KINABALU GUERRILLAS

An account of the Double Tenth 1943

By

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I acknowledge assistance given to me by friends in compiling this account of the Double Tenth 1943.

M. H.

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CHAPTER I

THE COMING OF THE JAPANESE

At 7.30 a.m. on 7th December 1941, one hundred and fifty Japanese bomber and torpedo-carrying aircraft unexpectedly attacked the American fleet anchored in Pearl Harbour at Honolulu. As a result nineteen American warships were sunk as they lay at their moorings.

Two days later at 7.30 a.m. on 9th December, as a minor sequel, the longest train ever seen in North Borneo pulled out of Jesselton Railway station. War with Japan had been declared and according to the original plan such forces as were available would resist invasion. Everybody else, who could go, moved up country. Several coaches and wagons carried the entire staff of the Land and Survey Offices, their families and all the records and maps. The European ladies left the town with their children, leaving the men-folk behind. Hundreds of Chinese boarded the train with families, their cash boxes and their womens' jewellery. Though the distance to Beaufort is less than fifty miles the train did not reach Beaufort till half past four in the afternoon. The train then was much lighter than when it started, for the Chinese had left it at stations all along the line to bury their cash and jewellery in rubber gardens, which they rightly supposed would be

much safer than shophouses or the banks.

The tragic sinking of two capital ships of the Royal Navy off the coast of Malaya a few days later altered the plans for the defence of North Borneo. The muster roll of the Armed Constabulary numbered 650 men including the Reserves and the Volunteers, two companies. The European population was about 300. The local forces were scattered about the country and without naval assistance little or nothing could be done. Instructions were received from Headquarters at Singapore to the effect that no military resistance should be offered and that the Japanese should be allowed to land without opposition.

Christmas was spent in cheerful but primitive style. The Japanese arrived with the new year. They invaded Labuan on 1st January 1942. At that time the Japanese armies were moving southwards down the Malay peninsula to the conquest of Singapore. In Labuan the British Resident and two or three civilians were engaged in destroying the notes and currency issues. The Europeans in Labuan were interned at once and the Japanese carried on the Government there with the help of the local headmen.

The War Council at Singapore ordered North Borneo not to resist an enemy invasion, so in accordance with these orders all defence posts were dismantled. No regular forces were stationed in the country. The defence

forces, consisting of the Armed Constabulary and the Volunteer Force, remained mobilised. Some of the Volunteers were allowed to carry on their normal employment as work of importance, but one platoon was always in being at their headquarters. The Armed Constabulary and the Volunteers guarded the ports and beaches.

On the entry of the Japanese the Volunteer Force was disbanded and the Armed Constabulary reservists were returned to their villages.

The Japanese invaded the mainland of North Borneo on 2nd January by way of Mempakul, and on 3rd January they arrived in Beaufort. At 9 p.m. on that day Lieutenant Koyama with a platoon of infantry occupied the town. They immediately made contact with collaborators and friends, particularly those who had Japanese blood in their veins, and soon they secured the services of all those Japanese citizens who had been interned in the camp at Membakut.

Doubts as to the proper duties of the Chartered Company's officials in this emergency immediately arose. The duties of the civil population in territory occupied by the enemy are set out at length in the chapter entitled "The laws and usages of war on land" in the *Manual of Military Law*. Whether government or local officials should voluntarily remain at their posts and whether the enemy in occupation should continue to use them in their posts,

if they consent to remain, would depend on their particular functions and other circumstances. Usually these officials would receive instructions from their government as to the course of action to be pursued.

On this occasion the government at Sandakan issued no instructions as to the course of action to be pursued by its officials on the west coast. No road connected the west coast with Sandakan. The coasting steamers had been withdrawn and the radio stations were silent. The secretariat at Sandakan was busy preparing instructions for the west coast officials in the event of Japanese invasion, but they were not ready. If the Japanese had come two days later the company's officials would have had their orders, but as usual in war the unexpected happened. The Japanese arrived earlier than was expected and they came in by the back door at Weston instead of the front door at Jesselton.

In the absence of specific instructions from the Governor, the Resident of the west coast and the Commandant of the Armed Constabulary met the Japanese on their arrival in Beaufort. These two officials were questioned closely as to the state of affairs and were ordered to proceed to Brunei under escort to meet the Japanese commanding officer there. At Brunei the two officials were examined separately. Each was questioned all night and then interrogated the whole of the following day. Most of the questions put to them concerned the

destruction of Japanese property in the territory, the condition of the public utility services and the breaking up of installations and property to deny their use to the Japanese. The willingness of the company's officials in the west coast Residency to carry on their duties under the Japanese military government was also discussed.

The Japanese interpreter was efficient and the parties understood each other. The Japanese eventually decided that the Resident must carry on the administration and that the Commandant must be responsible for the maintenance of order. Both of the officials agreed to this and they returned from Brunei to Jesselton.

Meanwhile the Japanese had arrived in Jesselton on 9th January, and they later published a document which they said the two officials had signed. Several copies of the document in Japanese script have survived, but they are not all the same in every respect. A translation of one copy bearing the date 13th January 1942 runs as follows:—

"The Resident and the Commandant have agreed to the terms of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan to continue their public duty.

The soldiers of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will be quartered in Jesselton, Beaufort and other places.

The Japanese army may requisition supplies.

The local Japanese commander will represent the Commander-in-chief for purpose of control.

Government affairs of importance must first be discussed with the Japanese commander.

The Japanese commander approves that the dignity of the civil servants be upheld.

Local police will continue to maintain order, but all arms and ammunition must be put under the control of the Japanese commander.

Laws of the former Government will be enforced, but any law directed against the Japanese Government will be cancelled.

Japanese people and settlers must be protected.

The new Japanese currency will be of equal value to the existing currency and no action to lower its value will be allowed.

Planting, business, communications, culture, education and religion must be restored as early as possible.

Local produce must be sold to Japanese when required at a reasonable price.

All action against the Japanese must cease. If there is no action against the Japanese government, the Japanese authorities will protect the lives and property of all Europeans.

If these terms are faithfully carried out to the satisfaction of the Japanese authority, the authority will allow the administration to continue as before."

The translation is a general statement of the terms agreed

upon rather than an accurate recital of them. As expressed, these terms seem to be fair and reasonable. Each official could refuse his assistance to the Japanese government, but each seems to have thought that he would best fulfil his moral duties to the people of the country if he remained on duty in the presence of the Japanese.

In European wars government officials have usually withdrawn, whereas municipal officials have remained. In North Borneo there was no fine distinction between government and municipal officials. They served the administration in town and country alike. They were in much closer contact with the people than is usual in colonial administration. The continuance of the civil servants in their duties contributed much to the maintenance of order and settled conditions.

The Japanese, at the beginning, carried out these terms and also the terms of the Hague Convention to which they were signatories. The European officials on the west coast continued to serve from early in January until 16th May 1942 when they were all interned.

The Japanese reached Sandakan, the capital, on 19th January and there the Governor issued orders to the European officials to take no part in the Japanese administration except in certain cases such as in the case of the medical staff. At Sandakan the Japanese immediately interned all the Europeans except the doctors, the

electrical engineer and one or two adventurous people who went far afield and lay low for several months.

Reviewed after the lapse of seven years, the attitude of the Chartered Company's officials on the west coast seems to have been wrong and to have put both themselves and the Asian people in a false position. The motive to assist and to stand by their assistants deserves credit. But Asians belong to the continuing story of Asia in which they have their own part to play. The serial chapters of that story follow each other unendingly. The Asians are the chief characters in it, and the Europeans are figures appearing only in a chapter or two. The Europeans could do little in the presence of Asian conquerors and by prolonging their stay they distracted and unknowingly embroiled the very persons whom they sought to serve. The Asian staff soon learned not to recognise any European out of office for fear of being beaten or kicked by Japanese soldiers for showing friendship to them. Asia has her own salvation to work out to an ever increasing extent, and European civilians could do little or nothing to help during war time. It was a matter for the armed forces.

The constrained state of affairs on the west coast could not continue for long. After four months of it the Europeans received notice to meet at the Jesselton Hotel at nine o'clock the next morning. It was 16th May 1942. They were told they were to attend a lecture. The leading Asians stood on one side and the Europeans on the other.

The Japanese Commander announced that by the Emperor's order, the Europeans were to be interned and the Asians would supersede them. The Europeans were then sent away in motor buses and taxis to collect their belongings and to lock up their houses. They were given two hours to do this. On their return to the hotel with light luggage, they presented the keys of their houses to the Japanese Commander who promised to safeguard the property. The European women, most of whom had returned from upcountry, were interned in a convent and the men in the police barracks at Batu Tiga, until arrangements were made to transfer them all to the large internment camps at Kuching.

The Japanese divided the territory into two governorates. The west coast with the interior and Kudat was called Seikai Shiu. The east coast with Tawau was called Tokai Shiu. Labuan was re-named Maedashima, the island of Maeda, after Marquis Maeda, the Commander-in-chief. He lost his life two or three months later in a crash. He had come by air from Singapore, (re-named Syonanto, the light of the south) to visit Labuan island whose name he had taken. Jesselton was called Api and Sandakan Elopura.

The Japanese altered the calendar to fit their own. Their era antedates ours by 660 years, so that their 2601 corresponds to our 1941, their 2602 to our 1942 and so on. 'Showa 16' is the sixteenth year of the emperor Hirohito's

reign and corresponds to our 1941, 'Showa 17' to our 1942 and so on. The months and days are the same in both calendars.

The antipathy of the people towards the Japanese showed itself from the beginning and after the internment of the British officials the attitude was one of increasing hostility. There were many reasons for this animosity. The molestation of women, the conscription of women as prostitutes, the regimentation of the people to increase food supplies and to labour for their new masters, the enforced homage to the Japanese Empire and cruelty were some of the factors. The beating of the people and the torture in the gaols have left memories that will never fade.

No person was safe from the Japanese police clubs. Many were beaten to death with heavy sticks and firewood logs in the prisons by Japanese police and agents who assisted in punishing the victims. Anyone with experience of the East knows how much a personal affront is resented. Slaps in the face and strokes with a cane or stick across the shoulders in public are unpardonable insults which are resented as much here as anywhere else in the world. None dared protest. A few examples of the results of disobedience or protest were enough. Some who disobeyed or protested were taken at once to prison and beaten to death with heavy sticks.

Another most unpopular feature of the Japanese rule

was the requisition of food. This amounted nominally in the case of rice for Japanese requirements to about 40% of the crops. In addition the agents and middlemen made profits so that the total requisition was usually over 50% and in many cases it rose to 80%. The native farmers, like farmers all the world over in time of trouble, knew how to hide much of their produce. One of their contrivances, successful at first, was to hide padi between false partitions in the house. Most of the walls in up-country houses are of bamboo or bark and adaptable for the purpose. Women hid padi in or between their large bed mattresses of cotton shrouded by curtains, behind which male eyes were not supposed to peep. Hiding places were often betrayed by spies and the stores of food were detected.

All inhabitants had to bow and salute the Japanese in the streets. The usual penalty for a default or oversight was slapping and this was no kindergarten affair. The culprit was expected to stand patiently while his assailant slapped him with the full force of his outstretched arm and hand. It may have begun gently, just to warm up, but soon each blow, right or left, would knock the culprit sideways and at each blow he was expected to come up straight ready for the next.

Another form of punishment was to be stood out in the open and suffer exposure to the fierce rays of the sun. To be sun-dried, *kena jemor*, for hours was a severe strain.

The Japanese did not issue any special instructions to their soldiers to prevent the molestation of women. The women had no protection.

The attitude of the Chartered Company's Asian civil servant was generally correct. There were a few exceptions and some of the Indian members of the service were caught up in the net of the Indian Independence League and publicly repudiated their adherence to the British. On the whole the Asian public servants earned high praise for their loyalty to the allies and for the service which they rendered during the occupation.

The native chiefs and headmen had a most difficult task, because they had the responsibility of adjusting the requisitions of the Japanese to the resources of the inhabitants of the villages. Many persons felt that they had grievances on this account, but it would have been surprising if there were none. No case of a headman abusing his position to enrich himself was proved. Traders of course took advantage of the times to enrich themselves, but the village headmen, who had a position of trust, lived up to it.

The Volunteer Force consisted of two Companies, one on the west coast and the other on the east. Their training was that of infantry. Captain Byron commanded the Company at Jesselton, and his subalterns were Lieutenants V.H. Bentham, J.C. Bryant and Li Tet Phui. On the

outbreak of war in December 1941 the small force was mobilised. They helped to guard the ports and landing beaches and occupied the Japanese fish canning factory at Banggi Island.

The Volunteers had always hoped to have a go at the Japanese and the decision to make no attempt at defence was a disappointment to them. When the Japanese planes were circling in the sky above Jesselton before the arrival of the soldiers and were showering down pamphlets, the Volunteers were still under orders to remain at their posts and not to fire without express orders. After the entry of the Japanese the Volunteers patrolled the townships without arms to keep order for a few days, and finally returned their arms to store on 5th January 1942.

It was to the west coast Company that leaders of the subsequent revolt looked for men with some military training, and these men never had any doubt about their ultimate fate if they should fall into the hands of the enemy. Their eagerness to resist lived on during the occupation and this led many to join the Guerrillas. To the invaders the volunteers seemed a likely source of trouble. All of them were marked men. Imprisonment or death at the hands of the Kempeitai was the price many of them paid for their service as Volunteers. The British officers were interned, but the Asian officers and other ranks had to live under the heel of the enemy. They

stayed with their European officers to the end.

The country owed much to the Volunteers, but they have suffered years of obscurity. About seven years after the event they received a tardy recognition of their services and all members mobilised during the period 10th December 1941 to 19th January 1942, or their representatives, were granted three months pay and allowances. Due honour has not been paid to the survivors of these Companies. They include Indians and Natives, Eurasians and Chinese as well as Europeans. Six of the Volunteer officers and N.C.O's were put to death. Few of the old Volunteers are now alive.

Prior to the revolt the Japanese had an inkling of the restless condition of the people and they knew that the Volunteer Force included able and resolute men with experience of the country and the gift of leadership. Each was called up to submit himself to enquiry, partly to satisfy the Japanese as to his good faith and partly to forecast his attitude towards the levy of three thousand men whom the Japanese wished to recruit for military service. This enquiry helped to precipitate the open revolt because the leaders thought that their underground movement could not be hidden much longer. In the face of these enquiries set on foot, the leaders, including the Volunteers, continued to throw dust in the eyes of the Japanese and prepared their plans for the Double Tenth.

When Albert Kwok led his revolt against the Japanese, he looked to the Volunteers to become partners in the adventure and he did not look in vain. The initial success of the Guerrillas at Jesselton owed much to their training by Lieutenant Li Tet Phui, Sergeant Jules P. Stephens and others of the Volunteers who joined in the first fight.

Some of them were young men who hardly knew what life means, but there were older men who had wives, children and homes, and they understood the risks. A few, very few, may have endowed a guerrilla life with a glamour of their own imagining. These few would be adventurers but most of the Volunteers knew that there would be much battling but no booty. Most knew it was their duty to resist the enemy whenever an opportunity came. To stand aside was to shirk their responsibility of defending fellow citizens from being forced into service with the Japanese. In this they were largely successful. They did the young men and women of their time a great service and they remained true to their ideals.

The Japanese pushed their co-prosperity scheme for what it was worth, but all efforts to influence the inhabitants to active measures in favour of the scheme were useless as long as the people were paid less than half the value of the crops or merchandise they produced. The worthlessness of the paper currency was soon obvious to all. The currency had a printed design of bunches of bananas on the face of the notes. It was

at once known as banana currency and became an object of ridicule.

The Dusuns, the Muruts and other inland tribes showed that apathetic frame of mind which was to be expected. A great deal of loyalty was shown by the natives, especially by those who had been in closer contact with those who had ruled them, but action was not to be expected. To the native mind, patriotism is rather a love of their own part of the country, but not of the whole of it for they are only dimly aware of its size. They love the area or the district which is their homeland, and whoever, as ruler, allows them to live there receives immediate recognition. It need only be said that these inland tribes showed a customary subservience and obeyed the commands of the ruling power whoever it might be. Their warlike spirit was not quickened until others had set the example.

The Japanese kept a close control over the native villages through the headmen. Spies were implanted in the villages to ensure that the headman did his duty properly. There was no difficulty in persuading young men, after a term in prison, to enter Japanese service as spies and to report on their neighbours' doings. These young people were well known to the villagers, but they could not be harmed without serious retribution.

Village chiefs received from the Japanese an official

badge. The badge was issued only to those who professed friendship with the Japanese, and there were few candidates. Probably the sense of security whilst wearing these badges was the real inducement. The native loves a badge, a *tanda tangan*, and any letter of commendation is much prized. The Japanese understood this, and the practice of issuing badges was one of their few administrative successes. In this they imitated the practice of the former government. The Japanese badges, which superseded the old badges, were tinsel but attractive enough to native eyes. They were rather too large and the points projected awkwardly on the breast. A large safety pin held it in position.

The badges were of two sorts. One was a five pointed star of poor metal, no better than tin plate, with a painted red centre. The other was of a slightly superior metal and workmanship for award to the higher ranking chiefs. The senior badge boasted an eagle with outspread wings poised for flight on the point of the star. Chaw Ah Quee, Hassan and Musah were three of the people considered by the Japanese to be worthy of this emblem.

The headmen were summoned to attend meetings from time to time. The purpose of these meetings was to persuade the headmen to co-operate, but the real meaning of the word is evident from the questions set to each headman to answer. The headmen at the end of the meetings always expressed promises of co-operation and

protestations of loyalty to their new rulers. They dared not do otherwise. The Japanese required complete information concerning the situation of each village, its productive capacity, the number of people and their houses, their principal occupations, damage from air raids and the like. All these details were taken down in writing. In one account a note in Japanese appears:

> "These people were always amenable and replied to the questions without a note of distrust. At the end of the meeting each man was paid one yen as expenses to cover his attendance."

The Japanese were very thorough in their methods of collecting supplies. In the office at Kuala Penyu, which was standing after the re-capture of that village, there was found posted up a list of native chiefs and headmen, covering the area from Jesselton to Beaufort. The list gave the names, the villages and the monthly payment of each. The names included many headmen who had served the Chartered Company and who had continued to serve under the Japanese. There were about sixty names on the list and the monthly payments varied from $3 to $10. In Japanese currency these sums were of small value. O.K.K. Yahya of Mempakul District was the highest in the list at $10 a month. So far as is known he carried out his difficult task of protecting his people against oppression and of adjusting Japanese demands to local resources as well as could be expected.

There was no interference with the people's religion and customs. The small village schools in some instances continued to function, but there were no dressing stations for those requiring medical attention, and there were no drugs available.

The former hospital dressers were willing to serve and remained at their stations, but there was no work for them to do because of the shortage of supplies of all kinds. The hospitals lacked bedding, disinfectants, medicines, soap and surgical instruments. The patients' diet simply did not exist.

The village shops remained open, but goods were scarce. Everything of value had been buried for safety and there were no imports worth speaking of. Barter of produce and delivery of requisitioned materials were the only activities in the townships.

The Japanese officials mixed with the people far more than British officials, who rarely saw anybody except other officials, but this did not earn respect for them. They insisted on the use of the term *tuan*. The people became so accustomed to calling the Japanese *tuan* that they continued the habit and whenever the returning British asked for information, the people referred to the Japanese as *tuan* this or *tuan* that. The ideal of the Japanese which had so often been advertised, that they were the saviours of oppressed peoples, found no response.

Upcountry the people were for a long time left alone, but orders for food supplies were soon pressed, and the Japanese then learned of the advantages of the Interior as a labour supply, as a granary and as a place of strategic value. The headmen soon found that an unpleasant duty had to be performed in collecting large gangs of labourers to improve roads and to construct airstrips at Jesselton, Keningau, Kudat, Sandakan and elsewhere. Conscripted labour was enforced. At Sandakan some thousands of Australian and other prisoners of war carried the burden for the most part. At Jesselton the civil population was conscripted for the purpose and all government servants of every nationality excepting the Japanese had to work on the airfields once a week.

The collection of foodstuffs and the enforcement of labour had repercussions throughout the country. In a general way the Dusuns stayed where they were, and watched with disgust, Japanese soldiers cutting down coconut trees which they could not climb. The Dusuns reduced their harvests to a minimum hardly sufficient for themselves. They turned their buffaloes loose. The Chinese left the towns, sought shelter in their own lands and went in for farming. The Muruts retreated further into the jungle and lived on sago and *gadum*, a kind of yam or potato found in the forest. It is a sort of *kladi*. It is poisonous unless all juices have been trodden out of it. It could not be made into liquor and drinking in Murut villages became a thing of the past. The Muruts could

not hunt game, because the Japanese removed their weapons. This made farming more difficult than ever and the wild animals increased in numbers. The Japanese did not murder the Muruts. They took away their property and forced them to work in unaccustomed ways.

At Jesselton, All Saints Church, which stands on a hill site near Karamunsing, was made into a wireless station. It was a convenient site and useful for the purpose. The rectory close by became a brothel. It had large floorspace and the area was divided into cubicles. Evidence of its use as a brothel was unmistakable. Another brothel set aside for the exclusive use of senior officers was established in the Basel Mission Church and school buildings on Ridge Road, and yet another in Harington Road. Another in a most prominent position was set up in the tallest and best house along South Road. Jesselton was well supplied. The girls were mostly Javanese brought up by way of Kuching.

The Roman Catholic Church at Jesselton served a variety of purposes from time to time. The convent was converted to a hotel for Japanese officers and one of the other buildings was used for courts martial.

Government House Hill was reserved for the use of the Japanese commanding officer and his staff, and the Residency was occupied by the civil governor. The Japanese Military Police, known as Kempeitai, did more

than any other Japanese to earn contempt and hatred everywhere, and in these paragraphs describing police methods readers are urged to discriminate between the various police forces, which were formed from time to time. At least five groups of men must be differentiated. There were the North Borneo Armed Constabulary, the Japanese Kempeitai, the Civil Police raised by the Japanese, the *Jikidan* and the police agents.

Less than thirty per cent of the Armed Constabulary was incorporated into any Japanese police group and of that proportion less than half served in the Jesselton districts. Mention of police in these paragraphs excludes nearly all the members of the Armed Constabulary and refers to the Japanese groups. Every large body has a few black sheep, and those of the Constabulary are known and can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The proportion of men who were imprisoned or executed for their loyalty or who have been decorated for their courage is high in comparison with other Asian police forces. There are very few charges of brutality against the members of the Constabulary. On the other hand there are many men of whom that force may be rightly proud.

Most of the cruelty and torture was inflicted by the Japanese themselves. Native police, recruited by the Japanese, were unwilling spectators for the most part and offenders such as the prison warder at Labuan, nicknamed King Kong, were rare.

In Jesselton the police under Japanese organisation occupied three stations. These were the Civil Police Station in South Road, the Jesselton Sports Club building and Victoria Barracks at Batu Tiga. The Sports Club building became the headquarters of the Kempeitai, and it was in this building and at Batu Tiga where most of the atrocities occurred.

At the entrance to the Sports Club building in South Road two large wooden posts were erected as a sign of Japanese occupation and the building was cut into cells and furnished with barred windows, whipping posts and chains. Horrible cries were heard issuing from this building throughout the occupation and many people died there from torture. It was in the Sports Club building that many prisoners received a foretaste of the torture which was to follow at Batu Tiga. Here many went through the first stages which led to removal to Batu Tiga where the final stages of torment and execution were carried out.

The lightest form of punishment was to provide sport for the Japanese police. To a tree at the corner of the *padang* nearest to the Sports Club two of the alleged culprits would be fastened with a sufficient length of rope. These unfortunates had to challenge each other to a bout of fisticuffs. Anyone who fell over at once received a beating with a stick to encourage him to renew the fray. The one who was adjudged the loser received a severe

flogging.

In a back passage or room in the Sports Club building the Japanese police set about the ill-treatment intended to force the victim to incriminate himself and others. At first they would beat him with a thick stick three feet long or so, renewing the beatings every hour. Sometimes the victims were tied by the hands to a chain hanging from the ceiling with their knees reaching to the ground. The blows were delivered on the back, the shoulders, the arms and the head. Often the victim became insensible and died under the beating. If he survived the repeated beatings the Japanese police would apply the water torture and other torments calculated to break down the prisoner's resistance and to sap every fibre of courage left in him.

Prisoners whose hands were bound behind their backs were not freed at mealtimes. A bowl of food and some salt were set on a table in front of each and he had to stoop down to eat from the bowl and lick the salt like a dog.

One Japanese officer, on trial for murder after the armistice, said that when time was short, the water torture was applied soon because it was the most effective in the shortest time. Four Japanese warders held the victim standing up. A dripper filled with water from a bucket was held to his mouth and the water was poured in while the warders pressed his throat to make him swallow. Two buckets would be poured down this way. Faint with the

weight of water inside, the victim collapsed to the ground. The warders stood and trod upon the victim's back or belly until the water was forced out of his eyes, nose, mouth and other cavities of the body.

The screams of the victims resounded through the building and lessened the power of resistance of others awaiting their turn and reduced their chance of keeping silent in the ordeal to come.

Generally the Japanese began to question the victim early but they did not question him closely. If they could afford to wait, when they had finished with him, he would be ready to reveal everything they asked him. His life was a mere drifting mist of burning pain. After proper preparation for questioning, the victim does not tell lies. He has no strength left to concoct false stories. He has no power of will. To refuse to speak, to concoct lies, or to deny, requires will power and it has all been drained from him. He merely tells what he knows. The Japanese police know from long experience when men are approaching the point when their resistance will break and when they will cry out for someone to come and listen to their confessions.

Such inhumanity of man to man is not new and European history also has had its dark side. In China a law says that no man condemned to death for a crime may be executed until he has confessed his guilt, but the atrocities

committed against our population were contrary to the law of the land, which the Japanese, as the occupying power, were under international obligation to administer. The Japanese government had subscribed to the treaties containing this obligation and each Japanese officer who acted contrary to the law of the land was liable to be tried according to that law for his misdeeds.

The Japanese military police engaged a large number of people including men, women and children, to form a network throughout the whole country. These people were distributed as workpeople in shops, companies, villages, and ships, everywhere. For instance the Usira Company, engaged in obtaining produce for the army, kept two women agents who were first used as prostitutes before being trained as police agents. The Kempeitai were chiefly engaged in collecting supplies, because the urgent need for food overshadowed almost all other occupations. They were stationed all over the country to supervise labour on the roads, to reclaim land for cultivation and to collect produce.

Natives were engaged everywhere as police agents and formed the bulk of the new police force. When the Japanese took over control, they employed some of the Armed Constabulary under a Japanese officer, and recruited natives to swell the ranks.

A small number of Sikh police were stationed on the

west coast. Subadar Dewa Singh, the most senior Asian officer of the Armed Constabulary was dismissed by the orders of the Japanese on the eve of their arrival in Jesselton in January 1942 and became one of the leaders of the Guerrillas at 'Tuaran. Sergeant Budh Singh and Corporal Sohan Singh were executed by the Japanese after the Double Tenth, at mile 5 near the Petagas Bridge. Sergeant Bhagat Singh was killed. Most of the other Sikhs left the Force after the rising.

In April 1943 about a dozen police sergeants were sent to Kuching for six months training. They were taught military commands, police duties, local laws and the Japanese language. On their return they were appointed chief and assistant chief police officers.

The Japanese had no difficulty in obtaining native police recruits by means of the usual inducements of pay, clothing and rations in addition to the fear of consequences if they did not comply. Threats to recruits included the likelihood of retaliation on their families if they did not obey. The Japanese realised the importance of the work which the police were doing on their behalf and recorded that:

> "It is necessary to increase the number of full-time specialist police spies, so that we may have sufficient to dispose in areas however remote."

In an address given in March 1944 the chief of the military police in Jesselton said that the police force

consisted of twenty Japanese administrative officials, forty Japanese police officers and about 1,500 local police. Further expansion he said was necessary.

The Chinese did not prove to be useful policemen for their purpose. The Overseas Chinese Defence Association with their headquarters in Jesselton had made every effort to separate their people from contact with the invaders and their activities culminated in the Double Tenth revolt of October 1943. When it was all over and the penalties had been paid, the chief of the Japanese military police made his address in March 1944 and called for further expansion of the native and Indian police. He admitted that the Chinese had not proved to be useful police for their purpose.

The Japanese adopted the system of making groups of people responsible for the behaviour of individuals. This system is known in China and Java, where it had operated long before. The system is known as the Hoko spy system. It was started by the Chinese a thousand years ago and the Japanese borrowed it from them. The villages under the instructions of the headmen provided a roster of young men whose duty was to keep watch at set points throughout the day and often throughout the night. Small huts were provided at the selected points and communication from one to another was maintained.

Young men were forthcoming in large numbers for this

service. They were called *Jikidan*, and were responsible to the local headman. The system can serve a useful purpose at a cheap cost, and it is also capable of expansion into a spy system. Moreover, the system of making the whole community responsible for the behaviour of the indiviuals within it is an easy way of levying fines on the whole community for the offence of a few. None dares to be too out-spoken lest he be betrayed by others anxious for the safety of the whole body. This system has many advantages from the conqueror's point of view. It simplifies police control, propaganda can be spread, the local administration can be easily worked and it provides a convenient means of recruiting native labour and auxiliaries. In this respect, as in so may others, the Japanese merely showed themselves to be imitators of others.

A few cases were tried in the courts. The sentences imposed by the courts for offences usually were not extreme or excessive, but the ill-treatment by the police and the torture in the prisons were so brutal as to cancel out any credit earned.

Native headmen sat as magistrates. Punishment in a very few cases was quite out of proportion to the offence and in one case a member of a Eurasian family was sentenced to imprisonment for three years for passing cigarettes to a prisoner.

Two natives convicted of murder in the adjoining

territory at Lawas were sentenced by the native magistrate there to fifteen years imprisonment each and the Japanese authorities confirmed the magistrate's sentences. On the arrival of the British, these two convicts remained in prison fearing reprisals from the murdered man's family if they returned to their homes in the jungle. The British authorities confirmed the Japanese sentence and the men remained in custody to serve the sentence.

The Japanese made much use of the rivers and bridle paths in the country to move their troops and prisoners from north to south or east to west. In peace days all movements between such places as Brunei and Sandakan took place by sea, and none would have thought of going overland. The Japanese army by force of circumstances became an army of men moving single file across the country. The rivers helped them much, but the journey up-stream was slow and laborious. The river valleys were unhealthy and malaria was prevalent in them, so that there was much sickness and death rates were high.

Prisoners who fell sick on the long marches were shot by the rear guards, as there was no means of carrying the sick.

As the Japanese advanced slowly across the country, the natives fled into the bush and the hills to avoid being called on for work and supplies, and to save their women from molestation. Empty villages were burned down by

the Japanese out of spite.

Two of the main centres were Ranau in the north and Pensiangan in the south. Ranau in the north received the troops who came from Sandakan by bridle paths or by boats up the Labuk River. At Tampias, where the Labuk River ceases to be navigable, the troops left the boats and marched three days overland to Ranau. Here they were in touch with the west coast bridle paths and could continue their march to Jesselton about one hundred miles further on. Ranau also served as the junction for any troops from the interior who might be required to reinforce Kudat. They would follow the west coast bridle paths to Kota Belud and then continue north east to Langkon and Kudat. Such a journey would be about one hundred and fifty miles.

An alternative route from Sandakan to Kudat followed the Labuk River as far as the Tungud River and so to the Sugut and Paitan Rivers. From Paitan a track was developed to Pitas to meet the bridle path. The foot track from Ranau to Tampias was widened to take pony traffic. Three feet wide it greatly assisted transport and became a link in the route of the Australian death march from Sandakan to Ranau. Jesselton and Sandakan were joined up, the route being Jesselton, Temparuli, Dalas, Tenompak, Ranau and Tampias. Boats were available in most weathers at Tampias, and transport went forward by the River Labuk to Beluran and Sandakan.

Pensiangan in the south was the depot for the transit of all Japanese troops for Tawau and Tarakan and at times two or three thousand soldiers lay in camps there. The boat journey up the Sembakong river from the east coast to Pensiangan was difficult and took two or three weeks. In dry weather there was much haulage up the rapids, and in wet weather it was difficult to make headway against the floods. At Pensiangan the troops were in touch with the west coast bridle paths. A long march leads northwards for over a hundred miles to Keningau. In wet weather this is impeded by floods, and after the surrender, when the Muruts lined the path to cut off stragglers, the route became a death march for the Japanese. At Keningau the Japanese occupied another central position and reinforcements could be sent to Brunei, Jesselton, Kudat and elsewhere as required.

Two airstrips were made in Keningau. Another was made at Ranau close to the camp where three hundred Australians were held as prisoners of war. The bridle path was widened between Keningau and Apin-apin to take motor traffic. For a dozen miles the new road runs as straight as a ruler. An old Murut headman said that his people would have had few complaints against the Japanese if the Japanese hearts were as straight as their road.

These improvements were lost in a country as large and mountainous as North Borneo. Its thirty thousand

square miles remained as inaccessible and remote as before.

Mat Salleh's rebellion more than forty years before gives an earlier example of a successful defence of the interior lasting for two or three years. Dusuns are not of the same warlike disposition as the Muruts. The Dusuns never were ferocious headhunters. They are good farmers. History has shown that the Dusun farmers have often been exposed and subjected to plunder. They are the 'orchard' folk and it is evident that the Japanese intended to rely on the resources of the Dusuns and defend the interior of the country.

The Allies soon made the Japanese sea routes unsafe. Experienced seamen as the Japanese were, they were no match against the Americans and our own seamen. American sea patrols controlled the coasts with the assistance of aeroplanes, and the destruction of Japanese cargo ships soon caused great shortage of shipping. Under the Japanese the economic position became hopeless. There were shortages of imports of every kind due to the lack of shipping and to the decrease of production in countries where the goods were manufactured. Moreover, there was little or no sale of local produce. There were no ships to take the produce away and there were no buyers except the Japanese government and its agents. Articles and goods needed for productive purposes, such as tools, were unobtainable. Clothes,

matches and drugs were in very short supply.

The Japanese not only failed to supply the commercial needs of the country, but they plundered and stripped the country of everything that was valuable, including such different articles as tools, machinery, metals, leather and rubber. Cattle were exported in large numbers. British currency, gold, silver, brass, iron and other metals had to be surrendered. Machinery fell into disuse because there were no spare parts. The few spare parts which could be got were often adapted for use elsewhere.

The only new industry which was begun was the making of shoes out of rubber. The Chinese made these of crepe, in an open pattern. They were easily slipped on and off and good value for the money.

The Japanese made some efforts to improve the state of trade. One or two agents from abroad arrived to enquire into complaints. Their efforts to restore the economic structure of the villages failed. Attempts to fix the quantities of rice and vegetables to be grown were made and the local headmen were paid small but steady wages to organise the village production of foodstuffs. This helped the Japanese authorities in their requisitions, but did not benefit the people as a whole.

Japanese spokesmen admitted that the plight of the people had grown increasingly desperate and sought to

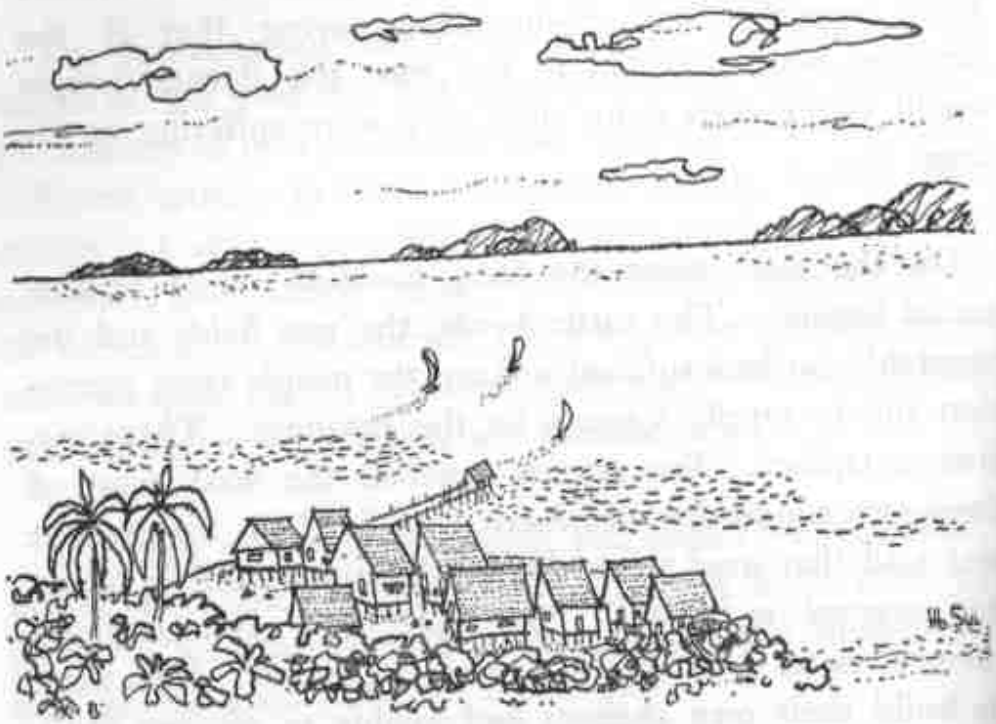
improve relations by saying that the Japanese in Borneo were suffering as much as the people of the country. They appealed for co-operation saying that if the Japanese were defeated in the war, the Borneo people would suffer even more than they were suffering at the time.

On the west coast the food situation never became actual famine. The cattle herds, the rice fields and the vegetable gardens sufficed to keep the people from starvation and to supply a quota for the Japanese. There was always tapioca. But reports reached the west coast of desperate conditions elsewhere. At Miri, in Sarawak, it was said that over three thousand Chinese and Javanese had starved to death. They had been seen dragging themselves on their bellies through the streets. Too weak to build their own shelters and unable to procure food, they died by the roadside. At Sandakan orang utan, anteaters, porcupines, crocodiles and sharks figure in the cooking recipes of the time. Elephant trunk was a great delicacy when it was available.

The manufacture of cheap cigarettes was suggested, but nothing came of it.

Native boats disappeared from the rivers and were hidden by their owners from the eyes of the Japanese. No sailing craft approached the coasts unless they were compelled to do so by stress of weather. The fishing

industry came to a standstill along the whole coastline.



Islands near Jesselton.

There were great difficulties in labour and transport and the shortage of imports led to others going without while the needs of the Japanese came first. The British dollar was worth more than the yen, and so the dollar wages and salaries of everybody were reduced to bring them into line with the wages and salaries of the Japanese themselves who were paid in yen.

Inflation prevailed and the Japanese currency soon became of less and less value. After the battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942, six months from the outbreak of

war in the Far East, the Japanese dollar fell fast. A box of Japanese matches cost $10 in Japanese currency. On a rough estimate the British currency had about one hundred times the purchasing power of the Japanese currency near the end. The Japanese currency rapidly became worthless. At the end, the worthlessness of their paper money could be judged from the capture of five tons of it in a wrecked train when the Australians re-occupied Beaufort in June 1945. No one looted it. It was not worth the trouble.

Clothing of value was hidden by those who owned it. The big earthenware jars, which are so common in the villages, were most useful. These jars are to be found in every native house and are used for storing rice, fermenting drink and for the burial of the dead. Their tops can easily be secured by a plate stuck with resin and they made safe receptacles when buried in the ground.

Many of the natives were reduced to wearing bark. A small quantity of native cloth was made on hand looms by women.

As early as February 1942, before the Japanese had occupied the territory for a month, they had issued orders requiring everybody to deposit in the new banks any money in excess of $30. Each family could keep this sum for current expenses. The rest must be banked. All gold and silver had to be handed in and merchants were required

to give an account of their cash resources. Rubber had to be sold to the Japanese Government at a price much below that of the cost of production. No arms of any description were allowed to be kept.

The livestock was preserved to some extent, and an estimate of the loss of one third of the cattle was considered fair at the time of the surrender. Cattle and even ponies were used as food and were requisitioned for Japanese army supplies. Draught cattle used for ploughing in the rice fields were protected as part of the Japanese economy, but the rice fields were not fully planted and on re-occupation it was found that some of the buffaloes had become so unaccustomed to the plough after a lapse of three or four years that they had to be retrained to the yoke by their owners. The Indians in particular complained of the reduction of their herds by requisition. Their herds grazed near the towns and were easy to lasso. Payment by the Japanese army was enforced, but the depreciation of Japanese currency nullified the payments.

During 1943 many Japanese firms were established in Jesselton and elsewhere with the help of the Japanese Government. The produce of the country and its trade gradually fell into their hands. Padi and rice were controlled by one firm, and rubber by another. A transport company was formed and all vehicles were ordered to be delivered to the company on requisition at a price much below their real value. These Japanese firms began by

trying to build up a good stock. They collected everything they could and paid high prices. Furniture and even picture frames were in demand. But as was to be expected the Japanese were no match for local businessmen when it came to bargaining. In business affairs they were often the losers. They engaged local men to be clerks and store-keepers. Some of these were appointed to be brokers as well. There were cases when goods were purchased and paid for by the Japanese firms and lodged in the stores. Before long these same goods were taken out by the back door and brought in again at the front door to be paid for over again, and even for a third time.

Postage stamps of many kinds were issued during the Japanese occupation and collectors who seek information should refer to Mr. Alan Dant's article on Stamps during and after the Japanese occupation. (*Sarawak Museum Journal*, Vol. V, May 1949, Kuching.)

Mr. Dant writes that stamps of the four neighbouring countries, North Borneo, Labuan, Brunei and Sarawak, were pooled under the Japanese postal authority and that existing stocks with and without overprints were freely used. Mr. Dant illustrates about one hundred stamps in his article referring to Sarawak. The first stamps used were the current Chartered Company's stamps with no overprint and the usual post mark. Then current stamps in use in Japan were issued. Many others followed. He writes that the rarest complete set of all the occupation

sets is the complete set from 1 cent to $5 of the pre-war Chartered Company issue, overprinted and in use in Jesselton in October 1942. It is popularly supposed that stamps of this set suffered almost complete extinction in an air raid at Jesselton before they had been distributed. Mr. Dant knows of two complete mint sets in existence and thinks that this set must rank as one of the rarest Japanese issues in the whole of South-East Asia.

For the first few weeks of the occupation no postal services at all were available and the public well knew that their letters would be liable to censorship, confiscation and delay. Though numbers of mint Japanese occupation issues exist, there are few postally used specimens. How the Guerrillas destroyed the Japanese military post office will be told in the next chapter.

As China was at war with Japan the position of the Chinese in North Borneo was precarious. Few held the status of British subjects or citizens and the Chinese as a whole had supported their country's war against Japan for many years. The Japanese issued a proclamation to the effect that all property belonging to the Chinese was confiscated by the Japanese government. The safety of their lives and the possession of their property depended solely upon the will of the Japanese High Command. They lived at the mercy of the Japanese. Their life was marred by the strain of fear and uncertainty and by the bullying visits of the Japanese police.

Any Chinese who were known to have been leaders in the local organisation of the China Relief Fund for the carrying on of the Chinese war against Japan were sought. Three were arrested, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and sent to Kuching to serve their punishment. This act caused much hatred and being the first of its kind showed the Chinese people what they might expect later from the hands of the Japanese. The Japanese followed this with a demand for a public subscription to support their own war. North Borneo was called upon for a million dollars, six hundred thousand dollars was charged upon the west coast and the remainder, four hundred thousand dollars, was charged upon the east coast. The leading Chinese merchants were heavily assessed and any traders and land owners who could not draw money from the banks borrowed at heavy rates of interest to discharge their liability.

This compulsory subscription caused many landowners to borrow money from men who had been more successful in adapting themselves to enemy occupation and had money to spare. 'Spivs', as they are called in England, and blackmarketeers came to the fore. Men who were influential under the Japanese found their opportunity. Landowners may have had good reason to challenge some of the deals in those days. Tay Bee Chuan, of Tay Bee Young Brothers, died in hospital in January 1943. His death was a shock to the whole community. It was largely due to the mental distress caused him by the misery

of his people and their serious losses. To his credit stood the payment of one hundred thousand dollars to the compulsory fund as his share to save his people from further harassment.

Poll tax was enforced at a rate of six dollars per head from each male Chinese. It was collected for one year only, because of the revolt which this taxation and other measures caused.

Entertainments and dinner parties were offered to the merchants, who openly accepted the invitations, but despised their hosts. These invitations were failures for the purpose for which they were issued. They were designed for co-operation but soon became ominous because guests who accepted them and attended the function were frequently arrested and sent to prison. In fact the entry of a man's name on an invitation list to dinner amounted to his condemnation. In spite of the obvious danger of attending an official dinner party, many could not resist the temptation offered by a good meal. The present of a *kati* of sugar was a certain magnet to attract a guest.

It was customary for the Japanese to celebrate the national days of their subject races, partly to provide a counter attraction and partly to recognize the public holiday. To the annual dinner on 9th October the eve of the Double Tenth, a large number of local celebrities were to be invited and Japanese officers were to be present. The Japanese knew that the 10th was a day on which the Chinese morale in particular would be exalted, and for

purposes of concilitation, correction or counterblast, all and sundry would be summoned. The annual public dinner on the eve of the festival was announced to be given at the Emperor's expense. The practice had many advantages, because it brought the leaders of the people under the eye of their masters on the eve of the very day when a tumult might be expected, it professed sympathy for the ideals of the subject peoples and it displayed a show of Japanese force just when it might be needed. But the Guerrillas attacked on the eve of Double Tenth in spite of all these precautions. To collect guests for such a dinner the Japanese often had recourse to the precedent set in the parable. The highways and hedges had to be searched for likely guests who could be compelled to attend and swell the numbers. Excuses for non-attendance were often given in reply to the invitations. It was dangerous to refuse, but more dangerous to accept. On these occasions the Japanese practised the inhospitable habit of announcing the latest list of proclaimed offenders, some of whom might even then be seated at the table.

The Japanese learned to respect the Dusuns, with whom they were in contact much more than with the Muruts. The Dusuns have a pleasant habit of putting all strangers and visitors to tests of skill. They have their own forms of contest. Headman Kulang, of one of the Labuk villages, tells how he taunted one of the Japanese officers to fight with any weapons he chose. The Japanese would

not trust the Dusun headman, so he measured off a stick the same length as the Dusun sword and gave it to Kulang to fight with. The Japanese used his own sword in the test of skill. Kulang says that he rapped the Japanese officer twice over the head pretty smartly, before the Japanese realised whom he was up against. Kulang was never once hit by the flat of the Japanese sword. The Dusuns have their own kind of ju-jitsu. These games did much to engender a respect for the Dusuns.

The Japanese themselves often went hungry and the troops on their long marches starved when they could not contact the local villages or lost their way. Their urgent appetite for meat incited them to cannibalism.

In North Borneo there were several accounts of cannibalism. First of all there was the case of the Dusun Headman at Bundo-tuhan. It was said that he had been partially eaten by Japanese troops. His grave was eventually discovered and when opened the corpse showed the hacking away of pieces of flesh. The grave was opened again in 1946, but it was then impossible to make sure. Another case was that of two Australian prisoners who escaped from the Japanese staging camp at River Munyad, near Beluran, on one of the Ranau death marches. The River Munyad is about seven miles from Beluran and at about mile 56 the foot track approaches the bank. The two Australians made their escape down the river and were seen by local natives. The Japanese went in pursuit and

on their return were seen carrying human flesh. The natives never saw the runaways again. At this time food everywhere was very scarce and the natives considered this a case of cannibalism. There were reports that Japanese troops in the west coast districts were eating young Dusuns. Such reports seemed unbelievable, but on 17th October 1945, Orang Kaya Kaya Lajungga, the Dusun headman of Penampang, said that the reports were correct and had foundation in fact.

There were also the statements of the Australians themselves who had been captured by the Japanese and survived. Some of them could tell of occasions when native and Indian guards had been killed and eaten. The stage between Tampias and Ranau on the death march was particularly difficult to traverse, as every traveller in that part of the country well knows. The way is mountainous, there are no villages and the journey may take up to three days. In one camp there the Japanese on the march selected the healthiest *Jikidan* and took them away from guard duty. The *Jikidan* never returned. They were in the Japanese cooking pots. Again there was the case of the native who was sent out as leader of a hunting party to kill wild pig or deer. He brought nothing back. Because he returned empty-handed and his masters were hungry, he was himself slaughtered and eaten.

There is no need to labour the charge. When on trial in New Guinea a Japanese officer of motor transport

signed a confession that he ate the flesh of an Indian who had been killed and cut up. On 14th October 1945 the Japanese Army Headquarters at Tokyo admitted that it approved of cannibalism where food shortage occurred amoungst its troops. The Japanese troops were permitted to eat only the flesh of the enemy dead. The death penalty was ordered for Japanese soldiers who ate their own dead, which was considered the worst crime of the army.

Curiously there is in English law no punishment for cannibalism. The Japanese soldiers could be punished for mutilating dead bodies under military law, but the ordinary law does not provide penalties against cannibalism as such. A dead body belongs in theory to the executor or representatives of the deceased and cannibalism in the penal code is little more than the theft of a corpse. The killing and eating of a person is of course murder.

There were no instances of Chinese ever having been put into Japanese cooking pots. Native and Indian police were eaten, but Chinese people never. They had left too bitter a taste of a different kind in the Japanese mouth after the Double Tenth. One Chinese has said that this indigestion in the Japanese stomach was a proof of the success of the Chinese revolt and that this alone made it worthwhile. The Japanese sank to the final degradation of the beasts that perish. It is to be hoped that those who took part in this bestiality were comparatively few.

CHAPTER II

DOUBLE TENTH

THE STARS in their courses did not always favour the Japanese. Marquis Maeda, who was Commander-in-Chief of all troops in North Borneo, Labuan, Brunei and Sarawak, and Military Governor of the whole area was killed in an air crash about three months after the occupation. His headquarters were at Kuching. He was travelling in an aeropane somewhere near Labuan when he crashed. The plane disappeared, and futile searches all along the coastline spread the news far afield. It was hailed as a stroke of luck.

In 1940, a year before the war with Japan, Albert Kwok of Kuching arrived in Jesselton. Albert Kwok, a Chinese, was born in Kuching, where his father was a dentist. He was sent to Shanghai for his education and escaped from there when the Japanese invaded the city. He travelled much in China, visiting Nanking, Hankow, Canton and elsewhere. He studied Chinese medicine and joined the Chinese Red Cross. He was particularly successful in treating that prevalent and distressing complaint known as piles. His practice was a large one. He treated some of the highest officials in China and Malaya and he received recognition for his curative skill and also

for his zeal in the interests of the Republic of China. It is said that he earned merit from General Chiang Kai Shek himself. He was sent to meet the Japanese as the invasion spread south and was appointed to be an intelligence officer of the Chinese Government. He returned to Borneo by way of Malaya late in 1940. He was a bachelor and lived with his sister and his brother-in-law in Jesselton. In appearance he looked a young man of middle height and strong build. He was spruce and clean shaven. He lived in 1941 with Mr. Wong Yun Tshin of the Jesselton Ice & Power Co., Ltd. in a house built over the sea at the half mile stone on South Road and was often seen riding his motor cycle with his brother-in-law on the back seat. He was a man of superabundant energy. He made many friends. When his stock of drugs was exhausted he gave up business. Probably every person in Jesselton and the neighbourhood knew that he was planning to overthrow the Japanese. Though there were countless spies about, not one betrayed him to the Japanese. His attempt has brought him local fame, and posterity is likely to hail him as a local hero and a patriot. His mother lives in Kuching and a brother and a sister are in the Sarawak Government service.

He was one of many who believe in freedom and democracy, but he put too much faith in the strength of local arms. He was of an optimistic nature. He was active and courageous and immediately took a leading part in the underground movement. In February 1942, within

two or three months of the outbreak of war with Japan, he tried to communicate with leaders of resistance outside the country which, as he thought, had tamely surrendered without a fight. He heard that some British and others had survived in Dutch Borneo on the Boelongan River and he at once set out from Jesselton to join them.

This party at Long Nawan, on the banks of the Kayan River, a tributary of the Boelongan River, consisted of British, Americans and Dutch. In January 1942 a party of twenty-one Europeans including three women and two children made their way up river from Sibu in Sarawak to Long Nawan in Dutch territory. Four went on to Samarinda and eventually reached Australia. Others from Sarawak including four Dutch airmen joined them. Later they were joined by a few Americans and about fifty Dutch marines. It was with this pocket of resistance at Long Nawan that Albert Kwok tried to make contact in its early stages. His plan was to travel overland to Pensiangan, to take boat down the Sembakong River to the open sea and then go up the Boelongan River to Long Nawan.

It was during February 1942 that he set out alone from Jesselton overland. He reached Pensiangan on the Dutch frontier two hundred miles south of Jesselton, but the Ulu Boelongan lay another two hundred miles further to the south. The voyage by boat from Pensiangan down river was impossible because the Japanese controlled the

passengers and all native boats had been commandeered. The arrival of strangers was too marked. Albert Kwok turned back and arrived in Jesselton again in June 1942. His first attempt to make contact with the allies had failed. Unhappily all the survivors at Long Nawan were murdered by Japanese in August or September.

If any reader thinks that Albert Kwok by trying to make contact with the allies embroiled his fellow citizens unnecessarily, let him read the warning which the Japanese issued to the Chinese on the west coast about this time. These public notices pointed out that the power of seizing and killing all the Chinese rested solely in the hands of the Japanese High Command. Does anyone expect virile people to rest quietly under such a threat? Here is a transcription of the document, which was published far and wide by the Japanese authorities on 13th June 1942:

"A warning to overseas Chinese.
The overseas Chinese have for the past five years since the China-Japan incident helped the Chungking government war-fund by subscriptions. The Chinese have maltreated, oppressed and denounced overseas Japanese. Such anti-Japanese conduct is intolerable. Since the outbreak of the war in East Asia, the Chinese acting with Great Britain and the Dutch East Indies have resisted Japan. They have behaved as an enemy, by helping the enemy. When Japanese troops repulsed Great Britain, America and the Dutch

East Indies and then occupied Borneo, the Chinese changed their attitude and pretended that they knew nothing. Let not the Chinese forget that the power of seizing and putting them all to death rests with one decision of the Japanese High Command. Although the Chinese are now allowed their freedom, it is only temporary to enable the Japanese to watch their movements. Now let the Chinese reflect deeply and come to their senses before another notice."

Albert Kwok did not remain inactive. He tried again. In 1943 he made contact with Imam Marajukim of the Philippines through Lim Keng Fatt, a trader of Jesselton.

By then the allied position had much improved. In May 1942 allied air and naval power had smashed the Japanese fleet at the battle of the Coral Sea and the news had spread abroad. This battle was the result of the Japanese naval attempt to land a force on the south coast of New Guinea, which they hoped to use as a spring-board for the invasion of Australia. From that date the value of the Japanese dollar began to fall and traders in the West Pacific understood the importance of the victory. In December 1942 and in January 1943 further successes had been won at Sanander, Gona and Buna in the battle for the north coast of New Guinea.

In March 1943 the greatest success yet won occurred when the American and Australian air forces off the north

coast of New Guinea sank an entire Japanese fleet of twenty-two ships. Not a single ship escaped and nearly twenty thousand Japanese sailors and soldiers were drowned off Lae. These drowning men could be seen from the air struggling in oil and vreckage from the sunken ships. Sharks teemed and waited round the rafts and lifeboats. New Guinea is a long way from Borneo, but not too far for the stories to travel. The Japanese civil governor in Jesselton admitted the truth, taking the opportunity to call on the local people for more efforts to save the co-prosperity scheme. He was publicly censured by the Japanese Army for admitting the facts, and every Asian civil servant knew it. The people took heart.

Throughout 1943 the Americans were advancing westwards across the Pacific Ocean, and leading Chinese in North Borneo almost daily expected help. A multitudinous stirring of the people was in progress. It began in the islands further east and it spread to the coasts of North Borneo. People recalled the speed at which the Japanese had spread over vast areas of South-East Asia and they imagined that the allied recovery would be as spectacular. They forgot the essential difference. The Japanese advance had overwhelmed an area unprepared for war, whereas the allied recovery met Japanese resistance everywhere.

Leading Chinese organised secretly a society called the Overseas Chinese Defence Association. Their immediate aim was to prevent their people from collaborating too

closely with the Japanese. Chinese traders, Chinese members of the civil service and others were in constant contact with the Japanese, and it was obvious that the allied cause suffered by any assistance which the Japanese could extort from these people. The formation of resistance groups would come later. At the time, it was a passive refusal to help the Japanese. The list of members and supporters of this Overseas Chinese Defence Association must have been a long one.

Lim Keng Fatt, over fifty years of age, was the most active member. He was a partner in Ban Guan and Co. of Jesselton. The firm dealt in food, liquors and a variety of household goods. Every European family on the west coast must have bought something at sometime at Ban Guans. The partners were attentive, courteous and long suffering. Never did European officials contact a kinder creditor than this well-known firm of that time. Members of the firm knew European ways and were accustomed to meeting foreigners of many races. So it came about that Lim Keng Fatt got in touch with Imam Marajukim, an agent of the American army in the Philippine Islands.

Imam Marajukim, in peace time, was a Moslem priest in charge of a Mosque in the Sulu Islands. He was thickset and of dark complexion with a good English diction. He wore a shirt and shorts. He was a good sailor and well-known. He was a man who inspired confidence. He had been sent to Borneo by Lieut-Colonel

Alejandro Suarez, commanding the 125th Infantry Regiment, then serving in the tenth military district of the United States Forces in the Philippines. He was disguised as a sugar trader, and sailed across the Sulu Sea. Lim Keng Fatt, as a partner of a firm dealing especially in foodstuffs, could interest himself without arousing suspicion when dealing in Imam Marajukim's sugar. They met at Kuala Inanam, and the two men soon became friends and formed the link which joined the west coast of North Borneo to Tawi-Tawi of the Philippines in guerrilla warfare.

Lim Keng Fatt learned from Imam Marajukim that a guerrilla force was still fighting for the Americans, and was still holding Tawi-Tawi and neighbouring islands in the southern groups. Some of these islands lie near to the North Borneo islands on the east coast, for instance Sibutu Island of the Philippines is close to Tambisan of North Borneo. Communication from Borneo lay through such islands. Lim Keng Fatt planned to get into touch with Tawi-Tawi, and seek help for the west coast. The intention was to link the forces of resistance and pool their resources.

The Sulu Islands had no affinities with the west coast except through the Sulu fishermen who visited the west coast during the north-east monsoon. With Sandakan the islands had close relations including fealty to a common sultanate in the last century and profitable smuggling in

this. Allied submarines operated in the Sulu Sea, but Jesselton faces the China Sea. Whatever repute the east coast may have gained as a submarine base, the west coast ranks as a foul coast to submarine commanders, and none had come to assist the west coast. The Sulu people are not strangers to Borneo. They were formerly the subjects of the Sultan of Sulu, and are Moselem in religion. They never submitted to Spanish rule and only accepted American rule after much persuasion, peaceful and otherwise. Mixed with the Sulus are the Bajaus, or sea gypsies who spend their lives in small boats, and sail long distances particularly towards the west.

The Datohs and Panglimas of the Sulus are attired in raiment of silk and wear bejewelled *kris*. The people live in thatch-built houses standing on piles over the sea. Their boat builders launch good craft. They are high at the ends, beamy, with much flare and sheer. This has been the design for centuries. They are seaworthy and fast.

The Sulu Sea itself is quite remarkable. Navigation is beset with difficulties. Belts of doldrums and calm are hemmed with tides and sets, drifts and currents. A ship bowling along with a good breeze may find itself pounding upon a coral reef without warning.

The *noctiluca*, the night-lights of the sea, the phosphorescence, is seen at its brightest. The glow on the surface of the sea washes against the sides of the vessel in wavelets

and the tracks of fish in the depths below are shown by vivid streaks of light.

It is a sea of sunlit waters, of surf fringed coasts and of islands containing buried treasure.

The phenomenon of winds blowing in opposite directions side by side is well authenticated. The *Joseph Conrad*, a full rigged ship, records an experience of it. She sailed into one and then the other of contrary winds. Native vessels pass each other in opposite directions with a fair wind behind each of them. Derelict steamers, mostly Japanese, are found on reefs and giant crabs scramble out as men approach.

The green blue water is dotted with tree trunks, logs and refuse of every kind, which has come down from the Borneo forest in floods.

Ashore every man wears a *bolo*, a heavy knife beaten from native steel. As with North Borneo, so with Sulu. Each has a piratical history. Each has its legendary mountain. In North Borneo it is Mount Kinabalu. On the island of Bongau, of the Sulu group, it is Bongau Peak. There grows the fabled tree of life. To eat its leaves will bring unending life. On the peak live four giants, who in times of war, have descended from their home in the clouds above the peak and bending in a row over the enemy let loose their blasts and gusts of wind and flame.

Such is the Sulu Sea, from whose people Lim Keng Fatt and Albert Kwok sought assistance for the west coast. The picture of the grey-headed senior partner of Ban Guan's sailing the seas in search of help in the allied cause is memorable.

Albert Kwok accompanied Imam Marajukim to Tawi-Tawi. When their boat was approaching the island, they were overtaken by one of the Guerrilla patrol ships and had great difficulty in establishing their identity as loyalists. Ashore both were suspected of having been in communication with the Japanese and of being spies. However, that danger was of short duration and Albert Kwok soon met Lieut-Colonel Alejandro Suarez, Provincial Governor of the Sulu Islands. Lieut-Colonel Suarez was not easily convinced and at first doubted the loyalty of Albert Kwok. But Lieut-Colonel Suarez' wife, who was a Chinese lady, lay sick and Albert Kwok successfully treated her and thus established confidence. He was soon on active service in Sulu. He had reached at last the scene of successful resistance, and found scope for action.

The first recognition of his services reads:—

"United States Army Forces in the Philippines
Headquarters, Sulu Sector
In the field
Bato Bato, 18 April 43.

To whom it may concern:

The bearer, Mr Albert Kwok of Jesselton, British

North Borneo, has rendered service to the United States Army Forces in the Philippines. He has promised to do the same in the future whenever he is needed. Consideration should be extended to him and he should not be bothered when met by any member or members of the U.S.A.F.P.

Alejandro Suarez
Lieut-Colonel, Infantry (P.C.)
Commanding."

And again under date 11th May 1943:—

"This is to certify that Mr. Albert I. N. Kwok of Jesselton, British North Borneo is one of my personal advisers. Sometimes I have used him in the service of the United States Army Forces in the Philippines to undertake a delicate mission where his services were needed."

Evidently Albert Kwok's services to the American forces were appreciated.

On 11th May 1943 Lieut-Colonel Suarez arranged for Albert Kwok to return to Jesselton to collect information about the Japanese movements. The letter which Lieut-Colonel Suarez gave Albert Kwok on the eve of his departure is extant. It reads:—

"United States Army Forces in the Philippines
Headquarters, Sulu Sector
In the field

11 May 43

To whom it may concern:

The bearer Mr Albert I.N. Kwok of Jesseton, British North Borneo has been under the service of the United States Army Forces in the Philippines in the Sulu Sector. He is especially assigned by the undersigned on a mission to Jesselton, British North Borneo, as my representative on financial affairs. Inasmuch as we are fighting side by side and fighting for the same cause, I am now appealing before you, patriotic civilians there, to extend us your fullest co-operation either by voluntary contributions or loan, and receipts will be issued and reimbursable by the United States Government of America or the Commonwealth Government of the Philippines, so that we may be able to purchase some military supplies that we badly need in order to destroy and exterminate our common enemy.

Alejandro Suarez
Lieut-Colonel, Infantry (P.C.)
Commanding."

Albert Kwok arrived back in Jesselton at the end of May 1943. He immediately set to work to spy out Japanese movements of troops, and to assist the Guerrillas

overseas in the Sulu Islands. He resided with Lee Khyum Fah, in Lee's house at mile 14 on the Tuaran Road near Telipok. With the active help of the Overseas Chinese Defence Association about $11,000 was collected. Clothing and medical supplies were accumulated. Communication with Tawi-Tawi was maintained, but the Japanese discovered the plans and Albert Kwok was forced to seek refuge on a remote rubber plantation while the military police searched the west coast for him.

A body of patriotic and courageous Chinese met secretly at Menggatal and formed a Guerrilla Defence Force ready to co-operate with any allied force that might land in Jesselton. Hopes ran high, but no allied landing was possible and the hopes were premature. The Japanese did not discover that a revolt was being planned in the west coast of Borneo, and once more diverted their attention to Sandakan and Tawi-Tawi, so the underground movement on the west coast expanded. The Guerrilla Defence Force was recruited with the counsel and consent of the Overseas Chinese Defence Association.

The Association's activities were directed not merely to guerrilla warfare, but rather to a concerted effort by all the commercial and educated people to make a contribution to the allied cause. Their intention was to keep their people alert and lively and to prevent them from sinking into a state of utter inertia and from co-operating with the invaders. The movement included all classes

and conditions of people. Some could help with advice and organisation, some could subscribe money and some could participate in the fight against their oppressors. They did not expect to throw off the Japanese yoke at once, but to continue active and passive resistance and sabotage. They wished to form and support an organisation which could meet the allies and assist them in the landing when that time came. They sought to change the temper of the people. These objectives were sound. Meanwhile the news of allied success by air and sea in the Pacific Ocean filtered through Lim Keng Fatt's receiving sets, and was heard with growing enthusiasm.

As yet nothing in the shape of active resistance existed on the west coast, but on the east coast matters were more advanced. All along the east coast and in the islands there were pockets of resistance and communication of a kind was maintained with the Philippines.

In June 1943 Imam Marajukim again visited the west coast and Albert Kwok once more accompanied him back to Tawi-Tawi. Albert Kwok took with him clothing and medical supplies and the sum of $11,000 which had been collected as a gift from the Overseas Chinese Defence Association to the Guerrillas in the Sulu Islands. On his arrival in Sulu he received a warm welcome and during his stay he again joined the Guerrilla Forces there.

About that time the Japanese organised a small expeditionary force at Sandakan and despatched it to attack the Guerrillas at Tawi-Tawi. Some of the natives at Sandakan accompanied this expedition and were subsequently put on trial for having taken part in it. The Japanese expediton sailing out of Sandakan failed to occupy the island and after fighting the Guerrillas for three days and nights they withdrew to Sandakan. The Guerrillas captured thirty-one Japanese prisoners in the fighting.

Albert Kwok was close at hand and a special messenger summoned him. Scribbled on the back of an American official envelope in pencil there can still be decyphered the message:—

"Dr. Kwok:
The Bolo Battalion have captured 31 Japanese, would you like to help us investigate them. Thanks.
Suarez."

This envelope came from the Commanding Officer of the 125th Infantry Regiment, who was then with the 5th Company of the 1st Bolo Battalion, Sitangkay Section in the field. The message is not dated. In the event the Bolo Battalion put the captured Japanese soldiers into boats and took them out to sea. There they beheaded them and threw their bodies into the sea. The Sulus feel more at home in their boats than in their houses and

this account is well in keeping with the customs of that race.

In acknowledgment of his services, Albert Kwok was appointed to the rank of Third Lieutenant and assigned for duty as Intelligence Officer for the west coast of North Borneo. Albert Kwok was appointed to be a Third Lieutenant with effect from 1st July 1943. Special Order No. 60 dated 30th August 1943 reads as follows:—

"United States Forces in the Philippines
Tenth Military District
Headquarters, 125th Infantry Regiment
In the field 30th August 43
Special Order
number 60

1. Subject to the confirmation of the Commanding General 10th Military District of the United States Forces in the Philippines, the following appointment in the Reserve Force in the United States Forces in the Philippines, is hereby announced effective July 1, 1943:

To be Third Lieutenant

Kwok, Albert, I. N. Leader of S.O.G. Borneo.

2. Upon receipt of this order, Lieut. Albert I.N. Kwok will proceed to Jesselton, British North Borneo where he is assigned. Upon his arrival in his station, he will assume his duties as Military Intelligence Officer. He must submit his Intelligence Reports to

this Headquarters at least once a month or as often as favourable occasions may permit. The travel directed is necessary in the Public Service.

Alejandro Suarez
Lieut-Colonel, 125th Inf. Regt. (P.C.)
Commanding."

Together with Lieut. Albert Kwok went Imam Marajukim. Imam Marajukim carried the following certificate dated two days later than Lieutenant Kwok's special order:—

"United States Forces in the Philippines
Tenth Military District
Headquarters, 125th Infantry Regt.
In the Field

1 September 43

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

1. This is to certify that the bearer, Imam Marajukim, and party are granted permission by the undersigned to leave the Philippines for Borneo on a mission which he will not disclose to anyone.

2. As a disguise Imam Marajukim and party are carrying some sugar and merchandise.

3. Imam Marajukim and party should not be questioned, harmed or molested in their travels, but every possible help and protection be extended to them.

Alejandro Suarez

Lieut-Colonel, 125th Inf. Regt. (P.C.)
Commanding."

The publication of these documents, whose originals are extant at the time of writing, should serve to correct any false impression that Lieutenant Kwok was directing and leading a revolt of the North Borneo people on his own personal initiative and responsibility, and that the underground movement in the west coast was merely a domestic affair, receiving neither sympathy nor support from abroad. On the contrary, it was associated with a similar movement in the Philippines.

The recital and formality of these documents does not imply that the headquarters of the 125th Infantry Regiment of the United States Forces in the Philippines was a dignified or imposing place. It was very much to the contrary. It was a camp shifting in and out of swamp, and it was isolated from other resisting forces. But its Commanding Officer proved equal to the hardships of his lonely warfare.

The mission on which Imam Marajukim accompanied Lietuenant Kwok was not to be disclosed to anyone, but it is not difficult to conjecture the objective in view. The successful guerrilla warfare in the Sulu Islands was to be extended by every possible means to North Borneo. Whatever action had been taken in the Sulu Islands was to be repeated in North Borneo. Every form of aid to

promote this object was to be enlisted, whether by collecting intelligence, exchanging information, arming the loyal population or attacking the Japanese. The United States Forces in the Philippines sent Lieutenant Kwok to be a pioneer of the movement in North Borneo. To be a pioneer is not merely to point the way, but to lead the way and Lieutenant Kwok soon found opportunity to give effect to his intentions.

Lieutenant Kwok reached Jesselton on the 21st September 1943 with enthusiastic reports of the promising guerrilla warfare in the Philippines and found conditions on the west coast to be intolerable. He immediately set to work. Along the whole coast line of North Borneo people were assisting the Chinese organisation. Meetings were held and funds collected. Bajaus, Binadans, and Sulus all assisted. The fund, it is said, amounted to about $550,000, much of it being subscribed by people at Sandakan and the east coast. The Committee in charge assessed rewards for killing Japanese. The Japanese heads were priced according to rank and the rewards ranged from $200 to $400 for each skull taken.

A man who took a prominent part in the organisation was Wong Tze An, a well known trader in Jesselton. He owned land near Menggatal where the Guerrillas were being recruited. The Japanese regarded his activity and courage as equal to those of Lieutenant Kwok himself.

Dr. Lau Lai and Cheah Loong Ghee also were leaders of the movement in secret and they kept very much in the background. Their age prevented them from playing anything but a feeble part in action. They were not suspected of assisting the movement for a long time and their names were not no the first list of men wanted by the Japanese. These two men were known to be determined and resourceful. Dr. Lau Lai had served the government as a medical officer for many years. He was a graduate of Hongkong University and was much respected by all classes. He was helpful and obliging, but few realised that this little doctor, with his bulging stomach, round spectacles and protruding eyes was capable of leadership. Cheah Loong Ghee was a successful merchant who had opened rubber estates in the Jesselton and Beaufort districts. He had prospered as a licensee of gambling saloons and liquor and opium shops. He had undertaken large building and planting contracts and did much to develop the west coast. He built and managed the Jesselton Hotel and later sold it to the Railway. In his old age he retired to his estates and lived at Palau Daat near Labuan. During the Japanese occupation he re-opened the gambling farms in Jesselton and elsewhere which had been closed in the Chartered Company's days and once more made large profits.

It is difficult to assess the part played by these two well-known men. They were prominent during the Chartered Company's days and seem to have come for-

ward as leaders of the Chinese people after the Japanese occupation. Both had more intelligence and both had been more successful than most of their neighbours. Some men had to come forward to act as buffers between the Japanese conquerors and the people, and these two occupied that awkward position. Their task was anything but a welcome one. The Guerrillas did not trust them and kept aloof from them, for the Guerrillas knew that these men were handling the Japanese requisitions of cash and supplies and for that reason were in frequent contact with the Japanese. Under torture they might reveal secrets, so they were shunned.

These two men incurred a great deal of unpopularity amongst the people as a whole, particularly as they had to help assess the means of each of the inhabitants to pay his proper share of the sum of $600,000 which the Japanese requested from the west coast community as a contribution to the war. The Chinese of course had contributed large sums to their own country's funds, but the Japanese would not be left out and called for this heavy subscription for the good of Asia. To this end, Lim Jit Jong, Cheah Loon Ghee, Dr. Lau Lai and others were sent under escort from Jesselton to meet the Japanese Military Government at its headquarters in Kuching. At the meeting they were faced by a display of armed force. They had no alternative but to agree to the enforced levy amongst the Chinese, and they returned to Jesselton to collect it.

Was this contribution compulsory or voluntary? Whichever it was said to be, the sum had to be found and these two men tried to distribute the burden. It is wrong to vilify their memory for this cause only. They were intermediaries between the Japanese and the people, and they filled a most unpopular but most necessary position until their arrest and execution. Both men took a leading part in collecting arms and money for the Guerrillas. They were close friends and associates and lived in Jesselton under the close watch of the Japanese. They hoodwinked the Japanese, who always held hopes of attracting these influential men to their side.

In North Borneo there was no bond to draw the different racial elements together. The inland tribes stood aloof but there were personal exceptions amongst them, particularly Musah, the well known rebel against the government in Chartered Company days, and ex-Chief Inspector Duallis of the Armed Constabulary.

Musah, the former rebel, had opposed the district officers and a well organised police force had been sent to capture him in the jungle for three years. He was now sought out and appointed to take charge of the Guerrillas at Membakut. He was an old man, but the Chinese always held great belief in Musah's powers of magic and of commanding success. The story of how he forced a win for them in a football match against the Malays long ago increased his prestige. Musah was supposed to be

invulnerable, *kabal* as the Malays say, and the Chinese always thought that if there was any magic needed to win Musah would know it. Musah was one of the few, the very few, in this country trusted by the Chinese. They put the greatest faith in him. They believed in his good luck. How otherwise, they asked, could a man oppose the government for so long and then be treated as an honoured guest?

They called on him for help in the guerrilla war and he agreed. He was to form his own contingent at Membakut and was to take the field in support when the Jesselton attack had spread out along the railway. Musah formed the link between the Chinese and the upcountry natives, but Musah's contingent never came into action. Afterwards Musah was arrested by the Japanese for his complicity. He was sentenced to execution, but succeeded in persuading his captors to let him off with three months imprisonment. He died in the prison at Batu Tiga when two months of the sentence had passed and he had only one month more to serve. Old age defeated his good luck.

To live dangerously is part of a Borneo native's habit. To him a strenuous life is more natural than apathy, but times had changed and the inland tribes showed no sympathy with the underground movement. While the Chinese and the seafolk were ready to move, the farmer class of Dusuns was unresponsive and the Guerrillas got no backing from them. The Dusuns make up in common

sense what they lack in the spirit of adventure.

It was very different with the sea-going people, the Sulus, the Sea Bajaus and others. These were brave and enterprising men, and their leaders had courage to make decisions. The conduct of the seafaring people shows that they had qualities of resource and personal courage. The seafaring natives wanted a change and were ready to risk their lives to get rid of some at least of their oppressors, but Dusun enthusiasms have never soared to dangerous heights. So Lieutenant Kwok raised a crusade without the certainty of support from the people as a whole. Much more could have been accomplished if there had been any unity of purpose in the country. Crusades are unintelligible to the timid. In this matter the judgment of the leaders was at fault and their understanding of the importance of unity did not match their courage.

At sea the Guerrillas found agile and vigorous allies and in spite of the odds against them the whole force was expected to be buoyant and gay for at least one night's battle.

Lieutenant Kwok received loyal support from his followers and had a free hand in the choice of personnel and the area of operations. He used no compulsion and those who were in favour of a quiet life were not required to face the wild alarms of guerrilla warfare. One or two men who knew the secrets and whose loyalty was suspect were

constrained in camp.

The small band of men whom Lieutenant Kwok drew to the allied flags was called the Kinabalu Guerrilla Defence Force.

The influence which this majestic mountain Kinabalu exercises over the life and death of the tribes who dwell under its shadow has often been described in books of travel. Prosperous Dusun villages cling to the mountain's flanks and its buttressing ranges. The people draw a livilihood by burning the forest and planting crops in the ashes. They fish in the streams, and the fishermen listening to the sound of many waters can tell when a spirit has left its body, and is crossing its Jordan to enter eternity on the top of the mountain. A man before his death leaves his finger and toenails long in order to help his spirit scramble up the steep sides of the mountain to Paradise on top. The mountain has its priests who safeguard its traditions and celebrate its rites. Ice forms nightly on its summit. The mountain has figured on currency notes and postage stamps. Its shining pinnacles greet the day and its slopes reflect the crimson sunset. It dominates the countryside.

The local Chinese say that the name obviously stands for New China. Kina Balu, they say, is China Bahru allowing for the common mispronunciation of unfamiliar words. The name, they say, is a recognition of Chinese influence in the past and a portent of things to come. The

meaning is self evident, and it is useless for members of learned societies to try and explain it away by reference to Aki-nabalu, Dusun words denoting the revered place of the dead. It is New China for the local Chinese and is much alive in spirit. In Kinabalu the Chinese found a counterblast to Fujiyama of Japan and in its shadow they kindled the flames of revolt.

Major F.G.L. Chester, O.B.E. a British Intelligence Officer serving with the Australian army, was in touch with the east coast of Borneo and made many visits to his friends ashore there. He maintained communication with them by means of submarine and radio, and helped form guerrilla bands on the east coast. His visits were not always secret and he often moved rapidly from place to place with the Japanese and a pack of spies in close pursuit. Major Chester had been a rubber planter on the west coast and knew the whole area well. He never actually paid a visit to the west coast during this time, but he took an interest in the plans which were being formed. He was in touch with the west coast through Lim Keng Fatt. Lim Keng Fatt, sailing in his native boat, met Major Chester on one of the islands on the east coast prior to the Double Tenth, and Major Chester's views of the position filtered through from Lim Keng Fatt to Mr Charles Peter, formerly of the Armed Constabulary and chief police officer at Jesselton. Mr. Charles Peter was a Eurasian and could speak Chinese. He was in close touch with the Overseas Chinese Defence Association, and was a competent and

courageous man.

Major Chester, recalling the incidents of those days of adventure, told Colonel R.G.P.N. Combe, M.C. that he dispatched Lim Keng Fatt after their meeting back to Jesselton to tell Lieutenant Kwok, Mr. Charles Peter and everyone else that the time for the insurrection which they were planning was not yet ripe. But Lim Keng Fatt did not return to Jesselton till much later, as will be told, and meanwhile the Japanese had formulated plans of their own, which had to be countered, whatever risks were involved by a sudden revolt. Lim Keng Fatt found means of conveying Major Chester's message to Mr Charles Peter and the Guerrillas, and of letting them know that he himself also wished for a postponement. But circumstances forced Lieutenant Kwok to play his hand at once with no delay.

Lieutenant Kwok was much concerned by a Japanese plan to conscript three thousand Chinese youths for their own service, and he realized that this levy would defeat his own plan to organise a band of guerrillas to fight the enemy. In September 1943 this levy of three thousand young men to form a reserve force took shape. The Japanese intended that these conscripts should undergo a strict and rigorous course of training and then be sent to garrison islands and other points for the Japanese. It was planned that the west coast Chinese should provide over two thousand young men for these contingents and the

rest would be found elsewhere. The Japanese sailing out of Sandakan had done battle with the irregulars in the Sulu Islands and had suffered a reverse. Their intention was to isolate the Sulu Islands from the west coast. They suspected that the people of the west coast were in communication with the Sulus, as indeed they were. The Japanese could not spare troops for these isolated garrisons and upcountry natives would of course be useless for sea duty. The fishermen were already suspect and the Japanese thought to dragoon and impress the Chinese for the service. There was no one else.

Moreover the Japanese also proposed to turn the Chinese girls into prostitutes to recruit the men. Lieutenant Kwok and other leaders resented this perversion of the young men and women to the service of the Japanese. The drafting of the young men in particular would prevent them from assisting the allies just when they might be wanted. The Chinese were willing to serve to maintain order in the country for its own benefit, but not to serve the Japanese to the disadvantage of the allies. They were stirred to anger and resentment and resolved to fight. Their action strengthened Lieutenant Kwok's determination to fight immediately he could assemble his force.

Lieutenant Kwok visited his Kinabalu Guerrillas at Menggatal and made that place his headquarters.

Menggatal is a pretty place. It is a land of paddy fields.

Villages peep from beneath the coconuts and plantains, and a good motor road runs through it for twenty miles between Tuaran township and Jesselton. When the sun is sinking in the west, it lights up the granite slopes of Mount Kinabalu which rises like a great rampart beyond the plain. The mountain reflects the red glow and the lower cliffs glisten with recent rain. The Crocker Range marches dark and majestic to the east, rising thousands of feet above the nearer and smaller hills which border the rice fields. Chill air descends from the mountain heights, and men, who have been lethargic in the heat of the day, spring to activity in the cool of the night. Along the foot of the range the valleys are dark and sombre, and when the moon rose above the pinnacles of Kinabalu the Guerrillas met for their drill.

Lieutenant Kwok issued instructions to leading Chinese at Inanam, Tuaran and Talibong to form guerrilla bands along the road and began to organize separate bands at places along the railway. He called on everyone to show a spirit of patriotism and resistance, to rouse themselves to effort and to prevent further calamity befalling them.

Japanese spies were everywhere. Anyone who came under notice by reason of his actions or speech was arrested. Rumour spread fast and all the Chinese in the district between Jesselton and Tuaran must have been aware of the imminent revolt. The Japanese had an inkling of what was afoot, and they then made the counter move which

they had threatened.

The Japanese issued an order calling some of those who had served in the Volunteer Force in Chartered Company's days to attend at the Jesselton Police Station. There the men were closely questioned and sounded as to whether they would serve as a force for island garrison duty. The Asian Volunteer officers and N.C.O.s, according to these Japanese plans, would be in control under Japanese officers. The rumour spread to the other ranks and was soon noised abroad. The old Volunteers were to form the nucleus of the new Force under the Japanese and life for the old Volunteers would become more difficult and dangerous than ever. These were the very men in command of the Guerrillas. At any moment they might be embodied in Japanese service. The time for action had come.

Lieutenant Kwok, in command of the Kinabalu Guerrillas at Menggatal, decided to move. He issued orders to begin the attack on the night of Saturday, 9th October 1943, with the objective of occupying the districts between Jesselton and Tuaran. There the allied flags would be raised and the celebration of the Double Tenth would raise morale and attract many more to the revolt.

It is easy to criticise the Guerrilla leaders for playing for high stakes on a weak hand. The job was too big for the few men who tackled it and like many other risky ventures much was left to luck. The revolt was undermanned and

there were not more than a hundred in the shore party and perhaps two hundred in the boats. That was sufficient for a tip and run attack, but it had no staying power.

Apart from Lieutenant Kwok, the only training the leaders had was that of service in the Volunteers, but they were men of character and independence. Recruits from the villages had neither training nor experience. Physical courage is fortunately not a rare virtue amongst young men in Borneo and the leaders had sufficient organising ability to control them. What Lieutenant Kwok himself gave without stint, he expected and tried to exact from others.

The greatest need was of course an adequate supply of arms from the Philippines. The leaders had hoped for assistance from outside the territory. They were in touch with the Philippines and encouraging rumours reached them from the fishing vessels, which sailed hundreds of miles from the coast and maintained communication. News was received by owners of radios, and loyal Asian operators of the Chartered Company's telegraph staff, who could make and work their own sets. Submarines were in contact with the other coast and had landed agents. Occasional planes on reconnaissance duty were sighted overhead. The time seemed favourable to start and the arms and reinforcements would surely come.

The leaders in the field were Lieutenant Kwok in com-

mand; Hiew Syn Yong, deputy assistant district officer, in charge at Kota Belud; Mr Charles Peter, a former chief police officer, in charge at Tuaran; and Kong Sze Fui, a former Scout Master of All Saints' School and troop leader of the Basel Mission Scout Troop, in charge at Menggatal. The last named also had visited the Philippines and joined in the Sulu guerrilla war. Subedar Dewa Singh of the Armed Constabulary took the field at Tuaran. Jules Stephens, formerly a sergeant of the Volunteer Force, was the adjutant of the Guerrilla force, and was largely responsible for its organisation from the beginning. David Liew, wireless operator in the Telecommunication Department, undertook to cut the telephone and telegraph wires at certain points. He damaged the civil radio stations in such a way that the Japanese could only repair the equipment by getting spare parts from abroad. With military signal stations he could not tamper, but he dealt with all others. When the time came, telegraph orderly Potong removed the essential part from the wireless equipment in All Saints' Church at Jesselton. Of these men who took charge only Subedar Dewa Singh is yet alive.

At sea the operations were commanded by Orang Tuah Panglima Ali of Suluk Island. He assembled his flotilla from islands as far away as Mantanani. Orang Tuah Arshad led his men from Oudar Island, off the mouth of the Menggatal River. Jemalul and Sanudin, both of the Philippines, led the Binadans of Mantanani and Danawan Islands.

Outside Jesselton harbour there are half a dozen islands and others lie to north and south. These islands are inhabited by Bajaus, Binadans and Sulus, whose livelihood is fishing. They were as hostile to the Japanese as their Sulu neighbours were. These fishermen were descendants of the pirates of long ago and often they must have recalled stories of their ancestors and planned the attack with memories of past deeds. As they sat round the woodsmoke after dark they named their leaders and sharpened their weapons for the day. The prospect of taking action against their tormentors roused the old fighting spirit and many a *kris* which had rusted in its scabbard was fondly taken from the wall and whetted on the stones by the sea.

The secret was well kept at sea. Messages had been passed from mouth to mouth along the coast. Probably there were no written orders, because few of the sea-going people could read romanised letters and the Arabic script might not have been be understood. The sea-going natives would be mustered by word of mouth. People from Pulau Tiga in the south to Mantanani in the north took part. Hundreds of islanders must have known of the plans for weeks. As a race they are slow to form public opinion and no concerted action would be agreed upon without the greatest deliberation. Each man is of course quick to take offence at any insult offered to himself, but he is slow to take up the quarrels of others and to combine. The womenfolk would have almost as much to say as their men, while they smoked and talked in the evening quiet. Everywhere

in Borneo a piece of knotted string is as good as a calendar. Each knot represents a day in the interval of time and whoever holds the string cuts off a knot each day. So on the appointed day everybody is ready.

The islanders at Mantanani set out some days earlier than those who lived in sheltered water. The Mantanani Island flotilla set out by night, catching the breeze which blows off shore and enables the boats to sail easily along the coast. The land breeze is dependable and sure. The islanders were accustomed to sailing in large argosies and a flotilla would attract little notice. At dawn they would cast anchor in the shelter of inlets and lagoons. At dusk they would sail a few leagues further towards Gaya Bay, the point of assembly and attack. While the islanders assisted Imam Marajukim and Panglima Ali in the revolt, the shore Bajaus took no part in it. The Pangiran Fatimah, a princess who holds rights over a large tract of coast near Menggatal, did her full share. She had inherited power from her ancestors, was looked upon with respect by her people and expressed her hatred of the invader. Two of her headmen assisted in the revolt and Imam Marajukim always received hospitality in her home at Karambunai.

Though the Japanese had spies and agents everywhere, they had no inkling of the day of the revolt. These spies and agents were mostly local people who had been compelled to collaborate with the Japanese, and they must have been aware of the preparations for the coming attack on

Jesselton, but if these spies and agents learned anything, they did not pass the news on to their masters. They did nothing to endanger the success of the scheme.

The time selected was the eve of the tenth day of the tenth moon, commemorated in Chinese history as the day when the despotism and oppression of the old dynasty were dissolved in the liberal views of a democratic generation. During the evening of the 9th October 1943, there was deep silence in the villages at the foot of the mountain slopes, while the Guerrillas armed themselves and set out to places appointed beneath the groves of evergreen trees, close to the roadside, where some motor trucks had been drawn up. Later a few gongs sounded in the Dusun villages and some distant thunder rolled behind the ranges. Lightning flashes lit up the sky.

It was four days to the full moon and by sunset the moon was well above the crags of Mount Kinabalu and though filmy clouds dimmed the effulgence there was plenty of light. Later when the moon rose clear of the cloud rack, it illumined the night with brilliant radiance.

By eight o'clock the spearhead of the party had met on the road side at Menggatal. Lieutenant Kwok gave the final orders. The men mounted a motor truck and drove furiously down the road with one headlight gleaming. Anticipation was a thing of the past. The hunt for Japanese heads had begun. Lieutenant Kwok gave orders

that Japanese soldiers only were to be killed and that Japanese civilians were to be spared, but in the operation no distinction was, or perhaps could be, made.

The Guerrillas were armed with a few Lee-Enfield carbines and had about forty rounds of ammunition a-piece. Some carried shot guns with buck-shot cartridges and two sported sub-machine guns stolen from the Japanese. There were some hand grenades, *parangs*, spears and heavy clubs.

Lieutenant Kwok wore his American uniform, but none of the Guerrillas had any. Most wore dark clothes of the sort that labouring classes wear. Others were clad in shirts and shorts. Some wore no clothes at all and were content with a loincloth and soot or black paint to darken their skin, and to prevent recognition.

The gibbous moon, nearing the full and riding high in the sky, shed a light which made pale the solitary head-lamps by which the Guerrillas drove their trucks.

It was the little township of Tuaran which came in for attention first by the Kinabalu Guerrillas. They badly needed more arms, before tackling Jesselton. The police station was defended by four Japanese and several native police. They were overwhelmed instantly. The Guerrillas killed the four Japanese and seized six rifles with some ammunition and a much larger stock of shotgun ammuni-

tion. They returned with twelve heads. The Guerrillas withdrew from Tuaran the way they had come and halted at Menggatal. They shot fifteen more Japanese there. They also shot three native police. Of these one was a Lance-Corporal who admittedly had behaved very badly. These men had helped the Japanese and were known to be enemies to the allied cause. At Menggatal the Japanese and the police were decapitated and their bodies were heaped in front of the police station.

The Guerrillas reformed their ranks for the attack on Jesselton. About one hundred were selected from the ranks. Lieutenant Kwok mustered these men, distributed the few weapons to the best advantage, gave a few final instructions and ordered them to mount the three trucks. So he set out on his perilous expedition to assault Jesselton with as gallant a party as ever traversed the Tuaran road.

News of the outbreak reached the Japanese authorities at Jesselton the same night. A Taiwanese made his way on foot from Menggatal through the Likas plain at a good pace and climbed the short cut over the range at Flagstaff Hill. He descended the steep hill into Jesselton in time to give the warning to Japanese in the town, so that when the three lorries with the Guerrillas arrived in the neighbourhood of Jesselton, the Japanese had already taken alarm in the town and had dispersed.

The main body of the Guerrillas on the Tuaran Road

scrambled into their three motor trucks and with one head light showing they gathered speed in the moonlit road and burst like a bombshell into Jesselton.

That night the Japanese had organised a meeting in the Koa Club, as they called the present Recreation Club building. All the leading citizens were supposed to attend and listen to an address to be given by an eloquent Japanese on the peace and prosperity of Asia under Japanese rule with special mention of the pleasure shown by the Chinese people who now controlled their own affairs. The speaker had surpassed his earlier lies and had begun some more untruths about future prospects when news reached him that the Kinabalu Guerrillas were moving to the attack.

That broke up the meeting. It was to have been followed by a dinner at the Sokyushi Hotel, which was frequented only by members of the higher strata of Japanese society. It occupied the site of the Hylam Club at the southern end of Beach Street on the seaward side. The Japanese ran for the Sokyushi Hotel. There were few, very few, troops in Jesselton at the time, and the speaker who was a high ranking official of the Military Command and had come up from Kuching for the programme, was rushed over there as soon as the news of the revolt arrived. They thought the hotel the safest place. They had reached the hotel, when the three truck-loads of Guerrillas burst into Jesselton and the men jumped down

out of the trucks. Lieutenant Kwok was not aware of this meeting. If he had known of it, he would have attended to it.

A townsman of Jesselton has written a lively account of some of the things that happened that night, and much of what follows has come from his pen.

Synchronising their movements in admirable manner, the guerrilla attack in Jesselton began punctually at ten o'clock at night. Buglers sounded the advance and various sections of the Guerrilla Force swept over the town from three directions. The seafaring Sulus climbed over the seawall. The Second Foot slogged in under their own sweat, as it were, having pushed their way on foot through from Menggatal, by way of Likas and Flagstaff Hill, and the main body rushed from their trucks. The well attended meeting of Japanese at the Koa Club had already terminated and the frightened Japanese had either stampeded for the Sokyushi Hotel or motored back to the bungalows on the hilltops where they were out of reach. The Sokyushi Hotel was run by an enterprising Japanese who was formerly an artiste from a Tokyo music hall. His sister helped and there the Japanese were on familiar ground. But they could not stay for long and they bolted as the firing drew closer. The hurried departure of the hotel merrymakers coincided with the arrival of the Guerrilla motorised column.

The Guerrilla vehicles could be recognised by their single

headlight and they took pot-shots at every car they met coming along. There was a fusillade up South Road. Here it was that Sangyokacho Nishikawa, the chief of the Japanese production department, met his doom opposite the present Chinese Consulate. Ishikawa, the police commissioner, narrowly escaped with his life, but Kassim his driver was shot dead.

The first objective of the main body was the civil police station in South Road. In this building was a Japanese armoury and the Guerrillas urgently needed more weapons. The police building was supported by the Japanese military post office, in the one storey barrack then occupied as mens' quarters. Some Japanese regular soldiers defended both the police station and the military post office, and they were strongly supported by the Japanese military police in the building of the Jesselton Sports Club opposite. There were in all only a few regular soldiers, but many military police. An attack on this central position was a risky business and could only be attempted by a surprise. It succeeded in spite of the warnings given by the Taiwanese messenger and the volleys fired up the South Road as the Guerrillas came in.

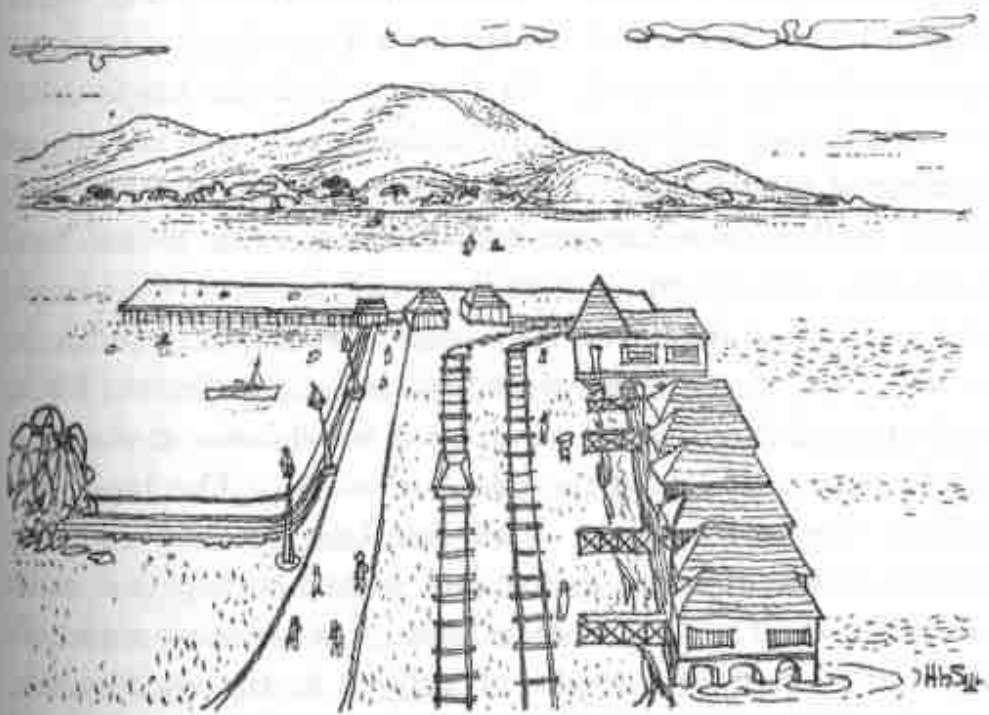
The Guerrillas jumped through the ground floor windows of the military post office, slew the defenders, burst open all the doors, climbed and leapt over the verandahs of the double storeyed police station and killed most of the defenders there also. The survivors surrendered to the

Guerrillas. No counter attack developed from the Japanese military police station opposite, although only about a hundred yards away.

Corporal Abdul Rahman, a Singapore Malay, was in charge of the native police in Jesselton police station that night. After the Japanese defenders were dead he opened the magazines. Later on, his failure to defend the station to the death gave rise to suspicion and he committed suicide by shooting himself. The Japanese version of the Corporal's suicide was that he was not on duty at the police station that night, but was absent at the gambling farm where he had lost money, and that he committed suicide by reason of his shame at the loss of his station. This version was put about with a view to saving face.

Mr. Chin, the son-in-law of Goh Kim Swee, who was an interpreter in the police station, Sergeant Kimis and P.C. Gomon met their deaths with the Japanese in the attack on this point. These two police were killed in the heat of the attack and not because they helped the Japanese or had been brutal. This attack though successful had a disappointing result. Very little ammunition was found in the magazines. The Japanese had only allowed a reserve of five rounds a man. The rifles and whatever ammunition was left after the fight were all removed. This successful capture of an important post gave the Guerrillas confidence to extend their operation. Meanwhile the Second Foot at the opposite end of the town took their own toll. The

lighting of a bonfire at the wharf was their especial duty. They were to light it as a signal of their victory and the opening of the campaign. The beacon would attract the notice of any allied ships or submarines that were in the neighbourhood. The Second Foot had not trusted the roads, but had trudged on foot along narrow tracks all the way from Menggatal by way of Gantisan, Likas and Tanjong Lipat to escape notice. They brought a tin of petrol to start the flames. Their objectives were the customs buildings and the sheds at the end of the wharf. Independent parties, who followed by boat, bicycle and on foot, attached themselves to this group.



The wharf and sea-wall at Jesselton.

The timing had been good and the Second Foot joined up with the seamen. One of the Sulus has described the scene.

On the appointed day, the island craft set out on the last stage of their voyage and by dusk on the 9th of October 1943 the boats putting out from the beaches and creeks of Gaya Bay and carrying about a hundred men headed for the sea-wall near the Jesselton jetty. The men were taut with excitement. The moon struck a path of silver across the sea. The sky was bright above the dark slopes of the hills. A few scattered lights showed as the flotilla glided towards the shore. The mole and the sea-wall were lapped by the waves and, except for a few indistinct figures, appeared to be deserted. At the sound of the bugle calls for which they had waited, they clambered over the stone parapet of the sea-wall. The men ran right and left. Their boats moved from the sea-wall and stood out to sea but kept close enough to listen to the *sorak*, to follow the sound of the fight and to take off survivors. With spear and torch in hand, one party of Sulus rushed to join the Second Foot and to assail the customs offices and warehouses at the end of the jetty. They cut the telephone wire. The Japanese guards began shouting. The attackers hurled resinous torches made of forest damar and soaked with petrol, and started fires at a dozen places along the wooden walls of the buildings. The stocks of rubber in the sheds soon caught alight. The sheds were only one storey in height but they burned with a flame that could be seen for miles

and lasted for seven days and nights. Unhappily there were no friendly allied ships standing off the coast and no allied submarines at hand to help.

The Japanese guards retreated along the mole towards the shore to escape from the scorching heat. At the shore end lay safety, if they could reach it, and they could scatter into the low hills, but the mole was blocked from side to side by the Second Foot and all the defenders were either burned, driven into the sea or stabbed to death.

Another party of islanders landed at the site of the Taiping Theatre, and attacked along Fraser Street near the markets. Landing from the boats they moved quietly through the moonlit streets to houses where Japanese were known to live. A pause was made in a dark corner so that the party might assemble and get their weapons ready. One or two ran to the back to guard the exit there. Smashing down the door those in front entered. The anxious movements of those within, trying to escape in the darkness of the house, betrayed their presence and spears and *parangs* were freely used. Invigorated by these successes some of the islanders withdrew to the boats, embarked and paddled towards Tanjong Aru which lies four miles to the south-west. Meanwhile some of the Sulus ashore had met the Guerrillas coming in by road and the groups united. They pursued escaping Japanese, who had scattered. The Japanese sped by car and on foot along South Road for a couple of miles to Government House hill and to the

barracks at Batu Tiga. A few wavering lanterns and torches were all that was seen of them. Both positions were strongly held and the Guerrillas made no attempt upon them. The Guerrillas swept round and past them in their pursuit. Ranging through the town and outskirts on foot they spread far afield in full cry, searching out their enemies in the buildings and gardens and killing them. Elsewhere their efforts with gun and rifle were fruitful and no head of any Japanese whom they met was left unbagged. The noise of the assault and the sight of the flames were heard or seen miles away and many Japanese took alarm and escaped. The manager and the assistant of the Nanri Company were amongst those caught and beheaded. Their headless corpses were identified with others next morning in the market area. These men had converted the shophouses in Fraser Street and Gaya Street into offices and godowns. One of the Company's assistants saved his skin by jumping into the sea and swimming across to Gaya Island in the dark. Two others started on a marathon and made a race for life. They reached Kinarut railway station thirteen miles away, and left the railway track there. These men were athletes. They escaped.

The Japanese food controller tried to make off in his car, but he was spotted and shot at the wheel. He was dragged out of the car and beheaded. His head was taken away as a trophy, and next morning the decapitated body was removed by his Japanese friends. One of his fingers

had been severed. It was overlooked when the body was removed, so that the townsfolk saw for several days the very finger which had issued them their ration coupons, lying on the pavement.

The Guerrilla leaders did their best to calm the excitement of the townspeople. The Guerrillas were shouting *Chung hwa man man sui*, 'Long live China', and to many these cries sounded rather like the Japanese cries of *Banzai*. There was some confusion as a result. The Chinese driver of the Sanitary Board truck got that unreliable vehicle to start and, with a last look at *Api-Api*, burning fiercely at the customs, he put his newly wed wife on board the truck and tried to drive out of town for their honeymoon. They were mistaken for Japanese and both were shot at the turn into South Road.

The calmest man in the town that evening was Huang Tzu Ann, the portly proprietor of the Jesselton Stores and Ei Min Press. When his business as a storekeeper failed he turned his building again to the purpose for which it had originally been designed—a gambling saloon. He became managing director of a profitable *Wah-weh* extending as far as Kota Belud. He used his income to replenish the Guerrilla funds. *Wah-weh* is a popular, but illegal, lottery. There are thirty-six numbers, and each number represents an animal, fiend, genius, or other phenomenon of renown. The manager selects a number each morning and hangs it up in a sealed bag on the open

verandah for all to see. He also publishes a *chai* or clue for all to read. Discussions about dreams and references to books continue till noon when the manager opens the bag and pays thirty times his stake to any winner. That same morning Huang Tzu Ann gave 'blood on the moon' as his *chai*. Two officers of the Kempeitai were present at the time and overheard it, but they did not understand the allusion and missed the point of his prophecy. The *Wah-weh* winning number that day at noon is not known.

Lieutenant Kwok, who was present on the scene till midnight urged the public not to be alarmed. He issued a proclamation which was posted up in the town and district. He said that he and his men had taken up arms to liberate the people from Japanese oppression. He invited the fullest co-operation in their mission. He warned the people against lavish entertainment of the Guerrilla fighting men. In no case were they to offer alcoholic drinks. Every Guerrilla had instructions to pay cash for anything he took. He warned Japanese spies that he did not overlook their existence and threatened them with dire consequences. He reiterated that the Guerrillas fought as servants of the public with a firm resolve to end the Japanese menace on the west coast. This proclamation was printed in English, Chinese and Malay.

Lieutenant Kwok also issued a declaration of a state of war to draw the attention of the Japanese. He signed and sealed this under his assumed name of Wong Fah Min

and as commander of the North Borneo Overseas Chinese Defence Force. The declaration dwelt at length on the maladministration of the Japanese. It protested against the reduction of all inhabitants to paupers. Japanese companies had taken over control of all business. Agriculturalists had to surrender their produce. The women were treated dishonourably. It declared that the Guerrillas were determined to right these wrongs, if necessary at the cost of their lives, and to drive the Japanese out of the country. It mentioned that the Guerrillas had the support of American, British and other allied powers to fulfill this mission.

Copies of the proclamation to the people and the declaration to the Japanese were posted up everywhere, and the programme for the night having been carried out, there only remained the retreat. The Guerrillas had killed about fifty Japanese that night between Tuaran, Menggatal, Jesselton and Tanjong Aru.

Punctually at midnight the buglers sounded the retreat. The shore parties assembled in the market square and after a check up of their numbers they returned along the road to their bases in orderly fashion.

The islanders embarked in their boats at the sea-wall, and the night breeze filled their sails as they started on their homeward voyage. They left behind them the flaming ruins of the buildings on the wharf and headed

for the channels between the coral reefs leading to the islands.

The withdrawal by road was not opposed. The party fell back across the Inanam Bridge keeping their eyes and ears open to detect any pursuit, but there was none. They halted to destroy the Inanam Bridge to delay the enemy. The Inanam Bridge consisted of concrete piers and a wooden deck. Oil was poured on the timber superstructure which was soon in flames. As usual with wooden bridges, there was a light roof of thatch to protect the decking from rain and sun, and the flames rose high in the air.

The operation had taken about three hours when the main body of Guerrillas returned to their headquarters at Menggatal.

The slow and gradual rise of enthusiasm during the past week or two had ended in a night of triumph. Next morning, the 10th October, when the morning mist cleared from the valleys, allied flags, particularly the Chinese national flag, were hoisted on all the buildings from Inanam to Tuaran for the first time since January 1942. The Japanese thought that they had destroyed them all long before. Lieutenant Kwok made his headquarters at Mansiang village three miles east of the main road. A branch road leads off the main road at Menggatal and gave him communications. At headquarters there was

quite a display of bunting. The Chinese National flag, the Stars and Stripes, the Union and Sabah Jacks all fluttered in the breeze. Jules Stephens, the capable adjutant, produced them.

The Jesselton administrators were to be Captain Lim Keng Fatt, who had received an American army commission as captain and who was absent on other duties, Vun Kynn Syn, of the Holywood Studio at Jesselton, and Chin Hon Pin, formerly headmaster of the Chung Wah School at Jesselton. One of the duties assigned to these administrators was to pay $500 in cash for any Japanese prisoner brought in dead or alive, or for any Japanese head.

At Tuaran on the 10th October some of the leading Chinese met in their club. They formed a provisional administration to consolidate a precarious position. The stammering, but likeable *Kapitan China*, Teo Kip Chuan, took over the Tuaran district treasury, as head of the administration council. This council included Li Tet Phui, the loyal and well trusted chief clerk of the central land office. Whilst still carrying on land office duty, he had been deputy chief of the west coast Chinese relief fund, and a Subaltern in "A" company of the old Volunteer Force. Other members of the council were Lo Yin Fah, a planter, Ah Sang, the dresser in charge of the local dispensary, and Chu Chu Yin, a former chief clerk in the Tuaran District Office. This council appointed men to carry on official duites. They ordered native chief Impas

and the headmen of villages to collect arms and recruits. There were available a large number of shotguns whose owners held licences from the former government and who had not yet handed them over to the Japanese. Several recruits offered their services to the Guerrilla Force.

Ah Sang was sub-commander of the Guerrilla Force in addition to his duties on the council. Leaving the council table he set to work to clear up all Japanese lurking in the Tuaran area. He and his men captured seven from Tuaran Estate. The prisoners were paraded through the streets of the township and were executed on 11th October.

Kota Belud was the next place to claim the Guerrillas' attention. Operations to oust the Japanese began on 12th October. Hiew Syn Yong, the magistrate and deputy assistant district officer, was in charge under the Japanese, but he was in league with the Guerrillas. The telephone line between Tuaran and Tenghilan had been cut by the Guerrillas to prevent news of their attack on Jesselton leaking through. Rajah George rode out of Tuaran in command of a party of twelve men and crossing the Tuaran River in boats and swimming the ponies they took the bridle path route to the north.

Rajah George was the son of George Sinnadurai, a Ceylonese. The father was a diminutive man, a planter. He had died some time earlier after a spell in the Japanese internment cells. The son, Rajah, had been a pupil at

All Saints' School, Jesselton, and was the school's athletic star. He was a sprinter and the fastest runner in all the schools in 1941 before the Japanese occupation. His dash and determination made short work of the three armed Japanese who encountered his party and opposed them at Tenghilan. One of these was Ishigawa. Contacting Kota Belud on the telephone wire at Tenghilan, Rajah announced that American troops had arrived (which was untrue), and ordered the police at Kota Belud to arrest all Japanese in the township. They arrested four. Rajah donned the handsome leather riding boots and *samurai* sword of the slain Ishigawa and rode on with the party to Kota Belud where he took over the custody of the Japanese. They were executed. He told the people that American troops were expected to arrive very soon, admitting that his previous statement was wrong.

This fast and loose conduct of affairs did not satisfy some of the leaders in Kota Belud who felt that they had been misled. Hiew Syn Yong, the able deputy assistant district officer and a loyalist, saw the dangers ahead. He and his eldest daughter left the township for the hills and sought refuge in the mountain ranges near Mount Kinabalu.

It was at Kota Belud that the pre-war detachment of the Armed Constabulary fought the Japanese. The majority of these men were Dusuns of Tambunan and they put up a gallant show against the Japanese. Two fortunately lived throughout the war. They are Inspector Gubud

and P.C. Kullah. Their comrades lost their lives. Some died under torture and some died with their former officer, Charlie Peter, at Petagas.

October 13th bears an unlucky number and nearly all who took part in the Kota Belud rising ultimately perished. The immediate success of the Guerrillas induced many more to join and the number rose to about 300 in all, but many were still without firearms and ammunition. Large numbers, who were unwilling to oppose the Japanese actively until Lieutenant Kwok had achieved a greater degree of independence by his Guerrilla fighting, counselled caution and kept away from the fighting. Those who made their calculations and counted the odds were not mistaken, but caution is no part of Guerrilla tactics and sitting on the fence did not save them. At Mansiang the Guerrillas remained inactive for two or three days anxiously awaiting news of the arrival of arms, and reinforcements from the Philippines.

This urgent need for arms and ammunition was the link which tied Lieutenant Kwok to the coast, and kept him and his men constrained within a narrow strip of country under the eyes of the enemy. He dared not move away into the hills and sever his connection with the Sulu islands. He was forced to remain within sight and sound of the sea. He expected the promised assistance would arrive any day, but eventually it did not arrive till December, two months later, when it was too late.

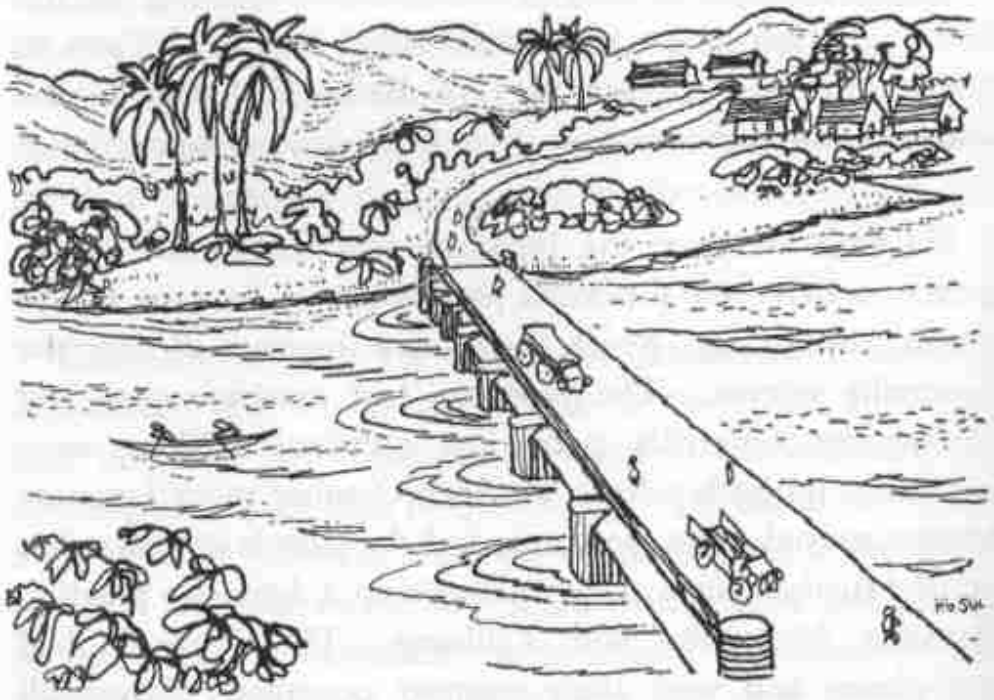
The attitude of the natives during the first few days was cheerful for they had suffered much at the hands of the Japanese and they liked the sight of blood. To despise life is the first qualification of a rebel. The path of revolt has never run smooth. Neither the Bajaus nor the Dusuns would tread this rough road. Without native help the Guerrillas failed to make headway and stood grimly on the defensive. The native farmers stood aside, did not join with the Guerrillas and hurried to greet the Japanese reinforcements which soon arrived. The native farmer knows only too well that his interest lies with the winning party and no one blames him.

Imam Marajukim had watched the beginning of the revolt and two days afterwards sailed for Tawi-Tawi to report the first success to Lim Keng Fatt and to the commanding officer.

On 13th October, the Japanese sent troops and native police to drive the Guerrilla patrols out of Inanam and to repair the bridge which had been burned during the Guerrilla retreat. The Japanese had machine guns and forced the Guerrilla patrol to withdraw. There were casualties on both sides. On 14th October more Japanese troops arrived upon the scene, and the patrols of Guerrillas retired further northwards and took up a defensive position between Menggatal and Talibong. The Japanese had aeroplanes and with their support occupied villages all along the road and prepared to attack the main body of

Guerrillas at Mansiang. Many houses were burned as the Japanese advanced and the Guerrillas shifted their headquarters to Talibong leaving behind two parties to check Japanese pursuit. They took their wounded with them. There were four serious cases. They recovered.

Skilful attention seems to have been given by the Medicos with the Guerrillas. There were Pang Vui Chau, Wong Boo Choon and E. Dominic of the Jesselton Civil Hospital, and Pang Tet Tshung formerly of the Singapore Medical Auxiliary Service. Drugs were in short supply, but the health of the little Force was good.



Temparuli Bridge across the Tuaran River, looking south.

Aeroplanes circled overhead and bombed the townships from Jesselton to Kota Belud, partly as a reprisal on the inhabitants and partly to drive out the Guerrillas. From Talibong, the Guerrillas withdrew across the River Tuaran to the north bank, and encamped at Ranau-Ranau, a small village on the river bank above Temparuli Bridge. This flat area lies opposite the Pak Onn rubber estate. The north position was a strong one. It was protected by the swift flowing river bedded between boulders and rocks.

The bridge had no parapets and was designed to allow flood water to pass above it and not below. October and November are rainy months, and the river was frequently in flood. Retreat to the mountains was easy. The few paths leading to it could be watched. The rearguard was under the command of Chong Chee Syn stationed on the south bank of the river and when he received an urgent report from his men that the Japanese were advancing, he decided to visit Lieutenant Kwok to discuss the position. Heavy rains, as usual in October, had flooded the river; the current was fast and rafts and pontoons of bamboo were swept away by the stream. Chong Chee Syn dived into the flood and swam as far as midstream where he was engulfed by a whirlpool and drowned in the brown rapids of the swollen river. The Japanese attacked Pak Onn rubber estate and burned the buildings, but the Guerrillas on the south bank successfully withdrew and joined the main body at Ranau-Ranau. Two days later the Japanese attacked Ranau-Ranau, but withdrew after

an officer had been wounded, and other casualties suffered. The Guerrillas then retreated to Kampong Tambong further up river, where they lay for ten days.

It was then nearly the middle of November and they felt much disappointment at receiving no help from Tawi-Tawi. They had outposts on the hills and every day their telescope swept the sea-coast from Gaya Bay northwards looking in vain for the promised reinforcements. The days wore slowly away.

Lieutenant Kwok battled cheerfully against odds, and discipline was well maintained. On 12th November, the birthday of Dr. Sun Yat Sun, father of the Chinese Republic, they celebrated the anniversary, hoisting national flags and singing national anthems. The death of the commander of the rear guard was commemorated.

The apathy of their neighbours, the growing enmity of the natives, the shortage of food and ammunition and the constant sniping by Japanese reduced the strength of the Guerrillas. The weather towards the end of the year was as rainy as ever and floods were frequent. The hill streams were coming down in spate. The season was bad for supplies. By the tenth month the harvest from the early months of the year had been exhausted and the next harvest was still remote. The Japanese aeroplanes continually passed overhead bombing and machine-gunning places where the Guerrillas were supposed to have taken

refuge.

The Guerrillas were hard pressed for food and anxious for the safety of their wives and children. Some showed signs of weariness and asked to be allowed to leave the Force. Lieutenant Kwok discharged all those who wished to return to their homes. The first wave of enthusiasm had spent itself. Early delight of victory was tempered by disappointement. The lack of reinforcements on their side depressed them. Their women watched them with mingled feelings. The headmen of villages eyed them with disfavour. All Tuaran, Talibong, Telipok and Menggatal were held by strong Japanese forces and reconnoitred by air. The valleys were unsafe. Lieutenant Kwok and his small party decided to move towards their long expected reinforcements and made their way by a hill track above the ravines to Kiangsam, southwards. This village lies four miles up the road from Inanam. It is the centre of an area studded with coconut palms and saturated with rice fields. A river tumbles down the rocky bed of the upper valley and native paths lead to the mountain ranges. It is a calm and peaceful scene. They stayed in quietude there for a week but the reinforcements had not arrived and unless help was soon forthcoming their days were numbered.

The Japanese heard of their presence at Kiangsam and sent a strong force to surround the village. There was a stiff engagement and the Guerrillas in the face of superior

numbers withdrew and dispersed. Some went as far as Papar, where at least one was murdered by unfriendly people. Lieutenant Kwok and six other Guerrillas sought safety at Penampang, their last place of refuge, close to Jesselton and in touch with the coast.

The moon in its first quarter lit up the narrow track from Kiangsam towards Penampang. It led them along the foot of the mountains and the seven refugees arrived at Liu Kai Yu's house near Malintud Village at one o'clock in the morning. This house is in Lease 4759 and lies about half a mile south-east of the Jesselton reservoir. Penampang township lies about two miles further south. The son of the house escorted them to a hut in the rubber below the house and went on to report their arrival to Chong Fu Kui, a shopkeeper at Dagongan on the Penampang road. The Guerrillas asked him to send back some much needed clothing. The young man carried out his mission successfully and the party of seven stayed in the hut for two nights and days. It was a restful time. In the garden there are hibiscus and oleanders, sago, breadfruit and pomelo. The house overlooked a valley. A mountain spring gave a stream of water and the air was fresh. The crest of Kinabalu showed over the mountain ranges to the north. The owner was a northern Chinese settler who had sought his fortune overseas in Borneo.

Most of this area was occupied by northern Chinese settlers, and Lieutenant Kwok, a southern Chinese,

received a welcome amongst them. These northerners from Shantung had subscribed funds for the Guerrillas and did what they could to help. They were living almost under the eyes of the Japanese at Batu Tiga, a short three miles away. The refugees lay safely with them in a hollow in the hills on the far side of the range as seen from Jesselton.

Daily the small band of men climbed the ridges above the reservoir and anxiously scanned the sea studded with islands. Their field glasses and telescopes looked in vain for the reinforcements which did not come.

Beyond the reservoir, the hills and valleys were occupied by Dusuns and the notorious headman Majakui bin Salaman dwelt on the further side of the valley. From their place of safety, the refugees could see the headman's house. Majakui had taken an active and pitiless part in hunting down the Chinese settlers who had left their homes during the Double Tenth. Whenever he had found them in the forests he had cut them to pieces without mercy. He was an adherent to the Japanese cause.

The house where the refugees were staying lay beside the graded path from Malintud to the reservoir and thence to Jesselton. Frequent visitors passed that way and the presence of the Guerrillas could not long be hidden from Majakui, if they were to remain where they were.

Chong Fu Kui, the shopkeeper at Dagongan on the

Penampang Road, visited them secretly and very properly pointed out that the place was too dangerous. He advised a move elsewhere. The name of Chong Fu Kui has fallen into disrepute and he is regarded by many Chinese as little less than a traitor, but history will not judge him harshly.

He advised that the party should shift to the cemetery of the northern Chinese people, which lies between the reservoir and Batu Tiga on the low range of hills intersected by steep valleys. The evil spirits who are supposed to haunt such places would help to keep unwelcome visitors away. This move brought the party a mile closer to the Japanese headquarters, and Batu Tiga lay only two and a half miles distant to the west, but the decision was sound, and there under the guardianship of the ghosts they spent several days, about a week, in a gravedigger's hut. Though uncomfortable, the hiding place was secure.

Then an unfortunate but typical incident occurred. A gambler staked and lost in an evil hour the money given him to take to the refugees for purchase of supplies. The man acted as a messenger between them and Chong Fu Kui. He was an inveterate gambler and he lost the sum of two hundred dollars which Chong Fu Kui had placed in his hands for Lieutenant Kwok. There is no gambling in which the devil has not a share and the man foolishly returned to Chong Fu Kui and tried to force him to replace the lost sum. Chong Fu Kui protested. The man

threatened exposure to the Japanese, involving Chong Fu Kui and the lives of all the refugees. Voices were raised in anger and a spy in the pay of the Japanese moved a little closer in the darkness of the shop verandah to overhear. Chong Fu Kui under the threat of exposure agreed to support the refugees further, took more money from the safe and the excitement subsided.

But the mischief had been done and the spy, who had lived for long among the northern Chinese and knew something of their language, hurried to report to his headman, Majakui, who in turn reported the story to the Japanese. Enquiries were set afoot and Majakui was ordered by the Japanese to produce the rebels under pain of death. They were hiding in his jurisdiction and he was held responsible.

Chong Fu Kui also heard rumours of approaching trouble and acted with his usual promptitude. He led the refugees from the cemetery a mile or more further inland and hid them again in the valleys at the foot of the range of hills. He moved them from place to place each day and he alone knew their whereabouts. Even then it was not too late for the refugees to retire to the mountains, but definite news had been received at last that the reinforcements from the Philippines were on the way. The Guerrillas expected them daily and clung to the coast.

Meanwhile both Majakui and Chong Fu Kui were under great pressure from the Japanese and the end was

near. At 4 a.m. on 19th December 1943, over 100 Japanese soldiers set out from Batu Tiga and surrounded the area before sunrise. Majakui and Chong Fu Kui were given a short space of time to produce the refugees and in default they and all the inhabitants of the area would be shot. The Japanese hesitated to come to close quarters with the Guerrillas, who were well armed. Chong Fu Kui undertook alone the hazardous attempt to persuade Lieutenant Kwok and his men to surrender. He went alone into the valley, while the Japanese held off at a distance. The Japanese certainly feared that the Guerrillas would fight to the last and that there would be many casualties in the bush fight.

By ten o'clock Chong Fu Kui had persuaded Lieutenant Kwok and his men to surrender to save the lives of the inhabitants of the valley. Lieutenant Kwok seems to have realised that further resistance was useless and he decided to surrender to the enemy. By taking all responsibility upon himself he hoped to save further loss of life and the persecution of the people.

The delay in the arrival of the long promised reinforcements had filled him with foreboding. His faith had faltered. His men had searched the horizon in vain. Silence brooded on the face of the waters. He gave up.

In this hour, whatever his faults, he possessed the greatest of all qualities, which is courage in adversity.

"When," wrote Lao Tze (600 B.C.), "you are no longer fit to hold a position do not be tempted by greed or pride to continue in it, but rather retire while your energies are still active." Lieutenant Kwok was fit enough, but a revolt that stands still is a revolt that is ruined. His plans had failed and he did not hesitate to follow the heavenly rule and to retire for the sake of the people. That old philosopher had a dry and grim humour and often he chuckled bitterly in his thin beard at the frailties of human nature.

Disappointment clogged the Guerrillas' spirit and their hearts failed them. They might have fought their way to the hills and sold their lives dearly, and such a determination would have cost the enemy much in pursuit. Instead Lieutenant Kwok surrendered with his weapons to the Japanese whom he had opposed so long in Sulu and North Borneo. Continuously for two years the guiding principle of his life, to oppose the enemy, had remained consistent. His practice had matched his principle. The end had now come.

Lieutenant Kwok and his men followed Chong Fu Kui from the hollow in the hills out to the Penampang Road and there they were presented to the Japanese officer in command. He was waiting on the roadside about four miles out of Jesselton at the top of the rise where there was a small hamlet of one or two shops.

The refugees were taken into custody and marched to

the Jesselton Hotel where they were handed over to the military authorities. They were photographed repeatedly by their captors and were sent to the offices of the infamous Kempeitai in the Jesselton Sports Club.

There Lieutenant Kwok was put to every form of torture. Those in prison with him, who have survived, say that he suffered quietly and flatly refused to answer any questions put to him. He made his own statement saying that he was the sole cause and alone was responsible for the Double Tenth revolt. He tried to commit suicide, but the attempt failed.

After suffering for two or three weeks he was sent to Batu Tiga prison to await the mass execution which took place a few days later in January.

Of the others who took part in these last days of the Kinabalu Guerrillas, Chong Fu Kui, discredited and disgraced in the view of his fellows, left the country as soon as he could and returned to China. Chong Fu Kui did not in fact return to China. He took refuge in the forests of the East Coast working in timber camps and gardens. After some fifteen years he emerged from the forests and returned to his home at mile 5 Penampang Road, where he received a warm welcome. He has said that the story of Lieutenant Kwok's surrender as told here, is substantially correct. Majakui bin Salaman was put on trial by a military court after the return of the British. There was a

long list of charges against him for collaborating with the enemy and he was sentenced to death on the specific charge of spearing to death two Chinese who were sheltering in a ditch after the Double Tenth. Majakui admitted the facts, but pleaded that he was drunk with *tapei* at the time. The defence was not accepted and he was convicted of murder. He was sentenced to death on 5th January 1946. The sentence was confirmed by the Supreme Commander South East Asia on 21st January and he was hanged at Batu Tiga a few days later. He was not charged with the betrayal of Lieutenant Kwok's place of refuge.

Lieutenant Kwok surrendered on 19th December. Ten days later the reinforcements arrived from Tawi-Tawi. Captain Lim Keng Fatt, who had kept the communications open between the west coast and the Philippines in spite of the north-east monsoon and who had been given a captaincy, lay off the coast with a body of picked men, a quantity of the latest types of American arms and ammunition and $25,000 in cash to assist the Kinabalu Guerrillas. It was too late. Learning that Lieutenant Kwok was in the hands of the Japanese, Captain Lim Keng Fatt ordered the Philippine party to return to their stronghold at Tawi-Tawi.

The Japanese military police were aware of these movements. Captain Lim Keng Fatt lay at sea amongst the islands, and the Japanese fell upon the islanders as far as Mantanani to cut the communications between the west

coast and Tawi-Tawi. The slaughter of the islanders was terrible and will be described later in detail in the story of the reprisals. Captain Lim Keng Fatt was given charge of certain outposts at Tawi-Tawi and awaited his opportunity to return to the west coast.

A few weeks later he set out from Tawi-Tawi with four Sulus and arrived in Jesselton to spy out the movements of Japanese troops. He had the latest types of sub-machine guns. Four Chinese Guerrillas who had survived joined his party. They had a motor boat but it was spotted by the Japanese and kept out at sea. Captain Lim Keng Fatt ashore ordered the four Sulus to return in the motor boat to Tawi-Tawi and to bring transport to take off all surviving Guerrillas. He himself with his four Chinese companions remained ashore near the mouth of the Tuaran River. A submarine came across from the Philippines and made the searchlight signal. Captain Lim, ashore, picked it up and called upon the local Bajau headman, Jinal bin Arun of Serusup, to take him and his four companions further up the coast. There was some discussion about the route. The headman and four Bajaus brought a *pakerangan* to the landing stage and Captain Lim sat in the middle of the boat between the paddlers. He held his sub-machine gun across his knees and looked ahead. His companions sat on thwarts separate from each other. When near the open sea at the mouth of the river the Bajau sitting immediately behind Captain Lim struck him down and either by accident or design upset the boat.

Captain Lim was alive when the boat upset. He and his Chinese companions were attacked in the water and killed by *parang* cuts. The numbers were five against five but the Bajaus had the advantage in the water. Captain Lim's body was seen by a Chinese. It was lying on a mudbank in the river when he identified it. It was handed over to the Japanese at Tuaran. The gallant captain's body was buried in a grave on a hillside about half a mile seaward of the Tuaran district office.

At his trial by a British military court two years later, the Bajau headman told the events in full and pleaded that he and his men were justified by the general orders of the Japanese to kill all persons who assisted the allies. The headman was sentenced to death but the sentence was commuted to ten years imprisonment. His followers were sentenced to lesser terms of imprisonment.

After the death of Captain Lim Keng Fatt communication between the west coast and the Philippines ceased.

The career of the Kinabalu Guerrillas was ended but the guerrilla warfare went on under ex-Chief Inspector Duallis, a pensioner of the Armed Constabulary and a Murut. He worried the Japanese in a way that only a Murut could. To the honour of the Muruts let it be said that there was not a single case of collaboration with the enemy during the whole period of the occupation. They were men of the jungle, first, last and all the time. They

contrived everything through the medium where they were at home. In their warfare they were inspired by the stories which reached them from the coast. No rules were observed, no holds were barred and no trick was too mean to defeat the enemy. The Muruts waged their warfare until the allied armies arrived upon the scene. Ex-Chief Inspector Duallis lived to a happy old age and died in May 1949 amongst the hills where he had served so long and so well.

CHAPTER III

ORDEAL

THE GUERRILLA attacks on Tuaran, Menggatal and Jesselton petered out at midnight and early on the 10th the Japanese took action to meet these flagrant acts of defiance.

The Japanese main forces had been concentrated at Kuching and there were very few troops on the west coast of North Borneo. The military signals were working, but the civilian telecommunications were interrupted. The Japanese army commander in Jesselton signalled the facts and called for reinforcements and bombing planes. From that time onwards the forces at Kuching were steadily depleted and those on the west coast increased until eventually the Japanese headquarters were transferred from Kuching to Sapong about ninety miles from Jesselton by railway and occupying a good position on the west coast.

The Japanese administration in Jesselton sent a plane from Jesselton to Kuching to requisition spare parts to re-equip the wireless station in All Saints' Church and after a few days the spare parts were fitted and the station functioned again.

On 14th October several Japanese planes flew from

Kuching to Jesselton and began bombing the town and villages. Both Tuaran and Kota Belud were heavily bombed and many buildings destroyed. Whenever the planes sighted people, they machine-gunned them. At Tuaran many people took to their boats on the river, endeavouring to escape from the scene, but the planes dived towards them and machine-gunned them. In some cases they dropped bombs on boats in the river.

The families of settlers were rounded up and many were collected in the Tuaran district office. Women and children were accommodated under the floor of the office, sleeping and squatting between the posts. The men, mostly old and sick, were made to lie under the burning sun or in pelting rain on the football field. The men described this treatment as *kena jemor* 'dried in the sun'. At night the men were herded into the small local prison. A handful of rice was given to each as his ration. After two or three days of investigation, those who could prove that they had taken no part in the revolt were allowed to return with their families to their homes with the good citizen badge. None escaped the ordeal. Japanese soldiers arrived in large numbers and rounded up groups of people, including Bajaus, Chinese and Dusuns, tying them up, and beating them causing much suffering. Many houses were burned down, particularly when the inmates had fled at the approach of Japanese. The Japanese commander rounded up all the native headmen and police and ordered them to search the countryside for refugees. The search parties

were divided into two groups. One group searched for the Guerrillas and their supporters and was composed of Japanese soldiers and Kempeitai, with few, if any, native or Chinese collaborators. The other group searched for the bodies of the dead Japanese and comprised Japanese soldiers, native police and others.

About seventy per cent of the newly recruited native police force under the orders of the Japanese took part in these searches: a few behaved brutally. Their misdeeds were remembered and they were subsequently brought to trial three years later.

This grim period lasted for six months.

Japanese members of these search parties showed no mercy to the people and behaved with great brutality. All Chinese in the villages outside Jesselton and more particularly at Inanam, Menggatal, Telipok and Tuaran were arrested whether they possessed arms or not. If any of them showed resistance or attempted to run, they were killed on the spot.

The news of the arrests soon spread and many of the people scattered into the forests, but the search parties went after them, and if they found any refugees they murdered them.

At Tuaran many of the Chinese people assembled on

the bank of the Tuaran River. There, when the search parties arrived, the people were bound hand and foot. They were all beheaded and their bodies were thrown into the river. A cataract of Japanese proclamations and notices were issued after the event. A copy of one Japanese proclamation issued on 18th October, 1943, translated from Malay, reads as follows:—

NOTICE

"1. Whoever fails to return to his home by the evening of 20th October 1943 will be deemed to be implicated in the revolt or in communication with the rebels. Therefore everyone must return home immediately. Heavy punishment will follow. But if there is a good reason why he has not returned to his home, he must report the matter to the Japanese Army.

2. Native chiefs and village headmen in the area involved in the incident must warn their people and the Chinese to return to their homes.

3. Chinese who are of good conduct and acknowledge the government must render proof of their goodwill, and the government will supply good citizen badges to protect their lives and interests. They may meet the Japanese civil administration officers or police assigned to the villages to give this evidence and receive the

badges.

Dated Showa, 18.10.18

The Japanese Army Command."

Paragraph 2 of this proclamation, as translated here, authorising the native chiefs to warn the people to return to their homes is a proper course of action for the occupying forces to take in such an emergency. To it no exception need be taken. But as a matter of history it should be recorded that quite a different version also exists. This other version translates paragraph 2 as follows:—

> "2. Kyado Dancho and the village chiefs who remain in the area involved in the revolt can punish the native and Chinese people who have run away."

This is a deliberate incitement to enmity between different races, and a cause of provocation.

A good citizen badge was issued to those whose action could stand the test of enquiry. The badge consisted of a small piece of cloth cut into a square two or three inches each way. Chinese characters were stamped on it in black ink and these read "West Coast Civil Administrators Seal". This was pinned to the chest of the man who had been weighed in the balance. It became his life preserver. To Dr. Lau Lai, until his arrest, fell the difficult duty of issuing these badges on behalf of the Japanese authorities.

The people were quick to turn these badges to their own advantage. They were passed from hand to hand and pinned to the chest of those who needed them most. These little badges of cloth could easily be copied. The stay-at-home was slow to apply for a badge in his own interest, while the active Guerrilla soon had half a dozen in his pocket. It was an opportunity for the trial of wits and the Chinese were not the losers. Many Guerrillas used these badges to return home and to go and come on their warfare. Many live today, thanks to them. Another Japanese proclamation addressed to the Guerrillas read as follows:—

A WARNING TO YOU

"1. The Japanese military forces have surrounded you and you are now like a fish in a pan.

2. The aeroplanes loaded with bombs are ready to start operations.

3. The Japanese military forces are determined not to kill good people, but those who resist will be destroyed. All good people must hoist Japanese flags.

4. You must realise this soon and give up your useless resistance. Although you may escape to the jungles and hills for a time, the Japanese military forces will capture you just the same.

The Japanese Army Command"

A third proclamation called for immediate surrender:-

IMMEDIATE SURRENDER

"1. Your going against the pledge and resisting the Japanese shows that you do not co-operate in the greater East Asia co-prosperity scheme.

2. Because of your resistance to the Japanese, your mothers, wives and children are suffering in their hearts and are protesting against your actions.

3. Your should surrender immediately to the Japanese soldiers to lessen your suffering.

4. You should not listen to or believe the words of those who give out evil propaganda, lest you suffer the consequences.

The Japanese Army Command"

The last two proclamations, dropped in leaflet form from aeroplanes, were not dated, but they were dropped about the same time as the first which was dated 18th October.

The Japanese published a list of the leaders whom they wished to arrest and of the rewards which they would pay for their capture. A copy has been found and it reads as follows, translated from Malay:—

"1. Whoever captures the Chinese mentioned herein will receive rewards as written against their names.

2. Whoever captures any others not mentioned herein will receive a reward of not less than $1,000.

3. Whoever was guilty and participated in the revolt and who ran away will be pardoned if he captures the leaders of the revolt.

4. If capture alive is not possible, the head may be brought in and the reward will be paid.

Kwok Hng Nam (Albert Kwok)	$5,000
Kong Sze Pui	3,000
Huang Tze Ann (Wong Hong Min)	5,000
Lee Tek Phui	3,000
U. Ting Ying	2,000
Pun Bit Chi	2,000
Chin Hon Ping	2,000
Chong Ki Yam (Wong Hon Sam)	1,000
Ho Kui	1,000
Tse Sum Sang	1,000
Teo Kiah Chun	1,000
Chong Chin Wah	1,000
Liew Loi Kui (David)	1,000

Showa 5.11.18.

The Japanese Army Command"

Most of the men mentioned above were captured and executed, including certainly the first four names and also Pun Bit Chi, Teo Kiah Chun, Chong Chin Wah and Liew Loi Kui. Chin Hon Ping disappeared and was never heard of again. The name of Ho Kui above is almost certainly intended for Chin Kui.

Lim Keng Fatt, maintaining communications with the Philippines, does not appear in this list. The Japanese must have been well aware that he had taken a prominent part in organising the revolt. His family owned property at Inanam and elsewhere in the area. The absence of his name from this list shows that the Japanese knew that he was then at sea on other duty. The words Japanese Army Command quoted above are a short translation of the words Dai Nippon Gun which literally mean Great Japan's Military Command. The word 'great' was used generally as a prefix to the word Japan, and the Japanese prophesied that its effect would be the same as in the case of Great Britain. They misunderstood the application of the word.

The Japanese appointed headmen to control the Chinese settlements, selecting one head of a family out of every ten, and appointing him to control the ten within his group. Refusal to act was fatal. These men, appointed against their will, were in a most invidious position. A few were ready to oblige the enemy and their motto was peace at any price. They had their reward. They did well and made money. They prospered where many others suffered. Few men can see others more prosperous than themselves without envy. The contempt and hatred of the people was poured upon these new headmen.

But to accuse them of treachery is not fair. To settle the population again in their homes was the policy of the Japanese. It had been announced in the proclamation.

It called upon all people to return home by the evening of 20th October. Defaulters would be deemed to be implicated in the revolt or in communication with the Guerrillas. It was in the interest of all to settle down, except the Guerrillas.

Many people who attempted to return to their homes were murdered by the natives on their way, because the native headmen were empowered to punish the Chinese who had fled. Moreover many of those who reached their homes were arrested afterwards, tried and executed.

Blame was imputed to the Chinese headmen. As headmen, they had published the terms of the proclamation far and wide. In some cases they added that guarantees of safety had been given by the Japanese. But in fact the terms of the proclamations gave no guarantee of safety to those who had taken part in the revolt and then returned home. There was no forgiveness for them, and they were misled into supposing that there would be a general pardon.

The Japanese made many wily moves to capture the Guerrillas. They would seize a close relative and under threat compel him to go in search of the Guerrillas known to him and persuade them to surrender. Or they would allow some of the Guerrillas who had returned home and given up their arms to live there peacefully and so lure others to follow their example. In all such cases there was no intention of pardoning the men.

The Japanese appointed a *Kapitan China* to supervise the other headmen throughout the area of the revolt and selected for this appointment a Chinese of Menggatal.

The Japanese official of the political department in charge of proceedings could speak Mandarin, and the terms of the various proclamations were discussed with the newly appointed *Kapitan China*. It was agreed that the *Kapitan China* should call the refugees back to their homes and promise to guarantee them their safety. Both parties signed a memorandum to this effect. The Japanese, as one might expect, did not stand by their promises to the other.

Those who have studied the laws and usages of war will appreciate the awkward position in which this man found himself. His selection seems to have been due to his acquaintance with Sakai, the Japanese trader and land owner, who was well known in Jesselton for many years before war. Sakai had a few acres of rice and rubber land at Inanam and his local knowledge was used by the Japanese to the utmost. He was consulted after the Double Tenth and he advised the appointment of this man, whom he knew. Politically he was a man of no importance before the war and owned little, if any, property, but after his appointment by the Japanese he became great.

He was made responsible for the area between Jesselton and Tuaran and carried out the Japanese requisitions.

Few, very few, men in such a position would refuse their reward. Men say he accepted payment from both sides, from the Japanese for the services he rendered, and from his own people for favours given them when the drag net of requisition was passing over the country. It is said that twenty thousand dollars worth of Japanese currency was found in his money boxes when he was arrested after the arrival of the allies. The currency was worthless. He was tried for assisting the enemy and convicted, but by that time his case came under the King's pardon which was held out to all those who had assisted the enemy, but who had not been guilty of any atrocity themselves or handed others over to the enemy for ill-treatment. He was pardoned accordingly.

Asian people in general do not appreciate clemency of this kind. They would hang all those who were on good terms with the enemy and who were more fortunate or better favoured than themselves. They look upon such people as more deserving of punishment than the enemy within their gates.

He enjoys liberty now and has suffered much abuse. His neighbours say that he was responsible for the arrest of many Guerrillas and their friends on the occasion of the famous lecture. The Japanese announced that a high ranking official of their political department would lecture to the Chinese people. He would speak in Mandarin and all citizens were to assemble at Goh Kim Swee's shop at

Menggatal to hear the lecture. The *Kapitan China* issued the programmes. But the high Japanese official did not appear and in his stead there came along the road a procession of empty motor buses with a guard of Japanese police and soldiers. The waiting assembly was told that the lecture would be held at Jesselton, not Menggatal, and they were invited to enter the motor buses. It was a case of the spider calling flies into his parlour. The motor buses were driven into the prison compound at Batu Tiga and all the passengers were put under arrest for investigation. Few ever returned.

Andrew Wong, a schoolmaster of All Saints' School, Jesselton, and a well known Scoutmaster, with other Guerrillas took to the hills and lived in Dusun villages in the Ranau and Bundu Tuhan area south of Mount Kinabalu. Their presence was soon reported to the Japanese at Keningau. Sergeant Farah Singh, formerly of the Armed Constabulary, had continued his service with the Japanese and received orders to arrest them. Andrew Wong and his small party were then at Kitai village halfway between Rendagon and Ranau. Sergeant Farah Singh with half a dozen *Jikidan* made contact with the local Dusun headmen and cleverly persuaded them to capture the whole party. This was easy, as Andrew Wong trusted his Dusun hosts, in whose house he was living and whose hospitality he had accepted. The Dusuns overpowered the Chinese youth on watch and captured all of them. The Chinese had only an air-gun

and a few *parangs* between them. The Sergeant ordered the Dusuns to dig graves and set the Chinese tied hand and foot in a row squatting beside the graves. The Sergeant assigned a target for each constable to shoot at. The Dusun police loaded their rifles and on the Sergeant's command fired a volley. As two or three Chinese were still alive a second volley was fired. Two of the Dusun police swore that they had fired into the air and not at the Chinese.

The Chinese were not bandits. Andrew Wong's companions were Lo Yin Fah of Tuaran Estate, and his two sons Lo Vui En, of the Treasury, and Lo Vui Nyen, of the Survey Department. Also Chong Tet, a business man of Tuaran. Farah Singh had authority to arrest, but he was wrong to usurp the position of arbitrary judge and mass executioner of these men. His commanding officer, a Japanese, remained all the time at Rendagong, half a day's journey on foot from Kitai, awaiting Farah Singh's return. The Chinese made no resistance to capture. They were incapable of it. There was not even a semblance of an enquiry or trial and massacre followed immediately.

In 1946 Farah Singh was arrested and tried for murder. The first trial took place at Keningau before a military court presided over by the Senior Civil Affairs Officer in charge of the Interior as the Superior Military Court Judge. The military court convicted and the judge sentenced Farah Singh to death. The judge reported that the

prisoner had not been able to get counsel for his defence to visit so out of the way a place as Keningau in the interior of North Borneo.

The prisoner pleaded Japanese orders as a defence. But the order of a superior does not relieve a subordinate from responsibility if the subordinate knows that by carrying out the order he is committing a crime. The fact of an order may mitigate the punishment, but it does not affect the responsibility.

The case caused repercussions as far as India, whose government asked for a re-trial, and in pursuance of its policy to defend any of its nationals who were charged with collaboration in South-East Asia, expended large sums on his legal defence. He was again convicted and sentenced to death and yet again on the hearing of the appeal the sentence was upheld. As a result the government of the colony commuted the sentence to ten years imprisonment.

Andrew Wong, as a Guerrilla, made the fatal mistake of lodging too long in the same place. His enemies were all about him. Yet he stayed at Kitai long enough for the Dusun headman to send messages out on a bridle track one hundred miles long and report the Guerrilla's presence to the Japanese local headquarters. The messenger took four or five days on the journey and the police party took even longer to march from Keningau with a Japanese

officer in command of the party. So his enemies easily encompassed him in a hill country where there were scores of safe hiding places and havens of refuge.

At the coast several hundreds of people were remanded and transported to Batu Tiga for enquiry and trial. They were subjected to the most brutal treatment and many succumbed.

Eye witnesses have descibed the scenes at the prison. Yu Eh, the *Kapitan China* of Penampang, was crushed under stones weighing two or three hundred pounds: two of his ribs were broken. A policeman pierced his side with a knife when he would not speak. His final interrogation was made when he was laid in a coffin and it was made obvious to him that his immediate death was intended. He was threatened with burial alive. Even so he maintained his courageous attitude. He admitted nothing. After two weeks of torture of every sort he was set free. He had in fact subscribed two thousand dollars to the Guerrilla funds.

Other leading Chinese also were horribly maltreated. Oh Hau Teck, a noted sportsman and climber of Mt. Kinabalu, died at his home in June 1944, after privation. He was a prince amongst donors. He was to the fore for any charitable purpose. It was he who challenged a reputed millionaire in dollars to contribute dollar for dollar to the war relief funds prior to the Japanese

occupation. The custom was to divide the gifts equally between the British and Chinese war relief funds. On one occasion when a fair was being held on the *padang* at Jesselton and bids were being called for, the millionaire cried, "A thousand dollars." Immediately a voice was heard from the back of the crowd "And another thousand." All eyes were turned to the millionaire, "Another thousand," he cried. "And another thousand," came the voice. He was not a rich man, but highly esteemed. The Japanese sent police to arrest him together with the Chinese Relief Committee, but the police found he was so paralysed that they would have to carry him. He could not walk to prison, and the police would not carry him, so he escaped the torture which many other loyal people suffered.

The torture went on in broad daylight. During the night Chinese under investigation were brought out of prison and their heads beaten with clubs until they were dead. Next day their corpses were visible. Blood had issued from ears and mouths. Their brains were beaten out. Their eyes were smashed in. Their tongues protruded. The corpses of these emaciated sufferers were put into coffins, four or five in each, and carried away.

In some cases the victims were nailed to boards by spikes driven through the plams of their hands and it is supposed that they had professed Christianity and suffered accordingly.

Scores of men were slung from roof beams by ropes tied to their hands and feet, and as their bodies wilted, their fellow prisoners with grim humour referred to them as 'salted fish'.

Enquiries have been made and statements have been taken about the torture inflicted upon these unfortunate captives, and the evidence available shows that the cruelty was inflicted by the hands of the Kempeitai, and not by local men.

The victims did not always submit to force without hitting back. Mr. T. Villanueva, a Filipino of the Survey Department was arrested at Tenghilan on suspicion that he was concerned in the Double Tenth and was put into the prison. The military police began their usual methods of questioning under threat of beating and torture unless an instant confession was made. He protested that he was entitled to trial and when a police official raised a stick to hit him, he seized the pummel of the sword at the official's side and attempted to draw it. But it was fastened with strap and buckle and could not be unsheathed. He then seized the stick and wresting it out of the other's hand set about him. All the Japanese police fled from the room, and the guard was summoned. The guard shot him down. Though wounded, he lived long enough to be submitted to outrageous torture before he died.

The reprisals went on from week to week and hatred

of the Japanese correspondingly increased. The Japanese leaders issued orders of repression and the military police engaged hundreds of local people of all races as detectives and spies. These were for the most part young men who had been arrested in the general round up of people and sentenced to imprisonment for periods from five to fifteen years. After a few weeks in prison, offers were made to them to work for the Japanese and to spy upon the people. Many accepted the offer and received a small monthly pay and a further reward for reporting the names of people who had openly expressed opinions antagonistic to the Japanese. A reward much sought after was a prize of a pound of sugar, because of its great scarcity.

Some of these young men had wives and children and anxiety for the safety of their families induced them to accept the Japanese terms. Their excuse was that they acted under duress and they feared severe punishment if they did not obey. The law of the country does not recognize any such defence to a charge of murder or causing bodily injury and subsequently many of these men were convicted and imprisoned. A few were sentenced to death and hanged for atrocities committed in the field.

The Japanese military court sentenced many of the people to death for taking part in the revolt. No record is left of the trials.

Lieutenant Kwok's surrender in December did not have

the effect for which he had hoped. He expected that the Japanese would hold their hand and that reprisals would cease. But the Japanese tiger was not to be appeased by a morsel or two. He did not want tit-bits. He wanted the lot.

Eventually the Japanese army administration decided on a massacre of the prisoners. The 21st January 1944 was the day appointed, and a site five miles along the railway between Tanjong Aru and Putatan, near the Petagas railway bridge, was chosen. Deep trenches were dug in the soft sandy soil.

Traffic on all roads was closed for three days before the execution at Petagas Bridge to prevent concourses of people at the spot or elsewhere.

Prisoners in the gaol at Batu Tiga numbered rather more than four hundred men at that time. In January a few days before the mass execution, groups of ten or twenty prisoners were taken out and photographed. Each prisoner was required to hold up a card bearing his name. Each also was required to sign a document to the effect that he admitted the charges which were made against him. All the prisoners signed without knowledge of the contents of the document. This of course was only a silly trick to justify the sentences for the Japanese conscience. It would deceive no one else.

The four hundred prisoners were then divided into

two groups and each group was confined in a separate building in the prison. One hundred and seventy six were marked for execution. One hundred and thirty one were marked for transfer to Labuan, and the rest for imprisonment in Jesselton.

Those sentenced to death were marched out at three o'clock in the morning and the others were well aware of the fate which awaited their friends. The victims were forced into six covered goods-vans of a train. The Japanese civil and military officers occupied some second class coaches and lowsided trucks in front. The six covered goods-vans were in the central part of the train.

On arrival at Petagas, the prisoners were pushed out of the vans and herded across the grass. Most of the one hundred and seventy six condemned to execution were Chinese, but there was also a large contingent of Sulus from the islands doomed to execution. Five leaders of the Double Tenth, who had fallen into the hands of the Japanese, were selected for beheading. These were:—

Lieutenant Albert Kwok
Charles Peter
Chan Chau Kong
Kong Tze Phui
Lee Tek Phui

The Japanese solemnly took a photograph of these men standing bound in a row. A copy of this photograph was

found in Beaufort by the allies. The men's heads were then struck off by blows from a double handed sword. An onlooker said that the neck of Charles Peter was only half severed, when he fell dead to the ground.

Spectators must have been horrified by the sight. Picture the scene. The Japanese officials, the hard-faced soldiers, the victims with their arms trussed back and their clothing removed. One victim is pushed forward. A Japanese officer draws his sword with a sharp whirr of steel and steps up to the man. Then wheeling it round his head with two hands upon the long hilt, he sweeps it. A sudden, sullen thump, a choking whistling sound. The officer wipes his sword on the short hard truf, and steps aside for the next officer, that he too may taste blood.

The rest of the prisoners were shot by machine guns and their bodies were then dragged, pushed or kicked into the trenches. It is said that some were only wounded by the shooting and they lingered alive in the open trenches for three days. There is a village close to the spot and the Petagas river runs nearby. The groans and cries of the victims were heard in the village by day and night, but none dared venture near the spot.

To terrorise inhabitants elsewhere and to let the punishment be seen by others, the Japanese sent one hundred and thirty-one of the Chinese from Jesselton to Labuan. There these unhappy men were paraded, humiliated and

punished in the sight of the Labuan people. The courage of the Labuan people was chilled by this ghastly spectacle and they watched with helpless dismay. The prisoners were sick and starved. They could do no work and slowly perished. They lay about in shabby rags until they succumbed. Of one hundred and thirty one men sent to Labuan only nine survived the ill-treatment and returned to their homes. In 1949 the bodies of those who perished in Labuan were brought to Jesselton and buried in the cemetery at Petagas with fitting ceremony.

The fate of Hiew Sin Yong, the deputy assistant district officer of Kota Belud, has never been fully cleared up. It is said that he was still on duty at Kota Belud on 17th October 1943, and stories of his carrying on a guerrilla war in the hills have been told. The evidence points to his having lost his life at the hands of the natives. It is said that when Hiew Sin Yong left for the hills, his daughter accompanied him. Two years later a grave was pointed out as theirs. The widow of Hiew Sin Yong at the request of the Military Administration visited the spot. The grave was opened and in it there were two bodies. The widow recognised some cloth as having been worn by her daughter. The heads of both were missing.

Rajah George and his party of 'barnstormers' were executed at Mile 5 near Petagas Bridge on 21st January 1944. Thirteen members of the Armed Constabulary who assisted him in the capture of Kota Belud also paid the

penalty.

Cheah Loong Ghee and Doctor Lau Lai who had filled the most difficult position of mediators between the Chinese people and the Japanese for two years were not suspected for a long time. But their turn was to come.

Soon after the rising, on the morning of 12th October, 1943, a Japanese policeman from the military office found a letter near the Jesselton Railway Station in which was written:—

> "Whoever takes Dr. Lau Lai dead or alive will be given $5,000."

Its authorship is unknown. The same night a Japanese military officer called at his house on the outskirts of Jesselton and took him to the military office. There this officer wished him good luck. He was not allowed to live outside the town and was required to live in his house near the market at Jesselton, where two police were stationed every night. This action by the Japanese appears to have been a token of respect and protection against his supposed secret enemy.

Cheah Loong Ghee had a similar experience. On 13th October 1943, the day after Dr. Lau Lai's letter, another was found, this time at Karamunsing.

"Whoever takes Cheah Loong Ghee dead or alive will be given $10,000."

The writing of both letters was similar. Cheah Loong Ghee was then living in his house in Beach Street near the sea. The Japanese authorities called him to the military office and enquired into his affairs, but sent him away. It is supposed that these men wrote the letters themselves to hoodwink the Japanese, and to offer the letters as an excuse for lying low for a time.

After the failure of the Double Tenth, these two men with others made quiet preparations for a second revolt. The Japanese strengthened their position by increasing the number of troops, erecting barracks and laying out an aerodrome at Tanjong Aru. They still carried out reprisals remorselessly by way of revenge for the first revolt. In spite of this, the loyalists held meetings to instigate a second revolt. Funds were collected all over North Borneo under the committee of eight representative Chinese, of whom these men were two. Meetings were held after midnight secretly in one or other of their houses. With the assistance of the *Kapitan China* at Kudat, Sandakan and Tawau they collected or were promised about $250,000 for the second revolt.

Dr. Lau Lai was not suspected by the Japanese for a long time. On 26th February 1944 there was a public holiday with sports on the *padang* at Jesselton. The

Indians sang a national song and carried their flag as members of the Indian Independence League. Representatives of various races spoke when addresses were given in the Cinema Hall at three o'clock in the afternoon, and Dr. Lau Lai himself took occasion to assert the love of the Chinese for the Japanese Government. The Indian speaker received $25 as a prize for a good speech, but it is not known what Dr. Lau Lai received.

The second revolt was timed for 13th April 1944. The thirteenth proved to be an unlucky day. On the evening of the 12th April the Japanese gave a dinner party at the Koa Club and the Chinese and Indian representatives were invited to attend. Dr. Lau Lai and Cheah Loong Ghee both went and after the dinner both were arrested. The doctor was confined in his house and Cheah Loong Ghee in the Koa Club. On the 13th both were under arrest. No incident, as the Japanese would call it, occurred. Separately, each was pressed to reveal his secrets and next day they and other Chinese merchants were removed to Batu Tiga prison.

Dr. Lau Lai was in the same cell with a Malay schoolmaster, from 3rd May 1944 to 15th August 1944. The schoolmaster survived and has told the story. He listened to Dr. Lau Lai's description of the movements and his treatment. The doctor described how he was arrested and taken to the military office with his hands tied behind his back. He suffered much. He was hung up by his

thumbs and was burned by embers while the Japanese demanded who was the leader of the new movement. The Japanese said that they knew now that Cheah Loong Ghee hand helped to organise the revolt of October 1943 and they knew that the doctor was helping to organise the second revolt. Therefore, said the Japanese, both men were implicated.

The schoolmaster has recounted how severely the doctor was tortured. The doctor admitted nothing at first. He was beaten and burned day after day. The torture included the water treatment. He was forced to drink two buckets of water till the stomach was swollen and he was then stamped upon so that the water burst from him. At length after twelve days of continuous torture, when every fibre of resistance had been drawn from him, he gave way and admitted his complicity in the revolt. With his confession everything was disclosed and the names of many others were discovered.

Dr. Lau Lai was hanged at Batu Tiga and another man together with him the same morning.

Cheah Loong Ghee received similar treatment and even worse. His refusal to speak was absolute. He said nothing under the most terrible torture, and steadfastly refused to reveal any information whatsoever. Few men have been through such ill treatment and retained their power of control. Not one single name or secret was ever dragged

from his lips. Though pieces of his flesh were sliced from him and held before his eyes under threat of more to be cut, he still refused to speak. He died suffering greatly in the prison in 1944.

On 5th May 1944 at ten o'clock in the morning there was another mass execution, this time at Batu Tiga prison. More than twenty Japanese military officers went into the gaol, brought out many Chinese and Dusun prisoners, bound them, tortured them by burning their flesh with embers, and having failed to force them to speak and admit their supposed offence, sent them out to execution.

To the everlasting disgrace of the Japanese administration in Borneo, its officers converted Batu Tiga into a butcher's shambles.

The wives of the leaders were not punished. Often they were not even arrested and the women showed great courage, going to the prison where their men were under arrest and demanding from the Japanese news of them. Thus the widows often learned of the deaths of their husbands. They did not let themselves be defeated by the death of their menfolk. Whatever their degree of poverty they brought up their children as well as possible. They never felt any sense of hopelessness or gloomy pessimism. They showed hardwearing pluck that only women of the right sort are capable of. They were fearless and undismayed. A woman's conscience is resourceful in finding

good excuses and she knows who deserves and who needs them.

The women upheld the prestige of their men, and whatever they knew to the contrary they regarded it as their duty to shield the facts from the enemy. One woman said at the end, "I was never afraid of what the Japanese might do to me, but I was afraid of what they might do to my children. I always feared they might take my children away." There was something triumphant in this spirit and here at least the sacrifice of the men and the courage of the women achieved success and kept the children safe from harm. The men of to-day seldom remember the bravery of the women of yesterday.

Meanwhile the islanders also suffered severely from reprisals. The islands along the north west coast are inhabited by mixed settlements of Sulus, Binadans, Bajaus and others. There is the Mantanani group of islands in the north and opposite Jesselton there are Gaya, Udar, Sapangar, Sinjatan, Manukan, Mamutik and Suluk islands inhabited by fisherfolk according to season. Further south there are Danawan and the Tiga islands.

The Japanese knew that the Binadans and others were implicated in the revolt of October. The islanders had landed on Beach Road and at the wharf, attacked the military stations and had set fire to the Customs sheds. Their headman Orang Tuah Panglima Ali, of Suluk Island,

was arrested about the middle of October, a week after the event. He was confined in the prison at Batu Tiga.

Two weeks later Suluk Island was visited by about twenty Japanese soldiers and native policemen. They went ashore. The Japanese machine-gunned the inhabitants, setting fire to all the houses on the island. Some of the men were shot as they came running out of their houses. Others on the island put up a show of fight against the Japanese and wounded a few of them. The Japanese soon overcame this resistance and killed or captured all the men whom they could find.

According to the version given later by one of the widows who was present at the time, about thirty Japanese went ashore accompanied by about twenty native police. Her number may be on the high side. Of one hundred and fourteen people living on Suluk Island, fifty-four were killed and sixty survived. Thirty women and children were removed to Bangawan and of these twenty-five died from malnutrition and ill treatment.

At Udar island, opposite the Menggatal river, about twelve Japanese and six native police went ashore and the Japanese carried out a similar massacre. Of the sixty-four people on the island, twenty-nine were killed and thirty-five survived. Of these, fifteen women and children were sent to Bangawan to work in the rice fields.

At Danawan Island all the males were arrested and taken to the prison at Batu Tiga. After a few days detention and enquiry they were taken back to Danawan island where they were executed by machine-gun fire in the presence of their wives and children.

While the men were being massacred on the various islands, the women were rounded up to work in the rice fields. About half of them were taken away from the islands to the mainland. There, some of the women were imprisoned and some were sent to Bangawan and other places to work in the fields. Few of these survived to tell the tale of their brutal treatment. Many were pricked in the womb until they died.

Of the men and women of the islands who were put in prison, two hundred and eightynine are said to have perished. Many died of sickness or of exposure to the sun. Many others were beaten to death. About one hundred of them perished on 21st January 1944 in the massacre of prisoners at Mile 5 along the railway line near Petagas Bridge where they were put to death by machine-gun fire.

Three of them were slashed to death at the door of the prison by sword cuts when endeavouring to resist the escort. The native chief of the islands, Orang Tuah Panglima Ali, was amongst those executed at Petagas.

These reprisals were made by Japanese officers and

soldiers themselves. The War Crimes Investigation officers found in fact that although the Japanese had taken native police, including some members of the Armed Constabulary, to these islands, the Japanese had not allowed these men to witness any of the massacres. These men had been sent to another part of the island out of sight. A statement made to the contrary was proved to be quite untrue.

These reprisals made by the Japanese against the inhabitants of the islands in and near to Jesselton Harbour occurred soon after the revolt of the Double Tenth. The fate of the inhabitants of the Mantanani Islands was postponed till later.

The Mantanani people were under suspicion of having kept communication open between the Sulu Islands and the west coast, for they are Sulu people. The Japanese had long wished to post a garrison on the islands, but their methods of press-ganging had failed and five months after the revolt of the Double Tenth the Japanese resolved their problem by the wholesale massacre of every male islander at Mantanani, and many of the women and children. In February 1944, four months after the revolt of the Double Tenth, a party of twenty-four Japanese soldiers and thirteen military police went to the Mantanani Islands and ordered all the islanders to assemble at the main village for interrogation. Launches and boats prevented any escape by sea. During the long enquiry, a Sulu was killed by the Japanese and the rest attempted to

escape in alarm. Fifty-eight Sulus were caught. Their hands and feet were bound and they were taken to Jesselton. At Jesselton they were beaten and given the water torture. Faggots were applied to their bodies and their hair was set alight. Many died as a consequence of this treatment.

A few of the islanders had escaped arrest on the first visit, so the same Japanese officers and some of the same military police formed another party to visit the islands again. As before, they took soldiers with them. This time they landed on the south shore and were met with opposition. The Japanese were in three parties for the purpose of search and one of these parties was attacked. They retaliated against the Sulus, some of whom they killed.

Others took cover in the jungle on the island. The Japanese machine-gunned the edges of the forest, and then they turned the machine guns on the women and children who were gathered in the open. Some of the Japanese ended the lives of those who were wounded by shooting them with their pistols.

They collected a further twenty or thirty women and children, and after removing their jewellery and money strung them together on a rope. The ends of the rope were fastened to the posts of the Mosque and the whole string of people was mown down with machine-gun fire. About eighty persons were killed that day.

The Japanese officers responsible for this massacre were put on trial in Singapore in July 1946. The lieutenant in charge and the sergeant were both sentenced to death and were executed by hanging. Others implicated received long sentences of imprisonment.

Suluk Island, whose fate has already been described, is conveniently close to Jesselton and was an example of a community where no adult males lived. Only women and children were living on the island when the British landed there in 1945. All the adult males had been killed. The boys were spared and the eldest an eleven-year-old became the headman. At sixteen years of age he was still headman. The island received some celebrity in the world press as being a place where there were no men—a place of women's dreams. It is a kind of Eve's garden of Eden without an Adam. It is also free of any serpents.

The Japanese authorities made some efforts to assess the degree of complicity of their prisoners in the revolt and to review the sentences of their military court. Japanese legal officers in military uniform attended all the trials and staff officers reviewed the sentences. For instance; Mr. Wong's sentence of death for his complicity was reviewed by a legal officer and reduced to three years imprisonment and later to six months, because of the lack of evidence, and again later to three months and a fine of $1,000. He was released in January 1945. Orang Kaya Kaya Hassan, Musa and two headmen of Karambunian, sentenced to

death, were reprieved. They with sixty others had been lodged in the condemned cells in Jesselton for a while.

Men under sentence of death carried a red card in their pocket giving particulars of name, supposed offence and sentence, while the others carried a black card. On this occasion these men, about six in all, were removed from the death cell and confined elsewhere. From their new cell they heard that same night the screams of the others under sentence of death, when they were roughly handled, bound and dragged out to execution.

The Japanese method of beheading was in one or other of two ways. In the first way the victim would be forced to kneel down with his head bowed. His head was then struck off. Sometimes *Jikidan* were ordered to strike the blow, but they were not expert. At Sandakan during a round-up of people on one of the islands, a Chinese girl was forced upon her knees and one of the *Jikidan*, who had been sitting on a log, rose and with his *parang* struck her a blow across the neck. He thought he had killed her, but she lived and eventually appeared in Court as a witness against him and others on a charge of murder. He was hanged.

In the second method of beheading, the victim was bound with his hands behind his back and stood up. The Japanese executioner, often an officer proud of his skill, made a short harangue to the people assembled and

swinging the double-handed sword in a circular sweep struck off the head with a blow.

A third method of execution, which is not decapitation, was to split the victim's head downwards with a sword blade. The Japanese swords were heavy and the handles were long, so that the swords were wielded with both hands.

When several prisoners were to be beheaded at one time a large trench was dug. The prisoners were led out in single file with their hands tied behind their backs. As each approached the edge of the trench in turn, he was caused to kneel with bowed head which was then struck off. Both head and body were kicked down into the trench.

In September 1945 after the arrival of British officers the mortality amongst the civil population during the reign of the Japanese terror was assessed. It was heavy. It was agreed that beheading, machine-gunning and torture had caused one thousand deaths, 4% of the population in the area of the revolt. Starvation, sickness and oppression had caused three thousand deaths, 12% of the population, making a total loss of about 16% of the population. There were about 25,000 persons living in the Jesselton, Tuaran and Kota Belud coastal areas.

The cruelties inflicted on the civilian population were contrary to the laws and usages of war. They were con-

trary to the international convention concerning the laws and customs of war on land, which was signed at the Hague in 1907 by nearly all the nations including Japan. It was not permissible for the enemy to work his will, altering the existing form of government, upsetting the constitution and the laws, and ignoring the rights of the people. Reprisals are allowable as an extreme measure, but they may not be excessive.

The Japanese reaped the whirlwind. Many hundreds of Japanese officers and other ranks were subsequently brought to trial and convicted. Their punishment included death by hanging, death by shooting or imprisonment for terms extending to life.

Many lived to regret that they had ever come to Borneo.

CHAPTER IV

WAS IT WORTH WHILE?

THE JAPANESE, who were never very sure of their ground, showed manifest uneasiness at the behaviour of the population. They looked upon it as an obstacle to their hopes of establishing a co-prosperity sphere and it increased their nervousness.

The Japanese made much of the Double Tenth revolt, and in addition to the large number of proclamations, they issued a book of two or three hundred quarto pages. It described the whole affair in Chinese script, which is also used by Japanese, so that it could be read by both races. At least one copy existed in Jesselton when the allies arrived, and Mr. Wong Yun Chin, who had preserved it, says that he lent it to an Australian Intelligence Officer after the arrival of the allies. The officer at the time promised to return it, but he soon moved elsewhere and the owner has not recovered his book in spite of many enquiries. Therein the whole matter was set out fully from the Japanese point of view.

The Japanese treated the matter most seriously and though they tried afterwards in their own way to pacify the inhabitants of the territories, they would grant no mercy

or pardon to those who had taken part in the revolt. These were ruthlessly hunted down, together with all those who sheltered them. This showed how seriously the Japanese looked upon it.

The Japanese ascribed the outbreak to communism. In a Japanese document dated December 1943, the following record was found:—

> "On 9th October Chinese communists incited residents in the Jesselton area resulting in the deaths of Japanese, Chinese and local inhabitants. The Japanese army immediately intervened to quell the riot, but though the rioters were ordered to desist, no heed was taken. Whereupon aircraft were used to bomb them and one whole village was demolished. Several rioters were arrested. The above incident may be attributed to the lack of understanding of our army administration by local inhabitants."

A Japanese account of the rising said:—

> "About forty Japanese children, women and officials were killed, including twenty of the army administration officers and twenty of the commercial classes. About three hundred natives and Chinese were arrested and tried by courts martial in March 1944."

Japanese men, women and children are included in

this total of killed but the figure is generally agreed to be on the low side. Chinese and others, who were present in Jesselton at the time, set the figure at from fifty to sixty Japanese deaths in all. The outbreak was not caused by communist sympathies. Chinese nationalism played its part, but chiefly it was the hatred felt for the Japanese by the Chinese and the Sulu people. This the Japanese would never admit in public and they used communism as a convenient explanation for all disturbing events of this kind.

Some of the harsh criticism, which the leaders of the revolt have suffered, is framed in general words. It has been said that the revolt was a desperate effort obviously foredoomed to failure, which had no other effect than to make the invaders throughout North Borneo and Sarawak extremely nervous and suspicious, and so aggravated the situation.

Another interpretation of those words would suggest that the revolt achieved a most valuable effect if indeed it rendered the invaders nervous and suspicious. Do the critics wish the invaders to have remained confident and secure?

Another critic has said that the guerrilla war was sheer idiocy, but then all war is idiotic. A forlorn hope often wins. Lieutenant Kwok showed contempt of overwhelming odds, but that does not necessarily imply that the

guerrilla warfare was foredoomed to failure.

Lieutenant Kwok had two spurs to action. His contact with the Philippines and the conscription hanging over the people. The revolt could not be long delayed. At any moment the Japanese might get enough information to enable them to act first. The long months were passing and the economic position became steadily worse. What had to be done must be done without loss of time. Negotiations were useless. To ask the Japanese to change their hearts was to ask a leopard to change his spots. There was no alternative to immediate and precipitate action if a solution of this mortal problem of the conscription of the Chinese youths and girls was to be resolved. The danger was pressing. Would a display of tact, patience and forbearance have been of the slightest use?

Lieutenant Kwok had some conception of the difficulties and risks he undertook. He determined no longer to watch and wait but to bring matters to a head. What was required then, as always in any real emergency, is someone who will take up the cudgels and correct the wrong there on the spot. Bold initiative and timely assistance might work wonders. The alternative was to remain dumb and silent, to say and do nothing, and continue to bow the knee to the house of Nippon. It was preferable to make a stand against further enslavement whatever the consequence might be.

Lieutenant Kwok, who had journeyed extensively under the eyes of the Japanese, must have known that he and his Guerrillas had no chance of dominating the country and confronting the garrison of 25,000 Japanese troops who were stationed in various parts of British Borneo. His intention rather was to kindle a flame which would spread. The smouldering fire could be fanned into a flare when the allies approached, but fate showed that he was not to be the man of destiny. He was forced to act too soon. It is a mistake to assume that he organised his assault without reference to the interests of the people. He chose a sharp initial thrust as the better plan, rather than a slow cautious start, which could be easily countered. The thrust was more likely to be effective than slow caution.

Whether Lieutenant Kwok could have resisted the enslavement of three thousand youths and the prostitution of the girls by any other means than warfare is a matter for discussion, but it is difficult to see what other method lay open to him. He must have been conscious of the futility of trying to prevent the Japanese by peaceful persuasion from carrying out their policy of conscripting the Chinese. The Japanese were not likely to relax their demand. Armed resistance alone would defeat the policy. Assistance might arrive from abroad. The risk had to be faced and was preferable to grinding poverty and degrading service. Action would speak louder than words.

It is not for us to pass judgement with inadequate

knowledge of the circumstances on a decision made by a brave and tragic figure, who remained a loyal friend after the failure of British protection. The need for such a decision may be regretted, but the decision itself cannot be condemned. His experience had confirmed his determination and his confidence that the west coast could follow the example set by Tawi-Tawi.

There were of course, as always, two or more factions. The Guerrillas were animated by the spirit of attack and paid little attention to the cost. They knew the risk, and would not count the price. There were others who sought to avoid the toil and the hardships of the guerrilla war to which Lieutenant Kwok and his officers would urge them. These others would be content to accept life under the invaders, would seek peace and quietude, and would do nothing to stir the Japanese conquerors to further cruelty and severity. They would regard all action as ill-timed interference. They would submit to everything even when destined to become vassals, pusillanimous and subservient. They would have watched three thousand of their youths conscripted to the service of the Japanese and would have endured oppression and prostitution without active protest.

Mr. Winston Churchill himself had to face some of this pusillanimity in England during the early stages of the war. He sums it up in his first volume of his history of the war. There were people who said to him: 'Don't

be unkind to the enemy. You will only make him angry.' Critics who voice opinions of this sort stand self-confessed.

The contrasting opinions proceed from different points of view, and recourse to force does not appeal to everybody. If there were internal dissensions among them, the Chinese did not obtrude their differences of opinion upon the public.

Whatever may have been the differences of opinion, history for thousands of years has shown that intrepid courage is the foundation of victory. The world had need of courage and the Kinabalu Guerrillas showed that they had their share of that virtue. Hatred of foreign invaders will always rouse bold men who are not afraid to die for their homes and ideals. It was the same here. The fight required energy and courage, but there were men ready to face it. Some sentiment and enthusiasm there may have been, but the men took a sensible view of the first stages and of the assault.

Although the movement was supported by a number of people scattered over the area from Kota Belud to Membakut it was not popular throughout the country. The operation was confined to a small piece of country lying between Kota Belud and Jesselton and the Membakut contingents never came into action. The Guerrillas, after the assault on Jesselton, went underground within even narrower limits and never went beyond Temparuli and

Penampang. This field of action was too circumscribed: a much wider horizon was needed to achieve success. The reason has been given. The Guerrillas had to keep in touch with the coast to meet the expected reinforcements. Except for this essential, the activities could have been more widespread and the Guerrillas could have taken to the distant valleys and remote mountain ranges which in the past had proved a happy hunting ground, and a place of refuge for men who had nursed a quarrel with the government of their day. The mountainous country is ideally suited for guerrilla tactics and in those deserted areas the Kinabalu Guerrillas might have defied all attempts of the Japanese to disperse them. There are no roads and the paths through the ranges can only be traversed on foot.

The leaders thought that with American assistance they were on the eve of deliverance. They knew that there would be a long fight ahead of them, but felt that the chances were good enough to take the risk. Dangers and difficulties must be taken as part of the first hectic hour of attack and of the long resistance to follow.

There can be little cause for wonder if they decided that salvation would come from the east and not the west. They looked towards America, Australia and the Philippines, rightly as events proved. It is a mistake to underrate the feeling of bitterness towards their past experiences. The Chinese had helped their own country's war against Japan by making contributions since 1936. They had seen the

British hand North Borneo over to the enemy without any attempt at resistance. Singapore had proved a broken reed. They were living in the hands of the enemy. It is necessary for a man to work to live, but it may be quite as necessary for a man to find relief in action of another kind.

To hinder and hamper, to annoy and vex the enemy, was what every loyal citizen could do. Let nothing be easy for the enemy and let everything go wrong that could go wrong. That was a policy that could be put into practice in different ways by thousands of people. Warfare of a sort was the only way and it must at least be tried.

The Double Tenth revolt had considerable effect and like a stone thrown into a pond the ripples extended to the edge.

From that date the Japanese abandoned all attempts to coerce the Chinese people on the west coast and they did not go on with their plan to draft three thousand men for service with the Japanese army. Instead the Japanese recruited as many others as they could to serve as police and not as soldiers. They found them to be far more amenable to what they called the co-prosperity of Asia than the Chinese ever were.

The Chinese and native girls for the most part remained unmolested, while girls of foreign races from overseas were selected to serve the brothels. The revolt saved

thousands of Chinese and Borneo women from degradation.

Another effect of the revolt was that the Japanese were forced to recruit their labour elsewhere. After the revolt the Japanese professed an urgent wish to live on better terms with the people and imported labourers from Java into Borneo to relieve people of enforced labour for the Japanese army.

Up to 1943 the Chinese were constantly herded together to supply labour for all sorts of public works, including the clearing of airstrips, the construction and repair of roads, and the erection of barracks, but afterwards they were comparatively free of heavy labour tasks.

The native population also seems to have escaped the worst forms of conscription for labour. Many cases of hardship were incurred in the earlier days when people were conscripted for heavy tasks on the airstrips, but these lessened in time.

The competence and industry of the Chinese artisans is recognized by all, but these benefits were thenceforth denied to the Japanese. Lieutenant Kwok effectively disposed of any intentions which they held in that direction. The Japanese realised that they could not rely upon these workmen and instead they recruited many thousands of Javanese from overseas to labour in their stead.

About three thousand Javanese were brought in by sea to fill the gap in the North Borneo labour contingents and these men carried out most of the public works. The Javanese mandore who was in charge of some of these labourers and who had worked in better days for British, Dutch and French employers in various territories was a man of experience. He said that about nine thousand Javanese labourers in all had been imported into North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak by the Japanese, but of this large force only one thousand five hundred survived.

So the working classes of the territory were saved from the fate of these unhappy people from overseas, and the thousands of Indonesians imported from overseas carried out the heaviest tasks which would have been exacted from local inhabitants.

Early in 1943 the Japanese made a show of collecting taxes. Land rents were paid and a poll tax of six dollars a head was collected from every male, including the Chinese who were not subject by law to the poll tax customarily paid by the natives. Never again after the Double Tenth revolt did the Japanese attempt to collect taxes either by way of rent, poll or other tax from anybody.

By forcing the Japanese to give up their efforts to coerce the population into some form of conscription, either for military service or for labour, and the cancellation of all taxes, the revolt caused changes in the condition of the

people, with the result that the Japanese learned that there was a limit beyond which they dared not go, and that there must be some lessening of the coercion of the inhabitants. They learned that some people would not stand being bullied without hitting back.

The revolt led to movements of Japanese troops. The garrison was maintained at about 25,000 men, relieving pressure in Burma or elsewhere, and the general in command of the Japanese troops in Borneo moved his headquarters from Kuching to Jesselton and later to Sapong to await developments.

Over and above all the revolt showed that the spirit of the people was yet alive and that it lived for the coming of the allies.

The Kinabalu Guerrillas were the only underground movement in the west coast at the time and their failure therefore did not disrupt others. On the contrary, it encouraged the formation of other bands.

The Kinabalu Guerrillas fought their last skirmish in Penampang about the middle of December, but that was not by any means the end of guerrilla warfare on the west coast. It ignited the spark of rebellion and others fanned the flame. The Japanese took a long time to settle down and the Japanese hive was still buzzing in March and April, six months after the Double Tenth. Their police officials

were still addressing the people and calling for police assistance. In spite of Japanese efforts the underground movement went on, and about June 1944 the west coast bandits got to work in earnest on the Japanese.

The Japanese looked upon the Kinabalu Guerrillas as communists, but they looked upon their successors as bandits. They admitted that there were a considerable number of casualties amongst the troops as a result of bandit activities. From June 1944 to June 1945 when the allies landed on the west coast the Japanese position steadily deteriorated. The natives took an increasing share in harassing them.

Even in peaceful Penampang, where the Kinabalu Guerrillas ended their warfare, there was continued fighting. The example set by Lieutenant Kwok's men was followed by others. The conditions changed in favour of the bandits during the next rice harvest when the Japanese had to visit the rice growing valleys of Penampang and Putatan for food. That was the bandits opportunity. The Japanese entered the valleys, requisitioned rice, and collected carriers to carry it out. The carriers, escorted by troops, scattered when the bandits attacked. Ambushes were set. Small parties of Japanese were cut off and the name Penampang became notorious amongst them. Penampang remained a vexatious thorn in the flesh of the Japanese to the end.

The field of guerrilla warfare widened and spread to the interior. By December 1944 Japan's General Baba had established his headquarters at Sapong Estate with about 3,000 troops in Tenom and Keningau and another 3,000 on the west coast. The bandits continued to exact their retribution and Ex-Chief Inspector Duallis formerly of the Armed Constabulary rose brilliantly to the occasion and attacked Japan's General Baba on his own doorstep.

Duallis, a Murut of Tomani, began life as an orderly in the Resident's office in Tenom and early distinguished himself by chasing a renegade Murut carrier, who had stolen a bottle of the Resident's whisky. He did not ask for leave of absence when he vanished in pursuit. He tracked that carrier for three days, ran him to ground, and in the battle for the bottle slew the thief and brought both the whisky bottle and the carrier's head to the Resident. The bottle was then of course only half full.

Duallis joined the Armed Constabulary and rose to the rank of Chief Inspector, but he never entirely gave up his practice of taking heads. He would brave any danger to get a head. He was a success in any field that needed resourcefulness.

In retirement he began his guerrilla war and ranged the districts of Rundum, Tenom and Talangkai. Lines of Japanese communications were interrupted, reconnaissance

parties were attacked and goods-dumps were plundered. He had a gift for scenting out the Japanese.

Duallis' methods were typical of the Murut headhunter. He never played the game the same way twice. He made the fullest use of cunning and his weapons were little better than fang and claw. His ingenuity was wonderful. Once the Japanese sent out a reconnaissance party to march from Sapong to Rundum and Pensiangan. About thirty soldiers went and engaged thirty Murut carriers. The outward journey would be about one hundred and twenty miles and would take about a week. Ex-Chief Inspector Duallis saw an opportunity and was quickly on the war-path.

At Kamabong Duallis secretly contacted the Murut carriers and joined the party. They travelled in single file. One of the pleasing features of the Muruts is to put strangers and visitors to tests of skill, and Duallis encouraged this. At recognized halting places on the paths, shadow boxing, single stick fencing, and games and sports were practised. The Japanese entered into the fun. During the march songs were sung. Running with their loads upon their backs the Muruts set the Japanese running too. The Muruts had nothing more than a short parang each, while the Japanese carried rifles and swords. At last Duallis got the long line into the order which he wished. Running and racing had separated the Japanese. They were divided into groups of two or three, separated by the

Murut carriers in between. Suddenly the attack began. Not a single Japanese soldier survived. Duallis killed in his own style, taking cover behind a tree and shouting his name for all to hear. In all, Duallis accounted for about seventy Japanese. He was a worthy successor to the Kinabalu Guerrillas. These spirited forms of attack received much encouragement from the sight of the planes overhead and the knowledge that the allies would soon land.

The Japanese dumps, patrols, and stores were being attacked all over the west coast on an ever increasing scale from early in 1944.

Murut people without the excitement of battle or the chase lose some of their alertness and vitality, and their new energies were a tonic to them. They continued their killings until the end when the death march of the Japanese from Pensiangan to Keningau showed Murut mastery in jungle warfare. A Murut, like some others, never forgets and he remembered how the Japanese had stolen his food.

The Murut warfare culminated in October 1945 when the Japanese soldiers left Pensiangan to march northwards to surrender to the Australians. They marched fully armed. By this time the Muruts were masters of the route, which extended for two hundred miles from Pensiangan to Beaufort. No one will ever know how many Japanese perished on the way. What is known is the condition of

the survivors who reached the camps on the railway sidings. The camp at Saliwangan, mile 64, another at mile 66, and a third at Halogilat, mile 69, were at the end of the chain of rest camps extending from Pensiangan. Dead and dying spread out the whole way. These rest camps were at the Beaufort end of the long march and they could house about four hundred survivors at a time. When they surrendered, the survivors were suffering from wounds, exhaustion and all forms of tropical disease. It was a death march of Japanese.

The Kinabalu Guerrillas were the first, but not the last wagers of jungle warfare. They began it, and others ended it. The sequence was almost continuous from start to finish. It was they who first revived the out-of-date practice of headhunting, and the Muruts were quick to revert to the old pastime. It was a revival of an old custom, and the allies themselves appreciated the merits of the old custom when they set the loyalists on the war path again. They needed no teaching, except in the handling of modern weapons.

Not even the Volunteers who have survived the occupation have regretted the Double Tenth, though they feel that they have a grievance. A tardy award of a Defence Medal was made late in 1948, and there was small, if any, expression of thanks. The widows of those outside government service who died received no pensions and, when destitute, were treated as deserving poor and

received doles from public charity. The Volunteers and their relatives deserved better treatment than this.

Articles and correspondence in the press in North Borneo and in Singapore expressed public dissatisfaction with the treatment of the Volunteers, and the government of the colony made a tardy offer of three months pay and allowances to all former members or to the dependants of those who had died.

Their real reward is the appreciation of the people of the country, who realize that the volunteers never shirked their responsibility and did their utmost, when opportunity arose, to prevent their friends and fellow citizens from being forced into the service of the Japanese. Their sacrifice was great. The benefit they conferred on their fellow citizens was great also, and their memory will live in the gallant episodes of their guerrilla warfare.

The deaths of thousands of citizens loyal to the allied cause will not be forgotten. The prodigality of life is understood in these days. The revenge of the Japanese was swift and relentless, and the carnage at Petagas was part of their counterstroke.

The history of this revolt may awake unhappy memories, but it was the spirit behind it which mattered, and without that spirit the people would have signed their own death warrants.

Years have passed since the events described in this memoir occurred. The names of Albert Kwok and his men are held in greater veneration year by year by the people who enjoy the benefits of the allied victory, for which Albert Kwok and his men sacrificed their lives. Each successive anniversary of the Double Tenth deepens the approval and admiration of those who come after.

Albert Kwok has been raised to the rank of a local hero. It was when he surrendered that he achieved heroism, by learning not to be heroic. Nowadays we do not bestow hero's laurels upon a man unless he has shown the great quality of self-sacrifice, and has striven in the service of some ideal. We do not require him to have pursued the ideal wholly without hope of gain to himself, or without achievement of success, but the less a man appears to be seeking his own personal gain and the more he strives in the service of his ideal, so much the higher do we rate him as a hero. And a hero's activities must have exercised some influence on the public affairs of his day.

Albert Kwok fulfilled these conditions in his brief career as a guerrilla leader. Few men who have lived in Jesselton are the subject of more local celebrity and renown than he.

Nor have the few survivors of his band tried to exploit the reputation they earned by their resistance to the Japanese.

They are modest about it. Many people think that to avoid aggression is everything and that to keep aloof from, and have nothing to do with, agitation and disturbance is an expedient course to take. Submission never won anything. Aggression does not always pay, but there is a mental attitude, which the French call *elan* or *l'audace*, which helps a man to be on top.

The truth is that the door by which people escape from trouble is far more important than the trouble itself. It matters tremendously whether people take the right or the wrong door of escape. Those who urge appeasement of the enemy, and patience under oppression, would seem to be almost too good for this world, where man is born into trouble as the sparks fly upward.

It may even be good for men to get into hot water sometimes. It keeps the hands clean. The spirit of attack helps to cleanse away some of the self-pity and complacency. The right door of escape is not necessarily a door leading to personal safety, but rather a door of opportunity.

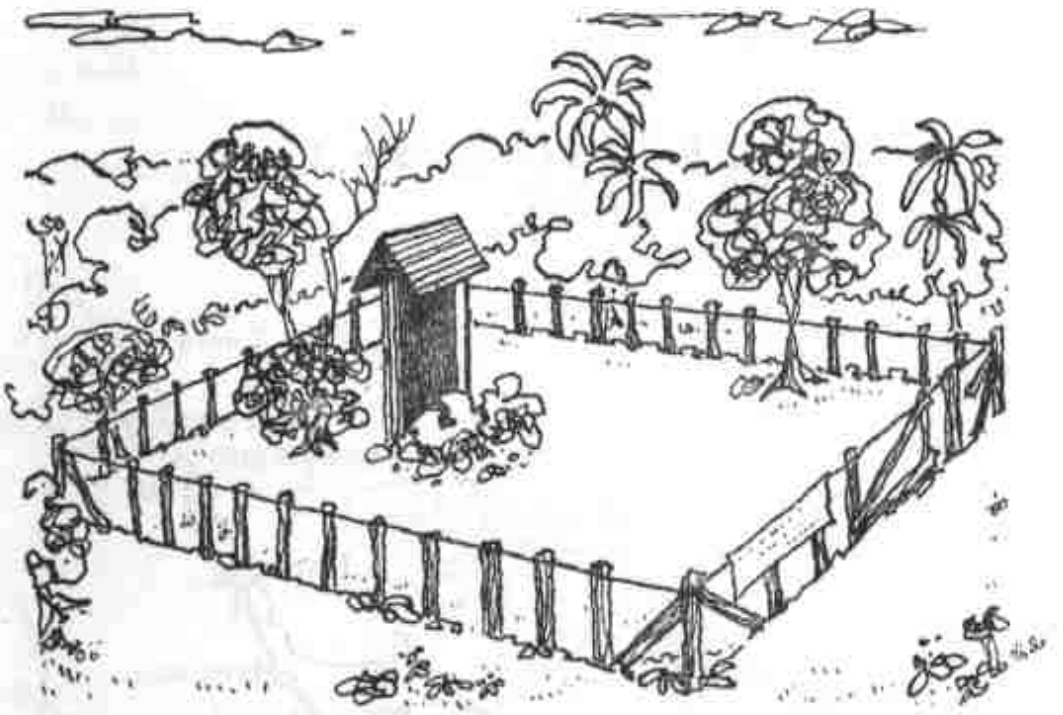
The value of a local hero's memory lies not only in his own achievement, but to an infinitely greater degree, in the inspiration of the example he leaves behind. Difficulties are bracing to the inhabitants of a country which has only just begun its history and can enjoy the resilience of youth.

In the years to come, the memories of the hardships will disappear. In the old age of many of the survivors, the memories of kindnesses done at personal loss, of watchings in danger and sickness, and of desperate endeavour will last and will make for happiness and will quicken a spirit that does not die. History is said to be little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind. It can trace the sequence of events from the time of the coming of the Japanese, through the period of the effort of the officials to administer the country under Japanese domination, to the time of the decision of the Asians to resist. Then the spirit of resistance, once started, flared up again and again, and burned all through from October 1943 to that October two years later when the last of the Japanese had been rounded up into the detention camps at Tanjong Aru and put behind barbed wire. That spirit is surely worth much.

Meanwhile the present generation can make some effort to honour the dead by assisting their living relatives.

The struggles of Lieutenant Kwok and his men are ended and their short warfare is over and done, but they are not forgotten. They rest at Petagas, and though since their day much water has flowed beneath the Petagas Bridge, time in North Borneo passes so slowly that it is easy for a visitor to cast his memory back to 1943 and to those dark days when the country lay under the Japanese heel.

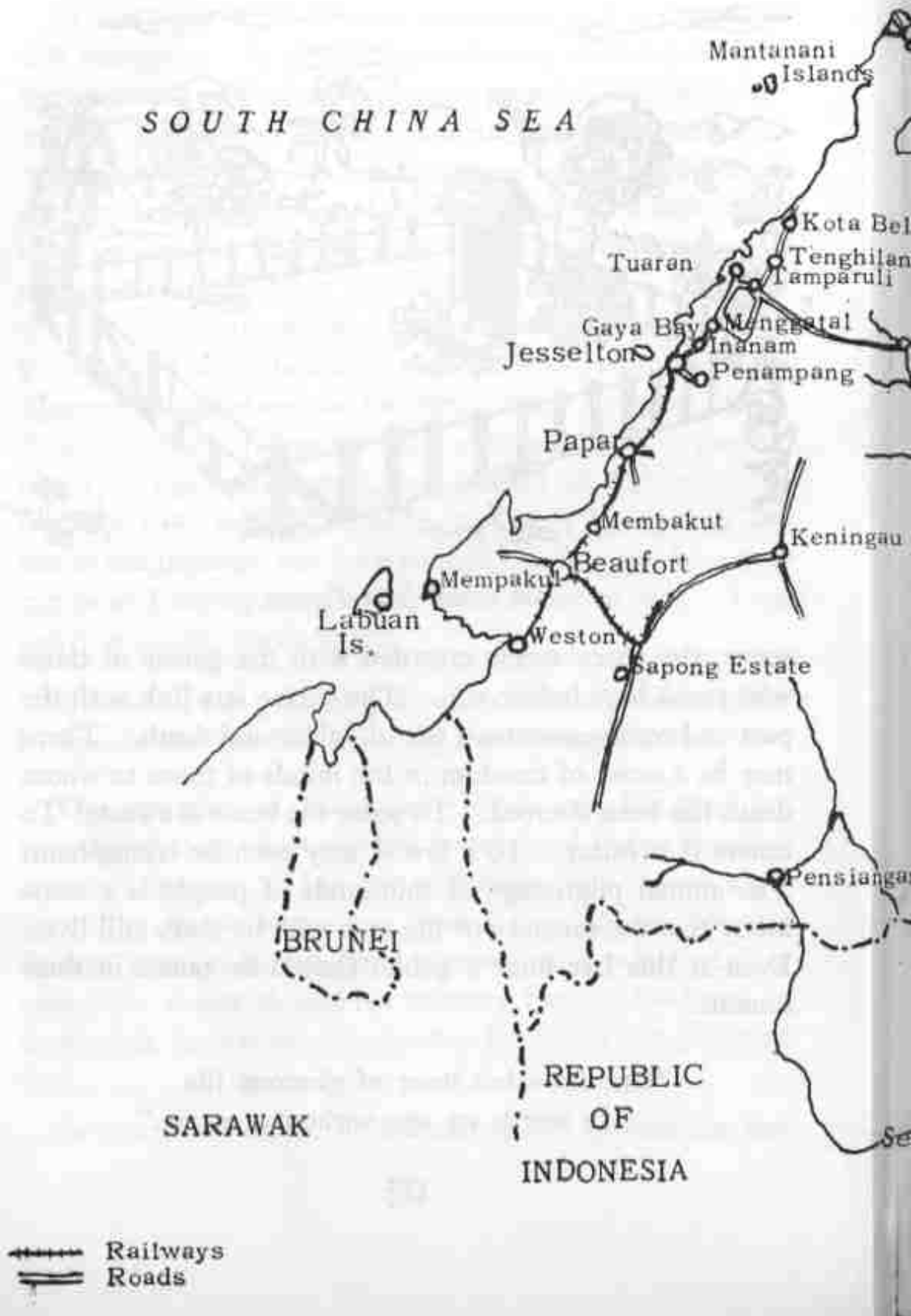
As you stand in the little clearing and picture the last



The cemetery at Petagas

scene, the space seems crowded with the ghosts of those who stood here before you. The shrine is a link with the past and commemorates a tale of valour and death. There may be a sense of freedom in the minds of those to whom death has been decreed. To some the sense is sweet. To others it is bitter. To a few it may even be triumphant. The annual pilgrimage of thousands of people is a testimony that the memory of the men who lie there still lives. Even at this late hour a goblet should be raised in their honour:

"One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name."


Mantanani Islands
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Kota Bel
Tuaran
Tenghilan
Tamparuli
Gaya Bay
Jesselton
Inanam
Penampang
Papar
Membakut
Keningau
Beaufort
Mempakul
Labuan Is.
Weston
Sapong Estate
Pensiangan
BRUNEI
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
SARAWAK
Railways
Roads


Kudat
SULU SEA
lud
Ranau
Sandakan
Tampias
Labuk R.
Tambisan
an
mbakong R.