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From Bullets to Biographies: Informational Interview with Tony Banham Hong Kong War Diary

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Introduction

The rapid growth of Internet technology has led to an incredible change in information dissemination and information communication, providing challenges and opportunities to the construction of digital archives. The Hong Kong War Diary (HKWD) is a born-digital archive of Hong Kong, centering around World War II (WWII). In the following interview, Tony Banham, the founder and maintainer of HKWD, discusses his unique experiences as a writer and research of WWII as well as his understanding of the traumatic war experiences and psychiatric symptoms among WWII veterans.

Could we begin this interview by first introducing yourself, for example, your education background and your professional training? How long have you been working in Hong Kong?

My name is Tony Banham. I have been living here in Hong Kong since 1989, so for over 25 years. My background before coming to Hong Kong was research and development. I previously worked for Shell [Oil Company]¹ and the European Space Agency (ESA).² My original degree was in Computer Science from a British university. I decided to come to Hong Kong when I was traveling soon after I left the ESA. When I visited Hong Kong, I found it fascinating, so I wanted to move here, despite the fact that there were no R&D jobs in Hong Kong in those days. So

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¹ Shell Oil Company – Homepage. Available at: http://www.shell.us/
² European Space Agency (ESA) – Homepage. Available at: http://www.esa.int/ESA
I ended up working for commercial software companies ever since. I am currently working for Oracle in Hong Kong.

*What made you begin this kind of online image database centering on the theme of the wars and other battles that took place in Hong Kong?*

Well, I have been keeping a lot of information online about every single military defender of Hong Kong, as well as other non-Chinese people who fought in these battles during World War II (WWII). My interest in the period started when I was a child, when I was still living in Norfolk, in the UK. I was born 14 years after WWII. In fact, it sometimes feels that the whole county of Norfolk was used for training military forces during WWII, or for air force operations. So when I was a small boy, I was used to walking around these small towns in Norfolk, picking up things like rifle cartridges, or bits and pieces of crashed planes. Over time, I became interested in anything and everything concerning WWII. And as I became older, that gradually developed into a general interest in history. Prior to coming to Hong Kong, I spent some years living and working in both Holland and Italy. When I was there, I studied the wartime campaigns in both countries – Arnhem and Anzio in particular. When I came to HK, I wanted to read about what happened in Hong Kong during WWII. I knew absolutely nothing about that when I first arrived here. So I started reading books concerning Hong Kong during the period. Unfortunately, I couldn’t find any really detailed books, but it struck me that with only 14,000 defenders (and the total number of Japanese attackers perhaps double that) it would be possible to take a much more granular approach and study each individual. That’s really what I set out to do.

For this reason, I started collecting information, and the first thing I thought of doing was visiting local archives. Twenty-five years ago, people in Hong Kong would always tell me, “There’s no chance of finding such information. Everything is simply gone! All the important documents were burnt during the Japanese occupation. All the WWII survivors are now dead.” It was basically very discouraging. But surprisingly, I managed to find quite a number of survivors still living (in Hong Kong and abroad) and I began interviewing them -- gradually making this information available on the Internet for public sharing.

My Hong Kong War Diary (HKWD) website started in either 1999 or 2000. At that time, it was the only historical resource about Hong Kong in WWII available in digital format. The end result was that anyone who used search engines (e.g., Alta Vista in those days, or Google, Yahoo, etc.) to search about “Hong Kong” and “WWII,” would all be automatically directed to my website, Hong Kong War Diary -- because there was almost nothing else available on the Internet at that time.

So ever since then, I have been gradually building up a website with content centring on that theme. Initially, the contents of this website were about the
WWII survivors themselves. But as time goes by, I have managed to find much more information concerning the survivors’ children and their grandchildren as well.

Even more surprisingly, I found that many of the survivors (and their children) have preserved records such as letters, photographs, and an amazing number of diaries written during wartime. And all of these materials were totally unintegrated before, for the reason that every [WWII survivor] family was separated, and there was simply no network for linking or gathering them together. Every piece of material that I found was absolutely unique, and the survivors typically had not donated them to local archives. In a way I was surprised to find that nobody else had done this research in such a comprehensive manner before me, but of course because of the convenience of the Internet, it has become much easier to find people, and link people together, and form networks to encourage the sharing of information. In other words, I managed to unearth a great amount of materials concerning Hong Kong during WWII that was never known to anyone else.

The materials I discovered include a large number of photographs, but mostly text. And when people sent me information about Hong Kong during WWII, they tend to send me images, that is scanned images, though not necessarily photographic works. In fact, many of them are personal letters, photographs of telegrams, and of course, quite a large number of personal diaries as well. So I put all these all materials together, and make them available via my website and books.

In addition, I would also put the names of the individuals online to go with the images. The end result is that when somebody searches the keywords online, they would also be directed automatically to my website – to continue browsing for relevant information or images. And very often when they found something there, they would contact me, asking about their fathers and/or grandfathers. I would answer them, and in return, I would ask, “Do you have more photographs, letters and whatever?” To my initial surprise, almost all people responded positively, and sent me information in a variety of formats.

Despite the fact that there are tens of thousands of images on my website and computer, I have almost no documents or images that are original. Every now and then someone sends me something original, for example, original drawings done by someone who was held at a POW (prisoner of war) camp. But I actually discourage people from doing that because I simply don’t have facilities to handle (preserve) that kind of thing. I know what the Hong Kong climate is like, and it is simply not good for preserving paper-based documents. So even when I get a document like that, I tend to scan it in with high resolution, and then make it available online – as a way to preserve the original documents.
In which year did you actually start this Hong Kong War Diary\(^3\) project? Or did you start the data collection much earlier, but only until recently began to put materials online for sharing?

I started reading about Hong Kong during WWII in the year I arrived - 1989, and I started putting things online in 1999, or 2000, that is about ten years afterwards. Currently, there are about ten websites on Hong Kong in WWII floating around the Internet; many of them are set up by individual amateurs, while some are set up by organizations. None of these are really comprehensive, even those by organizations.

What is so unique about my site? I think it has to do with the fact that I write the monthly updates on my website myself. But these monthly updates come from the emails I receive. So on the website I make my email presence very visible, and I sometimes have email conversations with people months or years. At the end of month, I write up those email conversations with the interesting parts, presenting them in a form of an online blog on my website. But that blog also becomes the index into my emails, so actually I use the emails themselves as the database. Meanwhile, the blogs tell me exactly when I received each piece of information from whom, and on what date. And in total that blog/index is now over 250,000 words and 65,000 emails.

When people send you textual documents to be contributed to your website, are these documents mostly in Chinese, English, or Japanese?

Almost entirely in English, to about 99.99%. Occasionally, I receive a document that includes some Chinese. Some of the guys in the British Forces in those days were Chinese or Eurasians – and they would produce some sort of scrapbooks made during their time spent at the war camps (which could be in Chinese). And a surprising number of regulars and volunteers even though European, spoke Japanese or Chinese. But I have not yet once received anything from a Japanese veteran or the family of a Japanese veteran. In almost all cases, it has been the families of the British garrison, including many Canadians, and of course some of the people who were local Chinese. And occasionally, not very often, families of the Indian parts of the garrison as well. But the numbers of emails I received from the Indian families is probably only 10 or so.

I am sure we have received images and documents of varying nature, format, and complexity donated by a people coming from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. So how do you catalog these materials or provide a theme to them together – so that materials could be presented to the users in a coherent and logical manner?

\(^3\) Hong Kong War Diary – Homepage. Available at: http://www.hongkongwardiary.com/
This could get really complicated. This is exactly the problem, which I faced since day one. What I decided to do was to use my books as the central focus—in order to catalogue the information with a central theme—for presenting specific topics. The first book I wrote was about the battle itself *Not The Slitestest Chance*. The second book was *The Sinking Of The Lisbon Maru*—investigating the 2nd October 1942 sinking of the Japanese vessel *Lisbon Maru* at the hands of SS-214 (*USS Grouper*) off Zhoushan, China. This ship was carrying almost 2,000 British ex-Hong Kong POWs. The reason why I wrote the second book was because so many people contacted me after I wrote the first book as they had ancestors on board the *Lisbon Maru*, and they wanted to learn more about it. In addition, I had contact with more than a dozen survivors who had been on board. Back in 2003 or earlier, there was a window of opportunity that I had to take, when I could still talk to the veterans who had been on board this particular ship. Clearly I had access to all these people and a lot of information that would probably not be available in the future.

The third book, about the POWs (*We Shall Suffer There*), took care of all the other information I gathered about prisoner war camps and prisoners of war. So, that became the next focus for the same reason because in the earlier two books, I made contacts with so many people who had either been prisoners of war, or were the children or grandchildren of prisoners of WWII. When I started focusing on that book, I reached out to all those contacts again and said, “This is what I am focusing on now. Please send me any other information you have about that,” and I have already catalogued what they sent me before.

That became the focus there, and I pulled all that information together into writing that book. The fourth book—still not published—which was my Ph.D. dissertation (*Reduced To A Symbolic Scale*), came again from analyzing conversations I have had, because I noticed early on that a surprising percentage of the emails I received actually came from Australia. Initially, I didn’t realise why, because I was dealing primarily with a British garrison, Canadian forces, and with Hong Kong people. It made sense to get emails from the UK, Canada, and Hong Kong, however, around half of the emails I was getting were from Australia. It took me a while to realise this was all due to the evacuation of British women and children from Hong Kong to Australia in 1940, that is not just women and children of the garrison troops, but the women and children of British society in Hong Kong in general. Most of them were sent against their will to Australia in July 1940, and had not been allowed back so they were unable to return to Hong Kong in the year and a half between July 1940 and the Japanese invasion.

Well, it was actually even worse than that because once the Japanese invaded, they weren’t able to come back until after WWII. What happened was that when France fell in June 1940, the British Government thought that the Japanese would
take over Vietnam and then maybe would attack the other European colonies along the coast as well. They thought Hong Kong was under serious threat. Hence, they decided to pre-emptively evacuate the women and children from the garrison for their own safety. Having evacuated them, although the immediate danger went away, I think that belatedly they just felt it was too risky to let them back, because they thought the Japanese would attack at some point. If they let them back, then of course they would be blamed.

There had been other evacuations in China before. The British population in Shanghai evacuated to Hong Kong in 1937, but then they drifted back because they knew the danger had gone. The British women and children who had been kicked out wanted to come back, but after the Japanese took over Hong Kong in 1941 it was no longer possible.

**Why did the British not choose to return to UK?**

Some of the evacuated British did return to the UK, but a lot of them just kept waiting and waiting and waiting. After December 1941, at that point, some of them decided to go back to the UK, but many of them decided to stay in Australia, so that became the focus of my fourth book, *Reduced to a Symbolical Scale*.

**You have collected a large number of images depicting Hong Kong during WWII. The images you have collected, after putting them together, do they give you some sort of account describing the social and living conditions of Hong Kong and its neighbors, such as Macau and Guangzhou during war times?**

Well, it is rather difficult to say because there is a black hole in the records. These were the very dark times. The records and documents I have are primarily up to 8th December, 1941, and then they start again in August 1945. In other words, there is a four-year gap in my collection. The period between 1941 and 1945 -- that middle bit is the most interesting part, because all I have for that little bit and pieces from the newspapers and personal letters to and from prisoners of WWII. And by the way, very few letters got through during the war years, so every soldier probably sent and received just a dozen of letters or so. However, these war diaries of prisoners don’t really tell you much about the ordinary life in Hong Kong during that period. They just tell you about the prisoners of WWII. It is such a very interesting point, because I don’t think anybody has done any high-quality research [in English] to date about Hong Kong itself during WWII, though Philip Snow’s book is good. What I have collected is very incomplete.

**Are there any online Chinese resources out there documenting Hong Kong during WWII?**

Maybe there are some Chinese ones that I am not aware of, and that could be true.
But I have asked some of my Chinese friends in Hong Kong, “How many people do you think died in Hong Kong during WWII?” They simply have no idea. My calculation, and I think it’s conservative, is between 215,000 and 250,000 ordinary Hong Kong citizens perished during WWII, and yet there is no monument dedicated to their deaths, which I think is very disappointing. I mean Singapore has their own monument dedicated to Singaporean civilians lost in WWII, but there is nothing in Hong Kong -- so clearly, it was a very bad period. People starved and the Japanese wanted to get rid of the local Chinese population, because they were considered just a major burden for them. Because the Japanese army had to feed the Chinese civilians in Hong Kong, as well as to keep them in order:

The war against Japan was a war of attrition, so there was minimal shipping for bringing food into Hong Kong, so the Japanese simply wanted to clear Hong Kong of its civil population. But the main focus of my research is on the non-Chinese people in Hong Kong during WWII, so I don’t have a credible mass of information about the local civilians.

*Comparing Hong Kong against Nanjing, do you think one could locate a lot more information on Nanjing during the Japanese occupation and its massacre?*

Well, I’m not sure that is possible, because if you look at the actual documentation about the attack on Nanjing and the subsequent massacre, there isn’t a huge amount either. Iris [Chang] wrote that book, *The Rape of Nanjing*, but if you look at her [primary] source materials, they are not that impressive. There were quite a few photographs taken, and there were accounts from some Americans and Europeans who were in the city of Nanjing at the time but honestly speaking, there is not a huge amount of primary materials that I have come across. Some of the Japanese people involved in the massacre have written about it more recently, but then not a huge amount of information (I mean primary sources). Again, there could be more in Chinese, but I don’t know if there was any programmatic attempt to garner oral histories or other information on the massacre.

*Who are the majority of users of your Hong Kong War Diary website?*

I can tell you, approximately 95% of the visitors to my website are people doing research on family history. They want to know what their fathers and grandfathers did, and what they went through during WWII. From day one, the most common email I receive says something like: “My father just passed away. He never spoke about WWII. Can you please tell me what he went through?” And that is interesting because so many of the veterans couldn’t talk about their experiences afterwards because it was so traumatic. But they didn’t mind talking to me, because there was no emotional connection.
They did not call it post-traumatic stress disorder in those days, but that was what they were all suffering from. I remember interviewing one particular old British gentleman who came over to Hong Kong, and I said to him at one point in our conversation, “Of all the veterans I have spoken to, you seem to be the only one who came out of it without any sort of mental problems.” And he said, “Yeah, I never had any mental problems apart from my nervous breakdown!” So even he had suffered a nervous breakdown. A lot of the WWII veterans did suffer from the same tragic fate.

Typically, when these veterans got to their 50s and 60s, nightmares about what they went through during WWII would gradually come back.

*Was this British gentleman also a prisoner of war?*

Yes, he was a prisoner. Almost all of them were POWs. I discovered that most war prisoners would suffer mentally from what happened, and this led to a lot of relationship issues. Marriages broke down, some committed suicide; children were often brought up in broken households.

Having gone through such traumatic experiences simply made having healthy relationships with their loved ones challenging. Well, nightmares were one thing. Again, so many children of these WWII survivors have asked me quite directly, “Why did my father wake up screaming every night?”

Many of these people who were once war prisoners started drinking heavily. As I said, suicides, if people got to about the age of 60, there was a rash of suicides -- absolutely typical of PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder) -- just as you see today, with young soldiers coming back from Afghanistan. Except in those days, initially at least, it wasn’t really treated or recognized as a specific identifiable problem.

What have I learned from it? Well, my initial interest was pretty much walking up in the hills, picking up bullets, and then I started talking with veterans and I found them very interesting. My focus these days is much more about the families of the WWII survivors, and what these families went through. I suppose that is because I am getting older, and my children are growing up, and I am therefore able to see it from a different perspective. This is also the reasons behind my fourth book, because the evacuation of British families from Hong Kong during WWII, that is a story about families. And again, at the end of evacuation, many of those families did not get back together, or did but then ended in divorce soon after facing such harsh political and social realities of disruptive change.

*There is another website out there called Gwulo: Old Hong Kong, set up by another British expatriate living in Hong Kong. The website is also known*
for having a large collection of images describing what the old Hong Kong looked like during the colonial era. Could you tell us how is the Hong Kong War Diary (HKWD) different from the Gwulo website? In addition, the users of your HKWD website, are they similar to the ones using Gwulo: Old Hong Kong, in terms of their content coverage and use groups?

I would say that Gwulo.com (which is very good) is much broader in terms of subject contents, one part of which is covering Hong Kong during wartime. The major difference I would say is that Gwulo.com collects information, but they do not necessarily disseminate information the same way I do, through books collating information around specific topics.

*How can you disseminate information via your Hong Kong War Diary website?*

Because people would send me emails asking about what happened to their fathers during WWII. And I would write back to them with at least a few paragraphs, saying this is where he was -- this is where he was during fighting -- this is where he was wounded -- this is where he was captured -- this is when he got back to UK. And whatever they send me, in return, I archive in case it can answer questions from other people.

*Are you saying that you work is very much similar to an information provider working under a voluntary basis?*

Pretty much so. As least I try to be so.

*Would you say your work in very much similar to that of a reference services librarian?*

Well, in a way, yes. But really it is a trade. Because when somebody asks me a question, I would then send them back two or three paragraphs telling them what they wanted to know. And then I would say, by the way, do you have any photographs? Do you have any letters written by your father during that particular period of time? And they would gladly give them to me if they have any. So the reference service I provide is very much a living and growing one.

Setting up an online platform for information exchange and sharing is how Hong Kong War Diary website works in practice. In some cases, putting families together, because sometimes, somebody will contact me asking me about their father, and I will reply saying (for example) “By the way, I had the same question from your brother.” And sometimes they reply: “I have not seen my brother for many years. So could you put him back to touch?” I was really surprised the first time that happened.
In one case I had an email from Australia from a lady saying, “My father just passed away, can you tell what happened to him?” So I wrote back, copying the same information I had sent her brother from the UK a year earlier. And she wrote back saying, “But I don't have a brother.” And it turned out that her father had been married in pre-war UK. After WWII was over, because of the trauma of his experience, he couldn’t go back to the UK. He couldn’t face going back. So he went to Australia, and started a new family. The two families didn't know each other existed. I put the two in touch, and the following year, all the Australian members of his family went to England to meet each their ‘new’ relatives. And that worked out well. It doesn’t always work out quite nicely, but that particular case was very satisfying.

All the work that you have been doing for the Hong Kong War Diary project, are you doing it as a serious hobby / pursuit? Or all these are meant to be the background work for supporting the research of your final Ph.D. dissertation?

Well, the Ph.D. was a later idea, because I already wrote three books prior to starting it. Whether you call it a hobby or a serious pursuit, I think the answer is both. Obviously, it is not for the purpose of moneymaking. It is a big drain on my resources and energy. If I had put that much energy into business, I might be a millionaire by now! But I am very satisfied. Being able to answer people’s questions, and giving them information about their parents that they have never had before – this gives me great satisfaction and comfort. It makes me laugh that sometimes the real millionaires I meet are quite envious of what I do!

Is this the part of your work that you find most rewarding?

Yes, it is. As you know, sometimes people have asked me, “What happened to my father? He just disappeared during WWII.” And in some cases I am able to find out what happened to them. As you can see, I am dealing with people, if they were born during WWII, they are in their 70s at least. They have been worrying about these things their whole lives. What I am doing for the Hong Kong War Diary website might give them some kind of mental closure.

How did you become interested in war-related things when you were a young child? What particular part of WWII interests you so much?

Well, that is a big question. When I was a kid, it was definitely the hardware. Kids, particularly boys, love guns and bullets, fast planes, and so forth. So, as a boy, there is no doubt that war was my keen interest. But then over the years, I suppose I just matured a bit; that interest never died, but it morphed into the human story.
Do you mean you were fascinated with the power of destruction behind the military weapons and equipment?

No. I was only fascinated with them just as toys. What Tim Page says, I can’t remember exactly. Tim Page, a British photographer in Vietnam, said the war was sexy, all the toys were sexy, and there was nothing sexier than helicopters in Vietnam. You know, just the whole image of being crazy about wars. I was never quite like that back then. But I became interested in the history of warfare, and war as a sort of case study in the process of decision-making amongst humans. And I started to develop a better understanding of why people make those decisions, and how people make decisions, what these decisions are based on – their knowledge, experience, and motivations. And now, of course, I realize that war is just a special example of the way humans behave in general.

You mean that ‘humanity’ side? But would you agree that war could expose the extremely dark side of humanity?

Well, it is not always that extreme. People always think of warfare as about killing each other; and of course, that did happen in Hong Kong. The British people in Hong Kong were living together in the camps, and (from the outside) that was a fascinating experience. People were being killed, of course, and a lot of people did die from diseases. But the majority of experiences were about boredom -- the boredom and the lack of food, and people grating on each other, because they are just trapped together whether they liked it or not. So it became much more about the human side, and some stories turned out to be quite dramatic. Due to evacuation, families were separated for six years, and it had such unimaginable effect on human relationships. European women who had been totally looked after by servants in Hong Kong, being suddenly evacuated with their children from Hong Kong, fled to Australia, getting a job, looking after the kids, doing all the washing, doing the shopping, doing the cooking. Many of these British women hated it, while some of them thought this was fantastic, because they didn’t have or need a husband any more. They had found freedom. Some British couples did manage to return to UK together, of course, but in other cases, the British women just said thank you, but goodbye.

Why did these British couples separate, and choose not to return to UK together after the war was well over? Did these British couples not marry for love in the first place?

I think some of them married for protection, and some of them had never been independent in their lives. Some of them hated it, and couldn’t wait to get back to their previous lives with servants in Hong Kong, or to return to UK. But some of them just thought it was great to stay in Australia. Sometimes these families split up, with the husband taking one kid, while the wife took another. One side
might choose to stay in Australia, the other perhaps returning to the UK. Sometimes, the wives and husbands would return to UK together, but leave their kids behind (grown up now, over the six years) in Australia – so it was every single different combination of situations you can think of. But essentially, the war had changed them. They weren’t the same people they had been six years earlier.

Part of the fun for me to maintain this Hong Kong War Diary website is ‘escapism’ – it is a thing I do when I don’t have to worry about work, and I want a break from working with other people. I just sit down, relax, and focus on working on the things that interest me. It’s just a hobby. If I were paid for it, it would become just another job.

Do you have any researchers, scholars and academics approaching you, asking you to provide information to support this research? Could you give a few examples?

Basically, pretty much everybody who writes a book about Hong Kong during WWII comes to ask me to provide information. And those books may be general history books, or they may be books for children. And in many cases, they are fictional, and these writers want to make sure they got basic facts correct, so all those people reach out to me. I also get a lot of requests from TV documentary makers, filmmakers, etc.

Do you charge them a small service fee for providing them with the information they seek from your Hong Kong War Diary site?

No, I’ve never been paid, but again, I don’t do this for money. If I retire from my real job, then I might change that, and start charging people for fees for using my website! But at the moment, I do it 100% free. Except for one thing, the Hong Kong University Press (HKUP)⁴, and some other formal publishers asked me to serve as their reader (manuscript reviewer), that is to evaluate their incoming manuscripts and make suggestions for improvements. And the HKUP pays me for that, because there is standard rate for paying book reviewers. So every year, I receive two or three manuscripts from HKUP to review.

Do these users also ask you to provide them with scanned images or photographs from your Hong Kong War Diary website?

Images yes! But more often they would ask me for details, for example, “What happened in this battle?” “What happened to this person?” “Where did this happen?” “Can you describe what this area was like during the time of WWII?”

They do sometimes ask for photographs. But most of the photographs I have on

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⁴ Hong Kong University Press – Homepage. Available at: http://www.hkupress.org/
the Hong Kong War Diary site, I don't actually own their copyrights. Because these photographs were given to me by other people, but I am happy to put the photo-requesters and the photo-owners together.

To be honest, I am not that interested in using photographs that are already kept safely in an archive. I see my role is unearthing and adding materials that are not already in the archives. My goal is to discover things that are not yet in the archives and still in private hands, thereby making them available to other people.

So the main book I am working on at the moment (the fifth one) is about the people who escaped from Hong Kong during WWII, and what they did afterwards. So the people who left Hong Kong, whether they escaped the POW camps or just evaded, like those Chinese people who got through the lines of war, and then re-joined British forces in mainland China. So now I am working on how they escaped, how they were brought together, where they fought afterwards, and the kinds of impact on the broader war. And another project I am currently working on is to build a dictionary of wartime biographies for Hong Kong. So you hear the same names all the time, for example, Major-General Christopher Maltby, Brigadier Cedric Wallis, etc. I write a formal, approximately 1,000-word biography for each person for what will hopefully be this dictionary of national wartime biography in Hong Kong. This dictionary will feature about 200 or more of the most interesting people here in Hong Kong during WWII. I can write many of these simply because I am still in touch with those families. So I can bring the information together: their education, their families, what they did during and after the War, etc. That will be a big job, but a valuable one for future researchers. And perhaps a good note to end on!

Hong Kong War Diary
1. Image 1. Tony Banham.
2. Image 2. Tony Banham and Canadian veterans.


5. Image 5. Bowen Road Hospital.