

27.12.43. Humming concert in evening a huge success. Dorothy sang solos. Rita's pictures were displayed. Dorothy Thomas returns today. (26.12.43).

1.1.44. Mother's birthday celebrated with pineapple & green gram curri for lunch & repeat of the concert. Wave of depression passes through camp - Terrible rain still. Letters come from Muntok. Camp dog brings in a mouthful of liver - stolen from neighbouring Jap. house. Betty Kennelison retrieves it & they wash it & then eat it. M. is not well, has had bad pains & is going to hospital tomorrow. Copies of New Year & Christmas Greeting cables from Red Crosses Canada, America, Australia & India brought to camp today. Prices of food rising. 1 egg 27 cts. 1 spoon Klin in camp \$1.75 (tablespoon)!! Have had recipe crase.

30.1.44. Mother was only able to stay in hospital for one week & came out last Tuesday 25th, humin looking a little better, having eaten all that was going. On Thursday I felt very well & did bathroom & at 11am in middle of Mrs d. Rudder's lesson felt foul, came to bed & have got malaria again I think.

24.2.44. Food very scarce & expensive. 1 egg 37 cts. Gula 42 cts a portion, about 3 tabsps. Approx. 5 tabsps green gram 40 cts. Tempey 5 cts a piece. Pineapple 24 cts. Great shortage outside. Lots of rain & leaks in the roof. Dr. Goldberg serenaded by Dutch Protestant Church Choir with a hymn & sung blessing. Dashed stupid we think! Its her birthday. Woken up last night by cat killing a rat almost on my head! Dr. Smith finds the body on her mat in the morning.

5.3.44. Mary Anderson dies at 3 p.m. quietly in hospital. It being Sunday afternoon no coffin procurable. Watches kept over body through the night and this morning until van comes. Mother does $\frac{1}{2}$ hour outside guard house this morning. Body in shed in centre of camp through the night. A quiet funeral today 6.4.44. Three people allowed to go to cemetery - It is in quite good order. Very little water - Food prices high. Egg 40 cts - Bananas 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ - 3 cts Pine 38 cts. Mrs. Sammy pays \$1.1.00 for a spoon of Epsoms. Butter in camp \$1.20 for 1 lb. tin! Bully (small) \$1.10.00.

10.3.44 Mrs. Anderson left a will which was read to us on Monday night. She left us all her belongings - and money - really she was most thoughtful and grateful for all we had done for her. Phyllis gives me the hair brush - its lovely to be able to brush one's hair again. Its over 2 years since we did. We cast lots for the other things. A chicken caught & killed in block 6 yesterday. Rations today - 2 meals for 7 - 2 bunches kangkong - 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ bringals, 2 ubi kayu - 1 bangkwong handful long beans,

19.3.44 Old Mrs Grey gets news last week of her husband's death at Muntok. The Japanese Military are taking us over and want $\frac{1}{2}$ of Block 6 for their guards. We have to squash 6 extra people into our block - 25" per person now. So far no workmen have come to board up the place, Yamasaki when asked said 'No communication with Singapore'.

28.3.44 Great changes, We're being taken over by Military. Half of Block 6 taken over by a sort of Youth Movement or recruits, Japanese under Jap Officers - They drill in road opposite xn.6 a.n. every

morning. Today they have been brought in and are cutting the grass & moving clothes lines. A new hospital being Built (?) Much activity & we are visited every day by military. A promise of better food & conditions if we are good! New man Siki has been in charge of many prisoners & a camp of 2,000. He came and looked at our cooking & thought it looked nice. I said it was very little for 7 people & we were thin & he said "Not too good too fat"! Rations ~~yesterday~~ next day 2 bringals, 1¹/₂ bangkwong. No. kangkong for 2 days & today the guards let us out to pick whatever we could - sweet potatoe leaves and tapioca leaves. Sirens at 7.30 last night & lights off at main. My birthday, 23.3. very quiet day this year. Sausage (mock) rolls for lunch!

4.4.44. Much notice being taken of us. Visitors every day. Rations very poor and very little green stuff. We are under military - They have given us ration of sugar, rice and curry powder, tea, few dbi keys & sacks of maize - so bad the chickens would turn up their beaks. Knives for grass cutting sent to camp. No daily shop now. I may go to hospital for a little. Mother has the itch & swollen feet. I am anemic. We have all been given \$4.50 for toilet necessities & mending clothes!! So far no toothbrushes or cotton have been brought in for buying - this is to be a monthly payment - The new blocks are nearly built.

10.4.44. The Djanbi people come (5.4.44) including Mrs. Parr! She looks very well but was wounded in right arm & has lost a little bone. I go down with malaria again over the weekend & am going to hospital tomorrow, can get quinine this time. Japs give us Red palm oil. Rations worse & worse. Much activity at guard house & many enquiries re Australian nurses, Their Numbers, home addresses etc, Wonder what all this means. New blocks nearly completed, Easter Sunday yesterday. Variety concert for tonight postponed. I shan't be in it now. Japs make us cut grass from 6 - 7 each morning now. We do it in 15 min. shifts. The knives ~~not~~ and don't cut!

25.4.44. Came out of hospital on Sat. afternoon as Audrey Owen very sick & my bed was wanted. Really feel rested though, still a little weak. Ate everything & spent a lot of money. About \$1.50 per day on average. Sally Aldham very ill & little hope for Mrs. Curran-Sharpe & Mrs. McLennan. Very sad. Camp health goes down a lot. 75 chunkals brought into camp & people have been made to go out & dig up ground for growing vegetables. Very hard work. 5.30 - 7.00 & 3.30 - 5.00. Few seeds provided for planting. Japs watched variety show and gave prizes - tins of meat & veg. Mother was Mrs. Buggins & they did 6 items for us in hospital. Red X week, Show, bridge & Mah Jong raised \$300 - many visitors to camp & we must bow now to all Nippens. People were stopped playing bridge one afternoon - too much rest - no work!! Prices very high - opex 10cts. Bananas 6 cts. Limes 8-13 cts. Eggs 40 cts. They say great scarcity outside. 2 tablespoon sugar per person per week. Rations one day 4 small cucumbers for 54 people. 1 bunch kangkong for 7.

30.4.44. Another attack fever. 5th day today. Camp now have to go out at 5.30 - 7 a.m. & cut grass. Also we must bow to Japs & there is a fuss if we do not. The chunkals have been whisked off to Nuntok. Rations ghostly and much sickness.

1.5.44. 2 red beans - 2 cucumber - 2 castor oil seeds per plot given for planting. Two Jap Red X nurses come into Camp yesterday - did nothing and nothing said.

6.5.44. Mrs. MacLarren died yesterday early morning. They sent a coffin at 11 a.m., but funeral not until today 1 p.m. Playground used again. A high official visited camp yesterday. We were sent chickens. Half for seven. Ours was delicious.

14.5.44. Mrs. Curran-Shore dies 11.5.44. Funeral 15th. Awful lorry sent which nearly upset into ditch. 99 people expected - 4 Block 6 given back. Go Ieng allowed to bring more food - get little fish in rations about twice a week. Very little vegs - masses of palm oil! Japs visit blocks and count mosquito nets after dark one night. Gardens flourishing - seeds sent in to gxmx plant.

20.5.44. Djabu Indonesians arrived on 18th. 14 hrs journey. Weighed again Mother 7 st. 12lbs. I am 8 st. 7 lbs.

22.5.44. On 20th at 1.30 Order came for all small fires to be extinguished. Supper not cooked. Set to to build fireplaces for communal cooking. Knock down kitchen walls & in a day great changes. Veg cutting place - no big pots - so Dutch cook for us yesterday. Our kitchen working today. We Mother & I do vegetables - prepare them. Much trouble over not bowing. Gardens not approved of & little ones to be demolished. Today we were all spoken to by Seki Selu & Interpreter - warned against possible air raids & precautions for organising squads & fleeing to jungle in case of emergency. Also for tidying up Camp. Our fires of bricks & mud. Dutch lend a drum. Take back offer of it & a fire on first day of cooking!

2.6.44. Friday. Mother went to hospital with fever & bad leg again. Concert on WhitMonday - Japanese reserved 6 seats - requested dancing! Are very concerned about our conditions - but food gets less and less!

7.6.44. Valde Godley dies - aged 36 - Seki gives another talk - we must dig if we want to eat - no more rice after September - digging starts today. 3th. I go on from 5.30 - 6.00. Play boys dig and Japs. All the Camp is being dug up. We are to go out tomorrow to pull ferns & grasses from jungle to eat!! What next - we are all hungry - eating banana skins with relish - Seki digs too and Guards. Get some new material for Mother for a blouse. She has thrombosis & may be in for sometime - looks more rested. Water shortage - chlorine put in well - antique sort of filter made for well water - Hope we never have to drink it.

12.6.44. Digging outside Camp now - chunkals and picks. 1 Hr Shifts - 5.30 - 6.30 - 7.30 - 8.30 - 9.30. 4-5. Also squads of 20 go out before breakfast to pick ferns & weeds to eat - allowed to buy off hawkers. Eating wild passion fruit leaves and all sorts of rubbish. Very few and poor rations. 1 wild boar sent in yesterday - alive - watched the cutting up. Guards take a whole leg & shoulder - very little meat. Pumloes today. No eggs in hospital for nearly a week - life is really very grim - Lot of people sinking & feeble mentally also. Mother seems more rested. Playboys do the easy work after we have done the chunkelling up of grass etc. Christine

collapses while out.

15.6.44. \$4.50 monthly pay being banked for us! No veg gathering today. Phyllis Birthday - Day of surprises - eggs - pines - limes - Go Long - money from Muntok.

19.6.44. Mother seemed so much better on Saturday - but last night was not so well & today has fever and leg bad again. Goldberg says she had a fall - oh dear. Sally Oldham dies today. Choir sang to her on Sunday - could not recognise her she has been so ill - typhus & then no food to build up her strength - Poor soul, she has lived a very hard life. Humming concert on Sat. Mother was to come out of hospital yesterday but can't come now. Big well nearly dry. Yesterday Mrs. James had letter (25 words) from son in Army in Egypt - dated last November - he had heard after a long time she was well & here in Sumatra.

21.6.44. Weight 53.6 kilo. Roughly 8 st. 6 lbs.

26.6.44 Mother came out of hospital last Thursday & seemed better but leg not right - she fell down on Sat. here in the doorway - flat on face - jolted her up & set her back - today Monday she seems more rested. Hilga Fotherness' husband dies at Muntok. Very hot - no rain - & little water.

7.7.44 Mrs. Leybourne has died. Sakri pleased with gardeners - Pork feast reward! Graze for mosquito net given us. M's leg not v. good. Has had more fever.

17.7.44 Little Olaf Darlan died last night in camp. He choked or something. He was born in camp. Water scarce. All wells very low & dirty. No rain for ages. Digging still goes on but not seriously.

19.7.44 Go to fetch water outside camp for kitchen today. Go down main road to tap - 20' of us. Lovely outside but rather overgrown. Enjoyed cutting lalong with a chunkel yesterday morning outside in lane by Dutch septic tank 6 - 7 a.m.. Very cool & glorious morning. Sunrise beautiful - lovely trees & view of a kampung. Weighed today. Mother is down to 49 kilo. I am still 53, but up 3 pips.

27.7.44. Still no rain - water carrying in earnest - down main road to tank. This morning 6 - 7 squad (I went) came back empty. No key to unlock the tank. The sun is terrible & heat 2 - 4 p.m. terrific. Daddy's birthday yesterday. Barbara loses her temper & throws bucket onto garden as she is not allowed to change dirty water for clean.

28.7.44. For a week we have worked hectically - carrying water - fertilising, sweeping roads, chunkelling all for yesterday's inspection when a few officials just walked round the camp - it only took a few minutes. Fresh water has to be thrown on plants - its wicked - Grace Gurr died yesterday - a ghastly thing - so sudden - cold, fever, paralysis - she was in hospital only 2 days; Boswell's father has died at Muntok from beri-beri. Conditions are ghastly here - its awful - so hectic & unrestful & the Japs make it as hard as possible. The black market has been discovered. Food confiscated then given to children.

1.8.44. Malaria - Hospital - Night of 11th - Bombing! Ac-Ac & fire. 12th. more alerts. Dysentery injection. Vaccine left for typhoid & cholera.

15.8.44 Alerts everyday. Come out of hospital. No water in camp. Japs not on. Wells dry.

19.8.44 Letters received on the evening of 17th. One from Aunt Mary telling of Celia Mary's birth & one from Miss Hale-Johnson. 27.1.44. All well at home. Most people get a card or letters. Makes me impatient to get out. Conditions grim. No water for bathing. Wells dry. No bath for 4 days. Mother has not had one for longer. Can only do washing if we can get rice water - grim days and dust terrible. Japs angry with us for nothing - much face slapping and standing in sun.

24.8.44. Letters again - none for us. Mother's feet very swollen. Fish 3 days - Pork today.

28.8.44. Captain Seldi makes speech. Warns us to be ready for a move to Muntok.

5.9.44. Not gone yet. Cards brought in to write. Not taken out yet. We wrote (no date allowed) 'Selves well, cheerful, don't worry - longing re-unions. No news for long time. Hope you are well. Mary writes Alec & all at home well, Barbara, Ireland with baby Celia Mary 7 months. Both well. Records you gave me regarding finance, Shelagh War. Certs lost, passports lost. fondest love Molly (to Father) and (to Barbara) Selves well, cheerful, don't worry, longing reunions. Delighted to hear from Mary about Celia's birthday & you are both well. Heard Claud well from Hale-Johnson. Love to Alec & all. Mother, Writing Daddy. Only heard of once as per our first card to you. Lost business records, my a/c Eastern Bank Mother Shelagh.' Reactions from injections - typhoid dysentery done, cholera to come. Alerts & raids at night - Dorothy MacLeod one week in hospital. Much preparation but no news to move.

9th. Cholera injection. Self just over Malaria again - deaf with quinine. Rat eats off Mrs. Frampton's plate while she eats her supper in the dark. Dorothy Coates stuffs a rat into her mattress with more capok and sews it up!

19.9.44 The roof off over our beds - rain falls light & nearly a fire the other day on beam. Black Market terrific prices exorbitant. Raid this morning. Weighed today 20th - all losing. Mother only 48 kilos. People getting giddy, fainting etc. Food very bad. glass in rice, coal & shrapnel!! Rumours of move still persistent. Change of us, guards or something anyway!

29.9.44 Life is hectic! We're told to have our baggage ready by 30th to go in advance. Packed up on 29th & in the evening Seldi comes in & looks astonished at luggage & says we're not to be ready until 4th (baggage) Blockade - 10 to go on 10th, hospital & Dutch about 5 weeks later - I wonder?! Then yesterday we got letters from Barbara. Alec & Machile engaged!! Black Market in foreground. Told we are naughty - Ray Ho's are naughty & Japs are naughty for not looking after Ray Ho's properly - We said we were hungry & wanted a shop, whereupon Ration Book opened & Red X (Real) goods almost flung at us. - after much mutilation. They had been rifled and everything allowed to go bad. We watched Rayho's smoking and eating the stuff

and it had been there quite three weeks. So far received 2 cubes chocolate, 5 mouldy oranges - 1 good one, 3 sugar cubes, 1 pk. soup between 3. 1 sq. in soap, 1 sq. in choc. 22 cigarettes. 1 tin bully beef, 1 tin butter, jam, little fish, meat, klm!

11th. What a week - 3.10.44 Barbara's birthday. 4th 2 hrs notice for luggage in advance & 35 extra British to go to Muntok. Phyllis & Mrs. Jenkin leave - cook all night for food to go down to ship. We are to follow in 3 days! Then today - and now they say 13th. Mrs. Minch locked up on Sunday - row over water carrying. I go out - 4 trips for Pettie's Tong.

18.10.44 Mrs. Ismail dies - 16th - Molly very brave - Water carrying yesterday - well dry - Rations 9 oz rice, 2 oz veg (cucumber) diet for dry. B.M. (black market) not so strong. Japanese allow shop. Pl. 2. for 20 sweets. Biscuits - awful prices - Luggage left on Sunday. No mention of us going yet. Told to clear up camp slowly. Ito San has left. Rumours of letters!

26.11.44 We left Palenbang on the night of 20th November. A dreadful journey in lorry in dark to unknown destination - cramped on small tub of ship at night - no covering - no room to lie - dreadful for sick - no sanitary arrangements - Robbie's pot handed round - Sail at dawn. Only cold boiled rice and tea three times. Long journey down river - open sea calm and lovely - arrive Muntok at sunset. Told to stay on board at night then plans altered. All brought to this camp. We come with sick & children. What a month! A huge camp of 750 - approx - 6 big blocks & hospital - all Palenbang crowd here by 4th Nov. Much sickness. A kind of Malaria bug or epidemic of some sort sweeps camp. - many deaths - Grennie Smith - Mrs. Don... - Mrs. Gregory, Mrs. Sonny, Bna Castle, Sylvia Plummer. I came out of hospital today - have been in a month with malaria and piles. Life hectic, work terrific, everyone overtired & ill - When will it end? Mother has been wonderful while I have been away - sewing to raise money & doing her own chores etc - food comes in but is expensive.

9.12.44. In hospital again with septic foot. Been in a week. Poor Motu got very tired while I was there. Mrs. Jones & a Nun died last night. Rice very scarce & we have to pay for most of food now. Mrs. Laybourne died in Palenbang before hospital moved.

22.12.44. Still in hospital. Death all round and much sickness. Joan Maddams, a Nun. Mrs. Bol, a Dutch lady, Mrs. Day, in all 14 since we came here. Rations bad. Stuff sent in to buy at a huge price. A few letters came from husbands in Japan - service ones.

28.12.44. Miss Mackintosh died yesterday, a nun the day before. Miss Dickson on Xmas Eve. A quiet Xmas. The R.C. Bishop allowed to come & take Mass. (We held a small service quietly too) A list with a few names of men came in too. Mother has fever on Boxing Day. Japs give 100 kilos of rice & pork extra for Xmas!

30th Sat. Came out of hospital - find Mother very ill with the fever & weak & whole state of health very low - She has no fever on the morning of her birthday (1st) & has a very happy time but gets fever in the afternoon and we are both down on Tuesday - with fever - delirious & very heavy (W) I have not the strength to look after her

and in the evening she is taken to hospital - they say she is better - but I do want her to stay there and in convalescence for some time.

17.1.45. Mrs. Black tells me doctors are worried about Mother & to send her home. I saw her twice yesterday & she was better but very swollen - half ill with malaria in block - whole camp down with fever - no quinine to speak of and conditions appalling - terrific death roll - 1 or 2 per day - we have to dig graves and bury our own dead - also people have no money - fearful conditions here - however much longer can we go on?

17.1.45. Mother dies. See letter to Barbara in other book.

18.2.45. Olga and many others have died. I've moved to Block 2A & much in with Dorothy Horston who has had fever all the time. Today the Deputy Jap Minister for Foreign Affairs is to inspect the Camp. Much tidying up etc. Men supposed to have gone to Lubok Lingau in Sumatra and we are supposed to go also. Pigs, goats & a Piano & benches brought here.

1.4.45. Easter Sunday. Dorothy MacLeod dies.

16.4.45. Moved to new camp on 9th. Awful journey - first night on ship, 2nd in train, and 3rd in train - very little food - Rain at 4.30 a.m. when turned out of train - soaked - bus journey here - Awful black leaking roof - very hard work - haul rice sacks, dig graves - bury dead - did 2 hrs nursing in hospital first few days - Rest of camp arrive in 2 more lots - many deaths - sickness - an black Captain and in contact with Kelly Ismail, Olive Boyliss, Mrs. Blake, Gino Price (orphan), Phyllis Tunbridge. Bat a lot of wild vegs, grasses, ferns! Very tired always - sold Aunt Lizzie's ring 205. Got letters about 20th from home. Red X parcel invoice lost!

18.5.45 A Hippon Brass Band comes & plays to us under the rubber trees! What next? A Tiger spotted round Camp at night. Still no Red X goods or money for this month. Lots of deaths & Miss Dryburgh and Marjery Jennings.

2.7.45 Card home. Deepest Sorrow. Mother died 17.1.45. Short illness. Wonderful courage, spirit through shipwreck, and long internment. Delighted Alec's engagement. Thoughts constantly with Daddy, Colin, Home to end. Third communication. Still no news Daddy. Mrs. Mac, Parr, Olga died. Just received photo sent 2.7.44. Longing home, care, comforts. Dearest love all - Shelagh.

7.7.45. Cards not sent yet. Miss Pallan (Swedish) has left camp. Food short. Rain in Block awful.

15.7.45. Nabel had fit - taken to hospital - awful screams in night.

11.8.45 Dysentery injection on 14th. Cards gone. Many more deaths. Influx of potatoes. New move rumour.

23.8.45. Last Sunday small children taken to see their Fathers - Today Red X Red Cross arrive. "Carfax" disbanded - Rumours Heyhos are going - & Hips. G.S.B. to take us over? Children - including some small girls whose Mothers have died are taken to Fathers - Why? Gardens dug up. Pigs killed. Plane heard overhead very high - three days in succession.

22.8.45 PEACE! Seki tells us under trees 5 p.m.

23.8.45 Hutchins visit sick wives - rest go half way along road. Major Alexandra leaves clinic to see men! We help ourselves to shots (morphines) etc & paint each others wounds! Real lint.

24.8.45 Men invade camp - strong gangs take over hard work. ~~Set up~~ fireplaces etc & chop wood, haul water. Rations increase. Men bring pig & fruit from shop. Smothered in bugs & bites. Bad foot. Bad X rations (Mips) of soap, cigs, towelling - Klin given to sick.

25.8.45 Dutch Queen's Birthday. Serve all day in big kitchen! Masses of stores sent in. Appendix operation successful.

1.9.45 Go to men's Camp all day - Concert off.

2.9.45 Start hospital work. During week parachutists have arrived and yesterday a Major Jacob R.M. came & spoke to us & said they were doing their best to improve conditions. Hawkers in camp - Big bartering trade goes on. Coolies in kitchens. Lots of food & clothing for us. Have had picnics under trees. Lots of rain & leaks still in roof - but Tada Aya! (Nevermind) PEACE! (but not in this camp yet!!)

10.9.45 Last few days hectic bartering - get chicken & man to clean it for me & order another for next day. Do night duty when first hospital cases evacuated.

10/11/45 Leave camp at 4 a.m. after doctor's examination. Train to ~~India~~ - Bus to airfield. Go with stretcher cases as Robbie Paterson sick. Fly to Singapore - taken to 69th Indian General Hospital in beautiful car, Robbie sitting on a pot!! Grand here - heard Daddy had sailed but contact him at Tan Tock Seng (Hospital)

PostScript. He was transferred to the Alexandra where I was and within the week we were on our way home via Madras - Jalahali - overland by train (on which I had malaria attack) to Pannah/Bombay and eventually arrived at Southampton where Alec & Barbara & Claud met us.....

30.2 DIFFERENCES.

This diary was not written at regular intervals. It was written in a small exercise book I found and as the months and years passed one wondered whether one would live to fill it, or run out of paper. The gaps in it are usually due to illness or exhaustion from hard work - and in the last months there are long gaps for this reason - daylight hours were a struggle for existence, and the sun goes down about 6 p.m. in the tropics. Some things could not be written down at the time - other things have been censored by me in camp for fear of it being found, and things I remember now, seem not to have been written about at all - perhaps too commonplace then!

With Malaria I tried to cock up for as long as possible in the sun instead of lying in the block with rigors (less dreary) and after the big sweat (temp 106°) once in Muntok - one had to try and dry out one's mattress etc, boil water or prepare some food - and get ready for the alternative day's fever. It was all very weakening and depressing. When well, one tried to help where and how one could.

The journeys from camp to camp were awful, and for the sick - fatal. The last journey of 3 days was the worst, but so many had died in Muntok before that, and many as a result of it.

1-4-42/22-9-45 This camp consisted of an L shaped road containing small bungalows and garages. The guard house was down a slight hill. We were in a garage near the entrance to the camp. Exercise could be taken walking up and down the road in the cool of the evening. It was safer after dark if there was moonlight, as with their padded shoes one could not hear the Japanese guards' footsteps, or see their bayonets. The rations would be thrown down in the road near the entrance to the camp. We were glad of the barbed wire which kept us free from gawping natives.

To get our minds working again we started by playing simple word games in the evenings in the garage. I had found a Dutch business file in the previous house and written down our names and addresses of friends and this was a good exercise also, and we gradually recovered from the various shocks we had undergone.

Our fires were small homemade things from any bricks - tins etc we could find, built at ground level. Wood therefore had to be sawn, chopped (the one camp axe had a loose head) and split very small. Lighting the fires was difficult and when the wood was wet or green, to keep the flame we had to sit and flap the fire or use a bit of bamboo to blow it. When the rice had boiled we'd withdraw the sticks and it would 'dry-off' in the embers. One could not replace disasters, so care had to be taken with all cooking - a smokey job and sweaty - as was all labour in the tropics.

The Dutch had brought provisions with them into this camp, being on home ground, and after a period of seeing once-boiled coffee grounds thrown out we sank our pride and asked politely if we could have any throw-outs to use a second time! We had been browning some raw rice on a tin, and then pouring hot water on it pretending it was coffee!

22-8-43/20-11-44. This camp had been built by the men for themselves and when they left, demolished it in order to leave nothing for the Japanese, not knowing the women were to go to it. It was a grim period and hard work too with awful water problems. The colour of the water in the wells was orange and muddy at times and the water level got very low. During the rainy periods we could not keep 'trompas' (chinese wooden clogs with canvas straps over foot) on in the mud - when the rains stopped the mud was awful too. We kept a rag to clean our feet off before climbing onto our bed space on the platform or Bali-bali. The Bathroom was a space with open latrines and all the British used it. We had to try to explain to the Guards it was not our custom to have them walking around while we were washing. It all had to be kept as clean as possible including the outside open drains - from which the tapioca plants had to be fertilised - all in the heat of the day - Clean water had to be carried from a tap some distance down the road to fill the Tongs (tanks) in the Japanese houses, was allowed in for our kitchen purposes, and to water the plants we had to try and grow, but none allowed for our washing purposes. This had to come from the dirty wells which dried up.

Teachers tried to keep lessons going for the children under the shelter that was built. We started the Vocal Orchestra as we had run out of words for songs. All music was written out from memory harmonising for three women's voices. This was done by Margaret Dryburgh and Norah Chamberlain - and very effective it was too.

20-11-44/8-4-45. I remember very little of this camp - chiefly illness and death and was myself expected to die. It was a newly built camp - wonderful wells! - the water was a long way down and a long rope was needed to haul up a bucket or tin. The latrines were foul with maggots. Cooking was done on small fires in a kitchen block - but I remember it was difficult to get wood and not much else! We were strained to the limit at this period and I do remember a ghastly fight between two women on their bed spaces - quite revolting. There was a period when everyone seemed to be ill at once in our block and I think Dr. Smith saved my life by allowing me one quinine tablet a day for the work I did at the time. For funerals, if one could walk, the coffins had to be carried, but it was peaceful outside wherever it was we walked and quiet. I do remember some magnificent tropical sunsets here.

When the rumoured move became a reality I asked to be allowed to leave with the first batch (all the Singa ore friends I had known well had died - Mother of course too - and I explained I was on my own with no one dependant on me now) but was told those who went had to be strong enough to open up the unknown camp for the rest, but on pleading again I was given permission. This was lucky as we were able to sit in the open on deck for the ship journey - on subsequent journeys people were shut in the holds which was ghastly.

• 9.1.45 The journey to Loebuk Linggau was terrible - the mosquitoes on the night in the stationary train awful. Going through Sumatra was beautiful - wonderful scenery - but heat awful. When the train halted we had to close the shutters so that the people in the kampongs (villages) could not see us. We had no food or water, except what we took with us, and that was very little, and about a bottle of water each and a few rice cakes, not knowing we had so far to go. At one station Capt. Seki ordered a glass of water to be brought to him, which he drank (we peeped through the shutters) but said it was no good and we were not allowed any. All we were given was some very salt fish - which we could not eat.

The new camp was in a rubber estate with a river running through it. From the way in, the guard house was up a hill to the right, and kitchen and hospital down to the left, across a small bridge and on. Sacks of rice therefore had to be carried a long way from the entrance, and it took about four people each taking a corner. They had to go across the rickety bridge, and were known sometimes when slippery to fall in the river (and be retrieved) - stretchers to hospital went further - to the darkest dampest spot in camp - coffins (rough boxes) from hospital up the side of a hill under rubber trees. The cry "Volunteers to carry rice" - I tried, but could not lift a corner - so when the call went out "Volunteers to Nurse" I went down to the Hospital. Shortie an Australian Nurse was going off to rest and I was left in charge - luckily Sister Rhynolds, a super Dutch Nun - was on call all the time. I was told by Shortie, who needed the most attention (of one 'be careful she does not bite you) and left to it. The worst problem came from a dutch lady who would not speak the little English she knew - awful noises and she seemed to be choking - so I got Sister R. she took one look down her throat - jumped right up in the air - rushed off for some forceps - and produced a long worm. Mrs. G. did die.

The first death occurred soon after we arrived and we buried during a blunder storm. It was a British R.C. and Nora made the service terribly short, and we pushed the clay into the grave on our hands and knees, unable to wield the chankals and I remember running straight down the hill straight into the river, hoping the guards with rifles would not think we were trying to escape. It was the first taste of running water - bliss.

The blocks we slept in were dilapidated with leaking attap (palm leaf) roofs. I became Head of our block and the day I slipped in the mud and upset all the breakfast bubu (mushy rice) was shattering. Others were good and gave us some so there something hot after all that morning. We invented a light from a rubber cup (small tin container put on rubber trees to catch the latex) a hole in a piece of metal and a rag, and used a small spoonful of palm oil from everyone. It helped the elderly and all to have a light at night. Latex was used to mend holes in pots mugs etc. My mug ended up with no handle and a piece of wire over the top. There was a communal kitchen and the cooks deserved praise having to rise about 3 a.m. to get the fires going, and we had small individual fires for extras. We picked flowers in the early mornings to cook - a pleasant occupation. The big fires were very dangerous and breaking, made of brick and wood had to be hauled in from the trees.

Feb. 12. Mac was Col. Ian MacLeod fighting with the Singapore Volunteers, and Dorothy was his wife. Mac was my Father's Partner. Binnie was our Joyce (car driver). He had been with us for years.

The small ships leaving Singapore, sailed through minefields leaving Singapore, and ours sheltered in day time by islands and only travelled at night - slow progress.

Feb. 14. The capt. with Evelyn Simonds was of things eternal and her father in Saints. ^{Angela} Never saw her again after the ship sank.

Mother insisted Olga Neubronner had a cabin and a bunk to lie on. She was pregnant and exhausted from being in charge of an A.R.P. Casualty post.

Mother held Olga Springer up until a nurse said it was no more use she was unconscious. I think she was hurt with the bombing.

During the night at sea we could only hold onto the raft, until it nearly collapsed as the sailor on it heaved, and it upset and we lost him. Then we took it in turn to half lie on it to rest, and a big clump of seaweed made a good cover from the cold. I took Mother's shoulder bag off as it kept getting entangled round her neck, tied it to the raft, and forgot to retrieve it, so she lost her glasses.

Feb. 15. It was good to feel the warmth of the engines but when the Jap. Officer drew his sword, I prayed I could die warmer on the shore we were heading for, so it came as a surprise when he cut open the coconut! Our mouths and lips were too swollen from salt to swallow the coconut water.

Feb. 16. That night in the cinema made me think it must have been something like this in the Crimea, only colder. We were crowded together and at one end was a dim lamp, and doctors dealing with the very sick. Olga had held onto a raft, but on landing on the jetty she had a miscarriage.

Page 3. 17 Feb - 2nd March. 'Hands' for Dorothy included washing her 'rag' as she started her periods after shipwreck. Fortunately these things did not bother us - the body adjusted itself.

On the slab opposite us was Margaret Dryburgh, a Presbyterian Missionary from Singapore. She had been on the Mata Hari, which surrendered and could carry off a suitcase. On the first morning in this place she announced that each morning and night she would say prayers and read her Bible and invited any who so wished to join her. Mother and I did. Ann Livingstone, another Presbyt: Missionary rather took on organising our Block - and took us in pairs to demonstrate how to use the open latrine - which amused me - but annoyed some!

Notes to Diary (Contd).

Mr. Roberts, who carried the Cross in front of the Choir in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore came and spoke to me one day very confidentially, and said "I've found a chair and know where there is a saw - I've been thinking it must be difficult for the elderly using the drains - so I could cut a hole in the seat - How big do you think I should make it?" !. I thought back a few weeks and how impossible to imagine this conversation then! The chair did help - but with such starvation was not needed much.

The nights were cold and cheerless, one slipped down the slanting slab and were reminded of those fish on a fishmonger's cold slab. There were blood curdling noises from men - were near a prison, or another camp, and were people being tortured? *It was hard to sleep.*

Page 5. Wednesday. See "White Coolies" re Club. When Japs came round searching for 'young girls' for the Club I was pushed out of sight - in bathroom! Very indignant and thought I could fight my own battles - but the Missionaries we were with insisted I keep out of sight!

At this period I don't remember much except I had a feverish cold and felt very weak. The natives used to come round on bicycles with little Jap flags (can't bear the sight of that flag even now) on them and stare at us, so we kept out of sight as much as possible. Those who had not been shipwrecked were really the strongest - had some clothes and were able to do more. I tried to keep the house tidy and do some gardening to get strong again.

June 20. Reference to "N up" once only". We had what we called '1d trots' as on the rice our waterworks were over worked - Later on it was '2d trots' and the awful itch - all over backs and bodies. For dysentery we drank cold tea only, and hoped for the best. The doctors were very short of all medicines and had to use discrimination. The nurses made a rota and would visit around the houses and report back to the doctors. At this period there was the hospital in the town to which they tried to send the worst cases - if Japs allowed.

1st July, 28th July, 1st Aug. References to Red X was just an internal term - Commandants and doctors distributing extras to needy cases and we raised a little money one way and another in order to get extra needs from outside.

11 August 1942. The children in Camp were pretty out of control and very noisy and at this period there were war games between the Dutch and British boys.

30th August 1942. D refers to a certain little Eurasian girl - very friendly with Japs - and we were careful what we said within earshot.

Notes to Diary (Contd).

11th October 1942. Olga Neubronner, Margot Turner, Jenny McAlister and Mary Cooper went out of Camp and with the dentist from Singapore Dr. Harley Clark ran a clinic for the natives in Town. They were put in the local prison with native murderers and thieves, who were kind to them and gave them banana skins etc to eat (See The Will to Live - Sir John Smythe). Any reference to them in my diary was blotted out ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ in case it was found. I'm sure Olga got some sand-shoes up to me at one point. She told me later on the terrible cases they had to deal with there had turned her off nursing and she could not do it again. I wonder - it sounded very unlike her!

27 Oct. 42. The mattresses were hard work, made from rice sacks, which were doled out in turn when available. They had to be cleaned, dried in sun, sewn like lilos, in partitions, to fold easily, and were stuffed with kapok from a bigger mattress, which would have been too heavy to carry. Now with knapsacks made from rice sacks too, sun hats made from sunpits (fish baskets) we were preparing for another sudden move - should it come. Also the mattresses were a great change from lying on the hard concrete floor of the garage.

1st Nov. 13 Nov. Dr. Tanaka - Japanese - was the one kind impartial Japanese ~~we~~ we knew. He saw the Camp got ointments and clean bandages etc, a change from the dirty rags we had to use over and over again. Our treatment for sores was to 'sun' them - which meant just sitting in sun, and seeing no flies settled on them - while the dirty rags were washed and dried.

22 Nov. Someone - can't remember - it is heavily self-censored - brought word from Singapore I think.

5th Dec. 1942. New dress - We had been able to get some thread to sew with from Melvani - the Bombay Shop man - which was a change from pulling threads out of material for patching, sewing as before. I think I was given some material from Red X funds and enjoyed making it up. It was green checks and felt good when finished. It was super working on something new. Up till then I'd worn a dress given by Gladys which soon rotted with heat etc and hard labour. We wore chiefly sun-tops - triangles round our tops and I think Gladys's dress became a skirt.

Dec. 10th. Mrs. Bull was on 'Vyner Brook' with three children and at shipwreck lost sight of two but was quite convinced they were safe somewhere. Hazel the youngest was in camp with her, and after the war the whole family were re-united. She had great faith, and was well rewarded.

notes to diary (Contd)

Boxing Day. The Combined Carol Service was a wonderful experience. We had practiced for it beforehand. Margaret Dryburgh had harmonised carols and Christmas Hymns for 3 women's parts, but the thing I always remember most was the singing of the Magnificat, sung in Latin and conducted by Mother Laurentia - all barriers of religion were down, and we were out in the open and all divisions forgotten in one common purpose.

Christmas Day. "James" - a Guard.

31.12.42. A² - Ann Livingstone whose initials were A.A.

TowHoo was a sort of spongy I don't know what - we ate it - it might have been a soya bean product.

1.1.43. For special occasions - i.e. birthdays etc - we would save up for something 'special' to eat and at the celebration party - could invite a few extra special friends to enjoy the fun - not much room in a garage!

9.2.43. The Services List - would ^{be} names of wives of service personnel, nurses etc. I was allowed to use the only typewriter and made out all the official lists the Japanese asked for - not that they ever seemed to get anywhere.

9.4.43 'Neptun' ~~xxxx~~ The name given to the septic ^{tank}/cleanser was Neptune. It was a lorry manned by a few Malays. Neptun was printed on it somewhere.

14.May 43. Water metre men must have been decent Javanese suffering too under Japanese occupation. Good to be able to talk to them.

24.5.43. Mrs. Haylor was a German I think.

6.6.43 'Tongs' - buckets, tins, i.e. receptacle for water.

18.7.43 'at & ur' - stools and urine. Visits to Hospital were a means of exchanging messages between husbands and wives etc. They got taken in special belts with double partitions, baked in cakes - (made of rice of course) and the Japs were always very suspicious and on the look out and much searching would take place.

2.8.43 The evening of the Variety Show in our 'House' - when we rigged up a seat outside the window for the Jap Guard - the Black Market thrived through the barbed wire and Joss the Dutch Woman went and changed the Guard for him!