

Journal of the Society for ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH



Spring 2026

Volume One-Hundred-Four Number 416

ISSN 0037-9700 (Print)
ISSN 2516-7146 (On-line)

Journal of the Society for
ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH

One-Hundred-Four

Spring 2026

No. 416

CONTENTS

	PAGE
COMMUNICATION	
THE PARLIAMENTARIAN CORNETS AT THE BATTLE OF POWICK BRIDGE 23RD SEPTEMBER 1642	<i>Stephen Ede-Borrett</i> 1
COMMUNICATION	
AN IRISH DRAFT IN 1757	<i>J.A. Houlding</i> 20
COMMUNICATION	
'WE FOUGHT WITH THE OLIVE BRANCH IN ONE HAND AND THE SWORD IN THE OTHER': THE LETTERS OF JOHN MERVIN NOOTH FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR 1776–1782	<i>Martin R. Howard</i> 24
COMMUNICATION	
BEFORE 'IT': TELEPHONE OVERHEARING EXPERIMENTS IN THE BRITISH EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, 1915–16	<i>Robert Mabey</i> 41
COMMUNICATION	
TOM PUGH, PRISONER-OF-WAR OF THE JAPANESE IN TAIWAN IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR: 'A DECIDED ASSET' OR A 'SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT CHAPLAIN'?	<i>Katherine M. Venables</i> 70
DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS AND RESEARCH THESES ON BRITISH MILITARY HISTORY	<i>Compiled by Ian F.W. Beckett and Nicola Martin</i> 95
<i>JOURNAL INTELLIGENCE: NOTES</i>	
2107 BLACK SOLDIERS OF THE 4 TH DRAGOONS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RUNAWAY AND DESERTER ADVERTS: A RESPONSE TO <i>RECRUITING</i> <i>AFRO-CARIBBEANS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY</i>	<i>John D. Ellis</i> 98
2108 ELIZABETH'S FRENCH WARS, 1562–1598	<i>William A. Heap</i> 101
2109 SOCIETY FOR ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH GRANTS – A REMINDER	<i>Nicola Martin</i> 102
2110 SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR THE CURRENT YEAR	<i>Giles Orpen-Smellie</i> 102
BOOK REVIEWS	103



Figure 1: Tom Pugh in beret and battledress.

Although possibly in a borrowed uniform, and dating from his stay in New Zealand in 1946 before repatriation, this photograph indicates how he may have appeared during the Dunkirk evacuation.

Pugh family collection.

TOM PUGH, PRISONER-OF-WAR OF THE JAPANESE IN TAIWAN IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR: ‘A DECIDED ASSET’ OR A ‘SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT CHAPLAIN’?

KATHERINE M. VENABLES

Introduction

The topic of the Japanese prisoner-of-war (PoW) camps in the Second World War is rarely covered in any detail by military historians. Flower, for example, notes that an initial plan to add a volume on PoWs to the British official history was abandoned.¹ There is, however, a considerable popular and secondary historical literature, though within this literature there is preferential selection. Gill, and others, point out that certain camps, such as those on the Thai-Burma Railway, are much better documented than those in Japan itself, or its possessions of Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria.² Flower argues that officers have received less attention than Other Ranks and are often disparaged or caricatured.³

The subject of this article, Canon Tom Pugh (1903–80, Figure 1), was a British Army chaplain in the Second World War and one of at least 86 chaplains who had become PoWs by the end of 1942.⁴ The artillery regiment to which he was attached was part of the large force that surrendered to the Japanese in Singapore in February 1942. He spent most of his captivity in Taiwan. He outlined his biography in a memorandum written for the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1967,⁵ and there are traces of him in PoW diaries and memoirs, mentioned below. The regimental medical officer, Dr George Blair (1916–79), became a lifelong friend of Pugh’s and donated his own wartime papers to the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC), which can be found in four collections across three archives.⁶ This article assembles Tom Pugh’s story from his personal account and other sources and thereby adds to the sparse documentation of the Taiwan camps. His career demonstrates aspects of the role of military chaplains in PoW camps and

¹ Sibylla Jane Flower, ‘Memory and the Prisoner of War Experience’, in Karl Hack & Kevin Blackburn (eds), *Forgotten Captives in Japanese-Occupied Asia* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 62, 64; The National Archives (hereafter TNA), M.M. Baird, *Allied Prisoners of War Captured in the Far East and Hong Kong* [incomplete draft of unpublished narrative], CAB/101/199.

² Geoffrey Gill, ‘[Review] Charles G. Roland, *Long Night’s Journey into Day* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2001.)’ *Medical History*, Vol. 46, (2002), pp. 603–604.

³ S. J. Flower, ‘Captors and Captives on the Burma-Thailand Railway’, in Bob Moore & Kent Fedorovich (eds), *Prisoners of War and their Captors in World War II* (Oxford: Berg, 1996).

⁴ P.M. Brumwell, *The Army Chaplain* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1943), p. 53.

⁵ Lambeth Palace Library (hereafter LPL), Thomas J. Pugh, *Memorandum*, Ramsey 111. ff 249–273.

⁶ Katherine M. Venables, ‘Captain George Blair RAMC’, *Journal of Medical Biography*, Vol. 33, (2025), pp. 93–105. Museum of Military Medicine (hereafter MMM), *Lieut. George Blair, RAMC/PE11/890/BLAI*; Wellcome Collection (hereafter Wellcome), *Capt. George Blair, RAMC, PP/GBL*; Wellcome, *Medical records of prisoners of war, mainly from 5th Field Regiment, Royal Artillery, in Taihoku Camp, Taiwan, kept by Captain George Blair, RAMC, RAMC/1280*; RAMC Headquarters Collection [no accession number].

illustrates the way that military service may influence a clergyman's subsequent peacetime ministry. He was repeatedly described by people who knew him as a 'remarkable man' and it appears that, while he was not always amenable to his military superiors, his optimistic personality was particularly suited to wartime service.

Education and early career

Thomas Jenkin Pugh was born into a large family of 14 children, the youngest of seven surviving brothers. The Pughs were from north Wales and older generations were miners and quarrymen. His next older brother, Morris Edwin Pugh (1901–79), also became an Anglican priest and worked in Anglesey for most of his career.⁷ Too young to serve in the First World War, the Pugh brothers had civilian jobs before starting their theological training and in the 1921 census Tom, aged 17, is recorded as a railway porter at Shrewsbury Station and Morris as a baker's apprentice.⁸ Tom was ordained in 1931, aged 27 or 28, and Morris in 1935. The Pughs saved in order to give Tom and Morris the education which few working-class families in the inter-war years could afford.⁹ A letter in the Lambeth Palace archive describes Tom's university studies as 'interrupted' and in 1959 he was awarded a Lambeth MA, under powers to confer academic degrees which the Archbishop of Canterbury has held continuously since 1533.¹⁰

Tom was a curate during the Great Depression and was noted in local newspapers as officiating at baptisms, weddings and funerals in a succession of parishes. In his memorandum he describes himself as a candidate for 'an office job' in the Liverpool Archdeaconry after his ordination. However, influenced by his parents and his own politically 'left point of view', he spent 'three happy years' in an industrial parish in Ironville, Derbyshire, where he was 'shocked' by the poverty. He went on to another poor parish in Dagenham, Essex, which was 'like Ironville only on a much bigger scale'.

Ignoring suggestions that he should return to the Liverpool diocese, Tom settled in Suffolk as Rector of two beautiful country churches, All Saints, Acton, and Saint Lawrence, Little Waldingfield.¹¹ In 1933 he married Marjorie Window, a teacher. An appreciation published after both were dead describes her as a 'woman of a great many talents ... sublimated ... to her husband's future life and career. ... She started a day school in the vicarage and organised many activities in the two parishes [including] a highly successful Cinderella Christmas pantomime which she wrote and produced'.¹² This was the 1938 village pantomime, the last before the outbreak of war, in which Tom took a singing role as Prince Charming. Tom's memorandum records that he and Marjorie restored the churches, made

⁷ Ancestry.com; *A Family of Pughs and Evans*, grantonline.com/pugh-family-genealogy.

⁸ 1921 Census, findmypast.co.uk.

⁹ Personal communication, Alison Pugh.

¹⁰ LPL, Fisher 247, ff 160–166; Lambeth Degrees, archbishopofcanterbury.org.

¹¹ Nikolaus Pevsner & Enid Radcliffe, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 69–71, 340.

¹² Alan Phillips, 'Silence Broken after Seven Years', *Suffolk Free Press*, (28 January 1988).

the vicarage 'habitable' and he 'was quite content to stay there for the rest of my life but, alas, in 1939 war came.'

The British Expeditionary Force and Dunkirk

Tom's Army Chaplains' record card shows that he joined the Territorial Army in the summer of 1939 and was called up the day before war broke out, on 2nd September 1939 (Figure 2). The corps he joined, the Royal Army Chaplains Department, had a history spanning almost 150 years.¹³ By 1942, of 2,000 chaplains, 24 had died (12 killed in action), 20 were wounded, 86 were PoWs and 40 were missing.¹⁴ He was attached to a Suffolk unit, the 58th Medium Regiment, Royal Artillery (RA) and Tom wrote in his memorandum that he had 'a great advantage over most Chaplains inasmuch as I knew the men and their wives and families so that we were truly one large family in a strange land.'

The regiment formed part of the British Expeditionary Force and left for France in January 1940. Regimental war diaries describe leisurely weeks in northern France at Pozières, close to the Maginot line, then a move into Belgium over First World War battlefields.¹⁵ The German *blitzkrieg* of May 1940 pushed them to the coast. All but two of the 605 men of the regiment survived and were evacuated successfully through Dunkirk to Margate. Tom remembered communion services on Easter Day in March 1940 as 'something I will never forget ... The days of Dunkirk had little effect on me compared with the happenings of this Easter Day.' At Bernafay Wood First World War cemetery, 'I used the altar stone of the cemetery ... and the hillside seemed to be covered by humanity.'

Postings in the UK

Tom's record card shows several postings around the UK after Dunkirk. He was 'put on the carpet' by a senior chaplain for inviting the former Bishop of Pretoria, Neville Talbot (1879–1943), to preach to one unit. (Talbot appears to have been a thorn in the side of both the military and the church authorities.) After this reprimand, 'I became a bit suspicious of authority for authority's sake. It was, I think, as a punishment that I was sent off to the Far East ...'.

This may have been the first time in Tom's military career when he did not endear himself to his superiors. A friend described him as 'a unique and in a way heroically eccentric character. He was colourful, often flamboyant and perhaps sometimes over-exuberant. He abhorred snobbishness and any affected superiority. He hated, and always fought against, injustice and unfairness. He was very gregarious and he loved good food and good company. Above all he was, as became his faith, kind and compassionate.'¹⁶ It appears that he was a charismatic figure who inspired loyalty from his friends. Even one of the Japanese officers he

¹³ Michael Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department 1796–1953* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008).

¹⁴ Brumwell, *Chaplain*, p. 53.

¹⁵ TNA, *58 Medium Regiment Royal Artillery, January–June, 1940*, WO 167/543; wargunner.co.uk/58th/wardiary1940.

¹⁶ Phillips, 'Silence Broken'.

SH. 10. 9. 1902. WINGDWN 190243 C.E.

PUGH T. J. (A. 15.11.1903) Hth C. T.A.R. 041 med. Cury.

Eastern C.d. - 58 med. Regt. R.A. 2.9.39.

B.E.F. - G.H.Q. Troops. 58 med. Regt. 12.2.40

Southern C.d. - 58 med. Regt. R.A. 17.6.40

" - No 1. Mob. Cont. Centre. R.A.S.C. 30.7.40

Northern C.d. - No 1. Mob. Cont. Centre. R.A.S.C. 6.8.40

" - No 1. Mob. Cont. Centre. R.A.S.C. (York) 14.10.40

Transit Camp for med. 24.9.41. Cont. Bk. 15.5.41

Malaya F.E. Attached 5 Hld Regt R.A. 28.9.41

Missing Malaya 15.2.42 (Cas. List 788 of 3.4.42).

P.O.W. " (Cas. List of 16.4.43) on loan to 72 Indus. 24.3.46. 24/4/46

Returns via Repatriated 24.3.46. 24/4/46

Eastern at 708 while on leave... 24.3.46. 24/4/46

Figure 2: Tom Pugh's Army Record Card.

(His surname was mis-spelled Pughe when he was gazetted.)

Courtesy of the Royal Army Chaplains Department Archive.

encountered in his PoW camp described Tom in his War Crimes trial testimony as ‘a man of splendid character’.¹⁷

Malaya Command

Increasingly militaristic since the nineteenth century, Japan took advantage of the decline of Imperial China and had been campaigning in China and its possession, Manchuria, since 1931. In the late 1930s, there were escalating political and trade tensions between Japan and the Western powers and, in 1940, Japan signed pacts with Nazi Germany, Mussolini’s Italy, Vichy France, and neutral Thailand. There had been considerable British investment in the naval base at Singapore during the inter-war years, but in 1939–41 the war against Germany absorbed most of the available resources.¹⁸

Tom was posted to Malaya in November 1941, attached to the 5th Field Regiment, RA. This was part of the 9th Indian Division, which for some time had been stationed on the old North-West Frontier. The Division had travelled from India to Malaya in May 1941 as part of a reinforcement intended to discourage Japanese aggression.¹⁹ It was to be so severely depleted during the battle for Malaya that it was amalgamated with the 11th Indian Division.

On 8th December 1941 the Japanese attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and launched simultaneous attacks throughout South-East Asia, including an amphibious assault on the 9th Division’s position on the north-east coast of Malaya. The aggressors had tanks, modern aircraft, naval support, a battle-hardened army, and coherent strategic objectives. Although individual Allied units fought bravely, the defence was characterised by repeated retreats down the peninsula until surrender in Singapore on 15th February 1942.

As with Dunkirk, Tom did not write about the fighting in Malaya, stating only that his comments ‘are too critical to be constructive’. The regiment manoeuvred its guns in the hot and humid atmosphere of rubber plantations and even the neutral language of its reconstructed war diary describes the fighting as ‘confused’.²⁰ Major Geoffrey Fennell (1899–1977) saw Tom as ‘a decided asset’ who stayed with the regiment instead of travelling to Headquarters to attend a conference of padres. In the frontline, his personality was viewed as a strength. Tom was good-humoured and the sight of the Regimental Sergeant-Major riding a bicycle reduced him to ‘helpless laughter’. ‘The Padre and the Doctor [George Blair] proved a very formidable team’ from the start. As the regiment left Kuantan, Tom and George were ‘sent forward as Advance Agents’ to identify sites for camps. In Segamat in mid-January, ‘the Padre and the Doctor had met the Manager of the Dunlop Rubber Estate’ and ‘the Mess is in a delightful bungalow located by the Padre’.

¹⁷ TNA, *War Crimes in the Far East. Defendants Uete Taichi et al*, WO 235/1105.

¹⁸ Raymond Callahan, *The Worst Disaster* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1977).

¹⁹ TNA, *Force Capable*, WO 106/4476.

²⁰ TNA, G.W.P. Fennell, *Account of Operations of 5th Field Regiment, Royal Artillery, on the Fall of Singapore and Subsequent Captivity, May 1941 to August 1945*, CAB 106/157 and RA Archive, MD/1264.

8602 台灣 台灣 台 967 70R-6B

7 TM

收容所 Camp	馬來	番號 No.	馬本 7123
姓名 Name	PUGH, Thomas J.	生年月日 Date of Birth	15.11.1904.
國籍 Nationality	BRITISH 英	所屬部隊 Unit	No. 90243. 5 Field Regiment R.A. 11 Indian Division.
階級身分 Rank	Chaplain. ((Capt) R.A.Ch.D.)	捕獲年月日 Date of Capture	昭和 17 年 2 月 15 日
捕獲場所 Place of Capture	SINGAPORE	母ノ名 Mother's Name	Margaret.
父ノ名 Father's Name	Rhys.	職業 Occupation	CLERGYMAN 牧師
本籍地 Place of Origin	Tawyrr Mer Wales.	特記事項 Remarks	
通報先 Destination of Report	Mrs. T. Pugh, Actonvicarage, Sudbury, Suffolk.		

Figure 3: Tom's Japanese prisoner of war card.

TNA, *Japanese Index Cards*, WO/345/42.

Singapore and Changi

After Japanese troops crossed the Johore Strait onto Singapore Island the Allied forces were pushed into Singapore City, where there was vicious fighting in the streets under an apocalyptic pall of smoke from the oil storage tanks at the naval base, which had been set alight to deny them to the Japanese. Evacuation by ship was increasingly hampered by air and sea attacks and when the Japanese took control of the city's water supply surrender became inevitable.

Over 100,000 Allied servicemen were captured and marched to the Changi peninsula at the east of the island, where there were many modern British barrack buildings and other military structures. Figure 3 shows Tom's Japanese prisoner card.²¹ Tom wrote that 'there was a general air of disappointment, despondency and a peculiar feeling of apprehension as to what our people at home should think of us.'²² He held a communion service for 200 or 300 men at the Garrison Church on the day after the surrender.

²¹ TNA, *Japanese Index Cards of Allied Prisoners of War and Internees, Second World War, 1942-1945*, WO 345/42.

²² T. Pugh, 'Our Life', *What Knots. Newsletter of HMNZHS Maunganui* (hereafter *What Knots*), Vol. 2, (17 September 1945).

Indian soldiers, approximately half of those captured, were separated almost immediately and Changi became primarily a British and Australian camp.²³ There were so many captives that the Japanese left them to organise themselves within their military hierarchies and regulations. It was several weeks before the area was wired off into Divisional sections and movement restricted. Changi is often described as a ‘parkland’ in which, before the beaches were wired off, soldiers foraged for coconuts among palm trees. Although in some respects the site was pleasant, it was occupied by more than ten times the number of men it had been designed to house. Buildings were damaged and the provision of latrines, and repairs to the water and electricity supplies, were a priority. There were outbreaks of disease. Japanese rations, when they came, were inadequate and signs of malnutrition appeared within weeks. The camp was so large that many prisoners never met a Japanese soldier, but rumours spread about atrocities, and the policy towards prisoners became clear when working parties in the city saw the heads of decapitated Chinese impaled on stakes.

To mitigate the risks to morale, sports, games, concerts, plays, crafts and educational activities (the ‘Changi university’)²⁴ were organised remarkably quickly. Many prisoners had useful skills and experience from their civilian lives, and chapels were built from scratch or created from existing buildings.²⁵ Tom’s chapel was in a hut in Birdwood Camp in the 11th Division area and was dedicated to Saint Barbara, the patron saint of artillerymen (Figure 4). The regimental diary describes him as ‘very active’.

The England Maru

Soon the Japanese required parties of men to leave Changi, which would eventually become a large transit camp. Its numbers dropped from almost 50,000 to less than 10,000. Working parties were formed for projects to support the Japanese war effort and PoWs were distributed to about 300 camps around Japanese wartime possessions.²⁶ The best known are the camps on the Thai-Burma Railway to which PoWs travelled by rail and on foot to work alongside Chinese and Malay slave labourers, with heavy loss of life.

Parties were also sent overseas and three artillery regiments from the 11th Division, with some Divisional staff, formed Overseas Party ‘Z’ of 1,100 men who sailed for Taiwan on 25th October 1942 on board the *England Maru*.²⁷ She was built in Kobe in 1919 and sunk near the Admiralty Islands on 17th May 1943 by the US submarine *Grayback*.²⁸ She was one of the ‘hellships’, requisitioned cargo vessels used to transport PoWs, as well as Japanese troops and civilians

²³ Sarah Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2020).

²⁴ Midge Gillies, *The Barbed-Wire University* (London: Aurum, 2011).

²⁵ J.N.L. Bryan, *The Churches of the Captivity in Malaya* (London: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1946).

²⁶ Kovner, *Prisoners of the Empire*.

²⁷ TNA, *Parties Transferred Overseas and Overland from Singapore, 1942*, WO 361/2068.

²⁸ Wreck Site, wrecksite.eu.



Figure 4: The sanctuary of the Chapel of Saint Barbara, 11th Indian Division Area, Changi Camp, Singapore.

Crayon drawing by Lance Bombardier A. Lumb, 137 Field Regiment, RA. Bryan, Churches of the Captivity.

and war supplies.²⁹ The prisoners were kept in four holds, lying on shelves built around the walls. Food was lowered on buckets, water was scarce, and the overcrowding and lack of sanitation led to disease.³⁰ In his memorandum, Tom described the experience as ‘battered down in the coal dust’ but, typically, said nothing further about his own experiences. Surviving diaries, such as Haylor’s,³¹ note that Tom led prayers every evening. Over 1,500 PoWs died on ‘hellships’ from the transport conditions alone and, because the ships were not identified as prisoner transports, many were sunk later in the war by the Allies, leading to about 19,000 deaths.³²

²⁹ Gregory Michno, *Death on the Hellships* (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2001).

³⁰ Imperial War Museum (hereafter IWM), J.F. Crossley, *Report on No. 1 POW Camp Formosa*, LBY/K.07/2648.

³¹ Norman Cliff, *Captive in Formosa* (Rochford, Essex: Rochford Press, 1993), p. 14.

³² Michno, *Hellships*.

Colleagues, clerical and medical

A report on chaplaincy services in Malayan PoW camps reveals that Tom's personality was again seen by his seniors as problematic.³³ Assistant Chaplain-General to the Far East, Lieutenant-Colonel J.N.L. Bryan (1892–1951) wrote: 'A somewhat difficult chaplain, and the maker of trouble on certain occasions. Very intolerant of other people's religious persuasions. Red in outlook!' Inter-denominational tensions were not unknown,³⁴ but it is worth examining Tom's relations with his clerical counterparts in more detail.

The only other chaplain on the *England Maru* was Richard Kennedy (1906–86), who had entered the Jesuit order at the age of 18 and spent much of his adult life in seminaries in Ireland, The Netherlands and Hong Kong. Ordained in 1939, he was one of several Irish Jesuits to join the British Army in the war, enlisting in 1941 (Figure 5).³⁵ Afterwards he returned to missionary teaching in China and Hong Kong. He is described as 'brave', 'committed' and 'an athletic and tough 35 year-old rugby player from Dublin [with] quite a fiery temperament ... from a well-to-do family'.³⁶

Tom wrote in his memorandum: 'Here one saw, sad to relate, the unwillingness of Roman Catholic Chaplains to detach themselves from what they called Canon Law and nothing would persuade them that the conditions in which we found ourselves were unknown and not catered for by Canon Law.' His remark may refer to the memorial service to the 5th Field Regiment's war dead held at Changi on 13th September 1942 round a memorial built from 'scrounged marble slabs and chain railing' when Major Fennell was obliged to take the service himself because 'the Roman Catholic chaplain [presumably Richard Kennedy] refused to allow RCs to attend a service led by Padre Pugh'.³⁷

Tom was also wary of extreme beliefs amongst Protestants and wrote that, on arrival in Taiwan, 'Some of the men had read books published under the auspices of the Jehovah's Witnesses ... and persuaded the whole camp that, on a certain day, the hand of God would descend and we should be liberated. Here one came face to face with the dangers of Fundamentalism.'

Bryan's judgment that Tom was 'intolerant' seems overly harsh. From Taiwan, Tom wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he tried to be a priest 'to all' and that all the PoWs were his 'parishioners'.³⁸ In his post-war work he would initiate non-denominational Sunday services and in the 1967 memorandum he wrote of his gladness that his ministry 'had been on a comparatively wide front'.

Furthermore, Tom continued to work well with his medical colleagues (Figure 5). There were three in the *England Maru*: Canadian Major Ben Wheeler

³³ Royal Army Chaplains' Museum Archive, J.N.L. Bryan, *Reports on Chaplaincy Services in Malayan POW Camps. Appendix 4*, 011.001.

³⁴ Snape, *Chaplains*.

³⁵ Irish Jesuit Archives, *Fr Richard J Kennedy SJ*, IE/IJA/J/216 and *Documents relating to Fr Richard J Kennedy SJ as a Japanese prisoner-of-war in Taiwan*, IE/IJA/CHP/2/23.

³⁶ Andy Coogan, *Tomorrow you Die* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2013), p. 54.

³⁷ TNA, Fennell, *Account*, CAB 106/157.

³⁸ Wellcome, *Blair*, PP/GBL.



Figure 5: Tom's colleagues on the *England Maru*.

Clockwise from top left: (i) George Blair, (ii) Ben Wheeler, (iii) Peter Seed, (iv) Richard Kennedy, Courtesy of (i) Wellcome Institute, (ii) & (iii) <http://www.powtaiwan.org> and (iv) Irish Jesuits collection.

(1910–63) and RAMC Captains George Blair and Peter Seed (1913–77). George and Peter were young, recently-qualified doctors. Ben Wheeler was older and had experience of tropical diseases and working conditions in the Indian Medical Service, a hybrid military and civilian service with origins in the East India Company.³⁹ His daughter, a film director, used her father's diaries as the basis for a drama-documentary, *A War Story*.⁴⁰

Taiwan and Taihoku

Taiwan (Formosa) had been a Japanese colony since its cession to Japan at the end of the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. In 1942 it became the first site of imprisonment for senior military officers and colonial officials, after the surrender camps.⁴¹ In all, sixteen PoW camps were set up at different times and about 4,000 men spent at least part of their captivity there.⁴² It is a mountainous sub-tropical island with a heavy rainfall, driven by the monsoon, and occasional snow on its mountain peaks. Its sugar refineries and mineral deposits were important to the Japanese war effort and it was geographically central in Japan's wartime possessions. These enterprises and its ports and airfields made it a target for Allied bombing and one of its PoW camps (Heito) was abandoned after an air raid in February 1945 killed more than 25 prisoners and injured many others.⁴³

The men of the 11th Division disembarked on 14th November 1942 at Kiirung (Keelung) harbour in the north of Taiwan. Many were sick after outbreaks of diphtheria and dysentery on the 20-day voyage, and two had died. Major Fennell was disciplined by the Japanese and placed in solitary confinement for protesting about his men's treatment.⁴⁴ Tom, with George Blair and Ben Wheeler, accompanied half the group to Taihoku camp. Richard Kennedy and Peter Seed and the remaining PoWs went to Kinkaseki, the copper mining camp. Both camps were close to Taihoku (Taipei) city and to Kiirung. Kennedy was transferred in 1943 to Shirakawa in the mountains, a camp for senior officers. Ben Wheeler moved to Kinkaseki in 1943 and in 1945 he and Peter Seed accompanied a party of sick PoWs to Shirakawa, by then a *de facto* hospital camp.⁴⁵ In contrast, Tom and George spent the whole of their captivity in Taiwan in Taihoku.

The transcripts of the Taiwan war crimes trials, held in Hong Kong in 1947 and 1948, provide information about conditions in Taihoku. Tom and Captain Esmond Sowerby (1910–77) attended in person as witnesses and others,

³⁹ Donald McDonald, *Surgeons Two and a Barber* (London: Heinemann, 1950).

⁴⁰ Anne Wheeler, *A War Story* (National Film Board of Canada, 1981), nfb.ca/film/war_story.

⁴¹ Hamish Ion, 'Brass Hats Behind Bamboo Palisades', *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. 46, (2011), pp. 303–331.

⁴² Michael D. Hurst, *Never Forgotten* (Taipei: Mei-Hua, 2020), pp. 105–106; powtaiwan.org.

⁴³ CINCPAC-CINCPAC, *Air Target Maps & Photos: Northern Formosa – Pescadores*, ATF/146A-44, 1 October 1944.

⁴⁴ University of Alberta Archive, *Dr Benjamin Wheeler Personal Papers 1936–1950* [closed file], UAA-1977–001. Personal communication, Anne Wheeler.

⁴⁵ Katherine M. Venables, 'Doctors in Japanese prisoner-of-war camps in Taiwan in the Second World War and their personal accounts of captivity', *Medical History*, Vol. 69, (2025), pp. 277–304.

including Drs Wheeler and Blair, provided written testimony.⁴⁶ There were eight huts made of bamboo, arranged in two rows. Their long walls were lined with sleeping platforms and there was a row of tables in the centre. There were several latrines, stores, a cook-house and a small hospital with a separate isolation hut. Gunner John Clement (1915–94) was a commercial artist before the war and his diaries are copiously illustrated with sketches, often humorous and always informative.⁴⁷ Figure 6 shows details about Taihoku from one of Clement's notebooks and Figure 7 shows the interior of a hut at liberation, with abandoned possessions.⁴⁸ The fittest PoWs worked in a railway and bus repair workshop in the city, or on construction projects. Sick men capable of light duties made bamboo baskets in the camp. Tom gave evidence of repeated beatings, sanctioned by camp commanders, and described overwork and inadequate rations and supplies. He was fair to the Japanese and testified to incidents of kindness by individual guards. One of the accused reported that Tom gave him English lessons.⁴⁹

The Taihoku hospital admissions book and other medical records survive in George Blair's papers.⁵⁰ In common with data from other Japanese camps, they show that the principal problem was staying alive in the face of malnutrition, overcrowding, malaria and other tropical diseases, overwork, punishment beatings and a lack of medication and other medical resources.⁵¹ Every PoW, to a greater or lesser extent, suffered from beri beri, dysentery, intestinal worms and skin conditions. Tom was one of the more fortunate PoWs and his only recorded sickness is an attack of dengue fever which kept him off work for a few days. Sowerby's testimony in the war crimes trials includes a snapshot for Taihoku on 21st September 1943 when '105 men (over 20 percent of the camp strength) were sick: 18 in hospital, 34 allowed to lie down in their huts, 46 carrying out light duties in camp, and seven who had reported sick but were not yet categorised. Of the sick, 35 had beri beri, 28 had disorders such as fevers, jaundice and diarrhoea and 42 had skin conditions including ulcers and boils.'⁵² Prisoners were regularly weighed and all lost weight. Blair's notes from August and October 1943 describe camp averages of only 55 and 53 kg (8 stone 9 pounds (lb) and 8 st 4 lb) and Haylor's diary states that his usual weight was 85.7 kg (13 st 6 lb), but it fell to its lowest in 1945, between 47.2 and 50.8 kg (7 st 6 lb and 7 st 13 lb).⁵³ Blair recorded over 80 deaths of PoWs at Taihoku alone and, on average, Tom took two or three funerals per month.

⁴⁶ TNA, *War Crimes*, WO 235/1105; TNA, *War Crimes in the Far East. Defendants Yoshimi Taneoshi et al*, WO 235/1099.

⁴⁷ Glasgow City Archives, *Papers of John Francis Clement*, TD/1764.

⁴⁸ USS Block Island Association. *Formosa POW Rescue*, ussblockisland.us.

⁴⁹ TNA, *War Crimes*, WO 235/1099.

⁵⁰ MMM, *Blair*, RAMC/PE11/890/BLAI; Wellcome, *Medical records*, RAMC/1280.

⁵¹ Geoff Gill & Meg Parkes, *Burma Railway Medicine* (Lancaster: Palatine, 2017).

⁵² TNA, *War Crimes*, WO 235/1105.

⁵³ Wellcome, *Medical records*, RAMC/1280; Cliff, *Captive*, p. 38. In Imperial measurements a stone is 14 pounds and a pound is 16 ounces.

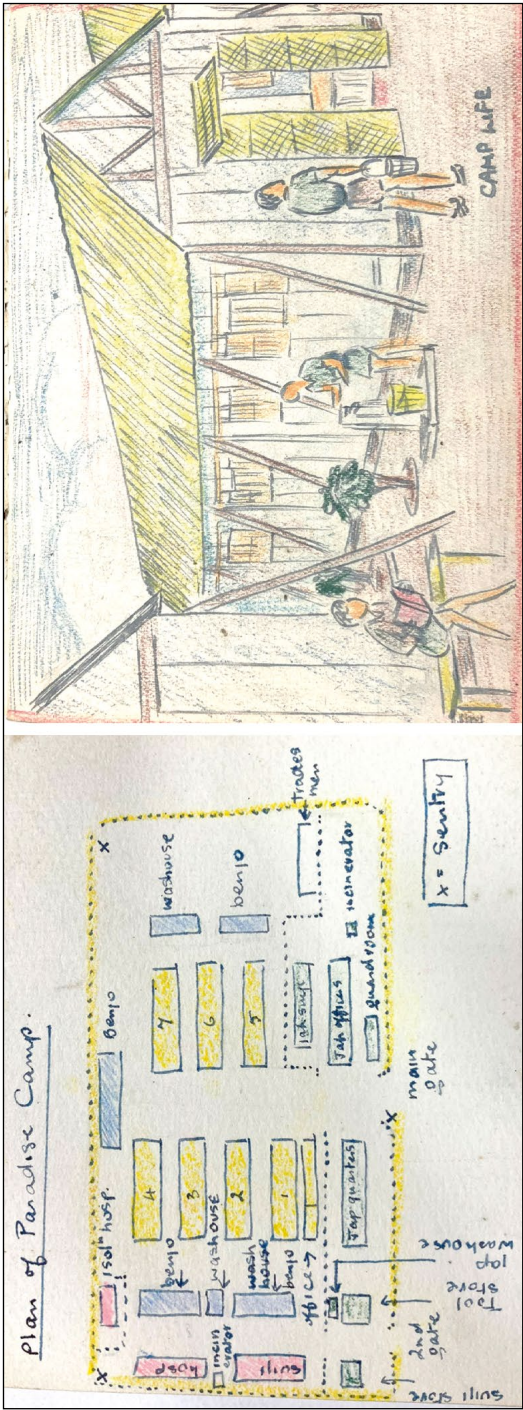


Figure 6: Crayon sketches made at Taihoku camp.
Benjo = latrine, suiji = cookhouse.
John Clement, Glasgow City Archive, TD/1764.



Figure 7: After the liberation, inside a Taihoku hut.

Unknown photographer, ussblockisland.us.

Prisoners were astonishingly resilient in their practical and creative responses to captivity and in their care for each other and the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine has documented both the privations and their responses.⁵⁴ Friendship was important to survival and the Blair notebooks show that Tom and George pooled their limited supply of cigarettes.⁵⁵ Peter Seed referred to the ‘tenderness’ with which prisoners treated each other and, especially, the sick.⁵⁶ Army chaplains have always been expected to help in hospitals at busy times,⁵⁷ and, in Kinkaseki, Richard Kennedy was in charge of the diarrhoea ward for several weeks.⁵⁸ Tom

⁵⁴ Gill & Parkes, *Medicine*; Meg Parkes & Geoff Gill, *Captive Memories* (Lancaster: Palatine, 2015); Meg Parkes, Geoff Gill & Jenny Wood, *Captive Artists* (Lancaster: Palatine, 2019).

⁵⁵ Wellcome, *Medical records*, RAMC/1280.

⁵⁶ IWM, *Private Papers of Captain P G Seed*, Documents.1615.

⁵⁷ Snape, *Chaplains*.

⁵⁸ IWM, *Seed*, Documents.1615.

would have helped Ben and George in similar ways, as well as conducting funerals and visiting the hospital in his pastoral role. His work was appreciated and Fennell's war diary records a 'whip-round of cigarettes as an Easter offering to Padre Pugh' in 1943.

A remarkable letter has survived from Tom's time in captivity, preserved both in the Lambeth Palace archive and in the Blair papers.⁵⁹ The Archbishop of Canterbury sent a pastoral letter to the captured Anglican chaplains and its arrival caused great concern to the Japanese authorities. 'I was given a week off work to write [a reply] and it was like passing legislation through Parliament as the Japanese challenged every clause.' It makes poignant reading in its understatement. Despite the best efforts of the Japanese, Tom slipped an enormous amount of information past the censorship and the Archbishop passed the letter on to the Foreign Office. It is worth reprinting in full.

Captain the Revd, T. J. Pugh
No. 6 Branch Camp
Taiwan

7th August, 1944

Most Reverend Father,

I received your card dated December 1943 on Friday last, and by the courtesy of the Japanese authorities in this Camp, I am being permitted to write a special letter of thanks for your message.

First of all, may I be permitted to send you a message of congratulation on your translation to the Primacy of Canterbury, and to assure Your Grace of our prayers for you in your arduous responsibility.

I am allowed to give you a rough outline of our life in this Camp. We are a very mixed population, both aesthetically and nationally, and we have been here close on two years. I try to be a priest to all, being the only Chaplain here, and I hope that I shall be exonerated for many an uncanonical act when I return home! I am being allowed complete religious freedom on Sundays, and, with the exception of one Sunday, the men have been allowed to observe Sunday as they would at home. We have Holy Communion at 6.15 a.m.; then I go the Camp Hospital and the Isolation Ward to give the inmates Communion; 8.30 – a service at the hospital; 10 a.m. Matins; and at 4.30 p.m. Evensong. The Y.M.C.A. have sent us many bibles, prayer books and hymn-books, as well as 600 other books, which form a Camp Library. We have been given a plot

⁵⁹ Wellcome, *Blair*, PP/GBL.

of land for our grave-yard, which we have fenced off from the main cemetery. One can but hope that this will be sufficient. When we first came here, everything seemed very strange, and our main difficulties were the language obstacles and the difference in temperament between the Japanese and ourselves. I am glad to say that in this respect our condition is greatly improved, and the Officers who are now in charge of this Camp have knowledge of English, and we have acquired a slight knowledge of their language. Consequently we manage to reduce misunderstandings to the minimum. The Camp Hospital is in the charge of a young Scottish doctor, and he is both conscientious as regards his duties and sympathetic in his attitude towards my work.

We have received food and drugs from the International Red Cross, the second consignment arriving in May of this year. I should like you to know, Your Grace, that the authorities of this Camp allowed our own Supply Officer to deal with the Red Cross supplies on the two occasions they have arrived here, and I should like further to state that we are in grave need of more foods from the Red Cross.

There are ten British Officers in this Camp, excluding myself, and we each have our allocated task to perform. Among our activities are a Rope factory and Bamboo works for those who are not strong enough to do heavier work. A farm is in process of creation, and a huge area is under cultivation with vegetables for Camp consumption. My own particular job on a week-day, at the moment, is looking after a water-buffalo we have just bought to help us with cultivation.

The first Christmas we were here we were allowed a half-day holiday and we had a carol service in the evening, with pork and fruit as a special treat for supper. Last Christmas we were allowed a whole day free from work, and we were allowed to carry out our religious observances. A water-buffalo was presented to us, which was killed and reduced to steaks. This, as you can imagine, was much appreciated. We actually had a Christmas tree as well and the Japanese and British Officers managed to make a small present to each man. On Good Friday, too, we have been allowed to hold an evening service, and this year the Commandant remembered our War Dead on November 11th, and the Commandant attended the service.

During the last six months letters from home have been coming through rather spasmodically, but a source of great joy to the recipient, though, alas! sometimes bringing with them sorrowful tidings. The only other points I have not mentioned are the Canteen and the Concert Party – both institutions are a great moral uplift to the Prisoners.

This, Most Reverend Father, will give you some idea of our life here, and you will gather that, with the exception of the first months here when the situation was grim, things are now much improved, but in the name of those people who have become my parishioners, I do appeal for renewed efforts on the part of the International Red Cross to reach us with proteins, as we have not yet been able entirely to subjugate our Western upbringing, and also to send us socks and towels, as most men are working minus these necessary comforts.

Again thanking Your Grace for remembering me, and for your message which came at a time when I was in need of solace,

I remain, assuring you of my humble allegiance and obedience to your Throne,

Yours,

(signed) T Jenkin Pugh

Liberation

American aircraft began photo-reconnaissance over Taiwan in early 1943 and dropped bombs and propaganda leaflets during 1944 and 1945. In February 1945 the officers heard about the 'exterminate them all' order mentioned in many memoirs, which instructed camp commandants to kill all the PoWs in the event of an Allied invasion. In a later radio broadcast that he gave in New Zealand, Tom told of the anxiety and tension that prevailed in the camp in mid-1945.⁶⁰

In August 1945, rumours started about a large bomb dropped on Japan and a Japanese surrender. When the official news was announced Tom 'came round on his daily visit to the sick. His first words were "O.K, boys, it's all over". ... This cheered the patients immensely'.⁶¹ Heavier work ceased and PoWs from across the island were concentrated on Taihoku for evacuation. The doctors started to move the sickest patients into the Japanese military hospital in Taihoku city. On 26th August, PoWs were free to sing their national anthems at the Sunday service for the first time.

An efficient humanitarian mission identified the camps and liberated the PoWs. On 28th August, three American B-29 bombers circled the camp and dropped drums of relief supplies, injuring 21 men, killing two and contributing to the death of a third, one British, one American and one Dutch. Supply drops then continued almost daily. American naval officers landed on 2nd September, Tom held a thanksgiving communion service, and the Japanese were disarmed. Over the next week prisoners who were fit to travel were evacuated to the aircraft carriers USS *Santee* and USS *Block Island* where they showered, were deloused and fed,

⁶⁰ Transcript of broadcast in 'Thanks and Farewell', *Tē Awamutu Courier*, (14 January 1946).

⁶¹ R. Bell, 'Liberation', *What Knots*, Vol. 2, (17 September 1945).



Figure 8: Prisoners who were fit to walk on their liberation.

Unknown photographer. US NARA, 80-G-495663.

and were given clean clothes. Many photographs of these emotional events survive. Figure 8 shows jubilant prisoners leaving Taihoku.⁶² The evacuation happened so quickly that PoWs left possessions in their huts and Tom arranged for a party of Japanese to collect them ready for loading, then took the salute himself. 'This was an incident I will always remember' wrote Driver Mechanic Bell.⁶³

Tom remained behind with about 120 very sick patients. British cruisers *Bermuda* and *Argonaut* arrived and Royal Navy chaplain J.E. Roberts wrote an account of events.⁶⁴ He felt 'privileged' to meet Tom at the hospital on 7th September and to walk round the docks and camp with him. 'When the British ships came into view the padre and the doctor were hardly able to express their delight.' Tom and George Blair were given accommodation on the British ships. One of the hospital patients died and Tom and Chaplain Roberts conducted his

⁶² US National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter US NARA), 80-G-495663 and 80-G-343551; USS *Block Island* Association.

⁶³ Bell, 'Liberation'.

⁶⁴ Wellcome, *Blair*, PP/GBL.

funeral together, the last of Tom's many funerals at Taihoku. The remains of all the PoWs buried in Taiwan would later be removed to the Sai Wan Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery in Hong Kong.

Within a few days all the remaining PoWs were transferred to the New Zealand hospital ship *Maunganui*. She was a former luxury liner, built on the river Clyde in Scotland in 1911, and became a troopship in the First World War and a hospital ship in the Second (Figure 9). After the war she was refitted as a passenger liner, renamed *Cyrenia*, and was eventually broken up in 1957. As a hospital ship, she could carry 365 patients and 100 medical and nursing staff and was well-equipped with modern facilities.⁶⁵ She sailed from Taiwan on 12th September for Manila and then on to Wellington, where she arrived on 9th October. Four patients died on board, two as it berthed in Wellington and Tom took their funerals (Figure 10).⁶⁶

The ship produced a regular newsletter, *What Knots*, and encouraged the former PoWs, including Tom, to write about their experiences.⁶⁷ As the voyage continued, debates and concerts were organised and patients were encouraged to write humorous pieces, such as:

‘There once was a padre called Pugh
With a thousand and one things to do,
Such as stopping a blister reeled off by the Sister
And taking his treatment when due.’⁶⁸

Return home

Like other relatives, Tom's wife Marjorie did not hear that Tom was alive and a PoW for over a year after the surrender in Singapore. She wrote to George Blair's mother that ‘the Ministry of Health requisitioned the Vicarage to use as a Hostel’. She became the hostel Matron, caring for mothers and children at first, and then unaccompanied children. ‘It's really good fun and very interesting,’ she wrote, and ‘It has kept me from being too miserable.’⁶⁹ Tom stayed on in New Zealand with the hospitalised patients until 1946. Accounts of his return say that his parishioners chose not to ring church bells on VE Day and VJ Day, preferring to wait until Tom returned. He was remembered after he left the parish in 1947, and Acton named a road after him, ‘Canon Pugh Drive’.

There were nine war crimes trials of 123 Japanese and Taiwanese personnel accused of mis-treatment of prisoners in Taiwan.⁷⁰ Most defendants were found guilty and received prison sentences and there were 21 death penalties. The defence was, essentially, that: PoWs were treated the same as Japanese soldiers,

⁶⁵ Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, *Hospital Ships of World War Two*, navymuseum.co.nz.

⁶⁶ Wellcome, Blair, PP/GBL and ‘Military Honours: Funeral of British Soldiers’, *Evening Post*, (10 October 1945).

⁶⁷ Pugh, ‘Our Life’.

⁶⁸ Anonymous. Untitled. *What Knots*, Vol. 2, (24 September 1945).

⁶⁹ Wellcome, Blair, PP/GBL.

⁷⁰ TNA, *War Crimes*, WO 235/1099 and WO 235/1105; Suzannah Linton (ed), *Hong Kong's War Crimes Trials* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).



Figure 9: HMNZHS Maunganui.



Figure 10: Tom taking a funeral in New Zealand.

Both images Courtesy of the Wellcome Institute, Blair, PP/GBL.

deaths were due to illness, not mis-treatment, illness was in turn related to poor weather and Allied air raids and, in any event, responsibility was borne by those of higher or lower rank to the accused. This defence was somewhat undermined by the care the Japanese had taken to stage propaganda events, including for inspectors from the Red Cross. One of the curiosities to survive in the War Crimes trial records is a propaganda photograph of a group of PoWs, including Tom, in freshly-pressed uniforms and on a country walk to view cherry blossom.

With George, Tom wrote to the relatives of all the prisoners from the 5th Field Regiment, RA, who died in Taihoku.⁷¹ He attended reunions of former PoWs and organised one himself in the Butlins holiday camp at Skegness in 1949. The *Nottingham Evening Post* wrote that, in captivity, he would ‘go round cheering up his fellow prisoners. “Keep your ends up men,” he said. “We shall have a reunion one day at a different camp to this which will not be behind barbed wire.”’⁷²

A different kind of camp

It seems likely that Tom was restless after returning from the war and the Anglican authorities decided to use his talents in a new venture. When Tom was interviewed by Anglia Television for a 1961 documentary film about religion in holiday camps, he described himself as having been ‘uprooted’ in 1947 by the Archbishop of Canterbury from his ‘delightful country parish’ in order to become the Senior Chaplain to the Butlins Organisation.⁷³ It was a role to which his personality and wartime experience made him uniquely suited and in which he continued until 1971.

Billy Butlin was a religious man who ensured that each of his holiday camps had a chapel. When Tom joined, there were five camps. Two had opened before the war (Skegness, Lincolnshire, in 1936 and Clacton, Essex, in 1938) and three during the war (Filey in Yorkshire, Pwllheli in Wales, and Ayr in Scotland). All were taken over by the War Office. During Tom’s time at Butlins, camps were added at Mosney (Republic of Ireland, 1948), Bognor (Sussex, 1960), Minehead (Somerset, 1962) and Barry (Wales, 1966). At this period in the mid-twentieth century the camps provided a self-contained, inexpensive family holiday experience for thousands of people every year.⁷⁴

It was also the period of National Service, and Tom was able to recruit young chaplains recently released from the forces and waiting for a parish appointment. ‘We don’t want a backslapping parson ...’ he says in the Anglia documentary in which he also harks back to his wartime service and describes his chaplains as being ‘in the front line’ of pastoral opportunity. The important work, he says, is ‘not necessarily the Sunday services but the pastoral care’ of holidaymakers and camp staff.

⁷¹ Personal communication, Blair family.

⁷² ‘200 Ex-P.O.W’s to attend Reunion’, *Nottingham Evening Post*, (16 September 1949).

⁷³ East Anglian Film Archive, 205041, *Swimsuit and Cassock*, (Anglia Television, 1961).

⁷⁴ Rocky Mason, *Butlins in its Prime* (lulu.com, 2013); Paul Wray and Rocky Mason, *Follow the Rainbow to Butlins*, quoted in Butlins-memories.com; walesonline.co.uk (18 February 2022); *Skegness Magazine* (23 March 2009), skegness.wordpress.com.



Figure 11: Tom Pugh with the Archbishop of York at Butlins Filey holiday camp, 1954.

Reproduced with permission of Mirrorpix and Alamy.

The cited memoirs by former Butlins staff show that the chaplaincy was seen as an important part of the organisation, but Tom, while ensuring that his chaplains were approachable, made it clear that they were distinct from the Butlins staff. Tom's own status was as a member of the staff of the Archbishop of Canterbury and he stressed that the chaplaincy was the church 'in' Butlins, rather than 'of' Butlins. In the Anglia interview, he observes that his chaplains are recognisable but maintain a certain distance from holidaymakers, wearing a black cassock as a working 'uniform'. He would write to parish priests after the annual conference of his chaplains and would invite church dignitaries to preach in the camps (Figure 11).

Tom directed an Anglican mission to holiday camps and caravan parks from 1969 to 1971 and the Lambeth Palace correspondence files show that parallels were drawn with Industrial Chaplains but, in the end, these ideas about a ministry to people who were away from home did not take off. Tom was then in his sixties and, by the time of Billy Butlin's retirement in 1968, the popularity of holiday camps was waning for families, with the rise of drunken stag parties, and with competition from cheap overseas package holidays.

Envoi

Tom remained friends with George Blair after the war. Even though his grandfather was a Church of Scotland minister, George became an Anglican through Tom's influence, and Tom travelled to Scotland in retirement to take George's funeral in 1979.⁷⁵

Although Tom Pugh may have been viewed as 'difficult' by senior military chaplains, and perhaps something of a wild card by the Anglican establishment, there are many cordial letters in the Lambeth Palace correspondence files between Tom and senior officials, and between officials about him, and he was a member of the Archbishop of Canterbury's staff until his retirement. He was respected for his ministry in Japanese captivity, which appears to have determined his post-war career, and his work at Butlins was innovative. He gained formal recognition of his qualities and became a canon of Lincoln Cathedral in 1955, was awarded a Lambeth MA in 1959, and became a Chaplain to the Queen in 1962. The Pugh family photograph collection contains an engaging photograph of Tom shaking hands with a smiling Queen Elizabeth.

Tom moved back to north Wales after retiring. His wife Marjorie pre-deceased him in 1970. They had no children. Tom died in 1980, typically "excited" ... at the thought of death'.⁷⁶

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the Pugh family for help with Tom's family tree and personal history and for permission to use family photographs. Several archives contain information about Tom Pugh and I thank in particular David Blake and the archive of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department Museum, Shrivenham, Siân Mogford and the Royal Artillery Archive, Larkhill Camp, and the staff of Lambeth Palace Library. For information on George Blair, I thank the Blair family, Marie Ellis, Regimental Secretary of the RAMC, David Wiggins and the Museum of Military Medicine, Keogh Barracks, and the staff of the Wellcome Collection. Anne Wheeler provided excerpts from Ben Wheeler's diaries, currently closed and held in the University of Alberta archive. The Imperial War Museum provided access to Peter Seed's papers and Glasgow City Archives to John Clements' papers. Richard Kennedy's papers are held in the Irish Jesuits' archive. The National Archives holds files on war crimes trials and on other relevant issues. Many thanks

⁷⁵ Personal communication, Blair family.

⁷⁶ Phillips, 'Silence Broken'.

go to the staff of the Bodleian Library, Michael Hurst, the historian of the Taiwan camps, Michael Snape, Rob Lyman, and several colleagues at the University of Oxford and at Goldsmiths, University of London.

