9 August, 17 September, 9 and 28 October 1941; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, September-November 1941; CAB106/80, Heath notes; CAB106/53, Unpublished History of 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division and its operations in the Malayan campaign, by Col. A.M.L. Harrison (GSO1 of Division) [11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history], ch. 1; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes and Reports on the Malayan campaign; Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Further comments on second draft of official history, n/d [1955]; *Percival Despatch*; Smyth, 73; C. Mackenzie, *Eastern Epic*, vol. 1, London, 1951, 227.
  23. PRO, AIR23/4636, Brooke-Popham to COS, 28 August 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, October 1941; HS1/227, SOE Far East Files, miscellaneous papers, papers on dispute between SOE and Crosby, October-December 1941; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes and Reports on the Malayan campaign; Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; *Percival Despatch*; F. S. Chapman, *The Jungle is Neutral*, London, 1963, 24.
  24. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; P.23, F.48, Phillips to Percival, 27 April 1953; Kirby, 108-10; Gilchrist, 171-72.
  25. PRO, WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, July-November 1941; WO172/97, 6<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, June-September 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 The Jat Regiment War Diary, August-November 1941, records inspection tours of the position by Percival, Heath and Murray-Lyon; WO172/33, III Indian Corps War Diary, 24 July 1941; the entry in the Corps War Diary for 10 August records the last occasion on which the Jitra problem was discussed in formal conference between corps and division staff; CAB106/153, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 1; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes and Reports on the Malayan campaign.
  26. PRO, WO172/13, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, COS to Brooke-Popham, 29 October 1941; WO172/14, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, COS to Brooke-Popham, 25 November 1941; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, November 1941.
  27. PRO, AIR23/1970, Japanese Complexities, 15 November 1941; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, November 1941.
  28. PRO, WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, November 1941; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; P.23, F.48, Phillips to Percival, 27 April 1953.
  29. PRO, AIR23/4636, Percival to COS, 2 December 1941; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi Regiment War Diary, 15 November 1941; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Percival to COS, 2 December 1941.
  30. This was expressly confirmed in October 1947 by Lt.-Gen. Tanaka Shinichi, formerly

of the Imperial General Staff: AWM73/9, Allied Translator and Interpreter Section [ATIS] Report, Interrogation #2, 25 October 1947. See also ch. 4 above. For a recent argument that plans were long in the making see Ban Kah Choon, *Absent History: The Untold Story of Special Branch Operations in Singapore 1915-1942*, Singapore, 2001.

31. Singapore Command and Staff College Library (SCSC), *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*, compiled by *Twenty-Fifth Army HQ*, 30 June 1942. This document has a copy of the 15 November 1941 *Twenty-Fifth Army Operational Plan*. AWM54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap), translation by Liaison Commission (Tokyo) for the Imperial Japanese Demobilization Ministries for Historical Division, GHQ, AFCAP, 17 January 1946: based largely on interviews with survivors. JM, Number 24, *History of the Southern Army 1941-1945*; Potter, 41-46; Hoyt, 137-39.
32. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap); JM, Number 24, *History of the Southern Army 1941-1945*; Potter, 44-45.
33. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
34. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap); Tsuji, 52-55; H. Tohmatsu, "The Imperial Army Turns South: the IJA's Preparation for War Against Britain, 1940-1941, in I. Gow, Y. Hirama, J. Chapman (eds.), *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations 1600-2000*, Basingstoke, 2003; Akashi, "General Yamashita Tomoyuki," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.

35. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap); JM, Number 24, *History of the Southern Army 1941-1945*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; Tsuji, 25.
36. JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record, Phase I*; JM Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; JM, Number 102, *Submarine Operations December 1941-April 1942*; JM, Number 152, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War, Part V*; SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap); Marder, 332-39. There is a small discrepancy between Japanese sources about the figures regarding army and navy first-line aircraft deployed to support the attack on Malaya. The most reliable number appears to be 564 all types, with more available in the southern region if required.
37. JM, Numbers 150 and 152, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War, Parts IV-V*; SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap); JM, Number 24, *History of the Southern Army 1941-1945*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*.

## Chapter 6

1. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F41, Hutton to Percival 13 January 1936, Notes on Singapore [n.d., December 1935].
2. PRO, CAB106/91, Brig. I.M. Stewart, Report on Malayan Campaign and Loss of Singapore, March 1942 [Stewart Report]; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report.
3. PRO, CAB106/91, Brig. I.M. Stewart, Report on Malayan Campaign and Loss of Singapore, March 1942 [Stewart Report]; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report.
4. PRO, WO172/124, 22<sup>nd</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, June-July, October-November 1941; WO172/103, 8<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, September-November 1941; WO172/113, 2<sup>nd</sup> Argylls War Diary, May 1941; WO172/115, 4/19 Hyderabadis War Diary, May 1941; AWM54/553/5/14, interview of Maj. C.B. O'Brien, 2/18 AIF, 23 September 1945 [O'Brien interview].
5. PRO, WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, May-November 1941; WO172/71, 17<sup>th</sup> Field Company Sappers and Miners War Diary, July-November 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, August-November 1941; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, April-November 1941; CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 1.
6. Percival, *Despatch*, para. 640.
7. PRO, WO172/69, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, January 1940-September 1941; WO172/44, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, May-June 1941; A.C. Bell, *A History of the Manchester Regiment First and Second Battalions 1922-1948*, Altringham, 1954, 52-53; Simson, 47-48.
8. Simson, 13-18, 28-38; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Kirby to Percival, 2 February 1954; Kirby to Simson, n\d.
9. PRO, WO172/44, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, August-November 1941.
10. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.43, comments on the second draft of the official history, undated copy of note by Shenton Thomas on the draft, Appendix C; P.23, F.48, Percival to Kirby, 3 November 1954; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 76; PRO, WO172/69, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, 22 November 1940; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival despatch, spring 1947; *Percival Despatch*, para. 17 and Section XI. Simson, 67; Allen, 214-15; J. Kennedy, *British Civilians and the Japanese War in Malaya and Singapore 1941-1945*, London, 1987, 8-9.
11. Percival, *Despatch*, Section V; PRO, WO172/1 GHQ Far East War Diary, 26 February 1941; WO172/25, Malaya Command Q Branch War Diary, Financial Powers, 30 October 1941; WO172/44, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, October 1941; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival despatch, spring 1947; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, comments on second draft of official history; P.23, F.47, Pennywick to Percival, 5 December 1945.
12. Percival, *Despatch*; PRO, WO172/25, Malaya Command Q Branch War Diary,

Dawson, Secretary for Defence, to Percival, 21 June 1941; WO172/44, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, May 1941; AWM67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 14-16 May, 12 November 1941 entries.

13. Percival, *Despatch*; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, comments on second draft of official history; PRO, W)172/301, 1219<sup>th</sup> Indian Labour (Auxiliary Pioneer) Company War Diary, January-November 1941, noted that despite its many months in country “The general health of the unit is deteriorating. This is perhaps due to heavy work and unsuitable climate, half the men of this unit are from the Almora District, who were never used to sultry climate.”
14. The war diaries of the CRE’s of both 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Divisions note many instances of Public Works supervised defence construction: PRO, WO172/44 and WO172/69. The war diaries of the following infantry units and formations indicate much time taken up working on defences: 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys, 2/9 Jats, 3/16 Punjabi, 5/2 Punjabi, 8<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> Indian Brigades. The best description of the work at Jitra is in WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, August-October 1941. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Phillips to Percival, 27 April 1953; Simson, 47-48.
15. Percival, *Despatch*; PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes and Reports on the Malayan Campaign.
16. PRO, AIR23/1865, Notes on Discussion with Inspector General of Police, 22 November 1940, for gossip about Vlieland and perceptions of the local government; WO172/25, Malaya Command Q Branch War Diary, Dawson to Percival 21 June 1941, indicates both the range of issues discussed and the problems perceived by the Governor; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham to Ismay, 20 August 1941; CAB106/162, Thyer Report; Kirby, 41, 52-55, 188, was more critical than Percival was in either *Despatch* or memoirs—*The War in Malaya*, 90—but Percival did blame the local government for not promoting a sense of urgency; Simson, 122, sided with Kirby; Morrison, 35; Thorne, 53.
17. PRO, HS1/226, SOE Far East Files, miscellaneous papers, Percival to Thomas, 3 October, Killery to Warren, 11 October, Dickinson to Killery, 18 October, Killery notes on meeting with Thomas, Percival, Dickinson and Warren, 24 October, Mott to Percival, 20 November, Percival reply, 22 November 1941. Chapman, 25-26, singled out qualms about alarming Asians years before these SOE files confirmed the point; Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 197; R. Gough, *Special Operations Singapore 1941-42*, London, 1985, 40.
18. PRO, WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, April-November 1941; WO172/102, 2/16 Punjabi War Diary, March 1941; WO172/295, 7<sup>th</sup> Mixed Reinforcement Camp War Diary, January 1941; WO172/115, 4/19 Hyderabadis War Diary, 1940-41. Even the busy engineer battalions were pestered for experienced officers: WO172/44, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, 7 July 1941.
19. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 178-80; Barnes and Nicolson, *Amery Diaries*, 1940-41;



- PRO, WO172/209, 1<sup>st</sup> Kapurthala Infantry War Diary, September-October 1941; A. Warren, "The Indian Army and the Fall of Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*; see also Epilogue.
20. PRO, WO172/39, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division A Branch War Diary, February-June 1941, plus Appendix D; WO172/44, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division CRE War Diary, June-July 1941.
21. PRO, WO172/22, Force Emu War Diary, May 1940; WO172/113, 2<sup>nd</sup> Argylls War Diary, May 1940; WO172/115, 4/19 Hyderabadis War Diary, May 1940.
22. PRO, WO172/115, 4/19 Hyderabadis War Diary, October 1939, January 1940.
23. PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, May 1941; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, 11 June 1941.
24. A full discussion of these issues is Chandar S. Sundaram, "Seditious Letters and Steel Helmets: Disaffection Among Indian Troops in Singapore and Hong Kong 1940-1941 and the Formation of the Indian National Army," forthcoming. One articulate witness, T.H. Wade, was a junior officer in the Singapore garrison unit 2nd Battalion The Loyal Regiment [2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals] with an unusual background, coming from China as a British expatriate. His comments were scathing: "Class and above all racial distinctions reigned supreme and inviolable": *Prisoner of the Japanese: From Changi to Tokyo*, New South Wales, 1994, 31. See also Shennan, 212-29, and below, ch. 17.
25. AWM67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 9, 21 March, 8, 17, 21, 30 April, 11-12, 30 June 1941 entries; AWM54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; Lodge, 50-58; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 34-35, 68.
26. AWM67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 21 April, 4 July, 9-10, 22 August, 19-22, 26, 29 October 1941 entries; G. Mant, *The Singapore Surrender*, Kuala Lumpur, 1992 (reprint), 150-52, for AIF frustrations; for a vitriolic denunciation of British attitudes by an Australian soldier, see Russell Braddon, *The Naked Island*, Melbourne, 1951; W.R. Magarry, *The Battalion Story: 2/26th Infantry Battalion, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division AIF*, Queensland, 1994, 35-37; Wigmore, 92; Percival, *Despatch*, para. 70, noted how complicated the food problem was, because Indian and local troops needed different types of rations. The reduction in meat ration was intended to help build up stocks and justified by the claim the local climate meant less was needed. The Australian attitude clearly rankled.
27. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham to Ismay, 3 July 1941.
28. PRO, WO172/106, 1/13th Frontier Force Rifles War Diary, October-November 1941; Percival's account of the equipment problem in his *Despatch*, para. 67, was an almost verbatim copy from IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report, Ashmore having also been responsible for armament and equipment during this period; AWM54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, copy of Malaya Command Training Instruction No. 5 of 1941, April 1941; Braddon, 50.

29. PRO, WO172/42, 73<sup>rd</sup> Field Battery Royal Artillery [RA] War Diary, November 1941; Percival, *Despatch*; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 92-93; Mackenzie, 224-25.
30. PRO, WO172/153, Singapore Fortress War Diary, records a single one day jungle warfare exercise by its units in 1941; WO172/93, 2<sup>nd</sup> Manchesters War Diary records that the battalion never trained outside Singapore, but as a machine-gun unit its role was beach defence, whereas WO172/96, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion The Gordon Highlanders [2<sup>nd</sup> Gordons] War Diary records one exercise up-country, in July 1941; In CAB106/162, Thyer Report, the Australians described the situation they found in Malaya as “the lethargic system of training inherited from peacetime.” IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F41, Hutton to Percival 13 January 1936, Notes on Singapore [n.d., December 1935]; Smyth, 88.
31. PRO, CAB106/91, Stewart Report; AWM54/553/3/2, Operations in Malaya: Notes based on an interview of Stewart, 16 February 1942; AWM54/553/5/15, Lessons from Malaya: Copy of report sent by Assistant U.S. Military Attache, London, to War Dept., December 1942[ Lessons from Malaya]; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Phillips to Percival, 27 April 1953; I.M. Stewart, *History of The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion: The Malayan Campaign 1941-42*, London, 1947, 2-6.
32. PRO, CAB106/91, Stewart Report; AWM54/553/3/2, Operations in Malaya: Notes based on an interview of Stewart, 16 February 1942; AWM54/553/5/15, Lessons from Malaya; Stewart, 2-6; J. Moffatt and A.H. McCormick, *Moon Over Malaya: A Tale of Argylls and Marines*, Stroud, 2002, 53-55.
33. D. French, *Raising Churchill's Army: The British Army and the War Against Germany 1919-1945*, Oxford, 2000, chs. 1, 5; T.H. Place, *Military Training in the British Army 1940-1944*, London, 2000, chs. 1-2.
34. Percival, *Despatch*.
35. AWM, Miscellaneous, Army Training Memorandum (War) Australia, No. 1, August 1941; PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 12 May 1941; Percival, *Despatch*.
36. Percival, *Despatch*; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report. Ashmore was Director Operations and Training from October 1940 to May 1941, then became GSO1 Staff Duties and Training. For this split assignment, he had two assistants for Staff Duties but only one for training, and admits he “appreciated the lack of direction in training,” and regarding the directives “Whether these were put into practice by all formations it is impossible to say.” Kinvig, 132-34.
37. Wade, 19-23.
38. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Phillips to Percival, 27 April 1953; WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary from September 1939, and WO172/113-115, War Diaries of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Argylls, 5/2 Punjabi and 4/19 Hyderabadis, also noted by Stewart, 6.

39. PRO, WO172/112-115, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade and 2<sup>nd</sup> Argylls, 5/2 Punjabis and 4/19 Hyderabadis War Diaries, 1939-41; Simson, 42-43; Kirby, 95-96; Moffatt and McCormick, 53-56.
40. PRO, WO172/97, 6<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, February-September 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, February-November 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, June-November 1941; WO172/136, 2/1 King George V's Own Gurkha Rifles [2/1 Gurkhas] War Diary, September-October 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, October-November 1941; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; *Percival Despatch*, para. 58; AWM, 54/553/5/16, Bennett Report.
41. Percival, *Despatch*; AWM67/3/25, part 1, Bennett Diary, 17-19, 26 August 1941 entries; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Lecture on the Malayan Campaign; Wade, 23.
42. PRO, WO172/22, Force Emu War Diary, 8 June 1940; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, May 1941, contains Malaya Command Training Instruction No. 5, Anti-Tank Precautions; WO172/67, 10<sup>th</sup> Mountain Battery RA War Diary, September 1941; WO172/93, 1<sup>st</sup> Manchesters War Diary, April, September 1941; WO172/92, 2<sup>nd</sup> Malaya Brigade War Diary, October 1940; WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, October-November 1940; WO172/113, 2<sup>nd</sup> Argylls War Diary, October 1940, February-March 1941; WO172/115, 4/19 Hyderabadis War Diary, June 1940; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, July, September 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, March, May, July-November 1941; AWM67/3/25, part 1, Bennett Diary, 30 AWM54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on drafts of official history; Magarry, 31.
43. AWM67/3/25, part 1, Bennett Diary, 21 March, 14, 17, 21, 30 April, 11-12, 30 June, 11-12, 16 September, 6 November 1941 entries; AWM54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; AWM54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; AWM54/553/5/25, The Malayan Campaign, undated, unsigned [Kappe?] brief narrative by AIF officer sent to official historians; AWM73/2, Wigmore records, Long to Wigmore, 2 August 1950; Magarry, 31, 41-50; Kirby, 95-96; Wigmore, 96, notes problems caused by the smallness of the force and the haste with which some drafts were sent out from home; Mant, 142.
44. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, comments on second draft of official history; PRO, WO172/131, 28<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, September 1941; WO172/136, 2/1 Gurkhas War Diary, September-October 1941.
45. PRO, AIR23/1870, Conference with CAS RAAF on Aircraft Equipment Problems, 24 January 1941; Notes on The Employment of Bomber Aircraft in Support of Land Operations and Dive Bombers, 9 April 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; AWM54/553/5/15, Lessons from Malaya; Probert, 28-35; *Jane's Aircraft of World War II*, Glasgow, 1995.
46. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record, Phase I*; Number 24, *History of the Southern Army 1941-1945*; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report; Tsuji, 13, 24, 32; Harries, 305.

47. AWM73/65, Wigmore records: Japanese Tactical Methods, February 1942 manual compiled by U.S. Army observer [Japanese Tactical Methods]; British Library (Oriental and India Collections) [BL(OIOC)], India Office Military Dept. Records [IO Military Dept.], L/Mil/17/20/25, Periodical Notes on the Japanese Army [War Office pamphlets], No. 1, General Characteristics, Morale and Training; Harries, parts III-VI; R.B. Edgerton, *Warriors of the Rising Sun*, New York, 1997; Hoyt, part III.

48. BL(OIOC), IO Military Dept., L/Mil/17/20/25/3, Periodical Notes on the Japanese Army, No. 3, Combined Operations; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report; Tsuji 56-57; Tohmatsu, "The Imperial Army Turns South," in I. Gow et al, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. III, 176-80; Harries, 305.
49. Tohmatsu, "The Imperial Army Turns South," in I. Gow et al, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. III, 176-82; H. Frei, *Guns of February*, Singapore, 2004, ch. 4; Harries, 305; Tsuji, 3-24; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report.
50. Tohmatsu, "The Imperial Army Turns South," in I. Gow et al, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. III, 182-84; Tsuji, 9-13 and Appendix 1, a translated copy of the document.
51. AWM73/65, Japanese Tactical Methods; BL(OIOC), IO Military Dept., L/Mil/17/20/25/5, Periodical Notes on the Japanese Army, No. 5, Japanese Tanks; JM, No. 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record, Phase 1*; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report; U.S. War Department, *Handbook on Japanese Military Forces*, Baton Rouge, 1991 (1944 version); Potter, 44; Shores, 65, 68. The only weapons in which the defenders had a quality advantage in Malaya were rifles and field artillery.
52. JM, No. 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, No. 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record, Phase 1*; JM, No. 24, *History of the Southern Army 1941-1945*; Tsuji, 25-34.
53. F.H. Hinsley et al, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, Vol. 1, London, 1979, and Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, describe the organization of British intelligence; Ong, 215-17, describes the system in the Far East revolving around GHQ Far East; Smith, *The Emperor's Codes*, 31-36, 61; Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War Against Japan*, 20-36, rates the reorganization of intelligence apparatus in the region; Ban, 136-37, 186-87; PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch.
54. J.R. Ferris, "Worthy of Some Better Enemy: The British Estimate of the Imperial Japanese Army 1919-1941 and the Fall of Singapore," in *Canadian Journal of History*, vol. 28, August 1993, "Double Edged Estimates: Japan in the eyes of the British Army and the Royal Air Force 1900-1939," in Gow et al, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. III, and "Student and Master: The United Kingdom, Japan, Airpower, and the Fall of Singapore 1920-1941," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*, are important discussions of ethnocentrism; Ban, 179-80, and Mackenzie, 181, for interesting twists on mirror imaging; PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; AIR23/1970, Possibilities of the Japanese Attacking in the South, 8 September 1941. Kirby was so disturbed by reports of Wards lecture that he had Wards explain the story in private, years after the official history was published: IWM, Wards Papers, 92/24/1, Wards-Kirby correspondence April-May 1964. It impressed Kirby enough that he included the account in *Chain of Disaster*, 74-75.
55. PRO, WO208/1529, Comments by MI officers on reports by officers escaped from Singapore, May 1942, including extracts from 1939 Handbook on the Japanese Army; BL(OIOC), IO Military Dept., L/Mil/17/20/24, Japanese Army Memorandum, 1941; Ferris, "Worthy of Some Better Enemy," 236; Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 158.

56. IWM, Wards Papers, 92/24/1, correspondence with Kirby, April-May 1964; Ferris, "Worthy of Some Better Enemy," 227-51; Wigmore, 67, notes how the 8<sup>th</sup> Division was persuaded to reduce its estimate of the Japanese; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 73-75; Simson, 26-27; Mant, 170.
57. PRO, WO172/22, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 14 August 1940; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, Training Instruction #1, January 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, March 1941; J. McEwan, *Out of the Depths of Hell: A Soldier's Story of Life and Death in Japanese Hands*, Yorkshire, 1999; Braddon, 27; Wade, 25; Magarry, 56; IWM, Wards Papers, 92/24/1, correspondence with Kirby, April-May 1964. The 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, CAB106/53, made "special mention" of a briefing by Wards. He was "horrified" to hear the prevailing view of the IJA was that it lay "somewhere between that of the Afghan and Italian armies." He insisted the Japanese were as good as the prewar un milked Indian Army, an opinion the division GSO1 found "defeatist." Malaya Command Intelligence Corps was formed on 23 July 1941 and eventually boasted four intelligence officers, supported by 26 Japanese interpreter officers and 13 cypher specialists: PRO, WO172/23, Malaya Command Intelligence Corps War Diary.
58. PRO, AIR23/1970, Darvall to Brooke-Popham, marked Date uncertain June 1941 in original; AIR23/1865, Tactical Appreciation of Malaya July 1941, n/d.
59. PRO, AIR23/1865, Harkness to Layton and Brooke-Popham, Warning of Attack on Singapore, 18 August 1941; Darvall note, same title, same date, including Percival and Pulford in the loop; Brooke-Popham to Harkness, 21 August 1941.
60. PRO, AIR23/1970, Possibilities of the Japanese Attacking in the South, 8 September 1941.
61. PRO, AIR23/4636, Brooke-Popham to COS, 2 September 1941; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Percival to COS, 2 December 1941; P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; P.23, F.48, comments on second draft of official history, in which Percival rejects the analysis made here.
62. Aldrich, 51.
63. PRO, WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, January-November 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; HS1/226, SOE Files, India, Miscellaneous Papers, Appreciation of the Japanese War in relation to SOE, 16 January 1945; Aldrich, 25-36; Elphick, *Far Eastern File*.
64. Hinsley et al for the home organization; Smith, 86; Aldrich, 72-75, 81; PRO, HS1/340, SOE Far East Files, C Files, Miscellaneous Papers, JIC(41)241, Co-operation with the U.S.A. in Intelligence Matters in the Far East, 3 June 1941; handwritten notes on same, 9 June 1941.
65. PRO, HS1/340, SOE Papers Far East, C Files, G.J. to C.D., 23 June 1941; Smith, 84-88; Aldrich, 41, 53-56, 60, 72. It is difficult to be certain that individuals read or saw all these intelligence papers if they are not indicated as recipients on the document, so

for instance it is possible Darvall did not hear of the *Ultra* report cited in the SOE files above—but GHQ Far East did receive such information, and the weight of the evidence plus the appointments of the individuals must also be considered, for example Bond’s careless insistence to Wards that he saw interceptions of traffic to and from the Japanese Consul: IWM, Wards Papers, 92/24/1, correspondence with Kirby, April-May 1964. An excellent discussion of the problem is Ferris, “Worthy of Some Better Enemy,” 246-48.

66. Smith, 93-98; Aldrich, 55, 85.
67. Smith, 97-98; Aldrich, 55-56, 83; PRO, WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, November 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; CAB106/53, History of 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division, ch. 1; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Percival to COS, 2 December 1941.
68. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Aldrich, 63-65; Probert, 25-27, states that reports on the *Zero* were not circulated because one senior officer refused to believe the Japanese had such an aircraft; Shores, 40; Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 165-70; O.D. Gallagher, *Retreat in the East*, London, 1942, 84-85; Aldrich, 59.
69. PRO, WO172/14, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, November 1941, Brooke-Popham to Wavell, 10 November, comments by DMI, 24 November 1941; WO208/1529, copy of Annex 5 to War Office Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 121 of 10 December 1941; Ferris, “Worthy of Some Better Enemy,” 252-53.
70. E. Robertson, *The Japanese File: Japanese Prewar Penetration in Southeast Asia*, Singapore, 1979, 9-10.
71. Aldrich, 46-49; J. Chapman, *Britain, Japan and the ‘Higher Realms of Intelligence 1918-1945,’* 160-61, in I. Gow et al, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. III, notes the *Automedon* coup included a large quantity of code and cypher material, which disrupted Allied intelligence in Singapore for months, caused further naval losses in the Mediterranean, and finally provoked the British to adopt the more secure “one time pad” method for cyphers. Allen, 2-4; Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 255-65.
72. PRO, CAB106/180, Wards Report; Tsuji’s first two chapters are titled “War Without Preparation” and the “Bricks Without Straw Unit.” He takes far too much credit for the work of the section as a whole, but Tohmatsu, “The Imperial Army Turns South,” in I. Gow et al, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. III, confirms the haste in which the unit had to work. This theme is borne out by the convincing evidence of how late and hesitantly Tokyo finally decided to strike south. See also Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, ch. 13.
73. PRO, WO208/4567, FECB Intelligence Summary, Index to Far Eastern Black List, 22 November 1941; Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, ch. 7; Robertson, 137; Smith, 66-67; Ban, 169, 196, 204, 214-17, 227, sheds new light on the Morgan-Bell feud; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes and Reports on the Malayan Campaign; PRO, WO208/1529, comments by MI on Phillips report, May 1942; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Shennan, 212. The Black List included people from

every ethnic group resident in Singapore.

74. The CID tracked Japanese activities near Singapore as early as 1930: NAC, RG25, vol. 2508, CID papers, 1930-32; Robertson, *passim*, is updated and corrected by Ban, *passim*, regarding Japanese penetration.
75. PRO, HS1/340, SOE Far East Files, C Files, miscellaneous correspondence and reports, December 1940-February 1942, has the most important documents regarding the establishment of the OM, including one cautionary note by Churchill. These papers belie arguments by Brooke-Popham and Percival in their Despatches that they did not obstruct SOE. Studies which did not have access to PRO files include Gough; I. Trenowden, *Operations Most Secret--SOE: The Malayan Theatre*, London, 1978, and C. Cruickshank, *SOE in the Far East*, Oxford, 1983.
76. Fujiwara Iwaichi, *F.Kikan: Japanese Army Intelligence Operations in Southeast Asia during World War II*, Singapore, 1983; Robertson, 116-22; Aldrich, 56; M. Shennan, *Out in the Midday Sun: The British in Malaya 1880-1960*, 214; Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, ch. 10.
77. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; E.B. Reynolds, *Thailand and Japan's Southern Advance, 1940-1945*, New York, 1994, chs. 2-4; Ong, 171-72.
78. PRO, HS1/226, SOE Far East Files, miscellaneous papers, papers on organizing covert operations, October-November 1941; HS1/340, SOE Far East Files, C Files, miscellaneous correspondence and reports, December 1940-February 1942; HS1/227, SOE Far East Files, miscellaneous papers, papers on the dispute between SOE and Ambassador Crosby, October-December 1941. The only operation Crosby supported was to deny British owned mines in Thailand to the Japanese. Chapman, 25-26; Aldrich, 92, 105-06; Elphick, *Far Eastern File*, 197-98; Cruickshank, 72, notes SOE had 24 trained operatives in southern Thailand, ready to assist *Matador*, by the eve of war.
79. PRO, AIR23/1865, Effect on our Dispositions of the Japanese in Indochina, 26 July 1941; JM, No. 24, *History of the Southern Army, 1941-1945*; JM, No. 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, No. 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record, Phase I*; JM, No. 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; JM, No. 152, *Political Strategy Prior to the Outbreak of War, Part V*; SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tohmatsu, "The Imperial Army Turns South," in I. Gow et al, *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations*, vol. III; Tsuji, 8, 48-52.



## Chapter 7

1. AWM553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap); SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East Operations Room narrative log [RAF Far East log], 6 December 1941; WO172/1, GHQ Far East War Diary, 6 December 1941; WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, 6 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 6 December 1941; LHCMA, Brooke-Popham Papers, V/5/28, Layton to Admiralty, 6 December 1941.
2. PRO, CAB65/24, War Cabinet Minutes, 5 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; *Principal War Telegrams and Memoranda 1940-1943* [PT], vol. 1, COS to Brooke-Popham, 5 December 1941; Aldrich, 56, 86-88; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 128; Gilchrist, 56-58, 92-95.
3. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; Middlebrook and Mahoney, 87-89; Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely*, 406-07; Aldrich, 88; Gilchrist, 92-95.
4. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 7 December 1941; WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, 6-7 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 6-7 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; LHCMA, Brooke-Popham Papers, V/5/28, Brooke-Popham to COS, 7 December 1941.
5. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record Phase I*; Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap); Potter, 53-54; Tsuji, 79-90; Reynolds, ch. 4.
6. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 107, *Malayan Invasion Naval Operations*; PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 7 December 1941; WO172/106, 1/13<sup>th</sup> Frontier Force Rifles [1/13 Frontier Force] War Diary, 8 December 1941.
7. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, 8 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, Appendix 3, 8 December 1941; AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8 December 1941; H.L. Wrigglesworth, *The Japanese Invasion of Kelantan in 1941*, Kota Bharu, 1991, 13-18.
8. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, 8 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8 December 1941, reported as late as 1155hrs a “pocket of enemy resistance ... estimated two coys ... being dealt with ...”; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix 0, 8 December 1941; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary Appendix 3, 8 December 1941, log of situation reports from 8<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade, notes at 0215hrs the brigade appreciating the landings as “probably a mistake or a feint,” but at 0345hrs “heavy fighting Badang to Sabak”; WO172/106, 1/13 Frontier Force War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/111, 1<sup>st</sup> Hyderabad Infantry [1<sup>st</sup> Hyderabad] War Diary, 8 December 1941; AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8 December 1941; IWM, Wild Papers, 66/227/1, Notes on the campaign in Malaya [Wild notes], n/d [spring 1942]; Wrigglesworth, 18-26, 39-50.
9. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*, recorded only three 20 man counterattacks by defenders who “lacked a spirit of assault”; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Phase I*; PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix BB, 8 December 1941; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/109, 1<sup>st</sup> Mysore Infantry [1<sup>st</sup> Mysore] War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/111, 1<sup>st</sup> Hyderabad War Diary, 8 December 1941; AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8 December 1941; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; AIR23/8459, History of No. 34 Squadron 1941-42; Wrigglesworth, 54-59.

10. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/109, 1<sup>st</sup> Mysore War Diary, 8 December 1941, records being ordered by “brigade” to implement denial at Machang at 1600hrs and then evacuate at 2100hrs; WO172/111, 1<sup>st</sup> Hyderabad War Diary, 8 December 1941, describes an intense fight broken off only when ammunition ran out followed by a retreat led by the adjutant, but “Before this withdrawal we lost the c.o. and it is not known what happened to him.” Two days later 111 casualties are recorded, including the adjutant. The murder of the two officers was never officially confirmed. An inquiry whitewashed the evacuation, which became a stampede when junior officers lost their nerve. AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8 December 1941; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; IWM, Wild Papers, 66/227/1, Wild notes; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Wrigglesworth, 59-64.
11. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 107, *Malayan Invasion Naval Operations*; PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 9 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix 9 December 1941, Heath phone call to Percival 1015-1040hrs; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 8-9 December 1941; WO172/106, 1/13 Frontier Force War Diary, 9 December 1941; WO172/111, 1<sup>st</sup> Hyderabad War Diary, 9 December 1941; AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 9 December 1941; IWM, Wild Papers, 66/227/1, Wild notes; Heath Papers, LMH4, notes on the Malayan campaign; Wrigglesworth, 65-67, 73-77.
12. PRO, AIR23/1870, Employment of Aircraft Malaya, 9 December 1941; A. Warren, *Singapore 1942: Britain’s Greatest Defeat*, Sydney, 2002, 59-64, for a clear narrative; Probert, 41-42; Allen, 118. Marder, 449, notes that as it was the air attacks delayed the Japanese third wave for many hours. The operations log, PRO, AIR23/3577, and Percival, *Despatch*, confirm Percival and Pulford agreed to concentrate air attacks at Kota Bharu; Frei, 44; Wrigglesworth, 69-72.
13. JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Phase I*; Number 107, *Malayan Invasion Naval Operations*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 7-11 December 1941; WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8 December 1941; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Probert, 35, 42-43.
14. JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations, Phase I*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8-10 December 1941; AIR23/8459, History of No. 34 Squadron; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8-10 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix CC, 8 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch.
15. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8-11 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8-10 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix O, 8 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Probert, 41-43.
16. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8-10 December 1941, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary and WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8-9 December 1941, indicate that from early morning 8 December the high command knew the Japanese were unloading at Singora.
17. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 9 December 1941; Probert, 44-45.
18. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 9-11 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 9-11 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Probert, 48-49; CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 4; Shores et al, 101-03.
19. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8-9 December 1941; Probert, 43-45, argues “... after the first day the RAF virtually ceased to exist as a means of defence.” The case of treason involved Capt. Patrick S.V. Heenan, an Indian Army officer posted to Alor Star as an Air Liaison Officer from June 1941. Heenan apparently worked for the Japanese to pay off a grudge he carried on personal grounds against the British Empire and society. Caught in the act of sending information by radio, he was arrested and sent to Singapore, according to surviving official records. There the paper trail ends, but he was

reputedly summarily executed shortly before Singapore surrendered. Heenan can not have done enough damage to be decisive in any way, but his actions probably cost No. 62 Squadron at Alor Star some men and aircraft and added to Japanese information about Norgroup. The only full study is P. Elphick and M. Smith, *Odd Man Out: The Story of the Singapore Traitor*, U.K., 1993, which exposed the treason but exaggerated its impact. The paper trail in archival records is PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Z.1, 10 December 1941; WO172/33, III Indian Corps War Diary, 12, 19, 23-24 December 1941; CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 4; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; IWM, Wild Papers, 66/227/1, Wild notes.

20. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 10-12 December 1941; AIR23/1870, Note on Air Operations, 9 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 10-12 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix, Heath phone call to Percival, 1015hrs 9 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*.
21. PRO, ADM199/1472B, Layton Despatch; Middlebrook and Mahoney, 74-78, 87-99; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; Number 102, *Submarine Operations, December 1941-April 1942*.
22. PRO, CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; ADM199/1472B, Layton Despatch; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, 615-17; Middlebrook and Mahoney, 100-11; Montgomery, ch. 1; Marder, 500-01.
23. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 8-9 December 1941; AIR23/1870, Employment of Aircraft, Malaya, and Appreciation on How to Produce the Maximum Protection for the Fleet during 10/12/41, 9 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Middlebrook and Mahoney, 106-45; Marder, 387-88; Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely*, 408-13.
24. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 9-10 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 9-10 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, 9-10 December 1941; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 9-10 December 1941; WO172/124, 22<sup>nd</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 9-10 December 1941; D. Russell-Roberts, *Spotlight on Singapore*, London, 1965, 29; Warren, 70-71. The Japanese have no record of being anywhere near Kuantan that night, but some days later small boats with bits and pieces of equipment were found not far away. Warren's judgement that the troops shot up some fishermen is reasonable.
25. JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; Number 102, *Submarine Operations, December 1941-April 1942*; WO172/124, 22<sup>nd</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 10 December 1941, records the clear view the troops had of the force, which did not depart until 1045hrs; Middlebrook and Mahoney, 139-43; Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely*, 411-13; Marder, 438; Warren, 67-68, 72.
26. PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 10 December 1941; WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 10 December 1941; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; AWM54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap), interrogation of Capt. Sonokawa Kameo, IJN, November 1945, is the most detailed account of the battle by a Japanese participant; Middlebrook and Mahoney, chs. 8-13; Barnett, *Engage the Enemy More Closely*, 414-21; Marder, 433-39. HMS *Tenedos*, running low on fuel, turned back the night before.
27. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, 620.
28. PRO, ADM199/1472B, Layton Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Montgomery, 88-89; Shennan, 231; Warren, 77-78; A.H.C. Ward et al (eds.), *The Memoirs of Tan Kah Kee*, Singapore, 1994, 152; G. Rocker, *Escaped Singapore ... Heading Homewards*, Singapore, 1990, 17.
29. PRO, ADM199/1472B; Kimball, Churchill-Roosevelt correspondence, vol. 1, 7-10 December 1941, indicates clearly that the foremost matter on the Prime Minister's mind was to arrange a meeting in Washington; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, 615-16, acknowledges he and the COS were discussing a very different course of action for Phillips while he was already at sea; Middlebrook and Mahoney, ch.

- 15, Marder, 479-501, and Gilchrist, 136-38, make useful comments.
30. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 7-8 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix CC, 8 December 1941; Heath to Percival telephone call, 1015hrs 9 December 1941; WO172/33, III Indian Corps War Diary, 8 December 1941; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Percival comments on drafts of official history, n/d; Percival, *Despatch*; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 112.
  31. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Percival comments on drafts of official history, n/d; Percival to Blood, 27 November 1950; Percival, *Despatch*.
  32. PRO, WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 6-7 December 1941.
  33. PRO, WO172/33, III Indian Corps War Diary, 29 November, 7-8 December 1941.
  34. PRO, CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 3; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 6, 8 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 7-8 December 1941.
  35. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 8 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 8; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Malayan Campaign; Percival, *Despatch*.
  36. PRO, WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 9 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix H 3, 11 December 1941; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 15 November, 8-10 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 8; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Malayan Campaign; Wild Papers, 66/227/1, Wild notes; Percival, *Despatch*.
  37. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 11 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, N 3, 1900hrs 11 December, Z 3, A 4, C 4, D 4, 12 December, Q 4, C 5, 13 December 1941; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 11-14 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, chs. 8-9; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Malayan Campaign; Percival, *Despatch*; Warren, 79-80.
  38. IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Malayan Campaign.
    - A. Swinson, *Defeat in Malaya*, London, 1969, 74.
  39. PRO, WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 8-10 December 1941; WO132/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 8-11 December 1941; CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 2, acknowledges higher command and division staff both mishandled the change of plans by not coping with the predictable impact on morale, troops griping at going "back to the effing mud hole"; McEwan, 26; G. Chippington, *Singapore: The Inexcusable Betrayal*, U.K, 1992, 21, 27-35, is a vivid account by an eyewitness infantry officer.
  40. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 89-91; WO172/17, Malaya Command War Diary, 8 December 1941; CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 3; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Malayan Campaign; Wild Papers, 66/227/1, Wild notes; Percival, *Despatch*.

41. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 107-12; WO172/71, 17<sup>th</sup> Field Company Sappers and Miners War Diary, 8 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 10 December 1941; CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 3; IWM, Wild Papers, 66/227/1, Wild notes; Percival, *Despatch*.
42. PRO, WO172/33, III Indian Corps War Diary, 9-10 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 8-10 December 1941; CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 2; Warren, 80-82.
43. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices H 3, N 3, 11 December 1941; WO172/64, 22<sup>nd</sup> Mountain Regiment RA War Diary, 11 December 1941; WO172/71, 17<sup>th</sup> Field Company Sappers and Miners War Diary, 11-12 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 11 December 1941; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regiment RA War Diary, 11 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 11 December 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 8-11 December 1941; CAB106/53, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 4; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Malayan Campaign; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 112-19.
44. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 119-20.
45. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 120-24; PRO, WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 12 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 5.
46. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix W 3, Reports to Percival and orders issued by him 0830-0935hrs; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 12 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 5; Percival, *Despatch*; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 133.
47. PRO, WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/120, 1<sup>st</sup> Leicesters War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/71, 17<sup>th</sup> Field Company Sappers and Miners War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/64, 22<sup>nd</sup> Mountain Regiment War Diary, 12 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 5.
48. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Z 3, BGS III Corps to BGS 1240hrs 12 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 5; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/120, 1<sup>st</sup> Leicesters War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 12 December 1941.
49. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix C 4, 12 December 1941; WO172/120, 1<sup>st</sup> Leicesters War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regiment War Diary, 12 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 5; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Malayan Campaign.
50. PRO, WO172/64, 22<sup>nd</sup> Mountain Regiment War Diary, 10 December 1941; WO172/43, 88<sup>th</sup> Field Regiment War Diary, 11 December 1941, notes their commanding officer was ordered that evening to join officers from both 6<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigades to reconnoiter the Gurun area.
51. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 119-24; PRO, WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/120, 1<sup>st</sup> Leicesters War Diary, 12 December 1941.
52. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices G 4, K 4, 12 December 1941; WO172/64, 22<sup>nd</sup> Mountain Regiment War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regiment War Diary, 12 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 12 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 5.
53. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Q 4 and C 5, 13 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 12-13 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War

Diary, 12-13 December 1941; WO172/120, 1<sup>st</sup> Leicesters War Diary, 12-13 December 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 12-13 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, chs. 5-6.

54. PRO, WO172/15 GHQ Far East War Diary, 13 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 13 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 13-14 December 1941; WO172/120, 1<sup>st</sup> Leicesters War Diary, 13 December 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 13-14 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 6.
55. PRO, CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 6; Frei, chs. 5-6.
56. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix N 3, 11 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 6; Chippington, 62. Warren, chs. 6-7, is the clearest narrative of the battle.

## Chapter 8

1. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Tsuji, 130-32.
2. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
3. AWM73/65, Japanese Tactical Methods, February 1942; Tsuji, 183-85; Chippington, 35-37.
4. JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record Phase I*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 13-23 December 1941; WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix 62, 13 December 1941; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Shores et al, 130-46.
5. Tsuji, 128-35; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record Phase I*; PRO, CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 9; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Shores et al, 141; Frei, 60-62.
6. PRO, WO106/2568, Far East War Council minutes, 13-22 December 1941; WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 12, 15 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, B 4, H 4, 12 December, A 6, 14 December, Q 8, 15 December 1941; WO172/33, III Indian Corps War Diary, 12-13 December 1941; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival despatch, spring 1947; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; K. Fedorowich, "The Evacuation of Civilians from Hong Kong and Malaya/Singapore, 1939-42," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*. See also ch. 15 below.
7. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 18, 22 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix, Q 9, 18 December 1941; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival despatch, spring 1947; Allen, 134; Smyth, 142; Gough, 80-81, 231.
8. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, K 6, N 6, 14 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 7; Percival, *Despatch*; Warren, 100-04.
9. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, B 7, E 7, 15 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 14-16 December 1941, noted that after retreating from Gurun the battalion had been reduced from 790 all ranks to 270; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 15 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 7; Warren, 104-08.
10. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, V 6, 15 December, A 8, 16 December, O 11, 21 December, G 12, 22 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 9; Percival, *Despatch*; Tsuji, 137-40.
11. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, X 7, 16 December, K 13, 21 December 1941; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 17 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 9; Percival, *Despatch*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Wrigglesworth, 79-82.
12. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, O 11, T 11, 21 December, G 12, Q 12, Z 12, 22 December, E 13, JJJ 14, 23 December 1941; WO172/100, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys War Diary, 16-23 December 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 16-22 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 9, Percival, *Despatch*; Tsuji, 141-47.
13. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, CAB106/54, ch. 10; Percival, *Despatch*.





## Chapter 9

1. PRO, CAB79/16, COS minutes, 7-12 December 1941; 79/55, Secretary's Standard File, 7-12 December 1941; CAB65/20, War Cabinet minutes, 8-10 December 1941; 65/24, Confidential annex, 8-10 December 1941; Kimball, *Churchill-Roosevelt Correspondence*, C-153, 7 December, FDR-73, 10 December 1941; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, 604-11.
2. PRO, CAB79/16, COS minutes, 12 December 1941; 79/55, Secretary's Standard File, 11 December 1941; Kimball, *Churchill-Roosevelt Correspondence*, C-153, 7 December 1941; *PT*, vol. 4, Churchill-Auchinleck telegrams, 12-13 December 1941.
3. *PT*, vol. 4, Brooke-Auchinleck telegrams, 15-16 December 1941; Farrell, *The Basis and Making of British Grand Strategy*, 198-99; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, 639-41.
4. Documents pertaining to the discussions in Washington and London may be found in PRO, CAB99/17, ARCADIA papers, CAB80/61, COS(42)12(O) and COS(42)15(O), 13-14 January 1942, the series containing COS and War Cabinet minutes, Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, ch. 14; the New Year's Day cable is also in AIR23/3582, COS to Pownall, 1 January 1942. Brooke stayed in London to settle into his new post. Dill went along, to represent the Imperial General Staff in the discussions.
5. In addition to the previous citation, see *PT*, vol. 4, Brooke and Churchill-Auchinleck telegrams, 15 December 1941-7 January 1942. As early as 4 December Brooke told the War Cabinet the difficulty Eighth Army experienced "was an illustration of what happened when equal forces of British and German tanks met in battle."
6. PRO, CAB80/60, COS(41)277(O), 14 December, COS(41)280(O), 20 December 1941; AIR23/3582, COS to Pownall, 1 January 1942; ADM199/1472B, Layton report; *PT*, vol. 1, Layton to Admiralty, 13 December, reply, 17 December 1941.
7. *PT*, vol. 1, Brooke-Popham-COS telegrams, 8-10 December 1941; PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 12-22 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices J 7, 15 December, M 11, 21 December 1941; AIR23/3582, Air Ministry to Pulford, 15 December 1941; ADM199/1472B, Layton report; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*.
8. The decisions to despatch these formations can be traced in the COS minutes, War Cabinet minutes, *PT*, vol. 1, and the War Diaries of GHQ Far East and Malaya Command. IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.26, Heath comments to Percival on draft report, n/d [written in captivity]; PRO, CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 184; Shores et al, 158-60.
9. PRO, AIR23/3582, COS to Pownall, 1 January 1942; CAB80/61, COS papers, 8 January 1941; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Wigmore, 189-90; Horner, ch. 7.
10. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, 636-39; Butler, 413.
11. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diaries, 12-22 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices J 7, 15 December, M 11, 21 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*.
12. PRO, AIR23/3575, COS to Brooke-Popham, 22 December 1941; CAB79/16, COS

- minutes, 22-25 December 1941; LHCMA, Brooke Papers, 3/A/V, diary, 24 December 1941; PT, vol. 1, COS to Brooke-Popham, 22 December 1941.
13. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 19-20 December 1941; CAB69/2, Defence Committee(Operations) minutes, 31 December 1941; CAB80/61, COS papers, 13 December 1941; CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 18, 24 December 1941; Churchill, W.S. *The Hinge of Fate*, Boston, 1950, ch. 1; Wigmore, 182-90; Horner, ch. 7; Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
  14. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices A 6, K 6, 14 December, E 7, F 7, 15 December, A 8, U 8, 16 December, U 9, 19 December, O 11, 21 December, G 12, Z 12, 22 December 1941. IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F. 26, Narrative on the Fall of Malaya, including comments by Heath, n/d [written in captivity], P.23, F.48, comments on drafts of official history, and Heath Papers, LMH7, correspondence with Percival and others, lay out the sometimes bitter postmortem argument between Percival and Heath regarding retreat in the north.
  15. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix 334, Percival to GHQ FE, 25 December 1941; IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.26, Narrative on the Fall of Malaya, with Heath comments; P.21, F.27, narrative and notes on Malayan Campaign, n/d [written in captivity].
  16. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices O 11, 21December, G 12, Z 12, 22 December, E 13, JJJ 14, 23 December 1941; CAB106/80, Heath Notes; Percival, *Despatch*.
  17. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices M 7, X 7, 16 December, L 13, 23 December; Percival, *Despatch*.
  18. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix U 8, 16 December 1941.
  19. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices G 9, 18 December 1941. The Torres Vedras reference is revealing. In 1810 Wellington found himself commanding a British and Allied force on the Iberian Peninsula heavily outnumbered by the French. Wellington expected a determined French offensive to expel him from the peninsula before outside help could be arranged. To prevent this he constructed a 50km line of fortifications, behind which his forces could stand in order to preserve a bridgehead covering the supply base at Lisbon. Meanwhile his armies fought a forward delaying action, buying time to complete the defences. By the time the retreat was complete the French were too tired, the weather too bitter, the defences too strong. The line held, the campaign continued.
  20. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 16, 19 December, Appendix 334, 23 December 1941; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch.
  21. PRO, W0172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, 19 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices N 6, 14 December, I 9, 18 December, U 9, 19 December 1941; WO172/208, 1 Independent Company War Diary, 8-28 December 1941; CAB106/36, History of 1 Independent Company; CAB106/40, Brooke-Popham Despatch.
  22. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Z 15, 28 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 10, describes repeated efforts by Murray-Lyon before the war to organize irregular forces, all rebuffed. See also below, ch. 11.
  23. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, Appreciation of the Situation in Malaya 18 December 1941; Appendix 334, Percival to GHQ FE, 25 December 1941;

AIR23/3575, Notes for AOC for Appreciation Covering Operational and Administrative Problems Associated with the Protracted Defence of Singapore, 21 December 1941; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch.

24. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, memorandum on British Strategy in the Far East January 1942, 26 December 1941.
25. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, serials of 27 December, Pownall to COS, 29 December 1941; LHCMA, Pownall Papers, 20, 30 December 1941 diary entries; PT, vol. 1, Pownall to Brooke, 27, 29 December 1941.

26. PRO, AIR23/3582, COS to Pownall, 1 January 1942; CAB80/61 and 99/17 document the establishment of ABDA Command. The COS feared the Americans wanted the British to take the blame for what looked certain to be heavy defeat in Southeast Asia. Churchill took a broader view, deciding it was more important to demonstrate readiness to work together in combined Allied commands.
27. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary, serials 2-4 January 1942; AIR23/3582, COS to Pownall, 1 January 1942; ADM199/1472B, Layton Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, comments on drafts of official history; Percival, *Despatch*.

## Chapter 10

1. PRO, WO172/114, 5/2 Punjabi War Diary, 18-28 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 9; CAB106/91, Narrative on The 93<sup>rd</sup> in Malaya, 18 March 1942; Percival, *Despatch*; Stewart, 36-57; Moffatt and McCormick, 64-91, is a good account.
2. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix F 7, 15 December 1941.
3. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, Appreciation of the Situation in Malaya 18 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices F 7, 15 December, U 8, 16 December 1941; WO172/19, Japanese tactics and activities in Northern Malaya, 24 April 1942 (drawn from US Military Observer Singapore Report No. 141, 28 December 1941); Percival, *Despatch*.
4. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices L 13, JJJ 14, 23 December 1941; Percival, *Despatch*.
5. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix JJJ 14, 23 December 1941; Percival, *Despatch*; for prewar appreciations, see chapter 5.
6. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary, Appreciation of the Situation in Malaya 18 December, Percival to GHQ FE, 25 December 1941.
7. PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 21-29 December 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 21-29 December 1941; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 9; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Lecture on the Malayan Campaign; Percival, *Despatch*.
8. PRO, WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 22-29 December 1941, for a typical 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division battalion experience of digging and fighting while under sustained aerial pressure; CAB106/54, chs. 9-10; Percival, *Despatch*; See ch. 5.
9. Simson, 61-63.
10. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Comments on drafts of official history; Percival, *Despatch*; Simson, 63-64, 68-77; Kinvig, "General Percival and the Fall of Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
11. PRO, WO172/15, Brooke-Popham to COS, 27 December 1941; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix B 22, 6 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
12. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Z 16, 29 December 1941; WO172/114, 5/2 Punjabi War Diary, 28-29 December 1941; Stewart, 58-61; Moffatt and McCormick, 92-97.
13. The FECB estimated four Japanese divisions on hand for operations in north Malaya: PRO, AIR23/3577, 27 December 194; Percival, *Despatch*; Kinvig, 172-73.
14. PRO, CAB106/192, 22<sup>nd</sup> Indian Brigade Operations in Malaya, account by Brig. G.W.A. Painter [Painter report]; CAB106/156, Notes on FMSVF and L of C operations December 1941-January 1942 [Moir notes]; Stewart, 65; Moffatt and

McCormick, 97.

15. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix R 16, 29 December 1941.
16. PRO, WO172/124, 22<sup>nd</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 23-26 December 1941; CAB106/192, Painter report]; CAB106/14, Narrative Account of operations of 2/12 Frontier Force and Lt.-Col. A.E. Cummings, October 1944 [2/12 Frontier Force report].
17. PRO, WO172/107, 2/18 Royal Garwhalis War Diary, 26-29 December 1941; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 26-29 December, Appendix 31, 22 December, Appendix 3, Rough Precis of Events in Kuantan Area, n/d [January 1942].
18. Barstow was so concerned about this confusion he prepared for the record a document detailing all discussions and orders relating to the battle at Kuantan from Christmas to New Year's Day: PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, Appendix 3, Rough Precis of Events in Kuantan Area. The original documents are the daily entries for the same period, plus some revealing appendices. There is no evidence Painter saw Percival's directive of 30 December calling for Kuantan to be denied until 10 January. Percival insisted he gave that order to Barstow personally, in front of Heath, on 31 December. Percival remained bitter enough about this confusion to discuss the matter at some length in postwar correspondence with Kirby, but even then noted he wanted to preserve 22<sup>nd</sup> Indian Brigade's fighting power while denying airbases for as long as possible. Percival blamed Heath and Barstow for garbling his instructions to the point Painter thought he had a free hand. He suggested Heath and other Indian Army officers misinterpreted orders so badly it undermined his strategy; indeed, the main reason Percival appointed Paris to take over 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division, rather than Key as Heath suggested, was that Paris was British Army. Percival insisted that until New Year's Day he made it clear denying the airbase had first priority. He went so far as to "ask for this account of the Kuantan operations to be rewritten in accordance with the above" in the official history. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Percival-Kirby correspondence, 1954-55.
19. PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, Appendix 3, Rough Precis of Events in Kuantan Area; diary entries, 30-31 December 1941; WO172/124, 22<sup>nd</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 27-31 December 1941; WO172/107, 2/18 Royal Garwhalis War Diary, 29-31 December 1941; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 27-31 December 1941; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix A 18, 31 December 1941; CAB106/192, Painter report; SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Russell-Roberts, 42-43.
20. PRO, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, Appendix 3, Rough Precis of Events in Kuantan Area; diary entries, 1-2 January 1942; Appendix 7, 2 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Q 18, R 18, F 19, 1 January, X 19, 2 January 1942; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 1-2 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
21. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix T 21, 5 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 3-4 January 1942; Operation Instruction No. 23, 3 January 1942; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 3-4 January

- 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; CAB106/14, 2/12 Frontier Force report. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*, described this last fight as the annihilation of “remnants” putting up “persistent resistance,” and claimed the airbase was secured at 2130hrs. Warren, 124-27, for a clear narrative.
22. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix R 16, 29 December 1941; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Percival Kirby-Correspondence, 1954-55. Heath later claimed he also hoped to deny the airbase as long as 14 January, to cover the second convoy: Heath Papers, LMH4, Lecture on Malayan Campaign. Given the way Heath acted at the time Percival can be forgiven for assuming otherwise.
  23. PRO, WO172/15, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix R 16, 29 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 23-29 December 1941; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 23-29 December 1941; WO172/102, 2/16 Punjabi War Diary, 23-29 December 1941; WO172/120, 1<sup>st</sup> Leicesters [British Battalion] War Diary, 20-27 December 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 23-29 December 1941; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 23-29 December 1941; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 11.
  24. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix B 18, 26 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 25 December 1941.
  25. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 29 December 1941; WO172/120, 1<sup>st</sup> Leicesters [British Battalion] War Diary, 29 December 1941; Tsuji, 152-56; Falk, 143-46.
  26. SCSC, *The Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix A 18, 31 December 1941; WO172/117, 15<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 30-31 December 1941; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 30-31 December 1941; WO172/102, 2/16 Punjabi War Diary, 30-31 December 1941; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 30-31 December 1941; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 30-31 December 1941; WO172/43, 88<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 29-31 December 1941; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 11; Tsuji, 156-60; Falk, 145-46.
  27. PRO, WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 1-2 January 1942; WO172/43, 88<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 1-2 January 1942; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 11.
  28. PRO, WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 2 January 1942; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 1-2 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 2 January 1942; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 11. Heath was particularly irritated 28<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade fell back without even trying to ambush the Japanese, let alone counterattack: CAB106/80, Heath Notes.
  29. PRO, WO172/102, 2/16 Punjabi War Diary, 1-2 January 1942; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 1-2 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 1-2 January 1942. Stiff skirmishing occurred on 31 December, but after that date the units were only shelled, not probed.

30. PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 1-2 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix M 19, 2 January 1942; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 2 January 1942; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, chs. 11-12; Percival, *Despatch*; Kinvig, 173.
31. PRO, WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 2 January 1942.
32. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*, stressed the impact of the west coast invasions; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*, saw the attacks at Kampar as equally important; Tsuji, 160-61, claimed 42<sup>nd</sup> Regiment attacked the rear of 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division and helped force it to retreat. *Outline of the Malayan Campaign* and the War Diaries of the 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division battalions record no contact with the rearguard until the retreat was well clear of Kampar on 3 January. Tsuji, 167-70, records the state the battle left 5<sup>th</sup> Division in.
33. PRO, CAB106/80, Heath Notes; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 198; Percival, *Despatch*.
34. PRO, WO106/2250A, Miscellaneous Reports on Personal Experiences Singapore and Far East, Interview with Capt. W.G. Gingell, 2<sup>nd</sup> East Surreys [British Battalion], 14 May 1942 [Gingell interview]; McEwan, 31-33.
35. PRO, WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 29 December 1941.
36. PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 27 December 1941-4 January 1942; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices M 8, 17 December, J 15, 27 December, C 17, 30 December, K 18, 31 December 1941; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices M 19, 2 January, G 20, 3 January 1942; AIR23/3577, RAF Far East log, 23, 26 December 1941; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 2-4 January 1942; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Percival, *Despatch*.
37. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix M 19, 2 January 1942; CAB106/156, Moir notes; Percival, *Despatch*.
38. PRO, WO172/208, 1 Independent Company War Diary, 28 December 1941-1 January 1942; CAB106/36, History of 1 Independent Company; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix M 19, 2 January 1942; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 1 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*; Stewart, 68-71; Moffatt and McCormick, 97-98.
39. PRO, CAB106/156, Moir notes; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix K 18, 31 December 1941. After their state was overrun desertion rates among Malays in the Perak Battalion rose high enough to provoke Moir to offer its men, on New Year's Eve, the choice to go home or fight on. After most Malays left, the remainder, Chinese and European, were transferred to other units. Moir had very little confidence in the fighting power and resolve of most of his volunteer units but rated some personnel highly, views shared by Malaya Command: WO172/20, Malaya Command



War Diary Appendix M 19, 2 January 1942.

40. PRO, WO172/42, 73<sup>rd</sup> Field Battery RA, 2 January 1942; WO172/43, 88<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 4 January 1942; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 3-6 January 1942; WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix K 18, 31 December 1941; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices M 19, 2 January, A 20, G 20, 3 January 1942; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 2-4 January 1942; CAB106/156, Moir notes; Percival, *Despatch*.
41. PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 4-6 January 1942; WO172/208, 1 Independent Company War Diary, 4-6 January 1942; CAB106/36, History of 1 Independent Company; WO172/43, 88<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 4-6 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 3-6 January 1942; WO172/102, 2/16 Punjabi War Diary, 3-6 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 3-6 January 1942; CAB106/156, Moir notes; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 12; Percival, *Despatch*.
42. PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, Appendix 36 A, 27 December 1941, Operation Instruction No. 23, 3 January, diary entry, 7 January 1942; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 12; CAB106/80, Heath Notes; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH7, Polinski to Heath, 15 September 1947; AWM67/3/25, Part 1, Bennett Diary, 5 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*. See also A.O. Robinson, "The Malayan Campaign in the Light of the Principles of War," in *Journal of the Royal United Services Institution*, CIX, August and November 1964.
43. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices S 21, Y 21, 5 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, chs. 14-15; Percival, *Despatch*.
44. PRO, WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regiment War Diary, 4-6 January, 1942; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch.12; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Moffatt and McCormick, 100-04.
45. PRO, WO172/18, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix U 8, 16 December 1941 CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 12; IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.26, Percival notes and narrative on Malayan Campaign, Heath comments; Percival, *Despatch*; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 191; Simson, 55, 60-61. Percival insisted he and Heath stressed the need for strong anti-tank defences in the defile when they toured it on New Year's Eve.
46. PRO, CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 12; CAB106/80, Heath Notes; IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.26, Percival notes and narratives on Malayan Campaign, Heath comments.
47. PRO, WO172/114, 5/2 Punjabi War Diary, 29-31 December 1941; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 12; Stewart, 74; Warren, 130-32; Moffatt and McCormick, 102.
48. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 12; Moffatt and

- McCormick, 102-03; Warren, 133-34; Tsuji, 171-72, 182.
49. PRO, CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 12, argues neither brigade asked for more mines, and Stewart felt he had enough anti-tank guns to cover this defile. Judging by his inaction, Paris agreed. IWM, Percival Papers, P. 21, F. 27, Percival narrative on Fall of Malaya, n/d [written in captivity]; Stewart, 75-77; Simson, 65; Warren, 132. The decision to accelerate the retreat prompted Stewart to adjust his plan. 4/19 Hyderabad would retreat just before the expected enemy attack, leaving it to hit a vacuum; the Argylls would promptly counterattack, covering the brigade withdrawal—the tactic used earlier in the north. There is confusion about when the move was to begin, but in any case the Japanese pre-empted it. Moffatt and McCormick, 102-04, discuss the problem.
  50. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Tsuji, 171; Allen, 147-49.
  51. PRO, CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 12; Stewart, 75-77.
  52. PRO, WO172/114, 5/2 Punjabis War Diary, 27-29 December 1941; Stewart, 78; CAB106/54, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 10; 106/55, ch. 13, notes that when Deakin, commanding 5/2 Punjabi, was informed of the Chinese refugee's report he laid his anti-tank mines. Stewart dismissed the report as at worst exaggerated. Moffatt and McCormick, 103-05.
  53. PRO, WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 7 January 1942; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 13; Kirby, *The Loss of Singapore*, 274-81; MacKenzie, 322-31; Moffatt and McCormack, 104-05; Warren, 134-36.
  54. PRO, WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 7 January 1942; CAB106/195, Extract from Selby account of Slim River battle [Selby report]; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 13; Stewart, 79.
  55. PRO, CAB106/195, Selby report; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 13; Stewart, 79-80; Tsuji, 171-74; Moffatt and McCormick, 105-07.
  56. PRO, CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 13; ; Stewart, 79-86; Warren, 137-38.
  57. PRO, CAB106/195, Selby report; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 13; Stewart, 79-86.
  58. PRO, CAB106/195, Selby report; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 13; Warren, 138-39.
  59. PRO, CAB106/195, Selby report; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 13; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.50, Report on Anti-Aircraft Defences Malaya, n/d [probably written in captivity; copy, no author]; Warren, 139-40.
  60. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Lanarkshire Yeomanry Field Regiment RA War Diary, 7-8 January 1942 [dated wrongly in original]; CAB106/195, Selby report; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch.

13; McEwan, 32-33; Warren, 141-42.

61. PRO, WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 7 January 1942; CAB106/195, Selby report; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history; Stewart admitted he should not have been caught so unprepared to face a tank-led filleting attack: WO106/2250A, Stewart report, 12 July 1942; Warren, 138-41.
62. PRO, WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 7 January 1942; CAB106/195, Selby report; CAB106/55, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 13; AWM73/8, Japanese Communiques, 9 January 1942; Moffatt and McCormick, 109-21, vividly describe the ordeal of the overnight retreat. 28<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade Headquarters suffered more because it was closer to the road and at least twice heavily shot up by tanks. Tsuji, 171-75, admitted the extent of the victory came as a pleasant surprise, attributing it, with the usual rhetoric but not entirely without cause, to the “spirit” of the combat troops. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*, is more sober.

63. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary, Wavell to COS, 8 January 1942; WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 7-9 January 1942; CAB106/38, Despatch on Operations in Southwest Pacific [Wavell Despatch]; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 14; LHCMA, Pownall Papers, 5, 8 January 1942 diary entries; Percival, *Despatch*; Warren, 147-48. At 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division headquarters Paris told Wavell his division could fight for ten more days, but Harrison insisted it would not last another day. Wavell went to see for himself, met Stewart and found the remnants of the two brigades, having lost 17 field guns, six anti-tank guns, four anti-aircraft guns, and all but two armoured cars. Wavell lost confidence in Heath and his officers there and then. The importance of tempo is graphically illustrated by reports logged during the battle by III Indian Corps and Malaya Command, found in WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, 7 January 1942, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, Appendix 21, 7 January 1942, and AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 7 January 1942. At 0400hrs, with 4/19 Hyderabad fighting for their lives, Division told Corps the situation was “quiet.” That report was passed on by Malaya Command at 0540hrs, when the tanks were grappling with 5/2 Punjabi. At 1020hrs Corps told Command the attack was heavy, the situation “serious,” the news was stale and Harrison was en route to investigate; by now the two brigades were already routed. By 1240hrs Heath told Torrance the “situation was more serious than was at first thought to be possible.” Paris “is taking what action he can” but “it looks however as if somehow or other the enemy had burst through the anti-tank defences of 12 Bde.” Heath asked 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division to help, but Barstow could only offer bits and pieces because “units of 9 Div were very dispersed and he had no reserve of any sort in hand to meet a sudden situation.” By 1700hrs Corps admitted it had no idea what was going on in the battle area. Finally, at 2230hrs, Corps acknowledged the extent of the disaster—more than 13 hours after its climax.
64. PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 8-9 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 7-9 January 1942; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Farrell, “The Dice Were Rather Heavily Loaded: Wavell and the Fall of Singapore,” in Farrell, *Leadership and Responsibility in the Second World War*.
65. PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 9-12 January 1942; WO172/102, 2/16 Punjabi War Diary, 8-12 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 8-12 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, chs. 14-15; CAB106/156, Moir notes; Percival, *Despatch*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Tsuji, 176-80.
66. PRO, WO106/2250A, Gingell interview, 14 May 1942.

## Chapter 11

1. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices F 20, 3 January, Y 21, 6 January 1942; WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history, 30 November 1953; P. 22, F.43, Wavell comments on Percival Despatch, n/d; Percival, *Despatch*; Mackenzie, 339.
2. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 3-13 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 9-11 January 1942; WO172/140, 4/9 Jats War Diary, 3-13 January 1942; WO172/141, 5/18 Royal Garwhals War Diary, 21 December 1941-14 January 1942.
3. PRO, WO172/147, 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals War Diary, 11-13 January 1942; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history; Percival, *Despatch*. 2/17 Dogra were also transferred from protecting coastal defence guns to be reserve for 22<sup>nd</sup> Australian Brigade.
4. PRO, WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 13-15 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Battalion The Royal Norfolk Regiment [6<sup>th</sup> Royal Norfolks] War Diary, 13-15 January 1942, plus supplemental report by Capt. A.R. Stacey, OC HQ Coy [Stacey report]; Percival, *Despatch*.
5. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, Appendix 437, 4 January 1942; AIR23/3582, Air Ministry to AHQFE, 15 January 1942.
6. PRO, CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.26, Percival notes and Heath comments.
7. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
8. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, chs. 33, 36-37; Falk, 162-63.
9. JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 12-23 January 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch.
10. PRO, WO172/127, 5/11 Sikhs War Diary, 13 January 1942.
11. AWM, 54/553/5/12, Malaya Landing Operation (Jap); JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 12-16 January 1942; Tsuji, ch. 37; Falk, 163-65.
12. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
13. Morrison, 140-41.
14. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, comments on official history draft; Percival,

*Despatch.*

15. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices E 21, 4 January, Y 21, 5 January 1942; CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 24 December 1941, 6 January 1942; AWM, 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett Diary, 4-5 January 1942 entries, in which Bennett records telling Percival it was “better to lose Heath than lose the war”; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, comments on official history draft; P.21, F.27, narrative on Fall of Malaya; Percival, *Despatch*.
16. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Y 21, 5 January, B 22, 6 January 1942; CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 24 December 1941, 6 January 1942; CAB106/151, official historians interview with Thyer [Thyer interview], 20 January 1953; official historians interview with Maxwell [Maxwell interview], 26 January 1953; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F. 42, comments on official history draft; P.23, F.48, comments on official history draft; AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 1-3 January 1942; 73/51, Wigmore interview with Gallegghan, 1 February 1950 [Gallegghan interview]; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II.
17. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix G 22, 6 January 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft; P.21, F.26, Heath comments on Percival draft.
18. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix H 23, 8 January 1942.
19. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix 487, 8 January 1942.
20. PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; PT, vol. I, Wavell to COS, 9 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
21. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Q 23, 9 January 1942; CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 10 January 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, P. 23, F.48, comments on official history draft; AWM, 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 7-10 January 1942 entries; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; Percival, *Despatch*.
22. PT, vol. I, Wavell to COS, 9 January 1953; PRO, WO 32/15539, Wavell to WO, 24 April 1947; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.43, Wavell comments on Percival Despatch.
23. Kirby, *The Loss of Singapore*, 284, has Wavell giving Percival orders “without any further discussion.” His account in *The Chain of Disaster*, 185, is less discreet. Percival was so upset by Wavell’s behaviour he came back to the point repeatedly in his comments on the drafts of Kirby’s official history, categorically denying any responsibility for Wavell’s outline plan: IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, P.23, F.48. Kirby finally accepted this in their private correspondence: “I am quite convinced that the formation of Westforce was a bad error. Things would have been much better if your plan outlined at the Segamat Conference [5 January 1942] and in your appreciation of the 7<sup>th</sup> had been followed.”
24. PRO, CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 10 January 1953; CAB106/151, Thyer interview; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; AWM, 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett Diary, 10-13 January 1942 entries; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 10-14 January 1942 entries; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft; P.23, F.48, comments on official history draft;

Percival, *Despatch*.

25. AWM, 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 10-13 January 1942 entries; 54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; 52/8/2/27, 27th Brigade AIF War Diary, 10-14 January 1942 entries; 73/51, Galleghan interview; PRO, CAB106/151, Maxwell and Taylor interviews.
26. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, comments on official history draft; P.21, F.27, notes on the Fall of Malaya; AWM, 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 9 January 1942; 54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; Percival, *Despatch*.
27. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix G 22, 6 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
28. AWM, 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 9-13 January 1942 entries, Bennett describing his tactics as "patrols rather than fixed positions"; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diaries, 10-14 January 1942; PRO, CAB106/151, Thyer interview, 19 January 1953.
29. Other than Wavell and Percival not checking the final dispositions, two points are cardinal. First, Percival's agreement there was not likely to be a strong attack along the west coast: IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48; second, Bennett's view of the Muar zone as "merely a flank which required watching": PRO, CAB106/151, Thyer interview, 19 January 1953.
30. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 4, 14 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 13-14 January 1942; 52/5/13/10, 2/10 Field Coy. RAE War Diary, 1-14 January 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; 54/553/5/25, Malayan Campaign narrative, n/d [Kappe?].
31. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 13 January 1942; 73/2, Sturdee to Bennett, 7 January 1942, indicated the Australian high command also anticipated an amphibious invasion of the area; 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett Diary, 13-14 January 1942; PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 12 January 1942; AIR23/3576, Operational Directif [sic] CCOR No. 1, 13 January 1942.
32. AWM, 52/5/5/12, HQ RAE 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division War Diary, 1-13 January 1942; 52/5/13/12, 2/12 Field Coy. RAE War Diary, 10-14 January 1942.
33. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 6-13 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 12-14 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 14 January, and Appendix, 12 January 1942; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 13-14 January 1942; WO172/147 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals War Diary, 11-15 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report.
34. AWM, 54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; A.W. Penfold, W.C. Bayliss, K.E. Crispin, *Galleghan's Greyhounds: The Story of the 2/30th Australian Infantry Battalion*, Sydney, 1979, 80-84; J. Uhr, *Against the Sun: The AIF in Malaya 1941-42*, Sydney, 1998, 81-83.

35. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 10-13 January 1942; 73/51, Interview with Galleghan, 1 February 1950 [Galleghan interview]; 54/553/5/25, Malayan Campaign narrative; S. Arneil, *Black Jack: The Life and Times of Brigadier Sir Frederick Galleghan*, Melbourne, 1983, 82-85. Galleghan was wrong about Japanese radio detection capability. The Japanese found unit headquarters because of such carelessness as setting them up in prominent buildings and surrounding them by vehicles.
36. PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, Appendix, 12 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report. Bennett privately recorded a quite different impression at the time in his diary: "Barstow called. His Brig. Painter saw him and threw in the sponge—saw his men were unreliable and could not be relied on. Told Barstow to relieve with Loyals. He has asked for Brig. to be relieved." AWM, 67/3/25, Part 1, Bennett Diary, 14 January 1942. Painter was not relieved, nor is there other evidence the brigade was finished, as opposed to needing rest: see AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 13 January 1942. But this underlines Bennett's view of Indian troops as battle loomed.
37. AWM, 73/51, Galleghan interview; Magarry, 69, recalls his comrades "shaken" by the sight of the retreating Indians.
38. IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Malayan campaign; Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, Kirby to Percival, 16 December 1953.
39. PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; AIR23/3576, ABDACOM to Norgroup, 18 January 1942.
40. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix 512, 9 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Royal Norfolks War Diary, 14 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 13-15 January 1942; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 13-15 January 1942; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 13-15 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 15.
41. PRO, AIR23/3576, ABDACOM to Norgroup, 18 January 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch.
42. PRO, HS1/226, Oriental Mission Operations Report, April 1942; S. Chapman, *The Jungle is Neutral*, Singapore (reprint, first published 1948), ch. 2.



43. PRO, HS1/226, Oriental Mission Operations Report, April 1942.
44. PRO, CAB106/156, Moir report.
45. PRO, HS1/226, Oriental Mission Operations Report, April 1942; HSI/340, Killery to SOE, 16 January 1942; Chapman, 29-53; Aldrich, 105. R. Gough, *Special Operations Singapore 1941-42*, Singapore, 1985, 100-01, notes the groups were sent in on the time frame of preparing for a counteroffensive to be launched within three months, led by I Australian Corps.
46. PRO, HS1/226, Oriental Mission Operations Report, April 1942.
47. PRO, HS1/226, Oriental Mission Operations Report, April 1942.
48. PRO, HS1/226, Oriental Mission Operations Report, April 1942; HSI/340, Killery to SOE, 16 January 1942.
49. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 14-15 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 12-15 January 1942; WO172/141, 5/18 Royal Garwhalis War Diary, 14-15 January 1942; WO172/142, 38<sup>th</sup> Field Ambulance War Diary, 14-15 January 1942; Braddon, 57.

## Chapter 12

1. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 15 January 1942; 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 14 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; AWM, 73/51, Galleghan interview; 54/553/5/1, Interview with W.S. Melville, OC D Company 2/30 AIF, n/d; 54/553/5/25, Malayan campaign narrative; 54/553/5/5, Malayan campaign summary [Kappe, n/d]; 73/8, *Japanese Times and Advertiser*, 8 April 1942; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix H 27, 15 January 1942; CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 15 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Tsuji, 193; Penfold et al, 85-102; Wigmore, 214-16; Uhr, 83-89.
2. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign* JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Tsuji, 193-94; AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 15 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 15 January 1942; 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 15 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/25, Malayan campaign narrative; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices U 26, F 27, H 27, 15 January, L 27, 16 January 1942; CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 15 January 1942; CAB106/151, Moses diary, 16 January 1942; CAB106/80, Heath notes; Percival, *Despatch*; Penfold et al, ch. VIII-IX; Frei, 63.
3. PRO, CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 15 January 1942. Typical expressions of the apology include AWM, 54/553/5/14, Bennett Report, 54/553/5/5, Malayan campaign summary, 54/553/5/25, Malayan campaign narrative, 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 18 and 20 January 1942, and Percival, *Despatch*.
4. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 16-18 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 16-18 January 1942; 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 16-18 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Y 29, 17 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 16-19 January 1942; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 16-18 January 1942; Penfold, 135-42; Magarry, 81-82.
5. J. Wyett, *Staff Wallah at the Fall of Singapore*, New South Wales, 1996, 66.
6. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 18-21 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 18-21 January 1942; 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 19 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 18-21 January 1942; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices G 29, W 29, 17 January, W 30, D 31, F 31, 18 January, Q 32, S 32, T 32, 19 January, G 33, 20 January, V 34, 21 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 19-22 January 1942; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 19-21 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 195-96.
7. PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East Log, 16-21 January 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; AWM, 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 16 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; 54/553/5/5, Malayan campaign summary; 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 16 January 1942; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
8. AWM, 54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II. Magarry, 84, reports the troops frustration.
9. Tsuji, 199-201; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*.

10. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 14-15 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 14-15 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/5, Malayan campaign summary; 54/553/5/25, Malayan campaign narrative; 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 16 January 1942; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices H 27, J 27, 15 January 1942. Bennett complained "Landing at Endau is holding 22 Brigade there": CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 17 January 1942.
11. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix H 27, 15 January 1942.
12. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 18 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 18 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II.
13. Percival, *Despatch*.
14. AWM, 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 21 January 1942; 52/5/13/10, 2/10 Field Coy. RAE War Diary, 12-15 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/5, Malayan campaign summary; 54/553/5/25, Malayan campaign narrative; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix J 27, 15 January 1942.
15. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 15-18 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 15-20 January 1942; 52/5/13/10, 2/10 Field Coy. RAE War Diary, 15-20 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/25, Malayan campaign narrative; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices M 27, 16 January, G 29, Z 29, 17 January, T 32, 19 January 1942; WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary 14-18 January 1942.
16. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 21 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 19-22 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/5, Malayan campaign summary; 54/553/5/25, Malayan campaign narrative; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix X 34, 21 January 1942; Uhr, 155-56.
17. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 15-18 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 17-180 January 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 18 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/25, Malayan campaign narrative; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview.
18. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 15-16 January 1942; WO172/140, 4/9 Jats War Diary, 15-16 January 1942; WO172/141, 5/18 Royal Garwhals War Diary, 15-16 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix F 27, 15 January 1942; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 202-03.
19. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 16 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 16 January 1942; WO172/140, 4/9 Jats War Diary, 16 January 1942; WO172/141, 5/18 Royal Garwhals War Diary, 16 January 1942; WO172/142, 38<sup>th</sup> Field Ambulance War Diary, 16 January 1942; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 202-03.

20. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 16 January 1942; WO172/140, 4/9 Jats War Diary, 16 January 1942; WO172/141, 5/18 Royal Garwhals War Diary, 16 January 1942; AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 21 January 1942; AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 16-17 January 1942.
21. PRO, PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 17 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 17 January 1942; WO172/140, 4/9 Jats War Diary, 17 January 1942; WO172/141, 5/18 Royal Garwhals War Diary, 17 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices V 27, 16 January, L 29, 17 January 1942; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 16 January 1942.
22. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 17 January 1942; WO172/140, 4/9 Jats War Diary, 17 January 1942; WO172/141, 5/18 Royal Garwhals War Diary, 17 January 1942; R.W. Christie (editor), *A History of the 2/29 Battalion—8th Australian Division AIF*, Victoria, 1991 (1983), 39-43.
23. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
24. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices U 27, 16 January, U 28, G 29, 17 January 1942; AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 21 January 1942; AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 16-17 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
25. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices T 29, W 29, Y 29, 17 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 17 January 1942; AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 17 January 1942.
26. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 15-18 January 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 18 January 1942; 52/10/11/12, 2/2 Reserve Motor Transport Company War Diary, 16-18 January 1942.
27. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 18 January 1942; 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 19 January 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 18 January 1942; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 203-05; Christie, 43-45; Moremon & Reid, 68-69; Uhr, 119-21; Warren, 164-66. Ironically, neither Galleghan, at Gemas, nor Roberston were at first very interested in anti-tank gun support. This may well have been due to ignorance of the details of Jitra and Slim River, which if true reflected poorly on Malaya Command staff work.
28. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 18-19 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 19 January 1942; WO172/140, 4/9 Jats War Diary, 18-19 January 1942; WO172/141, 5/18 Royal Garwhals War Diary, 18 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices R 30, W 30, X 30, A 31, B 31, D 31, F 31, G 31, 18 January 1942; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 18 January 1942; AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 18-19 January 1942.
29. Tsuji, 203.
30. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 19 January 1942. There are four accounts in this document: a six page diary with maps; a brief diary by the RMO; a two page diary labelled Appendix A, written by A Echelon, and an 11 page diary labelled Appendix B, written by B Echelon. The first and the last disagree on a few points of

detail, noted below. Warren, 168.

31. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 18-20 January 1942; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix B 32, 19 January 1942; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
32. Communications were as always decisive. The AIF used type 109 radio sets and high grade cyphers. PRO, WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Savory notes, indicates the British equivalent, No. 18 wireless set, let the new arrivals down badly: "made useless by the damp atmosphere unless dried in the sun all morning, after which they could only be used over a radius of about one mile during the afternoon." It took more than eight hours for the order to withdraw to reach Anderson: PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Q 32, 19 January 1942; WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 19 January 1942; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 19 January 1942; AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 19 January 1942; 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 19 January 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 19 January 1942; Christie, 45-49; Warren, 170; Moremon & Reid, 69.
33. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 19 January 1942; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix A 33, 20 January 1942; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
34. A *Blenheim* flying over the road could have told Anderson what lay ahead had it been able to contact him. It spotted the ruins of the battle of the support elements the day before, including 30 smashed up trucks, seven road blocks nearby, and enemy vehicles just outside Bakri. It also spotted friendly vehicles at the Parit Sulong bridge, and enemy scouts cycling down the road in that direction: PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix A 33, 20 January 1942; a request by Anderson for an attack on Bakri and a reconnaissance overflight from Bakri to the bridge only reached Malaya Command at 1225hrs: Appendix D 33, 20 January 1942. RAF Far East finally sent six *Buffalos* at 1500hrs, which engaged enemy bombers but did not strafe Anderson's opposition: AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 20 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 20 January 1942; AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 20 January 1942.
35. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 20-21 January 1942; AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 20-21 January 1942.
36. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 20 January 1942. The main diary and Appendix A record slightly different timings and details on the two road block battles. PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 20 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 20 January 1942.
37. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 21 January 1942. The main diary says Anderson went to the bridge with the Malays and was ambushed; Appendix B differs. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices N 33, 20 January , V 34, 21 January 1942.
38. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 21 January 1942; 54/553/2/3, Bennett to

- Sturdee, 21 January 1942; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices D 33, 20 January, W 34, 21 January 1942; WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 21 January 1942; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 18-21 January 1942.
39. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 21-22 January 1942; 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 21 January 1942; PRO, WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 21-22 January 1942; Wyett, 68-69; Braddon, 68-75.
  40. PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 21 January 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch.
  41. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 22 January 1942. Bennett did not finally give Anderson permission to escape, and advice on a route, until 1100hrs: 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 22 January 1942; PRO, WO172/139, 7/6 Rajputs War Diary, 22 January 1942; Wyett, 69-70. Other accounts of the fighting retreat include 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; Christie, 49-55, 71-81; Braddon, 64-89; Moremon & Reid, 71-75; Wigmore, 236-49; Uhr, 129-38; Warren, 172-77.
  42. 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade and battalion war diaries give casualty figures. They also testify to the weight of Japanese air attacks and reconnaissance. Casualty figures vary slightly in the different Australian reports written after the action and in the published sources used here, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade figures less so. Part of the confusion was caused by the trickle of escaping troops making it back to friendly positions many days after the evacuation of Parit Sulong. One account is in Christie, 81-84.
  43. Tsuji, 205-06; Wigmore, 249; Warren, 177
  44. G. Mant, *The Singapore Surrender*, Kuala Lumpur, 1992 (reprint), is a long account written by a journalist and 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division veteran who interviewed Hackney; Warren, 176-77; Moremon & Reid, 75-76.
  45. Percival, *Despatch*.
  46. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
  47. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices G 27, H 27, 15 January, V 28, W 28, L 29, Y 29, Z 29, 17 January, W 30, A 31, D 31, F 31, G 31, 18 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 13-17 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11th Indian Division history, ch. 18; Percival, *Despatch*; AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 17 January 1942.
  48. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Q 32, 19 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 14-19 January 1942; WO172/147, 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals War Diary, 13-19 January 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 19 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
  49. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix P 32, 19 January 1942.
  50. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices A 26, 14 January, G 31, 18 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 13-19 January 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary plus Savory notes, 13-19 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary plus Stacey notes,

- 13-19 January 1942; WO172/79, 287<sup>th</sup> Field Coy RE War Diary, 18-20 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11th Indian Division history, ch. 18; Percival, *Despatch*; AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II.
51. PRO, WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 18 January 1942. Malaya Command relied on the Malayan Survey Department for militarily useful maps. They placed an order for 100,000 maps in early 1941, but made no attempt to duplicate and disperse the machinery by which the sheets were drawn and printed. After the evacuation of Kuala Lumpur, two train cars full of maps and machinery were lost on a siding somewhere near Tampin. Maps remained in desperately short supply to the end: Percival, *Despatch*; personal account by Chris Nobler, former Surveyor-General Malaya, March 1972; T. Kitching, *Life and Death in Changi: The War and Internment Diary of Thomas Kitching 1942-1944* (edited by Goh Eck Kheng), Singapore, 2002.
  52. PRO, WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 18 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary plus [Stacey notes], 17-18 January 1942; AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II.
  53. PRO, WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 19 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary plus Stacey notes, 19 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 19 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Y 32, 20 January 1942; AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II.
  54. PRO, WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 20 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary plus Stacey notes, 19 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 20 January 1942; WO172/147, 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals War Diary, 20 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 18; AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*. A 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals officer asked the pertinent question "Why had we allowed the Japs to reach this the most important high ground within 50 miles radius while we had so many troops on the far side"? Wade, 27.
  55. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
  56. AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II.
  57. PRO, WO172/147, 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals War Diary, passim; WO172/102, 2/16 Punjabi War Diary, 14-17 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 14-21 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 18-20 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes, 18-20 January 1942.
  58. PRO, WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes, 18-22 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 18-20 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 18. The commanding officer did return to duty on 24 January and directed his unit through a difficult retreat until falling ill on 1 February.
  59. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices G 33, N 33, 20 January 1942; AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 20 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
  60. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix V 34, 21 January 1942; AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 20-21 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
  61. PRO, CAB106/80, Heath notes; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 17.
  62. PRO, CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 18.; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade

Narrative, 18-21 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices T 32, 19 January, W 34, 21 January 1942. There is one intriguing mystery recorded in Appendix N 33, 20 January 1942, a situation report from an 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division staff officer: "At 1330hrs another counterattack was ordered but was cancelled: Div Commander [Key] went forward and decided in view of the 'scrubby nature' of the defile and hills to hold further back ..." No other record indicates Key was on the scene at that time. AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 19-21 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.

63. PRO, WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 21-22 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary plus Stacey notes, 21-22 January 1942; WO172/147, 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals War Diary, 21-22 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Z 35, 22 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 18.; AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; in 73/20, Thyer to Wigmore, n/d, Thyer insisted Elrington, commanding officer 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals, covered up because his battalion had not trained well in Singapore and was not ready to fight. Another Australian staff officer found the new British arrivals to be badly rattled. The engineers who blew the bridge prematurely on 18 January remained so shaken by their situation—one officer kept worrying about being attacked by tigers from nearby jungle—they gave him anxious moments as he tried to keep the route open for Anderson's stragglers as long as possible: Wyett, 69-70.
64. IWM, Percival Papers, P 22, F 42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; P. 23, F. 48, Percival to Kirby, 4 September 1954. In his despatch, Percival repeated 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade's excuse for the morning of 22 January almost verbatim.
65. JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations*; PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 16-22 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 18-22 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary plus Stacey notes, 17-22 January 1942; WO172/137, 45<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 15-19 January 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 19-22 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer Report, ch. II; Magarry, 99, on constant harassment from the air.
66. AWM, 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 19 January 1942.
67. AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 17, 19 January 1942; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Q 32, 19 January 1942.
68. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix C 33, 20 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 18, complains that during the battle their liaison officer at Westforce headquarters was "bombarded by complaints" from Bennett about the division's performance; AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 16, 21-22 January 1942.
69. AWM, 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 19-21 January 1942; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 20 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 20-21 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II.
70. AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 22 January 1942; 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 22 January 1942.
71. PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 19 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, Map B, 18 January, M 36, 22 January



- 1942; CAB106/ 38, Wavell Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P. 22, F. 42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; PT, vol. 1, Wavell to Churchill, 19 January 1942.
72. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices V 34, 21 January, W 35, 22 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
  73. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix B 36, 22 January 1942; CAB106/80, Heath notes; AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 22 January 1942.
  74. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices X 34, 21 January, Y 35, K 36, M 36, 22 January 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, 21-22 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 21-22 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 18; AWM, 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 22 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 22 January 1942.
  75. Percival, *Despatch*.
  76. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices H 27, 15 January, U 27, 16 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*; Tsuji, 211.
  77. PRO, WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 16 January 1942.
  78. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices V 28, W 28, G 29, L 29, W 29, 17 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 17 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 16-17 January 1942.
  79. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Z 29, 17 January, W 30, B 31, 18 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 18-19 January 1942; WO172/116, 155 Field Regt. War Diary, 16-19 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 17-19 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
  80. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix G 33, 20 January 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, 19-20 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 19-20 January 1942; WO172/116, 155 Field Regt. War Diary, 18-20 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 19-20 January 1942.
  81. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix V 34, 21 January 1942; CAB106/80, Heath notes; Percival, *Despatch*.
  82. PRO, WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 21 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 21 January 1942.
  83. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Y 35, 22 January 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, 21-22 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 21-22 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 22 January 1942.
  84. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Y 35, K 36, M 36, 22 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 22 January 1942;

WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 22 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 18; AWM, 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 22 January 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 22 January 1942.

85. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*.
86. PRO, WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, 22 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 22 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 22 January 1942; CAB106/56, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 18.
87. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices D 37, L 37, 23 January 1942; CAB106/80, Heath notes; IWM, Percival Papers, P 22, F 42, comments on official history draft, 3 January 1954 and n/d; P 23, F 48, Kirby to Percival, 11 January 1954; Heath Papers, LMH 4, Heath lecture; Percival, *Despatch*.
88. IWM, Percival Papers, P. 23, F. 48, Kirby to Percival, 11 January 1954.

89. There is a pertinent observation in PRO, WO172/127, 5/1 Sikhs War Diary, 21 January 1942, describing a site selected for an ambush: “It was similar to many positions in Malaya—suitable for an ambush or two but quite indefensible once the enemy has deployed.”
90. Tsuji, 199, 206-07.
91. Wyatt, 65-66.

## Chapter 13

1. PRO, CAB99/17, minutes of British and American staff meetings, 11, 13-14 January, COS minutes, 12 January 1942; Farrell, *The Basis and Making of British Grand Strategy*, ch. 5.
2. PRO, CAB65/29, War Cabinet minutes, Confidential Annex, 17 January 1942; CAB99/17, Report on Arcadia Conference, 20 January 1942; BL, Cunningham Papers, 52561, Pound to Cunningham, 28 January 1942; Farrell, *The Basis and Making of British Grand Strategy*, ch. 5.
3. PRO, CAB99/17, minutes of meeting between Churchill, COS, and R.G. Casey, 2 January 1942; Horner, 147.
4. PRO, FO371/31825, Churchill to Curtin, 13 January 1942.
5. *PT*, vol. 1, COS to Wavell, 8 January 1942.
6. *PT*, vol. 1, Wavell to COS, 12, 15 January, Churchill to Wavell, 15 January 1942.
7. *PT*, vol. 5, Auchinleck to Brooke, 7 January, Churchill to Auchinleck, 11 January 1942; vol. 4, COS to MEDC, Cunningham to Admiralty, 10 January 1942; vol. 6, JSM to COS, 13 January 1942; Kimball, Churchill to Roosevelt, C-153, 7 January 1942; PRO, CAB79/17, COS minutes, 10 January 1942; CAB79/56, COS minutes, Confidential Annex, 9 January 1942.
8. *PT*, vol. 1, Wavell to COS and Auchinleck, 12, 16 January, Auchinleck to Wavell and Brooke, 15, 16 January 1942.
9. *PT*, vol. 5, Auchinleck to Brooke, 1, 8 January, Auchinleck to Churchill, 12, 13, 23 January, Churchill to Auchinleck, 11, 13 January 1942; LHCMA, Brooke Papers, 3A/V, Brooke diary, 9 January 1942.
10. *PT*, vol. 1, Wavell to COS, 11, 21, 22 January, Churchill to Wavell, 15 January, Admiralty to Naval Establishments, 20 January 1942; ADM199/1472B, Layton Report; W.S. Churchill, *The Second World War: The Hinge of Fate*, Boston, 1951, 42. The First Sea Lord privately lashed out in response to criticism over the destruction of Force Z: "I do not know why both the House and the Public seem to think that the sinking of an important ship is a crime, whilst nobody takes any notice of the loss of 30 or 40 bombers in one night due to inaccurate met reports, or to the many failures of the Army": BL, Cunningham Papers, 52561, Pound to Cunningham, 28 January 1942.
11. Many of Churchill's telegrams and minutes are reproduced in his war memoirs. His own explanation is in *The Hinge of Fate*, 43-44. The emphasis is his. The best discussion of this issue is Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
12. *PT*, vol. 1, Wavell to Churchill, 16 January 1942; Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 43.
13. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 43-45; Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*, 165-67. Churchill's emphasis.
14. Brooke claimed Churchill was specifically told no preparations were made for tactical

defence of the island against attack from the north, and ordered an inquiry: PRO, CAB79/17, COS minutes, 19 January 1942. The general explanations offered by the COS the year before do not support that claim, nor is there any record of that inquiry. CAB65/29, War Cabinet minutes, Confidential Annex, 19 January 1942; *PT*, vol. 1, COS to Wavell, 20 January 1942; Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 45-47. The COS made ten detailed and thinly veiled tactical “suggestions.” These actually emanated from Simson, who was prompted by Duff Cooper to suggest what needed to be done; Cooper passed them to Churchill, who now sent them back. See below, chapter 14 and Epilogue.

15. *PT*, vol. 1, GOC Burma to Wavell, 18-21 January, Wavell to Churchill, 19-21 January, Wavell to COS, 20, 21 January, Pownall to Churchill, 20 January, COS to Wavell, 19 January 1942; PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 46-49.
16. PRO, CAB69/4, DC(O) minutes, 21 January 1942; CAB79/56, COS minutes, Confidential Annex, 21 January 1942; CAB80/33, COS(42)37, 20 January 1942; CAB80/61, Churchill to Ismay, 21 January 1942; CCA, A.V. Alexander Papers, 5/7/8, Alexander to Pound, 21 January 1942; Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 49-50.
17. *PT*, vol. 1, Admiralty to Rear Admiral Malaya, 15, 21 January, COS to Percival, 21 January 1942. Spooner was responsible for the naval base and light forces assigned to it. By a cruel irony, his previous appointment was to command the *Repulse*.
18. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 52; Willmott, 320.
19. *PT*, vol. 1, COS to C-in-C India, 22 January, Churchill to Wavell, 23 January 1942; Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 52.
20. AWM, 73/2, excerpts of telegrams to and from Bowden, 9-26 January 1942; Horner, 147-54; Menzies, 52; Wigmore, 288-89.
21. AWM, 73/2, excerpts of telegrams to and from Bowden, 19, 23, 26 January 1942; Horner, 150-53; Wigmore, 288-89; Warren, 180-81.
22. PRO, CAB65/25, War Cabinet minutes, 22, 26 January, 2 February 1942; CAB65/29, Confidential Annex, 26 January 1942. Fortunately for the British the Americans agreed they should continue to “coordinate” Dominion “political” views for the war against Japan, especially the ABDA theatre, and Dominion officers would only be invited to brief the CCS as and when relevant: Kimball, Roosevelt to Churchill, FDR-78, 30 January 1942. The solution was to establish parallel Pacific War Councils, which publicly appeared to be councils of war but in fact were a sop to the smaller allies. This was politically dangerous, as one minister noted: “Australia is the most dangerous obstacle in the path of this government”; CCA, A.V. Alexander Papers, Alexander to ?, 26 January 1942. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 50-52; Callahan, “Churchill and Singapore,” in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*, 167; Callahan, *The Worst Disaster*, 259-60.
23. Horner, 147-54.
24. PRO, CAB65/25, War Cabinet minutes, 22 January 1942; CAB79/56, COS minutes, Confidential Annex, 31 January 1942; *PT*, vol. 5, Auchinleck to Churchill, 24, 26-30 January, Churchill to Auchinleck, 24, 25, 28 January 1942; LHCMA, Brooke Papers, 3A/V, Brooke diary, 30 January 1942; Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, ch. 4; Farrell, *The Basis and Making of British Grand Strategy*, 260-62. See CCA, Hankey Papers, for an example of the views of a strong critic of Churchill’s war direction.
25. *PT*, vol. 1, Wavell to COS, 26, 29 January, Wavell to Churchill, 26 January, JSM to Admiralty, 27 January, Hutton to Wavell, 31 January 1942; vol. 6, COS to JSM, 28 January 1942; PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch.

26. PT, vol. 1, Spooner to Admiralty, 27, 28 January, Wavell to Air Ministry, 30 January 1942; PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; Horner, 152-55, notes two of the Australian COS were British officers.
27. Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 46-47.
28. PT, vol. 1, Percival to Brooke and Wavell, 22 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.

## Chapter 14

1. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 186-89, 210-11.
2. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 180-82, 186-89; AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; Falk, 180.
3. JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Tsuji, 198-202.
4. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; Falk, 182-83.
5. JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 15, 20-30 January, 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; LHCMA, Pownall Papers, diary entry, 13 January 1942; Tsuji, 197-98; Probert, 56-57.
6. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 107, *Malaya Invasion Naval Operations*; PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 26 January, 1942; Tsuji, 207-09.
7. PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 26 January 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Probert, 57-58.
8. PRO, AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 26-28 January 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; PT, vol. 1, Spooner to Admiralty, 27 January 1942; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Percival, *Despatch*; Probert, 57-58.
9. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices B 37, D 37, L 37, 23 January, attachment to Appendix U36, 24 January 1942; WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 19-20, 24 January 1942. That same day Percival also told Wavell that by the time 7<sup>th</sup> Armoured Brigade could arrive he would be penned up in the island and have little use for it “even if we could get it in”: WO172/20, Appendix F 37, 23 January 1942. Gough, 124, claims Warren was present at a conference on 22 January at which Percival outlined plans for a final retreat to the island.
10. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Kirby to Percival, 11 January 1954; P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; P. 21, F. 26, Heath comments on Percival draft, n/d; Heath Papers, LMH 4, lecture on Malayan campaign; PRO, CAB106/80, Heath notes; Percival, *Despatch*.
11. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices X 36, C 37, E 37, G 37, S 37, 23 January, Q 37, J 38, N 38, P 38, 24 January 1942.
12. Percival, *Despatch*.
13. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix M 39, 25 January 1942;



WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 25 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade narrative, 25 January 1942; CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 19; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; Kirby to Percival, 16 December 1953; P. 21, F. 26, Percival notes, n/d, Heath comments, n/d. Bennett was blunt in his briefing on the morning of 26 January: they were heading back to Singapore: AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 26 January 1942; 52/7/16/18, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Signals War Diary, 26 January 1942; 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 25 January 1942: “discussed final withdrawal.” Percival, *Despatch*.

14. Percival, *Despatch*.
15. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices J 38, K 38, 24 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 24-25 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 24 January 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary plus Savory and Potter notes, 23-24 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes, 24-25 January 1942; CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 19; Percival, *Despatch*.
16. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices P 39, Q 39, 25 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 23-25 January 1942; WO172/123, 3/16 Punjabi War Diary, 25 January 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, plus Savory and Potter notes, 25 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes, 23-25 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 24-25 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 24-25 January 1942; WO172/79, 287<sup>th</sup> Field Coy RE War Diary, 23-25 January 1942; CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 19; Percival, *Despatch*. The only reason Challen’s headquarters finally accepted there was a full battalion hidden south of them was a report from an officer of 2<sup>nd</sup> Malays, who followed a Japanese patrol after it attacked a British Battalion position.
17. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix C 41, 26 January 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 26 January 1942; WO172/77, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regt RA War Diary, 26 January 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, plus Savory and Potter notes, 26 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes, 26 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 26 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 26 January 1942; CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 19; Percival, *Despatch*.
18. PRO, WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade Narrative, 26-28 January 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, plus Savory and Potter notes, 26-29 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes, 26-30 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 26-29 January 1942, called the naval evacuation “nothing short of a miracle”; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 26-29 January 1942; CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 19; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 27-28 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*; Mackenzie, 371, referred to the fight in which Challen was taken as a full scale “panic” by all but one company.

19. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history drafts, 30 November, 2 December 1953, 3 January 1954, Kirby to Percival, 16 December 1953; P.23, F.48, Kirby to Percival, 11 January 1954; PRO, WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, plus Savory and Potter notes, 26-27 January 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes, 26-27 January 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 26-27 January 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 26-27 January 1942; CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 19; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*.
20. IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.26, Heath comments on Percival draft, n/d; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices B 41, 26 January, C 42, 27 January 1942; CA106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 27 January 1942; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; CAB106/80, Heath notes.
21. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 22-25 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 22-25 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix P 39, 25 January 1942; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 20-23 January 1942.
22. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 26 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 26 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II.
23. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 26 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 26 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; Wigmore, 266-67.
24. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 27 January 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 27 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; Wigmore, 267-69. The most detailed account is Uhr, 166-97.
25. AWM, 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 27-29 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices N 41, 27 January, S 43, X 43, Z 43, 28 January 1942; Uhr, 194-97.
26. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 25 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 25 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; PRO, WO172/147, 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals War Diary, 23-26 January 1942; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*, complained of "strong enemy resistance"; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Penfold et al, 148-60; Wigmore, 262-64.
27. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 27-28 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 27-28 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix V 43, 28 January 1942; CAB106/80, Heath notes; Penfold, 162-72; Wigmore, 275-77. This engagement is also described as Simpang Rengam.
28. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 29 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 29 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; PRO,

- WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices V 44, 29 January, Z 44, 30 January 1942; Wigmore, 277-79.
29. PRO, WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 23-26 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices K 38, L 38, 24 January, P 39, 25 January, U 36, 26 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 23-26 January 1942; WO172/42, 73<sup>rd</sup> Field Battery RA War Diary, 25-26 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; CAB106/80, Heath notes. This action also impressed Percival and Bennett, although Bennett attributed the action to 2/16 Punjabi, which had already been amalgamated: AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 25 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
  30. AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 26 January 1942.
  31. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 26-29 January 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 24-29 January 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 24-29 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix V 44, 29 January 1942; CAB106/151, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953, Thyer interview 20 January 1953, Maxwell interview, 26 January 1953, Gallegan interview, 22 January 1953.
  32. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 26-27 January 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 27 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 54/553/5/24, official historians questionnaire for Trott [Trott questions], n/d; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix U 39, 26 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary Appendix 44, 26 January 1942; CAB106/151, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953; Thyer interview, 20 January 1953; Thyer to Kirby, 6 February 1953; Maxwell interview, 26 January 1953; Gallegan interview, 22 January 1953; Wyatt, 72-75.
  33. PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 27 January 1942; WO172/42, 73<sup>rd</sup> Field Battery RA War Diary, 27 January 1942; WO172/43, 88<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 26-27 January 1942; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 26-27 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; CAB106/151, Thyer interview, 20 January 1953; Moses diary, 25-27 January 1942; AWM, 54/553/5/24, Trott questions.
  34. PRO, WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 27-28 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; CAB106/151, Moses diary, 27 January 1942.
  35. PRO, WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 28 January 1942; CAB106/151, Moses diary, 28 January 1942.
  36. AWM, 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 28 January 1942; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Q 43, R 43, V 43, X 43, Z 43, 28 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 28 January 1942; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 28 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; CAB106/151, Thyer interview, 20 January 1953; Thyer to Kirby, 6 February 1953; Moses diary, 28 January 1942.
  37. AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 28-29 January 1942; 54/553/5/24, Trott questions; PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices V 44, V 44a,

- 29 January, Z 44, J 45a, 30 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 29-31 January 1942. One unit from 8<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade did leave 16 volunteers behind to try to bring in the missing formation: WO172/106, 1/13 Frontier Force Rifles War Diary, 31 January 1942; WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 29 January 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; CAB106/151, Thyer to Kirby, 6 February 1953; Moses diary, 29 January 1953; AIR23/3578, RAF Far East log, 28 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*. Pilots of the Malayan Volunteer Air Force made valiant but futile sorties in their slow *Moth* aircraft to search for the brigade.
38. PRO, WO172/127, 5<sup>th</sup> Sikhs War Diary, 28 January-1 February 1942; CAB106/192, Painter report; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 1 February 1942.
39. AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 26-31 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; PRO, CAB106/151, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953; Thyer interview, 20 January 1953; Wyett, 76-79.
40. PRO, WO172/20 Malaya Command War Diary Appendices N 38, 24 January, W 38, 25 January, U 40a, 26 January, W 43, 28 January, P 45, 30 January 1942; WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 24-31 January 1942; CAB106/80, Heath notes; CAB106/151, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953; AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 26-30 January 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 25-28 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; Percival, *Despatch*.
41. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix C 46, 31 January 1942; WO172/38, 9<sup>th</sup> Indian Division G Branch War Diary, 30-31 January 1942; WO172/106, 1/13 Frontier Force Rifles War Diary, 31 January 1942; WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 14-31 January 1942. Stewart resumed command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Argylls after Paris returned to the brigade, when Key took over 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division. CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 21; AWM, 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 30-31 January 1942; 54/553/5/23, part 2, Thyer report, ch. II; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 31 January 1942; Wyett, 80-83, present at the final act, recalled drawing his sidearm to prevent British sappers from blowing the demolitions prematurely. But the 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary called those sappers “an outstandingly efficient unit.” Moffatt and McCormick, ch. 4.
42. PRO, CAB106/117, Report by Brig. G.C. Ballantine on 44<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade [Ballantine report]; CAB106/80, Heath notes; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; Percival, *Despatch*.
43. PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch. At least one unit, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA, prepared for a 15 month siege “as that was the time it was reckoned it would take to relieve it.”: WO172/116, War Diary, 29 January 1942. LHCMA, Pownall Papers, diary entry, 30 January 1942.
44. PRO, WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 31 January 1942; WO172/145, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade War Diary, 31 January 1942; WO172/154, 122<sup>nd</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 31 January 1942; CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 22; CAB106/117, Ballantine report; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade Singapore diary, 30-31 January 1942; CAB106/80, Heath notes; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 30 January-1 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18

AIF War Diary, 31 January 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 30 January 1942;  
54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 4 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview;  
54/553/5/16, Bennett report.

45. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 21; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draftl, 30 November 1953; Tsuji, 213-15.
46. AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 30-31 January 1942.
47. PRO, CAB106/151, Thyer to Kirby, 6 February 1953; Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate*, 43-44.

## Chapter 15

1. PT, vol. 1, Wavell to Churchill, 16 January 1942; PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; AWM, 73/2, Bowden to Hodgson, 9 January, notes, 15, 18 January 1942; Percival, *Despatch*; Simson, 78-83, 86-87; Montgomery, 93-99, 105-06, 117-19; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 139-40.
2. PT, vol. 1, Wavell to Churchill, 16 January, Wavell to CO, 8 February 1942; PRO, WO208/1529, Seabridge notes, March 1942; Morrison, 154; Montgomery, 117-19, 124; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 193-96.
3. PRO, WO106/2250A, Narrative of Personal Experiences by Edmund A. Gardiner, Senior Executive Engineer, Malayan Public Works Service, March 1942 [Gardiner narrative]; WO208/1529, Seabridge notes, March 1942; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; AWM, 73/2, Bowden to Hodgson, 9 January, notes, 15, 18 January 1942; Morrison, 156-58; Montgomery, 202-03; Gilchrist, 27; Kennedy, 53.
4. PT, vol. 1, Admiralty to Spooner, 15 January, Percival to WO, 22, 28 January, 2 February, IO to Governments of India and Burma, 30 January, COS to Wavell, 6 February 1942; PRO, WO208/1529, Seabridge notes, March 1942; Percival, *Despatch*; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 176-78; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 188-89. Tsuji, 187-88, claimed the Japanese relied on “Churchill supplies” for most of the rations and petrol they used to assault the island, allowing their supply units to concentrate on bringing up ammunition.
5. Percival tried. His order to prepare to destroy equipment and facilities noted “destruction by explosion or fire is normally calculated to destroy morale”: PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix B 48, 1 February 1942.
6. PRO, FO371/31825, statement by Ransome and Holmes on events in Malaya and Singapore, 16 March 1942 [Ransome and Holmes statement]; WO208/1529, Seabridge notes, March 1942; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; AWM, 54/553/5/16, Bennett report; Simson, 83-85, 89-90; Montgomery, 105-06; Morrison, 166-67.
7. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices D 47, A 48, 1 February 1942. Malaya Command did not have enough rifles for Dalforce, so many received requisitioned shotguns; the rest settled for “parangs and similar weapons.” CAB106/45, Percival to WO, 21 April 1948; FO371/31825, Ransome and Holmes statement; WO208/1529, Seabridge notes, March 1942; CAB106/45, Tan Kah Kee to Secretary of State for War, 3 March, Percival to WO, 21 April 1948; Percival, *Despatch*; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 218, 263; Morrison, 30-31; Allen, 250-52; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 37; Kennedy, 12-13; Ban, 229-32.
8. IWM, Percival Papers, P.27, F.73, Reports by Directorate of Army Labour, 15, 18, 25 January 1942; P. 29, F.86, Simson to Percival, report on Labour Questions, 1 January 1946; PRO, WO172/161, CRE Singapore Fortress War Diary, December 1941-January 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; Percival, *Despatch*; Allen, 220.
9. PRO, WO106/2250A, Gardiner narrative; FO371/31825, Ransome and Holmes statement; FO371/35924, Cave-Penney report; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on

Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; CAB106/45, Tan Kah Kee to Secretary of State for War, 3 March, Percival to WO, 21 April 1948; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Report on action taken by CE in the preparation of Defences on the North of Singapore Island [CE report on Singapore defences], 20 December 1945; P.27, F.73, Reports by Directorate of Army Labour, 15, 18, 25 January, 2 February 1942; P. 29, F.86, Simson to Percival, report on Labour Questions, 1 January 1946; P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; AWM, 67/3/25, part 1, Bennett diary, 8 February 1942; 73/2, Bowden notes, 25 January 1942; Simson, 89-90,101-02; Morrison, 164-70; Kennedy, 13-15; Ban, 229-32; Falk, 217.

10. One civilian engineer summed up the shock: "I do not think that anyone before the war had realized how dependent we in Malaya were on native labour or the utter feeling of helplessness which was to be ours when everything came to a standstill owing to lack of manpower, and it had to be experienced to be believed": PRO, FO371/35924, Cave-Penney report; WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices R 49a, F 50, 3 February, A 53, 6 February, A 54, 8 February 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; WO106/2250A, Report by Maj. J.C. Westall, SO (I) Singapore, 14 May 1942 [Westall report]; WO208/1529, Seabridge notes, March 1942; FO371/35924, Cave-Penney report; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; IWM, Percival Papers, P.27, F.73, Reports by Directorate of Army Labour, 15, 18, 25 January, 2 February 1942, indicate the Directorate of Labour thought less of Lim Bo Seng and the workers he provided, but agreed on the need to work through Chinese leaders and pay attention to working conditions; P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; Percival, *Despatch*; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 183; Simson, 88-92; Stewart, 94.
11. PRO, WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; Simson, 87, 96; Kennedy, 33, 38-39; Shennan, 246.
12. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; AWM, 553/5/18, Order of Battle and Dispositions of Japanese Twenty-Fifth Army for invasion of Singapore February 1942, 15 October 1952 [Japanese Order of Battle]. The Australian official historians received these maps and documents from Wards, who had them compiled in Tokyo; PRO, CAB106/80, Heath notes; Potter, 75-77.
13. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Frei, 82.
14. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Tsuji, 187-88, 220; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards interviews.
15. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; AWM, 553/5/18, Japanese Order of Battle.
16. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Tsuji, 220.
17. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Frei, 82-84, for an account of Japanese combat units assembling for the assault and Yamashita's



command decisions; PRO, CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.

18. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Tsuji, 224. The ammunition stock was 1000 rounds per medium and 500 per heavy field gun. For Churchill see above, ch. 13, note 48.
19. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Tsuji, 229; Frei, 84.
20. PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 73/2, File 3, Wigmore notes on Battle of Singapore Island, note from HQ RAA War Diary, 31 January 1942.
21. PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 31 January 1942; WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix E 49, 2 February 1942; WO32/15539, Wavell to WO, 24 April 1947; WO106/2250A, Westall report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.43, Wavell comments; P.23, F.49, Ashmore report; P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; Percival, *Despatch*. In his despatch Percival claimed he guessed correctly about the point of the main attack, but in his later comments on Kirby's draft agreed this was misleading and he had been at best undecided.
22. AWM, 73/2, Bowden to Curtin, 26 January 1942; LHCMA, Pownall Papers, diary entry, 30 January 1942; PT, vol. 1, Churchill to Wavell, 1-2 February 1942.
23. Percival, *Despatch*; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore report; Morrison, 156-57.
24. PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; PT, vol. 1, Wavell to Churchill, 3 February, Wavell to COS, 3, 4, 8 February, Churchill to Wavell, 4 February 1942; LHCMA, Pownall Papers, 6 February 1942; AWM, 67/3/26, part I, Bennett diary, 1 February 1942; 54/553/2/3, Bennett to Sturdee, 4, 8 February 1942.
25. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix 512, 9 January 1942; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix U 36, 23 January 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; Percival, *Despatch*.
26. PRO, WO172/91, 18<sup>th</sup> Division HQ RA War Diary Appendix B, 30 January-4 February 1942; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. War Diary, 1 February 1942; CAB106/129, Percival comments on *Eastern Epic* by Compton Mackenzie, December 1951; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 2 February 1942; 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt. RAA War Diary, 1-7 February 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
27. IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix L 48, 2 February 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Potter notes; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade diary of events, 2 February 1942; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/152, Ballentine replies; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division War Diary, 7 February 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.

28. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix U 36, 23 January 1942; WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 24-31 January 1942; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 2 February 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953.
29. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Kirby to Percival, 2 February 1954; PRO, WO106/2250A, Lt. Keyes, RN liaison to III Indian Corps, May 1942 [Keyes report]; CAB106/80, Heath notes.
30. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, Malaya Command to Singapore Fortress, 24 January, D 47, A 48, 1 February 1942; WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix V 51, 5 February 1942; CAB106/36, Independent Coy report; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history, 1-9 February 1942; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade diary of events, 3 February 1942, notes its Dalforce help never arrived because there was no equipment available, but praises help given by Volunteer officers with local knowledge; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953.
31. PRO, WO172/161, CRE Singapore Fortress War Diary, December 1941-January 1942; WO172/146, 1<sup>st</sup> Malaya Brigade War Diary, December 1941-January 1942.
32. Simson gave Cooper a written list of ideas on 7 January. Six of those ideas appeared, in the same order, in the telegrams Churchill and the COS sent to Wavell from 16 to 20 January. PT, vol. 1, Churchill to Wavell, 20 January, Percival to Wavell, 22 January 1942; PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix 512, 9 January 1942; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; Simson, 86-87.
33. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendix 512, 9 January 1942; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; P.23, F.47, CE report on Singapore defences; Percival, *Despatch*; Simson, 89; Barber, 78-79.
34. PRO, WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 31 January 1942, in which Paris went so far as to claim “the situation [on the north coast] was as it had been in Aug. 1939—unbelievable but true”; WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix T 45, 30 January 1942; WO172/183, 16<sup>th</sup> Defence Regt. RA War Diary, February 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, CE report on Singapore defences.
35. PRO, AIR23/3579, RAF Far East Log, 1-7 February 1942; WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 1-7 February 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix N 50, 4 February 1942. Wavell did offer Pulford a short leave away from Singapore for some badly needed rest, but the AOC decided his place was up front.
36. PRO, CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; CAB127/21, Some Consequences Resulting from the Failure to Reinforce the RAF in the Far East, 1 February, plus cover note by Ismay on file submitted by Cripps, 5 May 1942. This criticism clearly struck a nerve. Ismay spoke to Portal about the paper but despite a vigorous search the CAS found no trace of it in Air Ministry files. Ismay concluded it was an unofficial memorandum later leaked to Cripps by a disgruntled officer. The detail indicates it was from a very

well-placed source. Ismay first called for it to be kept sealed, not even showing it to Portal, then to be “put away until the S[ecretary]of S[tate] [for Air, Archibald Sinclair] calls for it.”

37. PRO, WO172/176, HQ Fixed Defences Singapore War Diary, Preliminary Remarks. HQ Fixed Defences reported on 4 February its arrangements for the coastal guns to fire landward were completed. WO172/183, 16<sup>th</sup> Defence Regt. RA War Diary, February 1942; WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix C 52, 5 February 1942.
38. PRO, WO172/20, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix T 45, 30 January 1942, including the artillery fire plan presented on 26 January; WO172/91, 18<sup>th</sup> Division HQ RA War Diary, 30 January-6 February 1942; WO172/176, HQ Fixed Defences Singapore War Diary, Preliminary Remarks; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 2-3 February 1942.
39. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices G 49, 2 February, P 51, Q 51, 5 February 1942; WO172/43, 88<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 4-5 February 1942; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. War Diary, 4-8 February 1942; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 3-6 February 1942; Frei, 80, 84.
40. PT, vol. 1, Spooner to Layton, 4 February 1942; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary, 1 February 1942; Malaya Command War Diary Appendix T 47, 1 February 1942; WO172/176, HQ Fixed Defences War Diary, Preliminary Remarks; WO106/2250A, Gardiner narrative; Westall report; Keyes Report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore Report; Magarry, 125.
41. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, CE report; PRO, WO172/71, 17<sup>th</sup> Field Coy Sappers and Miners War Diary, 29-31 January 1942; WO172/78, CRE 18<sup>th</sup> Division War Diary, 3-9 February 1942; WO172/82, 560<sup>th</sup> Field Coy RE War Diary, 30 January-11 February 1942; WO106/2250A, Thompson report; AWM, 52/5/13/10, 2/10 Field Coy RAE War Diary, 2-7 February 1942; Simson, 106-07.
42. PRO, CAB106/57, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 22-23; Chippington, 174-75.
43. PRO, WO172/81, 288<sup>th</sup> Field Coy. RE War Diary, 7 February 1942; WO172/86, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion The Cambridgeshire Regiment [1<sup>st</sup> Cambs] War Diary, 4 February 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, 1-9 February 1942; Savory notes, 1-7 February 1942; Potter notes, 1-7 February 1942; WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes, 1-7 February 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 29 January-10 February 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade narrative; WO172/145, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade Narrative of Operations in Singapore 1942 [54<sup>th</sup> Brigade narrative], 31 January-7 February 1942; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history, 1-7 February 1942; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade Diary of Events [54<sup>th</sup> Brigade War Diary], 1-7 February 1942; WO106/2250A, Thompson report.
44. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix U 53, 7 February 1942; CAB106/ 117, Ballentine report; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 31 January, 2, 5 February 1942.
45. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 1-7 February 1942; 52/8/2/222, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 1-3 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 1-6 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 1-6 February 1942;

- 52/8/4/16, Special Reserve Battalion War Diary, 7 February 1942;; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 31 January-5 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 1-7 February 1942; 52/8/3/29, 2/29 AIF War Diary, 1-8 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
46. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 1-3 February 1942; Appendix B, 3-6 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 1-6 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 1-6 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 31 January-5 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 1-7 February 1942; 52/8/3/29, 2/29 AIF War Diary, 1-8 February 1942; 52/5/13/10, 2/10 Field Coy RAE War Diary, 1-7 February 1942; 52/5/13/12, 2/12 Field Coy RAE War Diary, 1-7 February 1942. 2/15 Field Regt RAA fired 1200 rounds in the eight days before the Japanese invaded—five rounds per gun per day: 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt RAA War Diary, 1-8 February 1942. Magarry, 125; Russell-Roberts, 113.
47. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, E 47, S 47, 1 February 1942; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade narrative; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 1-9 February 1942; WO172/112, 12<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade War Diary, 25-27 January 1942; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 1-8 February 1942; CAB106/91, Stewart to Thorpe, 14 March 1942; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore report.
48. AWM, 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, Appendix C, 26 January 1942; 54/171/2/27, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division casualty returns; 54/285/3/10, War Cabinet files regarding reinforcements for Malaya, December 1941; 54/553/1/16, Callegan comments on Percival Despatch, 29 January 1947; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, CAB106/153, Australian Reinforcement Problem, memo for Kirby, n/d; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; Warren, 210.
49. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 3, 5 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 2 February 1942; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 4 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 2 February 1942; 52/5/13/12, 2/12 Field Coy RAE War Diary, 3-8 February 1942; PRO, WO172/167, 35<sup>th</sup> (Fortress) Coy RE War Diary, December 1941-January 1942; WO172/183, 16<sup>th</sup> Defence Regt. RA War Diary, January 1942; CAB106/151, Thyer interview, 19 January 1953; Taylor interview, 27 January 1953; Kappe interview, 5 February 1953; Callaghan interview, 28 January 1953; CAB106/152, Ballentine report; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, CE report; Wyett, 89-92.
50. AWM, 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 1, 6 February 1942; 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 7 February 1942; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 3-4, 6 February 1942; PRO, CAB106/151, Maxwell interview, 26 January 1953.
51. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, Appendix B, 1 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 3-7 February 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 1 February 1942; PRO, CAB106/151, Taylor interview, 27 January 1953; Thyer interview, 19 January 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
52. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 2-8 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 6-8 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 6-7 February 1942; 67/3/25, part I, Bennett diary, 31 January-2 February, 4-8

February 1942. Bennett went to look at Johore Bahru “with a sad heart and full memory.” When he insisted on the need for early warning of enemy movements, Percival confessed the two patrols left behind enemy lines had radios that could only receive! PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix C 55, 8 February 1942; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade diary of events, 8 February 1942; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.

53. PRO, CAB106/80, Heath notes.

54. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices S 47, 1 February, A 54, 8 February 1942; WO172/145, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade War Diary, records that as late as 3 February it abandoned a plan to launch a raid across the Straits because of “fear of disquieting possible friendly natives”; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history, 7-8 February 1942; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 1 February 1942; 54/553/5/16, Bennett report.
55. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices, Appendix M 49, 3 February 1942.

## Chapter 16

1. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 8 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt RAA War Diary, 8 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix D 55, 8 February 1942; CAB106/151, Taylor interview, 27 January 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
2. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM, 54/553/5/18, Japanese Order of Battle; Frei, 87.
3. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt RAA War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/4/4/4, 4 Anti-Tank Regt. War Diary, 8 February 1942; 52/8/5/4, 2/4 AIF War Diary, 8 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; 73/2, file 3, Wigmore notes on Battle of Singapore Island; PRO, CAB106/151, Taylor interview, 27 January 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; Frei, 87-88. Japanese sources use Tokyo time to describe this battle; this account uses Singapore time.
4. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; IWM, Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, Tamura diary, 9 February 1942; AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/5/13/10, 2/10 Field Coy RAE War Diary, 9 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; 54/553/5/18, Japanese Order of Battle; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix D 55, 8 February 1942; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
5. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt RAA War Diary, 9 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III. Bennett did order 2/10 Field Regt to fire on enemy assembly areas in Johore but there is no evidence they did so to any effect.
6. AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt RAA War Diary, 9 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III. 2/19 AIF did not have the hardest fight but had the toughest time, changing commanding officers hours before the attack and having the largest number of replacements. Robertson, promoted from 2/20 AIF, had no chance to scout the mixed terrain he had to hold and unwisely overruled battalion officers and moved its headquarters, to avoid frequent shelling. But the original headquarters was the designated battalion rendezvous and sat on high ground dominating the main road—the very spot the enemy used to block the retreat.
7. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 8 February 1942;

- 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 8 February 1942; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices N 55, P 55, S 55, 8 February 1942.
8. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 8-9 February 1942; 52/8/3/29, 2/29 AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 9 February 1942; 52/8/4/16, Special Reserve Battalion War Diary, 8-9 February 1942; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary and Appendices V 55, A 56, D 56, 9 February 1942; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; Percival, *Despatch*.
  9. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/29, 2/29 AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 9 February 1942; 52/8/4/16, Special Reserve Battalion War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/5/4, 2/4 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/18/2/21, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Provost Company War Diary, 9 February 1942; 54/553/3/1, 5 Field Regt. RA War Diary, 9 February 1942; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices F 56, K 56, M 56, N 56, S 56, T 56, W 56, 9 February 1942; WO172/180, Faber Fire Command War Diary, 9 February 1942, noted only one 6" gun at Pasir Laba could bear on the target area and fired 40 rounds before being knocked out; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/151, Moses diary, 9 February 1942; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
  10. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Z 56, B 57, J 57, 9 February 1942; PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 9 February 1942; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 9 February 1942; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953.
  11. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 9 February 1942; PRO, CAB117, Ballentine report; CAB106/152, Ballentine replies; CAB106/151, Taylor interview, 27 January 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
  12. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942. This diary was also rewritten, with narratives added on, but with no real discrepancies about this event—see below, Note on Sources; 52/5/13/12, 2/12 Field Coy RAE War Diary, 9 February 1942; 73/2, Wigmore notes, File 27; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices L 56, X 56, 9 February 1942; CAB106/151, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953; Bennett to Kirby, 7, 15 February 1953; Thyer interview, 19 January 1953; Maxwell interview, 26 January 1953; Gallegan interview, 22 January 1953; Kappe interview, 5 February 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
  13. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 2-9 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 5-9 February 1942; 52/8/3/30, 2/30 AIF War Diary, Appendix D, 10 February 1942; 52/4/4/4, 4 Anti-Tank Regt. War Diary, 9 February 1942; PRO, CAB106/151, Gallegan interview, 22 January 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch.



- III; IWM, Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, Capt. S.J. Hannam, 2/26 AIF, n/d.
14. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 9 February 1942; PRO, CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM, 54/553/5/18, Japanese Order of Battle.
  15. AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 9-10 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 9-10 February 1942; 52/5/13/12, 2/12 Field Coy RAE War Diary, 9-10 February 1942; PRO, CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; IWM, Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, Capt. S.J. Hannam; Magarry, 131-34; Tsuji, 243-45; Frei, 88-92.
  16. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 9-10 February 1942; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 9-10 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 9-10 February 1942; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices K 57, 9 February, O 57, P 57, R 57, S 57, T 57, 10 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
  17. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices U 57, Z 57, B 58, 10 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/151, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953; Bennett to Kirby, 7, 15 February 1953; Thyer interview, 19 January 1953; Maxwell interview, 26 January 1953; Galleghan interview, 22 January; CAB106/162, Thyer report; AWM, 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 9-10 February 1942 and Appendix C, which should be read in conjunction with 73/7, Wigmore notes, correspondence involving Kirby, Long, Wigmore, Maxwell, Oakes, Key and Harrison, September 1952-February 1953; Warren, 232-34.
  18. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM, 54/553/5/18, Japanese Order of Battle; Tsuji, 243-45; Frei, 98.
  19. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices M 57, Q 57, 10 February 1942; PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 9 February 1942.
  20. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 10 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 10 February 1942. The brigade diary estimated there were no more than 500 men under command when this order was received. 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 10 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 10 February 1942; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 10 February 1942; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/151, Taylor interview, 27 January 1953; CAB106/152, Ballentine replies; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24.
  21. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices O 57, B 58, 10 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history, Appendix C; CAB106/173, Report on Tomforce by Lt.-Colonel L.C. Thomas, 7 April 1942 [Thomas report]; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore report; Percival, *Despatch*; Tsuji, 248-51.
  22. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices M 58a, V 58, 10

- February 1942; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/151, Taylor interview, 27 January 1953; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 10 February 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
23. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices A 58, M 58a, R 58, S 58, U 58, V 58, 10 February 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 10 February 1942; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/152, Ballentine replies; CAB106/151, Taylor to Kirby, 10 February 1953. AWM, 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 10 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 10 February 1942; 52/8/3/29, 2/29 AIF War Diary, 10 February 1942; 52/8/4/16, Special Reserve Battalion War Diary, 10 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; Stewart, 92-94, 104-07.
24. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices V 58, W 58, 10 February 1942; CAB106/15, Thyer interview, 19 January 1953; Taylor interview, 27 January 1953; Kappe called Bennett's conduct "a dreadful piece of work": interview, 5 February 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 10 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 10 February 1942; 52/8/3/29, 2/29 AIF War Diary, 10 February 1942; PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 11 February 1942; Stewart, 107-09.

25. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; IWM, Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, Tamura diary, 11 February 1942; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary and Appendices E 59, 10 February, Q 59, X 59, A 60, C 60, 11 February 1942; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 10-15 February 1942; WO172/180, Faber Fire Command War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/91, Stewart to Thorpe, 14 March 1942; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/151, Moses Diary, 11 February 1942; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 10 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/8/3/29, 2/29 AIF War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt. RAA War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/4/4/4, 4 Anti-Tank Regt. War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/8/4/16, Special Reserve Battalion War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; Stewart, 110-12.
26. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary and Appendices U 59, A 60, C 60, 11 February 1942; AIR23/3579, RAF Far East log, 11 February 1942; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history, Appendix C; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; CAB106/173, Thomas report.
27. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary and Appendices F 60, J 60, 11 February 1942; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history, Appendix C; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; CAB106/173, Thomas report; WO172/180, Faber Fire Command War Diary, 11 February 1942; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Tsuji, 255-56; Stewart, 105-09, 112-13, admitted even 2<sup>nd</sup> Argylls were no longer really fit to fight.
28. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices M 58, V 58, A 59, L 59, 10 February, N 60, X 60, 11 February, D 61, G 61, 12 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/151, Kirby summary of interview with Maxwell and Ramsay, 26 January 1953; Kappe interview, 5 February 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 10-11 February 1942; 52/8/3/30, 2/30 AIF War Diary Appendix E, 10-11 February 1942; IWM, Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, Capt. S.J. Hannam; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 12 February 1942; Magarry, 137-39.
29. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices C 59, 10 February, J 60, O 60, X 60, 11 February, G 61, 12 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 11 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 11 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 11 February 1942; 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt. RAA War Diary, 11 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 12 February 1942.
30. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix Y 60, 11 February 1942; AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 11 February 1942;

PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 11 February 1942; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Yamashita had 29 copies of the letter airdropped, four of which reached Percival.

## Chapter 17

1. PT, vol. 1, Churchill to Wavell, 10 February 1942; Wavell to Hutton, 10 February 1942; PRO, CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24.
2. PRO, CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42., comments on official history draft; Percival, *Despatch*.
3. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendix N 60, 11 February 1942.
4. PRO, WO208/1529, Seabridge report. Seabridge left Singapore that day, with military approval. Wigmore, 365-66; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans: A Military History of Singapore*, Appendix 3; Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, ch. 13; Warren, 249-51.
5. PRO, CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; WO172/121, 2/9 Jats War Diary, 11 February 1942; WO106/2250A, Keyes report; Fujiwara, 167-72; Warren, "The Indian Army and the Fall of Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*; Crasta, 24-25; Aldrich, 42; Ban, 189-90.
6. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Q 59, L 60, 11 February, M 61, V 61, 12 February 1942; WO172/180, Faber Fire Command War Diary, 13 February 1942; WO172/191, 968<sup>th</sup> Defence Battery HKSRA (16<sup>th</sup> Coast Defence Regt.) War Diary, 11-14 February 1942; WO106/2250A, Keyes report; Berlayer battery narrative; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 12 February 1942; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade Diary, 14 February 1942, reports the dispersal of the Sikhs. Their own war diary, WO172/127, becomes vague at this point, admits to "a lot of confusion" in the area, but implies the unit did not disperse. It was now an amalgamation led by Parkin. CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/152, Ballentine replies; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; CAB106/173, Thomas report; CO980/217, Malayan Research Bureau Report No. 167; AWM, 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 11-12 February 1942; 52/18/2/21, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Provost Company War Diary, 12-15 February 1942; Fujiwara, 172-73; Crasta, 18; Moore, 26-30.
7. The accusation was recorded by Major J.K.C. Marshall, an expatriate officer in the FMSVF: PRO, WO106/2250B, Major J.K.C. Marshall report, 15 May 1942.
8. War diaries or official reports recording direct observation of mass straggling and bad behaviour include GHQ Malaya Command, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division, 18<sup>th</sup> Division, 1<sup>st</sup> Cambs, 44<sup>th</sup> Indian Brigade, the British Battalion, 2<sup>nd</sup> Loyals, Bennett, Taylor, Thyer, and the 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Provost Company. A partial list of personal statements includes PRO, WO172/16, Far East Command War Diary, Report No. 10, AA Defence of Malaya [n/d, 1942]; WO106/2250A, Keyes report; Thompson report; Major A. Hart-Davies to WO, 13 May 1942; FO371/35924, Cave-Penney report; CO980/217, Research Bureau Report No. 43; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore report; Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, Molly Reilly [worked as a cypher officer at Government House], March 1942; Kitching diary, 28 January-14 February 1942; Chippington, 197-98; Dean, 19; Pancheri, 51-52; Montgomery, 129, 134-35; Gough, 56, 158; Shennan, 250.

9. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 12 February 1942; 54/171/2/27, Casualties 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Malaya; 54/554/11/39, AIF Changi War Diary, 17 February 1942; 54/553/3/4, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Operations Reports: AGH Report; 54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; Bennett, 178-212; PRO, CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
10. PRO, PREM3/168/3, and WO208/1529, Malaya and Singapore: Report drawn up by Major H.P. Thomas, 30 May 1942, plus Appendices A and B and Wavell to Brooke, 1 June 1942. Thomas did defend both the Governor and the Australians in his summary to Appendix B, pointing out the Australians suffered a punishing bombardment, heard rumours of evacuation, and now feared an invasion of nearby Australia itself, none of which justified desertion but did “explain glancing over the shoulder.”
11. AWM, 54/249/1, 7<sup>th</sup> Australian Division circular, 12 July 1940.
12. AWM, 52/1/1/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 9-10 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendices A and B, 9-13 February 1942; 52/8/5/4, 2/4 AIF War Diary, 10 February 1942; 54/171/2/27, Casualties 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Malaya; PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary Appendices Q 57, V 58, 10 February 1942; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; Bennett, 178-91.
13. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary and Appendices Y 58, B 59, L 59, 10 February, Z 59, U 60, R 60, W 60, 11 February, U 61, 12 February 1942. On the document a handwritten note claimed Newbigging “found all alert” at the posts. The phrase quoted in this account was the original, typed in but then incompletely scratched out. CAB106/151, Galleghan interview, 22 January 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; AWM, 52/1/1/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 9-11 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 9-11 February 1942.
14. PRO, CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; WO106/2250A, Gardiner report, 9 and 11 February 1942. AWM, 54/553/5/16, Bennett Report; 54/553/1/16, Callaghan comments on Percival Despatch and Bennett Report, January 1947. Regarding stories of Australians “in large numbers” skulking in town or trying to escape Callaghan said “there is a certain amount of truth in both these statements” and “This temporary lapse of the Australian on the island and the criticism it has invoked has caused me a lot of uneasiness.”
15. Wigmore read but did not cite the Provost Company War Diary: AWM, 73, file 4, notes on Java, Burma and Malaya, February 1942; 54/554/11/38, mistitled Notes by Col. Thyer and Col. Kappe on the departure of General Gordon Bennett from Malaya and conditions in Changi pow camp during the pow period, n/d, is the intended rebuttal to Thyer and Kappe. On the other hand Kappe did later tell the official historians the troops who tried to escape from the city “were mostly base troops whose job was done”: PRO, CAB106/151, Kappe interview, 5 February 1953; WO106/2250A, Berlayer battery narrative; Grey, 165-67.
16. AWM, 52/1/1/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 1-15 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary and Appendix B, 11-15 February 1942; 73/7,

Wigmore notes, correspondence involving Kirby, Long, Wigmore, Maxwell, Oakes, Key and Harrison, September 1952-February 1953. After the war Bennett assigned 75% of the blame for defeat on the island to Percival, for faulty dispositions. He assigned the rest to Taylor for retreating, and Thyer for preparing the Kranji-Jurong Line behind his back. Worse, he accused Thyer of skulking off to hide on 12 February, even though Bennett in fact sent Thyer to report to Malaya Command. After eight years of correspondence the Australian official historians gave up trying to get any fair analysis from Bennett and dismissed his slander against Thyer: 67/3/25, part 2, Gavin Long Papers, correspondence with Bennett, 1949-57. Percival later claimed he did not know Maxwell was so defeatist: IWM, Percival Papers, P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953. But he described Taylor's first retreat as direct disobedience of orders, for which he blamed Bennett who "ceased to take an interest in the operations" and let Taylor do as he liked: File 26, Notes on Malaya. PRO, CAB106/151, Bennett interview, 30 January 1953; Thyer interview, 19 January 1953; Maxwell interview, 26 January 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; Lodge, 129, 133, 164-65.

17. PRO, CAB106/117, Ballentine report. Layton sent Stewart's comments to Pound covered by a note pointing out "everyone agrees" at their best the Australians were "magnificent" but noting how bitter naval officers were about Australian behaviour in Singapore: WO106/2250A, Stewart comments, Layton to Pound, 28 March 1942; Warren, 249.
18. Gallagher, 92, wrote the fairy tale. Perhaps the most extreme critic of the Australians was Kitching, whose diary summed up the feelings of many well established British civilians on 16 February: "As for the Australians—with the best will in the world the less said the better." When Ashmore found his house looted, he thought of the Australians. Bennett used the hat excuse in a telephone conversation with Wavell just after his escape from Singapore, in which he denied there were many Australian deserters and identified those who did as untrained replacements: Bennett, 212-13. The 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Provost Company investigated disturbances in the city on 4 February, well before the battle began, and its report may explain how the story began: "Nearly all British troops are wearing Aust. style slouch hats, which is apparently why AIF troops have been blamed for all disturbances involving troops": AWM, 52/18/2/21, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Provost Company War Diary, 4 February 1942. The story endures: R. Connolly and B. Wilson, *Cruel Britannia: Britannia Waives the Rules 1941-1942. Singapore Betrayed, Australia Abandoned*, New South Wales, 1994. A better indication of how confusing the whole situation was is a story from the British Battalion. On 12 February the Adjutant counted only 175 men left under command. Capt. Gingell went into the city. He found it "lousy with troops," his own included, having a tea party at the YMCA! But when he arranged for trucks to return them to their units, they went: PRO, WO106/2250A, Gingell report.
19. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, Report #7, Information about certain aspects of GHQ Malaya Command during the last few days in Singapore, A/Major W.R. Waller [Waller report], was included in Wavell's submission to Brooke; CAB106/151, Galleghan interview, 22 January 1953; CAB106/80, Heath notes; WO106/2250A, Keyes report; WO208/1529, Seabridge report; AWM, 54/553/5/16, Bennett report; 73/51, Galleghan interview, 1 February 1950. The quote is D. James, *Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*, 492-93; Dean, 25-26.
20. PRO, CAB106/153, Bennett to Sturdee, 14 February 1942; CAB106/151, Bennett

interview, 30 January 1953; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Report on Operations in the West Sector Singapore Island, by Lt.-Col. M. Elrington, Commanding 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Loyal Regiment, 1 January 1946 [Elrington report]; Bennett, 183-84, 189; Lodge, 172-73. 2<sup>nd</sup> Gordons were included inside the AIF perimeter.

21. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command Appendices P 61, R 61, S 61, T 61, W 61, 12 February 1942; WO172/145, 55<sup>th</sup> Brigade narrative, 11 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade diary, 14-15 February 1942. CAB106/155, Williams account, does note that when the 5<sup>th</sup> Beds and Herts company was ordered to return it did so and held fast for the rest of the day. CAB106/173, Thomas report, conspicuously left out the Foresters when recommending Tomforce officers for decorations.
22. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, Report No. 6, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. Vanrennan, n/d [January 1942]; WO208/1529 and PREM3/168/3, H.P. Thomas report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.26, Heath comments on Percival notes, n/d; Malaya/Singapore Personal narratives, H.T.B. Ryves, n/d; Bennett, 30; Wade, 24, 39. Nearly every unit war diary in the WO172 and AWM 52 series refers to “fifth column” incidents, some many times.
23. PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary, 10 February 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Savory notes; WO106/2250A, Keyes report; WO208/1529 and PREM3/168/3, H.P. Thomas report; Seabridge report; WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; FO371/31825, Ransome and Holmes report; IWM, Malaya/Singapore Personal narratives, H.T.B. Ryves, Officer Commanding Police Kuala Kangsar, n/d. Diary of Maj. H.S. Flower and history of 9<sup>th</sup> Northumberland Fusiliers, Singapore island, February 1942 [Flower diary], copy in author’s possession; Tsuji, 149; McEwan, 34. The Japanese also shot innocent civilians. One chilling episode is related in Frei, 106-08.
24. Dickinson claimed he attended the final meeting at Fort Canning before the surrender and polled the commanders there, who all agreed fifth column operations did not do serious military damage: WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; IWM, Percival Papers, File 43, The Organization for the Control of Political Intelligence, n/d [A.G. Dickinson, January 1946]; PRO, WO106/2250A, Westall report; Allen, 253-54; Ban, 207-11.
25. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, WO172/176, HQ Fixed Defences Singapore War Diary, 11-14 February 1942; Frei, ch. 9.
26. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*.
27. PRO, AIR23/3579, RAF Far East log, 10-13 February 1942; CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch; PT, vol. 1, Peirse to Air Ministry, 10 February, Peirse to Portal, 11 February 1942; Christchurch College Oxford, Portal Papers, 3/20, Peirse to Portal, 9 February 1942.
28. PRO, WO106/2568, Far East War Council minutes, 13-22 December 1941;



WO208/1529 and PREM3/168/3, H.P. Thomas report. In his comments on Appendix A Thomas defends the Governor by a comment on European civilian attitudes that indicates how bitter the issue became: "There is no sympathy or understanding for the Governor in the impossible position in which he found himself. The civilian (and the better off, the louder the complaint), says simply that he and his well-to-do friends should have been warned in good time and evacuated in comfort, together with cash and securities." Lady Thomas herself urged European women to "stand by their husbands" and set an example. WO32/15539, Thomas comments on Percival Despatch and correspondence, spring 1947; IWM, Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, Molly Reilly, March 1942; Montgomery, 98-99; Fedorowich, "The Evacuation of Civilians," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.

29. PT, vol. 1, COS to Wavell, 20 January, Percival to COS, 21 January 1942; Kirby, *The Chain of Disaster*, 191-92; Fedorowich, "The Evacuation of Civilians."
30. PRO, CAB106/86, Maltby Despatch; WO106/2250A, Gardiner report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.49, Ashmore report; Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, Molly Reilly, March 1942; H.T.B. Ryves; Kitching diary, 13 February 1942; Simson, 101-04; Fedorowich, "The Evacuation of Civilians."
31. Vivid published accounts of the last days of battle in the city include Kitching's diary, Bloom, Morrison, Simson, Barber, Fedorowich, Kennedy. A description of major air raids on the city is in IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.50, Report on AA defences Malaya.
32. PRO, WO172 Malaya Command War Diary and Appendices R 61, 12 February, Z 62a, 13 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; Bell, 68; Percival, *Despatch*.
33. PRO, WO172/176, HQ Fixed Defences Singapore War Diary, 11-14 February 1942; WO172/180 Faber Fire Command War Diary, 11-14 February 1942; WO172/182, 7 Coast Battery RA (Malaya) War Diary, 12 February 1942; WO172/191, 968<sup>th</sup> Defence Battery HKSRA War Diary, 11-14 February 1942; Percival, *Despatch*.
34. Frei, especially ch. 9. PRO, WO172/176, HQ Fixed Defences Singapore War Diary, February 1942, estimated all batteries fired a total of 194 armour piercing 15" rounds, 75 armour piercing and 75 high explosive 9.2" rounds and 944 6" rounds, all but 104 high explosive. The first scared the Japanese the most but the last killed more of them. CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 24; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch.III; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Savory and Potter notes. The power of rumour was now so strong Stacey from 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks thought they were being sent to liaise with the Americans landing at Port Swettenham: WO172/89, 6<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, Stacey notes; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 12-14 February 1942. The rationale for a select list of evacuees was to send out personnel whose expertise should not be lost to the Allied war effort. Percival sent Phillips and Ashmore from Command headquarters; Stewart was the most notable battalion evacuee.
35. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; WO172/144, 53<sup>rd</sup> Brigade narrative, 12-14 February 1942; WO172/145, 55<sup>th</sup> Brigade narrative, 12-14 February

- 1942; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade Diary of events, 12-14 February 1942; WO172/43, 88 Field Regt. RA War Diary, 12-14 February 1942; WO172/88, 5<sup>th</sup> Norfolks War Diary, 12-14 February 1942; WO172/90, 4<sup>th</sup> Suffolk War Diary, 11-14 February 1942; WO172/91, HQ RA 18<sup>th</sup> Division War Diary, 11-14 February 1942; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regt RA War Diary, 12-14 February 1942; WO172/138, 2<sup>nd</sup> Cambs War Diary, 12-14 February 1942. Flower diary, 11-14 February 1942.
36. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/155, Williams report; Tsuji, 263-64; Frei, chs. 8-9. Pasir Panjang ridge was renamed Kent Ridge in 1952 after a ducal visit.
37. PRO, WO106/138, The Malay Regiment: Some Notes Compiled by an Officer of the Regiment, June 1936; WO172/148, 1<sup>st</sup> Malay War Diary, Field Return of officers, 21 December 1941; CAB106/155, Williams report, 9-12 February 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Report on Operations in the West Sector Singapore Island by Lt.-Col. M. Elrington, Commanding 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Loyal Regiment [Elrington report]; Malaya/Singapore narratives, Lt. Alastair Mackenzie, officer commanding carrier platoon, 1<sup>st</sup> Malays [Mackenzie narrative]; Dean, 23-25.
38. The second last entry in the Malaya Command war diary refers to this battle: a report at 1450hrs of Japanese penetration along the ridge: PRO, WO172/21, Malaya Command War Diary 13 February 1942; CAB106/155, Williams report, 13 February 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Elrington report; Malaya/Singapore narratives, Mackenzie narrative; Dean, 21-22.
39. PRO, WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 13-14 February 1942; CAB106/155, Williams report, 13-14 February 1942; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Elrington report; Malaya/Singapore narratives, Mackenzie narrative.
40. PRO, CAB106/155, Williams report, 14 February 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Elrington report; Malaya/Singapore narratives, Mackenzie narrative; Dean, 20-21, witnessed the human shield atrocity; Chippington, 216-22, describes the ambush vividly but his date is wrong; Frei, 108-11, describes the strain of this battle on *114<sup>th</sup> Regiment*. Over the years the Malay Regiment's battle along the ridge was exaggerated in popular representation in Malaysia and Singapore until it became an epic stand to the last man by the entire battalion, led by Adnan. Some glimmer of this is reflected in a museum opened in February 2002 near the battlefield around the Opium Factory. The truth is creditable enough: a tough regular battalion fought resolutely against a larger more experienced force, earning the battle honour it was awarded for Singapore Island (in 1957, recorded in WO32/16858).
41. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Elrington report; Malaya/Singapore personal narratives, P. Bruton Narrative report on Alexandra Hospital massacre, 1989, a thorough and thoughtful 37 page report written by a relative of a victim, based on detailed interviews with survivors. The Japanese themselves used the hospital grounds to assemble and provide covering fire for an attack on the 15<sup>th</sup>; Mutaguchi visited the hospital two days later but merely "expressed regret for the hard time the hospital had had" at the hands of his men.

42. Good studies of perceptions of race and war and the behaviour of the IJA include Allen, Dower, Frei and Harries.
43. PT, vol. 1, Wavell to CCS, 13 February, Wavell to COS, 14 February, Churchill to Wavell, 14 February, Thomas to CO, 14 February 1942; Kimball, Churchill to Roosevelt, C-27, 11 February 1942; PRO, CAB79/18, Diary, 14 February 1942; COS minutes, 13 February 1942; CAB106/38, Wavell Despatch.
44. IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.31, Percival's notes on conference at Malaya Command headquarters 13 February 1942; P.22, F.42, comments on official history draft, 2 December 1953; Beckwith-Smith did suggest he might try a counterattack if he could get 24 hours to pull his division together and rest it: PRO, CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; Bennett, 186.
45. IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.48, Water Supply–Singapore Town, Simson, 12 May 1942; The Supply Situation in the Closing Stages of the Campaign in Malaya, DDST Malaya Command, 16 May 1942; Ammunition Situation on 13 and 15 February 1942, DDOS Malaya Command, 14 May 1942; Lucas to Percival, 19 May 1942; P.21, F.31, Percival's notes on conference at the Singapore Club, 14 February 1942; PRO, WO172/91, 18<sup>th</sup> Division RA War Diary, 14 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 25.
46. IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.31, Percival's notes on conference at Malaya Command headquarters 15 February 1942; P.21, F.26, Heath notes on the capitulation, comments on Percival draft, n/d; File 64, handwritten notes on supply position, in Percival's bank book, n/d [15 February 1942]; Heath Papers, LMH4, Notes on the Capitulation of Singapore, Major C.H.D. Wild, 30 November 1945 [Wild notes]; Percival, *Despatch*; Bennett, 192.
47. IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.31, Percival's notes on conference at Malaya Command headquarters 15 February 1942; P.21, F.26, Heath notes on the capitulation, comments on Percival draft, n/d; Heath Papers, LMH4, Wild notes; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*, has a copy of both letters; Percival, *Despatch*.
48. IWM, Percival Papers, P.21, F.26, Heath notes on the capitulation, comments on Percival draft, n/d; Heath Papers, LMH4, Wild notes; PRO, CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. 25; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III; Percival, *Despatch*.
49. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/8/2/22, 22<sup>nd</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/8/2/27, 27<sup>th</sup> Brigade AIF War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/8/3/18, 2/18 AIF War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/8/3/19, 2/19 AIF War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/8/3/20, 2/20 AIF War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/8/3/26, 2/26 AIF War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/8/3/29, 2/29 AIF War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/4/2/15, 2/15 Field Regt. RAA War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/4/4/4, 4 Anti-Tank Regt. War Diary, 15 February 1942; 52/18/2/21, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division Provost Company War Diary, 15 February 1942; 54/553/5/14, O'Brien interview; PRO, CAB106/162, Thyer report, ch. III.
50. AWM, 52/1/5/17, 8<sup>th</sup> Australian Division G Branch War Diary, 15 February 1942, plus reports on Bennett escape preparations by Capt. Curlew and Jessup;

- 54/553/5/16, Bennett report; Bennett, 198, 218-19; Lodge, 186-90.
51. PRO, WO172/16, GHQ Far East War Diary Appendices, Waller report; WO172/90, 4<sup>th</sup> Suffolks War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/91, HQ RA 18<sup>th</sup> Division War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/43, 88<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/116, 155<sup>th</sup> Field Regt. RA War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/145, 55<sup>th</sup> Brigade War Diary, 15 February 1942; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; CAB106/71, 54<sup>th</sup> Brigade narrative; Flower diary.
  52. PRO, CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history; WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/176, HQ Fixed Defences Singapore War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/180, Faber Fire Command War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/182, 7 Coast Battery RA (Malaya) War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/189, 9<sup>th</sup> Coast Regt RA War Diary, 15 February 1942; WO172/190, 967<sup>th</sup> Defence Battery HKSRA War Diary, 15 February 1942; CAB106/117, Ballentine report; CAB106/155, Williams report; IWM, Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Elrington report; Chippington, 237-40; Wade, 34-35.
  53. The statement was made in 1945 to Potter, who recorded a longer version, 89-90, also used by Allen, 183-84. The extract used here is as cited by Ian Ward, *The Killer They Called a God*, Singapore, 1992, 93-95. Authors who uncritically accept the bluff statement include Elphick, *Singapore: The Pregnable Fortress*, 111, 364; Ward; Hall, 192; Shores, 383; Shennan, 259.
  54. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; PRO, CAB106/180, Wards interviews; Tsuji, 262-66; Fujiwara, 173-74, 176-80; Allen, 174; Frei, 111-14.

55. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; PRO, WO172/91, HQ RA 18<sup>th</sup> Division War Diary, 13-15 February 1942. 18<sup>th</sup> Division guns fired 14,400 rounds from 5 through 12 February, and 32,400 rounds from the 13<sup>th</sup> through the 15th. CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; CAB106/180, Wards interviews; Frei, 117-19.
56. PRO, CAB106/180, Wards interviews; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, Appendix 3.
57. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; AWM, 54/553/1/5, notes from Japanese press, "Dramatic Negotiations for Singapore's Surrender"; IWM, Percival Papers, File 43, Note on The Instrument of Surrender of Singapore 15 February 1942, 18 October 1945; Heath Papers, LMH4, Wild notes; Potter, 89-90.
58. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; PRO, WO172/100, British Battalion War Diary, 15 February 1942; CAB106/155, Williams report; IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, Wild notes; Percival Papers, P.23, F.47, Elrington report; AWM, 54/553/1/5, Japanese Diary of Campaign in Malaya, 15 February 1942; Frei, 129-30; Kirby, 249-50; Allen, 183-84.
59. PRO, WO172/19, Malaya Command War Diary, 15 February 1942; CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, Envoi, Malaya Command Order of the Day, 16 February 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, File 26, Notes on the Fall of Malaya, n/d; PT, vol. 1, Percival to Wavell, 15 February 1942.
60. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 292.

## Epilogue

1. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Frei, 145; Warren, 271.
2. The British assumed the Australians would fall in line again and were upset when they did not. The change was abrupt. As soon as he heard about Percival's surrender Lt.-Gen. John Laverack, GOC I Australian Corps, advised his government not to deploy the corps in the Dutch islands: PRO, CAB79/18 and 79/56, COS minutes, 20-23 February 1942, CAB88/1, CCS minutes, 17 February 1942; CAB106/153, Wavell to Brooke, 17 February, and Appendix B, precis of telegrams relating to employment of I Australian Corps, 31 January-20 February 1942.
3. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; Frei, ch. 10.
4. JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations Record*; SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; Frei, ch. 10; Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew*, Singapore, 1998, 55; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, 259-60; Warren, 272.
5. Frei, 147-55; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, 249-51; Warren, 278-79; Few prominent Chinese individuals on the Japanese target list were caught. Lim Bo Seng and Tan Kah Kee escaped overseas, but Lim was captured while organizing resistance groups in Perak in 1944 and tortured to death in prison. PRO, WO172/180, Faber Fire Command War Diary, February 1942, records one incident when bodies of murdered Chinese civilians were recovered by British and Indian troops at Blakang Mati. The large Oral History collection in the Singapore National Archives contains information about all aspects of the *sook ching* and occupation years.
6. Fujiwara, 192-93; Frei, ch. 10; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, ch. 9; Dower, 285, 290. One Japanese officer cited by Frei corroborated one argument made by Ward in *The Killer They Called a God*, Singapore, 1992: the staff officer who pressed the massacre most insistently was Tsuji.
7. PRO, CAB106/163, Wavell to Brooke, 17 February 1942; CAB106/38, Wavell despatch; Farrell, *The Basis and Making of British Grand Strategy*, ch. 12.
8. Farrell, *The Basis and Making of British Grand Strategy*, chs. 13-14.
9. Warren, 274-78; Warren, "The Indian Army and the Fall of Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*. Mackenzie, 403-04; D. James, *Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire*, 425.
10. Lee Kip Lee, *Amber Sands: A Boyhood Memoir*, Singapore, 1995, 120; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, ch. 9; Kratoska, *Malaya and Singapore during the Japanese Occupation*.
11. Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, ch. 11; A. Lau, *The Malayan Union Controversy 1942-1948*, Oxford, 1992.
12. Lee Kuan Yew, 45; Murfett et al, *Between Two Oceans*, ch. 11.
13. SCSC, *Outline of the Malayan Campaign*; JM, Number 54, *Malaya Operations*

*Record*; JM, Number 55, *Southwest Area Air Operations Record*; Shores et al, 384.

14. PT, vol. 1, Wavell to WO, 15 February 1942; PRO, CAB69/4, DO(42)17, 16 February 1942.
15. PRO, CAB79/18, COS minutes, 18, 20 February 1942; CAB65/25, War Cabinet minutes, 16, 25 February 1942; CAB69/4, DC(O) minutes, 16 February, 2 March 1942; CAB88/1, CCS minutes, 17, 23 February, 3 March 1942; CAB106/163, Wavell to Brooke, 17 February 1942; LHCMA, Brooke Papers, 3A/V, diary entry 11 February 1942 and notes for that month; Pownall Papers, diary entries, 15, 19 February 1942; Kimball, *Churchill-Roosevelt Correspondence*, vol. 1, FDR #106, 18 February, C #37, 5 March 1942.
16. PRO, WO106/5158, CO to Governors [ten different colonies], 3 June 1942; Dower, 84.
17. PRO, CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. XXV; LHCMA, Pownall Papers, diary entry, 25 February 1942.
18. AWM, 54/553/5/16, Bennett report; PRO, WO208/1529, April 1942 comments; Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
19. PRO, WO208/1529, April 1942 reports; WO106/2250A, Layton to Pound, 28 March 1942, Stewart comments enclosed, and Stewart memo, 12 July 1942; CAB106/91, Stewart to Maj.-Gen. G. Thorpe, 14 March 1942; AWM, 54/553/3/2, NCF Training Notes No. 6, 6 April 1942; PREM3/168/3, has the report as endorsed by Wavell but only circulated to the War Cabinet more than three months after being submitted: WP(42)314, 8 September 1942, and related correspondence between Churchill, Attlee and the Secretariat, July-September 1942; IWM, Percival Papers, File 43, Brooke-Popham to Percival, 28 July 1946; Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
20. Important examples are PRO, CAB106/58, 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, ch. XXV; CAB106/70, 18<sup>th</sup> Division history; CAB106/117, 44<sup>th</sup> Brigade narrative; CAB106/162, Thyer report; Heath's postmortems are in CAB106/80, notes on 11<sup>th</sup> Indian Division history, and IWM, Heath Papers, LMH4, LMH7; the discussions with Percival are in Percival Papers, P.21, F.26. Peter Stanley, "The men who did the fighting are now all busy writing" in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*, is an important analysis of postmortems in general and the Thyer-Kappe report in particular.
21. The WO stalled Percival, telling him in October 1945 the COS did not want him to hold a press conference because "the press takes things out of context," and Attlee did not want to provoke any pressure for an enquiry but rather push the matter off onto the despatches: IWM, Percival Papers, File 43, WO to Percival, 31 October 1945.
22. Bennett argued he escaped to bring home priceless information about how to fight the Japanese. In fact the Australian Army paid more attention to reports by Stewart and the American military observer in Malaya and Burma, Col. Francis G. Brink, than to Bennett's advice: AWM, 54/553/3/2, NCF Training Notes No. 6, 6 April 1942; 73/65, Japanese Tactical Methods, February 1942. Bennett's deepest motive appeared to be

to prevent regular force generals from leading the Army to victory while he sat out the rest of the war in captivity. Lodge, 214-16. Murdoch's article "New Light on the Last Days of Singapore" appeared in *The Advertiser*, an Adelaide newspaper, on 17 August 1942.

23. PRO, CAB119/208, Chiffley to Attlee, 28 January, 8 February, extracts from COS minutes, 29, 31 January, 4 February, 8 March, Attlee to Chiffley, 31 January, 15 February, JP(46)29(S)(TofR), 4 February, JP(46)29(Final) 5 March, JP(46)56(S)(TofR), 8 March, JP(46)56(Final), 6 May 1946; CAB121/765, Hollis to Ismay, 31 January 1946.
24. PRO, WO32/15539, Papers relating to preparation of Percival's Despatch, April 1947-June 1949; Percival's ludicrous claim about Japanese numbers is in a letter he wrote to the WO on 3 May 1948. CAB119/208, Attlee's telegrams to Chiffley, plus extract from COS minutes, 15 May, and Hollis to Ismay, 23 July 1946; CAB121/765, Stapleton to Attlee, 12 August, Attlee to Ismay, 16 August, extract from COS minutes, 22 November 1946, CO to Attlee, 27 October 1947; IWM, File 43, Percival Papers, Maltby to Percival, 16 January, Percival-WO correspondence, April-August, Percival-Thomas correspondence August 1947, Percival-WO correspondence May 1948, Percival-MacArthur correspondence, July-October 1948; Percival, *Despatch*.
25. PRO, CAB106/45, Tan Kah Kee to Secretary of State for War, 3 March, Percival to A.L. Birt, 21 April 1948; WO32/15539, CO to WO 13 April and WO reply, n/d, 1948; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, 298-99, 304-06.



26. PRO, CAB121/765, BDCSEA to DC, 23 June, 2 July, COS to SEALF, 27 June, 3 September, COS(47)100, 23 August 1947; Callahan, "Churchill and Singapore," in Farrell and Hunter, *Sixty Years On*.
27. PRO, CAB119/208, JP(46)29(Final), 5 March, JP(46)56(S)(TofR), 8 March, JP(46)56(Final), 6 May 1946.
28. PRO, CAB119/208, JP(46)29(Final) 5 March, JP(46)56(S)(TofR), 8 March, JP(46)56(Final), 6 May 1946.
29. PRO, WO32/16167, Briefing Notes on Far East for Lord Privy Seal, 7 January 1942; The general editor of the *Grand Strategy* series in the British official history, J.R.M. Butler, wrote Percival in 1962 "Any student of the Malayan campaign must sympathize deeply with you in the desperate position in which you were placed by the prewar policy of governments": IWM, File 43, Percival Papers, Butler to Percival, 11 January 1962.
30. Stewart responded to publication of the despatches by revisiting his own appraisal of the campaign. He argued "What was possible was the Battle School standard of 1943 onwards. What was done was the Army standard of 1939/40": PRO, CAB106/91, *The Loss of Singapore: A Criticism*, n/d [1948]. Strong studies of subsequent changes in the British Army's approach to war are French, *Raising Churchill's Army*, and Place, *Military Training in the British Army*.
31. *Manchester Guardian* leader, "Singapore," 27 February 1948.
32. One of the more idealistic Japanese veterans interviewed by Henry Frei looked back on the experience and concluded "The Japanese had not yet evolved into a constitutional people. So there was really no reason to challenge the United States or Great Britain, which were already constitutional peoples. The biggest reason for Japan's defeat was her backwardness." Frei, 162.