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AN OUTLINE ON BEERS AND BREWING IN BRITISH MALAYA: 1827-1957. PART II

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Introduction

This Part II of my look at beer and brewing in the former British Malaya covers, in addition to a preliminary issue, the period from 3 September 1939 until Singapore fell to Japan on 15 February 1942. In the context of this paper, the term 'European war' refers to the conflict in Europe that started (for Britain) 3 September 1939, and the term 'Pacific war' refers to the conflict that commenced when Japan invaded Malaya on 8 December 1941.

Preliminary issue: early Singapore brewery

Part I[1] explained that Malayan Breweries Ltd. and Archipelago Brewery Ltd. commenced business in Singapore in 1932-1933, prior to which Malaya imported beer from many sources, especially Great Britain. In fact, a brewery existed in Singapore even before World War I, although not long-lived.

The British Beer Breweries Far Eastern Syndicate, Ltd. established brewing operations in Singapore and Calcutta, India in the summer of 1908.[2] Singapore brewery manager William O'Connor led a tour in July that year of the new brewery in Selangor Street, Singapore in which the 'patent malt extract' was explained and the product touted as 'light and palatable'.[3]

These plants were part of a planned network of breweries in the Far East utilizing, by way of licence from the London parent company, an innovative, high-temperature yeast system, the S.T. Yeast, to allow top-fermented beer to be made in a warm climate.[4]

Describing the Singapore branch, the *London and China Telegraph* of 31 August 1908 reported:

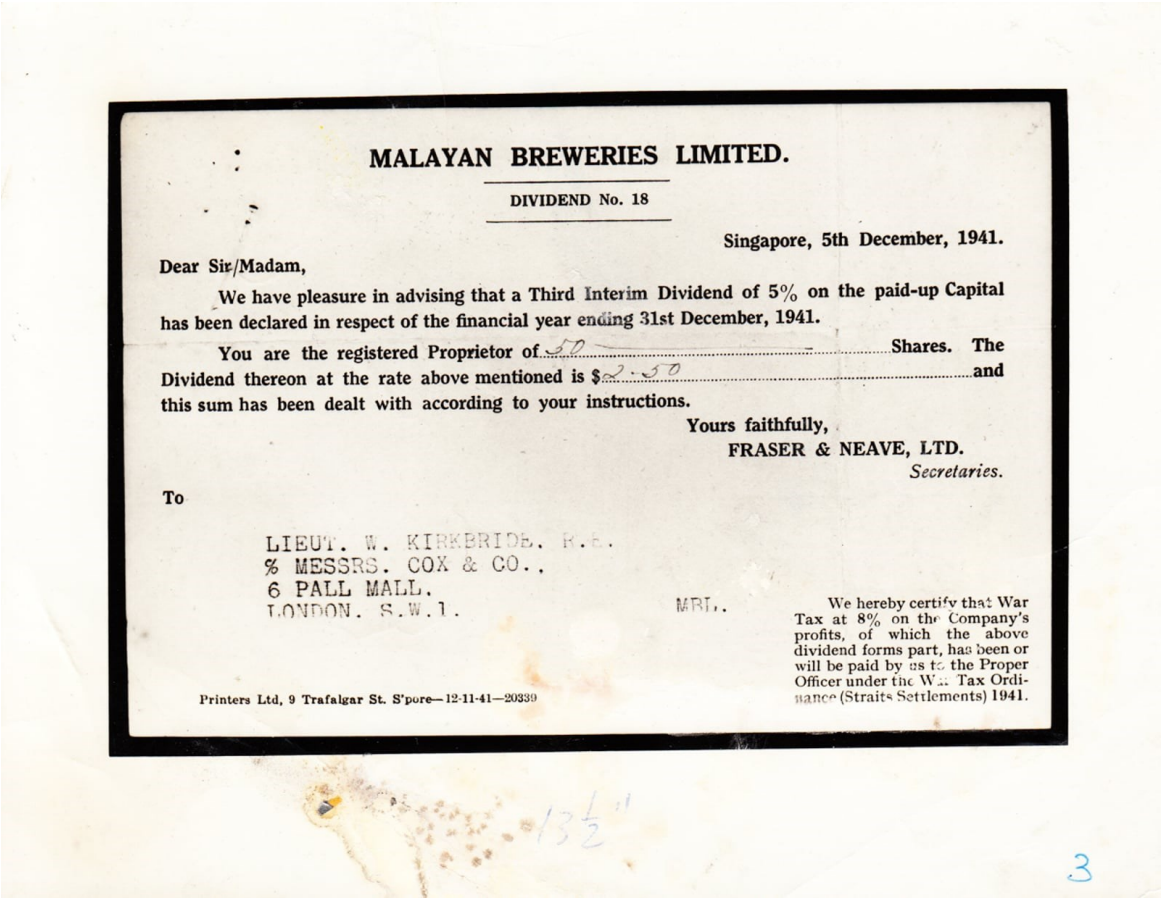
> When working to the full extent, the brewery ought to be able to turn out sufficient beer and stout to meet a large share of the requirements of Singapore, and as the product is of excellent quality and can be sold at a lower price than imported beers, the syndicate should soon become a paying concern.

A press advert stated that 'BBB', viz. the British Beer Breweries Syndicate, could supply, 'Pilsen, Munchen, and Stout from stores in Orchard Road at $1.75 per 12 pints for Pilsen and Munchen, and $2.00 for the stout'.[5] The brewery was claiming a lager character by using the names Pilsen and Munchen for light and dark lager, respectively, although it did not employ a true lager process.

Despite the promise held out in early press reports the venture was not successful. Fraser & Neave (see Part I) had leased a part of its soda water plant for the brewery. Evidently rent went unpaid as Fraser & Neave caused a distress sale of the brewery assets to be made under court supervision, as reported in the *Straits Times*, 29 April 1909.[6] The limitations of the innovative fermentation system, as well as financing problems, likely played a role in this demise.[7] The first commercial brewing operations of any importance in Malaya remain therefore, Malayan Breweries and Archipelago Brewery.

Duty equalization, 1939-1941

As set out in Part I, following the establishment of local brewing in 1932-1933 the Malayan excise on beer favoured domestic production. Domestic beer paid a duty of $0.84/gal., the United Kingdom and British Preference category, $1.20/gal, and other imports, e.g., European, Japanese, $1.30/gal. On 11 December 1939 in the wake of Britain declaring war on Germany, the domestic rate was raised to $1.20, hence made equal to the U.K. and British Preference duty, which remained unchanged.[8] In February 1941, so approximately one year before Malaya fell to the Japanese, both the domestic and U.K.- British Preference duty rose to $1.80/gal.[9] The onset of the European war prompted these last two actions.[10]



MALAYAN BREWERIES LIMITED.

DIVIDEND No. 18

Singapore, 5th December, 1941.

Dear Sir/Madam,

We have pleasure in advising that a Third Interim Dividend of 5% on the paid-up Capital has been declared in respect of the financial year ending 31st December, 1941.

You are the registered Proprietor of 50 Shares. The Dividend thereon at the rate above mentioned is $2.50 and this sum has been dealt with according to your instructions.

Yours faithfully,
FRASER & NEAVE, LTD.
Secretaries.

To

LIEUT. W. KIRKBRIDE, R.E.
% MESSRS. COX & CO.,
6 PALL MALL.
LONDON. S.W.1.

MBL.

We hereby certify that War Tax at 8% on the Company's profits, of which the above dividend forms part, has been or will be paid by us to the Proper Officer under the War Tax Ordinance (Straits Settlements) 1941.

Printers Ltd, 9 Trafalgar St. S'pore—12-11-41—20339

Figure 1. Malayan Breweries dividend slip. Used in accordance with Terms of Use of the source: www.apbstories.com

As further documented in Part I on the eve of the Second World War Malayan beer production represented at least two-thirds of domestic beer consumption. Of the imported segment, Britain had the majority, with the rest from Europe (notably Denmark), Australia, and a little still from Japan, whose share had fallen since the early 1930s, probably due to the anti-Japan trade boycott, an outcome of Japan's war in China.

Imported beer between the European and Pacific Wars

In this period, despite the European war and difficulties entailed for British merchant shipping in 1940-1941 British beer occasionally surfaced in Malaya. I focus in this part on imported beer still available in the general market, vs. supply to NAAFI canteens.[11]

The Scottish McEwan's Red Label, billed as '100% British', was advertised in the *Malaya Tribune* on 27 September 1940.[12] The reference to 100% British was probably an implied critique of 'H.B.', a beer billed as British in the headline of an advert in *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 15 June 1940, but actually brewed in Hong Kong by the Hong Kong Brewery & Distillery, Ltd.[13] On 3 July 1941, a splashy advert for Barclay's Export Lager in *The Straits Times*, touted its suitability for 'warm climes' and 'sparkling appearance and refreshing tang'.[14]

The equally all-British Whitbread Blue Label was advertised in *The Straits Times* 7 January 1941, its British character emphasised.[15] An advert for Allsopp's beer promising 'That Real Home Flavour' and showing a twin-peaked, Tudor-style pub in the background, was published in the *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* 18 August 1941.[16]

Some Australian beer appeared in this period. Foster's Lager was advertised in *The Straits Times* 5 July 1941.[17] Swan lager was touted in *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 11 July 1941 ('Australia's Finest Lager').[18] *The Singapore Free*



Figure 2. The NAAFI building at RAF Kota Bharu, Malaya, 7 July 1941. The building is built in the local style with an attap roof (palm leaves woven together). The sections were used for roofs and walls as the material allowed air circulation. Source: Australian War Memorial collection, Accession Number P02266.012, public domain.

Press and Mercantile Advertiser on 16 December 1941 carried an ad for Melbourne's Special Export Lager from the Richmond Brewery.[19] As will appear infra the Antipodean brews followed the build-up in Malaya of the Australian Imperial Force ('A.I.F.'). In contrast, Japanese beer advertising seems absent in the English Malayan press in 1940-41, likely an index of deteriorated trade relations. Still, some Japanese beer was probably imported, if only to serve the resident, long-established Japanese community.

Impact of European war on Malayan breweries

Malayan Breweries continued to trade after the advent of war in Europe just as before. Indeed, it gained record profits, in tune with many breweries in Allied nations at the time. Its ordinary shares continued to pay good dividends.[20] For its 1940 financial year the company paid combined total dividends and bonus to shareholders of 25%, vs. 15% in 1939, while 1940 profit was $512,665, vs. $278, 608 for 1939. The brewery also donated $50,000 to the 'War Fund', with a matching contribution planned for the following year. In total, the brewery contributed 20% of 1940 net profit to public purposes.[21]

Clearly, major shareholder Heineken N.V. in The Netherlands had a reduced role in company affairs after The Netherlands was occupied by Nazi Germany, but Malayan Breweries continued to trade until Singapore fell to Japan 15 February 1942.[22]

Apart the war's impact on revenues and company management Malayan Breweries in this period featured incidents of a brewery business common to many breweries around the world. It won a medal in 1939 in London at the Brewer's Exhibition, and made hay of it in advertisements. The award was an achievement for a brand in the market only a few years. A Tiger advert in November 1940 compared the award to the laurels gained by a steed in the 1939 Singapore Gold Cup, stating, '… in London, in competition with beers from all over the world, it carried off a prize medal; becoming a world favourite, because of its outstanding merit'.[23] This

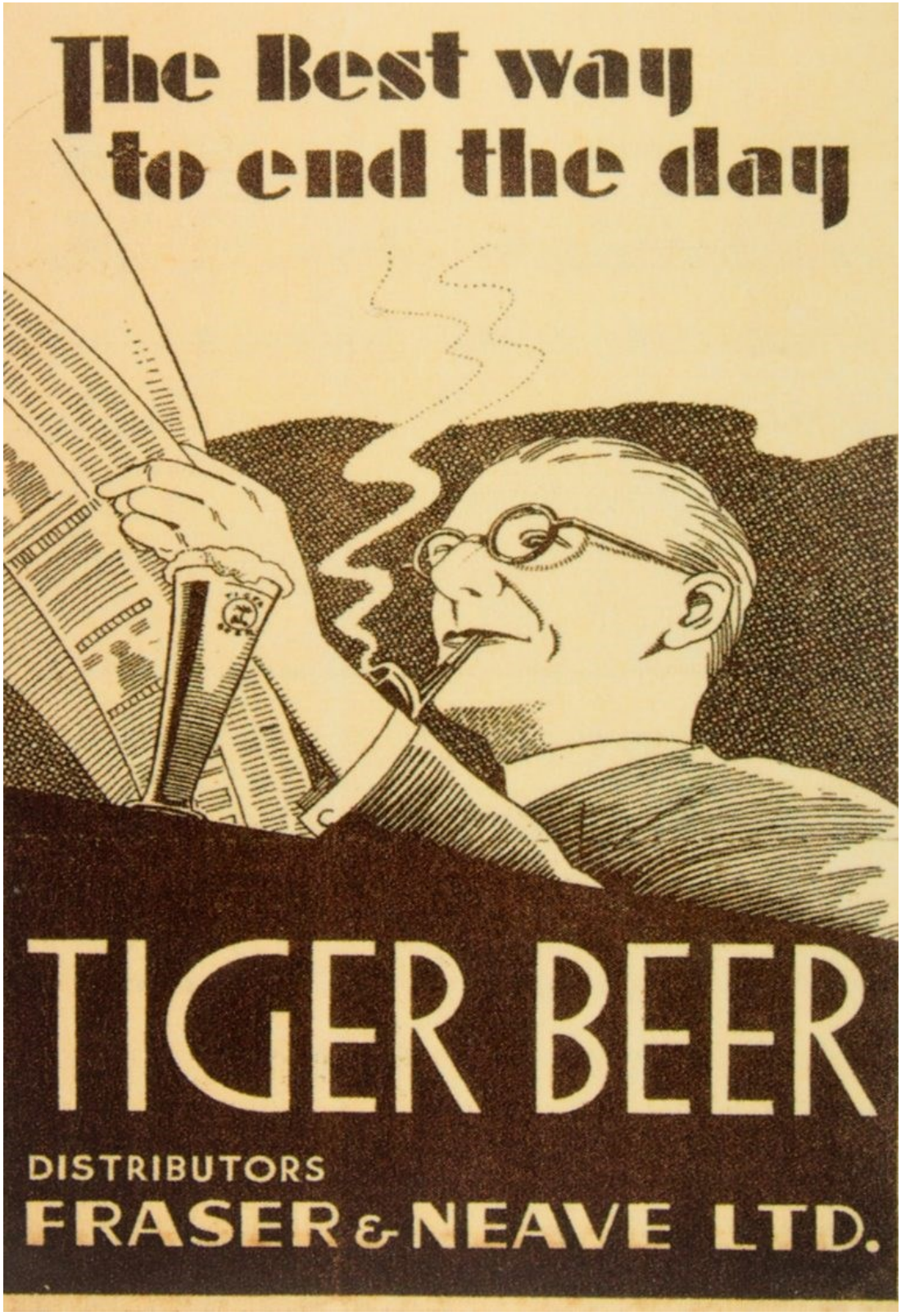


Figure 3. Tiger Beer advertisement. Used in accordance with Terms of Use of the source: www.apbstories.com

was skilful copywriting, as apart the hyperbole of 'world favourite', readers would associate the Tiger Beer prize with the Gold Cup for a prestigious horse race, even though Tiger did not win first prize. A Tiger advert some months earlier, in the *Morning Tribune* 15 May 1940, stated more accurately that Tiger won the second (or silver) prize.[24] Perhaps Tiger was counting on the passage of time to cloud in the public's mind the type of award the beer won.

Not surprisingly, many Tiger ads in this period incorporated wartime themes. The *Malaya Tribune* of 2 September 1940 showed two military-looking men being hauled in a rickshaw. The copy read: 'When Out Walking Remember – NO TALKING. Talk about Tiger Beer instead'.[25] This was just one of a series of similar ads. All played on the idea of talking up the beer when circulating in public but otherwise keeping discreet, due to the fear of eavesdropping by spies.

A brewers' problem in 1940-1941 concerned the illicit dilution of beer. Some city retailers uncapped bottles of Tiger or Anchor beer and replaced the missing portion with soda water. They recapped the bottles, placing the withdrawn beer in empty bottles with new labels as needed. This gained them a profit of $3.00 per dozen of large bottles, which also deprived the government of a portion of beer duty.[26] The police and courts were much occupied with this problem in 1940, no doubt spurred by the breweries who were losing sales, and had just concerns over quality. The *Malaya Tribune* on 2 December 1940 called such illicit diluting a 'substantial industry,' claiming it was organised '… by a group of unscrupulous people exerting great influence on some retailers'.[27]

European war and Archipelago Brewery

Archipelago Brewing continued to trade once the European war commenced but unlike Malayan Breweries was now subject to British trading with the enemy laws. This arose in that Beck & Co. of Bremen, Germany owned the brewery. As a result, soon after the European war commenced the Custodian of Enemy Property took control of Archipelago, assuming its full management. This continued until the Custodian disposed of the brewery at the end of 1940. The German staff had mostly departed including the brewer, but the Custodian brought in a new head brewer and assistants, flown in specially from New Zealand and Australia. This new staff ensured continuation of production with local personnel.[28] On 24 December 1940 Malayan Breweries bought Archipelago Brewery for $1,500,000 under an extended auction process. Malayan paid cash raised by an issuance of 500,000 shares from its unissued capital, allotted at a premium of $2.00 each.[29]

With respect to advertising, in 1940-1941 it appears Archipelago Brewery, often called A.B.C. Brewery in the Malayan press, advertised much less than Malayan Breweries. This differed from the 1930s when, as outlined in Part I, Archipelago regularly advertised its Anchor and Diamond lagers, as well as Lion Stout. Once the European war commenced perhaps the Custodian of Enemy Property considered advertising no longer suitable. However, some retailers continued to include the beers in adverts. In mid-1940 Happy World Park, a popular social destination in Singapore, advertised Anchor and Diamond beers at its Beer Garden, among other beers.[30]

In operations otherwise Archipelago reflected the incidents characteristic of breweries anywhere. Its labels were regularly involved in the diluted beer cases mentioned above. The brewery was also embroiled in a prolonged strike in early 1940. A news report of 20 February 1940 offers good detail, indeed for Singapore business and social history in general:

> For three weeks now, 175 workers in the Archipelago Brewery Co., Ltd., now under control of the Custodian of Enemy Property, have been on strike, demanding among other things a further increase in wages …
>
> The … Brewery is now working with a skeleton staff.
>
> The strikers, numbering 125 Chinese, Indians and Malay men, and 50 Chinese women, were employed in the brewery and the bottling and packaging departments.
>
> They were given an increase amounting to about $2.50 a month for each employee in November last, and are now demanding an extra 30 cents a day.[31]

Australian Forces and beer

My Part I addressed the intersection with beer of British Forces in Malaya just ahead of World War II. Below, I examine similar issues for Australian forces in Malaya in 1940 -1941. A build-up of Australian forces – land, sea, and air – took place in Malaya between June and December 1940 to help parry an apprehended Japanese invasion of Malaya and Australia itself. This added to the sizeable British, Indian, and Malay forces already in the Colony.[32]

Australians are, or were, famously enamoured of beer, particularly the troops.[33] Australian beer became increasingly available in Malaya both at A.I.F. canteens and in the general market. *The Straits Times*, 29 June 1940 advertised Tooth's 'K.B.' Lager at select hotels including the Raffles and the Adelphi, noting it was 'now' available in Malaya.[34]



Figure 4. Tiger Beer advertisement. Used in accordance with Terms of Use of the source: www.apbstories.com

Eight months later the *Malaya Tribune*, 22 February 1941, in a profile of Australian forces in Malaya, made the following observations on Australians and beer:

Australians like their own beer and, I am told it is very difficult to buy beer Australian beer in Malaya just at the moment, as NAAFI have the first call on the country's stocks. Which, of course, is how it should be!

Inquiries into the question of beer elicited the interesting information that there exists a wide diversity of views on the qualities of beer made in various Australian States.

Men of Queensland will not drink, except as a last resort, beer made in Victoria. There is likely, in view of this, to be a much greater variety of Australian beer which may be imported here in the future![35]

Some Australian beer did reach its natural constituency. Reporting from 'somewhere in Malaya' J. Percival of the *Courier-Mail*, 10 July 1941 informed readers:

All yesterday I followed a slowly moving A.I.F. transport, and ate with some of the drivers at a Chinese restaurant where the proprietor has established a bar in Australian fashion, and keeps stocks of

Melbourne and Sydney beer. Yesterday he turned on free beer 'for China's Allies' on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Sino-Japanese war.[36]

The Sun (Sydney) on 1 September 1941 recited a list of plaints of A.I.F. members in Singapore including the simple 'We Want Australian Beer'.[37] The military supply pattern was inevitably inconsistent.

A further instance of Australian beer in Malaya is noteworthy for its luxe setting. An Indian grandee hosted a few hundred A.I.F. personnel and their local retainers. He laid on a meal rather stunning in its pan-Asian character, everything from 'Brinjal curry a la Ceylon' to 'Pineapple sambal a la Malaysie'. Along with it came, 'Australian beer, sweet aerated waters, [and] Malaysian tender coconut water'.[38] It seems - no surprise – that those with 'the dosh' were able to get what they needed.

S.R. Carver's *Overseas trade and customs and excise revenue. 1940/41. Bulletin No. 38* confirms the increased availability of Australian beer after the A.I.F. arrived. In 1939-1940 Australia exported to Malaya 16,654 gal. During 1940-1941 this rose to 168,355 gal., about a tenfold increase.[39] Still, my press review suggests it was never enough, at least in terms of the A.I.F. preference for its own beer.

An anecdote reported in *The Straits Times* in August 1941 encapsulates the attitude to beer of Australians on campaign. An A.I.F. infantry officer was serving, in this case in North Africa, at Tobruk.[40] During the siege he told a reporter a rare 'bottle of Australian beer' tasted like 'iced Champagne'. He added that on one occasion his own artillery dropped a shell 'rather short'. No one was hurt but his unit let the artillery know about it. In contrition the latter sent over a dozen bottles of beer. The next day, he was told he may land another round short. Comrades-in-arms reading in Malaya had to smile in sympathy.

On 7 December 1941 – day of the attack on Pearl Harbor and one day before the Japanese would invade Malaya – another report found a unit of Australian infantry in northern Malaya in good spirits, ready for an attack by 'motor landing'. It came sooner than anyone expected. 'Around mugs of beer' in their jungle canteen they spoke with confidence of their ability to hold back a Japanese attack, especially to prevent the Japanese 'floating down rivers'.[41]

The Japanese invasion launches

At midnight on 8 December a combined Japanese force landed troops in Thailand and at Kota Bharu in North-East Malaya, near the Kelantan River. Japanese arms overcame Allied infantry defences, gained control of forward R.A.F. airfields, sank by air alone the battle cruiser *Repulse* and battleship *Prince of Wales*, and quickly obtained the submission of the Thai government, which cut off Malaya from Burma. Following these crushing gains, stupefying to the senior Allied command, the Japanese moved steadily down the peninsula, sometimes by bicycle, defeating thinly spread British, Australian, Indian, and Malay troops.[42] This set the stage for a transformation of all Malayan industry during the Japanese occupation to follow including Malayan Breweries and its Archipelago subsidiary.

Malaya NAAFI in the throes of war

Part I described features of NAAFI operations in late-1930s Malaya, hence just ahead of the European war. NAAFI expanded in Malaya as British forces grew to meet the anticipated Japanese threat.[43] But before Japan invaded, NAAFI exhibited the incidents one would expect of a peacetime (in Malaya), adjunct military organization.

One such was a pilfering problem. Occasionally bottles of its duty-free beer found their way into civilian retail outlets, which enabled illicit profit-taking and deprived the government of the duty payable. A Loy Sim Min in Pasir Panjang was convicted of possessing 'four bottles of beer, each of which bore the mark "N.A.A.F.I. Stores, H.M. Forces"', and sentenced to a $5.00 fine and costs of the summons.[44] Miscreants similarly abstracted NAAFI beer glasses from canteens, which ended in local shops. A Lee Kong, identified as 'Chinese', was convicted of charges for possessing "four beer glasses marked 'NAAFI'" as well as other military property, and sentenced to 'six weeks rigorous punishment'.[45]

It seems that considerable NAAFI time in the antebellum phase was devoted to sports competitions, the results of which sprinkle Malayan newspapers in this period, particularly for soccer, football, and badminton. The 'Oxygen (S.O.A.E.O.) Sports Club' beat 'the NAAFI Imperial Club (R.A.F. Sect.)' in a return singles and doubles badminton match at the earlier-mentioned Happy World, as reported in the *Malaya Tribune* 12 July 1940.[46] The location is not without significance as Tiger and Anchor beers were sold there in large amounts.

Once war came NAAFI got down to all-business, and trials it had not experienced earlier in East Asia, Hong Kong apart. Robert Morley, in his (2018) *Canteen Army: the NAAFI Story*[47] wrote that Arthur Perry, the NAAFI District Manager in Singapore, in his role as an EFI (Expeditionary



Figure 5. Tiger Beer advertisement. Used in accordance with Terms of Use of the source: www.apbstories.com



Figure 6. Japanese World War II map of the Malay Peninsula and Singapore, 1942. Wikipedia, public domain

Forces Institute) officer, took charge of burying the dead killed in shelling. He interred them, '…in graves near the Naafi headquarters on Anson Road [and] once that task had been completed … smashed thousands of bottles of wines and spirits at the NAAFI warehouse'.[48]

During this crisis period it appears NAAFI went to certain lengths to accommodate non-white components of the Forces, who were increasingly appreciated in desperate times. An R.A.F. Special Technical Corps of 600 Chinese, Indians, Malays, and Eurasians worked at aerodromes in Singapore in a wide variety of occupations, from welding to coppersmith, plumbing to fitting armourer.

They did everything in fact except fly aircraft, said a report in the *Malaya Tribune*, 19 December 1941. The report described the Corps, mostly 18-year-olds, as keen and hard-working and a great help to the war effort. Describing a 'Drome' bombed by the Japanese at which the Corps was hard at work, the *Tribune* noted that, '… a special NAAFI, put aside for their use, is full every night.' This meant, clearly, a NAAFI reserved for 'Asiatics', a term also used in the report; in other words, the standard, British NAAFI remained whites-only.[50]

NAAFI was supplemented under strain of war by civilian-organized canteens. A temporary and later mobile canteen was provided at the Singapore railway station for personnel returning from fighting in north Malaya, in late December 1941. It was organized with other volunteers by Lady Brooke-Popham, wife of Robert Brooke-Popham, Commander-in-Chief of the Far East Command. Hot tea and 'cold drinks' were served, which may have included beer. In the course of her work, she met a self-described 'NAAFI boy at Uxbridge' now with the R.A.F. in Malaya - he used to deliver her groceries at Stoke Poges.[51]

Robert Brooke-Popham was relieved of his command before Singapore fell and returned with his wife to Britain, in the nick of time. Under a cloud for his suspect command of the Allied defence he retired from active service in 1942. Oddly perhaps he ended his service-related days as President of NAAFI, between 1944 and 1946, per his Wikipedia entry.[52]

A final part of this paper will follow, starting with the Japanese exploitation of Malayan Breweries and Archipelago Brewery in 1943-1945.

References

1. Gillman, G. (2020) 'An Outline on Beers and Brewing in British Malaya. 1827-1957. Part I'. *Brewery History*, Autumn, 2020, Number 184, pp.2-21.

2. *Madras Daily Mail*, 16 July 1908.

3. *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 1 August 1908.

4. See author's blogpost, 'Early Brewing Venture in Calcutta – Damp Squib? Part IV', 21 March 2022, and further references therein. (Retrieved from https://www.beeretseq.com/early-brewing-venture-in-calcutta-damp-squib-part-iv/, accessed 10 June 2023).

5. *The Straits Times*, 14 August 1908.

6. Litigation (successful) followed by an unpaid supplier, see *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser (Weekly)*, 6 May 1909.

7. See Note 4 and other posts in the series.

8. *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 11 December 1939.

9. See *The Straits Times*, 1 February 1941. The non-preference imported category would have risen at least to $1.80 but the report did not reference this aspect. Its significance was now much less with the end of the Phoney War phase and greater impediments to seaborne travel.

10. Per the news report cited in Note 8 the Malayan government gained an additional $2,000,000 from the 1939 increase, part of which it directed to the Imperial war effort.

11. There was probably some overlap.

12. *Malaya Tribune*, 27 September 1940.

13. *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 15 June 1940.

14. *The Straits Times*, 3 July 1941.

15. 'Possessing the characteristics of Genuine British Beer'. This phrase was likely thought necessary since the ad explained Blue Label was 'new'. But in other words, it seems clearly to have made the trip from London.

16. *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 18 August 1941.

17. *The Straits Times*, 5 July 1941.

18. *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 11 July 1941.

19. *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 16 December 1941.

20. While Malayan Breweries was a joint venture controlled and owned in the main by Fraser & Neave of Singapore and Heineken N.V. of The Netherlands, the public owned part of the shares. The prospectus printed in the *Malaya Tribune*, 23 April 1931 states 206,250 management shares were issued, a type with restricted trading rights held by directors and senior officers, and 793,750 ordinary (common) shares, of which 312,494 were reserved for the public. All such shares carried a par value of $1.00 each. Hence, the company was capitalised with an issued capital of $1,000,000.

21. See in *The Straits Budget*, 20 March 1941.

22. Details have been elusive to us: an area worthy of separate investigation.

23. *The Straits Times*, 5 November 1940.

24. Only the year before, in 1938, the longstanding, annual Brewers' Exhibition in London created an international section: *Daily Herald*, 31 October 1938.

25. *Malaya Tribune*, 2 September 1940. One cannot help observing, of the three figures in the ad, only the Asian rickshaw

worker was walking.

26. *The Straits Times*, 13 March 1940.

27. *Malaya Tribune*, 2 December 1940.

28. *Malaya Tribune*, 25 January 1941. The report indicated many locals were employed, and a goal in continuing the brewery was not to throw them out of work.

29. In other words, the additional shares were sold for $3.00 each since the shares carried a par value of $1.00. See *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 5 April 1941. The report also states Malayan Breweries was still trying to reverse the duty equalization imposed in December 1939, but when Malaya fell to Japan in February 1942 it was still in place.

30. *Malaya Tribune*, 16 July 1940.

31. *The Straits Times*, 20 February 1940. The strike ended later in February.

32. For details of the Australian troop expansion see the webpage Anzac Portal-a Bitter Fate-Australians in Malaya and Singapore, a publication of the Department of Veteran Affairs of the Australia Government. (Retrieved from https://anzacportal.dva.gov.au/resources/bitter-fate-australians-malaya-singapore, accessed 12 June 2023).

33. We have documented many aspects of the military affection in our website Beer et Seq. See for example 'N.A.A.F.I Beer in Japan. Part III'. (Retrieved from https://www.beeretseq.com/n-a-a-f-i-beer-in-japan-part-iii/, accessed 12 June 2023) For Australian attachment to beer in general, still growing in 1939, see Docherty, J.C. (2010) *The A to Z of Australia*, p.48. (Retrieved from https://www.google.ca/books/edition/The_A_to_Z_of_Australia/1VYk8YfLdmgC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=The+A+to+Z+of+Australia&pg=PA476&printsec=frontcover, accessed 12 June 2023).

34. *The Straits Times*, 29 June 1940. The latter ad included Cyrano's, a fashionable restaurant in Singapore that established early in 1940 an English pub component, the Pig and Whistle. Almost certainly then this pub carried Tooth's 'K.B.' in this period. See our blogpost of 14 June 2023 which gives further background on the pub and its connection to Cunard liner pubs for the crew. (Retrieved from https://www.beeretseq.com/the-pig-and-whistle-from-sea-to-sea/, accessed 17 June 2023).

35. The original carried the bold type.

36. *Courier-Mail*, 10 July 1941.

37. *The Sun* (Sydney), 1 September 1941.

38. *The Straits Times*, 8 May 1941.

39. S.R. Carver's Overseas trade and customs and excise revenue. 1940/41. Bulletin No. 38 (Retrieved from https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.c2626848&view=1up&seq=3&q1=beer, accessed 15 June 2023).

40. *The Straits Times*, 3 August 1941.

41. *The Straits Times*, 7 December 1941.

42. For this and further details how the Malayan Peninsula and Singapore were lost to Japanese arms, see Chapter 4 of (2002) *The Second World War: Asia and the Pacific*, ed. T.E. Griess (Retrieved from https://books.google.ca/books?id=NbXccb3rkSUC&pg=PA69&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false, accessed 16 June 2023).

43. According to Robert Morley's (2018) *Canteen Army: The NAAFI Story*, Chapter 10 (Kindle edition, unpaginated), there were 90 canteens on the Peninsula when the Japanese invaded, hence not counting those in Singapore. They were progressively abandoned as British and Allied forces retreated south. The NAAFI at Kota Bharu, where the first Japanese force landed, is pictured in the text.

44. *Malaya Tribune*, 16 August 1941.

45. *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, 23 April 1941. Incidentally, most of the players' names, reproduced in the coverage, were Chinese.

46. *Malaya Tribune*, 12 July 1940.

47. Morley, R, (2018) op. cit., Chapter 10.

48. ibid.

49. *Malaya Tribune*, 19 December 1941.

50. It is reasonable to read the news report this way, excepting for service staff. The term 'Asiatics', for its part, was not necessarily pejorative. The phrase 'Asia for Asiatics' regularly appeared in Japanese propaganda, for example.

51. *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 13 December 1941.

52. (Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Brooke-Popham, accessed 17 June 2023).