

# FAR EAST ESCAPE

An audacious escape from Japanese captivity inspired by British guerrilla fighters ended in execution in front of a firing squad. Steve Snelling unravels the remarkable story behind the Pudu Jail breakout in the heart of Japanese-occupied Kuala Lumpur.

**P**at Garden held his breath as the Japanese guard patrolling the prison perimeter ambled ever nearer. Just around the corner of the cell block three more prisoners kept silent watch in the shadows while eight men waited, nerves a-jangle, for the signal that would send them on their way.

Moments later Garden breathed again as the sentry drifted through an opening that led to the cookhouse and away from the compound which had been suddenly plunged into darkness by a deliberately timed act of sabotage.

Creeping forward to keep a close eye on the distracted guard, the 30-year-old New Zealander whistled "The Lambeth Walk", the pre-arranged signal that the way was clear, at which point one of the other look-outs, Bill Bateman, made for

the perimeter wall encrusted on top with razor-sharp shards of broken glass. The other side of the fifteen feet high red brick boundary lay the prison vegetable garden and, not far away, the track of a branch railway which led north-east to a concrete-lined drain and the prospect of freedom.

Working fast, Bateman wriggled a key into the padlock of the side gate which had been specially switched. Within seconds the eight men, bent beneath the weight of 50lb packs and all wearing rubber-soled shoes to muffle their footsteps, appeared at his side and quickly filed out, leaving him to quietly shut the door behind them.

As the escapers vanished into the darkness, their assistant diligently replaced the padlock and turned the key

before slipping back into the cells along with the other three lookouts.

It was the night of 13 August 1942, almost six months since the fall of Singapore. The first and last breakout from Pudu Jail in the heart of Japanese-occupied Kuala Lumpur had gone off without a hitch.

The escape, one of only a very few attempted anywhere in the Far East by Allied prisoners in the face of almost insurmountable odds and dire consequences if recaptured, had been long in the planning and was the brainchild of two Malay planters.

Bill Harvey and Frank Vanrenen had known each other since early 1938 when Harvey, fresh out from Norfolk where he had been toiling unhappily as an insurance clerk, arrived in Kuala Kangsar, in northern Perak, to take up a post as assistant manager on a rubber plantation. At 24, he was eleven years younger than Vanrenen, a Malaya-born, former British Army officer who was managing the neighbouring Lewin estate. Harvey was deeply impressed by Vanrenen. In a letter home, he described him as "undoubtedly the hardest working man I've met, and as tough as an elephant".<sup>1</sup>

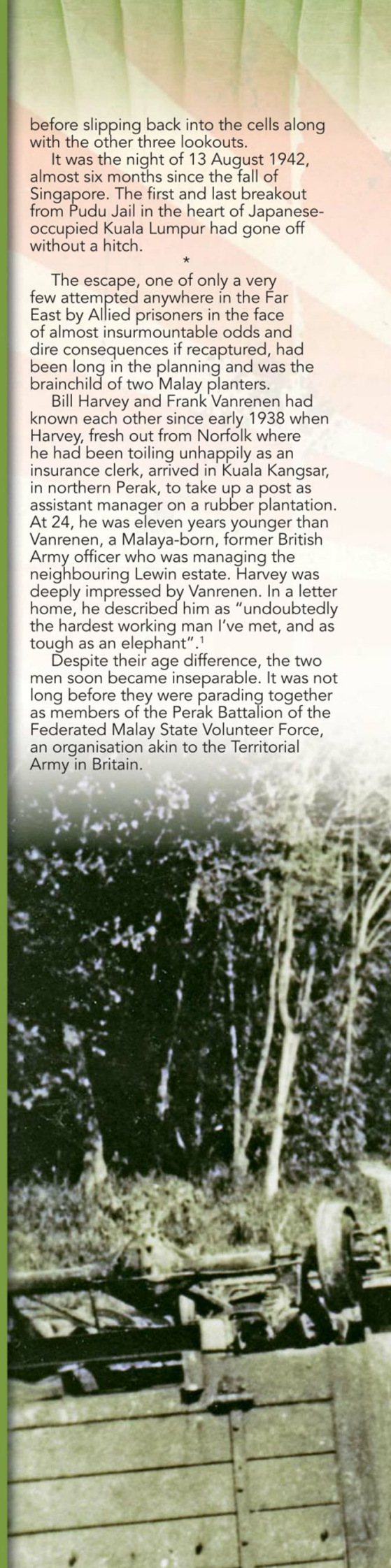
Despite their age difference, the two men soon became inseparable. It was not long before they were parading together as members of the Perak Battalion of the Federated Malay State Volunteer Force, an organisation akin to the Territorial Army in Britain.



**MAIN PICTURE RIGHT:** Wrecked British transport lines the main west coast road through Johore in January 1942. Abandoned during the retreat from Batu Pahat, the photograph is a graphic illustration of a dependence on roads which was in stark contrast to the tactics employed by the "Left Behind" parties which were able to inflict similar damage by striking from their jungle hideaways. (All images courtesy of the author unless stated otherwise)

**LEFT:** Frank Vanrenen, planter, soldier and guerrilla fighter. Married in 1940, his wife, Margaret, was heavily pregnant with their only child when she left Singapore on one of the last evacuee ships before the surrender. Frank, who was captured while endeavouring to set up an SOE escape line from Malaya to Sumatra, was joint leader of the Pudu Jailbreak.

**ABOVE FAR RIGHT:** William Percy "Bill" Harvey in pre-war days in Malaya. A private in the Perak Battalion when the Japanese invaded, he enjoyed a rapid rise in the days that followed. Promoted Lance-Corporal within a week, he was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant on 8 January 1942, having embarked on a new career as a member of No.1 Guerrilla Party. His courage behind enemy lines earned him a posthumous Mention in Despatches.



Mobilised on 1 December 1941, Vanrenen and Harvey were serving at Taiping in north-west Perak when the Japanese invaded eastern Malaya seven days later. For more than a week Vanrenen's platoon, including a newly-promoted Lance Corporal Harvey, stood guard over an airfield without a shot being fired in anger.

Withdrawn first to Ipoh, where they resisted a series of Japanese bombing raids and shot down a Dutch aircraft by mistake, and then to Kampar, Vanrenen and Harvey were ordered to Kuala Lumpur where they learned that they had been selected, together with four more Perak volunteers, to act as guides for a British-led Australian force preparing to mount an audacious commando-style operation deep behind Japanese lines.

In a campaign characterised by retreat and defeat, the small-scale raid carried out by Rose Force proved a rare morale-boosting success. On Boxing Day 1941, two platoons, under the overall command of Major Angus Rose were infiltrated into Perak by naval launch. Attached to each platoon were three of the guides who all knew the area well.

As luck would have it, the force's solitary ambush resulted in the destruction of five lorries and three staff cars. One of the passengers was a Japanese general who was among those killed.

Though not all had gone according to plan, the performance of the guides had been especially praise-worthy.

Harvey, in particular, excelled himself. As well as single-handedly reconnoitering the ground, he had infiltrated Japanese-patrolled territory disguised as a Malay native to collect some sampans to ferry the troops back to the launches. Not only that, he succeeded in rescuing three



British Army stragglers who had been cut-off behind enemy lines since the opening days of the campaign.

Back at base, Harvey and Vanrenen fell in with Major Freddy Spencer Chapman, an irregular warfare specialist and commander of the Special Operations Executive-administered No.101 Special Training School (101 STS). Meeting on 30 December, the three men formulated an audacious scheme to target the enemy's ever-lengthening lines of communication by recruiting Malay Volunteers into a small force of saboteurs and inserting them deep inside Japanese-held territory.

The plan called for a chain of small self-contained parties to be installed in the jungle at strategic points along a rough line running from Kuala Kubu to Kuala Lipis. Each party was to be self-sufficient and

equipped with enough demolition, ammunition and food supplies to enable them to operate, if overrun, for at least a year. To help them, a reserve dump was to be established at a central hide-out in the mountains around Tras.

The Chapman initiative marked the effective birth of SOE's so-called "left behind" parties in Malaya. By New Year's Day 1942, with the Japanese continuing to sweep through the peninsula, the hastily-conceived plan was already being put into effect.

Assigning himself the task of interrupting the flow of enemy traffic along the country's main rail line and most important trunk road, Chapman took charge of the largest team – No.1 Guerrilla Party. For his deputy, he selected Frank Vanrenen, with the rest of the party consisting of Bill Harvey, two planter friends, Boris Hembry and Richard Graham, and a Royal Engineer, Sergeant John Sartin, who had worked with Chapman as a demolition instructor at 101 STS.

Under Chapman's direction, the party split up in order to establish two dumps north of Kuala Lumpur. However, the speed of the enemy's advance threw the plan into disarray. With one half of his team, led by Vanrenen, cut off near Tanjong Malim, Chapman, already laid low by a bout of malaria, just managed to reach Harvey and Sartin before they too were marooned.

Undeterred, the three men then embarked on an epic march westwards,





**ABOVE:** Bill Harvey relaxing on the verandah of his bungalow on the Gapis estate in Padang where he was assistant manager of a rubber plantation. Like many British workers among the Malay Volunteers, he was confident that the anticipated Japanese attack could be defeated. Writing home shortly before the invasion, he insisted the Japanese had "missed the boat". He added: "Malaya is very heavily armed now and more than a match for the Japs, who can't even beat the disorganised Chinese Army!"

**ABOVE LEFT:** Ronald Graham in 1940. Captured with his friend Frank Vanrenen, he escaped with him and was executed alongside him in September 1942. (Estate of Boris Messina Hembry)

**BELOW:** Before leaving for Malaya in 1938, Bill Harvey had served as a subaltern in the Territorial Army. He is pictured here (fifth from the left in the front row) with fellow members of 333 Field Battery, Royal Artillery, during an annual summer camp in Sussex in 1936.

traversing miles of jungle-clad hills through enemy-controlled territory, in an effort to re-unite the divided force. What Chapman later described as a "nightmare journey" took twelve punishing days to complete and ended in bitter disappointment.<sup>2</sup>

Arriving at the hideaway exhausted, they discovered the camp abandoned and the dump looted. Dispiriting though

the situation was, all was not lost. A friendly Chinese had managed to recover some of the arms and explosives and hidden them in a cave. There was sufficient for the three men to make a stab at turning their plan to wage guerrilla war into daring reality.

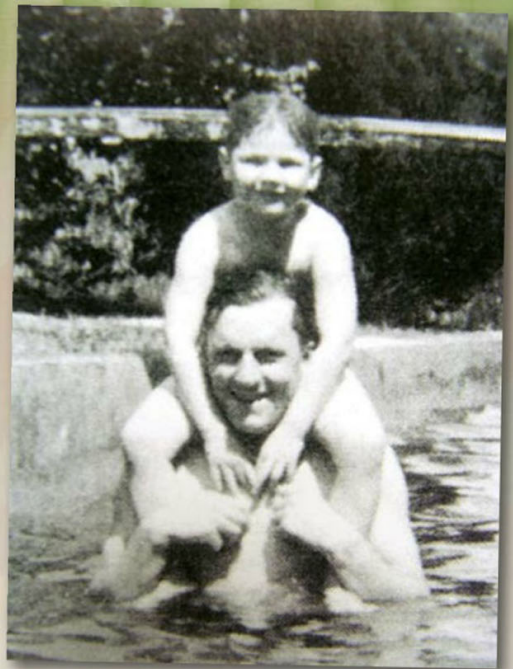
What followed was a minor epic of clandestine warfare. During what Chapman called the "mad fortnight"<sup>3</sup>, the saboteurs struck again and again.

In Harvey, recently commissioned as a Second Lieutenant, Chapman found a kindred spirit. "Bill was a wonderful man to have on a party as he was very powerful, most resourceful and, above all, had a tremendous sense of fun and was marvellous company," wrote Chapman. In short, he thought him "the ideal man for the job".<sup>4</sup>

Together, they organised more or less nightly attacks on rail and road links. In the course of one nocturnal sortie, Harvey provided cover as his partners crept into a Japanese lorry park to place explosives beneath six trucks while their crews slept. Raids with grenades and machine-guns became so common place as to render some stretches of road virtual "no go" areas for enemy convoys.

In his diary, Sartin recorded an attack on Tanjong Malim railway bridge: "Too many people about to chance superstructure of bridge. Bill decides the rails. The first section on it we distributed 42 slabs GC [gun-cotton] and start(ed) fixing on the Primacord and primers when we heard someone walking ... towards us.

"We froze. Looking towards station (we) could just see the station master crossing the line towards the signal where he put on the red light for our end of the line. We nearly burst out laughing. He



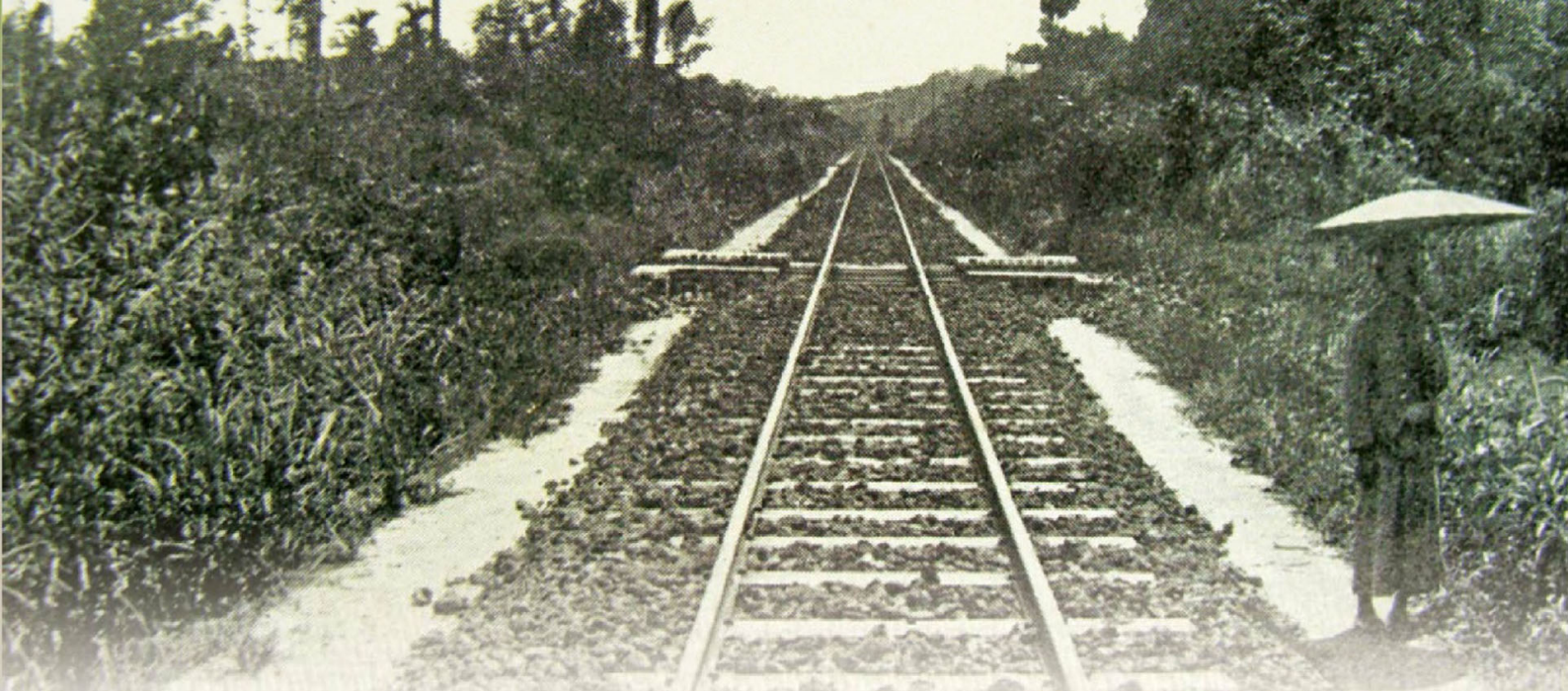
went back to the station. We completed job and got away towards camp.

"We cover approx 17 miles, mostly in driving rain. Wonder about explosives. We stop in tumbledown shed for a rest and a smoke. 0530 hrs rain stops and we hear train in distance going towards TJM bridge. We hold our breath. Will it go or not? We had not many minutes to wonder. An appalling crash, nearly deafened. Bill and I breathe again. What a relief."<sup>5</sup>

A clear indication of their "nuisance" value was revealed in the unambiguous warning contained in a Japanese proclamation issued shortly after the Tanjong Malim bridge raid. "Anyone found in KD (Khaki Drill) on the line at night," it ran, "would be shot on sight".<sup>6</sup>

By the time their explosives were all but exhausted, Chapman estimated their fortnight of mayhem had resulted in seven or eight trains being derailed, at least forty trucks being damaged or destroyed and anywhere between 500 and 1,500 casualties being inflicted on an enemy





unused to setbacks of any kind.

Brave as they were, they had been blessed with astonishing good fortune – but their luck could not last. They were too few and their effort too little and too late to affect the outcome of the campaign. With Singapore fallen and their stores running perilously low, they began to plan an exit strategy which involved breaking out to the west coast near the scene of the Rose Force exploit and sailing to India.

By mid-March, when they set the evacuation plan in motion, the three-strong party had swollen to eight men with the arrival of a complete team led by Lieutenant Pat Garden.

The saboteurs were divided into two groups, originally of four each, but later five and three, and headed off on newly-acquired bicycles. At first all went well. Travelling mainly at night, they skirted potential danger points until 19 March when the second party, consisting of Garden, Harvey and Sartin, ran into a Japanese checkpoint at the Kuala Kubu crossroads.

Accounts of their capture vary slightly. According to Garden, they were on foot,

pushing their "heavily laden and ancient bicycles which were no longer fit to ride", when Japanese soldiers "appeared out of the night".<sup>7</sup>

Sartin, however, has them riding into trouble: "We had gone about 1 mile when, rounding a bend in the road, we saw the street light on at new Kuala Kubu. Bill went ahead on a recce, came back and said he couldn't see anyone. It was no use going through old Kuala Kubu as the Japs were there. So, we decided to stick to the main road.

"We moved on into the lamp light, and were passing out of it into the dark when a sentry thrust out his bayonet at Bill. I looked behind me and saw another bayonet about half an inch from the back of my neck. A shout from one of the sentries and we were surrounded and taken PoW."<sup>8</sup>

Rudimentary interrogation followed before they were moved, by stages, to Kuala Lumpur's Pudu Jail, arriving on 24 March 1942. There, they were reunited with other members of the "left behind" parties, including two of Chapman's original team – Frank Vanrenen and Ronald Graham, whose road to Pudu had been an extraordinary one.

Having been forced to abandon their looted jungle camp, they had evaded the advancing Japanese army and escaped by boat to Sumatra. Flown back to Singapore, which was by then in a state of siege, they had been sent back into occupied Malaya as part of SOE's effort to establish an escape route for British troops cut-off behind enemy lines. It was during that ill-starred mission that the pair had been captured and, having passed themselves off as stragglers, brought back to Kuala Lumpur.

Conditions in Pudu were appalling. By March, more than 650 men were crammed into a section of the jail which normally housed a maximum of 120 men. There was no hospital, precious few medical supplies and the food barely edible. Inevitably, disease was rife, resulting in numerous deaths.

On the plus side, security was surprisingly lax. Over time, food, drugs and even weapons, including grenades and sticks of gelignite, were smuggled into the jail. At the same time, contacts were established with friendly Chinese

**ABOVE:** The main railway line through Malaya. Bridges and track were repeatedly blown along the route by Chapman's "Left Behind" saboteurs.

**BELOW LEFT:** Ronald John Nicholas Sartin. A Sergeant Instructor at the SOE's 101 Special Training School when he joined Chapman's band of saboteurs, Sartin was commissioned whilst operating behind enemy lines and, at the war's end, he was awarded the Military Cross for his bravery.

**BELOW RIGHT:** John Sartin's rank was erroneously given as acting sergeant in January 1943 when official word reached his family that he was a prisoner of war in Japanese hands.

inside and outside the prison walls, all of which gave encouragement to the most determined escape-minded captives in Pudu.

Of those, none were as determined as Frank Vanrenen and Bill Harvey. One planter friend later reported that Harvey used to creep out of the prison at night and "meet some Chinamen who were to help them to escape".<sup>9</sup>

By April, Vanrenen and Harvey had already begun seriously planning their break-out, undaunted by the disapproval of senior officer PoWs and the knowledge that failure would almost certainly be punished by death. The would-be escapers' initial focus was on gathering



Army Form B. 104-83A.

No. C/2/94/83A  
(If existing, please quote above No.)

R. J. N.

**ROYAL ENGINEERS.** Record Office,  
**BRIGHTON.** Station.

28 January 1943

See ~~the~~ MADAM,

I have to inform you that a report has been received from the War Office to the effect that (No.) 1862 93  
(Rank) A/SGT (Name) SARTIN, R. J. N.  
(Regiment) ROYAL ENGINEERS.  
is a Prisoner of War IN JAPANESE HANDS  
INTERNEED - MALAYA CAMPS

Should any other information be received concerning him, such information will be at once communicated to you.

Instructions as to the method of communicating with Prisoners of War can be obtained at any Post Office.

I am,  
~~Dear~~ MADAM,  
Your obedient Servant,  
*R. J. N.*  
RE  
For Colonel, Officer in charge of records.

**IMPORTANT**—Any change of your address should be immediately notified to this Office. It should also be notified, if you receive information from the soldier above, that his address has been changed.

WP1 2024/5500 FORM 500. 500. K7/1/42/200 Op. 40/2 Printed B. 104-83A



**ABOVE:** The Gap Road south of Fraser's Hill runs through the range of mountains separating the jungle camps which were established by No.1 Guerrilla Party at Sungei Sempan and Tanjong Malim in January 1942 as the Japanese forces were closing in.

**BELOW LEFT:** The kind of thick jungle in which Chapman, Harvey and Sartin hid while mounting guerrilla raids against rail and road links. It was much the same kind of terrain that Harvey, Vanrenen and the three other members of their escape party unsuccessfully tried to negotiate after breaking out of Pudu in August 1942.

**BELOW MIDDLE:** A sketch map showing the saboteurs' main area of activity, the point of capture in March 1942 and the probable route taken by the Vanrenen escape party prior to their recapture at Bentong. It was drawn for Bill Harvey's family after the war by fellow Malay Volunteer P. "Tiny" Lewis.

**BELOW RIGHT:** Robert John Paterson "Pat" Garden. The New Zealand-born mining engineer volunteered for jungle warfare after the air training scheme on which he had enrolled was cancelled because of the Japanese invasion in December 1941. Recruited by the SOE and trained in clandestine warfare, he commanded his own "Left Behind" party before joining forces with Chapman and being captured. Though opposed to the Pudu escape, he acted as look-out and was subsequently consigned to a punishment camp on Singapore Island for his part in the operation. He outlived all his comrades, dying in 1998, the last member of the original "Left Behind" parties.

provisions and equipment and making duplicate keys for the three padlocked doors that stood between them and freedom.

Over the following weeks, the plan gradually took shape. Stolen arms and tins of food found their way into the prison to be concealed in cells and a water fountain, while the prisoners' Chinese contacts – via notes left in a match box in the prison garden – yielded maps and vital intelligence.

Finally, on 13 August Vanrenen and Harvey led a five-strong group that included Ronald Graham, another of the Temerloh guides and a fellow member of No.1 Guerrilla Party, Captain Bernard Hancock of the Gurkha Rifles and Captain Dick Nugent of the Garwhal Rifles. A second was commanded by Australian-born planter Captain Giffard Macdonald of the Kedah Volunteer Force and consisted of fellow Aussie, Sergeant Ken Bell, of the 4th Anti-Tank Regiment, and Dutch airman, Sergeant Jon van Crevald.

of fellow PoW Foster Pelton (a Malay Volunteer who was among the original list of escapers), "according to plan". Once outside the prison walls, however, it was a different story.

Macdonald's party was the first to run into trouble. Their plan was to trek south through the city before striking for the west coast. At Port Dickson, they aimed to obtain a boat and sail across the Strait of Malacca on the first leg of a hugely ambitious island-hopping voyage to Australia.

However, they were still short of their first night's objective when, at about 01.00 hours, a barking dog brought a man scurrying out of a wooden shack. He challenged them and when they ignored him he immediately blew a whistle and more figures appeared.

"By then I knew we were in trouble and dodged into the rubber," noted Macdonald in a letter written to his wife in the midst of his escape and left with a friendly plantation worker. "As far as I could make out the others stood still for the man and his dog came after me. I ran like stink and fell down a bank with my pack ... the whole place was crisscrossed with drains and holes.

Everything had gone, in the words





"I would have hidden in the dark from the man but the dog had me licked so eventually I had to dump my pack, hop into a stream and run up it. This shook off the pursuit but I had a nasty hour waiting for things to subside and a nastier time

nering myself to go back for the pack."<sup>10</sup>

In the confusion of the chase, he had completely lost track of Bell and van Creveld and decided to press on in the hope of finding them at the next rendezvous. Whether or not the two sergeants were recaptured there or a little later is unclear, but, according to Pelton, they were picked up at some time that night by a "security patrol" near Kajang, some fourteen miles south of Kuala Lumpur, where they were held for two days.

Vanrenen's party fared better. Their escape route followed a branch railway line and a concrete drain to a golf course from where they intended to cut north, skirting a rifle range, on their way to a Chinese temple where they planned to shelter for a few days. From there they aimed to make their way to the village of Karak in Pahang's Bentong district where a guerrilla dump had been established in January.

Once re-supplied, they hoped to carry on northwards to Ipoh where rumour had it that the Chinese were resisting the Japanese occupation. If unfounded, they intended to trek further up-country and build a hide-out near Kroh while the two army officers explored the possibility of reaching India.

As with Macdonald, their march out of the city took longer than anticipated. Plagued by barking dogs, they found it difficult crossing the Pahang road and then, just to complicate matters, Graham blundered into an



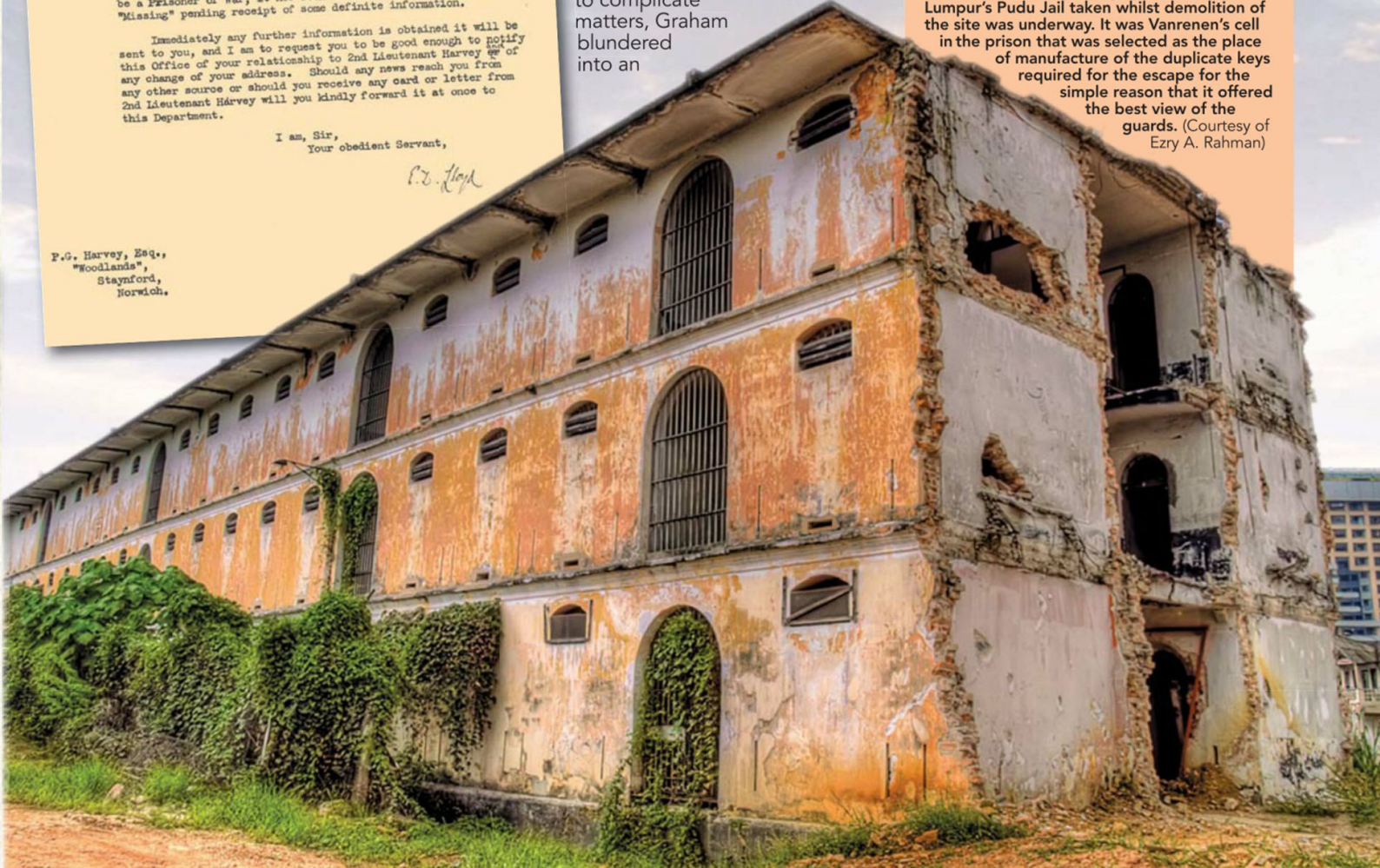
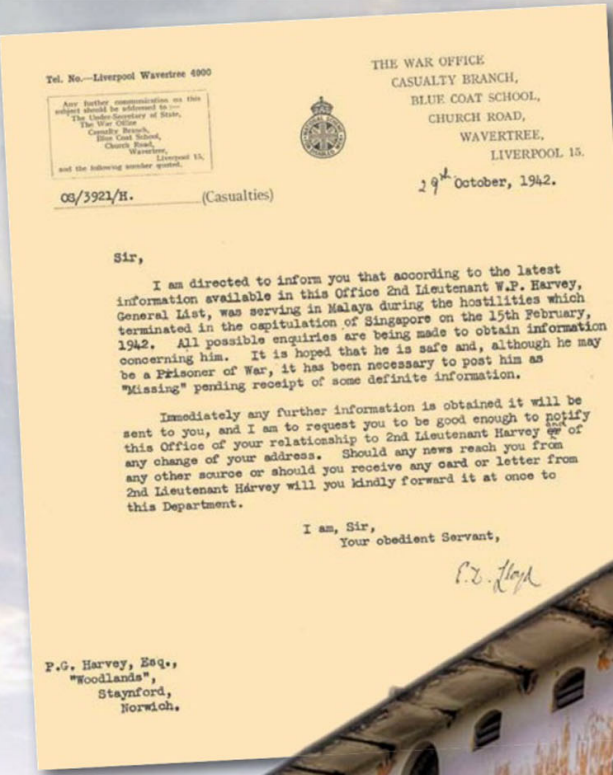
abandoned mine working, injuring his back. Rather than pushing on, they decided to call a halt and laid up in the area for a few days before heading into an

**ABOVE LEFT:** A gateway into Pudu Jail. Around a thousand POWs were held there from January until the autumn of 1942 when they were variously shipped out to Singapore and labour camps on the notorious Thai-Burma Railway. Malay Volunteer Ken Archer later wrote: "Very little was done during the nine months I was there to make life at all reasonable. As a result ... about 12 per cent of those there died. These were not battle casualties, but died mainly as a result of starvation and neglect." (Courtesy of Ezry A. Rahman)

**ABOVE RIGHT:** One of the outer walls (in this case on the west side) of Pudu Jail – the last hurdle encountered by the escapers on the night of 13 August 1942.

**LEFT:** The original War Office notification, dated 29 October 1942, that Bill Harvey had been posted "missing". By then he had already been dead for more than a month, though his family continued to cling to the hope that he was alive and incarcerated in a Japanese prisoner of war camp until the end of the war. Confirmation of Bill Harvey's fate eventually came in December 1945, though details of his execution did not emerge until much later, through correspondence with former Pudu prisoners.

**BELOW:** A recent photograph of Kuala Lumpur's Pudu Jail taken whilst demolition of the site was underway. It was Vanrenen's cell in the prison that was selected as the place of manufacture of the duplicate keys required for the escape for the simple reason that it offered the best view of the guards. (Courtesy of Ezry A. Rahman)





**ABOVE:** Frank Vanrenen was executed on the outskirts of the city where he was born. His death almost certainly robbed him of a gallantry award to add to his three Second World War service medals.

**RIGHT:** The war memorial in All Saints Churchyard, Hainford, Norfolk, not far from the family farm where Pudu escaper Bill Harvey grew up and which he left in late 1937 to take up a post as an assistant plantation manager in Malaya. The altar rail in All Saints Church was dedicated in 1951 and honours all of the men who died during the Second World War. Of the nine men, five died as prisoners of the Japanese or as a result of the Malayan campaign.

**BELOW RIGHT:** Twenty years after the war John Sartin, left, and Freddy Spencer Chapman are reunited for a *This Is Your Life* programme honouring Chapman's adventurous career in peace and war.

area of jungle that appeared to be largely uninhabited.

Back in Pudu, senior prisoners, ignorant of the fate of the escapers, agreed to fake two roll calls the following day to give their comrades a head start.

When the Japanese eventually discovered eight men were missing all hell broke loose. "They were like madmen," one PoW recalled. Amid a "great commotion ... all cells and PoWs [were] thoroughly searched, all privileges taken away and roll calls [taken] at all hours of the day and night".<sup>11</sup>

As the days passed without news of the six men still at large, optimism grew. Then, towards the end of August, Macdonald was recaptured and returned to Pudu where he was shortly joined by four members of Vanrenen's party – Vanrenen himself, Harvey, Graham and Hancock. They had been free for eighteen days and had travelled as far north as Karak before their faith in the local population's loyalty was cruelly shattered. Pat Garden heard their story of betrayal while being held for interrogation in a cell opposite the recaptured men.

Despite all their planning, they had gone astray and become disorientated and decided to risk asking some Malays where they were. "The Malays proved treacherous and they were overtaken and fired on," wrote Garden.<sup>12</sup> In the "stiff fight" that followed, the Malays wounded Nugent in the neck and Graham in the lower leg. Another bullet struck the mess tin Harvey was carrying. Cornered with two injured men, they had little choice but to surrender and were promptly handed over to the Japanese. Bill Harvey's narrow escape was their last piece of good fortune in an otherwise luckless affair.

Denied bedding or blankets and any washing facilities, the seven reunited Pudu escapers were forced to survive on scraps of food smuggled into them as they underwent brutal interrogation from the dreaded Japanese military police.

Their ordeal lasted into the third week of September. Finally, on the evening of 18 September 1942, they were manacled and taken out, unshaven and unwashed, into the prison compound. According to those who saw them, their spirits remained unbroken. Some responded to the cheers of their fellow prisoners with weary smiles. Most seemed resigned to their fate.

Ordered to leave their few possessions behind, they were loaded onto a waiting truck. Their last journey out of Pudu took them seven miles north to Cheras cemetery where they were led away by armed guards carrying spades and shovels. Not long after, the Javanese driver, who was ordered to wait by his truck, heard "a salvo" of rifle fire. About twenty minutes later, the Jap officer and guards returned alone and the driver noticed that "the spades and shovels were dirty".<sup>13</sup>

Though no details are known, it is thought that Dick Nugent, who had been kept back in hospital in Bentong, was executed around the same time. His grave can be seen today in Taiping War Cemetery. Despite exhaustive post-war investigations, the graves of the other seven have never been found.

Today, the names of six of the escapers are recorded on the Singapore Memorial,<sup>14</sup> bearing mute testimony to a grim fate and a great escape worthy of a better end. ■



#### NOTES:

1. Letter from Bill Harvey to his parents, dated 21 March 1938.
2. F. Spencer Chapman DSO, *The Jungle Is Neutral* (Chatto & Windus, 1951).
3. *Ibid.*
4. Letter from Freddy Spencer Chapman to Bill Harvey's father, dated 4 December 1947.
5. John Sartin diary notes, via his son David.
6. *Ibid.*
7. R.J.P. Garden, Report on Party 'Left Behind' in Malaya, dated 17 September 1945.
8. John Sartin diary notes.
9. Letter from P.M. "Tiny" Lewis to Bill Harvey's father, dated 14 February 1946.
10. Letter from Giffard Macdonald to his wife, dated 25 August 1942.
11. Diary of Second Lieutenant P.J. Clancy, 2nd Cambridgeshires.
12. R.J.P. Garden, *Survival in Malaya, January to October 1942* (self-published, 1992).
13. Diary of events from P.M. "Tiny" Lewis to Bill Harvey's father, undated.
14. As he was not a member of the armed forces of the Commonwealth, Sergeant Jon van Crevald is not commemorated by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

