

ENDNOTES FOR *EMPIRES WITNESS*

Sources and Method

This book is based principally upon the unpublished wartime diaries of Corporal Alwyn Robinson Day (Army No. 7593371), together with his Ministry of Defence service record, family papers, photographs, correspondence and contemporary official histories. Where scenes, dialogue or emotional responses are reconstructed, they are based upon these sources and presented as informed historical interpretation.

For ease of reference, the following abbreviations are used throughout these endnotes:

DFA: Day Family Archive. Private archive assembled by the author comprising Alwyn Robinson Day's original diaries, correspondence, photographs, service records, later manuscript revisions, family papers, and family testimony gathered through conversations, letters, emails and other correspondence during the preparation of *Empire's Witness*.

ARD, Diary: Alwyn Robinson Day, *Private Diary*, 19 June 1942–14 July 1945, unpublished manuscript, Day Family Archive (DFA).

ARD, Service Record, MOD: Ministry of Defence, Service Record of Alwyn Robinson Day (Army No. 7593371), Royal Army Ordnance Corps and Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, official service record; copy in DFA.

Family Testimony, DFA: Family recollections and oral history interviews conducted by the author, together with correspondence, letters, emails and other testimony preserved within the Day Family Archive.

ARD Papers: Alwyn Robinson Day's personal papers, including correspondence, photographs, certificates, maps, travel documents and related material, DFA.

CHAPTER 1: A WORLD ON FIRE

1. ARD, Diary, 19 June 1942, DFA, for his embarkation aboard HMT *Abosso*, his first impressions of troopship life, and his decision to keep a wartime diary.
2. ARD, Service Record, MOD, for enlistment in the Royal Army Ordnance Corps on 20 February 1939 (Supplementary Reserve, Category C), mobilisation on 3 September 1939, and posting to the British Expeditionary Force in France.
3. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organisation, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 123–25, for the organisation of Convoy WS-20 and the wider Allied convoy system.
4. Tony Lane, *Liverpool: Gateway of Empire* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1987), pp. 139–40, for Liverpool's wartime docks, shipping activity and the effects of German bombing upon the port.

5. L. F. Ellis, *The War in France and Flanders, 1939–1940, History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Military Series* (London: HMSO, 1954), pp. 37–40, for the deployment of the British Expeditionary Force in France during the Phoney War.
6. Julian Jackson, *The Fall of France: The Nazi Invasion of 1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 93–97, for the German offensive of 10 May 1940 and the collapse of Allied planning following the breakthrough in the Ardennes.
7. William Allcorn, *The Maginot Line 1928–45* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003), pp. 17–23, for the conception, construction and strategic assumptions underlying the Maginot Line.
8. Peter Calvocoressi, Guy Wint and John Pritchard, *Total War: The Causes and Courses of the Second World War*, rev. edn (London: Penguin Books, 1989), pp. 123–24, for the German operational concept of Blitzkrieg and the rapid collapse of Allied resistance during May 1940.
9. Norman Ohler, *Blitzed: Drugs in Nazi Germany* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), pp. 85–88; R. Douglas Fields, *On Speed: The Many Lives of Amphetamine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 122–28, for the issue of Pervitin to German forces during the 1940 campaign. The suggestion that its use contributed materially to German operational tempo reflects current historical interpretation rather than a universally accepted conclusion.
10. Richard Overy, *The Air War: 1939–1945* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005), pp. 102–05, for Luftwaffe air superiority during the campaign in France and the employment of Ju 87 Stuka dive-bombers in support of German ground operations.
11. Hugh Sebag-Montefiore, *Dunkirk: Fight to the Last Man* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 301–07, for the defence of Calais by British and French forces and its contribution to delaying the German advance toward Dunkirk.
12. L. F. Ellis, *The War in France and Flanders, 1939–1940*, pp. 285–305, for Operation Dynamo and the evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force from Dunkirk.
13. Walter Lord, *The Miracle of Dunkirk* (New York: Viking Press, 1982), pp. 152–60, for contemporary accounts of the evacuation and the circumstances surrounding the withdrawal from the beaches.
14. David Worsfold, *Operation Aerial: Britain's Last Great Evacuation from France, June 1940* (London: Unicorn Publishing Group, 2024), especially chs. 5–8, for the evacuation of western France, including Nantes, Saint-Nazaire and the final withdrawal of British forces following the fall of France.
15. David Williams, *Lancastria: Britain's Greatest Maritime Disaster and Churchill's Cover-Up* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2009), pp. 183–90, for the sinking of HMT *Lancastria* on 17 June 1940, casualty estimates and the circumstances surrounding the disaster.
16. Imperial War Museums, "The Sinking of the *Lancastria*"; Commonwealth War Graves Commission casualty records, for contemporary documentation relating to the sinking and the commemoration of those who died.
17. *Hansard*, House of Commons Debates, 4 June 1940, vol. 361, cols. 787–98, for Winston Churchill's "We shall fight on the beaches" speech following the Dunkirk evacuation.
18. *Hansard*, House of Commons Debates, 18 June 1940, vol. 362, cols. 50–63, for Winston Churchill's "Their Finest Hour" speech following the collapse of France.

19. Winston S. Churchill, *Their Finest Hour* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949), pp. 101–04, 221–23, for Churchill's retrospective account of the campaign in France and the evacuation from Dunkirk.
20. Brian Barton, *The Blitz: Belfast in the War Years* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1989), pp. 112–15, for the Belfast Blitz of April–May 1941 and its effects upon the city.
21. Brian Barton, *The Blitz: Belfast in the War Years* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1989), pp. 144–48, for modern estimates placing the Belfast Blitz death toll between approximately 950 and 1,100 fatalities and for the contemporary official and civilian response.

CHAPTER 2: LEAVING CERTAINTY BEHIND

1. ARD, Diary, 20–23 June 1942, DFA, for his descriptions of HMT *Abosso*, HMS *Malaya*, hammock accommodation, meals, boat drill, submarine watches, bridge games, and daily life aboard the troopship during the opening days of Convoy WS-20.
2. Richard Overy, *The Battle of the Atlantic: The Allies Won, the U-Boats Lost* (London: Allen Lane, 2023), pp. 1–18, for the scale of Allied merchant shipping losses during the early years of the Battle of the Atlantic and the severe threat posed by German U-boats before Allied anti-submarine measures began to turn the tide.
3. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organisation, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 123–32, for the organisation of Convoy WS-20, merchant-ship conversion for troop transport, defensive armament, convoy discipline, and the operational purpose of troop convoys.
4. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945*, pp. 123–32, for the composition, sailing schedule and routing of Convoy WS-20.
5. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945*, pp. 123–32; Guðmundur Helgason, "HMS *Lookout* (L 44)," *uboot.net*, for confirmation of the convoy's escort screen and the participation of HMS *Lookout*. The latter is cited as a specialist naval reference used to corroborate published convoy records.
6. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945*, pp. 118–47, for the origin and strategic purpose of the WS ("Winston's Special") convoy series as Britain's principal long-range troop convoy system during the Second World War.
7. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organisation, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 55–63, for the Defensively Equipped Merchant Ship (DEMS) programme and the wartime arming of British merchant vessels, including the fitting of naval guns and the embarkation of Royal Navy gun crews.
8. Clay Blair, *Hitler's U-Boat War: The Hunters, 1939–1942* (New York: Random House, 1996), pp. 561–608, for German submarine operations during 1942 and the origins of the expression *die Glückliche Zeit* ("The Happy Time") used by U-boat crews to describe their early successes.
9. Clay Blair, *Hitler's U-Boat War: The Hunted, 1942–1945* (New York: Random House, 1998), pp. 3–55, for 1942 as the high-water mark of Allied shipping losses before the balance of the Battle of the Atlantic began to shift.
10. James E. Cowden and John O. C. Duffy, *The Elder Dempster Fleet History, 1852–1985* (Coltishall: Mallett & Bell, 1986), s.v. "Abosso," for the vessel's construction

history, commercial service and wartime employment. See also *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*, 1938–39, for Abosso's registered dimensions, tonnage and technical particulars.

CHAPTER 3: EMPIRE'S CHILD

1. General Register Office, Birth Certificate of Alwyn Robinson Day, 11 September 1904; copy in DFA.
2. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), ch. 1, for the scale and self-confidence of the Edwardian empire, including the common “quarter of the world” framing.
3. John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1–6, for the empire's global extent and the way imperial power was imagined at home.
4. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 3–12, for the cultural psychology of imperial hierarchy and “Britishness” as performance.
5. Roy Jenkins, *Edward VII* (London: Collins, 2000), pp. 1–10, for the crown in 1904 and the political atmosphere of the Edwardian court.
6. Kenneth O. Morgan, *Britain Since 1900: The Making of the Modern Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1–25, for the social texture of early twentieth-century Britain and the habits of “discipline” and routine.
7. Robert Hampson, ed., *Kipling: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 1–20, on the reach of imperial adventure literature and its hold on boyhood imagination.
8. Charles Allen, *Kipling Sahib: India and the Making of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Little, Brown, 2007), pp. 295–320, for *Kim* and the cultural place of Kipling in British identity, especially among young readers.
9. Edith Hall, *The Return of Ulysses: A Cultural History of Homer's Odyssey* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), pp. 145–175, for Odysseus as a modern cultural template and the long afterlife of “the journey home.”
10. Marriage Certificate: General Register Office (England and Wales), Marriage Certificate of Alwyn Robinson Day and Gwendoline Marsden, certified copy in DFA.
11. Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1–10 and pp. 54–78, for the social and psychological impacts of the Great War on families, grief, and public life.
12. Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 161–190, for civilian strain, shortages, and the changing texture of daily life.
13. Philip Williamson, ‘The Monarchy and Public Values, 1910–1953’, in Andrzej Olechnowicz, ed., *The Monarchy and the British Nation, 1780 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 223–249, for the 1917 dynastic name change and wartime symbolism around the crown.
14. Peter Hart, *The Great War: 1914–1918* (London: Profile Books, 2013), pp. 515–525, for Armistice mood and the blend of jubilation and grief.
15. A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 103–140, for postwar fracture, labour unrest, and the sense of a country trying to resume life on altered ground.

16. Martin Pugh, *We Danced All Night: A Social History of Britain Between the Wars* (London: Bodley Head, 2008), pp. 198–212, for the General Strike, the interwar tensions, and the Jarrow context.
17. Philip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII: A Biography* (London: Collins, 1990), pp. 1–30 and pp. 275–310, for the abdication crisis, the political shock, and the transition to George VI.
18. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936: Hubris* (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 439–520, for Hitler's rise and the machinery of fear, scapegoating, and consolidation.
19. David French, *Raising Churchill's Army: The British Army and the War against Germany 1919–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 86–110, for British manpower policy, call-up logic, and why men already listed as reservists were pulled quickly once war began.
20. Hansard, House of Commons Debates, 3 September 1939, vol. 351, cols. 249–53.
21. Selina Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class, 1910–2010* (London: John Murray, 2014), pp. 31–70, for ordinary family life, housing, and work patterns in the interwar decades, as a better-fit replacement for a postwar Kynaston volume.
22. ARD, Service Record, MOD, for enlistment in the Royal Army Ordnance Corps as a Supplementary Reservist, Army No. 7593371, and mobilisation following Britain's declaration of war.

CHAPTER 4: DETOUR TO SURVIVE

1. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System 1939–1945* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 116–132, for 1942 convoy routing logic, escort constraints, and the distance-versus-protection trade-off.
2. Clay Blair, *Hitler's U-Boat War: The Hunters, 1939–1942* (New York: Random House, 1996), for the "mid-Atlantic gap," the limitations of Allied long-range air coverage during 1942, and the resulting vulnerability of Atlantic convoys to German U-boat attack.
3. Richard Woodman, *The Real Cruel Sea: The Merchant Navy in the Battle of the Atlantic, 1939–1943* (London: John Murray, 2004), for the strategic importance of Iceland as an Allied convoy base, the routing of North Atlantic convoys, the organisation of escort groups, and the operational constraints imposed by weather, fuel endurance and air cover.
4. *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1940, General and Europe*, vol. II (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1957), documents 792–799, concerning the United States' initial reluctance to assume responsibility for Iceland following the British occupation; and *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1941, Europe*, vol. II (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1958), documents 769–782, concerning the agreement under which United States forces assumed responsibility for Iceland's defence and progressively replaced the British garrison.
5. Andrew Hodges, *Alan Turing: The Enigma* (London: Vintage, 2012), for the naval Enigma problem, Hut 8, and operational use of ULTRA in the Atlantic.
6. F. H. Hinsley, C. F. G. Ransom, R. C. Knight, and E. E. Thomas, *British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations*, Vol. II (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981), for the interruption to Allied naval intelligence following the introduction of the German four-rotor naval Enigma (M4) in early 1942,

the resulting "blackout" in Ultra intelligence, and its operational consequences for the Battle of the Atlantic.

7. Niall Barr, *Pendulum of War: The Three Battles of El Alamein* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), for Tobruk's fall in June 1942 and prisoner totals.
8. David Fraser, *Knight's Cross: A Life of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel* (London: HarperCollins, 1994), chapters 11–15 ("Sunflowers in Africa" through "Heia Safari"), for Rommel's operational reputation and the development of the "Desert Fox" image.
9. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. 4, *The Hinge of Fate* (London: Cassell, 1951), for Churchill's language on Tobruk.
10. **Richard Ingram and Martin Brayley**, *Khaki Drill and Jungle Green: British Tropical Uniforms 1939–45* (Ramsbury: Crowood Press, 1999), for insight and context of British military tropical uniforms.
11. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System 1939–1945* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 116–22, for convoy blackout procedures, radio silence and lighting discipline at sea. See also King's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions (1939 edition with wartime amendments), regulations governing the display of lights and disciplinary offences likely to endanger His Majesty's ships or convoys.
12. ARD, Service Record, 1 July 1944, MOD, for Alwyn's punishment, reduction, and the crossed-out amendment.
13. ARD, Diary, 28 June 1942, DFA for blackout procedure at sea and getting hotter.

CHAPTER 5: JUNGLE RISING

1. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 116–122, together with the WS-20 convoy tables, for Convoy WS-20's routing from Liverpool via Freetown and onward to the Cape.
2. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), ch. 6; Clay Blair, *Hitler's U-Boat War: The Hunters, 1939–1942* (New York: Random House, 1996), pp. 514–545, on the widening U-boat campaign during mid-1942, Allied escort shortages, convoy routing, and the limitations of air cover.
3. Clay Blair, *Hitler's U-Boat War*, pp. 590–640, for German U-boat operations extending into the South Atlantic during 1942. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), for the routing of Allied ocean convoys via Freetown and the Cape, the organization of convoy protection, and the continued need for heavy escort on South Atlantic convoy routes.
4. ARD, Diary 6 July 1942, DFA. for his observation that the convoy was sailing just off the Brazilian coast. See also Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945*, for the recorded route of Convoy WS-20.
5. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 116–123, for convoy procedure, zigzagging, troopship routine, and the operational demands placed upon passengers and crews during Atlantic crossings.

6. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 121–22, for Freetown's role as the principal West African convoy assembly, fuelling and escort port for Allied shipping bound to and from the South Atlantic. See also Imperial War Museums, "A Convoy Taking Up Stations; Moving out of Freetown ('Convoy' Series), 1941–1942," IWM Art. IWM ART LD 2096, illustrating the assembly and departure of Allied convoys from Freetown during the Second World War.
7. G. A. L. Banbury, *Sierra Leone; or, The White Man's Grave* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1889), pp. 76–77, for the colony's reputation of being the 'White Man's Grave.'
8. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 220–245 for the layout of colonial Freetown, its built environment, and the social structure of the city during the British colonial period.
9. R. W. Beardsley, *The Sierra Leone Government Railway* (London: Oakwood Press, 1967), pp. 7–26, for the history, development, gauge, routes, and purpose of the Sierra Leone Government Railway.
10. Sylvia Ojukutu-Macauley, *Colonialism and African Labour: Sierra Leone Railway 1896–1914* (London: Routledge, 2011), for labour recruitment, working conditions, and colonial labour practices associated with the Sierra Leone Railway.
11. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 240–247, for Freetown's importance as an imperial logistics hub. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 34–67, for Freetown's role as an Allied wartime logistics, refuelling, repair, and convoy staging base.
12. David Hobbs, *The British Aircraft Carrier* (Barnsley: Seaforth, 2013), pp. 93–99, together with Gordon Smith *HMS Eagle (1918): Operational History* (Naval-History.Net), 19 June and 5–9 July 1942
13. David Hobbs, *The British Aircraft Carrier* (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2013), pp. 93–99, for HMS *Eagle*, her 1942 operations, and operational capabilities. See also Norman Friedman, *British Carrier Aviation: The Evolution of the Ships and Their Aircraft* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1988), for the development of British carrier aviation, Fleet Air Arm doctrine, and the characteristics and operation of Royal Navy carrier air groups.
14. David Hobbs, *The British Aircraft Carrier*, pp. 98–100., for the loss of HMS *Eagle* during Operation Pedestal, including the date of sinking, attacking submarine, torpedo strikes, time to sink, and casualty figures.
15. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 101–116, for the increasing hazards of Mediterranean convoy routes in 1942 and the resulting diversion of Allied shipping around the Cape of Good Hope.
16. Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 1–35, for the foundation of Freetown as a settlement for freed slaves and its subsequent development as an imperial administrative and military centre.
17. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*, pp. 286–302, on African labour, wartime mobilisation and the changing political relationship between Britain and its African colonies.

CHAPTER 6: SPLITTING THE CONVOY

1. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 121–123, together with the WS-20 convoy tables, for the arrival of Convoy WS-20 at Freetown on 2 July 1942, its departure on 6 July 1942, and the subsequent formation of onward convoy groups.
2. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 118–123, for the operational reasons Allied troop convoys were reorganised after reaching Freetown, including escort allocation, routing, and risk management.
3. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 121–123 for Freetown's role as an Allied convoy assembly, fuelling, repair, and staging base for Atlantic and Cape routes during the Second World War.
4. Richard Hough, *The Longest Battle: The War at Sea 1939–45* (London: Cassell, 1986), pp. 143–149, for wartime convoy security, routing secrecy and sealed sailing orders. Stephen W. Roskill, *The War at Sea 1939–1945*, Vol. II (London: HMSO, 1956), pp. 81–85.
5. Brian Lavery, *Royal Tars* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 2003), pp. 228–231, for Crossing-the-Line traditions.
6. Alwyn Robinson Day, diary entry and Crossing-the-Line certificate, 9 July 1942, in *Personal Diary, 1942–45* (private collection), for his account of the ceremony, ceremonial bathing, dunkings, and the award of his Crossing-the-Line certificate.
7. Juliet Gardiner, *Wartime: Britain 1939–1945* (London: Headline, 2004), pp. 241–268 for rationing, blackout regulations, domestic life, and the emotional strains experienced by families on the British home front.
8. Wakefield Museums and Castles, *Second World War: Local Stories Resources*, "House Destroyed by Bombing on Thornes Road (1941)," for the German air raid on Thornes Road on 14 March 1941, including its casualties, destruction, and contemporary photographic record.
9. Brian Barton, *The Belfast Blitz: The City in the War Years* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1989), for the Belfast Blitz of April–May 1941, including the scale of casualties and destruction resulting from the Luftwaffe raids.
10. Brian Barton, *The Belfast Blitz*, pp. 133–145, for the wider impact of the Belfast raids on surrounding districts including Carrickfergus.

CHAPTER 7: EMPIRE'S GATEWAY

1. ARD, Diary 18–21 July 1942, in *Personal Diary*, DFA, for his arrival at Cape Town, descriptions of Table Mountain, and observations recorded during his first days ashore.
2. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 123–126, together with the WS-20 convoy tables, for Convoy WS-20's arrival at Cape Town and the port's importance within the Allied convoy system.
3. David Brock Katz, *South Africans versus Rommel: The Untold Story of the Desert War in World War II* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2018), pp. 34–41, for Cape Town as a major

- Allied embarkation, repair and logistics centre; E. Rosenthal, "Cape Town at War," *Military History Journal*, Vol. 3, no. 4 (1975), pp. 115–123.
4. Clay Blair, *Hitler's U-Boat War: The Hunted, 1942–1945* (New York: Random House, 1998), pp. 84–105, for the opening of the German offensive against South African shipping and the increasing U-boat threat in southern waters. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 123–126, for the German U-boat campaign in southern African waters and the continuing risks to Allied shipping around the Cape during 1942.
 5. ARD, Diary 18–21 July 1942, DFA, for his descriptions of Cape Town hospitality, servicemen's clubs, recreational facilities, and the ease with which troops were welcomed ashore.
 6. Saul Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919–36* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 1–26, 147–170, for the legal foundations and everyday practice of racial segregation prior to apartheid.
 7. Jose Burman, *The Cape of Good Hope: The Fairest Cape* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1963), pp. 166–171, for Wynberg's historic role as a military garrison.
 8. Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 1–25, for the geographical extent of the British Empire and the proportion of the world's population living under British rule at its height; Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. IV (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Introduction, pp. 1–14.
 9. Mark Harrison, *Medicine and Victory: British Military Medicine in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 107–132, for the treatment of common bacterial infections, the widespread use of sulphonamides, and the limited availability of penicillin before mass production in 1943–44.

CHAPTER 8: PERILOUS WATERS

1. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000); and Don Kindell, "WS (Winston Specials) Convoys in World War II: 1942 Sailings," *Naval-History.Net*, section "WS 20," for the reassembly of Convoy WS-20 off Durban, its passage east of Madagascar, and its division on 1 August 1942.
2. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), convoy appendices; and Don Kindell, "WS (Winston Specials) Convoys in World War II: 1942 Sailings," section "WS 20," *Naval-History.Net*, for the composition of Convoy WS-20, the disposition of individual ships within the convoy, its intermediate ports of call, and its subsequent division into the Aden and Bombay sections.
3. Don Kindell, "WS (Winston Specials) Convoys in World War II: 1942 Sailings," *Naval-History.Net*, section "WS 20," for the division of the convoy on 1 August 1942: WS-20A, comprising the Aden-bound ships, dispersed off Aden on 6 August, while WS-20B, comprising *Abosso*, *Adrastus*, *Empire Pride*, and *Orion*, continued to Bombay and arrived on 9 August 1942; Arnold Hague, "Military Convoys WS.20," *ConvoyWeb*, sections "Convoy WS.20 from Durban" and "WS.20A/WS.20B."

4. Tim Benbow, "Operation IRONCLAD: The British Invasion of Madagascar, May 1942," in *Amphibious Assault: Manoeuvre from the Sea*, ed. Tristan Lovering (Woodbridge: Seafarer Books, 2005), pp. 107–122, for the British landings at Diego Suarez beginning on 5 May 1942, the capture of the naval base, and the strategic concern that Vichy-controlled Madagascar might facilitate Japanese operations against Allied Indian Ocean communications.
5. E. D. R. Harrison, "On Secret Service for the Duce: Umberto Campini in Portuguese East Africa, 1941–1943," *English Historical Review* 122, no. 499 (December 2007): 1318–49, especially pp. 1322–35, for Axis intelligence activity, Allied convoy traffic, and submarine operations affecting the Mozambique Channel; and Louis S. Sutherland, "German Submarines in the Far East," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 87, no. 8 (August 1961): 72–81, for the expansion of German operations around the Cape and into the Mozambique Channel during late 1942.
6. Yasmin Khan, *The Raj at War: A People's History of India's Second World War* (London: Bodley Head, 2015), pp. 142–157, for Bombay's transformation into one of the principal Allied military, commercial and logistical centres during the Second World War.
7. B. R. Nanda, *In Search of Gandhi: Essays and Reflections* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 82–85, for the adoption of the Quit India resolution in Bombay on 8 August 1942, Gandhi's call for British withdrawal, and the subsequent arrest of Congress leaders.
8. Sharada Dwivedi and Rahul Mehrotra, *Bombay: The Cities Within* (Bombay: India Book House, 1995), pp. 145–187, for the historical development of Bombay, including Victoria Terminus, the Bombay High Court, and the principal landmarks of the colonial city.
9. ARD, Diary, 10 August 1942, DFA, for his account of currency exchange, shore leave, and administrative restrictions encountered on arrival in Bombay.
10. Jürgen Rohwer, *Axis Submarine Successes, 1939–1945* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1983), p. 130; and Guðmundur Helgason, "Abosso," *uboat.net*, for the torpedoing of *Abosso* by U-575 on 29 October 1942, her position northwest of the Azores, and the resulting casualties.
11. Arnold Hague, *WS Convoys in World War II: January–June 1942 Sailings, WS 15–20B*, Naval-History.Net, edited by Gordon Smith, section "WS 20," for the succession of escort vessels assigned to Convoy WS 20 during its passage from the Clyde to the Indian Ocean.
12. ARD, Diary, 11 August 1942, DFA, for his retrospective account of the Indian Ocean voyage, the sighting of Madagascar, Bombay, currency exchange difficulties, shore leave, and transfer from *Abosso*.

CHAPTER 9: INTO THE FIRE

1. Duncan Haws, *Merchant Fleets: Blue Funnel Line* (Hereford: TCL Publications, 1990), pp. 108–110, for the construction, passenger service, wartime requisition, and operational employment of *Neuralia* as a troopship; Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), convoy tables for Convoy WS-20B.

2. Mark Harrison, *Medicine and Victory: British Military Medicine in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 166–190, for overcrowding, sanitation, disease prevention, accommodation, and medical conditions aboard long-distance troopships; ARD, Diary, 11 August 1942, DFA, for the nickname 'Hellmark' as applied to HMT *Neuralia*.
3. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), appendix listing convoy series; see also Arnold Hague, *WS Convoys in World War II*, Naval-History.Net, "WS 20," for the detailed composition and movements of the convoy.
4. ARD, Diary, 11 August 1942, DFA, for his observations of bioluminescence, flying fish, dolphins, waterspouts, and other natural phenomena encountered during the voyage.
5. Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000); and Richard Woodman, *The Real Cruel Sea* (London: John Murray, 2004), pp. 235–245, for convoy blackout procedures, lifeboat drills, lookout routines, and operational security aboard Allied troopships.
6. Don Kindell, "WS (Winston Specials) Convoys in World War II: 1942 Sailings," *Naval-History.Net*, section "WS 20"; and Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945*, for the convoy's passage through the Strait of Hormuz and into the Persian Gulf during August 1942; ARD, Diary, 18 August 1942, DFA, for the recorded temperature of 127°F (approximately 53°C) during the voyage.
7. ARD, Diary, 18 August 1942, DFA, for Alwyn's visit to Al-Qurnah and his description of the tree traditionally associated with the Garden of Eden. See also *Iraq and the Persian Gulf* (Baghdad: Government Press, 1944), for the long-standing local tradition identifying Al-Qurnah, at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, with the biblical Garden of Eden; and William Francis Ainsworth, *Researches in Assyria, Babylonia and Chaldea* (London: John W. Parker, 1838), for an early nineteenth-century account of the same tradition.
8. Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, 3rd edn (London: Penguin, 1992), pp. 17–75, for Sumer, Ur, Babylon, and the historical development of ancient Mesopotamia.
9. ARD, Diary, 18 August 1942, DFA, for the reflections and observations recorded during the voyage. Interpretive discussion of their significance is the author's own.

CHAPTER 10: BETWEEN EDEN AND OIL

1. ARD, Diary, 16–18 August 1942, DFA, for the approach to the Persian Gulf, arrival in the Shatt al-Arab and Alwyn's first impressions of Basra, its heat, landscape, shipping and oil installations; Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 266–71; T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1952), pp. 19–35, for the strategic importance of Iraq, Iran, the Persian Gulf and the Allied supply route to the Soviet Union.
2. ARD, Diary, 17–19 August 1942, DFA, for Alwyn's observations of Basra, the Shatt al-Arab, military transport and the movement of men and matériel; Arnold Hague, *The Allied Convoy System, 1939–1945: Its Organization, Defence and Operation* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000), pp. 137–38; Motter, *Persian Corridor*, pp. 101–23, 379–416, for the development and operation of Persian Gulf ports, wharves, lighterage,

roads, storage facilities and cargo-handling systems. The detailed connection drawn in the narrative between the activity witnessed by Alwyn and the wider Allied logistics network is the author's interpretation.

3. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*, pp. 266–71; I. S. O. Playfair, F. C. Flynn, C. J. C. Molony and T. P. Gleave, *The Mediterranean and Middle East*, vol. II, *The Germans Come to the Help of Their Ally (1941)*, History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Military Series (London: HMSO, 1956), pp. 177–201, for the Anglo-Iraqi War, the defeat of Rashid Ali's regime, the reoccupation of Iraq and the continuing British military presence; Robert Lyman, *Iraq 1941: The Battles for Basra, Habbaniya, Fallujah and Baghdad* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), pp. 77–91, for the conclusion and immediate consequences of the campaign.
4. ARD, Service Record, MOD, for Alwyn's rank, trade, unit and posting at the time of his arrival in Iraq; Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 111–16, for the responsibilities of junior non-commissioned officers in maintaining routine, discipline and morale. Any description of Alwyn's individual authority, manner or conduct beyond what is recorded in his service papers and diary is informed historical interpretation.
5. ARD, Diary, 10 August 1942, DFA, for Alwyn's reference to HMT *Neuralia*. Built in 1912 for the British India Steam Navigation Company, *Neuralia* served as a troopship during both World Wars, survived several U-boat attacks, and was eventually lost on 1 May 1945 after striking an Italian mine in the Adriatic, with the loss of four lives. See also *British Vessels Lost at Sea, 1939–1945* and the relevant Admiralty casualty and movement records in The National Archives for the official account of her loss.
6. ARD, Diary, 17–20 August 1942, DFA, for Alwyn's impressions of Basra, its waterways, date palms, heat and apparent antiquity; Gavin Young, *Return to the Marshes* (London: Collins, 1977), pp. 22–29, for the landscape and communities of southern Iraq; Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, 3rd edn (London: Penguin Books, 1992), pp. 17–40, for the physical geography of Mesopotamia and the historical relationship between the Tigris, Euphrates and the settlements of southern Iraq. Comparisons between the biblical or ancient landscape and the modern wartime port are the author's interpretation.
7. Hague, *Allied Convoy System*, p. 137; Motter, *Persian Corridor*, pp. 101–23, 379–416, for shipping movements in the Persian Gulf and Shatt al-Arab, port congestion, lighterage and the reception of Allied cargo; pp. 481–88, for the scale of supplies ultimately delivered through the Persian Corridor. The description of the Shatt al-Arab as the maritime entrance to the corridor is a geographical and logistical synthesis of these sources.
8. ARD, Diary, 18–20 August 1942, DFA, for the rail journey inland, halts, desert staging, and Alwyn's descriptions of extreme heat, dust and discomfort; T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1952), pp. 44–64, for the establishment of early American operations in Iraq; pp. 101–23, for engineering works, construction and transport development in the Persian Gulf area; and pp. 331–78, for the wartime railway system and the movement of supplies northwards. See also United States Army Corps of Engineers, "Engineer Construction in the Persian Gulf Provided a Key Lifeline During World War II," *Historical Vignette* 064 (3 February 2003), for a summary of American engineering and construction activity in the Persian Gulf Command.

9. ARD, Diary, 18–21 August 1942, DFA, for Alwyn's descriptions of tented accommodation, heat, dust, sleeplessness and camp routine at Al Zubayr; Motter, *Persian Corridor*, pp. 44–64, 101–23, for the environmental and logistical difficulties faced by Allied personnel in Iraq and the Persian Gulf region. The sensory reconstruction of camp life, except where directly quoted or paraphrased from the diary, is the author's informed interpretation.
10. ARD, Diary, 19–21 August 1942, DFA, for Alwyn's rail movements and observations of troop and supply trains; Motter, *Persian Corridor*, pp. 331–78, for the development, organization and operation of the Persian Corridor railway system and its central role in moving Allied matériel inland.
11. ARD, Diary, 17 August 1942, DFA, for Alwyn's arrival at or passage through Al Zubayr.
12. Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, 3rd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 1992), pp. 17–75, for the geography and early history of Mesopotamia, including Sumer, Ur, Babylon and the Tigris-Euphrates river system. The expression "Cradle of Civilisation" is used here in its conventional modern historical sense to denote the region's pioneering role in the emergence of cities, writing, organised government and complex societies, rather than as a term employed by its ancient inhabitants.
13. ARD, Diary, 18 August 1942, DFA, describing the Muslim call to prayer, traditional dress, markets, mosques, and encounters with Iraqi civilians. For the wider social and urban context of wartime Iraq, including the prominence of Islamic religious practice, bazaars, and the coexistence of traditional and European influences in cities such as Basra and Baghdad, see *Iraq and the Persian Gulf* (India Office, 1944).

CHAPTER 11: CITY OF ECHOES

1. ARD, Diary, 26 August 1942, DFA. All quotations attributed to Alwyn in this chapter are taken from this entry unless otherwise stated.
2. Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 80–117. This provides the political background to Baghdad under the Hashemite monarchy and the transformation of the city during the period of British influence. Alwyn's observation that Baghdad contained "modern and ancient buildings all intermingled" is taken from Diary, 26 August 1942, DFA.
3. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 1–28. This provides the wider cultural context for British romantic images of the East, including Alwyn's childhood associations with Aladdin, Ali Baba and the imagined world of Arabian adventure. The interpretation of these memories as personal rather than geographical description is the author's own.
4. Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 117–128; Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country, 1914–1932* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 245–270. These works provide the political and strategic context for Baghdad's importance to Britain during the Second World War, particularly its role in communications, oil interests and the wider Middle Eastern campaign.
5. Library of Congress, *Iraq. (Mesopotamia). Baghdad. Views, Street Scenes, and Types. Statue of General Maude. At the Head of the Maude Bridge over the Tigris River* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, c.1932). This provides contemporary visual

- evidence for the bridge and river crossing later renamed the King Faisal Bridge. Alwyn's description of crossing the Tigris is taken from Diary, 26 August 1942, DFA.
6. Edmund Candler, *The Long Road to Baghdad*, 2 vols (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919), vol. II, pp. 100–115. Although written during the First World War, Candler's account provides contemporary British observations of the climate, heat and physical experience of movement through Iraq. It is used here as environmental context rather than direct evidence for Alwyn's journey.
 7. Edmund Candler, *The Long Road to Baghdad*, 2 vols (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919), vol. II, pp. 105–108. This describes the Tigris as a place of social activity and evening relaxation, including the experience of sitting beside the river after the heat of the day.
 8. ARD, Diary, 26 August 1942, DFA. Alwyn's description of the River Front Hotel, its gardens overlooking the Tigris and people of "varied nationality" sitting in the gardens drinking coffee comes directly from this entry. His statement that the gardens overlooked the river provides eyewitness evidence for the hotel's riverside setting.
 9. River Front Hotel, Baghdad. Contemporary sources independently confirm the existence of the hotel under this name during the 1930s and Second World War. Surviving hotel stationery gives the address as "River Front Hotel / Near Maude Bridge / Baghdad"; Jawaharlal Nehru dated a letter from the hotel on 9 March 1936; and the 1942 diary of British officer A. J. S. Mackenzie records a stay at the River Front Hotel. The evidence places it beside or immediately adjoining the Tigris in the Maude Bridge district, although its precise site has not been conclusively identified.
 10. Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 117–128. This provides the wider context for Baghdad in 1942 as an Allied military hub linking Britain, India, Persia and the Soviet supply route.
 11. ARD, Diary, 26 August 1942, DFA. Alwyn's record that the dinner cost "approximately 10 shillings in English money" and that "no one could wish for a better meal" is taken directly from his diary. The interpretation that this represented a significant personal expense is the author's own.
 12. ARD, Diary, 26 August 1942, DFA. Alwyn records that this was his first visit to an open-air cinema and that he "thoroughly enjoyed it." No evidence survives identifying the film shown. For the wider context Imperial War Museum, *Popular Pastimes and Entertainment in the Second World War*. This provides context for wartime entertainment and cinema as a means of recreation and morale-building. The interpretation of Alwyn's open-air cinema visit as a temporary escape from war is the author's own.
 13. Sarah D. Shields, *Mosul Before Iraq: Like Bees Making Five-Sided Cells* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 1–20; Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1–20. These works provide context for Iraq's ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity. Specific encounters described in the narrative are atmospheric reconstructions rather than recorded events.
 14. Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption, 1939–1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 23–62. This provides context for British wartime rationing and the contrast between home-front scarcity and Alwyn's experience of Iraqi markets. The emotional connection between Iraqi fruit markets and thoughts of Gwen is the author's interpretation.

15. ARD, 26 August 1942, DFA. Alwyn's description of the YMCA facilities, including tennis, games, swimming and meals, comes from his diary. The interpretation of the YMCA as a place where soldiers briefly returned to ordinary life is the author's own.
16. National Council of YMCAs Archive, *YMCA Second World War Publications*, YMCA/4/6/3, University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library, [1939–1945]. This collection contains contemporary YMCA publications describing its wartime work with British forces, including the provision of recreation, refreshments, welfare support and services for troops overseas.
17. ARD, Diary, 27 August 1942, DFA. The description of the private swimming pool is based solely on Alwyn's statement that the cool water "made us feel like new men." The identity of the host, location of the pool and social circumstances remain unknown.

CHAPTER 12: INTO THE UNKNOWN

1. ARD, Diary, 29 August 1942 and following days, DFA, for the departure from Baghdad, his reflections on the journey ahead, the move by motor convoy, and the quoted descriptions of the route and its hazards.
2. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 55–86, especially pp. 58–72, for Baghdad's role as a staging point and the organisation of Allied road convoys across Iraq and Iran within the Persian Corridor supply system.
3. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 87–118; United States Army Corps of Engineers, *Historical Vignette 064: Persian Gulf Construction*, for the wartime development of ports, roads, depots, railways and military infrastructure supporting Allied operations in the Persian Corridor.
4. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 58–102, for long-distance military road convoys, vehicle maintenance, communications, convoy discipline, escorts, and operational challenges across Iraq and western Iran.
5. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 103–133, for the Zagros Mountains, engineering works, road construction, steep gradients, and transport difficulties encountered while crossing into western Iran.
6. ARD, Diary, 29–31 August 1942, DFA, for rumours, campfire stories, and perceived dangers discussed among troops during the journey. These are presented as evidence of contemporary belief and morale rather than independently verified historical events.
7. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 55–102, especially pp. 67–76, for the principal convoy routes, frontier crossings, and staging points between Baghdad, Khanaqin, and western Iran.
8. ARD, Diary, 29–31 August 1942, DFA, for descriptions of convoy vehicles, escort arrangements, daily routine, and the crossing into Persia.
9. ARD, Diary, 29 August 1942, DFA, for his description of travelling above the clouds while crossing the Zagros Mountains and his personal reflections on the landscape.

CHAPTER 13: THE MISSION BEGINS

1. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 266–71; T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to*

- Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 55–86, especially pp. 67–76, for Kermanshah's role within the Allied supply system and the strategic importance of Iran and Iraq during the Second World War.
2. Joseph L. Schubert, *The Persian Gulf Command: Lifeline to the Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1997), pp. 1–24 and 71–108, for the organisation, scale, and operation of the Persian Corridor as one of the principal Allied supply routes to the Soviet Union.
 3. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 87–118; ARD, Diary, September–October 1942, DFA, for depot operations, vehicle maintenance, repair procedures, and the daily pressures of keeping the Persian Corridor operational.
 4. Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 214–239; ARD, Diary, September 1942, DFA, for British soldiers' experiences of leave, discipline, and encounters with local communities in wartime Iran.
 5. Georgina Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1977), pp. 89–102, for the archaeology and historical significance of Taq-e Bostan and Kermanshah; Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962), pp. 193–208, for the historical importance of western Persia under the Sasanian Empire.
 6. ARD, Diary, 31 August 1942, DFA, for his invitation to the British Consulate, the swimming pool, and the events recorded during his visit to Kermanshah.
 7. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 3–24 and 55–86; Joseph L. Schubert, *The Persian Gulf Command: Lifeline to the Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1997), pp. 71–108, for the strategic importance of the Persian Corridor in sustaining the Soviet war effort and supporting Allied operations in the Middle East.
 8. Nicholas Reeves, *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality?* (London: Cassell, 1999), pp. 123–137; Imperial War Museums, collections relating to the Army Kinematograph Service, for the Army Kinematograph Service and the provision of travelling cinema and film entertainment to British forces serving overseas.
 9. Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 1–33, for the establishment, organisation, and wartime responsibilities of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.
 10. Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 171–212, for heavy recovery vehicles, mobile workshops, breakdown sections, and vehicle maintenance within REME formations during the Second World War.
 11. ARD, Diary, September 1942, DFA, for the storm, flooding, destruction of tents, and the resulting disruption to camp operations.
 12. ARD, Diary, September 1942, DFA, for the climbing accident, the death of the soldier concerned, and the subsequent burial conducted by British military authorities.
 13. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 119–154; and Joseph L. Schubert, *The Persian Gulf Command: Lifeline to the Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: United States

Army Center of Military History, 1997), pp. 109–146, for troop movements within Iran and the changing operational emphasis of the Persian Corridor during late 1942.

CHAPTER 14: KEEP THE CORRIDOR MOVING

1. ARD, Diary, 3–8 November 1942, DFA, for his departure from Kermanshah, the journey through Hamadan and Sultanabad, and the onward movement toward Qom.
2. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 119–154, especially pp. 123–140, for the organisation, scale, and operational priorities of the Persian Corridor during late 1942.
3. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 266–271, for the strategic importance of Allied communications and supply routes through Iraq and Iran.
4. Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 1–33, for the establishment of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers on 1 October 1942 and its responsibility for the repair, recovery, and maintenance of British Army equipment.
5. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 123–154, for military road convoys, vehicle maintenance, recovery operations, and the logistical challenges of sustaining overland transport across Iran.
6. Michael Axworthy, *Empire of the Mind: A History of Iran* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 178–184, for the historical and religious significance of Qom as one of the principal centres of Shi'a Islam.
7. ARD, Diary, November 1942, DFA, for rumours and reports circulating among British troops concerning local hostility and security conditions. These accounts are presented as evidence of contemporary belief rather than independently verified historical events.
8. Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*, vol. III, *The War of Words* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 583–618, for BBC wartime broadcasting to British forces overseas, including the familiar introduction "This is London calling".
9. Winston S. Churchill, *The End of the Beginning: War Speeches, 1942* (London: Cassell, 1943), pp. 667–672, for the Mansion House speech of 10 November 1942, including the phrase "This is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."
10. Tadeusz Piotrowski, *The Polish Deportees of World War II: Recollections of Removal to the Soviet Union and Dispersal Throughout the World* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004), pp. 96–117; and T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 145–151, for the evacuation of Polish civilians and military personnel through Iran during 1942 and the resulting pressures on Allied transport, accommodation, and logistics.

CHAPTER 15: THE ENEMY WITHIN

1. ARD, Diary, 21 November 1942–5 February 1943, DFA, for his admission to hospital at Qom, transfer by ambulance train to No. 29 British General Hospital, Tehran, his illness

and treatment, descriptions of the ward and medical staff, and his account of Christmas Day, including the visit of the American Red Cross and an ENSA performance; See also American National Red Cross, *The Red Cross at War* (Washington, DC, 1945), for overseas hospital welfare visits, Christmas distributions, and recreational support provided to Allied servicemen in Middle Eastern hospitals.

2. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 155–185, for the medical, logistical and environmental challenges of sustaining Allied personnel along the Persian Corridor.
3. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 165–176; and Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 266–271, for the location, function and wartime role of No. 29 British General Hospital, Tehran.
4. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 160–180, for the multinational composition of Allied medical services in Iran, including British medical personnel, Polish nurses and supporting staff.
5. Mark Harrison, *Medicine and Victory: British Military Medicine in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 166–190, for the treatment of pneumonia and other respiratory diseases, the use of sulphonamide drugs, oxygen therapy, and wartime medical practice in Middle Eastern theatres.
6. ARD, Diary, 21 November 1942, DFA, for his statement that No. 29 British General Hospital occupied a hospital building begun by German contractors before the Second World War. The provenance of the building has not been independently verified.
7. United States Department of State, Office of the Historian, "Casablanca Conference, January 1943," in *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, The Conferences at Washington and Casablanca, 1943* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 487–520, for the decisions reached at Casablanca and the adoption of the policy of unconditional surrender.
8. *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, The Conferences at Washington and Casablanca, 1943* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 862–866, for President Roosevelt's press conference announcing the policy of unconditional surrender.
9. Michael Axworthy, *Empire of the Mind: A History of Iran* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 225–252, for Reza Shah's programme of modernisation and the role of German engineers, architects and industrial advisers in pre-war Iran.
10. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Trans-Iranian Railway," World Heritage List (inscribed 2021); and T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 43–54, for the construction, strategic importance and wartime use of the Trans-Iranian Railway within the Persian Corridor.
11. A. C. S. Peacock, *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), pp. 96–112, for Café Naderi and its place within Tehran's cultural and intellectual life during the mid-twentieth century.
12. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 186–213, for the expansion of the American military presence in Iran and the development of the Persian Gulf Command in support of Lend-Lease operations.

CHAPTER 16: FRONTIERS OF CONFLICT

1. ARD, Diary, 10–14 March 1943, DFA, for his departure from Qom, the five-day convoy journey through western Iran, and his descriptions of Malayer, Hamadan, Kermanshah, the Pai-Tak Pass, and the Polish camp near the Iraqi frontier.
2. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 119–154, especially pp. 123–145, for the organisation of military road convoys, the logistical challenges of transporting supplies across Iran, and the operational importance of the Persian Corridor.
3. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Trans-Iranian Railway," World Heritage List (inscribed 2021); and T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 43–54, for the route of the Trans-Iranian Railway and its strategic importance to Allied wartime logistics.
4. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Trans-Iranian Railway," World Heritage List; and Michael Axworthy, *Empire of the Mind: A History of Iran* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 225–252, for the construction of the Trans-Iranian Railway under Reza Shah and the participation of European engineering firms before the Second World War.
5. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 103–133, especially pp. 117–129, for the principal road routes across western Iran, including the Pai-Tak Pass and the mountain approaches linking Kermanshah with the Iraqi frontier.
6. Norman Davies, *Trail of Hope: The Anders Army, An Odyssey Across Three Continents* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2015), pp. 173–216, for the evacuation of the Polish Army from the Soviet Union, its reorganisation in Iran and Iraq, and the formation of Anders' Army in the Middle East.
7. Norman Davies, *Trail of Hope: The Anders Army, An Odyssey Across Three Continents* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2015), pp. 141–172; and Tadeusz Piotrowski, *The Polish Deportees of World War II: Recollections of Removal to the Soviet Union and Dispersal Throughout the World* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004), pp. 96–117, for the arrival of Polish civilians and military personnel in Iran, the establishment of refugee camps, and the scale of the evacuation from the Soviet Union.
8. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Trans-Iranian Railway," World Heritage List; and Michael Axworthy, *Empire of the Mind: A History of Iran* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 225–252, for the purpose, route, and wartime use of the Trans-Iranian Railway. References in the narrative to the railway extending "all the way to Berlin" reflect Alwyn Robinson Day's contemporary impression rather than the railway's documented geographical extent.

CHAPTER 17: THE EMPIRE'S LAST OUTPOST

1. Willem Floor, *A History of the Ottoman–Safavid Borderland* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2008), pp. 113–127, for the historical significance of Qasr-e Shirin and the Treaty of Zuhab (1639), which helped establish the enduring frontier between the Ottoman and Persian empires.

2. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 119–154, especially pp. 123–145, for the Anglo-Soviet occupation of Iran, the establishment of the Persian Corridor, and the strategic importance of maintaining Allied supply routes to the Soviet Union.
3. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 155–185; Joseph L. Schubert, *The Persian Gulf Command: Lifeline to the Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1997), pp. 71–108, for the multinational character of Allied operations in western Iran, including British, Commonwealth, American, Polish and local personnel supporting the Persian Corridor.
4. ARD, Diary, March 1943, DFA, for disrupted supplies, ration substitutions, and conditions at Qasr-e Shirin. See also T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 145–160, for the logistical difficulties affecting transport and supply throughout the corridor.
5. Winston S. Churchill, *Onwards to Victory: War Speeches by the Right Honourable Winston S. Churchill* (London: Cassell, 1944), pp. 86–95, for Churchill's broadcast of 21 March 1943 outlining post-war reconstruction, employment, and proposals for a National Health Service.
6. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 318–352; Yasmin Khan, *The Raj at War: A People's History of India's Second World War* (London: Bodley Head, 2015), pp. 278–304, for the contribution of Britain's empire to the Allied war effort and the differing experiences of imperial peoples during the conflict.
7. ARD, Service Record, MOD; ARD Papers, B.179.C medical documentation, DFA, for Alwyn Robinson Day's medical regrading, diagnosis of residual disability following lobar pneumonia, and subsequent fitness for duty.
8. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 186–213; and Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 266–271, for wartime food shortages, transport difficulties, and Allied emergency relief measures in Iran during the winter of 1942–43.

CHAPTER 18: THE EMPIRE'S ARTERY

1. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 145–185, especially pp. 159–179, for Allied movement control, route organisation, and the scale of overland supply operations across Iraq and Iran during 1943.
2. Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Free Press, 1991), pp. 315–317, for the construction and strategic importance of the Iraq Petroleum Company's Kirkuk–Haifa pipeline.
3. John Bagot Glubb, *The Story of the Arab Legion* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1948), pp. 117–139, for the Iraq–Transjordan desert route, the H-series pumping stations, Rutbah, and British security operations along the pipeline.

4. John Bagot Glubb, *The Story of the Arab Legion* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1948), pp. 120–145, for the geography and wartime communications route linking Rutbah, H-4, Mafrqa, Deraa and Damascus.
5. T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), Book VII, especially pp. 512–560, for Lawrence's account of the Arab Revolt and the landscape through which British military mythology continued to shape later soldiers' perceptions; John Bagot Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1957), pp. 43–81 and 174–212, for the development of the Arab Legion and British military involvement in Transjordan.
6. Michael Provence, *The Last Ottoman Generation and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 251–256; James Barr, *A Line in the Sand* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2011), pp. 225–248, for the political position of Syria following the Allied campaign of 1941 and the tensions created by continuing British and Free French authority.
7. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. IV: *The Hinge of Fate* (London: Cassell, 1951), pp. 401–418, for Britain's strategic assessment of Middle Eastern oil and communications. The description of oil as an "artery of Empire" is the author's own formulation.
8. Daniel Yergin, *The Prize*, pp. 309–317, for the ownership structure and strategic significance of the Iraq Petroleum Company.
9. John Bagot Glubb, *The Story of the Arab Legion*, pp. 132–144, for repeated attacks on the Iraq Petroleum Company pipeline and British measures to protect it.
10. Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia: The Authorised Biography of T. E. Lawrence* (London: Heinemann, 1989), pp. 823–856, for Lawrence's wartime reputation and post-war public mythology.
11. Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia: The Authorised Biography*, pp. 348–359, for the controversy surrounding Lawrence's account of his treatment at Deraa.
12. Ross Burns, *Damascus: A History* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1–32, for the historical development of Damascus and its long continuity as an urban centre.
13. Ross Burns, *Damascus: A History*, pp. 23–38, for the Barada River, the Ghouta oasis, and the geographical setting of Damascus.

CHAPTER 19: A NEW FRONT

1. ARD, Diary, 8 April–2 June 1943, DFA, for his arrival in the Beqaa Valley, impressions of Ablah and Zahle, life in the French Barracks, the NAAFI, weekly cinema, YMCA, gardening, and his reflections after nine months in Persia.
2. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 250–282, for Lebanon under the French Mandate, the transition towards independence during 1943, and the political circumstances of the wartime Levant.
3. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 272–279, for the legacy of the 1941 Syria–Lebanon campaign and the continuing British and Free French military presence in the Levant.

4. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 283–295, for the Beqaa Valley as an agricultural region and strategic communications corridor linking Syria and Lebanon.
5. ARD, Diary, April–May 1943, DFA, for life at Ablah, including depot routines, vehicle maintenance, barrack accommodation, gardening, and the daily work of a REME clerk supporting Allied transport operations.
6. Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 171–212, for the wartime responsibilities of REME in maintaining the mobility of British Army formations through repair, recovery, maintenance and technical administration.
7. ARD, Diary, April–May 1943, DFA, for visits to Zahle, the YMCA, local cafés, cinemas and the recreational facilities available to British servicemen stationed in the Beqaa Valley.
8. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 318–352; Yasmin Khan, *The Raj at War: A People's History of India's Second World War* (London: Bodley Head, 2015), pp. 278–304, for the multinational character of Britain's wartime empire and the differing experiences of imperial and Allied personnel serving in the Middle East.
9. ARD, Diary, 2 June 1943, DFA, for his transfer orders to Cairo. See also Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 266–271, for Egypt's continuing role as the principal administrative and logistical centre of British operations in the Middle East.
10. Samir Kassir, *Beirut* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), pp. 143–151, for Zahle, the Beqaa Valley and the cultural character of central Lebanon during the French Mandate.
11. A. W. Bullock, *The Story of the YMCA with the Forces, 1939–1947* (London: National Council of the YMCA, 1949), pp. 83–101, for YMCA clubs providing meals, accommodation, recreation and welfare facilities for British servicemen serving in the Middle East.
12. NAAFI, *The First Fifty Years* (Windsor: NAAFI, 1971), pp. 41–58, for the operation of NAAFI canteens serving British forces in the Middle East during the Second World War.

CHAPTER 20: SOLO MISSION

1. ARD, Diary, 2–3 June 1943, DFA, for his movement orders from Ablah, his journey by staff car through Lebanon and Palestine, arrival at Haifa, and onward rail journey to Cairo.
2. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 272–279, for the Allied military presence in the Levant following the 1941 Syria–Lebanon campaign and the continued use of Lebanon as a communications and logistics corridor.
3. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 250–282, for Lebanon's political transition during 1943 and the continuing influence of French and Allied authority during the final years of the Mandate.

4. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 283–296, for the principal coastal communications route linking Beirut, Sidon, Tyre and the Palestine frontier during the Second World War.
5. Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), pp. 433–470, for the political and security situation in Mandatory Palestine during the Second World War and the growing tensions between British authorities, Jewish communities and Arab populations.
6. Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Free Press, 1991), pp. 315–319, for Haifa as Britain's principal eastern Mediterranean refinery, oil terminal and fuel distribution centre during the Second World War.
7. Daniel Yergin, *The Prize*, pp. 309–317, for the Kirkuk–Haifa pipeline and its contribution to Allied fuel supplies.
8. H. Rogan, *The Railway in Palestine and Transjordan* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1984), pp. 147–175, for Palestine Railways, the Haifa–Qantara route and the railway's integration into British military communications between Palestine and Egypt.
9. ARD, Diary, 3 June 1943, DFA, for his overnight rail journey from Haifa towards Egypt. See also H. Rogan, *The Railway in Palestine and Transjordan*, pp. 160–175, for wartime conditions on Palestine Railways, including blackout measures, mixed military and civilian traffic, and long-distance travel along the eastern Mediterranean corridor.
10. Philip Mansel, *Levant*, pp. 220–246, for wartime Beirut, its multilingual society, French influence and commercial life.
11. Glenn Markoe, *Phoenicians* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), pp. 17–48, for the maritime civilisation of the Phoenicians and the historical importance of Sidon and Tyre.
12. Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete*, pp. 395–430, for the demographic development of Haifa during the British Mandate and the city's mixed Jewish, Arab and British population.
13. ARD, Diary, 2 June 1943, DFA, for his description of the Kingsway Café and evening in Haifa.
14. Simon Goldhill, *The Temple of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), or an equivalent historical guide, for Mount Carmel and the Bahá'í Shrine.
15. Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete*, pp. 103–116, for citrus cultivation and the economic importance of Palestine's orange industry during the British Mandate.

CHAPTER 21: HEART OF COMMAND

1. ARD, Diary, June–July 1943, DFA, for his first impressions of Cairo, his description of its boulevards, theatres, cinemas, department stores and motor traffic, and his comparison of the city to 'Paris under an Egyptian sky'. See also Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), for Cairo's role as the political, military, administrative and social centre of the Allied war effort in the Middle East.
2. Samir W. Raafat, *Maadi 1904–1962: Society and History in a Cairo Suburb* (Cairo: Palm Press, 1994), pp. 100–113; Annalise J. K. DeVries, *Maadi: The Making and Unmaking of a Cairo Suburb, 1878–1962* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2021), for the development of Maadi as a planned expatriate suburb, its relationship with British colonial society, and its transformation during the Second World War.

3. Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), for the routines, discomforts, recreation and morale of British soldiers serving overseas; Josh King, “‘Certainly Getting About the World’: New Zealanders’ Experience of the Middle East as a Place During the Second World War”, *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, special issue 30 (2020), pp. 116–39, for Dominion servicemen’s experiences of Cairo, desert camps and the wider Middle Eastern environment.
4. Josh King, “‘Certainly Getting About the World’”, pp. 116–39, for the presence and experiences of New Zealand servicemen in Egypt and the Middle East; Imperial War Museums, ‘New Zealand Camp Prepared by Natives; New Zealanders Arrive and Land in Egypt’, film catalogue no. BAY 37, for the establishment of the New Zealand military camp at Maadi.
5. Samir W. Raafat, *Maadi 1904–1962*, pp. 100–113; Annalise J. K. DeVries, *Maadi: The Making and Unmaking of a Cairo Suburb, 1878–1962*; Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945*, for Maadi’s wartime development, the establishment of military camps in and around the suburb, and the relationship between expatriate residential districts, Allied troops and civilian life.
6. Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945*, for the scale and administrative culture of the Allied headquarters system in Cairo; Thaddeus Holt, *The Deceivers: Allied Military Deception in the Second World War* (New York: Scribner, 2004), for General Headquarters Middle East at Grey Pillars in Garden City and the expansion of headquarters offices across central Cairo; Australian War Memorial, photograph catalogue no. C332632, for the continued wartime use of Kasr el-Nil Barracks by British and Commonwealth forces.
7. ARD, Diary, June–July 1943, DFA, for the absence of operational detail concerning his duties in Cairo. See also Grace Huxford, *The Veterans’ Tale: British Military Memoirs of the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), introduction, for wartime restrictions upon the recording and publication of military locations, personnel, equipment and operations. The reasons for Alwyn Robinson Day’s reticence remain interpretive and may reflect caution, habit, military discipline or operational security.
8. ARD, Service Record, MOD; relevant Army Lists, formation orders and III Corps war diaries, for the apparent discrepancy between Alwyn Robinson Day’s recorded association with III Corps and his presence in Cairo during June 1943. The surviving documentary record confirms his attachment to III Corps and his presence in Cairo but does not explain the administrative or operational relationship between the two.
9. ARD, Diary, June–July 1943, DFA, for his walks through Cairo, his growing familiarity with the city and his observations of its streets, cafés and public life. See also Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945*, for wartime Cairo’s civilian and military society; and Josh King, “‘Certainly Getting About the World’”, pp. 116–39, for Dominion servicemen’s encounters with Cairo and other Middle Eastern cities.

CHAPTER 22: AUTHOR’S INVESTIGATION

1. ARD, Service Record, MOD; ARD, Diary, 1939–43, DFA, for the surviving sequence of Alwyn Robinson Day’s postings and movements through France, Northern Ireland,

Persia, Lebanon and Egypt. The surviving records contain gaps and apparent inconsistencies, particularly concerning his association with III Corps and his presence in Cairo from June 1943. No surviving document presently states the precise reason for his individual transfer from Ablah to Cairo.

2. ARD, Service Record, MOD, for the recorded sequence of Alwyn Robinson Day's postings, attachments and changes of theatre. The service record was created for military administration and is therefore the principal source for his formal postings, although it does not provide a complete narrative of his duties or explain every temporary attachment.
3. Martin van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 143–80, for the dependence of modern armies upon administrative preparation, transport, maintenance, supply organisation and the establishment of communications behind operational forces; Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 1–33, 171–212, for the technical, clerical and administrative structures required to establish and sustain REME workshops, depots and repair organisations. Neither source identifies Alwyn as a member of a particular advance party.
4. Martin van Creveld, *Supplying War*, pp. 143–80; Rowcroft, *REME*, pp. 171–212, for the strategic importance of supply, repair, recovery, transport records and technical administration in maintaining operational mobility. The description of these responsibilities as Alwyn's 'logistical front line' is the author's interpretation.
5. ARD, Diary, 1942–43, DFA, for the limited operational detail recorded by Alwyn during his overseas service. See also Grace Huxford, *The Veterans' Tale: British Military Memoirs of the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), introduction, for wartime restrictions and later sensitivities concerning the recording of military locations, units, personnel, equipment and operations. Alwyn's reticence may reflect military caution, personal habit, operational security or the practical limitations of diary writing; the surviving evidence does not establish a single cause.
6. ARD, Diary, 1942–43, DFA, for the changing form and tone of Alwyn's personal writing during his overseas service, including the more reflective passages recorded in Egypt. The identification of a change in literary voice, emotional outlook or sense of historical perspective is based upon the author's comparative reading of the diary and is not presented as a documented psychological diagnosis.
7. ARD, Diary, 12 July 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's description of the Pyramids and Sphinx at Giza and his reflections upon their scale and historical significance. See also Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad; or, The New Pilgrims' Progress* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1869), ch. 58, pp. 618–34, especially pp. 621–30, for Twain's response to the scale of the Great Pyramid and the antiquity represented by the Sphinx.
8. Andrew Roberts, *Napoleon: A Life* (New York: Viking, 2014), relevant chapter on the Egyptian campaign; and Thierry Lentz, 'Why Did Napoleon Go to Conquer Egypt?', Fondation Napoléon, for the political, strategic and imaginative context of Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition. The statement traditionally rendered as 'From the heights of these pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you' belongs to the subsequent Napoleonic legend and survives in variant forms; it is used here as an illustrative comparison rather than as evidence for Alwyn's response.

9. ARD Papers, photographs taken in Egypt, 1943, DFA, for images showing Alwyn Robinson Day wearing a whitened webbing belt and carrying a pale cylindrical object. Imperial War Museums, 'Belt, Web Equipment, 1937 Pattern (Whitened): Corps of Military Police', catalogue no. UNI 15006, confirms the association of whitened webbing with military-police dress; National Army Museum, 'Corps of Royal Military Police', for the wartime responsibilities of the Corps of Military Police, including discipline, traffic control, port duties and the guarding of vulnerable installations. The photographs do not establish that Alwyn was formally posted to the Corps of Military Police, and the object in his hand cannot presently be identified conclusively as a police truncheon.
10. ARD, Service Record, MOD; and ARD Papers, Egypt photographs, DFA, for the absence of any surviving formal posting to the Corps of Military Police or recorded provost appointment during Alwyn's service in Cairo. Temporary guard, traffic-control, escort or disciplinary duties may have been assigned locally without constituting a change of corps, but this cannot presently be demonstrated from the surviving evidence.
11. ARD, Service Record, MOD; and ARD, Diary, 2 June 1943, DFA, for his individual transfer from Ablah, collection by staff car and onward movement to Cairo. These circumstances demonstrate that the movement order applied specifically to Alwyn, but they do not by themselves establish who selected him, why he was selected, or whether he travelled as part of an advance detachment.
12. ARD, Service Record, MOD; relevant III Corps war diaries, formation orders and Middle East Command administrative records, for the unresolved relationship between Alwyn's recorded association with III Corps and his presence in Cairo during June 1943. The surviving records do not identify his precise duties in Cairo. The suggestion that he was sent ahead to assist in establishing the administrative functions of III Corps in Cairo represents the author's interpretation of the available evidence rather than a documented historical conclusion.

CHAPTER 23: EMPIRES FALL

1. ARD, Diary, summer 1943, DFA, for Alwyn Robinson Day's visits to Cairo's mosques and museums, including the mosques of Aqsunqur, Sultan Hassan and Muhammad Ali, and for his observations from the Citadel. The surviving photographs showing a whitened belt and an unidentified cylindrical object suggest possible auxiliary policing, guard, escort or traffic-control duties, but no surviving service document presently confirms a formal provost appointment.
2. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), pp. 94–132, for the development and monumental character of Bahri Mamluk architecture, including the Mosque-Madrassa of Sultan Hassan and other fourteenth-century religious complexes; Caroline Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo: The Practical Guide*, 7th edn (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2018), the Mosque of Aqsunqur, the Mosque-Madrassa of Sultan Hassan and the Mosque of Muhammad Ali, for the identification, location and architectural character of the monuments visited by Alwyn.
3. ARD, Diary, summer 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's reference to the "Blue Mosque." The most likely identification is the Mosque of Aqsunqur in Cairo, constructed in the fourteenth century and renowned for its later Ottoman Iznik tile decoration, from which its popular

name derives. As the diary does not record the monument's formal name, the identification remains probable rather than certain.

4. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, pp. 94–132; and Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), pp. 18–49, for the architectural scale, ceremonial setting and historical development of the Citadel and its principal Mamluk monuments. Rabbat's study concentrates primarily on the medieval Citadel rather than Muhammad Ali's nineteenth-century additions.
5. Nezar AlSayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 171–98, for Cairo under Napoleon and Muhammad Ali, the weakening of Ottoman authority and the political transformation of Egypt in the early nineteenth century; Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 38–75, 239–77, for Muhammad Ali's consolidation of power, military reforms and state-building programme.
6. ARD, Diary, summer 1943, DFA, for his visit to the Citadel passage traditionally associated with the massacre of the Mamluk leaders. See also Nezar AlSayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City*, pp. 171–98, for Muhammad Ali's rise and the elimination of rival power centres in Egypt. Contemporary and later accounts agree that Muhammad Ali's troops killed the assembled Mamluk beys at the Citadel on 1 March 1811, although details such as the precise number killed and the legendary horseman's escape vary between retellings.
7. Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 38–75, 76–111 and 239–77, for Muhammad Ali's creation of a new army, systems of conscription, fiscal control and administrative reform. The observation in the text that the massacre of the Mamluks "cleared the ground" for these reforms is the author's interpretation of their political consequences and is not intended to imply that Muhammad Ali's methods were benign, inevitable or directed primarily towards the creation of an independent modern nation-state.
8. ARD, Diary, July 1943, DFA; ARD, Service Record, MOD, for Alwyn's presence and duties in Cairo. The surviving evidence confirms his attachment to III Corps but does not establish that the headquarters was then being newly formed or arriving in successive waves. References in the text to III Corps activity at Kasr el-Nil therefore represent a historical reconstruction based upon the available evidence rather than a conclusion directly documented in surviving III Corps records.
9. ARD, Diary, July 1943, DFA, for his experience of work in Cairo and any contemporary reference to changing military events. See also MacGregor Knox, *Mussolini Unleashed, 1939–1941: Politics and Strategy in Fascist Italy's Last War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), for the structural weaknesses of Fascist Italy's military system; and R. J. B. Bosworth, *Mussolini* (London: Arnold, 2002), for the collapse of Mussolini's authority and his dismissal and arrest following the meeting of the Fascist Grand Council in July 1943. Mussolini was removed from office by King Victor Emmanuel III on 25 July 1943, after the Allied invasion of Sicily had begun on 10 July.
10. ARD, Diary, 15 August 1943, DFA, for the Nile steamer excursion hosted by Lady Lampson, its destination at the Nile Barrage, the duration of the journey, the refreshments served and Alwyn's enjoyment of the day.

11. Jacqueline Aldine Leslie Lampson, later Baroness Killearn, was the second wife of Sir Miles Lampson, British Ambassador to Egypt and High Commissioner for the Sudan. See M. E. Yapp, ed., *The Killearn Diaries, 1934–1946* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1972), for the diplomatic and social world surrounding the British embassy in Cairo; and National Library of New Zealand, authority record, ‘Killearn, Jacqueline Aldine Leslie (Lady), 1910–2015’, for her wartime welfare activities, including her support for servicemen’s clubs. Descriptions of her manner, accent, clothing and private conversations aboard the steamer are imaginative reconstruction unless independently recorded by Alwyn or another participant.
12. Robert Hanbury Brown, *History of the Barrage at the Head of the Delta of Egypt* (Cairo: F. Diemer, 1896), for the design, construction, structural difficulties and nineteenth-century restoration of the Delta Barrage; Claire Jean Cookson-Hills, ‘Engineering the Nile: Irrigation and the British Empire in Egypt, 1882–1914’ (PhD thesis, Queen’s University, 2013), for the role of British engineers in the reconstruction and administration of Egypt’s irrigation system; National Army Museum, “‘Barrage Nile Delta’, Egypt, 1943’, accession no. NAM. 1975-03-63-11-172, for contemporary visual evidence of the site during the year of Alwyn’s visit.
13. ARD, Diary, 15 August 1943, DFA, for the party’s visit to the gardens and barrage. The engineers’ applause, technical discussion, references to the barrage’s dimensions, and broader reflections on British engineering and imperial administration are not recorded explicitly in Alwyn’s diary but are inferred from the historical context in which the visit took place.
14. ARD, Diary, 25 October 1943, DFA, for his posting to the Citadel, his comparison with the Maadi camp, and his descriptions of the accommodation, hot showers, meals, cinema, swimming pool and tennis courts.
15. Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*, pp. 1–17, 50–89 and 283–96, for the foundation of the Cairo Citadel by Salah al-Din, its role as an Ayyubid and Mamluk centre of power and its relationship to the government of medieval Cairo; Nezar AlSayyad, *Cairo: Histories of a City*, pp. 77–116, 149–98, for the Citadel under Ayyubid, Mamluk, Ottoman and Muhammad Ali rule.
16. ARD, Service Record, MOD; ARD Papers, relevant posting and trade documentation, DFA, for Alwyn’s service at the Citadel and his recorded assignment to XIV-A and XIV-B. See also Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 1–33, 171–212, for the wartime organisation of REME, technical administration, repair, recovery, and the management of equipment and spare parts. The surviving service documentation records Alwyn’s postings to XIV-A and XIV-B, but the precise administrative functions denoted by those designations have not been established.
17. ARD, Diary, October–December 1943, DFA, for Alwyn’s statement that he liked his new job. The reconstruction of his duties, including responsibility for workshop stores, spare parts accounting, vehicle records, tool scales and regional supply arrangements, is based upon his trade classification as a REME clerk, the organisation and functions of REME workshops, and the wider documentary context rather than explicit descriptions in the diary. These details represent the author’s historical reconstruction of Alwyn’s likely responsibilities rather than matters directly recorded in the surviving diary.

18. ARD Papers, photographs taken in Cairo, 1943, DFA; Imperial War Museums, 'Belt, Web Equipment, 1937 Pattern (Whitened): Corps of Military Police', catalogue no. UNI 15006; National Army Museum, 'Corps of Royal Military Police', for whitened military-police webbing and wartime duties involving discipline, traffic control, guarding and the management of military movement. The surviving evidence does not establish that Alwyn was 'made a regimental policeman'; temporary guard, escort or order-maintenance duties remain possible interpretations of the photographs.
19. ARD, Diary, autumn 1943, DFA, for the entertainments and performers he records seeing in Cairo. National Portrait Gallery, 'Vivien Leigh: A Star in Wartime', confirms that Vivien Leigh toured North Africa with an ENSA company during the summer of 1943 alongside Dorothy Dickson and Leslie Henson. Alwyn's diary remains the principal evidence that he personally saw the listed performers.
20. The names recorded by Alwyn require cautious identification. "Denham Elliott" is most likely the actor Denholm Elliott, although no independent evidence has been found confirming his appearance at the Cairo Opera House during this period. "Chilli Boucher" is almost certainly the British actress Chili Bouchier. The identifications offered here represent the most plausible interpretation of the surviving evidence but cannot be regarded as conclusive.
21. Cairo Opera House, 'History of the Khedivial Opera House'; Oxford Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama, 'Khedivial Opera House, Royal Opera House (1869–1971)', for the construction of the Khedivial Opera House in 1869 to accompany the Suez Canal celebrations, its Italian architectural design and its destruction by fire in October 1971.
22. ARD, Diary, autumn 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's statement that he saw Josephine Baker in Cairo. See Phyllis Rose, *Jazz Cleopatra: Josephine Baker in Her Time* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), for Baker's wartime performances and intelligence work on behalf of Free France. Her activities included conveying information obtained through diplomatic and social contacts, for which she was later awarded some of France's highest honours. Although Baker is widely reported to have transported intelligence concealed in invisible ink on her sheet music during the war, no evidence has been found linking that practice to the particular performance attended by Alwyn.
23. Bennetta Jules-Rosette, *Josephine Baker in Art and Life: The Icon and the Image* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), for Baker's post-war public identity, civil-rights activity and adopted family, popularly called the 'Rainbow Tribe'. These later events provide biographical context but are not evidence concerning Alwyn's experience in Cairo.
24. ARD, Diary, late 1943, DFA, for his decision to take leave in Palestine. The interpretation of Palestine as a move from Cairo's theatrical world into a more immediate political conflict is the author's narrative framing.

CHAPTER 24: TROUBLE IN THE HOLY LAND

1. ARD, Diary, 5–7 December 1943, DFA, for his leave journey from Cairo through Tel el-Kebir and Ismailia, the crossing of Sinai by military transport, the breakdown in the desert, his arrival in Jerusalem, and the tours undertaken during his stay. The diary is the principal evidence for his route and personal experiences.

2. ARD, Diary, 5 December 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's arrival at Tel el-Kebir and transfer to another military vehicle. Tel el-Kebir had long served as a major British military station and, during the Second World War, formed one of the principal transit, training, storage and communications centres supporting British operations in Egypt and the wider Middle East. See also I. S. O. Playfair, C. J. C. Molony, F. C. Flynn, and T. P. Gleave, *The Mediterranean and Middle East*. Vol. I, *The Early Successes against Italy (to May 1941)*. History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Military Series (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), for the development of the British base, supply and communications organisation in Egypt.
3. I. S. O. Playfair et al., *The Mediterranean and Middle East*, vol. I, for the strategic importance of the Suez Canal, Ismailia and the Canal Zone within Britain's military communications system; ARD, Diary, 5 December 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's meal at Ismailia and his wait at the military transport point for a vehicle crossing Sinai.
4. ARD, Diary, 5–6 December 1943, DFA, for the speed, breakdown and overnight delay experienced during the Sinai crossing. See also War Office, *Military Engineering*. Vol. XIV, *Water Supply* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, wartime edition), and contemporary Middle East Command transport instructions, for the importance of water discipline, vehicle maintenance, navigation and recovery procedures on desert routes. The circumstances of Alwyn's particular journey are derived from his diary, while the official publications provide the wider operational context.
5. ARD, Diary, 5 December 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's reference to a "15-cwt truck" transporting him across the Sinai Desert. The diary does not identify the manufacturer or model. Descriptions of the vehicle in the narrative are therefore based upon the general characteristics of British Army 15-cwt transport rather than a documented identification of a specific vehicle.
6. ARD, Diary, 5–6 December 1943, DFA, for his description of being stranded in the Sinai Desert, the absence of nearby settlement, the arrival of another American vehicle, and the eventual recovery of the disabled truck. Details concerning the exact mechanical fault, tow-bar procedure, conversation among the recovery crew and conditions at the REME depot are reconstructed.
7. Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 1–33, 171–212, for REME's wartime responsibilities for inspection, repair, vehicle recovery, mobile workshops and the restoration of military mobility under field conditions.
8. Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), pp. 433–70, for the political, social and security environment of Mandatory Palestine during the Second World War; Michael Dumper, *Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History, and the Future of the Holy City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), for Jerusalem's fragmented political geography and the overlapping religious, communal and administrative jurisdictions shaping the city.
9. ARD, Diary, 6–7 December 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's first impressions of Jerusalem, his accommodation during leave, and his participation in tours arranged through the YMCA. The diary refers to a "Church of Scotland" hostel, but its precise identity cannot now be established from the surviving evidence. During the Second World War, the Church of

Scotland maintained a substantial presence in Jerusalem through St Andrew's Church and associated institutions, while the Jerusalem YMCA organised accommodation, tours and recreational facilities for Allied servicemen on leave.

10. Jerusalem International YMCA, institutional history, for the YMCA's establishment in Jerusalem, the opening of its King David Street building in 1933 and its provision of educational, cultural, sporting and social facilities to residents and servicemen during the Mandate period; ARD, Diary, December 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's use of YMCA-organised tours. See also A. W. Bullock, *The Story of the YMCA with the Forces, 1939–1947* (London: National Council of the YMCA, 1949), for YMCA welfare and recreational services to military personnel overseas.
11. Michael Dumper, *The Politics of Jerusalem since 1967* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 9–38, 160–206, for the historical and political significance of Jerusalem's holy places, their competing religious jurisdictions and the long-standing problem of access, possession and custodianship. See also Michael Dumper, *Jerusalem Unbound*, for the spatial relationship between sacred sites and political authority.
12. ARD, Diary, 7 December 1943, DFA, for Alwyn's visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, his description of the traditional burial site of Christ, and his acknowledgement that its identification was disputed. The account reflects the long-standing Christian tradition associated with the church rather than any conclusion regarding the archaeological authenticity of the site.
13. ARD, Diary, 7 December 1943, DFA, for his account of the Via Dolorosa and the Stations of the Cross. Michael Dumper, *The Politics of Jerusalem since 1967*, pp. 160–206, provides context for the contested and institutionally regulated Christian holy places of Jerusalem.
14. ARD, Diary, 7 December 1943, DFA, for the afternoon donkey tour, the Mount of Olives, Gethsemane, Bethlehem and the Church of the Nativity. The diary provides the primary evidence for the itinerary, although the sequence and association of individual sites and traditions may occasionally reflect a compressed or conflated account of the day's visits.
15. Mauro Bernabei, 'The Age of the Olive Trees in the Garden of Gethsemane', *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 53 (January 2015), pp. 43–48, for scientific dating of surviving olive trees in the Garden of Gethsemane. The examined trees originated in approximately the twelfth century, although they may have regenerated from older root systems. They cannot be described as surviving trees that sheltered Jesus.
16. Michael Dumper, *Jerusalem Unbound: Geography, History, and the Future of the Holy City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), for the historical and religious context of Jerusalem's principal Christian holy places; and Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*. Vol. III, *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), for the architectural history, archaeological development and ecclesiastical traditions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Mount of Olives, Gethsemane and related Christian sites.
17. The tradition of a footprint impressed in stone is associated with the Chapel of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, where a mark in the rock has long been venerated as the footprint of Christ. ARD, Diary, 7 December 1943, DFA, appears to associate this tradition with the visit described in the diary. Rachel's Tomb, by contrast, is traditionally identified as the burial place of the biblical matriarch Rachel and is not associated with

the footprint tradition. The surviving diary does not establish whether the reference reflects a misplaced recollection, a conflation of separate visits, or the sequence in which the sites were later recorded.

18. Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History with Documents*, 10th ed. (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2021), for the legacy of the Arab Revolt, British administration during the Mandate, wartime Palestine, and the growing tensions between the Mandatory authorities, the Arab population and the Zionist movement during the later years of the Second World War, providing the political context for the post-war insurgency.
19. Alan Robinson, *Chaplains at War: The Role of Clergymen during World War II* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), chs. 5–6, for the work of British Army chaplains in bases and lines of communication and for their pastoral, liturgical and morale-related responsibilities; Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge, 2005), for the place of formal religion, private prayer and religious literature in the experience of British servicemen.
20. ARD Papers, 'Souvenir of Gethsemane', 'Daily Prayer for the Dying' and Franciscan Holy Land leaflet, DFA, for the devotional literature collected and retained by Alwyn during his visit. His preservation of these objects establishes that they mattered sufficiently for him to keep them, but the precise nature or intensity of his personal faith remains interpretive.
21. The printed grant of '100 days' indulgence referred to a remission equivalent to one hundred days of the canonical penance formerly imposed by the Church; it did not signify one hundred fewer days in purgatory. See the contemporary Catholic teaching on partial indulgences and the historical system by which they were expressed in periods of canonical penance.
22. ARD, Diary, 7 December 1943, DFA; ARD Papers, Holy Land pilgrimage certificate, 7 December 1943, DFA, for his visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, his recognition as a pilgrim and the certificate's prayer that he be preserved from evil and danger. The diary and certificate together provide direct and mutually corroborating evidence of the visit.
23. ARD Papers, olive leaf, or associated botanical souvenir retained with the diary, DFA, for the physical object identified within the Day Family Archive as having been collected at the Garden of Gethsemane. Its attribution to Gethsemane rests upon documented family provenance and the accompanying diary evidence rather than independent botanical or scientific verification.

CHAPTER 25: UNDER THE SKIN

1. ARD, Diary, 9–12 December 1943, DFA, for his visit to Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, Jericho, the Dead Sea, and his return journey to Egypt. See also Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), pp. 497–521, for the political and social atmosphere of Mandatory Palestine during the latter years of the Second World War.
2. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *White City of Tel Aviv – the Modern Movement* (World Heritage List), for the planning principles, Bauhaus and International Style architecture, and climatic adaptations that characterised Tel Aviv's early urban development.

3. Anita Shapira, *Israel: A History* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2012), pp. 13–19, for the founding of Tel Aviv and the adoption of its biblical name through Nahum Sokolow's Hebrew translation of Theodor Herzl's *Altneuland*.
4. Michael Levin, *The White City: Tel Aviv's Modern Movement Buildings* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2004), pp. 20–39; UNESCO World Heritage Centre, *White City of Tel Aviv – the Modern Movement*, for the architectural influences behind Tel Aviv's modernist development.
5. Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), pp. 357–376, for the development of suburban communities around Tel Aviv during the British Mandate. Alwyn's description of his host is taken from his diary.
6. Israeli Film Archive, *Horse Racing in Ramat Gan* (Mandate-era newsreel), for evidence of organised horse racing in Ramat Gan during the Mandate period. This source supports the historical setting rather than the identity of Alwyn's host.
7. Vardit Alianov-Rautenberg, "Kindred Spirits in the Levant? German Jews in British Mandatory Palestine and the Question of Cultural Identity," *Israel Studies* 26, no. 3 (2021): 78–101, especially pp. 80–90, for the experiences of German-speaking Jewish refugees in Mandatory Palestine.
8. Eric H. Cline, *Biblical Archaeology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 56–63, for the archaeology of Tell es-Sultan (Jericho), archaeological method, and debates concerning the chronology of the site.
9. John Garstang, *The Story of Jericho* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1948), pp. 49–88, for the contemporary archaeological interpretation of the Jericho excavations and the evidence then believed to support the biblical destruction narrative.
10. Eric H. Cline, *Biblical Archaeology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 63–71, for modern archaeological reinterpretations of Jericho and the relationship between archaeological evidence and biblical tradition.
11. ARD, Diary, 10–11 December 1943, DFA, for his visit to the Dead Sea. See also *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Dead Sea," for its physical geography and surface elevation of approximately 1,300 feet (c. 430 metres) below mean sea level.
12. Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), pp. 411–441, for the constitutional structure of the British Mandate and relations between the Mandatory authorities, Jewish communities, and Arab communities. Interpretations concerning the social distance between rulers and ruled are the author's own.
13. National Army Museum, "Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers," for the wartime responsibilities of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers in vehicle recovery, repair, and maintenance.
14. REME Museum, "Corps History," for the formation of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers on 1 October 1942 and its organisational purpose within the British Army.
15. Pat Ware, *The Illustrated Guide to Military Vehicles* (London: Lorenz Books, 2010), pp. 102–105, for the French Laffly S15 series of military vehicles. The vehicle described in Alwyn's narrative is identified only as a Free French truck in the diary; identification as a Laffly S15 is therefore presented as an informed inference rather than a documented fact.

16. BBC People's War, memoir describing Tel el-Kebir as a major British military base during the Second World War; *Hansard*, House of Commons Debates, 3 June 1947, vol. 438, cols. 1950–56, for the official description of Tel el-Kebir as a principal ordnance, workshop, and supply installation serving British forces in the Middle East; together with War Office files (WO 169 series) relating to REME Base Workshops and Base Vehicle Depot, Tel el-Kebir.

CHAPTER 26: CARVING UP THE WORLD

1. ARD, Diary, 12–13 December 1943, DFA, for his return to Cairo following leave in Palestine and his observations of the city's increasingly multinational military character. See also Keith Eubank, *Summit at Teheran* (New York: William Morrow, 1985), pp. 181–214, for the strategic significance of the Tehran Conference and the emergence of Allied grand strategy at the close of 1943.
2. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 405–18, for Cairo's role as Britain's principal command, administrative and logistical centre in the Middle East, and the heightened security accompanying the presence of senior Allied leaders during late 1943.
3. Warren F. Kimball, *Forged in War: Roosevelt, Churchill, and the Second World War* (New York: William Morrow, 1997), pp. 234–47, for the sequence, purpose and significance of the Cairo and Tehran Conferences during November–December 1943.
4. Martin Gilbert, *Winston Churchill: Road to Victory, 1941–1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986), pp. 574–79, for Churchill's participation in the Tehran Conference and the changing balance within the Allied coalition.
5. ARD, Diary, December 1943, DFA, for his observations of Cairo's cinemas, entertainment and social life. See also Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), pp. 297–305, for Cairo's wartime entertainment culture and civilian–military interaction.
6. Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), pp. 301–02, for Cairo's nightlife, including establishments such as the Trocadero, and the mixed clientele of Allied servicemen, civilians and foreign visitors.
7. *Hansard*, House of Commons Debates, 3 June 1947, vol. 438, cols. 1950–56, for the official description of Tel el-Kebir as one of the principal British Army ordnance, workshop and vehicle repair establishments in the Middle East; Imperial War Museums photographic collections illustrating Royal Army Ordnance Corps and REME workshops in Egypt; and War Office files (WO 169 series) relating to REME Base Workshops and Base Vehicle Depot, Tel el-Kebir.
8. Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 1–33; see also REME Museum, "Corps History," for the establishment of the Corps on 1 October 1942 and its wartime responsibilities.
9. Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 171–212; Imperial War Museums photographic collections relating to British Army vehicle workshops in Egypt, for the scale, organisation and operation of Base Workshops and vehicle repair facilities supporting Middle East Command.

10. Richard Fawkes, *Fighting for a Laugh: Entertaining the British and American Armed Forces, 1939–1946* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1978), pp. 178–85, for ENSA touring companies, cinema units and theatrical entertainment provided to British forces serving overseas.
11. ARD, Diary, December 1943, DFA, for troop leave and recreation in Cairo. See also Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), pp. 308–11, for Cairo's importance as the principal leave centre for British servicemen in the Middle East.
12. Major-General Eric Rowcroft, *REME: The History of the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1939–1948* (London: Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, 1953), pp. 1–33; REME Museum, "Corps History," for the organisation of British Army repair, maintenance and recovery services supporting Middle East Command.
13. Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 190–93, for the importance of administrative, logistical and technical personnel within Britain's wartime military system. Alwyn's own duties are established through his diary and Ministry of Defence service record.
14. ARD, Diary, 13 December 1943, DFA, for his reflections on leaving Cairo and subsequent visits from Tel el-Kebir. See also Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), pp. 311–14, for the relationship between Cairo and the surrounding military establishments, and the routine of British servicemen on leave.

CHAPTER 27: THE NIGHT THE WORLD CHANGED

1. ARD, Diary, 6 June 1944, DFA, for his account of being awakened to hear King George VI's broadcast announcing the Normandy landings and his reflections on the opening of the Second Front. See also King George VI, *Broadcast to the British Empire*, 6 June 1944, and Imperial War Museums sound archive and oral history collections relating to reactions to D-Day.
2. Stephen E. Ambrose, *D-Day, June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp. 1–43; National WWII Museum, "D-Day Timeline," for the sequence of events during Operation Overlord and the Normandy landings.
3. Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 276–83, for the experience of British servicemen serving away from the principal battlefronts and the emotional impact of major wartime events upon rear-area personnel.
4. Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded*, pp. 199–203, for the indispensable contribution of logistics, maintenance and transport units to the success of Allied operations.
5. ARD, Diary, June 1944, DFA, for morale, routine and administrative life at Dale Depot following the Normandy landings. See also War Office, WO 169 series (Middle East Command unit war diaries), for the operation of British logistics units in Egypt during 1944.
6. ARD, Diary, June 1944, DFA, for his journey north through the Nile Delta toward Alexandria. See also Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the*

- Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 202–13, for the geography of northern Egypt and the contrasting landscapes of the Nile Delta.
7. Michael Haag, *Alexandria: City of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 258–63, for Alexandria's cosmopolitan wartime population, strategic importance and cultural diversity during the Second World War.
 8. Niall Barr, *Pendulum of War: The Three Battles of El Alamein* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), pp. 369–72; Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "El Alamein War Cemetery," for the Battle of El Alamein, its casualties and the establishment of the cemetery.
 9. ARD, Diary, June 1944, DFA, for his visit to El Alamein battlefield and cemetery. See also Niall Barr, *Pendulum of War*, pp. 380–81, for the battlefield's continuing significance following the North African campaign.
 10. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 215–21; Michael Haag, *Alexandria: City of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 271–80, for Alexandria's wartime commercial, social and cultural life.
 11. ARD, Diary, June 1944, DFA, for his leave at Stanley Bay and observations of Alexandria's beaches. See also Michael Haag, *Alexandria: City of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 271–80, for Stanley Bay and Alexandria's importance as a recreational centre for Allied servicemen during the war.
 12. ARD, Diary, June 1944, DFA, for the hospitality he received from Egyptian families during his leave in Alexandria. See also Michael Haag, *Alexandria: City of Memory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 271–80, for the city's cosmopolitan social character. Descriptions of domestic hospitality are based principally upon Alwyn's diary, supplemented by contemporary historical studies of wartime Alexandria.
 13. Maggie Black, *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain* (London: British Museum Press, 2013), pp. 264–67. The reflections on hospitality, shared meals and human connection across cultural boundaries are the author's own interpretation, informed principally by Alwyn's diary and the wider historical context.

CHAPTER 28: WAR'S TURNING POINTS

1. ARD, Diary, June–September 1944, DFA, for his awareness of the changing direction of the war during the summer of 1944. See also Stephen E. Ambrose, *D-Day, June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), pp. 1–43; and Martin Blumenson, *The Mediterranean Theater of Operations: Salerno to Cassino* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1969), pp. 557–65, for the liberation of Rome and the wider strategic momentum developing across Europe during mid-1944.
2. Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*. Vol. VIII, *New Guinea and the Marianas, March 1944–August 1944* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953), pp. 259–318; Jonathan Parshall and Anthony Tully, *Shattered Sword: The Untold Story of the Battle of Midway* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005), epilogue, for the

Battle of the Philippine Sea, the destruction of Japanese naval aviation and the loss of three Japanese aircraft carriers.

3. Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*. Vol. VIII, pp. 286–306, for the overwhelming disparity in aerial losses during the Battle of the Philippine Sea, subsequently remembered as the "Great Marianas Turkey Shoot."
4. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945: Nemesis* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), pp. 677–700; Peter Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg: A Family History, 1905–1944* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 379–431, for the assassination attempt of 20 July 1944, Operation Valkyrie, Hitler's survival and the subsequent reprisals.
5. Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 276–83, for the fragmented manner in which news, rumour and major wartime events reached British servicemen stationed away from the front. See also ARD, Diary, June–September 1944, DFA.
6. T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1952), pp. 18–21; and Andrew Humphreys, *Egypt* (Chalfont St. Peter: Bradt Travel Guides, 2018), pp. 230–33, for Lake Timsah (Buhayrat al-Timsah), its position within the Suez Canal system and its relationship to the city of Ismailia.
7. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 262–71, 405–15, for the strategic importance of the Suez Canal as one of the principal Allied communications and supply routes linking Britain with the Middle East, India and the Far East.
8. Martin Blumenson, *The Mediterranean Theater of Operations: Salerno to Cassino* (Washington, DC: United States Army Center of Military History, 1969), pp. 557–65; and Rick Atkinson, *The Day of Battle: The War in Sicily and Italy, 1943–1944* (New York: Henry Holt, 2007), pp. 613–89, for the Allied advance beyond Rome, the approach to the Gothic Line and the prolonged fighting in northern Italy during late 1944.
9. National Army Museum, "Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers"; REME Museum, "Corps History"; and David Rowlands, *REME at War* (London: Arms & Armour Press, 1992), pp. 84–102, for the organisation, repair, recovery and maintenance responsibilities of REME during the latter stages of the war. Descriptions of workshop improvisation derive from institutional histories and contemporary accounts rather than any single documented slogan.
10. Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), pp. 300–14, for wartime inflation, black-market activity, political tension and the mounting social and economic pressures affecting Egypt during the later years of the war. The discussion of labour unrest, public demonstrations and the deteriorating political climate draws upon this wider historical context except where specific contemporary primary sources are cited.
11. ARD, Diary, June–September 1944, DFA; Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded*, pp. 276–83, for the recurring cycle of hope, scepticism and anticipation experienced by British servicemen as Allied victory appeared increasingly likely. The interpretation of these changing moods is the author's own.

CHAPTER 29: POWER AND RUIN

1. ARD, Diary, 6–10 November 1944, DFA, for the dates, itinerary, leave arrangements, travel timings and journey between Cairo and Luxor aboard the Khartoum Express.
2. ARD, Diary, 6 November 1944, DFA, for the arrangements made through the Imperial Service Information Bureau. See also Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), pp. 262–70, for organised leave, welfare services and recreational opportunities available to British servicemen in wartime Egypt.
3. ARD, Diary, 6–7 November 1944, DFA, for his description of the Savoy Hotel, its accommodation, mosquito nets and first impressions on arrival in Luxor.
4. ARD, Diary, 7 November 1944, DFA, for his description of Karnak Temple. See also John Romer, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 42–78, 101–23, for the architectural development of Karnak, the Great Hypostyle Hall, the Sacred Lake and the principal phases of construction.
5. ARD, Diary, 7 November 1944, DFA, for his impressions of Luxor Temple and its central colonnade. See also Amelia B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1877), pp. 295–323, for a classic nineteenth-century English-language description of Luxor Temple and its monumental architecture.
6. ARD, Diary, 8 November 1944, DFA, for his crossing of the Nile by felucca, journey by donkey into the Valley of the Kings and visits to the royal tombs identified in his diary.
7. ARD, Diary, 8 November 1944, DFA, for his description of Tutankhamun's tomb. Compare Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, Vol. I (London: Cassell, 1923), pp. 84–125; and Toby Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 222–29, for the archaeological evidence concerning the burial chamber, nested coffins and the discovery of the funerary treasures.
8. ARD, Diary, 8 November 1944, DFA, for his impressions of Deir el-Bahari and the contemporary guide's explanation linking Hatshepsut with the biblical story of Moses. This association reflects a long-standing popular tradition rather than modern Egyptological consensus. See Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 408–15, for discussion of biblical traditions and their relationship to ancient Egyptian history.
9. ARD, Diary, 8 November 1944, DFA, for his account of the snake charmer, cobra demonstration and souvenir shopping in Luxor.
10. ARD, Diary, 9–10 November 1944, DFA, for the return journey from Luxor to Cairo, including the recorded departure and arrival times.

CHAPTER 30: TIDES TURN

1. ARD, Diary, December 1944–April 1945, DFA, for Alwyn's awareness of the changing strategic situation, morale within his unit, and reflections on the approaching end of the war. See also Martin Gilbert, *The Second World War: A Complete History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), pp. 705–19, for the Allied advance after Normandy, the liberation of Paris, and the increasing pressure upon Germany from east and west.
2. Peter Caddick-Adams, *Snow & Steel: The Battle of the Bulge, 1944–45* (London: Preface Publishing, 2014), pp. 24–27, 432–47, for the German offensive launched on 16 December 1944, the effects of surprise and poor weather, the fighting around Bastogne, and the resulting pressure upon Allied supply and transport systems.

3. Hugh M. Cole, *The Ardennes: Battle of the Bulge* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1965), pp. 1–45, 581–99, for the official operational narrative of the German offensive and the subsequent Allied counter-offensive.
4. ARD, Diary, December 1944–January 1945, DFA, for the increased workload and atmosphere within the depot. See also National Army Museum, "Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers," and REME Museum, "Corps History," for the wartime responsibilities of REME maintenance and repair units. Descriptions of depot routine are drawn principally from the diary.
5. Max Hastings, *Armageddon: The Battle for Germany, 1944–45* (London: Macmillan, 2004), pp. 188–90, for Allied concern that the Ardennes offensive might produce a sudden reversal reminiscent of the German breakthrough in 1940.
6. Artemis Cooper, *Cairo in the War, 1939–1945* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), pp. 342–47, for political tension, labour unrest, nationalist pressure, inflation and social strain in Cairo during the closing months of the war.
7. Max Hastings, *Armageddon: The Battle for Germany, 1944–45* (London: Macmillan, 2004), pp. 210–15; Peter Caddick-Adams, *Snow & Steel: The Battle of the Bulge, 1944–45* (London: Preface Publishing, 2014), pp. 634–35, for the decisive effect of German fuel shortages in limiting the Ardennes offensive and contributing to its failure.
8. ARD, Diary, January–April 1945, DFA, for Alwyn's reflections during the closing months of the war. See also Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 218–21, for the mixture of hope, caution, fatigue and scepticism experienced by many British servicemen as victory appeared increasingly close.
9. ARD, Diary, 12 April 1945, DFA, for Alwyn's response to the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. See also Martin Gilbert, *The Second World War: A Complete History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), pp. 752–59; and Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, contemporary records relating to Roosevelt's death and national mourning.
10. Harry S. Truman, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1945* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 1–8, for Truman's accession to the presidency and his first public statements following Roosevelt's death on 12 April 1945.
11. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 255–62, 266–71; Daniel Neep, *Occupied City: The Mandates and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 323–28, for the political and social atmosphere of Haifa, Beirut, Tripoli and Damascus during the closing months of the war and the accelerating transition away from European mandate rule.
12. ARD, Diary, 8 May 1945, DFA, for Alwyn's account of VE Day in the Middle East. See also Martin Gilbert, *The Second World War: A Complete History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), pp. 752–59; and Imperial War Museums oral history collections relating to reactions to Victory in Europe Day among British servicemen serving overseas.
13. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 255–71; Daniel Neep, *Occupied City: The Mandates and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 2015), pp. 323–28; Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 513–24, for the weakening of European imperial authority and the growth of nationalist movements in Syria, Lebanon and the wider Middle East during the final months of the war.

CHAPTER 31: INVISIBLE WOUNDS OF WAR

1. Mark Harrison, *Medicine and Victory: British Military Medicine in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 236–52, 271–80, for the organisation of late-war British military medicine, medical categorisation, discharge procedures, and the pressures surrounding demobilisation examinations.
2. ARD, Diary, June–July 1945, DFA; Ministry of Defence, Service Record and B.179 Medical Documentation, DFA, for Alwyn's medical assessment, the continuing effects upon his chest and lungs following pneumonia, the recorded hearing loss, and his classification as fit for release.
3. Edgar Jones, "Psychiatric Casualties: Lessons from the First World War," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 94, no. 8 (2001): 398–402, especially pp. 400–02, for the incidence of psychiatric casualties within the British Army and the evolution of military understanding of psychological injury. Rates varied considerably between theatres and formations.
4. Edgar Jones and Simon Wessely, "War and the Practice of Psychotherapy: The UK Experience, 1939–1960," *History of Psychiatry* 15, no. 3 (2004): 283–300, especially pp. 284–92, for the transition from the language of "shell shock" towards exhaustion, battle fatigue and psychiatric illness, together with changing approaches to military treatment during and after the Second World War.
5. ARD, Diary, June–July 1945, DFA. See also Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 325–35, for the mixture of relief, uncertainty, impatience and emotional dislocation experienced by British servicemen approaching demobilisation and civilian life.
6. ARD, Diary, 25 July 1945, DFA, for the invitation to the Royal Yacht Club and the subsequent sail aboard one of King Farouk's yachts. The surviving evidence indicates an individual experience recorded in Alwyn's diary and does not, of itself, demonstrate a broader policy of royal hospitality towards British servicemen.
7. ARD, Diary, 29 July 1945, DFA, for the embarkation aboard HMT *Mataroa*, conditions on the Alexandria docks, and the atmosphere surrounding departure from Egypt. Where no independent troop movement record has been identified, the itinerary is established principally from Alwyn's contemporary diary.
8. Duncan Haws, *Merchant Fleets: Blue Funnel Line and Associated Companies* (Hereford: TCL Publications, 1993), pp. 95–97; Miramar Ship Index, entry for *Mataroa*, for the vessel's wartime service and employment as a troopship during 1945. These sources establish the ship's operational history but do not independently confirm Alwyn's individual passage.
9. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 513–24, for the contraction of British imperial power immediately

following the war and the political changes already emerging across the territories through which Alwyn had served.

10. Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 336–47, for the emotional and social challenges accompanying demobilisation, homecoming and reintegration into civilian life.
11. ARD, Diary, 9 August 1945, DFA; Ministry of Defence, Service Record, DFA, for Alwyn's arrival at Newhaven, embarkation aboard HMT *Dunera*, and the recorded timing of his return to Britain. These movements are based upon his diary and surviving service documentation unless corroborated by independent troopship records.
12. ARD, Diary, 1942–45, DFA; Ministry of Defence, Service Record, DFA; and the chapter references cited throughout this volume, for the cumulative record of Alwyn's wartime experiences, including illness, convoy service, environmental hardship, engineering duties, and encounters across Africa and the Middle East. Interpretive reflections upon their significance are the author's own.
13. ARD, Diary, 14 July 1945 and 9 August 1945, DFA, for the quotations beginning "14th of July 1945...", "It was four o'clock...", and "After spending three years abroad...". Subsequent quotations from the same diary entries are abbreviated where appropriate.

CHAPTER 32: END OF EMPIRE AND HOMECOMING

1. ARD, Diary, July–August 1945, DFA; Ministry of Defence, Service Record and demobilisation papers, DFA, for Alwyn's return home, release documentation, and the practical circumstances surrounding his demobilisation. See also The National Archives (UK), educational material on British demobilisation, for the wider administrative context.
2. ARD, Diary, July–August 1945, DFA; Day Family testimony, DFA, for Alwyn's return to the family home, his reunion with Gwen and his children, and his first days back in civilian life. Where no contemporary documentary evidence survives, details are presented as an authorial reconstruction informed by family testimony.
3. David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain, 1945–1951* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), pp. 3–36; Paul Addison, *No Turning Back: The Peacetime Revolutions of Post-War Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 1–24, for continued rationing, shortages, housing difficulties, employment uncertainty and the atmosphere of post-war Britain.
4. David Lloyd George, speeches on post-war reconstruction, 1918, especially his programme for creating "a land fit for heroes" following the First World War; see also Kenneth O. Morgan, *Consensus and Disunity: The Lloyd George Coalition Government, 1918–1922* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), for the origins, political context and subsequent use of the phrase in discussions of post-war reconstruction. The expression is used here in its wider historical sense as shorthand for post-war hopes of social and economic renewal, rather than as the title or wording of a specific 1945 government campaign.
5. Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939–1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 87–103, for the arrival of war brides, post-war migration, and the changing composition of British society following the Second World War.

6. Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 196–207; Allan Allport, *Browned Off and Bloody-Minded: The British Soldier Goes to War, 1939–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 336–47, for the tendency of many veterans to minimise or compress their wartime experiences after returning home. The comparison with Alwyn is interpretive unless directly supported by his diary or family testimony.
7. Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 421–433; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Indian Independence Act," for the end of British rule in India and the creation of India and Pakistan in August 1947.
8. Charles D. Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 10th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St Martin's, 2017), pp. 185–210, for the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine, the declaration of the State of Israel in May 1948, and the wider political transformation of the Middle East.
9. Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power* (New York: Free Press, 1991), pp. 401–07, for the closure of the Kirkuk–Haifa pipeline following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and its strategic consequences.
10. Keith Kyle, *Suez* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991), pp. 517–64, for the Suez Crisis of 1956 and its symbolic and practical significance in the decline of British imperial power.
11. Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), pp. 1–20, 513–24, for the mobilisation of imperial manpower, ports, shipping, oil resources and communications throughout the war. The conclusion that the Empire functioned "not for profit but for survival" is the author's interpretation of this wartime mobilisation rather than a claim advanced directly by Jackson.
12. ARD, Original Diaries, Interim Diary, Final Manuscript, maps, inserted papers and associated family archive, DFA, for the compilation, revision and preservation of Alwyn's wartime account. References to added maps, pressed leaves, prayers, annotations and revisions are confined to features visible within the surviving manuscripts. Where the sequence of revision cannot be established with certainty, the narrative is presented as a reconstruction rather than settled historical fact.