The Story of the end of Johore Battery during the Battle for Singapore



And The War Experiences of Gunner William Nash, as compiled from records & conversations with his son Malcolm Nash.

Preface and editing by Karl Hack

May 2013

Copyright © Malcolm Nash and Karl Hack, May 2013

Disclaimer: All rights reserved. Normal academic citation, fair use and not-for-profit classroom use is allowed. Other than that, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form without the prior permission in writing of the publisher or the authors.

Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies

Working Paper No. 05

Preface

Karl Hack

This is the fifth of the Ferguson Centre's Working Papers, and the third to provide *a first-hand account of the workings of empire*. The Centre is eager to help preserve, and make publicly available, more such accounts. We are also happy to consider posting replies or additions to a paper online, where these might add substantively to a paper, or provide an alternative or even competing view or voice.

This particular paper touches on the Fall of Singapore in 1942, on the experience and aftermath of life as a Japanese POW in Changi and on the 'Death Railway', on personal experience of a soldier in the latter days of empire, and on the way the British military and its imperial role shaped one man's life, through both opportunity and trauma. It integrates documents, photographs, and oral history as transmitted through family.

This paper came about when Malcolm Nash, the son of William Nash, contacted me by email about a book I published in 2004, namely Karl Hack And Kevin Blackburn, *Did Singapore Have to Fall? Churchill and the Impregnable Fortress* (London: Routledge, 2004). William Nash's story is both interesting in its own right – providing a view of the Fall as catalyst in one man's life – and also adds interesting extra detail to the story of Singapore's Fall and of captivity.

Malcolm contacted me because the book had delved into the myths and documents surrounding Singapore's surrender, on 15 February 1942, to Japanese forces, and his father's story cast extra light on one of these myths.

The overall story which my book with Dr Blackburn book dealt with is all too well known. The Japanese had landed on the beaches of southern Thailand and northeast Malaya on the night of 7-8 December 1941, and then raced down the peninsula to face Singapore, across the Causeway, in little more than 60 days. Once they finally attacked the island of Singapore itself, from the night of 7-8 February, it took them and their overwhelming mechanized and air superiority just 7 days to overwhelm a numerically superior force.

The myths generated about Singapore's fall have been myriad, that Indian troops were mutinous and poor (many were, but many fought steadfastly), that the British were surprised (they predicted where the Japanese would land, and how their attack would unfold, even the approximate number of attacking aircraft), and that in the last moments, amidst the ruins of Singapore Town, British-led forces could actually have defeated or stalled Japanese forces who were running short of ammunition (in fact the seas around Singapore were peppered with Japanese ships heading south, and about to invade what is now Indonesia).

One such myth had been that the 'guns of Singapore' faced uselessly to sea, unable to turn and find, thus symbolizing the British unpreparedness. Singapore, so it was said, turned out to be a fortress without a backside. Indeed, Hossan Leong's 2006 spoof song 'We Live in Singapura' managed to cram all the

myths in starting with the line 'Singapura very strong/Big guns, pointing wrong/Japan, came on bikes/Invade us up our backsides'.¹

True: Singapore's marshy northern shores contained relatively little in the way of fixed defences: but given the terrain and that the Singapore naval base could only be defended by keeping the enemy miles away, this was not that astonishing. Dr Blackburn and myself demolished what remained of the rather gun myth in our 2004 book. It was not the silliest myth, mind you. In the 1990s I had the genuine pleasure of assessing teacher trainees in Singapore schools, and more than once I heard enthusiastic trainees tell their charges that the Japanese bicycled through the jungle (as opposed to down Malaya's road system). Persuading them otherwise, and getting them to imagine what cycling through jungle would actually be like, sometimes took quite some effort.

The truth about the guns was simple. When the British first planned to build a vast new naval base at Singapore in the 1920s, they sited it on Singapore's northern coast, in the narrow straits that separate Singapore from Malaya's southernmost state of Johor (then spelt Johore). At *that* time, landward attack from Japan was genuinely unlikely, as Japan's nearest naval bases were in Formosa (Taiwan), aircraft ranges were pitifully short, and Malaya's east coast road system poor. Britain correctly guessed that any Japanese attack plans in the near future were likely to feature seizing a forward base in Borneo or elsewhere, and then slowly building up forces before eventually attacking Singapore.

So the naval base would be defended as follows. In case of imminent war a 'main fleet' would be rushed to Singapore, to arrive in anything from 42 days upwards. In the meanwhile, a small garrison would defend Singapore and southern Johore, while land-sited naval guns would keep Japanese ships away from the naval base in the north, and the civil shipping and main town in the south.

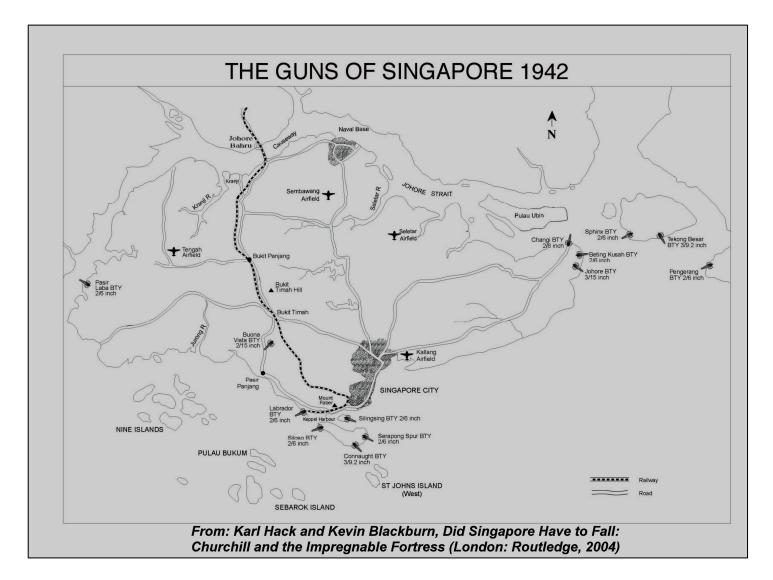
When that plan gradually became obsolescent, from the late 1930s, Britain quickly realized that. Indeed, from 1937 British planners correctly guessed that – with new bases closer to Singapore, longer aircraft ranges and a better Malayan road system – Japan would probably seize advance bases in northern Malaya or southern Thailand and advance from there down Malaya's well developed west coast. They then realized, in 1940-41, that any British fleet might take weeks if not months due to commitments elsewhere, so that Japanese forces might reach Singapore and attack it before a relieving fleet could arrive. They also anticipated the Japanese mustering up to 600 aircraft. But here was the rub, Britain was fighting for its life in the Middle East and on the home front, and by 1941 sending aircraft and tanks to Russia in its life or death struggle. Churchill chose to take risks in Singapore - sending men but few machines - on the assumption that the United States would probably intervene if Japan attacked Malaya. What he did not anticipate was Pearl Harbor, the audacious Japanese attempt to conquer most of Southeast Asia almost simultaneously, and Japan's mastery of German blitzkrieg tactics. Together these factors meant that Malaya's defenders would be defeated despite their planners having anticipated the scale and broad nature of the Japanese attack. You could debate whether or not Churchill was right or wrong: but either way Malaya received no tanks before December 1941, and had less than 160 effective aircraft when attacked. Given the extremely unlikely combination of factors that came together from December 1941, including Japan's strategically virtually suicidal decision to attack Britain and the US simultaneously, Singapore became all but doomed

¹ The song was written by Edmund Tan and performed by Hossan Leong at the Old Parliament House comedy event of 24 August 2006.

Which brings us back to 'Singapore Fortress', where Malcolm Nash's father William was manning one of the guns at the time of Japan's attack, in December 1941. Obviously the Fortress is rather a poor symbol of British unpreparedness, since it did its job (the Japanese never attacked the island directly from the sea), and had been designed for the needs of a previous decade. But what precisely did it, and its gunners, do?

If you want to know in detail, read *Did Singapore Have to Fall?* But for the sake of this story, let me sketch the outline picture. 'Singapore Fortress' was the name given to the system of land-sited naval guns, combined with all the stores, observation posts, and associated electrics and machinery which enabled guns to act as a cohesive, integrated gunnery system. These guns varied from tiny weapons, up to five mighty 15 inch guns some of which had literally come off battleships. Two of Singapore's guns had fought at the Battle of Jutland, one on HMS *Barham*, and the other on HMS *Valiant*. Singapore was, in a sense, turned into an unsinkable battleship. Above all, it cannot be emphasized enough that 'Fortress' was a technical term, and if Churchill or anyone else thought Singapore was a 'fortress' in the medieval sense, of an all-round protected place, they were culpably ill-informed and outmoded, if not delusional.

So, what did this 'Singapore Fortress' consist of by December 1941? It had about 29 large coastal guns:



five

15 inch, six 9.2 inch and eighteen 6 inch guns, in addition to smaller weapons.

These guns were split between two 'Fire Commands', Changi and Faber.

- 1. Changi Fire Command commanded the guns covering the approach to the island and its northern straits and so naval base from the east.
- 2. Faber Fire Command controlled the guns in the south of the island, which covered Singapore Town, and the merchant shipping which collected on the coast just to its south.

Did Singapore Have to Fall? not only re-emphasized that the guns did not represent any British lack of foresight – they did anticipate the Japanese scale and type of attack – but also that many of the guns could fire landward, and did take part in the final and increasingly desperate week-long battle for Singapore.

The guns were of course and quite rightly sited primarily to fire out to sea, with more ship-killing armour piercing than infantry-killing High Explosive shells. Despite this, many of the guns had fairly wide arcs of fire, which could be increased if safety stops and hydraulic equipment were removed.

Briefly, the story was that the five biggest guns were in two batteries. Buona Vista Battery of two guns seems to have been unable to come to bear on Japanese forces advancing from Malaya without removing much of its stops and hydraulics, if then. It seems not to have fired in anger. But Johore Battery's three guns, located in the eastern area of Changi, next to (and for one gun right under) the current Changi airport, had a different story.

Two of its three guns could turn sufficiently to engage Japanese forces advancing across Johore, and northwest Singapore, and Colonel Tsuji has recounted coming under their fire when near Tengah airfield around 11-12 February 1942. Tsuji describes the one tonne, armour piercing shells coming in at one every few minutes, producing craters 15-16 metres in diameter and 5-6 metres deep, with a jarring blast and a searing flash. Other naval guns had been firing landward from as early as 5 February, but Johore Battery's most intense phase came around 10-12 January when it shelled areas around the centre and west of the island, including around the battle for Bukit Timah. This would no doubt have been more effective had there been more than – allegedly – a single High Explosive shell available, but the shelling still seems to have assisted in allowing forces to break off from a mauling around Bukit Timah Hill, and regroup on Singapore town's outskirts, around the junction of Adam and Farrer Roads.

That is where *Did Singapore Have to Fall?* ended the story of Johore Battery, with the sparse statement that its firing 'only ceased on the evening of 12 February, when the retreat to a final perimeter around the city put the eastern guns outside of the defenders' area, and so demanded their destruction' (*Did Singapore Have to Fall?*, p. 119).

In this statement, we were relying on the 'War Diaries' of Changi Command and its subordinate units: the 'written record'. But when Malcolm Nash contacted me to say his father had a slightly, but significantly, different, story about the end of the guns, I was not surprised. There is always the danger that historians, and the wider public, will unduly fetishize written documents. In reality like any other source they must be cross-checked and corroborated. War Diaries by their nature are likely to be written up after battle has passed its intensest phases, in this case often in captivity in Changi POW camp weeks later, by those who

survived and were at hand. Indeed, to some degree they originated in 'oral history' of the time, in commanders writing up what subordinate commanders, and rank and file, remembered and reported.

What, then, are we to do when oral history contradicts such a 'written' record? And when oral history, as here, is passed down from one generation to the next, and can no longer be checked against the original 'interviewee'? Again we seek corroboration, and 'fit' with the other facts we know.

Basically, what you need to know to contextualize William's story, is that the big guns had 'rifling' or grooves inside their barrels, designed to spin the shells and so give them stability and accuracy in flight. This rifling took a pasting in action, and was only expected to last for up to 200 shells before needing replacing. The replacement was a difficult operation, requiring a crane.

We also know that Johore Battery's two active guns were firing with some intensity at various points over 10-12 February, and in addition that their crews knew the fight for the island was increasingly desperate. On the other hand, they could not perhaps have anticipated that they would have to be withdrawn from their batteries at the close of 13 February, and reorganised to fight as infantry.

This is where the story of William Nash, as one of the gunners of Johore Battery, comes into play. I will let you take his account of his gun's end direct from his son's brief narrative below. I find it persuasive in its general outline, and interesting, and beyond the guns themselves a fascinating vignette of how one man's life was framed and reframed by his experience as an imperial soldier. As such, it takes the story from his early days in orphanages, through the Fall of Singapore, to captivity (which frequently is the longest passage in soldiers' memoirs as deposited in the Imperial War Museum and elsewhere), to the aftermath.

KARL HACK

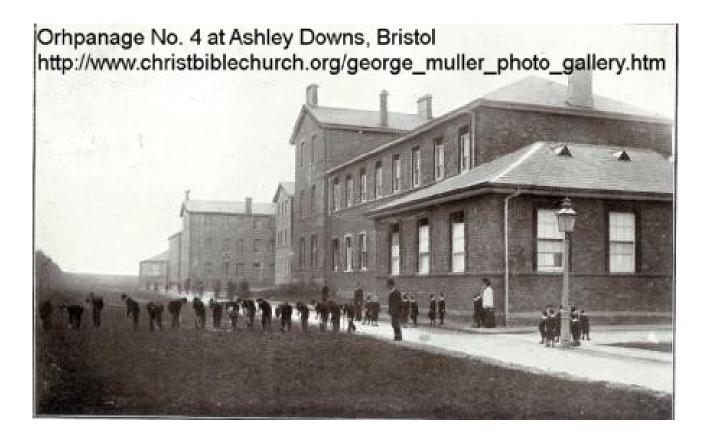
8 May 2013.

Karl Hack is Senior Lecturer in History at The Open University, and with Kevin Blackburn led the historical consultancy for the Singapore Tourism Board on the 'Johore Battery' in 2001 to 2002. This involved physical exploration of the site, followed by historical research on the battery and its role. It led to a poster, to the last remaining site of a 15 inch gun's tunnels being opened as a heritage location, and ultimately to the book *Did Singapore Have to Fall*.

'The Story of the end of Johore Battery during the Battle for Singapore and the War Experiences of Gunner William Nash, as compiled from records and conversations with his son, Malcolm W. Nash.

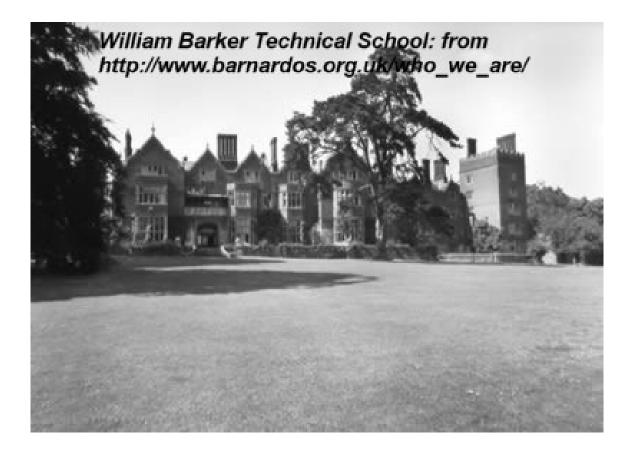
My father William Charles Edward Nash was born in East London on the 15 April 1917. His father was a railway labourer at Stratford, but at the age of eighteen months my father lost both parents within days of each other to the influenza epidemic of 1918. He did not appear to have any other relatives from his father's line, and was taken in by his maternal grandmother until her death. Now seven years old, he was apparently left without any relatives with the means and will to bring up another child.

In October 1924 his grandfather gained his admission into a 'George Müller Foundation' orphanage at Ashley Downs, in Bristol.² He found the life there strict and austere and ran back to his aunt, who merely returned him to the orphanage. He completed his time there at 14, this being the orphanages normal full term for boys.



² Editor: there is good background information at <u>http://www.mullers.org/heritage/historical-archive</u>. By 1931 the orphanages had been reorganised so all boys were at No. 4 orphanage, shown above.

In late 1931 he spent some time in hospital and in January 1932 his aunt gained his admission to a Dr Barnados orphanage, called 'The William Baker Technical School (Goldings)'.³ This boarded boys while seeking to teach them the skills needed for employment. He was discharged at 16, trying his hand at farm work, on a farm owned by a famous actress. He later informed his grandson he had fled this position after receiving a beating from her husband, referred to as "the Major". He also worked as a painter/decorator and a barman, before finally joining the British Army in 1937. For him this offered the possibility of learning new skills, providing housing, and a 'substitute family'. Not surprisingly, the Army was a popular choice amongst fellow exorphanage inmates.

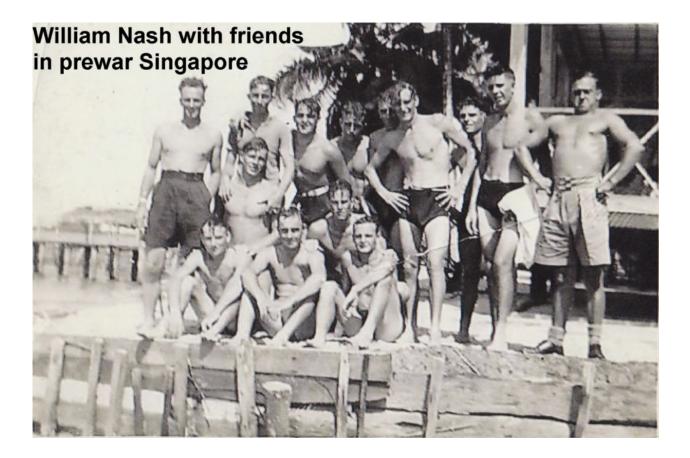


My father was posted to Malaya after his initial training, which he reached on 3 December 1937. Within 5 days of his arrival he was assigned to the 9th Regiment Coastal Artillery/7th Battery. In other words, to one of Johore Battery's three 15 inch guns, situated in the island's east, at Changi. He told me that he enjoyed his early years in Singapore and found the local population to be very friendly. He had a good singing voice (a bit like Bing Crosby) and said with humour that he once sang at Raffles Hotel, although he never elaborated on how this might have happened.

³ Editor: there is a website for this school at <u>http://www.goldonian.org/</u>. Far less austere than the Bristol Ashley Road orphanages, it stood in vast grounds and emphasized moral as well as technical preparation for the world of work.

Changi showing attap houses and the 'Changi Tree' in the mid-distance (Photograph copyright of Malcolm Nash)





When he had served his time overseas he found his expected home leave cancelled due to war.

Once the Japanese had commenced their attack my father stated that his gun was turned around so that it could fire to the north. I believe that he said that turning it round took 12 hours.⁴ My father was the gunner responsible for firing the gun and thought the firing to have been merely a morale booster to frontline troops, as the shells available had been designed to pierce ships' armour. During his time at Changi Prison he said that fellow soldiers had commented that the shells had sounded like a train going overhead when they were fired.⁵



William Nash sitting on the barrel of one of Johore Battery's 15 inch guns

⁴ Editor: if this memory of it taking a long time – whether 12 hours plus or some other length – were right, it would suggest that the hydraulics had been removed to increase the traverse of the gun, in order to allow it to fire landward. That is quite possible, and one of the mysteries we noted in *Did Singapore Have to Fall*? was that Buona Vista Battery appears not to have taken any such step, and possibly partly as a result not to have fired.

⁵ POWs were moved to a huge camp encompassing the prison and many of the barracks that had hosted the troops before the war. Only later were POWs moved out of the prison itself, to make way for civilian internees. 'Changi' POW camp, though characterized by malnutrition, casual brutality, and work gangs, had relatively low death rates. It was to be the 'Death Railway' which would be the real killer. These and related POW issues are discussed in Kevin Blackburn and Karl Hack, *Forgotten Captives in Japanese Occupied Asia* (London: Routledge, 2008: all our Routledge books also being available in paperback and ebook).



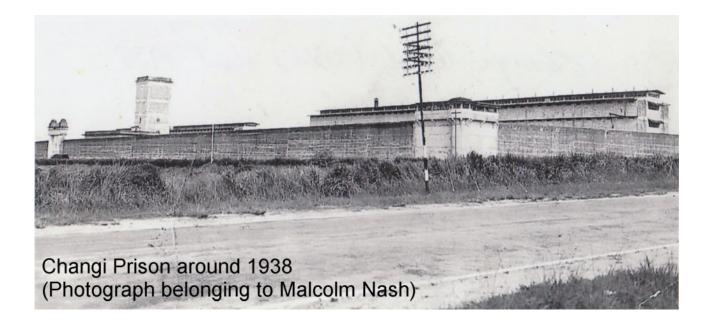
William Nash and colleagues with 15 inch gun of Johore Battery

After eighty shells had been fired it was noticed that the rifling had started to protrude from the barrel and a member of the Royal Engineers was consulted. His view was that the gun was no longer fit for action and if fired again would not have his named attached to it. The gun was fired once more which caused its destruction, and the oil tanks around my father to explode and bathe him in oil.⁶

I have recently learned from the War Diary of Johore Battery, published in *Did Singapore Have to Fall?* by Karl Hack and Kevin Blackburn, that on the 13 February the 9th Coast Regiment was organized into an infantry battalion of four companies, and appears to have defended 300 yards between Arthur Bridge and Sungai Whampoe (River Whampoe). On the 15 February Singapore was surrendered and my father was now a prisoner of war (POW).

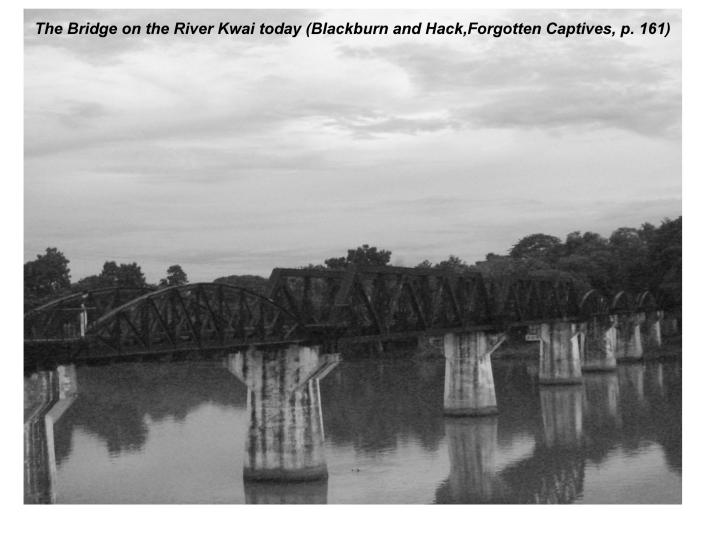
⁶ Editor: this reference could mean oil kept in the gun mounting itself above ground, but it could equally mean that somehow the oil tank below ground, where the shells were stored and hoists and supporting machinery housed. In 2001 I went down the gun tunnel for Gun No. 1 at Johore Battery – the only one of Johore Battery which did not fire in 1942. You descended via three rusting ladders, punctuated by two platforms, into a tunnel system with mild flooding. From there you waded to an engine room, and onwards to store rooms and winches designed to haul the shells and other items up to the gun mounting itself. The tunnel shape is now marked aboveground, where a replica gun was built, and opened on 15 February 2002.

Upon surrender he was held in Changi Prison, where he found himself in the company of fellow orphanage members from his earlier life. He was assigned to a working party given the job of clearing up the effects of the war on Singapore.



In April 1943 my father was selected as a member of 'F' Force and transported via rail up country in what he called cattle trucks to 'Ban Pong' in Thailand. Upon arrival the force was faced with a long march to various camps on the 'Death Railway'. While on the march he noticed a pile of new army boots and exchanged them for his, thinking that they would last longer. This turned out to be a bad choice, as they quickly caused blisters, with the result that he threw them away and ended the march barefooted. At the end of one day's march he was so exhausted that he fell asleep, only to find on waking up that his group had moved on and his water carrier had been stolen. He ended up at Tamarkan next to the Mae Klong, the camp made famous in the film *The Bridge over the River Kwai*.⁷

⁷ This film (based on an earlier novel) had a controversial reception amongst veterans when launched in 1957. See Karl Hack and Kevin Blackburn, '*The Bridge on the River Kwai* and *King Rat*: Protest and ex-prisoner of war memory in Britain and Australia; in Blackburn and Hack, *Forgotten Prisoners*, pp. 147-71.



L/Sgt John 'Duffy' Meads, Royal Artillery and with Willian Nash on the 'Woodcutters Party'



My father was assigned to 'The Southern Area Wood Cutters', which I have recently discovered would have been cutting fuel for the trains' engines, amongst other duties. He said that it was normal to travel in darkness to your work station so that you could commence work at sunrise and continue through to dusk.

A working party member was given two cups of rice to eat a day made from rice polishings, supplemented by whatever else could be found.⁸

⁸ Editor: rice polishings were the husks removed in milling, which had often become mixed with dust or other detritus. POW officers made their men take these in the camps as a rather unpalatable vitamin B supplement (to stave off beri beri), in addition to such rice, coconut oil or other staples as were available.

On one occasion he was given the job of going down to the river to bring up provisions for the Japanese. It was monsoon time and the banks were very slippery. When he did not make quick enough progress the guard aimed a length of timber which had nails sticking out at his head as encouragement to make better progress.

Although my father was only at Tamarkan for eight months before being returned to Singapore, of the 72 men forming F Force's 'Southern Area Wood Cutters' only 30 were left to make the return journey.⁹ My father believed that part of the reason he survived was being administered two half teaspoons of Marmite to counter his illness and malnutrition. Although my father had difficulty in talking about his time as a POW, he always said that the Asian population was treated much worse and more harshly.

Upon his return to Changi he was placed in a work party whose job it was to extend Changi Airfield so that heavier aircraft could also take off from there. He saw the first signs that the war with Japan was over when he was taken out at dawn to join a work party and the Japanese gathered together, had an excited discussion and then marched the men back to camp. The next day when he awoke it was realized that the Japanese guards were gone. My father was now recorded as weighing 5 ½ stone, felt lucky to have survived, and only wanted to be repatriated home. He achieved the latter on 8 October, 1945.

Upon his return he remained in the Army and after a few months found himself doing guard duty on a frozen Salisbury Plain. When he told his sergeant that he did not want to do this duty the sergeant replied "I know what you want, follow me to the guard house', where the demob papers were immediately produced and signed. My father's time as a fulltime soldier was at an end.

As a footnote, he married a war widow in December 1946. One of the first meals she made him contained rice pudding. Having survived these past years on little else and not wanting to offend my mother, he consumed the rice. After a short period of time he brought the lot up. This was his last ever consumption of rice.

Citation: Please cite this paper as Malcolm Nash (edited by Karl Hack), 'The Story of the End of Johore Battery in the Battle for Singapore: the war experiences of William Nash', Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies Working Paper No. 5, (Open University, May 2012), www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/working-papers.

⁹ If all the missing had died, that would make a death rate of 60%. It is possible some had ended up elsewhere by transfer or after illness, but some groups did experience extremely high death rates, especially if cholera struck (as it did here killing more than a dozen men between May and June 1943). The death rates on the railway were far higher than in Changi Prison, the latter being in effect a holding centre from which men were dispatched to work camps. Up to 87,000 POWs passed through Changi, of whom around 850 died there. Approximately 61,806 British, Dutch and Australian POWs worked on the railway, with 12,399 of that number (about 20%) dying there, but the death rates varied wildly from camp to camp and by period. The worst period was the so-called 'Speedo' time from mid-1943, when accelerated working and disruption of supplies due to the monsoon saw death rates spike. Blackburn and Hack, *Forgotten Captives*, pp. 2, 147.

Appendix: Medical Form:

'The Jap Labour Camp Survivors Association Reparation Clam form for Ex POWs their widows or immediate next of kin, UK. Dated 25 June 1991.

THE JAP LABOUR CAMP SURVIVORS ASSOCIATION REPARATION CLAIM FORM. FOR EX Ps. O. W THEIR WIDOWS OR IMMEDIATE NEXT OF KIN. UNITED KINGDOM. Name.... SURNAME CHRISTIAN NAMES STATUS H Address. 3.2, MEADOW. ROAD , BUSHEY. HERTS SECTION ... ND2.3P.W..... F.E.P.O.W NAME ... WILLIAM CHARLES EDWARD NASH RANK. GUNNER. REG. NO. 8.6.8.2.4.1. UNIT. 9th COAST. REG. R.A. 1. 2. 3. DID YOU EXPERIENCE :-TORTURE, BEATINGS OR OTHER CRUELTY YES & BEATINGS IMPRISONMENT UNDER IMPROPER CONDITIONS. YES, CAMP, TRAVELING, J. Jak SLAVE LABOUR ON ENEMY WORKS OR OPERATIONS. SLAVE, LABOUR EXPOSED TO CUNFIRE, BOMBINGS OR OTHER HAZARDS. YES & BARDING, J. Jak TRANSPORTATIONS UNDER IMPROPER CONDITIONS. YES FAILURE TO SUPPLY PROPER MEDICAL CARE, FOOD CLORUTNG, ON DEFENSION FAILURE TO SUPPLY PROPER MEDICAL CARE, FOOD, CLOTHING, QUARTERS 5. FURTHER COMMENTS IF NECESSARY..... 6. None IF F.E.P.O.W IS DECEASED. WIDOWS AND NEXT OF KIN NEED ONLY FILL IN SECTION 1 I AUTHORIZE THE JAP LABOUR CAMP SURVIVORS ASSOCIATION TO FILE A CLAIM WITH THE U.N.O. FOR REPARATIONS FROM THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT ON MY BEHALF. IF NOT ALREADY SENT I ENCLOSE MEMBERSHIP FEE. OF £3 HEREWITH SIGNATURE . W. CE Mach WITNESS. M. W. Nach :- Son * 13.52 THIS 25 DAY OF DATED AT June 1991 IF POSSIBLE, PLEASE RETURN WITH COPY OF DISCHARGE/RECORD TO :-(Photocopies will suffice) Mr.R.F.Shayler. Sec: J.L.C.S.A. 36, Colchester Road, Southend-on-Sea, Essex, SS2 6HP

A partial army medical pension was subsequently granted, following medical evaluation.

	F.E.P.U.W. ASSUCTATION (LUNDUN) INUPICAL	DISEASE INVESTIGATION CHECKLIST.
	e ring round any ailments/diseases suffered during your nsequence of those diseases or conditions. THIS LIST MAY	capture or any subsequent health problems caused as FORM PART OF AN APPLICATION FOR WAR DISABILITY PENSION
/	Shrapnel or bullet wounds.	43. Gunfire Deafness, HE SUBMITTED TO NORCROSS,
2.	Sensitive or vulnerable scar tissue.	44. Ear Inflamation. BLACKPOOL.
3.	Torpedoed or sunk at sea.	45. Heart Conditions.
4.1	Malnutrition & Privation with residual nervous symptoms.	46. Diabetis Mellitus.
5.	Surgical operations in POW camps.	47. Respiratory problems.
6.	Malnutrition & Privation.	48. Asthma.
7.	Malaria, type & number of times. BT9MT	49. Tuberculosis.
8.	Cholera.	50. Asbestosis.
9.	Dip ⁱ theria.	51. Hepatitis.
10.	Beri-Beri, wet	52. Jaundice.
11.	Beri-Beri, dry,	53. Sensitive Stomach.
12.	Sandfly Fever.	54. Dietary problems.
13.	Denghie Fevep.	55. Hiatus Hernia.
14.	Typhus.	56. Duodenal Ulcer.
0	Blackwater Fever.	57. Peptic Ulcer.
16.	Dysentry, amoebic.	58. Hernia.
17.		59. Bladder problems.
18.	Strongyloides.	
19.	Hook-worm.	60. Impotence.
20.	Tape-worm.	61. Piles.
21.	Ring-worm (Tenia).	62. Happy Feet.
22.	Scables.	63. Foot Rot.
	Skin Disorders, including blisters or rash from Ringus	64. Results of beatings by Japs.
	or "Bleeding Tree", contact in Java/Sumatra.	65. Japanese Tortures.
24.	Skin Cancer.	66. Broken limbs, state which.
25.	Rodent Ulcers.	67. Limb loss, state which.
26.	Pellagra.	68. Arthritis.
2	Tropical Ulcers.	69. Rheumatism.
28.	Depression.	70. Calcium deficiency.
	Anxiety Neurosis.	71. Spinal problems.
30.	Nervous Disorders.)	72. Skeletal or "bone" pains.
31	Nightmares.	73. Frost bite. (N. Japan).
32.	Bad Dreams.	74. Tetanus.
33.	Memory Loss.	75. How near to atomic blasts if in Japan?
34.	Agoraphobia.	76. Journeyed through Hiroshima or Nagasaki after Atomic Bomb.
35.	Claustrophobia.	77. Schizophrenia.
36.	Hypertension.	78. Hodgkin's Disease.
372	Teeth Loss.	79. Meniere's Disease.
38.	Dental Problems.	80. Multiple Sclerosis.
12.).	Defective Vision.	81. Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome.
40.	Blindness, what degree.	82. Leprosy.
41	Defective Hearing.	
42	Tinnitus.	
	16	

The Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies promotes the

interdisciplinary study of empire and postcolonial situations with a particular focus on Africa and Asia. Since its establishment in 2002, it has hosted seminars, exchanges, postgraduates and run collaborative research projects.

Members have played a part in writing and monitoring courses.

For more information please go to the Centre's website at <u>www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/index</u>

The Working Papers series:

The Ferguson Working Paper series presents papers in a preliminary form and serves to stimulate comment and discussion. The views expressed are entirely the author's own and not that of the Centre or of the Open University.

Please email **h.scott@open.ac.uk** to contact the Editor of Ferguson Centre Working Papers.

We would also be happy to talk to you about cross-linking sites with any centre that hosts working papers in closely related areas.

www.open.ac.uk/Arts/ferguson-centre/working-papers

Series Editor: Dr Karl Hack



The Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies The Open University Walton Hall Milton Keynes MK7 6AA