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MINNIE VAUTRIN'S

DIARY

1937-1940

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PUBLISHED PARTS OF MISS VAUTRIN'S DIARY

"The Classmate," of Cincinnati, Ohio, published "Notes from a Nanking Diary," edited by Maude T. Sarvis in the issues of April 30, and May 17, 1938. The period covered was through September 26, 1937.

The manuscript of Miss Vautrin's Diary was submitted to Mr. Arthur C. Walworth Jr., of the Educational Department of Houghton, Mifflin and Co. who advised sending it to some magazine. It was accordingly submitted to Mr. Lee F. Hartman of Harpers Magazine and to Mr. Barbour, of Atlantic Monthly, but was not accepted.

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Ginling College
August 12, 1937

Dear Friends:

It seems increasingly impossible for me to keep up with letters that I really long to find time to answer--even the annual Christmas letter has been neglected for the past two years. Just now I am going to make a tremendous effort to get a mimeographed one done before the summer holiday passes and the regular work of the school year begins. If you receive this you will know that I have succeeded in spite of the heat, rumors of war and all kinds of extra tasks as a result of those rumors. I'll resort to the diary form again because my mind seems to work that way--probably a result of increasing age.

June 20-22. Baccalaureate and commencement and class day exercises seem to have a habit of coming and going on college campuses. At Ginling our 19th one came on June 20-22 when 42 young women finished their college courses. More than 60% of these graduates will go into high school work, 25 of them will be teachers and 2 will be deans. However more avenues are opening for the trained woman in China than formerly. Two of the class will go into nursing, two will continue their medical course, one will become a national secretary for the New Life Movement, one will go into medical-social case work, two into religious-social work and one into rural work. One member of the class was married two days after commencement and about twenty of her class participated in her wedding ceremony which took place down at the new International Club. Sixteen girls graduated from the Practice High School and we have heard since that they all passed the government examination which hangs like a heavy weight above them all during their senior year.

Again this year we had a most interesting commencement over at our Neighborhood House when 8 girls between the ages of 14 and 19 graduated from Homecraft School which our college students support for the poor girls of the neighborhood. We were very bold and invited the wife of the mayor of Nanking to give the chief address at the commencement exercises. She accepted the invitation, made a very practical and helpful speech to the eight girls which I suspect they will never forget, and moreover she was so impressed by the work of the little school that she gave a gift of \$40.00 when she left. As some of you know, one requirement for graduation is that each girl be able to make her own graduation dress and shoes, and this they had done very well indeed this year. Increasingly the college girls are becoming interested in the work of this school. This last year more than twelve of them taught classes over there regularly. It was very difficult to get this new type of school started for the poor homes need their older girls to help make a living and to take care of the younger children, but gradually they are seeing that the school does something worthwhile for their daughters.

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June 21. On the morning of June 21st I received a telegram from my brother telling of the death of my father. Such news is always a shock and for days and nights my thoughts followed the last sad journey back to the old home in Illinois. Letters which have reached me since have greatly comforted me for they have told how quickly father passed on into the great beyond and was spared long weeks of suffering which he always dreaded. He was 83 years old and was active up to within a few days of his death. I owe more than I can ever repay to my brother and sister-in-law for taking such good care of father during the last years of his life and thus making it possible for me to continue work here in China which I could not well leave.

July 2-18. For these sixteen days I have been having a holiday with friends in the seaside summer resort of Tsingtao--the city which belonged to the Germans before the Great War, then was given to Japan, and finally because of the Washington Agreement was returned to China. I lived out at Iltus Huk a peninsula which juts out into the blue and cool Pacific. The sea bathing was great - the present heat in Nanking makes me wish that I had gone in oftener than once a day. I am only a mediocre swimmer but how I did love it! My brother always told me I got the speed of a row boat out of the force of a steamer--but any way I improved even at the age of fifty. We took one half day trip to a mountain in the country and were impressed by the prosperty of the farmers, the cleanness and neatness of their fields, their ability to use every square foot of space--even banks were planted with melon vines--and the number of fine looking schools scattered through the country. We were told that the Municipality of Tsingtao has started more than 50 such model country schools. Ruth Chester and Florence Kirk of our Ginling Faculty and Wenona Wilkinson of my Mission are my summer companions--and there are none finer.

Word came through to us in Tsingtao that on July 7th trouble started a few miles south of Peiping when a Japanese soldier disappeared--how? nobody really knows, and why? again nobody really knows. Since then fighting has increased and what the end of it will be we dare not say. Of the Great War, Milne said, "Two people were killed in Serajeve in 1914 and the best Europe could do about it was to kill eleven million more." And Milne did not include in this summary all the personal loss and anguish, the deaths from disease, the economic dislocation and the increased and deepened hatreds. China does not want war and knows that she is not prepared for it. I beleive that the Japanese people do not want war but Japan cannot control her military machine.

July 19-20. Yesterday morning I left Tsingtao and this afternoon arrived in Nanking coming through by train. During that journey I passed five troop trains--just open cars they were, filled with soldiers and horses and equipment of war. The soldiers looked so miserable in the terrific heat and some of them were mere lads.

Today's English paper has in it the speech of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek which he delivered to leaders at a conference in Kuling on

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July 19th. I hope that it appeared in American papers and that you were able to read it for it seemed to me to be sane and reasonable. He gave a minimum of four points which China cannot yield and retain her national integrity. He seemed to be giving a reply to Japan's unreasonable demands and at the same time he was explaining to his own people what the final sacrifice for them might be. He said: "Weak nation as we are we cannot neglect to uphold the integrity of our nation. It is impossible for us not to safeguard to our utmost the heritage of our forefathers, a duty which we must fulfil to the utmost. Let us realize, however, that once war has begun there is no looking backward, we must fight to the bitter end."

July 21. One reason I have come back to Nanking at this time into the heat is to check up on the new faculty houses which are being built this summer. More than a year ago it was decided to put up a row of five apartments and in addition a bungalow--the latter I was hoping to enjoy during the remainder of my years in China. Unfortunately because building costs have increased more than 25% recently, we have had to turn the funds for the bungalow into that for the apartment houses. During the last few weeks we have even had to turn over also the modest sum of \$2000.00 Chinese currency which had been set aside for the furnishing of the apartments. For all we know now, by November if all goes well, we may be moving into empty faculty houses. My disappointment over the bungalow was keen, but perhaps not fatal.

Another reason for coming back was to make final decision about going to Japan to attend the Seventh Meeting of the World Federation of Education Associations which is scheduled to meet in Tokyo from August 2-7. Before the trouble started in the north, twelve of our Ginling alumnae who are principals or deans of middle schools, had planned to go with me to Japan. We had all our plans made to live in a school conducted by the wife of a Japanese pastor, and after attending the conference we were hoping to stay on and visit Kagawa's work, girls' secondary schools and also come to know some Japanese Christians. I was eager to take the group over for from the standpoint of international friendship it would have been valuable. Then the Chinese official delegates from Manchukwo. It was not wise for me to take my group but as for myself I still felt that it might be worthwhile for me to go. Since returning to Nanking and learning how affairs are developing in the north I have decided not to go.

July 22. Tonight after the lights went out on our campus, for more than two hours I listened to the tramp, tramp, tramp of soldiers and horses and the clanking of guns on the road outside. By day all is calm, but at night war preparations are moving forward. Can nothing stop these two nations? Truly we seem like sheep without a shepherd when the passion for war is let loose, and yet we know that in every country there are enough people opposed to war to really put a stop to it. I cannot forget the tramping of those men!

July 28. I was invited to a Chinese feast in the home of a friend tonight. Everyone was filled with joy for word had been coming through all day by wireless that the Chinese troops were gaining back the territory that had been lost during the past week. Such enthusiasm everywhere--even the ricksha men seemed to have heard about it. There was a sinking feeling in my own heart for I know that a military machine will slap back quickly and relentlessly.

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July 29-31 Japan's reaction has come more quickly than I imagined. Word is coming through that not only has she taken the cities momentarily lost but she is driving all Chinese troops Tientsin and Peiping. It seems that nothing has been destroyed in Peiping, but Tientsin has been bombarded by an airforce, and much destruction has taken place. Nankai University has been totally destroyed we are told, because Japanese felt that it was a center of propaganda. Naturally the Chinese people are furious and even the calmest say that China must fight even though she be defeated. Some even say that China must herself destroy her great coastal cities and retreat to the mountain regions and from there carry on gorilla warfare until Japan is exhausted economically.

August 2 Tonight a committee of five faculty met to discuss precautionary measures for taking care of the college campus. We planned to pack valuable apparatus and store it in the basements, to purchase fire extinguishers, to send records to Shanghai, etc. Yesterday it was said that an announcement was made to officials to get their families out of the city. The reason was to lessen the number in Nanking and to free officials of family responsibility--but the result has been to frighten the people terribly. Trains and boats are packed and tickets have been sold for days in advance. Thousands are leaving.

August 6 Several days ago orders were sent out to Nanking residents to paint all roofs black or gray. There are only a few red roofs left now. Although some of the official buildings have painted their red columns gray, we have not yet done anything about ours. Our campus is rather separated so we do not feel we are in much danger. We are also near the American Embassy which makes this region safer. The poor old Drum Tower looks sad in its coat of gray.

August 9 And now the problem of the opening of college in the autumn is being discussed. This evening we had a special meeting of three faculty members to discuss what should be done. Students are already writing in for transfers--they hope to enter schools in Shanghai or Canton. We have decided to send out word to all that we expect to open at our usual time, that we believe it is better to keep schools open and running normally. If within a few days of the opening it seems unwise we will put a notice in the Shen Pao, a paper that has a wide circulation in China.

August 10 Dr. Wu, our president, is very tired. She has not had any rest this summer and at the present time is on an executive committee of an organization which has been formed by Madam Chiang to furnish first aid to the national army. The committee has meetings almost every day that lasts for hours. She has to be chairman of many of the meetings.

August 11 What have I done today? I left my room in the Practice School at eight o'clock. Mr. Chen, the Business Manager, and I made the rounds to see that the necessary work of preparation is going on. First we went to the three basements to see that they are being cleared so that in case of air raids students and faculty and college servants can go there for shelter. Then we checked up on the making of sand bags which we are preparing to use for the protection of apparatus. Still later we had a conference on what we are to do with the chemicals that must be gotten out of the Science Building, etc. It seems to me this morning that Nanking is somewhat quieter and that people are

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settling down to the routine of life again. Of course rumors are still flying. Personally I am hoping, and constantly praying that the war clouds will pass away and that China will again be free to push her program of national reconstruction which she has been carrying on so valiantly the past few years in spite of all handicaps. Would that somehow the moral forces of the world could be mobilized against war, against the military machine in all countries and people could give their time and strength to the art of peace and friendly co-operation to rid the world of poverty and ignorance and disease.

I send this letter on to you with the feeling that it is hardly worth the time it will take you to read it. It will at least let you know that I have not forgotten you and that I have appreciated the letters that most of you have written to me--and that all of you have intended to write. If all goes well I shall be coming home next summer for my furlough year. Where I shall be during the winter of that year I have not quite decided but I shall want to spend part of it in study. Let us hope that by the time this letter reaches you all will be quiet in your hemisphere and in mine.

Sincerely your friend,

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DAY BY DAY IN NANKING.

Leaves from my diary started on August 12, 1937.

August 12. Thursday.

In a conference today we decided to postpone the opening of Ginning to September 20th. This date was suggested by the Ministry of Education for schools in Shanghai, Nanking, and other danger areas. Much time has been spent - and funds too - in working out telegrams and cablegrams. We are still planning to give our entrance tests on next Monday in both Shanghai and Nanking. Whether or not we can get out questions through to Shanghai and whether or not any students will appear for the tests remains to be seen.

August 13. Friday.

All communications with Shanghai are cut. Ronald Rees came in from Kuling this afternoon hoping to see some people in Nanking before going down to Shanghai. He finds that he can not get to Shanghai by boat, train, or even air plane. People in the city seem very much frightened. Many are going up river to smaller places and even into the country. Sie Wei-peng and her children have started for Changsha; Yu Swen-dji and her three sons have started for Chungking; Hwang Li-ming and her mother and children have gone to Shanghai. They say that people are even riding on the tops of trains to Wuhu in their desire to get out of Nanking.

August 14. Saturday.

Francis Chen, the business manager and I went out this morning and marked out the site for four trenches which we hope to have dug within the next few days. We have had instructions from both a Chinese and a German military expert so we think we know how they should be made. Being near two anti-aircraft guns is almost as much of a danger to us as the bombs from airplanes. 11 a.m. Anna Moffet, Ronald Rees, John Magee and I spent about an hour and a half over in Anna's office trying to see what Christians can do in a situation like the present one. Are we to stand by hopelessly and see war come upon the Orient or is there something that we can do - and if so, what? This morning at five o'clock I got up and drafted a plan for INTERNATIONAL MORAL MOBILIZATION which I believe we could at least start and no one can say how far it would go. It seems to me that there are enough people in all countries and peace organizations together with religious and cultural organizations to have an influence - if only we could act together. My idea would be to try in every possible way to bring pressure upon the military group in Japan and upon the people of Japan to withdraw their military forces from Chinese soil. I would accompany this moral pressure by a personal boycott to begin on November 1st and because we have only good will for the ^{peace-loving} people of Japan and the industrial workers and agricultural workers, we would pledge ourselves to stand ready to help these groups. Anna, John and Mr. Rees did not think the plan would work and so we dropped it. The latter is going down to Shanghai to see what he can do in definite leadership for Christian groups in China during this crisis. I wish that we had an International Christian Council that could lead the Churches in such a time. 1 p.m. Over the radio at Anna's we learned that air raids and fighting are now going on in Shanghai.

August 15. Sunday.

This afternoon two air raids took place in Nanking. They were our first and they were particularly fierce ones. The first one started at 2 o'clock. Strange to say at 1 p.m. I called the students together and organized them and told them what to do - saying that we did not expect air raids but that we wanted them to be prepared in case they should come. At 2 p.m. the warning siren sounded. The airplanes circled low over the city both at 2 p.m. and again just before 5 p.m. The anti-aircraft guns ~~bonbed~~ out from many parts of the city. What damage has been done we do not know but we are certain that some people have been killed for the machine guns on the airplanes did much shooting and since this was the first raid the people did not realize that they should keep off of the streets. We had great difficulty keeping our servants in the basements - they wanted to see what was happening. Several days ago we assigned every person on the campus to a definite place in case of a raid - by tomorrow we hope that our trenches will be finished so that we can make use of them and not overcrowd our two basements - the Science Building basement has had equipment placed into it and is not being used as a shelter.

This evening I had invited several Amoy people to have supper with me - Wang Shuh-hsi being one of them. About an hour before time for them to come they sent a note saying they could not come but were taking a train to Shanghai. It seems that a train may be starting through tonight - but when it will arrive there is another question. 7-8 p.m. Three pairs of the men servants and I completed a trench of sand bags on the north verandah of the "600" dormitory so that the students will not have to run over to the Central Building basement in the night in case there is a raid. 8 p.m. Over the radio at Eva's we heard that Shanghai has suffered very badly from bombs from airplanes - whose, we do not know. The report said that Avenue Edward VII and Nanjing Road and that many, many have been killed.

August 16. Monday.

Just before 6 a.m. we were awakened by the sirens and bells and whistles and we heard many airplanes but they all seemed to be the Chinese planes. A later report said that the J. planes did not come over the main part of the city this time, their objective being the airdrom. Reports later said that 7 J. planes were brought down - 3 in Nanking, 1 in Yangchow, 1 in Chinkiang and 2 in Shanghai. 3p.m. Again the siren warns us of an air raid and again we flee to basement or trench. This afternoon a request came from Central Hospital for our college buildings in order to turn them into a hospital - or rather to move Central over here. It is a very difficult request to refuse, but we are hoping to open college on September 20th and if we grant this request that hope will have to be given up. Dr. Wu is consulting members of her Executive Committee. 7 p.m. This afternoon Mr. Chen and I organized the servants into three brigades in case we have fire. One group is to be responsible for getting ladders, one group handles the fire-extinguishers, one group brings the sand or water. We have purchased a large quantity of sand some of which we have behind the Arts Building and some behind the Science Building. In addition we have purchased extra buckets and have buckets of sand in all the buildings. They say that for some of the bombs only dry sand will extinguish the flames. I went over to the American Embassy and since the siren sounded just before I was ready to leave, I had to remain there until about 7:45. They will allow no person on the streets until the release siren sounds.

They say the order in the city is now very good and that the police have absolute control of the situation.

8 p.m. American women and children are being evacuated tonight. They are being sent up river to Kuling or to Hankow. While the Legation does not say that it recognizes two classes of women - yet it is true. Those of us bearing responsibility for whom it is difficult to leave are being permitted to remain on - that is we are not being forced to go. Elsie Priest, Grace Bauer, and myself. Catharine Sutherland is staying on too because she kindly but firmly feels that it is her duty to do so and that she is a help. In her quiet but persistent way I suspect that she will win through.

August 17. Tuesday.

It was such a relief this morning not to be rushed out of bed by the call of a siren. It was not until 12 o'clock that we heard our first one and then the release came at 12:30. A second warning came about 2 p.m. just before we sent a servant down to meet Florence. It is now 4 p.m. and we are not yet released - I am writing this from the basement in the Arts Building. The 1:10 broadcast from Shanghai said that all American women and children are being evacuated from Shanghai - some being sent directly to America and some going to Manilla.

7 p.m. Went over to see Lossing Buck between five and six o'clock today. He says that it is true that Frank Rawlinsin was killed in Shanghai on Sunday, the bomb which killed him killed 537 others. Saw his trench. He and his housemates have made a real dugout about seven feet deep with little cubicles on the sides big enough for one person each. He is all prepared for a siege or a getaway for he has drinking water there and also a packed suitcase. I forgot to tell you that we did not give the tests yesterday for only three girls turned up for them and they were quite willing to have them postponed. We did not even succeed in getting the questions through to Shanghai. T.T. Zee called today and was like a fresh breeze. He reported that banks in the city are temporarily closed. He feels that the present trouble will last about two weeks - I wish that I could be as hopeful.

August 18. Wednesday.

A beautiful day and not too hot. Glorious sunshine. After the rain, the trees and lawns and flowering shrubs are lovely. We have started a daily prayer meeting which takes place each morning at seven o'clock over in the South Studio. My plan to spend the morning in study, I see now was a very foolish one and could only be followed when you can plan your days with reasonable assurance that the unexpected will not happen. I spent most of this morning talking to Miss Li Mei-yung of Ming Deh who does not know what to do about a request from the Health Bureau to take over the school for a hospital - the first proposal was for a hospital for soldiers, but afterwards they said they would make it into an emergency hospital for civilians. I tried in her behalf to get a meeting of heads of all Christian schools so that they could act more or less alike in meeting such requests but every one we called was so busy that they could not possibly meet although they thought it would be a good thing to do. Then Mrs. Huseman came with her problem *- her servants all want to go home and she does not know what to do about it. The day closed without a single air raid - what a welcome relief. This evening Catharine and I went to the street to buy food in case of a siege but we found little. Our regular store was sold out of butter, crackers and cookies and milk. As you walk along the streets you can feel that there are many fewer people in Nanking.

August 18th Thursday.

1:40 a.m. It must have been about midnight that the siren screeched its warning. Those of us at the Practice School got up quickly, dressed, closed all windows, locked the doors and made our way to our trench under the trees. Fortunately one of the amahs had been wise enough to take her bedding for that saved us from the mosquitoes that descended upon us. I had a difficult time keeping all the members of my trench in hiding until the release siren sounded - they were curious to see what was going on outside. One of the gardeners kept insisting that he must go back for his fan - the mosquitoes were really very bad. As we walked back to the dormitory in the moonlight I thought what a time for worship of the beauty of nature instead of using it to destroy and to kill. East Court people - about six teachers - have moved their beds to Central Building and they make use of that basement when the warning comes. There was no visit of the airplanes all morning but at six o'clock the warning siren sounded out fiercely. I was just beginning my supper at East Court. Immediately we took our food and went to the Central Building - each carrying her own bowl of rice and chopsticks. At first it all seemed to be over and there was no sound of planes, then suddenly there was a most deafening roar and every one rushed to the basement. The anti-aircraft guns on Tsing Liang Shan boomed forth and even our strong building shook. Fire seemed to flash out over the northeast section of the city. After the release siren came we gathered for a little ice cream party which Catharine and I had prepared as a surprise for the students and Mrs. Tsen's four grandchildren who are staying here with her. We had a happy time playing games together in the moonlight and the children forgot their fear. Suddenly Chen Mei-yu (1920) came on to the campus all excited and with her hair and clothes covered with dust. She said that she was in the Women's Dormitory over at Central University when it completely collapsed. The airplanes had aimed at the Central University Library, the Auditorium and the Science Building evidently. One bomb fell just back of the Library and shattered all the glass in the windows; another had landed just on the back of the Auditorium and evidently destroyed the back wall. Still another had destroyed a Chemistry laboratory but had not hit the large Science Building. Mei-yu's brother was also over there at the time but both of them escaped - Mei-yu's escape was almost a miracle. She hid under a washstand which prevented the falling walls from reaching her. Mei-yu thinks there were spies on the campus and that by means of lights they were directing the bombing. An important meeting of the presidents of several government universities was going on in the basement of the library building at the time of the bombing but fortunately no one was hurt. They think about thirty or forty servants and others were killed. 9 p.m. Before Mei-yu had finished her story the siren started again and we all rushed to our several shelters - this time Catharine and I went with the students to the verandah of "600". As soon as the release came I went down to the Practice School. Later we heard that the military training school was also bombed about the same time as Central University. Quite a number were killed there also.

August 20. Friday.

4 a.m. - 6 a.m. I have just been over to the Drum Tower Church from where at 5 o'clock this morning the body of Dr. Chen Dao-seng, brother of Miss Anna Chen, principal of the Christian Girls' School was taken to the cemetery. He died at the University Hospital on Wednesday and leaves a mother,

wife and seven children. It was such a sad funeral. The family had first been evacuated to Shanghai and then called back because of the illness of the father. Only the two older sons and two pastors and one friend of the family went with the coffin to the Christian cemetery because of the fear of airplanes. 9 - 10 a.m. The siren sounded again and we all sought our trenches. We have now prepared the anti-gas chemicals and put them into the hands of each captain. Each person also has a mask. I carry mine around in the bag Mrs. Thurston gave me before she left last year - wherever I go I have it. After the release siren we gathered a large group of campus men and moved the grand piano and the alumnae screen from the Chapel down to the North Studio thinking that an extra layer of cement would be of value. 11-12. Dr. Wu discussed with Mrs. Tsen and me the most recent request for the use of our buildings - namely the use of the recitation hall by a group of twenty men and women from the Weather Bureau. They not only want to move their offices over but also to live and eat here. It was decided to permit them to live here but to ask them to be responsible for their own food as Mrs. Tsen does not have a great deal of rice on hand. A second request was from the Ministry of Education to move one office over and some of their higher officers. The difficulty with this request is that if a number of higher officers come that will mean many automobiles on the campus daily and will attract attention - there are many spies around and it may endanger the entire campus. It was decided that if they can use some of the men faculty houses which are off the campus that we could ask our men faculty to move on to the campus thus releasing the houses to them. They later found that several anti-aircraft guns are in our vicinity and therefore they will not come. 8-9 p.m. Tonight we had an organization meeting of our captains - each of our four trenches and each of the two basements has a captain. They were taught how to use the anti-gas chemicals and how to make masks for the members of their group. We also assigned the people on the campus to their places of safety and tomorrow will post a list, so that each will know exactly where he or she belongs. Walking back to the Practice School after the meeting, as I drank in the beauty of the moonlight on the waving branches and flowers, I realized more deeply the longing of God for His children and the eternal Cross which He bears because of our sins of greed and pride and selfishness - both individual and national. Calvary was not enacted two thousand years ago but is eternally being enacted in this world of ours. How long, how long before we become a world family? 10:30 p.m. How I hope that we can sleep in peace tonight, especially for the sake of little children who do not understand what this is all about.

August 21. Saturday.

4:30-6:30 a.m. Again we were aroused by the screaming of the sirens and again we got up, dressed and found our way to our several trenches. Fortunately the planes did not come to the city, probably being stopped outside by the Chinese planes. 7-7:30 a.m. Although only a few of us gather for these early morning prayer meetings yet the spirit is most earnest and fine. I have yet to hear a Chinese Christian ask God to smite the Japanese and to give China the victory. Near the end of July when the Tientsin troubles were at their worst there was hate and bitterness, but that has all changed into one of the finest spirits of forgiveness of national sins on both sides. 8:30-9 a.m. Again to our trenches. Met Dr. Wu as she was hurrying to her office. Both of us agree that we do not enjoy these frequent interruptions. After our release I found Miss Wu, librarian, directing the students in cut-

ting cloth which is to be given to the captains for the gas masks. Siao-sung and Pin-dji are back from Hsia Gwan where they went for a boat several days ago. They say that they must wait for Monday's boat. Naturally all up-river boats are crowded and one has to get tickets days in advance.

4 p.m. About eight P.U.M.C. students came over to see me about making the trip to peiping. A radiogram was sent me from P.U.M.C. through the American Embassy telling students to return. My feeling is that if the institution says that it is O.K. to return that it is safe for them to make the trip, especially since they will be met in Tientsin. 1:30 p.m. I went to the street to make some purchases. Streets are not crowded as formerly and you can well believe that tens of thousands have moved out. Many shops were closed and locked. I went to two Indian stores to see if I could get some wash material for dresses - but both stores were locked. The Cash Grocery is preparing to close. Mr. Yoh, the manager, said that he had rented a house in the country and had stored most of his goods there. He has sent his family to Ningpo. Movies, bookstores, and Elite all closed - there is no business. 6:15-7:30 p.m. On my way back from the street the siren sounded and I rushed for home and my trench. Later. Shall I wash my hair or not? And shall I take a bath? One never knows when the siren will sound and interrupt one's occupation. In fact if you get through a task successfully you feel quite proud these days. I have gotten in the habit now of putting my trench outfit all in readiness before I go to bed so that I can hastily slip into things at the sound of the siren. Everything is there - dark dress, shoes, steamer rug and fan to ward off mosquitoes, gas mask, etc.

August 22. Sunday.

What a peaceful night. The siren did not blow once last night and I slept as if drugged until 7 a.m. It is only a week today that we had our first air raid and it truly seems like years. 10-11 a.m. I went to the Drum Tower Church this morning and there was a goodly audience present. There was a solemn seriousness that pervaded the audience - life is serious and sad these days. I miss the presence of Dr. Chen who was such a helpful member of the Church. 7-8 p.m. An air raid came that seemed to concentrate on Tsing Liang Shan and the aircraft guns in that vicinity. At such time the airplanes seem to be just above Ginling. Later. Again a glorious moonlight night. Mrs. Tsen's grandchildren, some students, Catharine and I took a walk around the campus in the moonlight. Little Gwoh-yu, the fourth grandchild, has quite won my heart. 8 p.m. Mr. Buck has just telephoned that the Ambassador wishes all women and men without special responsibility to be ready to evacuate. There is a most understanding spirit in the Embassy and its decisions are not forced upon people. Naturally - and they are right, I think - they want all people who can leave to leave for no one can tell what will happen.

August 23. Monday. 12:45-2 a.m. Time out for trench life again. One soon adjusts to new situations and begins to simplify. The gardeners and amahs who are assigned to my trench now bring their fans and one of them even brings some incense to prevent mosquitoes. I do not believe it takes us more than ten minutes to get up, dress, close and lock the Practice School and get into the trench. We can even see jokes and laugh a bit now. This morning I asked the whereabouts of Wang, the second gardener, when we ar-

rived in our trench. The head person or captain said, "He is at the Big Door of dithh." Our watch dog always follows and places himself on the top of the trench. I wonder what he thinks of us, anyway? This morning Mrs. Tsen, Mr. Francis Chen and I tried to think out a policy for the treatment of families of students, servants and faculty families in case the city becomes unsafe - and we are still safe. We decided that we would do our utmost to protect life - but that people could not bring in boxes of valuables and their household goods, for fear that later there might be looting in the city and the campus would be singled out as a desirable place to loot. The 1:10 Evening Post Radio this noon says that a bomb has been dropped in Sincere Department Store in Shanghai and that many have been killed and injured. We do not yet know details as to numbers or whose plane dropped the bomb. Word is coming through also that the Nantungchow Christian Hospital and Girls' School have been destroyed - but I refuse to believe it for they were located outside of the city and not near any political or military organization. At 4:30 today Catharine and I went over to the Embassy. The people there are working day and night. Hall Paxton said that if he did one more half hour of work it would finish his 24th hour without sleeping. More trenches are being built on the street. The situation seems to be getting more tense. A day seems long and I forget the days of the week completely. Time seems to be measured by raids. The City Organization of the New Life Movement has moved into our Neighborhood Center. They were over near the air drome which is a particularly dangerous spot. 9:30 p.m. No raid yet this evening. May the night be one of peace. In times of crises how quickly values change and externals slough off. The important problem of when to open college has become comparatively unimportant. If the present situation in Nanking continues, in a few more weeks there may be no college to open.

August 24. Tuesday. 12:30-1:15 a.m. To the trenches again but the planes evidently were prevented from coming over the city for which we were grateful. Through the kindness of the American Embassy this morning we sent a radiogram to P.U.M.C. saying that six students are starting north on the 30th. This morning Dr. Wu and I have been working on an emergency curriculum preparatory to working on an Emergency Budget this afternoon with Elsie. At 11 this morning Mrs. Tsen and Francis Chen and I worked out an emergency policy with regard to college gardeners and janitors and dormitory servants. In case we can not open we can not keep this large staff of workers. 1:10 p.m. The broadcast this noon stated that 151 were killed yesterday in the Sincere Store bombing and that 373 were wounded. 7:50-9 p.m. I spent this time in the Central Building basement with the young faculty and the students. I think that we are beginning to be able to differentiate between the sounds made by the C. and J. planes. Your heart stands still when a J. plane goes above you. The spirit among the students is splendid. Only about nine students left on campus now. The college servants have been wonderful. Not a one has asked to go home, and there has been no complaint in spite of all the extra work that has been placed upon them in digging trenches and moving equipment, etc., etc. Day after day no mail comes and no newspapers. I received my last North China Daily News on Sunday, Aug. 14th. Only nine days since this life of air raids started and it seems like as many months.

To be continued.

0904

DAY BY DAY IN NANKING. #2.
Leaves from my diary started on August 12, 1937

M. V.

Wednesday, August 25. Again from midnight to about one-thirty we were in our trenches. The recompense for me these nights is always the exquisite beauty of the silver moon, the clearness of the starry heavens and the waving of the graceful branches of our weeping willow trees. I spent the morning making out a statement of the locality of the campus and the number of buildings. About 11 a.m. I took it over to the American Embassy and gave it to Mr. Paxton who very graciously said that it was just what he wanted. I think the Embassy is expecting to send it to the J. Embassy. Catherine took the blueprint of the campus and buildings over to the photographer to have some photographs made and as soon as they are done, we will also send them in. Noon. The tailor came to make me several wash dresses for I am down to about three dresses which is not pleasant in this hot weather. The tailor says his helpers have all gone and that as soon as he finishes my two dresses, he is going up to Hofei too where it is safer. He says he has no business whatever. 1:10 p.m. the broadcast says that 173 were killed and 549 wounded in the Sincere Store bombing in Shanghai. No official decision has yet been made as to the guilty party. We also heard that there is fierce hand to hand fighting in the Shanghai area. The Chinese troops are trying their best to prevent the J. troops from landing. 3:30-5p.m. This afternoon I did what I have been wanting to do every since I returned from Tsingtan--went calling on my old friends in the neighborhood. People in general were very friendly and my old friends were very glad to see me. Most of the common folks now have some kind of simple trench or cave. Children seem very much frightened by the sound of the planes. I hurried home to escape a rain storm. 7 p.m. Dr. Wu spoke to all our servants and campus men who were asked to meet over in the science Hall. She mentioned the necessity of staying in their trenches or basements when the airplanes are overhead, and the importance of not using flash lights at night after the warning siren has sounded. 8-9. Again to our trenches. I went not to my usual trench back of East Court but to the Central Building basement and before I went down I tarried to see that there were no flash lights to be seen any place on the campus. I am sorry to say that we hear of many traitors who for a sum--large or small--give signals to the enemy by means of lights. That is why we are so careful of flash lights. Dr. Wu, Mrs. Tsen, Francis Chen and I had a conference tonight concerning the staff of helpers. The August 14th number of the North China Daily News is the last copy I have received, and day after day no mail has been coming. To send telegrams or long distance telephone messages is equally impossible.

Thursday, August 26. 6:30 a.m. It was a long night of peace and rest. No planes came to disturb our slumbers and we are grateful. This morning the air is cool and refreshing after the rain of yesterday afternoon. Mail came in this morning for a change--from Chefoo Kuling and Shanghai. Two more students left this morning for up-river. There are only 8 students left on the campus now. 11 a.m. Mrs. Tsen, Mr. Chen and I reassigned people to basements and trenches since we now have 20 additional people on the campus--the staff from the National Weather Bureau who have moved here from Peigihgo which was bombed the other evening. They live, work and sleep in the Recitation Hall. They are more careless--or more bold--about the use of flash lights at night than we are. A radiogram was sent to me today from the American Embassy in which PUMC is calling for students to return to Peiping. 4-6. Today I again went out calling in the neighborhood. This time to the northwest. So many people came out and asked me why American Government did not come out and act as the peacemaker. Surely the common people of a nation do not want war. Dr. Lo-president of Central University, was over this afternoon and said that he is still planning to open on September 20th. He really came to ask if he could put some of the Greek models from their Art Department over here for they are fearful that something worse may happen to the University. Permission was granted to put the models in the North Studio. It has been hot and sultry today. There has been no air raid in the past 24 hours--a good sign or bad? Are they preparing for a real attack or have they given us up? Some people think that they really mean to destroy Nanking entirely. Tonight at 10:10 there is a broadcast of the day's events but I think I shall not stay up for it. May we again have a night of peace and rest.

Friday, August 27th. Just about midnight and the warning siren sounded and we got up and

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dressed and went to our trench. Before long we heard the slow, dull thud of the J. planes. During the course of the next four hours, it seemed to me that they came over the city six different times. Occasionally we could hear the heavy thud of a dropping bomb. The aircraft guns sounded out at times, but for the most of the time there was silence as we listened to that dull sound of the slowly moving, heavy bombing planes. Once when the planes were almost directly overhead, the college policeman dropped into our trench for a short time. He said the planes seemed to be coming from four directions and that each big bombing plane was accompanied by several smaller planes. He said that the planes also had a means of lighting the earth below so that they could see where they were dropping bombs. At 4 o'clock we were released and went back to our beds exhausted from the strain. 8 a.m. Have just awakened and been told that breakfast will not be served until 8:30 this morning--for which I am grateful. Rumors are already coming in of the many deaths caused in the raid last night. Noon. As nearly as I have been able to find out the facts, 12 Japanese planes came to Nanking last night and they did come from four directions as the policeman told us, each group consisting of two bombers and two escorts. About eight bombs were dropped in the city and an estimate of several hundred people were killed. They say that a bomb was dropped on the Legislative Bureau--which some of you remember is down in the Djang Gardens. One was also dropped in a very poor district not far from there where many poor were killed. Our gateman's brother was killed. The Anhwei Middle School was said to have been bombed and also a building near the Bureau of Health. These statements I have not been able to verify. P.M. We have decided to move all magazines and newspapers down from the attic of the library building--the German adviser who came to see us some time ago said it would be a good thing to clear all our attics--but we do not see how we can do that. We are putting the magazines and newspapers in the English and History offices. Mrs. Thurston's bookcases and books and filing cabinets we are also moving down. 6:40-8 p.m. Catherine and I went to call on Lae Shae and the laundry man's family. In both cases they took us to see their daves and asked our opinions. Just as you would show your rock garden or rose garden to your friends when they call, so now it is becoming customary to take your friends to see your trenches and caves and to ask their opinion. Famer Tou and his family were sitting out under a tree when we passed and he asked if we thought that there was any hope of the war ending soon. He said that the sound of exploding bombs was fearful to him and the laundry man said that it was very difficult to keep the children quiet in the trench. He has put a bamboo cot in his so that the children can go on sleeping. 8-8:30 p.m. To our trenches. The policeman told me a secret today--that he had been informed that the coming three days are to be very bad. 9 p.m. A letter by special messenger from the Embassy. They are asking all men and women to evacuate. It was a very clear emphatic statement. All the women at the Embassy are leaving tomorrow. I personally greatly appreciate the attitude of the Embassy. They have now asked us very politely to go on two different occasions--if after this anything happens, it is not their responsibility. I personally feel that I cannot leave--for it would simply mean that Dr. Wu, who is already carrying a terrific load would have to do the thing that I do in addition to what she is doing now. I feel that my eighteen years in Ginling and fourteen years in this neighborhood enable me to carry certain responsibilities which it is my duty to carry on. Men are not asked to desert their ships when they are in danger, and women are not asked to leave their children. As I said above the American Embassy comes more nearly to understanding this than they have ever before and I deeply appreciate it.

Saturday, August 28th. At midnight the siren sounded and we got ready as usual and went to our trenches. I now know enough to get all my trench outfit ready the night before so that I can just jump into things. We were there only about an hour, no planes came; the release siren sounded and we came forth thankful and went to bed. This morning I answered business letters all morning. Life moves at a slow tempo, as energy is low from the loss of sleep. At 1:10 we went to Eva's to listen to the daily broadcast. Evidently the World is taking Sir Hugh Knatchbull Hugessen's injury seriously. The fact that the Japanese thought it was General Chiang's car does not seem to be a satisfactory explanation. The radio said that a very firm note is being sent by England. I have heard that the night of our four hour bombing, from thirty to forty bombs were dropped out in the residential section of the National Park--perhaps also with the hope that certain high officials might be caught in that way. We have also heard about the blockade of the eastern coast by the Japanese Navy. Many people feel that Nanking is in great danger. 1:30 p.m. We are drilling all servants, men and women in fire protection. The infirmary was the location of the supposed fire and all servants were supposed to go there

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with their buckets and quickly form a line to the pond. The fire was on the roof. The ladder⁵ brigade arrived first and put up the ladders, and it was not long until a steady stream of buckets of water were coming to the roof. Neighbors came in to see the exhibit and the servants themselves got a good deal of fun out of it although at first it was a very serious business--especially for the amahs. 4 p.m. Life as seen from my window down at the Practice School looks and sounds so normal. One of the Senior I girls has brought over her younger brothers and sisters and they are having a happy time with croquet; the campus man is cutting grass and one of the Practice School men is cleaning the pond. The whole campus is a scene of beauty and peace. The crepe myrtle--white and cerese--is particularly luxuriant this year. 5 p.m. Hilda Anderson has asked us over to Elsie's to celebrate Elsie's birthday which comes next Tuesday. Grace Bauer was there with Mrs. Chang and her two little girls. While we were there enjoying our tea and ice-cream, Mr. Paxton came for Hilda's trunk--Hilda is evacuating with the Embassy women tomorrow morning--I do not envy Mr. Paxton his job. It was just ten years ago that he had a similar one of evacuating all Americans. Elsie has a very fine cave on the edge of the pond. She even has matting on the floor and newspaper pasted on the wall. Between 4 and 5 o'clock I went out to the business section to do a little shopping. I should say that eight out of ten shops are closed and boarded up. 9 p.m. The Huseman's have just been here. Mrs. Huseman is leaving tomorrow morning for Hankow and both are soon leaving for Germany--to do they know not what. Mrs. Huseman has persuaded me to take a little dog which she has rescued from the street. Tonight I succeeded in washing my hair and getting a bath--and no siren has sounded, so I feel quite proud,-- it is an accomplishment.

Sunday, August 29. Along night of rest. We have now had more than 30 hours free from air raids. Does it mean real cessation because peace is being considered, or does it mean more intensive preparation? We do not know--we can only hope and pray. During these raids we have been hearing much of "han gien" or traiters. Indirectly I have heard that 18 men and women--some of them high in official life--were shot yesterday as traiters. Because of maps found in Japanese airplanes that are shot down, they know that government secrets and plans are being handed over to the enemy. To me is one of the saddest things about the present crisis. While some are sacrificing everything for their country, others are making profit--but that is true in all nations, both in time of war and of peace, isn't it? The rumor that Friday, Saturday, and Sunday nights were to have terrific air raids that would blot out the city have not come true. My constant prayer is that nations or groups of the West will come forward as mediators--before Japan's ruthless war machine concentrates in China. 10-11 a.m. During this time I attended the morning service at Drum Tower Church. It was a very earnest and said group of about fifty who worshipped there this morning. After the service I went over to Mr. Kerr's home and heard the story of the bombing of the Kantungehew Hospital and School. It occured about 9 a.m. on August 17th. One bomb was dropped directly on the hospital, one in the middle of the Burch home, one in the Chinese Nurses's Home, and one in the new gymnasium of the Girls' School. They can see no reason why this bombing should have been done as there was no military or political center near. The doctors were killed, 2 nurses and perhaps 30 patients. The radio last evening said that the Baldwin School in Nanchang had also been bombed, but we do not know. 1:10 p.m. Over the radio the Evening Post broadcasted the bombing of the South Station in Shanghai and reported the killing of 120 refugees, and the wounding of 400 others. Today the North Station in Shanghai is being bombed. 5-5:30 p.m. To our trenches but were released quickly. This was the first siren since early Saturday morning. We are fearful when the siren calls out the warning, and perhaps just as fearful when we do not hear the siren for a time. Dr. Wu is really a great and fearless general. The question in my mind is will she leave when she should. Ginling needs her far more than it needs any of us--but she will not see it that way, and once in a while she says that she thinks we--Catherine and I--ought to leave. The tenseness and bitter feelings of these last days in July are no longer with her, and she goes about her many heavy tasks with a calm assurance and almost bouyancy. I believe that she is prepared for the worst--the complete destruction of this part of China--and the moving westward and starting all over again.

Monday, August 30. It is strange, but Mrs. Tsen, Dr. Wu and I have all had the same experience--sleeplessness when we have a night free of air raids. At 6 a.m. this morning nine students--all pre-nurses and pre-medics--ours and others started for P.U.M.C. How

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many days it will take them to get through we do not know. According to instructions from Peiping they are going by way of Tsinanfu, Chefoo and Tientsin where they will be met by a P.U.M.C. faculty member who will be waiting for them. Dr. Lo, president of Central, has made arrangements to send over about 10 pianos in addition to the 8 pieces of Greek staturay. The North studio now holds grand pianos, statues, the alumnae screen and rice--Mrs. Tsen feels that she should put her rice in two places rather than to store it all in one. At 4 p.m. Dr. Wu is calling a meeting of the faculty for word has come from the Ministry of Education to again postpone opening and to send all students away. The administrative faculty will meet at 4 and the teaching faculty at 4:30. She made a very fine talk to the latter group saying that she expected to stay by the college as long as she could be of any help, but that they were free to go. She asked the faculty for suggestions as to where we should open--Hanan, Mupeh, Kwangai, Szechaan, Shanghai? The University of Nanking is playing with the idea of sending upper class students to Chengtu--but the cost is great both for the University and the student. The Ministry did not give the reasons for the further postponement, but I think that the general feeling is that not only will there be frequent air raids in Nanking, but if the J. army succeeds in landing in Shanghai, there will be a march toward Nanking. 6:15-7 p.m. To our trenches and basements. Dr. Wu and I went with the students and young teachers to the Central Building basement and there Dr. Wu made a talk to the students and told them of the order from the Ministry. The release soon came and again there was no arrival of J. planes in Nanking. I received my North China Daily News today--the first copy since the August 14th number. Energy is low and creative thought impossible under the strain and stress of each day. Often it seems to me that it is all a hideous dream--it cannot be true and that I shall awaken to find life going on as usual.

Tuesday, August 31. No air raids in the night now. Francis Chen led our early morning prayer meeting this morning and had a most helpful, thoughtful meeting. I marvel at their spirit. 8:30-9:50 went with Mr. Tang to inspect the work on the new terrace house; Mr. Reeves bungalow and one of the practice rooms which we are trying to improve acoustically. Almost all work has stopped on the terrace house, there being but two or three workmen around--they have all gone hom to the country. The terrace house is just up to the roof boards--the tiles have not been put on yet. When it will be done, we do not know. 10 a.m. Dr. Wu went to an important meeting at the University of Nanking at which they were trying to work out their plans for the future. I spent the rest of the morning trying to think out plans for the college and the practice school. This noon Dr. Wu had a birthday dinner for Elsie--it was a very simple meal--we live simply these days. 1:30-2:30 To the trenches but again the enemy planes did not come near Nanking. They say that the Chinese planes go out to meet them and then they turn back. 4:30-6 p.m. Went to see the principals of Ming Deh and Chang Hwa. They absolutely have no plans for opening in Nanking at the present time, and it is too great a responsibility to take young girls to another place away from their parents. It seemed to me that as I passed along the streets that I noticed many more shops were closed and many more dugouts or caves were being made. We are fast going back to the period of the cave dwellers. 6 p.m. Mrs. Ward, who came in this morning from Shanghai after about a twenty hour trip, was with us for supper. She said that Nanking was peaceful compared with Shanghai where they hear the sound of shooting and bombing most of the time. At the 1:10 broadcast this mess we heard that the gymnasium was entirely destroyed and the Science building and three dormitories party destroyed. Heater's reports Premier Komoyo as says "Japan's one course is to beat China to her knees, so that she may no longer have the spirit to fight." And when she does that will she secure the cooperation and friendship of China? If the Japanese only would realize that China would be friendly and would purchase her goods if only she gave them half a chance. The history of the relation between Germany and France is being repeated in the Orient--experience teaches us little.

September 1, Wednesday. Our little valley was peaceful through another night and for the first time in weeks I slept through the entire night. This morning I wrote three letters and sent one radiogram for a tenth P.U.M.C. student who started north. At Dr. Wu's request, I tried to work out a plan of dividing Ginling according to majors and the location of the students and faculty. Fang Ming-djen has made a careful study of the location of the student body and with that data in hand it is much simpler to try to hink out a plan for the semester. This p.m. down in my sitting room at the Practice School, Wu Yi-fang, Loh Zung-Hyi and I

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discussed plans for the continuance of Ginling. To open in Nanking seems utterly out of the question unless a miracle happens immediately. No schools are planning to open here and the Ministry says we must not. As I sat and listened to these two women discuss the future I wish that the world could know such Chinese womanhood. How courageously they faced the future of their own country and its possible defeat. Zung-hyi said, "Miss Vatrins if we are defeated, it will not be because of the lack of courage of our men--but the fact that we have traitors within our own group." Day after day as I read the papers I realize how poorly equipped China is in the material things of modern warfare--Japan has been preparing for so many years. She has little heavy artillery and comparatively few planes and trained air men. One can only cry out for the peacemaker and try to think of people and groups to whom to make an appeal. So often I think and pray for the Christians of Japan--they probably know little of the real conditions here. Bates is still in Japan--they longing to get home I suppose. We do not hear from him. Tomorrow our 20 Weather Bureau people are leaving for Hankow--and we are somewhat relieved for it is better to have a smaller group on the campus.

Thursday, September 2. Another night of peace. Dr. Wu and I composed a letter to Huachung in Wuchang raising the question of having some of our students enter there. We formed a temporary Ginling Committee there consisting of Siac-sung, Pin-dji, and Eva with Dr. Haiung as an advisor. Our temporary plan for the first semester seems to be working itself out slowly. We are planning on dividing the upper classes according to their majors--some to be in Wuchang and some in Shanghai--largely determined according to location of students, but faculty and equipment are also factors. Miss Leh is taking this plan up to Wuchang when she goes this morning. 10:30 a.m. Went to the Drum Tower district this morning to attend a meeting with the deans and principals of Christian middle schools. They feel that there is no hope of opening in Nanking this autumn. Mr. Ciang of Hwei Wen said that not a student turned up for their entrance tests yesterday. Miss Chen, principal of Chung Hwa, took us out to see her trench just after our meeting. My only criticism is that she has too many people in one place. I know that we have no way of protecting ourselves from bombs, therefore I object to putting too many people in one place. When I came home, I noticed how deserted the streets are. Only three students now left on our campus. We all eat in the "600" dining room where we have two tables. The south Hill people--now numbering three--have their breakfast served up there but the other meals they eat down at "600." 4-5:30 p.m. Yi-fang and I drafted letters to be sent to juniors and seniors, to freshmen and sophomores, to practice school and to faculty telling the proposed plan for the semester--namely the two lower classes be guest students where they find it possible to go, but recommending that the students who were in the two upper classes go to certain centers which we are selecting for them and where we shall try to send their major advisers. We will try to get these letters finished and sent off tomorrow. It is now 9.30 p.m. and there has been no raid today. Two days of peace and sub-conscious anxious waiting. A cloud seems to be hanging over our heads and we do not quite know when it will fall down upon us. I love the moonlight but I think I am glad that we no longer have those wonderful moonlight nights. Fierce fighting is reported in Shanghai.

Friday, September 3. Another night of peace and we are grateful. Autumn is in the air and energy and calm is coming back to strained nerves. I awakened fresh at six o'clock and am eager to make the final draft of the letters for which I am responsible. My heart aches for the refugees crowded on trains, at stations, on boats and in strange places of all kinds when we are enjoying the luxury of space and beauty on our campus. I studied Chinese this morning with Mr. Wang and he explained the scorched earth policy of China which means that China would rather change Nanking and other great cities of China into scorched earth--that is completely destroy them--than to let them fall into Japanese hands. My teacher's family have all gone to the country--he stood out against it for a long time but finally gave in since he said that the entire neighborhood was deserted save for his family. The 1:10 broadcast today says that there is fierce fighting going on in the Shanghai area. Tung Dzi University in the fighting area has been completely destroyed,--buildings that were rebuilt after the 1932 troubles. The day closes with three full days of peace--my theory is that the planes are busy elsewhere. Catherine is busy packing fall and winter clothing for Eva, Ruth, Florence and Alice. We are sending two trunks of Esther's to Hankow tonight by Mrs. Ward.

Saturday, September 4. Another night of peace and rest. The sounds of the warning siren and the slow hum of the bombing planes are beginning to fade from my memory. In imagination we have been living through "Freshmen Week" and Senior Retreat, which were to have taken place during these first days of September. We hear that the government is planning to open universities in Sian, Chengtu and Changshu where students from the disturbed areas may go. I rather feel that wherever you congregate large groups of students there will be danger. Florence's telegram sent from Tsingtsao on August 14th came today. Yi-fang had difficulty in getting its meaning until we looked at its date and then we had a good laugh. I have spent the whole morning getting off letters to members of the Practice School staff letting them know that the school cannot open. It was fortunate that I did not succeed in getting a teacher for English or for the sciences. Also wrote letters to seven middle schools to whom we have recommended our students. Dr. Wu had lunch with Madame Chiang today. She is living in one place today--perhaps tomorrow she will be in another place. Today our group assembled 500 packages--each containing soap, toothbrush, a pair of socks, a pair of shoes, a shirt and handkerchiefs. These are to be sent to the soliders. Rings are coming in to this organization of which Dr. Wu is on the executive committee--and all kinds of silver things are being given all of which will be sold to raise funds. 2:30 p.m. Dr. Wu sent me over to see Mr. Peck and to get his informal opinion of our plan and the three centers that we have chosen for our work. Mr. Peck began by giving the official opinion--that the State Department at Washington had sent out word this morning that they were recommending the evacuation of all Americans. He also said he felt that Japan would follow its announced policy of bombing all airdromes, military centers and communications. He felt that there was no place in China that is now safe. Wuchang had been visited by the J planes and also Changshu. Recently Amoy, Foochow and Canton had come in for their share and probably would continue to be visited. Having said what he said that the U. S. Government could only advise and would not force people. After that we had a very friendly talk. I really want to say to my friends that I have greatly appreciated the way the Embassy has handled the situation. They have warned us twice and encouraged us twice to leave, but each time they have seemed to understand that we were carrying responsibilities which it was not easy for us to leave. On next Monday the Embassy women are being sent by a special car from Hankow to Canton and out that way to America or Manila. 3:30 p.m. Went over to Elsie's to tell Mrs. Ward good bye. She is starting early tomorrow morning for Chengtu. Word has come from Chengtu that they heartily welcome the University of Nanking and Ginling if it becomes necessary for us to move so far to the west. I think I am in favor of forming a special Ginling Committee there to begin to study the situation--but I hope that we shall never have to do anything more than that. Shades of the Federated University of Christian Colleges. Has it taken a Sine-Japanese war to make us come to it? 8-8:30 p.m. A siren and time out for the trenches--but no enemy planes. During the time out, Dr. Wu had a conference with Franklin Ha over in the central hall of the library building which we consider a very safe place. She wanted to talk to him about our plan of putting Ginling centers in Wuchang and Shanghai and perhaps Changsha. His opinion was that there is really no safe place but west China. He is thinking of moving his wife and family from Changking to Chengtu. It is really very difficult to know what to do. By candle light in my room tonight I wrote out what seemed to me three alternative plans and put the advantages and disadvantages of each plan down. I hope that in the night my sub-conscious will help me solve the problem.

Sunday, September 5. It is getting hot again and although not quite so hot as September 5th and 6th of 1936, yet it is fast approaching that degree of humidity and temperature, (Do you recall those days, Louise?) It has been many nights now since we have had a raid and I have outgrown the habit of expecting them. 8.30 a.m. Went to Twinem chapel this morning to hear Dr. Hyi-Yang Haiiao-ran's husband preach. Again and again he used caves and bombs as his illustrations--and they had meaning for his audience too. His main question was whether or not God or man is the cause of the present situation. 7.30 p.m. Had a special service for the gardeners, janitors and other servants of the college. There was a large group present and a most earnest thoughtful attitude. They are such a fine loyal group and they have gotten uncomplainingly under the extra load of work and not one has complained. Francis Chen, Catherine and I have planned to have two meetings each week for the group. 9.30 p.m. Went to Eva's to listen to the broadcast by the N.C.C. of Shanghai. They were speaking to the Christians of China--Dr. Chen talked first in Chinese and then Ronald Rees in English telling of the relief work of Christian organizations. Not a raid today--only peace and quiet.

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Monday, September 6. On the day when classes should have begun at Ginling, Dr. Wu and I are getting off the last of the letters to students and faculty giving the proposed plan. It has been a large amount of work and many people have helped us. We still have not gotten out certificates of transfer and specific instructions to students about the selection of course. This a.m. I received my Shanghai paper of yesterday, so you may know that communications are greatly improved. 5-5:30 p.m. To our trenches again. This time I took some stationary with me and did two letters while waiting for the release siren. We heard Chinese planes overhead but no Japanese ones. I suspect that our freedom from bombing is due to the fact that the planes are all busy in Shanghai area. We have not yet heard of the Jessfield Station bombing. The papers have not come through but the radio said that more than 100 civilians were killed. They said that Shephard, Steward, Trimmer, Calo and Fitch are back in the city--all temporarily I believe. Mr. Tang reports that only two workmen are at work on the terrace house--most workmen have gone home to the country if they have homes in the country. He says that with the quiet that now exists, he looks for them back soon. Those of you who know Elizabeth Chambers will be interested to hear that she was married to Mr. Timperley (?) United Press reporter a few nights ago. They went to Shanghai after their marriage.

Tuesday, September 7. This morning Dr. Wu is busy getting letters off to Bishop Ward, President Chang of Hwa Si University, and to Dr. Reeves and Esther who are still in Chengtu. We sent the letters express to Sian and from there by air to Chengtu. I spent the morning writing to the heads of departments and sending them lists of their junior and senior majors. Dr. Lung has the idea that he would like to take the members of his department and his junior and senior majors into a hsien city for a period of concentrated work in sociology--theory and field work. Dr. Wu has this morning talked to Wang Ming-djen about going to Shanghai to begin initial preparations for our work there, and the latter has decided to go down this afternoon. In trying to catch a train these days we have to prepare to go several hours early for you never know but what a siren will stop you half way to the station and make you miss your train or boat. The registrar and I are now assembling materials--lists of students, etc. for Ming-djen and I am also writing some letters of introduction. We shall be glad when we hear that she has arrived in Shanghai safely for bombing of stations is a common occurrence these days. 4-6 p.m. Went to the University Hospital. Found that most of their foreign staff are here and they are trying to carry on. Noticed that they had a Red Cross and U. S. flag flat on their roof--at the order of the Embassy. They have all the floors full excepting the top one. Went into the Special section and had a very nice visit with Miss Hynds. She says that she does her best to keep life normal for the patients, although when the warning siren sounds many of the patients are very much frightened. They have trenches prepared for all the servant and nursing staffs and these patients who are able to move to them--other patients they put on the first floor. Says that their receipts are cut by half for many of their paying patients have left the city. 9 p.m. Tonight have been typing my diary for you. As I pound away I often doubt the worth of it in your time and mine. Rained this afternoon and now is quite cool.

Wednesday, September 8. A perfect day--cool, clear and exhilarating! Ideal time to begin college work in earnest. To make you truly grateful for peace and quiet and long nights of sleep, one needs to go through at least a two week's experience of air raids. Our early morning prayer meeting is now attended by only teachers and staff--Mr. Chen and his assistant for students are now all gone. Catherine made out a little order of service which we follow--we now meet together only on Wednesday and Saturday mornings, but the other mornings we follow this by ourselves. Two policemen came this morning to talk to us about our geese--for they make a fearful noise when the siren sounds and the airplanes are overhead. I rather think that they would deceive the occupants of an enemy plane into thinking this was a farm and not worth bombing--but I did not convince them. I suspect that we shall have to see the ganders for they are the worst. They are also enquiring about our dogs--we have only the one at the P.S. who is a model of quietness for he simply follows us to our trench, places himself on top of it and waits until we come out again. 7 p.m. This evening after six Dr. Wu came home from a meeting where she presided for four hours--she looked and was exhausted. She said that the reports of the bombing of the Chinese lines near Shanghai are heart breaking--much terrible destruction. 8-8:40 p.m. Just after we finished our meeting with the college servants, the siren sounded and all went to their various trenches. No enemy planes came near and we were released after about forty minutes.

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Mr. Shan and his family are leaving tomorrow; E. C. Chen's family has left and he has moved into the Infirmary. Mr. Ming has also gone home to his family. Francis Chen has sent his family home by way of Hankow so he is free now to give his whole time to his work. We now have only nine people eating in the "400" dormitory dining room--we have moved there now--a small and unified group. Letters and a telegram have come from Wuchang which looks as if things there are going forward and they are glad to receive Ginling students. Sino-sung is there to help them register.

All is well, and nerves are growing steady.

--To be continued--

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DAY BY DAY AT GINLING.

Leaves from a diary started on August 12, 1937 (3)

Thursday, September 9. The weather is beautiful, cool and clear. The campus is as beautiful as I have ever seen it. How students and faculty would enjoy it if they were here. For a change I studied Chinese this morning for two hours. We seem to be returning to normalcy. This noon Dr. Wu was invited to Lossing Buck's for tiffen. She said that she went with fear and trembling for she was quite sure that Mr. Buck has been asked by the Embassy to persuade Catherine and me to evacuate. To her surprise it was just a normal friendly tiffen party. Have just heard of the death of Hwang Li-ming's little whon who lived to be 16 days old. Just before he was born she evacuated to Shanghai, and I was told that when he was only five days old she left the hospital because it was so crowded. She and her other two children are all ill. Was quite relieved this morning when a radiogram came through the American Embassy that the 10 PUMC students arrived safely in Peiping. It was a real venture for those ten young students too on that long journey. Over the radio today we heard of the terrible tragedy of Sungkiang when the train of refugees were bombed in the station there. We are fearful about Wang Ming-djen whom we sent to Shanghai to make arrangements about the starting of a Ginling center there. A letter has just come from Ruth Chester in Tsingtao wondering what she should do. Wang Ming-yin whom you remember as an incoming sophomore medical student in Shanghai is about to start for Chengtu to complete her medical course there. Chengtu seems to many the only safe place in China now and a good many people are considering the long journey there. A telegram has just reached us from our faculty members in Wuchang saying that Huachung College can accept 30 of our students. It is beginning to look as if the Ministry of Education is willing for a few schools to start rather quietly in Nanking. I am beginning to feel that it may be possible for us to start a few departments here--but tomorrow I may feel differently--it depends so much on the recency of air raids. George Shepherd called and made a little visit this afternoon. He rather encourages some of us to stay on--as we are hoping to do.

Friday, September 10. What an unexpected night of rest. Slept for nine hours without waking. Spent most of the morning helping to work out a Certificate of Transfer for our students who will be studying in other institutions. Also worked out a list of instructions to students which will help them in selecting courses in other institutions. 1-10 p.m. The siren sounded while Yi-fang, Catherine, Blanche and I were up at Eva's bungalow listening to the Evening Post broadcast. Since the urgent signal did not come, for the first time we did not take to our trenches. I usually am stern about insisting on going to the trenches and staying there until the release comes, so this time I had to endure a bit of a teasing. The release sounded very quickly. This afternoon I spent three hours typing the second portion of my diary. Dr. Wu, Elsie and I spent some time toward the end of the afternoon trying to work out further plans for the various members of the faculty. Who shall go back to the States and who shall remain where they are? It looks as if all salaries will have to be cut to about 40% of the normal--and for some that is below the cost of living. 8 p.m. Dr. Wu. and Dr. Lung and I have been trying to make plans for the Sociology Department. We have decided to start the work in Wuchang if there is room there--which we doubt. I think I would be in favor of carrying it on here temporarily although I know we would be criticised for doing so and undoubtedly some students would not be permitted to come. The Sociology Department fortunately has an all Chinese staff which makes the problem a much easier one.

I forgot to tell you that this afternoon the head teacher of the Neighborhood Homecraft School came to see me this morning and we decided to open the little school on September 20th. She has already called on some of the pupils and they want very much to have the school open, so that they can go on with their course. After the decision we at once had a gay colored poster made which we will put up near the moon doorway of the little school and which will announce to the public the opening date. There are two trenches near by so in case of raids the pupils will have a safe shelter. The fact that the little school is near three foreign embassies is to its advantage in times like these--but not always. We have also decided to begin our regular Sunday afternoon neighborhood evangelistic meetings this coming Sunday. As for the day school, we shall have but one regular teacher, but we believe that some of the graduates of the little school will be willing to come in and help teaching the sewing. Am not sure that our Y.W.C.A. will have the funds to pay the day school teacher, but if it does not, I will appeal to some of you to whom I am writing this diary. I am sure that you will

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respond in order to bring this measure of stability to our Ginling neighborhood. As you know, the little school is supported entirely by our student Y.W.C.A. which is not functioning at this time--although it may start in several of the Ginling centers.

Saturday, September 11. It is chilly this a.m. Almost need a sweater. And such peace and quiet as reigns in Nanking and on the campus. Telegram has just come from Helen Whitmaker in Changsha saying that the Presbyterian school building in Shangtan is available for a Ginling center if we desire it. No word yet from Liu En-lan who is with her father in their old home in Shantung. This morning Dr. Wu and Catherine are finishing a letter to members of the College Board of Directors. I have spent most of the morning helping Dr. Lung formulate, write and address letters to the majors in the sociology department and to the members of the sociology staff. We are going to try to reach Miss Chow Li-chiu, Mereb's successor who is now in Peiping, through a radiogram which we hope the American Embassy will send for us. Received a fine letter from En-lan giving something of her philosophy of life in the present situation. She is being held up by the heavy rains in Shantung--so are the Japanese soldiers farther north. She is eager to return and get to regular college work. Her co-worker, Miss Shipman, unfortunately is being detained in Japan. Central University which was planning to move as a unit to Chungking is beginning to waver in its decision and is wondering if a few departments can open here. 4:30-6 p.m. Catherine and I went for a walk to the west of the campus. Such friendly people we found everywhere. We tried, but were not permitted to go to our favorite haunts on the city wall or the Gu Ling temple or the hills about it since all these places are marked forbidden. We tried to go down a secluded path that led to the city wall but a soldier immediately came and told us politely but firmly that he could not let any person go there by orders of the authority. He said "You know that there are many traitors and spies around." But I told him we were neither and he said that of course he knew that. We respected his firmness. This evening I worked with Yi-fang helping her send out about forty copies of the North China Daily News editorial "Filled with Cup." Tomorrow is the anniversary of our first Nanking air raid. Today in commemoration and partly in fun too, we sent a very nice goose to Lossing Buck whom you remember is our superior officer--that is, he is to notify us in time of danger and to help us get out--if we wish to go, of course, Since the police said we should get rid of them or paint them black, we are beginning the former process. A letter has come from Ming-djen in Shanghai. Thank goodness that she got through safely. The many trains and stations being bombed made us regret that we had asked her to go down. She reports that the heads of schools there have not been able yet to make plans and they do not know whether or not they will be able to open about October 1st as they had hoped.

Sunday, September 12. Dr. Wu and Catherine went to the 8:30 service in Twinem Hall while I went to the ten o'clock regular service at the Drum Tower church. I had arranged to meet Lillian Yang there--I doubt if she had ever attended a regular church before. 1 p.m. Catherine and I went over to Lossing Bucks for dinner where we had a good visit with Claude Thomson and Lewis Smythe. Both of these men have left their families in Kuling and have come down to Nanking. You can see that Lewis is going to do all he can to stay on in Nanking. They may be going back to Kuling tomorrow--at least I am sure that Claude is going. We listened to the broadcast from Shanghai and after dinner had such a good visit together. 4 p.m. Have just had a fine visit with Shen Pu. Her father was one of the men imprisoned in Soochow for more than a year and who was recently released. She says he is really not a communist and at the present time he is working night and day for his country. The fact that some Chinese are being bought by Japan to give away government secrets and other valuable information is a great sorrow to him. En-lan arrived at 2 p.m. this afternoon. Says that she waited eight hours for a train in Tsinanfu. She reports all quiet and normal--save for the troop trains.

Monday, September 13. Most of the morning spent in attending a meeting of the principals and deans of the Christian girls' middle schools of the city. We have decided to try to open a union middle school for the time being but will divide into centers in order not to congregate too many pupils in any one place. For instance, Junior I class may be in one school; Junior II and III are in another, etc. We shall have the entrance tests on September 29th and the opening about October 1st. At the close of the meeting Mr. Giang of the Methodist Girls' School where we were meeting took us out to see his bomb proof shelter. He has built it under a grape arbor. He has great faith in straw as a protection from bombs so he has about five feet of straw in tight bundles on the top of his shelter and then a layer of dirt on the top

of that. About twenty people can go into his shelter. I doubt if we can protect ourselves against a bomb if it falls on our particular hiding place, so about as much as we are trying to do is to protect our group from shrapnel and machine gun fire. You see we are all specializing in trenches and dugouts and our theories are various and divergent. p.m. In a conference with En-lan, we have been trying to decide on the best place for the geography department. Miss Shipman is in Japan, but eager to come to China and get to work. En-lan is ~~seems~~ just as eager to have her--but how can we get her in? To try to get permission from the American authorities is worse than useless. En-lan seems to favor Chengtu out in Szechuan but just at the moment I am in favor of Nanking. If serious air raids begin again I would quickly change my mind. Lung is leaving tomorrow morning for Wuchang. It has been almost impossible to get a boat ticket for him. He is taking the sociology reference books with him--we are grateful that society is the laboratory for sociology students so we do not have to move microscopes and balances for them. The sociology staff may land up in Siangtan for we know that Wuchang is very crowded and we really are imposing on our friends there if we let more of our departments start work there. Dzo Ging-ru arrived at 1 p.m. from Changsha and brought a long letter with her from Eva. About 28 of our students are now in Wuchang. We are asked to send an England and two Chinese teachers up.

This evening Dr. Wu had a simple Chinese meal to which she invited the National Minister of Railways and his Philosopher brother, Ambassador Johnson, Mr. Peck, Buck, Fitch, Liu En-lan, Blanche Wu and myself. The food was simple but very good and how those men did eat. All in all it was a very jolly party--a kind of release for most of us--but it was difficult to keep from talking about war and bombing. All went well until the philosopher looked at me and then at Ambassador Johnson and said, "I thought that your policy was to evacuate all Americans--meaning women of course." Johnson hesitated for a minute and said we can only advise and not force our nationals, and then he added that the president was really only voicing his moral displeasure against those who would not leave when they had nothing important to do. From that we went on to immoral pleasure--referring to the good Chinese food--that was a hearty laugh and the tension was broken. Both Dr. Wu and I thought next day of a number of brilliant replies we might have made but were too stupid to make them at the time. 10:10 p.m. Over the radio we listened to the message which Madame Chiang broadcast Sunday morning to her American audience. I did not like it as well as most of her talks for it seemed to me she was appealing to us to protect our trade in the Orient--which is certainly not the highest motive for helping China at this moment.

Tuesday, September 14. It is quite cool after the rain of yesterday. The freshness of the air and the sounds of the insents tell us that. This morning I tried to get in touch with Eva by long distance. Succeeded by 2:30 this afternoon, so you know how busy the lines are. Ruth Chester and Florence Kirk who are still in Tsingtao are being asked to proceed to Shanghai to help with the work we hope to start there. This evening Dr. Wu again entertained with a very simple meal--some of the secretaries from the American Embassy and some of our alumnae. It has been an uneventful day. We are forgetting the sound of the siren. Our hearts ache over the terrible slaughter and fierce slaughter in Shanghai. The men in the Chinese army are mercilessly bombed by the Japanese planes--that probably explains why they are not coming to Nanking these days. It seems that the families of the men on the University of Nanking faculty are slowly coming back to their more comfortable homes--life in the country villages to which they have gone is very difficult for them and their children. They are beginning to prefer life with bombs to the malaria and dysentery which they are subject to out in the villages.

Wednesday, September 15. There were six members of our staff at our faculty prayer meeting this morning. The petitions offered by the Chinese members of our group make me very humble. When I recall the prayers I heard offered by my fellow countrymen during the Great War. There were prayers for the mothers and fathers, the wives and children of the Chinese and Japanese soldiers who are being killed in Shanghai; there were earnest prayers for the Christians of both countries that they might be Christlike during these difficult days; and there were prayers for the military leaders in both countries, that God would reveal His Will to them and lead them to peace. This morning was again spent on trying to make our plans more complete for the opening in different centers. During the morning a very hearten-

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ing note came from Human saying that our Sociology staff and students were most cordially welcome to come to the Presbyterian Mission station at Siantan where they could occupy a vacant school building. 5:30 p.m. Went out for a bicycle ride before supper. Met one of the German military advisers. He said they had gotten all the airplanes from the hangers before the hangers were bombed recently. He did lose a valuable radio set, however. He heartily disapproved of people leaving Nanking-Chinese and foreigners. When asked how long he thought that the war would last, his answer was--if Japan holds together internally and various Chinese groups continue to cooperate as they have been doing, he thought that it would last from 6 weeks to one and one-half years. He rather thinks that some evening--perhaps during the moonlight, about 40 planes will descend on Nanking and there will be a general bombing. Geography Department has decided to go to Siantan for the semester. There are so many unknown factors that it is very difficult to make decisions that involve students and faculty. Will telephone Evan in the morning so that she can urge Dr. Lung when he arrives in Hankow tomorrow to decide to take the Sociology department there. I am personally in favor of opening a few departments in Nanking, but I suspect that parents would not want their daughters to come here. The day has been one of peace and beauty--but one cannot forget the terrible suffering going on around Shanghai.

Thursday, September 16. Dr. Wu is working on the Emergency budget again today. It is no easy thing to be fair to a large staff when you know that the income will not be more than 40% of that expected. There is also a goodly amount of emergency expenditures that have to be added--expense for cables, opening new centers, etc. 6.30 p.m. The first siren and the urgent siren both sounded, but no planes appeared. After about an hour the release came. 8.45 p.m. Tragedies happen in the animal world too. Peterle was a little refugee dog we had down at the Practice School. He was just beginning to grow a new coat of hair which was covering his scars of refugee days--he must have had a hard time during those days on the street. He was such a friendly, alert little foreign pup that everybody liked him--and I was especially fond of him for he always welcomed me so heartily when I returned to the dormitory after a hard days work. After our release from the trenches tonight, he was out playing in the grass when evidently a poison snake bit him cruelly on the left eye. He suffered intensely and his eye began to swell at once. I tried to comfort him and to put medicine on the bite--but to no avail. When we were convinced that it was a poison snake, we sent at once to the Science Building who brought chloroform and the little fellow was soon out of his misery. We wrapped him in a clean white cloth and buried him out under a privot tree. We all miss the little fellow terribly. I am fearful that there may be a big raid tonight because of the moonlight.

Friday, September 17. Letters were sent off to the geography majors this morning telling them that the work will begin in Siantan on October 1st. Liu En-lan is now selecting books and apparatus to take up there with her. What an adventure it will be for her and her students? If Sociology will go there too, we can send several other faculty there to offer courses in Chinese and perhaps in biology and have a small Ginling in Hunan as well as Hupeh. Wang Ming-djen returned from Shanghai this morning giving us a report of her progress there. It was not very encouraging, I must admit. Of the 35 students there in Shanghai, only about 4 of them said that their parents would let them leave Shanghai. The French Concession--and perhaps later the International Settlement--is unwilling to let new schools open for they feel that it will increase danger to the settlement. I suppose they are fearful of student agitation. Most of the presidents of the Christian colleges and universities say they hope to open about October 1st, but actually they have made very few plans as yet and are in a very much upset state of mind. The Settlements are very crowded and they are never free from the sound of the fighting and the airplanes. Can it be that it is best for us to open in Nanking? If the Chinese army retreats and the Japanese army comes toward Nanking, then our problem may be one of communications--how to get students out, if necessary. Would that we were prophets or seers. Shall we give up trying to open? This evening Catherine and I gave a very simple supper for Lu Ginai and Mr. Swen who are to be married on Monday. The Chinese papers these days are full of wedding announcements for many parents are anxious to have their engaged daughters married and safely off of their hands. We said before the supper that we were not going to talk about war or bombing but the promise was soon broken. We are sending a telegram to Tsingtao to Ruth and Florence asking them to delay their departure to Shanghai for it looks doubtful just at present about opening work in Shanghai. Tonight it is raining and we

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are glad. May it remain cloudy all night long. At two o'clock this afternoon Miss Hsueh, the Homecraft School teacher and I went out calling in the neighborhood to announce the opening of the school on September 20th; and also to invite people to come to the regular Sunday afternoon religious meetings in the Neighborhood center. Every home in which we stopped was almost pathetically friendly--we seemed to be a sign of normal life and work for which they were longing.

Saturday, September 18. The University of Nanking has decided to open the University on October 4th in Nanking. Their Agricultural Economics has been sent to Hankow and their Rural Leader's Training School has opened at Wukiang one of their rural experiment stations, but all their other departments and schools they expect to open here. I think I should vote for the opening of some of our science work, music and freshmen work here on our own campus--but a bad raid tonight might make me change my mind. Lewis Smythe has written a long article for the World Call in which he condemns missionaries going out at the command of the Embassy or Statement Department--he uses the word Running--the word used by Madame Chiang. Personally I think that mothers with children should go to safe places, if possible--but the rest of us, if we are physically up to the strain should stand by our work. Our greatest investments are in friendly relationships and in cooperation with the members of a young church--to leave at the time when we are most needed seems to me to be missing one of the greatest opportunities for service which comes to us. Naturally, we should expect to stay at our own risk and should make that perfectly clear to our Mission Board and the Consular service. If the time comes--and I do not believe it will in this situation--when we should endanger the lives of our Chinese co-workers by staying, then it seems to me we should leave quickly. A long expected day has come in my Mission career, when women who are bearing special responsibility are treated as men who are carrying special responsibility--and we are not required to leave at the same time as mothers with children. I am proud of the stand taken by my own Missionary Society in America and that of the American Board. We are permitted to use our own discretion. This evening we sent out word to all our biology majors to proceed to Wuchang where six of the majors are already at work under Dr. Chen Pin-dji of the department. Poor Dr. Wu was in a meeting this afternoon from two to six thirty. She looked exhausted when she finished it and came to the supper table. The Chinese National Women's Organization for the Relief of the Soldiers is doing a tremendous amount--and not a little of the responsibility falls upon Dr. Wu's shoulders. How she carries the responsibility in addition to her work as head of Ginling I do not know. This morning she made a speech also in one of the public theaters to help in the raising of funds and carrying of the work of this organization. She is deeply disappointed in the present attitude of the five American Pacifist societies. It looks to her--as it does to most of us--that it is not pacifism but national selfishness and will do the very thing that Japan wants to have done--that is weaken China still more for it keeps her from getting munitions while Japan can make her own.

Sunday, September 19. Today is the Eight Month Harvest Festival and it is tonight that the moon should be worshipped according to the old Chinese calendar. Normally it is a day of rejoicing and the eating of the moon cakes. It is perfect as to weather, clear and fresh and invigorating--a day to be appreciated after the long hot summer. And it is a beautiful world after the autumn rain--a day in which man should worship the Giver of the Harvests and be thankful. 8:20-10 a.m. Before I had well started on my breakfast the siren shrieked out its warning call. I finished hurriedly and followed the others out to the East Court trench. One of the gardeners who tarried longer than the rest of us said that he thought there must be forty planes coming. Over the broadcast later in the day we heard that 34 had started from Shanghai but that only 21 actually came to Nanking. Their main objectives were the national broadcasting station and the water filters and water works to the west of the city of Nanking. Also a military center south of Nanking was visited by them. There was bombing at all three of these places but the extent of the damages I have not yet learned. 10:30-12 noon. Went neighborhood calling, partly to invite the neighborhood to come to the meetings which we are starting this afternoon and partly to let people know that all is well in our neighborhood. Each home that I entered made me inwardly glad that I am here to comfort and to cheer and give assurance. 1.30 p.m. Went to the Neighborhood school early to hang the scrolls and get other things ready for the meeting which will begin about two o'clock. A happy group of children met me at the moon gate and rather chided me for coming so late by telling me how early they

had come. By 2.30 there were about 30 children and 18 adults present so we began our meeting. Pastor Lee from the Drum Tower church had come over to help us. We first had a service for the children--singing a song which they know and then Pastor Lee told them a very good story. The children then went off home cheerfully--to my surprise for usually they want to stay for the meeting for the adults too. At 3:15, just as we had finished our meeting for adults, the siren sounded out its warning again and for the next hour and half we were sheltered in the trench made by the New Life Movement Organization which is now using the Community House as headquarters. At 8.30 I talked over the long distance to Eva in Wuchang who reported that the sociology majors had persuaded Dr. Lung to remain in Wuchang instead of going on up to Siangtan as we had hoped. She is trying to get another mission house to use as a dormitory for our students. At 9.30 p.m. we listened to the National Christian Council broadcast from Shanghai in which they told both in Chinese and in English about the work of the Council during these days of emergency. Ronald Rees also told of the work of some of the local church groups scattered over China. I feel that this broadcast is very helpful in that it encourages Christians to feel that they are part of a national movement that is trying to think unitedly. Rees is encouraging missionaries to work shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese colleagues these days, but he is too tactful to say that they may have to disobey consular orders to do so. They are contemplating organizing a National Christian War Relief Committee.

Monday, September 20. It was a happy surprise to awaken this morning after a long night of rest and to realize that there had not been a raid in the night for the moonlight made a raid quite possible. Let us hope that they did not use the clear moonlight to do the fiendish work of bombing on other helpless cities. This morning Dr. Wu and I had a long conference trying to recheck our decisions as to the best thing to do about starting work in Shanghai and Siangtan. 9:30 a.m. Mr. Paxton of the American Embassy called and read a long message from the Admiral of the Japanese fleet in Shanghai. Beginning at noon tomorrow, they expect to begin a real offensive on Nanking with the purpose of ending the war quickly and of wiping out all military, air and communication centers in Nanking--making it impossible for it to function further as the center of military planning. In other words I think they expect to make a concentrated effort to increase cooperation and friendship with China by this method. Paxton advises us to leave for a few days, probably not going further than Wuhu. All the members of the Embassy will probably evacuate. Although there was absolutely no question in my own mind about what I had decided to do, I told him, after thanking him for letting us know, that I would talk the matter over with Miss Sutherland and let him know our decision very soon. It would have been untactful to have said so at that moment but I did write to him within a few hours, that I felt it was unwise for any of the embassies to leave. These are the words I boldly wrote to Mr. Paxton and to Mr. Peck: "I think it will be a tragedy if all the Embassies in the city take down their flags and evacuate their staffs, for it would simply mean that Japan--without even having gone through the formality of declaring war--has the city turned over to her to bomb indiscriminately and recklessly. I hope that her air force does not have that satisfaction." After Catherine and I conferred--and it was a very short conference--we both sent word, that we were staying on with our co-workers--that it was in such a time as this that we felt we could be of greatest help. We made it clear that we were staying at our own risk and that we did not in any way--no matter what might happen--want either our Government or the College to feel responsible for us. 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. Went to Lu Gin-ai's wedding at Twinem Hall. Unfortunately, the bride was late and the first warning sounded before she came. The urgent warning sounded just as the ceremony was finished and we began to hear the low hum of bombers. Never have I said the Lord's Prayer so fast in Chinese before--it came at the end of the service. We could have run over to the basement at the University of Nanking, but we decided to stay in the little chapel although it was not a very wise thing to do, partially because of the nearness of General Ho Ying-Ching's anti-aircraft gun which is over at his residence. The bombing was bad. We tried to amuse and play with the little children who were in the audience. Have not heard the results but fear that they may be very bad. 1.30 p.m. Telephoned to Lewis Smythe who is staying with Mr. Buck. He is against leaving and has started to organize ambulance service for the University Hospital. 2 p.m. Have not had our dinner yet because the cooks were not able to prepare any of the school food during the raid. 3 p.m. Just finished our dinner. We are all eating over in the dining room of the "400" dormitory now. 3-6 p.m. Mr. Paxton called by telephone before the messenger boy had taken Catherine's and my letters to the Embassy--for which I was sorry for I know how busy he is. In talking with me he said that he really understood and respected

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our position. He said that part of the Embassy staff were leaving on the gunboats and going up river for a distance. After consultation with Dr. Wu who expressed her complete willingness, I wrote to Mr. Peck, Counselor to the Embassy; asking him what the attitude of the Embassy would be toward our use of the American flag on our campus. He telephoned back that he thought it a very good idea and he graciously loaned us a nine foot new American flag. We placed it flat in the center of our large grassy quadrangle. Although it is a nine foot flag it looks very small in that large quadrangle. Mrs. Tsen, Mr. Chen and I decided that tomorrow we would try to purchase cloth and make one about three times as large. Am also getting in touch with our South Gate Mission friends and also at the Christian Girls' School to see if they have prepared a flag. 7 p.m. We had Mrs. Husemann in for supper tonight for she and her husband are leaving tomorrow morning for Tsingtao and then for Germany. Mr. Husemann did not get back for supper for he had started about three o'clock to take their baggage to Pukow. I did not tell her but he may have difficulty in getting it through for thousands will be evacuating from Nanking in every direction tonight and tomorrow morning. This evening, Liu En-lan and one student left for Wuchang--we thought it best to get her off if possible before things begin to happen. She and several of her students have been busily packing geography books and equipment all day. Mr. Chen Djung-fang is leaving tomorrow to go to Wuchang to teach Chinese. We wanted him to leave today but the boats are packed and since he is not very strong, he felt that he could not stand the trip. They say that one China Merchant Boat has been taken over entirely by one prominent official for the purpose of evacuating his family and friends. Lewis Smythe stepped for a visit this afternoon. Poor boy, looks half sick for he really has not recovered from an illness which he had this summer. He is all energy and plans though. He just can "Run" as he calls it, and so he is spending untold energy in organizing an ambulance corp for the Drum Tower Hospital--he feels that such a piece of service will justify his staying in the eys of the Embassy. Mr. Buck is going to Hankow tomorrow--his office has been moved there and he has been planning to go there and to Shanghai for some time. It now costs \$200.00 to get a car to take you to Shanghai. Dr. Wu came in looking disgusted with herself. Said that she had exploded to Mr. Buck and asked him to transfer it to the Embassy telling them what she thinks of their decision to evacuate the Embassy. She feels that it is an unfriendly act and doing the very thing that Japan wants foreign powers to do. Buck wrote her a letter later telling her that he transferred her message to Mr. Johnson. It is now just two months since I returned from my holiday in Taingtao. To say that it seems like two years, is putting it mildly. Bedtime. It is a gorgeous moonlight night, but I do not believe we shall have a raid--rather I think they will take the time for completing their preparations. They say that the Ministry of Industries was bombed today and 41 people killed. Rumors fly thick and fast in times like these. Lewis told me that he heard that the Chinese air force is no longer a factor; that today every time a Chinese plane tried to do anything, four Japanese pursuit planes would chase it; that the big military air field was completely destroyed this morning and that from now on Nanking must meekly submit to the bombing. Mrs. Husemann encouraged the group at supper by saying that 7 Japanese planes were brought down this a.m. and 7 yesterday, which to all of us looked very hopeful. As I said, both of these are rumors and the medium is perhaps the truth. As I went down to my room at the Practice School tonight, I could not refrain from standing by the flag of my Nation as it was spread out on the grass in the clear light of the silver moon. I thought what a power for peace and righteousness that flag and the nation it represents could be if through the years all our national motives and actions were completely devoid of selfishness and greed. If England and the States even now could and would act together for the best good of mankind, the world might yet be saved for the coming generations. How we have exploited our national heritage at times and sold our birthright which the pilgrim father, through suffering gave to us.

Tuesday, September 21. The Zero Hour has come. We were grateful for a night of rest and refreshing sleep. At 7 o'clock this morning I went over to the Recitation Hall to wait for a long distance call which I had put in for Eva in Hankow. Tried to get through last night but they said the line was so busy that I would have to wait hours. 8 a.m. Had a very satisfactory talk with Eva and told her of the coming of En-Lan and the geography department. Said she did not see what they could possibly do with our students for dormitories are full to overflowing. When I let her know that Dr. Wu would rather concentrate our students in one center up river than in two, she said that she would see what she could do about finding another house. So far Wuchang has been free from raids but we cannot count on it being safe in the future--

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which is true. 10 a.m. Mr. Paxton called and invited Br. Wu, Catherine and me over for tiffen and to share the Embassy bomb-proof basement when the raid starts--everyone seems to expect it to start promptly at twelve according to Admiral Hasegawa's ultimatum. I expressed our very deep appreciation but helped him to see that we could not want to leave our group here if the raid came. He also told me in his telephone conversation that he had had a long talk with Ambassador Johnson and had been permitted to remain at his post. He laughingly said that he now belonged in the same class with Catherine and myself. This morning Mr. Francis Chen went to the main business streets of the city to see if he could buy the red, white and blue cloth for the big flag we intend to make--but alas he said that every store was shut up tight and locked. Late last night and early this morning we could hear the noise of cars in their mad rush to Hsia Gwan--the river port. Would like to know how many thousands have left the city in these twenty-four hours. Dr. Wu went over to the Ministry of Education to see if she could get permission for our students to the "guest students" at St. John's when it opens in Shanghai. She received enough of a promise from them to justify us in sending out word to our students in the Shanghai area. The fact that St. John's is in the process of registration with the Government, and that some of our faculty will be there is the reason for the verbal promise. Have been able to get several members of our staff and two of our janitors to be willing to go immediately to the Drum Tower Hospital to help immediately after the release siren sounds--in case there is a serious and widespread destruction today. Lo Gia-lwen, president of Central came over to see Dr. Wu and he said that Central had definitely decided to move to Chungking in Szechuan and to try to begin work there by November 1st. Have just written to Rees, Bates, Smythe, Shepherd and Mills proposing a method of getting facts to the peasants, industrial workers and educators of Japan for I believe there are enough thoughtful people there to make some dent on the Japanese militarist--if only they can get the truth. My proposal is to secure a swift mail plane, that will go over in the night and scatter thousands and thousands of pamphlets and handbills. We could put Stanley Jones fine letter into Japanese and also give them the truth about the Tungchow Massacre and the Shanghai Affair--two events that they keep using to incite anger in their people. I suspect that these men will think this a crazy plan but it does not seem to me to be anymore crazy than bombing hospitals and refugee trains. It might very well mean the worth sacrifice of a plane and a pilot and several other people--but is peace not worth one sacrifice? Our noon meal we ate very promptly--in fact I think it was early. Some ate more than usual for they said they did not know when the next meal would be possible. It is now almost two o'clock and nothing has happened. Am sorry we did not accept Mr. Paxton's invitation to come over for tiffen. This afternoon did some important letters for Dr. Wu, one to Mr. Sung, Acting President of St. John's, one to Ruth and Florence in Tsingtao asking them to proceed to Shanghai and two to faculty members in Wuchang. Between five and six I rode on my bicycle around the neighborhood. Who says that the Chinese common people do not know what is going on in the world? If one gentry spoke to me about the decision of our Embassy to leave, then at least six did. They were quite sure that they were leaving because they were afraid and that none of the other Embassies were leaving. I was glad to explain that the flag was still up and that at least one American was still at the Embassy. One nice old farmer came to me and asked how long the war would last. With tears in his eyes he said the poor people could not stand it much longer. Looking into his said careworn face, I did not have the heart to tell him that Christian countries fought a fierce war for four long weary years. I could only comfort him by saying that I hoped and prayed it would end soon. After supper I had a long talk with Ling Yu-wen who is now doing social work in a Municipal Hospital. She said that during her years of study at college she was taught to value the worth of the individual, but Sunday when she saw the mutilated bodies of scores of individuals, she began to question the worth of what she had been taught. Twice she has been in very close proximity to severe bombing. It is now 9.30 and the great offensive has not yet come, but a feeling of ominous expectancy is hanging over the city. What the future holds we do not know. Do not worry about Dr. Wu, Ginling and the rest of us for I believe that all is well with us.

--To be continued--

M.V.

Explanation: This diary was started on August 12, 1937. It has been kept with the members of the Ginling faculty especially in mind - those who are familiar with life on the campus here. No attempt has been made to correct errors, in typing, of which there are many for it is written at odd moments, sometimes between air raids, sometimes in the evenings after a long and busy day. It has many repetitions in it for I have not had time to go back and eliminate them. So with many excuses it goes on its way with the hope that it may reveal to many Ginling friends how life is lived on the Ginling campus during these emergency days. M.V.

Wednesday, September 22.

The night was not propitious for raids, being cloudy and somewhat rainy, so we had peace and quiet rest. What the day will bring forth we do not prophesy for the Admiral's message is still clearly in our minds. There somehow seems to be an ominous cloud hanging over us - "a portent seeming less than threat".

Catherine led our morning prayer and fellowship group. How real and vital prayer seems in these days of sorrow and anxiety. "I wish you peace" as a greeting seems meaningful now, it was only words before. The familiar hymns and the Lord's prayer have new and deeper meaning for me, especially those lines "Thy will be done" and "For thine is the power and the glory". 10:15 A.M. The first warning has come and at 10:45 the urgent one followed it. After checking up in all the trenches and basements I went to the East Court trench. Somehow I had thought that the sky would be thick with airplanes, something as it is in autumn when great flocks of blackbirds fly over, but there were no more than the usual number. Soon the low hum or drone of the heavy bombers became distinct and by 11 o'clock the first bombs were dropped, seemingly over in the east near Lotus Lake. We heard later that the goal was the National Party Headquarters. Silence followed and then by 11:25 the dropping of bombs began again. This time it sounded quite near and a new anti-aircraft gun thundered from the Wutaishan district to the south of us. There were three little children in the trench with me, but they all fortunately slept through the insane commotion. There was silence again and then by 11:40 we heard a distant bombing to the north - probably at Pukow, the railway center across the Yangtze River. By noon the release came and we stretched our weary limbs in our trench, we cannot stand up it is so low.

Immediately the assistant business manager, two alumnae, two servants and I went over to the Drum Tower Hospital to see if we could help. Lewis Smythe was already there and we could hear him telephoning trying to get cars. Several groups of nurses and doctors were already going out to the scenes of the bombing. Six wounded policemen and two wounded citizens were brought in from the area near the National Party Headquarters. Evidently the Headquarters was not damaged very much but a small house in the vicinity was demolished and two were killed. Lewis has been working hard trying to help organize the relief work of the hospital in the district for which it is responsible. His great difficulty is to get enough cars to report immediately after the raids, for the Hospital has no ambulance.

2:00 P.M. Just returned home from the Hospital and had not finished my meal when the siren sounded again. The release came about 3:30. As we

came out of our trenches we saw great clouds of smoke down at Haia Gwan, the river port. They told us afterwards that the goal was the junction near the station, but the bombs had fallen into several very poor villages. In the one village it was an incendiary bomb, so that those who were injured were also burned to death. From four to six o'clock Dr. Wu and her secretary finished her letter to the 50 students in the Shanghai area-- we are now pressing ahead on the plans for the organization of the group in cooperation with St. John's and the University of Shanghai. I finished writing Dr. Wu's message to the Ginling faculty which gives the salary basis for this semester. For many of the faculty it is but 40% of the regular salary. For those who are doing regular work it is 60%, but even on this low percentage the college will have a deficit. Mr. Paxton of the Embassy called up after the second raid to ask if we were O.K. and we were glad to report that all was well with us. He also reported that Ambassador Johnson had returned to the Embassy. I hope it rains again tonight. Day raids are much to be preferred to night raids. Word has just come from Esther that she has accepted a position at Chungking Government University in Chungking.

Thursday, September 23.

Hurrah! It is raining today and with heavy low-hanging clouds that means our visitors will not come today. The night too was not clear enough for them. Mrs. Tsen went over to Taiping Road to see if she could buy the red, white and blue cloth for the flag. She, like Mr. Chen, reported every store but fruit stores closed and locked tight.

Worked on letters for Dr. Wu this morning and also typed two pages of my diary. It is good to have time free from raids. The noon radio from Shanghai says that Western nations are vigorously protesting Japan's actions, especially the bombing of the capital. Evidently America has made a particularly heavy protest. Am glad, for it retrieves in part the evacuation of our Embassy on September 21st which was very severely criticised. How we long for a strong, constructive peace proposal, so strong and compelling that the two nations will stop. Again this afternoon I worked on letters for Dr. Wu who is spending so much of her time and thought these days in helping in the National Relief Organization for the wounded soldiers. At five o'clock I started out on my bicycle to see Captain Stennes, thinking I would get his reaction on the practicability of a "Good Will or Peace" plane to Japan to carry truth to the common people there who have no access to the truth now. There was an official looking car in front of his home so I did not stop but went on to Yang Li-ling's. She persuaded me to stay for supper with her which I did. Her husband, who is one of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, said that 80 bombs were dropped yesterday, but the National Party Headquarters seemed to be the only place that could be considered of military significance. This noon Yi-fang went over to ----- to Madame Chiang's where she had her noon meal with the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang. One of the things they discussed was how to get accurate statements to the friends of China. Yi-fang wore her old blue cotton dress - the war has changed emphases.

4:00 P.M. Mr. Paxton called to see our trenches and basements. He pronounced our trenches well made and well placed, and said he considered our basements bomb proof. Personally I do not think they are bomb proof against a direct hit, but direct hits are not frequent so why worry about them.

11:00 P.M. Just after dark each night we can hear distinctly the sound of carrying on the road outside. We are not quite sure what it means, but it sounds as if cement is being made and poured. Probably bomb proof shelters going up in our neighborhood. This evening a cable came from the Board of Founders in New York letting us know that friends in America are thinking of us. They expressed it as "standing by us", we said that they

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might have said "sitting by us" as often several hours of each day are spent in our trenches.

Friday, September 24.

Today also will probably be free from raids for it is cloudy and the clouds are low. It is chilly morning, too. When the amah came in to bring me some hot water to my remark, "Today the weather is fine", she hesitated and then she laughingly said, "Yes, very good weather". She is a good old scout and as staunch as they make them. She is the captain of our east campus group and it is she who carries the box with the chemicals and gas masks. There is no noise in her trench when a raid is on, believe me! I think that she believes that there are special instruments in the airplanes whereby conversations can be heard from the trenches several thousand feet below. She makes the men stay in the trench until the release is sounded no matter how great their curiosity to get out and "look see". I have spent most of the day as secretary to the president for Catherine has resigned her position; I have applied for it and been accepted. I am not as good in many ways as she for I have too many other things to think about. Catherine is getting ready to go up to Wuchang, although she dreads leaving Nanking. There have been no raids all day and I'm quite sure there will be none in the night. News is coming through of the terrible raids in Canton with many civilian deaths. I'm sorry to say that since our section of the city has gained the reputation of being comparatively safe, it means that officials are renting houses out in this direction and opening offices here, which does not make us too happy. We may protect them but certainly they do not add to our safety. Sorry I did not get out in the neighborhood today.

Saturday, September 25.

Sad to say we had a beautiful sunrise this morning and it looks as if the day is to be clear and lovely. As I watched the rose tints of the sunrise steal through the long graceful branches of the weeping willow outside of my east window, I wondered what the day would bring forth, - how much of suffering and sorrow and destruction, how many mutilated bodies would be spattered against walls as in a recent raid.

Searle Bates is in Shanghai, having just returned from Japan. We know he is busy working with Christian and other groups there sharing with them the experiences of the past two months in Japan. The N.C.C. would like for him to give full time to their work, and if he cannot do that they want him to give half-time. He feels he must come to Nanking however, for his desire is to be here with his co-workers in the University. I saw a letter which he wrote upon arrival in Shanghai in which he said that the Christians of Japan are deeply distressed over what is happening, but they are submerged. We put through a long distance telephone call to Hankow taking up the matter of music majors with Eva. The person who answered the phone, Miss Evans, said that yesterday afternoon the Japanese planes came to Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang; that they intended the bombs for the arsenal but they struck a poor residential section and killed or wounded about 200. They also hit a school in Wuchang - she thought it a Catholic school. I fear for our faculty and students there where they probably have less protection than here in Nanking.

8:45 A.M. Our first raid today came at 8:45. The warning came at 8:15. It lasted until almost eleven o'clock. To patiently sit and wait for the release signal is almost more than one can endure, especially when one can hear the dull thud and the explosion of bombs during that interval. The bombing and anti-aircraft replies were particularly fierce this morning. We were told that three Japanese planes were brought down. 12:45 P.M. The second raid came about 12:45 and lasted until 2:30, and the third came about

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3:00 P.M. and lasted until about 4:00 P.M. We have heard that the places hit were the electric light plant in Hsia Gwan, the Ministry of Finance, the Central Hospital, the Bureau of Health, and a military organization. How many lives were lost we do not yet know. There are several new and very fierce anti-aircraft guns in our neighborhood, one to the south and two to the north of us. I was in a closet in the Library building during one of the raids for I had been writing letters in Helen's office and did not want to take the time to go over to one of the basements. The windows rattled and the building shook; I was fearful that all the glass on the north side might be broken. I heard one piece of shrapnel hit against the tile roof of the Recitation Hall, but there seemed to be no damage done.

7:00 P.M. Started to go the business street to buy some sugar but the city was in total darkness. Lightning was flashing in the eastern sky giving an ominous look to the darkness that hovered over the city. Evidently the city light plant has been injured. In about half an hour the street lights were turned on, but we were told that the current was from an emergency plant which had previously been erected. All homes were still in darkness save for candles. Ginling is fortunate in that it has its own electric light plant which can be used. About 8:00 P.M. I took a gardener with me and went over to see Lewis Smythe who is living in the Marx' home at present with Dr. Brady. I learned from him that during the night they are moving the patients from Central Hospital over to the University Hospital for they are quite sure there will be more bombing there tomorrow. I heard Lewis talking over the phone to George Shepherd. The latter did not approve of the moving, for he felt that the publicity in the west which would come out of the ruthless bombing of the hospital would prevent Japan from repeating the act. However, the patients and nurses and doctors felt that was not enough of an assurance and they went on with the moving plans. Many are afraid that there will be more bombing in the night as soon as the moon appears. Would that I could supply you with facts as to numbers of wounded and killed but that is impossible with any degree of accuracy. We have been told that about four newspaper men were down in the Yangtze Hotel this morning when the power plant was bombed, and not only saw it but took pictures of the planes as they were dropping the bombs. Also heard that over at Central Hospital this noon these same men were on the roof taking a picture of the large red cross painted on the roof when the planes came back and did their second bombing and dropped the two 1000 pound bombs. They were able to take a moving picture of that raid, and I suspect that that picture cannot be denied. Both Reuters and the United Press and several others have representatives here in Nanking, and they ought to be able to furnish accurate news to the world, if that is their desire. You probably can get these facts from the New York papers more quickly than I can find them out here in Nanking.

Sunday, September 26.

From three to four this a. m. we spent in the trenches. No planes came but our night was interrupted just the same. The Drum Tower siren is again working for which people in this section are grateful. Yesterday the warnings which reached us from South Gate and East Gate were very faint. It is raining this morning and your friends greet you with smiles for they are certain that the planes would not be so foolish as to come at such a low altitude. We no longer care for clear moonlight nights with twinkling stars nor clear bright days. At 10:30 several of us went over to the Drum Tower to church. There were not many present - perhaps 8 women and twice as many men, but the service was conducted as usual in spite of the rumor that the planes were within three hundred li of Nanking. It was announced that all Christians are to pray daily at noon for China and for peace. Had dinner with Brady and Smythe and later investigated their basement. They should use sandbags on top of it and make it much smaller by putting a sandbag partition on the

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inside of it. At 2:30 p.m. we went down to the Presbyterian Girls' School to attend a special meeting of Chinese and western Christian leaders in the city. Two problems were discussed:- 1. What can the Christian churches of the city do to help meet the need of the refugees who are passing through the city at the rate of more than a thousand a day and also of the wounded civilians after each bombing? 2. What can be done to give the nations of the West a true picture of what is happening in China due to the aggression of the J. military? We met from 2:30 to 5 p.m. and discussed these important problems. Dr. Wu acted as the chairman and in her able way led the discussion forward. One group in the city has already been doing something along both the above lines, but it was felt by some even in that group that much more should be done and that more Christians should be working on these problems. Temporary committees were set to work to make plans to go forward, pending a more permanent organization the coming Sunday. How I wish that all the missionaries who are well and strong and free to come back to Nanking were here now working with the Chinese pastors and other church workers. It is a time of great opportunity. As "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church", so helping the church to measure up to great emergencies strengthens the foundations of the church and makes a place for it in the community that is sure and lasting. 5 p.m. Dr. Wilson took Dr. Wu, Grace Bauer, and me over to Central Hospital to see the results of yesterday noon's bombing. Although on the roof there was a large red cross painted in bold colors, yet there were 16 bombs deliberately dropped in that compound which houses the Central Hospital and the Ministry of Health. Fortunately, the two 1000 pound bombs fell on two adjoining tennis courts - you know that the two bombs of that weight have to be dropped at the same time. Had they fallen less than 50 feet to the north they would have landed on a dugout where 100 doctors and nurses and hospital servants were in hiding; and had they fallen a few hundred feet farther south they would have totally demolished that beautiful hospital building. The biggest hole made must have been 30 feet across and 15 to 20 feet deep. You can imagine the splatter of mud that followed the dropping of those bombs in that soft earth. The auditorium just to the east of the courts had the west wall torn out of it and windows in all of the buildings were shattered. Even the windows in the Ministry of Health which is quite a ways to the north were all broken. Just before this particular bombing at noon yesterday, Dr. James Shen, the acting head of the hospital, was with the newspaper men up on the roof of the hospital. Because of a meeting he went down and left them up there. After the bombing Dr. Shen said that after he made sure that all the bones in his own body were not broken,- it seemed to him they were - he thought of those newspaper men and wondered if they had all been blown to smithereens, but he later found them full of glee over the moving pictures they had been able to take - never had they had such de luxe seats in a show. And to cap the climax, shortly after that Madame Chiang came over to the hospital to see what had happened and there she found the newspaper men and let them take her picture. The doctors and nurses in the dugout said they were badly shaken but not one of them was hurt. Five men who were out under trees or automobiles were either killed or wounded. All the buildings were badly marred by machine gun shells. The gatehouse was demolished and the nurses building. A ping pong or game room not far away - a light building - was also entirely demolished. The whole compound was a pitiful sight. The bombing was deliberate. The wounded soldiers who were in the hospital were taken to special hospitals that have been prepared, the well-to-do patients went to their own homes and about 70 of the poorer patients were taken over to our Christian Hospital as I said before. In your Sunday papers today you are reading this news. What fools men are when they are organized as a nation - and I really mean to underline the word m-e-a-n for they turn to war so quickly and there is something in it that stimulates them. Perhaps if the women of the nations would cease to support war,- cease

to sew and knit and cook as soon as the male members of the nations are eager for war, then we might stop it. If Japan only knew it, she is welding the Chinese together as a nation more firmly day by day. There is a courage, a confidence, and a determination that I have never seen before. To go along the street and to see the many new dugouts makes you feel that China is digging in and is determined never to yield but to sacrifice all, if that is necessary. We were sorry that because the city current was still off in the houses tonight we could not listen in on the National Christian Council broadcast. 11 p.m. As I draw this day's news to a close I can hear the singing of the coolies as they carry cement and are working on the bomb-proof trenches not far away. The capital is indeed digging its foundations deeper day by day and will not easily give in. Fortunately it looks as if the moonlight will not appear tonight. This is the 22nd day of the Chinese lunar month so there are't many more days of moonlight left for us this month.

Monday, September 27.

Since the day promises to be excellent for bombing purposes, I went to my office and typed from 7-8:30. Am trying to get off the third installment of my diary today. 10-11 a.m. Time out. Went to basement of Central Building between signals. Heard very distant bombing which we believe was either the Pukow railway Station or the Chemical work out in that general direction. 12-1 p.m. We were just on our way to the dining room when the siren sounded, so instead of eating we sat in the trenches for the next hour. Again it was distant bombing and we have not yet heard where. I remembered it was my birthday but hoped that no one else would remember - but not so, for Mrs. Tsen had remembered and had prepared noodles for all of us. 3-4 p.m. Lewis Smythe came over, and he, Dr. Wu, and I worked on the personnel of committees for the Relief Organization.

Later in the afternoon some high officials came to ask Dr. Wu to see if she could give any help to them in finding offices in this vicinity. Knowing the neighborhood Dr. Wu asked me to take them to some houses that were formerly vacant - just to the south of the campus. We went but found that all the houses have renters now. Later we went to two other homes where there used to be vacant rooms - all is filled now, filled full. As I mentioned before, this neighborhood has the reputation for being safe. This means that the University and the College are increasingly being asked to let groups come in, either to rent or just to stay. It has become a very difficult problem for both institutions.

5:45 p.m. Went to Lu Gin-ai's for supper. It was just a week ago today that she was married under such difficulties.

7:30 p.m. Dr. Wu and I went over to see Mr. Bates who has just come up from Shanghai. For two hours we plied him with questions. He felt that unless there is economic pressure from Western nations or unless Russia comes into the picture, the results will certainly be the establishment of another buffer state which may extend south to the Yellow River or even to the Lunghai Railway and in addition considerable further restrictions on all of China. The real fear that is being placed in the hearts of the Japanese by their leaders is of Communistic Russia and more troops are being placed on the north Manchurian border than are being brought into China proper. The standing army of the younger, better trained men is being held in reserve for this northern menace.

The University of Nanking is still expecting to open on October 4th for which I am glad. It is raining tonight and there will probably be no moonlight later in the evening. As we came home we noticed that the streets were practically deserted.

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Tuesday, September 28.

All was quiet in the night save for the singing of the workmen as they worked on the bombproof trench. We are anxiously waiting for a letter from the group in Wuchang for we have not heard from them since the bombing up in that center and we are very anxious. We know that our students are crowded in a small dormitory there and they probably do not have a dugout yet. We hope that Ruth Chester and Florence Kirk are starting for Shanghai today from Tsingtao. Have been making many enquiries as to the best way to send their clothes and books to them in Shanghai. One does not know which way is safe these days. Mail now goes from Nanking to Shanghai by truck leaving at six o'clock each evening. Several bridges are out along the railway and passengers have to get out and walk for long distances. A whole morning free for work was a most welcome change.

12 a.m. At twelve o'clock, just as we were starting for the dining room, the urgent siren sounded but we determined to eat our dinner in spite of it, thinking that we would have time to rush to the basement when we heard the sound of the bomber. The food had already been served. Soon an office boy came running over to the dining room saying that he had been telephoned that it was really the first warning and not the urgent one. We found it difficult to eat more slowly even when we knew that we had time. By 12:30 we heard the bombers coming. We must have stayed in our trenches until after two o'clock. I read my newspaper and Dr. Wu read and wrote letters, while the carpenter improved his time by taking a good nap.

Soon after three o'clock I started for our South Gate Church, where the pastor of the Church, a woman worker from the Methodist Church, one of our graduates who is a social worker in the Municipal Hospital, and I had a conference. We were wondering if we could get the church workers to take responsibility for the children who are sent to the Municipal Hospital after the various bombings - children both of whose parents have been killed in air raids. There is also the problem of getting clothing for those who have absolutely nothing left. The pastor said that at least 8 out of every 10 of his members had left Nanking for safer places in the interior and that his women's organization was almost eliminated by this process of evacuation. His church earlier had raised quite a sum for first aid equipment and also had prepared shelters in the basements of the church and the community house.

The long trip back from the South Gate to the College was most depressing. Everywhere dugouts could be seen - in places they were as close as every 200 feet. Some of these were large and had been made by the city government, others were made by individuals. The city and the people are spending thousands of dollars for these shelters. Most of the shops on the business street were locked and somehow the city had a forlorn and deserted look - none of the gay banners were out in front of the stores and shops and that alone made a great difference. You saw very few women and children. The glances cast at me as much as said, "What, are you still here?". Miss Dzo Ging-ru, dean of our Practice School went to the Mission Girls' schools this afternoon to find out the results of the week of school registration. They reported to her that during the first day of the registration it had been fairly encouraging but after the severe raids had started no students had come to register. The Presbyterian School had had about 20 register, the Methodist school 11, The Christian School 11, and our Practice School had 3. We know that of our 3, two have left Nanking since they registered. The University of Nanking Middle School for boys had a few more than 50 register, last year they had 1000 students. The city primary schools have closed indefinitely.

Out in front of the Capitol Moving Picture Theater I saw the poster advertising the last movie - shown perhaps well over a month ago. The name of it was "Turn off the Moon"! The expression has real meaning

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for us now for that was what we were longing for during the moonlight nights. The rains have been very kind to us however and we have had more than the usual number of cloudy and rainy days recently. On my way home I tried to find a store where I could buy a few groceries. I was able to find only one such store still open.

After supper Yi-fang and I discussed what we should do about Miss Shipman who came out on a one year contract to teach geography. She is now in Kobe, Japan. Searle Bates brings us word that she has received but one of the many letters sent to her and none of the telegrams, and she is wondering why we do not get in touch with her. Is it possible to get her into China now? If we should get here here, would there be enough geography students to make her feel that she was justified in coming? She is anxious to get to work. No letters again today from Wuchang or Tsingtao which leaves two unknown factors in our planning.

Wednesday, September 29.

Elsie Priest came back from Wuhu today where she went about a week ago for a much needed rest. She said that at least 3 Chinese planes were destroyed there yesterday while they were in the airdrome. Traitors are suspected but we cannot know the truth in such a situation. Elsie will live at Ginling and eat Chinese food, for foreign food is very expensive these days.

A letter has come from St. John's University in Shanghai saying that they will welcome cooperation with Ginling. Registration is from Oct. 15-16 and classes begin on the 18th. The newspapers are revealing a growing protest in the West against Japanese aggression.

This evening Dr. Wu had a most interesting dinner party, a very simple Chinese meal. The following were present:- Dr. Ong, the famous geologist; Dr. Chang, a well-known philosopher; Dr. Franklin Ho; Dr. Han Lih-wu; Mr. Chang from the Ministry of Education, Dr. Bates, Miss Priest and myself. The whole evening was spent in talking about conditions in Japan, Russia, and China. Bates has been steeping himself in Japanese conditions for the past two months. He says that the news in Japan is so one-sided that he even found himself, with all his China background, being subtly influenced by it. Thank goodness, it is raining tonight.

Thursday, September 30.

It is raining today therefore no air raids. This morning we arranged to have two more layers of sandbags placed on the attic floor above the college vault. There was a great discussion as to whether they should be put on the attic floor or the second floor. Finally decided on the former for we want to stop bombs there if possible and not have them explode in the library. Who knows what is best?

Long expected letter came from Wuchang. Eva says over and over again that we must not send any more students to Wuchang as it is not a safe place. Also a letter from En-lan who says that she was greeted upon her arrival in Wuchang by an air raid. Only two of her seven majors are there so far. In all there are not 34 Ginling students and 8 faculty members in Wuchang. Catherine is going up on the first British boat since three of her majors are already there. Also heard through two other people that Ruth and Florence have arrived safely in Shanghai. We are hoping the second Ginling unit will begin to form in Shanghai. Two more of our students are beginning to consider Chengtu in Szechuan. We have not been able to hear the one o'clock broadcast for almost a week - since the bombing of the electric light plant last Saturday.

3 p.m. Bates, Smythe, Dr. Wu, Dr. Ma Wen-hwan, Mrs. Twinem and I

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met at the office of Dr. Han Lih-wu to discuss the problem of publicity. Our purpose is to get facts to friends of China in the West. Bates and Ma agreed to give time each day to assisting the League of Nations Union staff in Nanking; Smythe and I are to get news items each week to the Associated Boards in New York; Han is going to try to assist in getting the short wave broadcast started in the right way - it is now being proposed. Ma and Bates stand ready to help in this if the way opens, for we realize it would be a tremendous help to friends in American and England and Canada if they could hear a reliable broadcast from China regularly. Mrs. Twinem has already been asked to act as a substitute in giving the long-wave English broadcast every evening at 8:30. By selecting and shortening items she has already been able to improve it a great deal. We also worded a telegram to the N.C.C. as follows: "Urge October 10th be made a day of prayer for the Nation and for peace. Encourage self-denial offering for refugees". Heard this evening that there are 5000 dugouts in the city of Nanking. Can well believe that this is true for each time we go out to the street we see new ones. They are being cleverly camouflaged with grass. Saw some little children putting pots of flowers on theirs a few days ago. It is reported that some are being built at a cost of from \$10,000. - \$20,000. It is getting chilly. Winter will bring terrible suffering among the refugees and wounded soldiers. The civilian population has not yet been mobilized to face this great need of their people. No raids, it is drizzling.

Friday, October 1.

A glorious morning. We tighten our belts as we go forth for we know not what such a day will bring. How God must pity us, making the sunshine for our enjoyment and seeing us look forward to it with fear; making the moonlight and starlight for lovers and children to rejoice in, and seeing us long to have the clouds cover them. About nine o'clock the first warning came but no urgent one followed it and about eleven we were released. I remained in my office thinking I would go to my basement as soon as the urgent sounded, but since it did not sound I was able to write a section on Ginling news for the Mission Newsletter. The problem faces us almost daily now of answering organizations that come to request the use of the college buildings. Later we hope that we can use them for the relief of civilian sufferers rather than for some government organization. About 20 New Life Movement workers are now occupying the Community Center. A request has come to use the Homecraft School for a group from the Municipal Hospital. Consent was granted and we will be prepared to move the little neighborhood school on to the main campus if necessary. Our Sunday afternoon meetings can also be moved back to the Science Lecture Hall where they were held for so many years. Radio is still not usable because of lack of current. After a long conference with Dr. Wu and Mrs. Tsen and myself individually, and much thought about it by herself, Catherine has at last decided to wait for a British boat which goes to Hankow on Monday. She had wanted to go on a Chinese boat, which is much cheaper, but we felt the risk too great. If Chinese communications are one of the objectives of the Japanese air force, then Chinese boats are not safe. We need a recreation committee very badly for we do not play at all.

Saturday, October 2.

Immediately after the close of our prayer meeting this morning I had a long distance call from Mrs. New in Shanghai. What cheer she gave us. First of all her love and solicitations for her college friend, Yi-fang. Then she told us the good news that they have already started to register Ginling students in Shanghai. Sheh has helped Ruth and Florence to set up a temporary headquarters at the local Y.W. at 999 Bubbling Well Road. The girls are enthusiastic about the plan of cooperating with St. John's and fortunately classes do not begin until Oct. 18. They are planning to give another

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entrance test for only 7 students took our second tests when given in Shanghai in August and 1 student took them in Nanking. It would be great if we could assemble a small freshmen class. They have found a small furnished apartment at 321 Avenue Petain, Apt. A. The alumnae and former faculty like Wang Gweh-Siu and Lindsey Lieu are standing behind the Shanghai group in a magnificent way. Mrs. New said that Dr. Wu is not to worry about the Shanghai group for there are more than enough good friends there to carry all of the burdens.

8-10 a.m. That siren again - before I had time to finish my breakfast. It turned out all right for we never heard the sound of a plane.

This morning two encouraging letters came from Ruth and Florence in which they told of an alumnae meeting, also Ginling students, at which there were 40 present. The spirit of the student group was excellent and they are rejoicing at being able to get to work again. The problem of a quiet place for study is a real one - one student said that there were now forty in her home, many of them refugees from other cities. After we read the letters we immediately gathered the members of the Entrance Committee now on the campus and had a meeting. We decided to give the tests on October 11th and to cut them to one day in length.

5-6 p.m. Went out calling in the neighborhood. Found that even in the homes of the vegetable gardeners all the young women and children and even some of the sons had been sent off to the country, and that only the oldmother and perhaps the eldest son were at home. In one home which has only a mud floor and thatched roof I found that they had spent more than \$100.00 on a dugout. They were very generously ~~were~~ letting their poorer neighbors share it. I forgot to tell you that immediately after lunch I went over to Dr. Brady's to see if I could hear the noon broadcast from there. Their current was still not on, but I found Brady, Bates, Smythe and Mills there at the table eating their meal of Chinese food. Many have given up foreign food because of the expense. I heard four broadcasts instead of the one which I had intended to hear. It was with difficulty that I got home at 2:30. How to encourage the depleted churches, and how to help them meet the growing needs of refugees and wounded was the chief topic of conversation. When the cold weather comes, China alone simply cannot meet the need of the sufferers. Dr. Wu had a letter from Madame Chiang, one sentence of which was "We are up to our necks fighting Japan and my part of the task strains every nerve and absorbs every minute of my time."

Sunday October 3, 1937.

7:30 a.m. Catherine and I walked over to Joy Smith's - she has just returned from Tsingtao - and had breakfast with her. Think of having coffee and pancakes and butter! She had brought a little with her from Tsingtao. Catherine has been longing for pancakes these many weeks.

10:30 a.m. To Drum Tower to church. Fine attendance. More than twenty women in the audience and at least as many men. Women were asked to come at 2 o'clock next Wednesday and to bring their scissors and needles with them. They seemed very happy to be set to work. They will be asked to make padded garments for the wounded soldiers and perhaps later for refugees.

2 p.m. Four gardeners, the assistant business manager and I went with Catherine to the boat. We had a truck with 40 pieces of baggage in it - some boxes were books but most of the things were suitcases and trunks for the students in Wuchang who keep asking for their warm clothes. A little railway launch ~~which~~ had been generously loaned to us and we went more than ten miles up the river before we came to the British hulk. We went to the first hulk, that of Jardine's, but they have no boat until Wednesday. We could not leave Catherine there that long so we went over to the Butterfield hulk. They have a boat tomorrow, but the current was so swift that we made

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four trials before we could get alongside of the hulk. Four men helped Catherine up - two hoisted and two pulled - and they took up the 40 pieces by ropes and not one piece fell into the Yangtze! The servants thought that the trip up was great, especially one who had never been on a boat before. But returning the waves were very high and unfortunately two were quite sick. It was not until the next day that they could laugh about the experience.

I was not able to go to the Neighborhood Evangelist meeting but the little day school teacher went in my place and said it was very good. Pastor Lee talked to them and the teacher taught them a song. I was not able to go to the Meeting of the Christian leaders of the city which again met over at the Presbyterian Girls' School. Dr. Wu again presided and said that the spirit of the meeting was fine and that she thinks the work now will go forward. The Nanking Church Council and another special committee will work in with this larger and more representative committee of Christians. No visit of the planes today for it has been cloudy or raining most of the day. We knew when we started for breakfast that all would be well.

I want to close this installment with a tribute to Catherine. Her quiet struggle to be allowed to remain with Ginling co-workers since early in August has truly been magnificent and a real triumph of the spirit. Through sheer gentleness and kindly persistence - one would not want to call it stubbornness - she has remained on in spite of repeated general warnings from the Embassy. She told Mr. Paxton frankly and sincerely that as a Christian she could not leave; that saving her body meant nothing when she knew that her being here was a help. There was a time when even Dr. Wu felt that she ought to leave, but gently and firmly she stuck to her peaceful guns, as it were. Now she goes to Wuchang because she believes it is her duty to go there and help out with her music students, some of whom have already preceded her there. My reasons for remaining still hold. I am helping to carry administrative duties that would fall on Dr. Wu if I left. They had enough respect for her and understood her position well enough that they were loather to add to her already heavy burdens. For a few days in early August Dr. Wu thought that I should leave - she never mentions it now. There are times when we must obey God rather than man, or governments.

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Monday, October 4.

It is a damp, chilly and dismal day and yet none of us in Nanking would wish it otherwise. The day has been spent in wording telegrams and letters to Shanghai Ginling Unit, Wuchang Ginling Unit and to the Board of Founders in New York. All of these telegrams and letters demand endless discussion first for it is difficult to be wise when factors are so uncertain. You might think that we have no schedule to live up to these days on the campus, but not so. By 4 p.m. mail must be ready for the bus to Shanghai; by 5 p.m. all telegrams must be over to the office; by 6 p.m. all air mail letters for Wuchang and West China and America must be in so that they can be taken by bus to Wuhu for the planes no longer take off from Nanking. This evening in desperation about getting a message and some entrance tests to the Shanghai Unit, we asked Mr. Li, the assistant business manager to take them down personally. He was glad to go for he likes adventure. He starts at 7:30 tomorrow morning and hopes to get through by tomorrow evening. There will be several places where he will have to get out and walk because bridges are out. This afternoon an appeal came from Madame Chiang through Mr. Donald asking for materials for an article for a women's group in Australia. At the close of a very busy day she wrote out a page of suggestions and we typed them. The University of Nanking Middle School enrollment began with 53 on September 20th and now has gradually crept up to 97. Registration at the University of Nanking began today and lasts through tomorrow. Eighty have registered today which is not a bad beginning. Received a very good letter from the Shanghai Ginling Unit. They expect about 40 students there. No raids today.

Tuesday, October 5.

Time out for raids from 8:45-10 a.m. and from 5:20-6:30 p.m. During the first we did not hear the enemy planes at all and were told afterwards that they went to Wuhu. During the second we heard the low hum of the bombing planes at a distance and there was a little firing from the anti-aircraft guns. For some reason - it may be that of world criticism - the planes seem to be more careful than formerly. This evening Miss Lo, the little woman who does the social work in our neighborhood surprised me by turning up when I thought that she was safely living with her sister in Shanghai. It took her two days to come up by bus for they had to get out many times because of sighting planes overhead. She says it is very bad in Shanghai and her heart is beating fast most of the time. She was eager to get back to her little home and her work among the neighborhood women. I feel sure that the women will greatly appreciate her return for many have asked about her.

A very good letter has arrived from Chen Pin-dji in Wuchang in which she describes the living conditions there in our group. Five faculty members are living in one bedroom. She says that they would feel lonely if living in a room alone. The members of the group seem to be meeting the many difficulties with a good spirit. A letter has also come from Florence saying that Ginling girls have already come to Ruth to register for Shanghai University and they expect somewhat more for St. John's which registers on October 15th. Four of Ruth's senior chemistry majors have arrived and will probably do their laboratory work out at the St. John's laboratory. Written permission will be secured from the parents of each girl before they will be allowed to do this. We feel that after all these weeks of planning that at last we are getting started. Florence also reported that her three English majors have also arrived, thus fulfilling our hopes for that department. At the end of the second day of registration, the University of Nanking has an enrollment of 111. It will probably creep up to the 200 mark in a week or ten days. Some of you remember that our Sociology and Psychology Departments had planned to have either two or four alumnae come back to work with Dr. Felton, visiting professor at the Nanking Theological Seminary, on a project dealing with the work of women in the rural church. We had high hopes for that work and hoped that Ginling under Dr. Felton's direction would be able to do a piece of ~~work~~ creative work that would mean much to the women in our rural churches. I have just had to write to Dr. Felton who is still in

Korea that it will not be possible either from the standpoint of our alumnae or that of the work in the rural churches to carry on the research project this year. This is only one of many, many useful projects that have had to be abandoned while both China and Japan spend their strength and substance in destruction.

Wednesday, October 6th.

Midnight to 1:45 a.m., 9:45-11:30 a.m.; 2:30-4 p.m.; and 8-9:15 p.m. were spent in trenches or basements today. Almost seven hours out of the twenty-four. You can see what that does to work. Before and after the morning raid I finished copying the fourth installment of my diary and sent one copy by air mail to the New York office. At 2 o'clock I went to the Drum Tower Church and Christian Girls' School to get in touch with a group of women who have volunteered to make padded garments for wounded soldiers. We had just begun our discussion when the siren sounded and we all had to scamper to trenches and we did not get out until 4 o'clock. When they came some of the women said that they had not yet had their noon meal for they had not finished preparing it because of the morning raid. The group finally decided to be responsible for 24 padded garments and will have them finished in three days. This evening we had just started our regular Wednesday evening meeting for the campus servants when the siren sounded and that group too had to scatter to their various assigned trenches. One is not master of one's time these days. We have heard that in the second raid this morning two Japanese bombers were brought down. That means the destruction of \$1,000,000.00 beside the bombs - which are costly - and the lives of the bombers, which count but little in war. It has been a bad day for the beginning of classes at the University. However, Elsie reported the morale fine. The University has provided space in trenches or basements for all the students and staff and has carefully organized both groups. The second day, or rather the third day, brought their enrollment up to 135. Dr. Wu is a dinner guest at the American Embassy this evening. I am glad, for it will bring her some relaxation. She sticks all too closely to her work. I am much better than she - in fact my old friends would not know me for almost every evening between five and six I go out for a bicycle ride in the neighborhood.

Previously I have mentioned that after two attempts we succeeded in purchasing materials out of which to make a large American flag - one that is to be about 27 feet long and that we expect to spread out on the grass in the main quadrangle during raids. Mrs. Tsen succeeded in finding a tailor to make it. Very careful instructions were given to him and he was shown the 9-foot flag which was loaned us by the American Embassy. This morning when the flag was brought back finished and we spread it out on the grass we found that it was very well done, excepting that the blue field with the stars had been placed in the lower left hand corner instead of the upper. We spread it out on the floor of the large social room and after much discussion worked out a way of changing it. I was reminded again of one of my favorite stories which is told of Miss Luella Miner for many, many years a missionary in North China. One summer she had given orders to masons and carpenters for quite extensive repairs on the school buildings of which she was in charge. She announced her intention of giving up her summer holiday and remaining to supervise. The other members of her Mission protested and said, "Can't you tell those masons and carpenters definitely all the things that they should do?" Her answer was, "Yes, I can tell them all the things they should do, but I cannot possibly think of all the things to tell them that they should not do." But the flag has now been finished and each day since two janitors take it out and spread it in the quadrangle when the first warning comes and they take it in when the release sounds.

Practically all building operations in Nanking are at a standstill, excepting on those structures being made for military purposes. As I said before, each new day sees new dugouts and caves, each seemingly bigger and better than the ones of the day before. The work on the terrace house and Dr. Reeves' bungalow has almost stopped. The latter has most of the tile on its roof and the former has only the tar paper on. It seems that masons have gone back to their homes and we may not be able to get the tile roof on this autumn.

Thursday, October 7. It rained most of the night and has steadily continued through the day which means that we had a night of rest and a day for work. Some reports (not verified) say that two Japanese bombers were brought down yesterday by anti-aircraft guns, others say one. A person who is supposed to know, said that to date the total property destruction has been about half of the amount the J'S have lost in bombers, and in bombs. President Lo of Central University said that it would take about \$200,000.00 to repair the damages on his University. To date the University has an enrollment of 145 students--I mean the University of Nanking. The foreign members of the teaching staff who have returned are Bates, Smythe, Caldwell, and Thomson. Miss Priest is here in administration. She continues to live with us at Ginling which is much better for her than living alone. We suggested that Yu Dji-ying, our senior history major, return to Nanking if her parents were willing and that she do her work at the University under Dr. Bates. Her parents are unwilling to give their consent. Have just heard that the Theological Seminary has 16 students to date. The Bible Teachers Training School for Women has not yet opened. They feel it is too great a responsibility to encourage women students to come to Nanking. She cited the case of Cheeloo where they opened in early September with 100 women students in addition to their men students. Now they are in quite a quandary wondering what they should do with them as the J. army moves southward. Dr. Wu has spent several hours this morning in a committee meeting with Madame Feng Yu-hsiang, Mrs. William Wang, head of the New Life Movement and Dr. Goh. The young women of our faculty who are on the campus spend many hours each day cutting out material for padded garments for the wounded soldiers. As usual I have given most of my morning to writing letters for administration. At 4 P.M. today ten of us, 6 Chinese and 4 Americans, met over at the Buck home--the master of the house is today taking a China Clipper from Hongkong for America. We are an informal publicity committee more or less self appointed.

We were all made very happy by having a very nice tea served to us by the Buck cook who had ordered it, I do not yet know, but I suspect President Chen of the University. The main discussion centered on the problem of getting facts and not exaggerations to the friends of China in the West. We deplore the distortion of facts being sent out--and the most thoughtful Chinese feel very badly about it too, but it is a difficult problem. We are sending a suggestion to the National Christian Council that they widen their circle of missionary reporters or Chinese Christian leaders who are scattered over China. This material, which they receive from all over China, might well be sent to Christian organizations in America and England. We also approved of the three presidents of Christian higher educational institutions in Nanking sending a cable to the Federal Council of Churches expressing appreciation for the interest shown in the Far East by President Roosevelt in his Chicago speech. We are feeling our way with regard to the possibilities of a short-wave weekly broadcast to Christians in the West--but we have not got beyond the suggesting state yet.

Friday, October 8th. Two hours of the morning I spent in the delightful occupation of studying Chinese with the "best teacher in China," Big Wang. He has just returned from a visit to his family who have gone to a village about 60 li from Nanking. He said that they wrote him that if he did not leave Nanking, they would all come back, and not wanting them to do that, there was nothing for him to do but to go to them. He says the country people all congregate in the streets of the little villages when they see these big bombing planes fly past--their fear has no foundation in fact so far and their curiosity is great. Chen Meiyu (1920) arrived on the campus today coming from her home in Shaohsing not far from Shanghai. She is planning to leave Nanking early next week in order to arrive in Chungking before the first of November when Central University opens there. She says that all Central University students must go, or show that they are boni fide students in another institution, or give evidence that they are engaged in war work or they will be dropped. Du Lung-yuen (1931) has just telephoned from Hsia Gwan that she will be up to see us tomorrow morning. She was in Tientsin during the trouble there in July. During this one week Dr. Wu has faced two urgent calls to go abroad to speak in behalf of China. One call was to go to Europe for six months and the other to go to America. It has been very difficult for her to decide what is the right thing to do for she is utterly willing to give her all for China in this crisis. Those with whom she has consulted feel that her greatest contribution is in China at the present time of emergency. She truly is doing and giving a tremendous amount during these days.

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Today Mrs. Tsen is having our college kitchen prepare beef for 600 wounded soldiers who are in hospitals near Nanking. Two or three other kinds of special foods are to be prepared and this is to be given to the soldiers for a special meal just before the National holiday on October 10th. The National Women's Relief Organization is providing the funds. It has been raining or cloudy all day and it is also getting cold. Went to the attic this evening to bring down some warm clothes and could not but feel deep, deep pity for those who are homeless refugees today in many parts of China. I'd hate to think of getting up in the middle of the night and going to a damp trench.

Saturday, October 9th. Du Lung-huen came in before 8 o'clock this morning and told us something about conditions in Tientsin. She and Chang Hwei-lan and the latter's mother finally came down to Shanghai by boat, it being impossible for them to get through by rail. She said that her school, the Provincial Normal School for Girls, had four bombs dropped on it on July 28th about 1 hour after she left the compound. These bombs destroyed the minor buildings such as gatehouse, kitchen, dining room, etc., but none of the regular academic buildings. The greatest destruction came from looting by disloyal Chinese who came out with trucks even, and took away all books from the library, all apparatus, etc. Nankai University had had many bombs, she thought about eighty. Later it was burned so she thought that it was almost completely destroyed but she had not been over to see it. The reasons for the destruction which she gave were that it was a boys' school first of all, and secondly it was known to be a source of a good deal of anti-Japanese propaganda. Lung-huen is going on up river today. She does not have a position now, but I hope we can find her one soon. This morning has been partly spent in writing letters to our Ginling Units encouraging them to appoint regular correspondents, and to write interesting experiences and activities directly to Miss Griest in New York who is very anxious for materials for Ginling promotional work. I hope to get some letters out to alumnae who are having unusual experiences too.

3 p.m. Hwang Dzun-mei and I went for a walk over to Ming Deh. It has been turned into an Emergency Civilian Hospital. Had a good visit with the principal, Li Mei-yung, one of our alumnae. She has no plans for opening the school at present. Feels the risk is too great for children. Later we walked over to the Bible Teachers Training School where we found Joy Smith and three of her staff at work making pillow cases for the University Hospital. They roll bandages when they are waiting in their basement during an air raid. Joy Smith is full of joy because she is back. I feel deeply that this is a wonderful time for Christian leaders to serve the Church and lead the members in all kinds of worthy enterprises for the relief of civilians. I think too that it is a time when our Christians can be led into a deeper understanding of the inner meaning of Christianity. When can they learn better the meaning of those words of Jesus uttered from the Cross, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." It is not a call for retreat but for a forward movement in the Christian program in both China and Japan. Yi-fang continues to give much time and thought to the work of the National Chinese Women's Relief Organization. Both this afternoon and evening were given over entirely to this work. Mrs. Tsen is her right hand man in carrying out plans--as you know she would be. At 8 p.m. Hwang Dzun-mei, Wang Ming-djen, Chen Lan-ying, Dzo Ging-ru and Hsueh Yu-ying, the Day School teacher, and I went over to Dr. Chen's, president of the University of Nanking, to hear General Chiang's broadcast to the people of the nation, in commemoration of the founding of the Republic. There were no false hopes raised by his talk, I can assure you. He emphasized sacrifice and loyalty even to the end. He called to all citizens to struggle and to sacrifice. Today two statements have been made to me by Chinese that I think are significant. One person who is teaching in a government school--or rather was teaching in one for the past six years, remarked on the difference in spirit and persistence which she found in Ginling and in the government school. The other statement was with regard to the difference in the spirit of loyalty and willingness to sacrifice shown by the staff of a government hospital and that of a mission hospital. I maintain that there ought to be this difference and that it ought to stand out far more clearly than it often does. It should be said of us as it was said of those first century Christians that we can out-live and out-die those who have never named the Name. After all we know that the forces of righteousness will overcome the forces of evil and darkness and that should give us courage to go forward.

Sunday-October 10th. NATIONAL REPUBLIC DAY. If some enthusiastic J. airmen were looking

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forward with keen desire to bombing the capital on this the National holiday, they have been disappointed. The entire day has either been very cloudy or rainy. We are terribly tired of these gloomy days--there have been four consecutive ones--but we dare not wish for sunshine and a clear blue sky. Lewis Smythe remarked that we have had bombing every clear hour since September 21st. I am not sure that he is right, but have no way of disproving his statement. At 7.30 a.m. in our South Studio we had a special religious meeting. Dr. Wu spoke and I had been asked to have charge of the rest of the service which was largely a service of prayer. There is little hatred remaining now--only deep determination to go forward and to sacrifice all if needed. We were so happy this morning to learn that Mr. Li had returned safely from Shanghai. It took him about 14 hours to go to Shanghai by train, the train stopping four times because of air-planes overhead. Coming back he took 24 hours. He reported that although the Soochow station itself was not badly bombed, yet there was much damage in the immediate vicinity. The dead bodies could still be seen--three days after the bombing. I suspect most of the inhabitants of Soochow have fled into the country districts. He found our Shanghai faculty group in the best of spirits. They have found a tiny apartment out at 321 Avenue Petain, Apt. A, and there they have set up housekeeping. He was impressed by the tinyness of their kitchen and the fact that they were doing their own cooking and enjoying it. He said that they had the wife of a former cook, Wu Sao-dz, come in three times a week to do the cleaning.

At 10.30 I went to the Drum Tower church as usual on Sunday morning. The spirit was excellent. The women are happy to be working on warm garments for the wounded soldiers. At 2 o'clock we had a very good meeting over in our Day School for neighborhood women and children. The kiddies are especially happy because we have the meetings for it gives them something to go to. When Miss Lo came in everybody stood up and gave her a most cordial welcome, many had not known that she had returned from Shanghai. Pastor Lee gave a very good sermon for the children in the beginning. He seems to enjoy it as much as they do. I suspect as he talks, he thinks of his own children who long ago evacuated up to Luchowfu. At 3 p.m. the Executive Committee of the Nanking Christian War Relief Committee had its first regular meeting over at the Presbyterian Girls' School. That work is now fairly well organized--much of this being due to the energy of Lewis Smythe. A budget of \$8,000.00 monthly must be raised for the Christian Hospital (University Hospital). Dr. Han reported that he had a check for one thousand dollars in his pocket, a gift for this purpose. The Nanking churches had already raised \$600.00 which was turned over to the Committee. Three cablegrams had been sent during the week to America. Ambulances are badly needed for they now have only private cars to go out and carry in the wounded. Dr. Y.G. Chen, president of the University, is chairman of the Executive Committee. We plan to have a regular meeting every Sunday afternoon. A military hospital has just been opened at _____ and three hundred wounded soldiers have already been brought in. Nothing is ready for them--no equipment and no bedding. We have just heard that doctors and nurses are to be brought up from Shanghai. Searle Bates preached at the 5 p.m. service in Twinem Hall. He portrayed through many concrete illustrations, the spirit of the Christians of Japan. The stonewall of nationalism that they are up against and how courageously many of them are standing against it even at great personal risk. I wish that every Christian in China could have heard that talk. If Searle writes it up I will see that you get a copy of it. There were twenty at the service and because I know that you will be interested, I will give the names--Elsie Priest, Grace Bauer, Mary Twinem, Dr. Wu, John Magee, Plumer Mills, Riggs, George Fitch, Dick Brady, Claude Thomson, Joy Smith and two Chinese women teachers, Caldwell, Lewis Smythe, Trimmer, Wilson, Mr. Chow, secretary of the China League of Nations Union, Searle and myself.

7.30-8.30 p.m. We had a splendid service for our campus staff of servants in which we tried to help them commemorate the National Holiday. They learned to sing quite well--as well as their teachers could teach them--"We love our Native Land" and "O, Save my Country, Lord." Dr. Wu gave a very simple and excellent talk on the meaning of the day for them and for China and Francis Chen closed the service by leading them in the cheer "Long Live China." Later in the evening I asked the Practice School amah if she understood Dr. Wu's talk, and she said of course she did that Dr. Wu always spoke very clearly. How much of a celebration went on in the city today in commemoration of the Republic Day, I have no way of knowing. As I went along the street this afternoon, I noticed that almost every home and certainly every organization had out the National and the Party flags. A moving picture of the Lukoochiao Incident was shown three times in one of the moving

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picture theaters. I have not heard that any of our group went to see it. The rainy dismal day closes, I am sure that I hope tomorrow will be clear. The dreariness, if it lasts too long, is worse than raids.

Monday, October 11. We shall certainly mildew just as our shoes and dresses hanging in closets are doing. Today is again misty and cold. If this weather continues, aggression will certainly be drowned out and it is even more effective than a boycott. We have had no visit from the J. planes for five days. Both morning and afternoon were used in writing letters for Dr. Wu to the Shanghai and Wuchang centers. Yi-Fang has suggested to both groups that they remember Founders' Day on October 30th with appropriate exercises of some kind. I rather think she plans to go to Shanghai to be with the group there at that time. We shall probably do something here in Nanking for the small group of alumnae who are left here. Shen Pu, a chemistry senior, came to see me this afternoon. Her father has persuaded her to give up her study for the year in order to devote her time wholly in service to her country. She says her day begins often at 6 and lasts until midnight. Just now she is cutting out padded garments for the wounded soldiers. She says that many are being brought to Hsia Gwan. They are often in a terrible condition, having had no medical attention for days after they received their wounds. She says the wounds themselves are terrible too, some men having lost their arms and legs and some their eyesight. When she tries to comfort them she says they often apologize to her for not having done their duty better. At 4.30 today, Chen Mei-yu (1920) and Wang Ying-yin (1936) came to have a very simple tea with me down at the Practice School. The former starts tomorrow morning for Chungking and the latter for Shanghai to go on with her medical course. A little after 5 o'clock the siren sounded, but it was a false alarm. Mei-yu told of the custom of drafting on the rural areas around Shaohsing. One son out of every fifty rural families is drafted, but if one will volunteer then the other 49 families pledge themselves to assist the family of the man who goes to war. The draft is on a larger percentage in the cities because the army needs men with some education. Mrs. Tsen and I went down to Esther's room to see if we could find somethings which we thought she would need and which we could send up to her by Mei-yu. We found two hats which we thought she might want. Unfortunately, the next evening we learned that there were two boxes all prepared and waiting in the Business Office, but we did not know about them. East Court seems so deserted and sad without its faculty family there as in previous years. Today I wrote a letter for Dr. Wu to the energetic young pastor of the Christian Church in Chuchow asking him if he can get his church women to make 200 pads and 200 comforters at once for the wounded soldiers. The National Women's Organization will furnish the money for the materials but the women are asked to donate their labor. How the country will take care of its refugees and wounded soldiers this winter I do not know. At the supper table tonight Elsie said that a commission had been appointed to urge all farmers to plant every available space this autumn in winter wheat. The fact that the rice crop this year has been unusually good is a blessing.

Tuesday, October 12. This morning as I watched the sunshine dance through the waving branches of the weeping willow outside of my east window and a little later saw it turn the dew drops nestling in the leaves on the pond to gay diamonds of many colors, I realized that the J. planes would surely come today; and as I said to the amah when she came in to bring me hot water that the weather was very bad, she answered with much confidence in our new aircraft guns, "But they won't be able to get into the city." And they did come. We had three visits from them, the first about 11 o'clock, the second about 2 o'clock and the third about 4 o'clock. During the second raid both a J. and a C. plane were brought down. The injured C. aviator was taken to the University Hospital. Have not yet heard the objectives or the casualties. Today again was largely spent on business letters and writing up the minutes of the Sunday's Executive Committee meeting. The two copies of the newspapers which have come from Shanghai today--we had none yesterday--give us hope that the signatories of the Nine Power Pact might be called into conference. Daily I wish that somehow we could get through to the common people of Japan, the laborers, the teachers, the ordinary citizens and help them to know the truth about their military group. The weather today has been glorious. It will not be long now until autumn colors and chrysanthemums are here.

Wednesday, October 13. Although it was not clear this morning, we had our first siren warning at 8:10, but there was no "urgent" and soon the release came. By 9:45 we had our second

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warning with a release shortly after 10 o'clock. At 1:30 p.m. the third warning came followed by an "urgent" but no planes came near the city. Then at 5 p.m. the fourth warning with an "urgent" following it in about 20 minutes. Having had a very nice basket of apples presented to me by the Shanghai Unit, I decided that was sufficient excuse for having a party and so invited our women staff members, Mrs. Tsen, her daughter-in-law and her lovely little grandchildren, Joy Smith and one woman student from the Seminary. Most of them came very promptly and more came than I had expected for I had only 12 apples. But there was no embarrassment for it was a very friendly group. We had our tea and "dien sing" but again and again some one thought she heard the beginning of a warning. We figuratively "kept an ear out" for the sound of the siren and were ready to bring the tea party to a close rather informally, if necessary. The party was a real success and ended naturally, for Nanking these days--the siren sounded and we all hustled to the basement of the Central Building while the servants closed doors and windows and went out to their trench. We really continued our party in the basement for we had a good time playing games with the children. Although one is not afraid, yet these continual warnings do put a tenseness into life and are fearfully wasteful of time and energy. Yi-fang came into my office implying a little provocation that we had the continual warnings without actual bombing. She is trying to work today on a letter for the New York Office. It is very difficult for her to do consecutive work like the writing of an article for she has so many phone calls and important callers. Interesting letters came today from Catherine and En-lan in Wuchang. The latter gave us a very interesting drawing of the Ginling dormitory and the Ginling Sociology-Geography classroom and offices. We have space and to spare her and they are over-crowded. I confess that I am still a bit said that geography and sociology did not start a center up in Hunan with nice Katherine Woods. They could have worked out an interested experiment of specialization and they would have had a whole school building to themselves. The faculty and the students would have had the joy of life in an interior city--an experience which as you know has always been very precious to me. There is one group of men in Nanking who are real war profiteers--but unconsciously so, I am sure--that is the coolies or day laborers. They usually work for 40 cents a day but now they are getting 1.00. I discovered this when I sent for Lao Wu the other day, thinking I would arrange with him early to do some transplanting of trees when the right time came this fall--I expect to transplant trees to show my faith in a future both for Nanking as the national capital and in Ginlin--but the person who went to find him came back saying that Lao Wu is very busy and that he is getting at least \$1.00 a day digging trenches and dugouts and that he has more work than he can do. Since then I have noticed a large group of these day laborers on the roads near us--they are digging caves into the surrounding hills.

It must be about the tenth of the Chinese month and the sky tonight is beautiful. The stars are brilliant. If only we could "turn off the moon" for the next 12 days how much better it would be for all of us. How I hope they will not ruin these lovely moonlight nights for us during October as they did during August. It will be cold in the trenches in winter.

Thursday, October 14, 1937. It has been a perfect autumn day with glorious sunshine-- although we knew the day would bring for air raids we could not wish for a gloomy day for we have had too many of them. How we have rejoiced in the sheer beauty of earth and sky. Yi-fang spent a long time this morning in conference with two women from the National Women's Organization--part of the conference was held in an inner closet in the Administration Building because of the air raid. I kept at my work until the urgent sounded and then went there too. The first warning this morning came at 9:45 and almost immediately we heard the Chinese planes fly to the westward. At 10:50 the "urgent" sounded and a little after 11 the release came. Mrs. Tsen said that she heard distant bombing. About 5 p.m. another warning, an urgent one, and soon we saw bombers far to the south and very high up. The military air field southeast of the city seems to be a favorite place for bombing. I wonder what can be left there now. Yi-fang spent a number of hours today working on a letter for the Promotional Committee in New York. I typed it for her between 3 and 4 o'clock. Also finished the typing of the 5th installment of my diary. From 4-6 went over to the Buck home to attend the weekly meeting of our self-appointed publicity committee. Lewis Smythe is certainly a prolific writer for he gets off article after article for groups or magazines in America. Again we discussed the problem of how to improve the quality of Chinese reports for westerners. Some real progress has been made along this line and the fact that the National Christian Council now has a method available for sending such material to the West, it helps a good deal. A report of "no progress" was made with regard to a short wave broadcast for western friends. A letter has come from Florence asking for books and a letter from Esther asking for shoes, address book and music. Would that Catherine were here for she was much more patient about looking for such things than I am. At noon Yi-fang took us up to Wu Mou-i's room at the South Hill residence to see the hole in her window pane and screen and the wall opposite which was evidently made by a piece of shrapnel. As far as I know this is the only damage we have suffered so far so you know that it is not serious. Some day I want to try to find the exploded shell--I think I can drop the angle made by it. Today seven foreign men have moved into the Buck house presumably for the winter. They are Bates, Smythe, Wilson, Mills, Caldwell, Thomson, and Brannon, a new English teacher. Dr. Wilson has been elected the housekeeper for the group. What talkfests they will have at each meal. The reason for choosing this particular house is that it has a radio, a good furnace and a well made dugout. Elsie and I are planning to invite them over here for a good Chinese meal as soon as we can get around to it. 11 p.m. Listen! You can hear the coolies working on a cement dugout to the northwest of the American Embassy. They have been working on it for weeks. I am curious to know what it is like but am afraid to wander over there for fear they may think I am a spy.

Friday, October 15, No raids this morning. Spent two hours in studying Chinese with my teacher--Big Wang. I am reading Djao's Life of Jesus with him. Again and again we are both struck with the similarity between that time and the present in China. Plummer Mills came over for a short conference with regard to Anna Moffet coming back to Nanking and the possibility of her living here with us. We would welcome her most heartily, but she might not like Chinese food three times each day, although it is quite good food. Immediately after the noon meal, I took two gardeners over to the day school where we helped the pupils put in their flower garden for next spring. How the youngsters worked and how eager they were to learn. We have 10 pupils in the school now with a number of extras coming in in the afternoon to help make garments for wounded soldiers. The little teacher is doing a fine piece of work. Mr. Yu, who has charge of the New Life Movement group of twenty workers in our Neighborhood House, has been so impressed with the garments made by the pupils in our schools, that he has asked them to make bedding for the wounded soldiers--evidently he is responsible for getting a quantity made. He took me in to see a war poster which he is having made. Reminded me of posters that were used in the Great War. While I was over at the school, James McCallum came over to find me. He and Mr. Marx have returned and are living with Dr. Brady in the Marx home. When we were on our way back to the college the warning siren sounded and we went immediately to the library building. During the next one and one-half hours while we were waiting for the release siren, we had plenty of time to discuss all the problems of the Mission. We agreed in wishing that Dr. Corpron and Mr. Goulter were back in China for they could do valient work during these days of great need--and how they

would be appreciated. Later I helped Dr. Wu get a cable off to New York to Miss Griest telling her that Ruth Chester is well and needed in the work of the Shanghai Unit and also that the Ginling calendars are being sent to New York for use there. Between five and six went over to call on Yang Li-ling, now Mrs. Chang Rui, whose husband is a member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She now lives in a house just to the west of the American Embassy--considered a very safe place. Heard while there that two valuable Chinese bombers were lost last night due to an explosion of bombs. The planes had just been purchased. Also heard that Chuchow and Pukow had been bombed this afternoon. It is rainy and cold tonight. How dreadful if that siren sounded and we had to get up and go out to our trench. I have a heavy coat and a steamer rug ready for such occasions.

Saturday, October 16. The sound of the rustling leaves makes us know that autumn is here and winter is not far behind. It is quite cold this morning and those of us who have enough clothing and bedding to keep us warm by day and by night feel the cold. What must it be for the refugees who are wandering around in countless numbers. Although the morning is beautifully clear, for some reason which we cannot explain, the planes did not come. Worked on business letters for Dr. Wu and for the Curriculum Committee. Chen Yu-hwa, contractor for the Terrace Residence, and husband of Hwang Li-ming, came in to see me this morning. He has recently returned from Shanghai. Reports his children well but he fears that Li-ming may have to have another operation on her breast. He is quite optimistic about the war in spite of the terrible loss of life and the destruction of property. He feels that trained men and industries are being sent to the far interior in a degree that would not have been possible in 50 years of ordinary conditions. He also reported that trained men are offering their services to the Government for \$1.00 per year and are being used in a way that could not be possible in ordinary times. When I talked to him about pushing the work on the Terrace residence, he explained that it is his masons that are holding up the work. They have all gone to inland cities and it is almost impossible to get them back to Nanking. They object especially to working on roofs. Naturally, the contractor will have to pay a higher wage to his workmen and they will give many fewer hours on most days for they spend a good deal of time in trenches during raids. We are very anxious for the contractor to push ahead on the house and take advantage of this fine building weather. As far as I can judge, the only building that is going on in the city is on military and government buildings and that certainly is being pushed. Yi-fang had to act as chairman of the executive committee meeting of the National Women's Organization during its four hour session this morning. About 2 p.m. Mr. Li and I got on bicycles and started out for a ride--it being Saturday and the weather being fine. Went first to see if Captain Stennes was at home, for I wanted to get some news from him. The servant said that he will be in Shanghai for another week. We then turned in the other direction and went to see Miss Lo. We had just gotten seated in her little guest room and she was about to serve us with a cup of tea when the warning siren sounded. Without further ceremony we rushed out of the little house, ran for our bicycles and raced home to the campus. Everybody along the way smiled, they were doing the same thing. We heard no bombs but some say that they saw a huge fire outside of the South Gate of the city. After the release, Dr. Wu dictated some letters--I take them in long hand and not short which is sad for her. About 4:45 p.m. the siren sounded again, but we decided that until we actually heard the planes we would stick at our work of letter writing. By that time Dr. Wu was dictating while I wrote directly on the typewriter. Dusk came, and there was no release siren, and still we continued and with no lights for all lights in the city are turned off until the release siren is sounded. Moonlight came and still we continued to write. Finally we finished the third page by candle light after first seeing that all the window shades were down. The letter was to Rebecca Griest and we were determined to finish it so that it could go by the China Clipper. Supper is usually served at 8 o'clock but tonight it was not until 7:30 for when the warning siren sounds all fires have to be extinguished. After supper went over to see Yang Li-ling after supper. She has been very ill and her young husband has been very worried. Reuters tonight says that the signatories of the Nine Power Pact will meet in Belgium by the end of October.

Sunday, October 17. Strange to say, it was a glorious moonlight night and yet we had no visit from the planes--to what reason we should accredit our good fortune, we do not know. Yi-fang and I went over to Joy Smith's this morning for breakfast. Joy is living with her teachers and a few students in one of the student dormitories, but goes back to her own home each

morning for breakfast--the rest of her meals are Chinese. She feels it is tremendously worthwhile being here and she keeps very busy helping in war relief. They have not yet decided about opening the Bible School. Just before nine we went to the University to the nine o'clock morning service--Yi-fang in a ricksha and I on a bicycle. Searle talked on "The Value of Truth." Perhaps there were forty at the service--the message deserved a much larger audience. How quickly people adjust themselves to a new situation. Dr. Chen in the beginning of the service announced, "If the siren sounds during the service, we will continue until the "urgent" signal, then go to such and such a room in the basement and continue there." At 10:30 I went over to the Drum Tower church to the regular Sunday morning service. It was a very good audience, about 50 being present. The prayers offered at the Communion Service impressed me by their earnestness--they were no mere words. Life has come to have a fuller, richer meaning for all. At 2 o'clock we had a very good service over at our Neighborhood School with Pastor Li again beginning with an excellent talk for the children. The women report that kitchen fuel for Chinese stoves will be very high this year for they say they will not be allowed to cut the grass out on the hills--to do so would expose the many dugouts scattered through the hills. The shaven hills in the Chinese autumn landscape have always been so lovely and I shall miss them. Again went over to Ming Deh Girls' School at 3 o'clock for the executive committee meeting of the Nanking Branch of the National Christian War Relief Committee. All agree that the refugee problem this winter will be a tremendous one and that it must be attacked on a national scale and that the purpose must be rehabilitation rather than merely pushing refugees from one city to another. Han Li-wu keeps saying that if we can only work out the plan that funds will be forthcoming. It looks as if one of the services to be performed by the Christian Hospital is to take care of the most seriously wounded cases. The staff there are all standing by in a splendid way, both Chinese and foreign. At 5 o'clock, although too tired to go, I went to the English service because Lewis Smythe was to speak and I wanted to add one to what I knew would be a very small audience. As far as I know there are five foreign women in the city--Elsie Priest, Grace Bauer, Miss Hynds, Joy Smith and myself. Mary Twinem is here and doing a fine piece of work helping wherever she is needed--but she no longer counts as a foreigner. At 7:30 p.m. I led the service at our campus servants meeting and called it a day.

Monday, October 18. Early morning conversation with amah. "Miss Vaturin, good morning." "Good morning. Wasn't it fine that the planes did not come in the night even though the moonlight was so clear?" "Ah, they are afraid to come now that we have our new guns," said she with much confidence. Two raids today. Warning for the first sounded at 9:15 this a.m. and for the second at 3:15 p.m. This afternoon we distinctly heard the dropping of bombs down at the military air field southeast of the city. We do not know the extent of the damage. They say that we have had 66 raids to date--the American Embassy count is 72. This morning Miss Li, principal of Ming Deh came to consult me about making a large American flag like ours. The University of Nanking now has 212 students and their Middle School has 113. These are the only two schools open in the city beside the Seminary. I often wish that it might have been possible to have opened Ginling here, but I realize that it is a very difficult problem with girls. Most parents simply would not have allowed their daughters to return--we might have had about 30 students or even less, and how we could have got our foreign faculty here in the face of the Embassy protests, is a problem worth thinking about. Already communications north and to Shanghai are very precarious and uncertain because of the constant bombings. At 5 p.m. went on a trip around the neighborhood. Was impressed anew by the large number of government bureaus and offices that have moved over into this section of the city--each day there seem to be new ones. The dugouts that are now being built into the hills around us are getting bigger and better, deeper and more bomb-proof each day it seems. Many of them have two entrances and are very carefully camouflaged with grass and trees. It is cold tonight. Today Dr. Wu sent a copy of our revised budget to New York. In spite of our drastic cuts, there is still a deficit of \$11,000.00. I think I told you that faculty who are on assigned work are getting 60% of normal salary, and those not doing work are getting only 40%. Today's paper says that of the employees in Greater Shanghai, those who were getting less than \$50.00 per month, are being cut to \$15.00 and those who were getting above the \$50.00 per month will receive \$30.00. One hears remarkably little complaining about salaries. Rumor reached me today that Yenching has been closed because of the large number of their students who have been arrested. I do hope it is only a rumor. A letter has come from P.U.M.C.

in Peiping saying that their work is going along well and not mentioning Yenching.

Tuesday, October 19. From 2-4 a.m. we were in our trenches. It was a beautiful moonlight night. My, how difficult it was to pull oneself out of a warm bed to go out into a cold trench. Just as we thought that surely the bombing must be over and we would go back to our beds, we heard it very distinctly again to the southeast of the city. Must have been at the airdrome again. We hear that the Chinese are using dummy planes to deceive the enemy. At last the release came and we went back to the dormitory, and I was almost asleep when it sounded again. Again we got up and dressed and went out to the trench. This time we stayed there only about an hour when the release came. If I were a Robinson Crusoe on a desert island, I certainly would not get up in the night--but as it is I go meekly out for the sake of my influence on others. Had just reached my office and gotten to work when that terrible siren sounded again and we soon heard bombing at the air field again. Madame Ma, the Mayor's wife telephoned Dr. Wu that the military airfield was bombed and that the planes seemed to have come from Haichow. Just after we finished the noon meal, about 12:45 the siren sounded for the fourth time today. This time we went to the basement of the Central Building. There was very loud bombing seemingly quite near. By 2 p.m. we were released. This afternoon Lao Shao is putting his first chrysanthemums in the Quadrangle. He feels badly because there are so few here to enjoy them. At 5 p.m. I got on my bicycle and went over to see Lillian Yang Chang. They persuaded me to stay for supper which I was glad to do for I get tired of staying on the campus. Mr. Chang, her husband, is one of the nine new ministries created for this period of emergency. He is very pessimistic about the outcome of the Nine Power conference which is about to begin in Brussels. He feels that Japan is hopeless and the grip of their militarists is too strong to be lightly released even by western nations without the use of force. If their civil leaders were stronger there might be some hope but now now.

Wednesday, October 20. No raids in the night for which we are grateful. Today is another perfect autumn day. By the time I had left the dormitory at 9 a.m. the first warning had sounded. I went at once to Helen Loomis' office and began to work, thinking that I could accomplish a little before the "urgent" sent me to an inner closet. The "urgent" finally sounded but since we did not hear any planes we kept at our work. We keep the janitor out at the front door to listen for us when we have the typewriters going. Dr. Wu is working on a cable to Harriet Whitmer giving her the approval to accept a position in the Christian College for Women in Tokyo. Also gave me the outline of a letter to Harriet and Miss Shipman. Since so many of her letters addressed to individuals have not reached their destinations in Japan we are trying one that begins "Dear Friends" and then we will send two copies. General letters seem to have more success in arriving at their destinations. Spent part of the morning hunting harmony textbooks and getting them off to Catherine in Wuchang and some personal music off to Esther in Chungking. It was well that we ate our noon meal promptly at 12 for at 12:25 the siren sounded. By 12:45 there was fierce bombing at a distance-- it is difficult for us to distinguish the exact direction. The campus policeman who dropped into our East Court trench said it looked as if there were 30 planes. They flew high and there was little anti-aircraft shooting. We were released at 1:30 p.m. This war is bringing in the reign of democracy. In my trench we sat in this order, carpenter, day school teacher, amah, myself and policeman. This morning an American sailor lad came from Hsia Guan for some of our lettuce. Said that yesterday he saw J. planes drop 12 bombs in their attempt to destroy the ferry wharf, six of these dropped into the Yangtze River and six on buildings near the wharf. He said that if he had his way he would have all makers of bombing planes and munitions taken out and shot. He finishes his term of service next year and says he expects to leave the navy forever. Would that all army and navy boys in all lands felt like that. Between five and six this afternoon I rode over to visit with Mrs. Edward James. She reported that the Seminary has 24 students and that all 7 of their seniors are back. The British Consul is very angry because the James' returned--they did not get permission from him to do so since they said that they were merely returning from their summer holiday, and he insists on their leaving at once and going either to Wuhu or Kuling. They are trying to get him to relent but think that in the end they will have to go as he is very firm--she thinks that a British Consul has a right to arrest or deport. As I went out from Ninghai Road onto Canton, I counted 12 cars standing near houses in that vicinity. That indicates how many government organizations are now in our immediate vicinity. Alas I am sorry that we have

had such a good reputation for it is now working to our injury. If we were in danger they would not have wanted to come.

Thursday, October 21. Another perfect day as to weather with glorious warm sunshine and the first beginnings of autumn colors. More chrysanthemums have been placed in the main quadrangle now forming a large rectangle. Strangely enough there were no planes in the night although the moonlight was perfect for them. Am now eating my breakfast in the "400" dining room. There is but one table of us there for breakfast--Mrs. Tsen, her assistant, Wang Ming-djen, Chen Lan-ying, Hwang Dzun-mei and the day school teacher. It seemed too unsocial to continue eating my breakfasts by myself down in my sitting room. At 9:30 this morning the warning signal came but no planes came and so none of us stopped our work. Dr. Wu is now busy on plans for our 22nd annual Founders' Day. She has been working on the list of Board members and alumnae and their husbands who are probably in Nanking. She is inclined to think that since we have cut out all expenses for Founders' Day that we better not try to have the meal together. I have begged for it for it means much more in real fellowship even though it may be a very simple meal. This morning I have written to alumnae groups in Changsha, Kuling, Kiukiang, Hwai Yen and Chungking suggesting that they try to have something to remember the day. To our great surprise we found that there are 24 in Changsha. Recently a letter has come from Lu Shuh-ying who is in Changsha saying that they have organized an association and that Pan Gwan is the chairman. I had previously written to the units in Shanghai, Wuchang and Chengtu. We long to send word to Tientsin and Peiping but feel that it is wiser not to do so for fear that we may get them into trouble. On October 30 and 31 the Ginling women--May I say family--will be widely separated yet bound together in spirit in their remembrance of the vision and faith of the Founders of the College. This day will mean much more to the alumnae in the various cities because of the presence of faculty and additional alumnae. Exactly at 12:25 the warning signal sounded again--it has been so for three successive days now--and soon the "urgent" followed. We did not wait long for the low buzz of the bombers to be heard in the distance. There was bombing yet again at the military air field southeast of the city. I wonder if there can be anything left out there but craters in the earth. This time they also seemed to circle over our part of the city several times, but they were very high. I may be wrong but my guess is that they were taking pictures again. I venture that we shall hear from them soon. At 3:15 p.m. I went over to our Neighborhood day school. Six neighborhood women were in one room sewing on padded garments for wounded soldiers, and ten pupils were in the adjoining room also sewing. The latter have now made more than 40 garments and are very proud of their record. Hu Da-ma asked me if it was true that all the nations were meeting in two days and that then there would be peace. It was what she had heard about the Nine Power conference. I told her that I wish that it were even as she said and that we should all pray most earnestly that in time peace would come. A fine letter has come from Florence telling about the Shanghai Unit. At the end of two days of registration, they have Total registration of 48. At University of Shanghai there are 16 and at St. John's there are 32. By classes they are Seniors-13, Juniors-14, Sophomores-13 and Freshmen 8. A long letter has just come from the Wuchang Unit giving their history up to date. At 4 p.m. went over to Mr. Buck's home to attend the weekly meeting of our self-appointed publicity group. Ten of us were there. Bates and Ma are going to try to draft a plan of constructive action which we hope the Chinese delegation will consider before going to Brussels. We all are to meet to discuss it on Monday. Lewis Sythe was later added to the committee of two. We realize that such a statement will not be adopted in toto but if it is considered by the Chinese officials it may be of value. It is at least worth trying although it will take hours of time of busy people. Let us hope that the beautiful moonlight night will not entice the J. planes tonight. Later. Mayor Ma told Dr. Wu that in the fierce bombing which we heard this morning 39 bombs were dropped on the military air field. No planes were destroyed and no persons killed--such is the value of trenches for the latter--but offices in the immediate vicinity were badly damaged.

Friday, October 22. A glorious moonlight night and they did not come. We are at a loss to know why. The whole morning too was free for work. At 12:25 noon we expected them but they did not come. We went to our noon meal even before 12 o'clock and at the table all ears were out for the warning siren--every sound of a distant boat or train startled us and made us say "There it is"--but the siren did not sound. Another long letter from Shanghai group. They have started plans for Founders' Day and it sounds as if it is going to be a very fine program. They have decided to have it out at McTeyre School. Let us hope that that district will be fairly safe--

it looks as if fighting is moving in that general direction. They have decided to have the exercises on Sunday afternoon as some students have classes on Saturday afternoon while Saturday evening is not safe. We have been scolding them about the casual way they go up to the roof tops and watch air raids and what seems to us the careless way they wander down streets to do shopping. It is difficult from this distance to know what the actual conditions are in Shanghai but we have a feeling that the less you are on the streets the better. Meekly they have promised to be more careful. This afternoon, Francois Chen, the business manager and I have made a general inspection of the front part of the campus beginning with the gatehouse. For more than three years I have been wanting to help him start this plan but have never seemed to find the time. A week of warning has encouraged the gateman, the electrician and the carpenter to do considerable cleaning. We were interrupted in our good work by the warning signal which came about 3:30. The bombing which followed seemed very heavy and again seemed to be down near Pukow. Perhaps they are still trying to further wreck the ferry wharf or the railway station. Recently it sounds as if they release all the bombs at one time so the noise is terrific and heavy. All indications show that the J. air force is making a consistent and tremendous effort to destroy all communications. They repeatedly bomb railway stations between here and Shanghai and also between Pukow and Tsinanfu. Think of that nice Taianfu station being destroyed--ah, but no man can destroy that lovely view of Tai Shan. A letter has just come from the Wuchang group asking for college songs. They too are beginning to prepare for a Founders' Day remembrance. From 4:30 to 6 p.m. I spent in the attic of the South Hill residence looking for warm clothes for Ruth. This is the worst of all years for us that this evacuation could have come for everything has had to be piled in the two small attics and all the bedrooms cleared for the painting of the floors and closets. You look in vain for a belt and then decide that perhaps she has it with her, for a collar for the dress and then decide that perhaps she does not wear one with this particular dress.

Saturday, October 23. We are beginning to wonder why we are blessed with such undisturbed nights at a time when the moonlight is so gloriously clear and bright. This morning is again the beginning of a perfect autumn day--the kind of day which lures one to the open hills and woods. I must go to Spirit Valley even if I have to go alone. Raids began early this morning--8:45-10:45; 11:15-11:45, and again at 12:15. We expected the latter at 12:25 as that has been the time for the past three days, but they came early today. During the first two the planes did not come within sound of Nanking and we have not yet heard where they carried out their fiendish work, but during the third one we heard severe bombing outside of the city--we differ as to the direction. They have been flying so high recently that anti-aircraft guns do not even try to reach them. This morning Dr. Wu and I worked for almost two hours on a letter to the Board of Founders. She hoped to send it off by air mail this afternoon--how grateful that we can still send in this way. I spent some time in the Music Building trying to make a collection of college songs. Both of the Ginling centers will want them for their Founders' Day celebration and at other times as well. Also wrote invitations to foreign guests in Nanking whom we are expecting to invite to the simple fellowship supper that we are intending to have. Chinese invitations are being prepared for all Chinese guests. At 4 p.m. went out bicycling to the region back of the Guling temple. The pistachio trees are beautifully red. Nanking streets give one a queer feeling--I miss the red roofs and the many white houses--almost all now are a dull drab color. It seems almost like a city of the dead for I saw no people on some of the roads and very few on others. Back of the temple I visited in several very friendly homes. How the common people long for peace and normalcy and so many ask me in a naive way when peace will come--just as if I knew when this crazy thing will stop. One group of country men were digging a dugout for a military group--it was literally a tunnel through quite a hill. In the center the men said that it would be more than 40 feet below the surface. The clay through which they were digging was tough and hard--almost like rock itself. These workmen said that they were receiving a little more than one dollar each day. When I laughingly said that they were growing rich, they said they were too poor for that to happen. I have been told that some of the men work on both shifts during the 24 hours in order to make the extra money which is possible for them. I feel sure that I would be stopped for a spy now and then were it not for the fact that a number of the country people know me or of me. Mr. Caldwell of the University faculty has just returned from Shanghai where he saw his wife off for America. It took him 44 hours to make the return journey which normally takes about 6; you remember that on the Capital Flyer we could even make it in less than 5 hours. Thirty hours were used in reaching Soochow. His

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deepest impression was of the indomitable courage of the people. A station is bombed, a piece of track blown up and as soon as the planes have flown away the workmen come out and repair it and in a few hours trains are running again. He saw many wrecked cars along the way and it seemed to him that many of the stations were partly wrecked. I heard from another person who is in a position to know that there are still 8 stations between here and Shanghai that have not been bombed but I take it that they are small stations.

Sunday, October 24. In order to break the monotony of the weeks, Joy Smith has been asking me to come over each Sunday morning for breakfast and to bring one or two friends along. This morning Blanche Wu and Francis Chen and I walked over to the breakfast party. Mr. Fu of the National Park gardens was also there and had breakfast with us. He reported that several of his workmen had been killed by the bombing but since they have made their dugout all have been safe. You remember the night that 39 bombs were dropped out in that direction? He said that the force of the concussion of air against their bodies was unbelievably strong, you felt that it might break your bones. One of his very valuable assistants was killed on a train down near Wushih when he was returning to Nanking. Mr. Fu felt that this young man was a great loss. This morning very soon after the service at the Drum Tower church began the warning siren sounded. The pastor announced that he would continue until the "urgent" came. When it sounded in about 10 minutes, Pastor Li said to the audience, "Shall we continue our service or go to a dugout?" One man in the audience said "Continue", and we did so. When the bombing could be plainly heard inside of the city, the pastor stopped preaching and asked all to pray silently for peace. When the sound of the bombing ceased and the planes flew out of the city, the service continued. I know that the pastor is rather a timid, nervous man, but certainly he went through that service courageously although his face looked pale at one time. How meaningful were the prayers, the hymns, the sermon! Life is real and life is earnest these days, I can assure you. The neighborhood meeting in our day school for women and children was held as usual at 2 p.m. Again at 3 p.m. the Executive Committee of the Nanking Christian War Relief Committee met at the Presbyterian Girls' School. It was announced there that \$1500.00 gold had been cabled from America for the use of the University Hospital during October, also more than \$4,000.00 Chinese currency has been raised by Mr. Han Lih-wu locally among the Government Ministries for the hospital and refugee relief. The Shanghai Rotary Club is giving \$750.00 to purchase a secondhand chassis and to make it into an ambulance. It was voted to send Pastor Chu Chi-chang out to Tsai Shi Gi to see how badly people there have been injured in a recent bombing which is reported to have killed many civilians. Strange to say it was Tsai Shi Shi where one of our neighbors told me yesterday that he had sent his son and grandson thinking that of course it would be safe. The fighting around Shanghai is terrific. One report is that thousands of Chinese soldiers are killed each day in the fierce bombing of the airplanes. And the sad part is that it is often days before the wounded can be adequately taken care of. John Magee gave a fine sermon in Twinem Hall this afternoon. Dr. and Mrs. James were there but reported that they would have to leave for Wuhu this coming Wednesday-- the British Consul is adamant on the subject. It is a good thing that we did not try to bring in the British members of our staff if that is the way he feels and acts. For a long time I have been wanting to get Miss Lillian Kirk in to help Dr. Wu. Our Campus Servant's meeting at 7:30 had a fine spirit. Sundays are full days with little time for relaxation and reading.

Monday, October 25. Another perfect autumn day. The wanderlust is upon me, but I am a coward. I am afraid to leave the campus for a walk out to Purple Mountain for fear that something might happen--and then, think of the scholdings I would get. The things that would be said about "that woman" are legion. Yi-fang spent from 8-12 this morning in a special meeting for the National Women's Organization and I spent the time on letters to alumnae and appointment work. Part of the afternoon and evening were spent in writing an article for the Educational Review. At 4 p.m. the Self-appointed Publicity Committee had a special meeting over at the Buck home. We met especially to consider a draft on "A Memorandum Concerning the Position to be Taken by China at the Nine Power Conference." Bates, Ma, Smythe and Han have been working for days on this and have formulated a very reasonable plan--at least it seems reasonable to us. The purpose is to present it to some "key" men in the various Ministries with the hope that they will find it suggestive and helpful in formulating China's position at the conference. Later it may be presented in a shortened form or even in another form to the British and American Embassies, or rather to key men there. There was quite an earnest discussion on parts of it-- but certainly the Publicity did not divide on the basis of western and Chinese members.

Will western or Oriental psychology be the best to follow in formulating any proposal-- that is the question? Authentic word has come through that Chee-oo University in Tsinan has closed; that the Medical School has been moved to Chengtu to cooperate with West China Union University Medical College and that President Liu has left Tsinan. It started out so bravely in September, little dreaming that this would be the outcome of its brave stand. A few westerners are remaining on the campus--probably with the hope of saving the equipment, library and buildings, if possible. Being late for my Chinese supper which is served promptly at six o'clock, I suggested that I be invited to stay for dinner at the Buck home. Wilson, Thomson, Caldwell and Brannon, the new English teacher, were the only ones there for supper, the other three being invited out. It was good fun to eat with them. How those men miss their wives and babies. Caldwell told us something of his recent trip from Shanghai. Again he said that the predominant impression of the trip was the courage and patience of the people--the ordinary people. The trains travel by night and stop at small stations by day. As I heard him talk I wondered why the railway authorities did not try to camouflage the coaches. People say, but I myself have not heard them--that each night they hear the sound of Chinese bombers on their way to Shanghai. I have been told that 1500 badly wounded soldiers were brought in to Nanking today. Fighting in the Shanghai area continues to be very fierce and there must be heavy losses on both sides--and the results? Hatred will grow deeper and longing for revenge more powerful--that is always the result of trying to settle questions by the war method. I must say again, however, that I think it is quite marvelous that one hears so little of hatred from the Chinese.

---To be continued---

M. V.

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Tuesday, October 26. A quiet night for rest and a clear morning. The weather is warm and balmy. Spent most of the morning working on an article for the Educational Review entitled "The Present Situation of Ginling College". Dr. Wu has spent most of the morning in a committee meeting for the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief". Today's paper from Shanghai reports very severe fighting in that area. The loss of life from bombing and heavy artillery must be beyond our realization. My Chinese teacher this afternoon says that the Nanking Chinese Daily reports that the Chinese troops have been forced to withdraw slightly.

2:30 P.M. The warning signal sounded, soon followed by the "urgent" and then bombing soon followed. We do not yet know the exact location. Over at the Embassy, especially the newspaper representatives stand out on the lawn and watch the bombing, but here on our campus, largely for the sake of others we curb our curiosity and go to the basement or trench. At 4 P.M., a second warning but no bombing followed. This evening at 7 P. M. Searle Bates and I had a Chinese dinner party, the purpose being to make it possible for certain foreign newspaper men in the city to meet Chinese officials who know facts about the present conditions in industry, transportation, communications, etc. Those present were Durdin, New York Times; Eigner of a German News Agency; Franklin Ho of the Economic Division of the Military Affairs Commission; Ong Wen-Hao, head of the Defence Industries, two men from the Ministry of Railways; Emory Luccock of the Community Church in Shanghai and Dr. Wu. Luccock is preparing to go to America to speak in behalf of China and has come to the capital for interviews. The Chinese men present were not discouraged. Admitted that they were pressed hard but that they were getting invaluable experience that would remake the nation. Before they have been academic minded, but now they are willing and eager to face the realities of a situation. Franklin Ho estimated that 100,000 Chinese soldiers have been wounded or killed to date in the Shanghai area. One problem that needs to be faced is how to reorganize the wounded soldiers after they recover and get them back into the army. The tradition seems to be that after a man has once been wounded he is free from army service. Was sorry to see that they did not have much hope in the Nine Power Conference. Personally I never cease to have hope in the League or similar organizations. Strangely enough I have found little hatred among the Chinese in this crisis. I marvel at it when I think of my own country during the Great War.

Wednesday, October 27. Because of the terrific fighting down in Shanghai area and the concentration of bombing planes there we have had a day of peace. When such a free day comes you begin to wonder if you will recognize the siren the next time it sounds. Yi-fang again in a committee meeting most of the morning discussing war relief, especially how they can secure and get relief to the wounded soldiers. The meeting began at 7:30 and she said that when she got down to her office, Madame Ma, the Mayor's wife was already there. I did letters, back ones that have been waiting to be done, wrote minutes for the executive committee of the Nanking Christian War Relief Committee, and a report for the National Christian Council in Shanghai. Word is slowly coming through that Tazang is being given up. We are fearful for the group of Chinese soldiers at the North Station. It is difficult to realize how all that area of Shanghai looks and how fearful the destruction must be. How long, how long will free peoples, and thoughtful people too, permit a madness like war? The suffering that is going on there constantly is always in the background of my mind. After the noon meal for two hours I worked with the chrysanthemums, arranging a display of them in front of the Central Building. It is the least I can do after the gardener has worked so faithfully on them for months. They seem to be particularly beautiful this season. When we were arranging them the gardener would say, "Now this is Mrs. Thurston's favorite," or "Miss Chester liked this low kind", or "This is the variety that Mrs. Lin gave me two years ago". And may I digress from war by saying just a few words about Lao Shao, the gardener, for some of you know him so well. He simply cannot understand this war and refuses to believe that it may last a year or perhaps longer, - to him that seems im-

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possible and so he goes on planting peas and cabbage and lettuce for next spring. There is not a lazy bone in his body, for I have watched his industry for twenty-four years, Did his courage match his industry he would be brave indeed. He and his family during air raids now are occupying their third trench, each one deeper and stronger than the one before. Most of you know that he lives in a little house which has been built out of the old infirmary and that it is located on the hill back of the campus. He says that the firing from the anti-aircraft gun on Tsing Liang Shan is particularly loud back there. One day he was in my office giving me a garden account when the siren sounded. A queer look came into his face and he said "yao ming" which being interpreted means "wouldn't that get you?" and off he hurried to his family and his trench. No raids today, but if we could prevent those in the war area from getting so many, I think we would be glad to take more.

Thursday, October 28. One warning this morning but nothing happened so we continued with our work. How revealing it is going through another's trunk and bureau looking for things that are not in the place they were said to be in. I vote for an iron clad rule saying that a parson must label all her baggage and leave keys in treasurer's office before going away for a summer holiday. Just before noon today two truck loads of boxes came into the Quadrangle - comforts for the soldiers, ordered by the National Women's Association and sent to them by the women in Hongkong, such things as medicines, under clothing, flashlights, etc. The Hongkong Chinese women have raised \$180,000.00 for the War. Women on our campus and others will have these boxes opened, put the materials in small packages and have them sent directly to the soldiers at the front. Evidently these things came by boat from Hongkong and by truck from Shanghai. Word is beginning to come through of the retreat of the Chinese army, or rather the withdrawal in the Shanghai area. We have known for days that the fighting there has been ghastly and fierce. My tables mates were depressed and there is very little chatter today. At 4 P. M. we had a very important meeting of our informal Publicity Committee (The group of Chinese citizens and friends of China that I have mentioned before). Han, Ma, Bates and Smythe have been working hard on a constructive list of suggestions for presentation to the Chinese officials in preparation for the Nine Power Conference. It may seem like presumption yet we hope that the ideas may be helpful. During the week they have been able to interview a number of important officials and tonight more will be interviewed, since tomorrow morning at seven o'clock there is to be an important meeting of the highest military officials who will discuss this very question. Dr. Wu can easily get in touch with Minister Kung and Madame Chiang which is most important. Mr. Han has worked slavishly in getting the material put into good Chinese and having both the English and the Chinese mimeographed. There was a faculty meeting tonight, of the women faculty, to complete our plans for Founders' Day. Eight were present. Four committees were appointed and we will get to work in earnest tomorrow. Dr. Wu is terribly tired. Has had long committee meetings every morning this week, and some meetings in the afternoon as well. People come for interviews sometimes as early as six thirty in the morning or late in the evenings. We are hoping to get her off to Spirit Valley at four o'clock tomorrow afternoon. We may fail but at least we shall try. (Later: We failed; there was a meeting which she had to attend.)
Note: The way I have disregarded paragraphing has disturbed me as much as it has some of you. I have done so in order to save space for one copy of this letter is sent to America by air mail. Hereafter I shall try a better method. You will know that it is a new paragraph when a line is indented.

Friday, October 29. Rained all night and most of today, consequently we have had no visits from the J. planes. I could not but think during the night of the situation down near Shanghai. Papers these last two days have been filled with news of the retreat or withdrawal. We are shocked by the terrible destruction and loss of life, it hangs like a pall over us day and night.

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Spent most of the morning in writing notes to those who are to give informal talks at our Founders' Day fellowship supper tomorrow night. It seems that most of our guests will be alumnae husbands. This morning Dr. Wu and I spent some time in working out a telegram to be sent to our Ginling groups in Changsha and Wuchang. At last the following was sent-

"Our National struggle challenges Ginling family to actively seek and sacrificially share the Abundant Life. Romans 8:35,37 Your Alma Mater" .

Dr. Wu spent most of the afternoon in committee meeting for the Women's National Association. She broadcasts tonight at 8 P. M. and has pitifully little time to prepare. She has begged us not to go to listen in. I have promised and will keep it. She reminds me somewhat of Alice Freeman Palmer in her ability to give a well organized and interesting talk without any preparation. It was this June that she gave a very excellent baccalaureate address to the girls who graduated from the Practice School and it was not until the service was about ready to start that she knew she had to give it for it was then that the speaker arranged for long in advance telephoned and said she had not understood the date correctly.

Saturday, October 30. A dull day with low hanging clouds-the kind of day that we have learned to like. First thing this morning was to get off telegrams to Ginling groups in Shanghai and Hongkong. Yi-fang has just received a letter from Ong Hwei-lan in Hongkong which makes us know that the alumnae there will remember Founders' Day. She was not quite satisfied with the telegram sent yesterday so she has suggested that we send the following one today- "May the Ginling family be worthy of the Founders and College ideals by humbling strengthening ourselves and sacrificially sharing in the national crisis. Romans 8:35,37. Alma Mater".

Another long executive committee meeting of the Women's Association this morning. Many huge boxes have come in from the women in Hongkong with warm clothing, flashlights and other things for the soldiers. It is quite marvelous how things are being brought through from Shanghai in spite of the vigilant and persistent work of the aeroplanes.

A letter has just come through from Mr. Creighton in Peiping. It clearly indicates that he knows nothing about our conditions here. He is telling us how to manage our furnace in the faculty house and seems to think that all faculty and students are back on the campus as usual. Little does he realize that not one furnace on the whole campus will be in use this winter or rather this semester, and of next semester and its plans we know nothing, as yet. His letter was dated October 19 and reached here the 29th. A young woman of the New Life Movement had her noon meal with us-she helped to unload boxes this morning. She said that 3,000 wounded soldiers were brought here yesterday from the war front. Some had been without food for four days and were in a most pitiful condition.

Such a good telegram came in from the Wuchang group today which read "Dispersed but not dispirited. Through one faith, one hope still one. Long Life to Alma Mater." Never have we had such a Founders' Day. Not a student was present. How we missed them and the many members of the faculty family as well. There was no clever banquet program this year and no class songs between the courses. Even our singing was not a success for there is not a person left on the campus who can sing nor one who can play. But nevertheless we are glad that we had our fellowship supper together for all the guests said that they enjoyed it. There were 36 of us who sat down at the six tables which had been arranged in the south end of the large guest hall- 18 men and 18 women. The beautiful chrysanthemums were as usual and made the hall look festive and gay. The program which followed the supper was partly sad and partly jolly, for we feel it is worthwhile to try to forget the national sorrow for a brief

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time. Our program was as follows-

Ginling Facing the Present Crisis	President Wu
Ginling Facing Crises in the Past	Miss Vautrin
A message of Courage and Faith for the Future	Rev. John Magee
Let us not Forget to Laugh. Reminiscences.	
An Experience of Student Days	Chen Djuh-gun (1923)
An Absent Minded Professor	Wu Dsing-hsien
Difficulties of getting a Wife from the Ginling Faculty	Dr. Bates
Difficulties of getting a Wife from the Student Body	Volunteers
Ginling Songs.	

Mr. Magee told how it was faith in China, faith in China's womanhood and above all faith in God that brought Ginling into existence and he stressed how faith in God is so tremendously needed in the present national crisis. Dr. Bates talk was unbelievably funny and gave us many a hearty laugh. Two alumnae husbands told of the difficulties of getting a wife from the Ginling student body. At the close of the day I could not but recall how just one year ago today, Nanking was celebrating General Chiang Kai-shek's fiftieth birthday and it was then that so many aeroplanes were given to him as a birthday gift. What enthusiasm and joy there was on every hand and what a new feeling of loyalty to the nation was being born in the youth of the land. One could feel the "birth of the nation" during those days. Never shall I forget the great crowds that gathered out on the air field. I was living in the Practice School dormitory at that time and I shall never forget the joy and enthusiasm of those middle school girls.

Today's North China Daily News carried news of Madame Chiang's accident. Fortunately the accident was not serious, yet on every hand it has revealed evidences of how deeply the people respect her and how great would have been the loss had the accident been serious.

Sunday, October 31. It rained steadily through the night and gives promise of continuing throughout the day. It will truly be a day of rest for us.

At 7:30 A. M. Elsie Priest, Chen Lan-ying and I went over to Joy Smith's for breakfast. There were four other Chinese guests making it quite a jolly breakfast party. Pastor Tsien, one of the teachers in the Bible Teachers Training School had just come down from Shantung. Although he could not get through by the customary route, the Tientsin-Pukow railway because of the severe bombings that have taken place at various places along it, yet he reached here by another route which has been worked out. All kinds of unheard of ways are thought out to keep traffic moving. A river is blocked here, and a bus conveys the passengers around the obstruction; a railroad is bombed there and a detour journey is made by boat. Where there is a will there is a way, and China is not defeated although she is hard pressed.

The local edition of the China Press says this morning that Yenching has decided to close because of the large number of students who are being arrested. I hope this is a rumor and refuse to believe it until I have more information directly from Peiping.

At 10:30, I walked to the Drum Tower to church service. It was still raining quite heavily so there was much traffic on the roads and many of the stores were open that until recently have been closed. A rainy day is a safe day to leave home and go out on business or errands. Pastor Li announced at the beginning of the service that some people were frightened last Sunday because we sat in Church during the air raid, and that hereafter when the "urgent" sounds we will go next door to the University Hospital

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basement. How lustily people do sing "Lord, Save My Country" and what a depth of feeling they put into each line.

At the 2 o'clock neighborhood meeting over in our day school there were 25 present. The roads are terrible and it was raining as well-both factors seemingly increasing the size of our audience. That was not true in the past. Blessings on Pastor Lee for the thought that he puts into the sermons he prepares for the kiddies. And how they do enjoy him, and they do not forget what he says either as evidenced by the quizzes he gives them the following Sunday. Today a shy little ten year old girl stood up and told very well what the talk had been about last Sunday. I can just imagine how frightened she was.

At 3 o'clock as usual the executive committee of the Nanking Christian War Relief Committee met as usual over at Ming Deh School. We have such busy and interesting meetings for the Christian group is really doing things and it takes time to plan and organize. The Y.M.C.A. is to plan a social service program which they are to begin at once in one of the three large military hospitals in or near Nanking, and the Nanking Rotary is to finance it. One question that almost defeated us was "Where are refugees who have no homes to go to and who are unable to work to be sent?" The Shanghai Rotary Club has given us funds to purchase a second hand Ford Truck and to make it into an ambulance for the use of the University Hospital after air raids. Mary Chen (1923) is chairman of the committee on relief of women and children and is doing a great piece of work in getting clothes for refugees, and also bedding. She is also doing a good deal in having padded garments and bedding made for wounded soldiers. After the meeting went over to the dormitory of the women students in the Theological Seminary where I enjoyed a dumpling or "giao-dz" supper with them. There is an almost pathetic longing for normal happy living for the strain of these days is terrific.

We are watching with keen anxiety the fate of the battalion of 500 in the Continental Godown in Shanghai. It seems a useless sacrifice, yet the influence of it is tremendous- it does something to many people.

At last an air mail letter has come from New York saying that a certain number of my diaries have gotten through. The letter was written on October 19th. About August 15th I sent out over 100 mimeographed letters and up to the present have not heard that a single one has reached its destination. What has happened to them I do not know.

In thought we were with our Wuchang Ginling group this morning at 11 o'clock when we knew they would be having their service together out at St. Hilda's and at 3 this afternoon we were anxiously with our Shanghai Ginling as they gathered together. We are not at all sure that it was possible for them to get together for the fighting out in the area where they were planning to meet was very severe. We know too that other groups were meeting in other cities and our thoughts and prayers went out to them.

Monday, November 1. At breakfast this morning it was reported that the Chinese battalion had been persuaded to leave the Godown after word had gone down to them from General Chiang. They had been allowed to go safely into the International Concession where they laid down their arms. It is somewhat colder today and is clearing. We have had more than two whole days of peace. Sometimes when I first awaken in the mornings and hear birds twittering outside my window, I think it must all be a hideous nightmare- it cannot be true, and that I will surely hear the 7:35 bell before I am ready to go to my first class.

Finished typing the 6th installment of my diary today. This afternoon will write address lists and get one copy off by air mail to New York. What a blessing

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the China Clipper is by getting our letters to New York in 10 days. Each time when I get about half through the copying, and my back aches and it all seems so uninteresting, I think it is a foolish waste of time- of mine and of my friends, and then the rest of the time it is sheer plodding until I finish.

Yesterday morning about 11 o'clock, Yi-fang went out to have a talk with Madame Chiang. She thinks that she is looking much better since her accident. A few weeks ago she looked very tired with great dark circles under her eyes. Yi-fang gave her a copy of the "Memorandum" which was prepared by Ma, Han, Bates, and Smythe, and asked her if she would read it carefully. This morning about 10 o'clock Janet Kung came in for Yi-fang and took her out for another talk with Madame Chiang. She has read the "Memorandum" of our informal Publicity committee very carefully and made only two real objections to it. We are hoping that the Generalissimo will have time to read and think about the Chinese translation of it. We feel that the long hard work of the members of our group who formulated it will be rewarded if it will in any way help China to formulate a reasonable basis for a settlement between the two countries. Would that friends in the States and in England would try to reach a group in Japan and help them to bring pressure on their government to be willing to accept a reasonable solution. A few are already doing something from China to get in touch or rather to keep in touch with people in Japan, but it is very difficult and the greatest care has to be exercised.

At the table this noon it was reported that a western adviser of the Chinese air force had said that if figures were reversed they would more nearly represent the losses of the two nations. That is, to date China has lost about 79 planes and that Japan has lost between three and four hundred.

Shen Pu came into my office about 3 P. M. for a visit. She and her father have just returned from a trip to Shanghai. Came back on a special truck. Got through safely and in good time. She brought us greetings from many of our girls in Shanghai and from Miss Chester. (If you listen you can hear the warning siren. I shall continue to copy this diary until the "urgent" sounds and then I will scamper for a safer place.)

At 4 P. M. Mary Twinem came over in her Baby Austin and took Mrs. Tsen, the latter's daughter-in-law and grand daughter and myself, out to Spirit Valley to see the autumn foliage. How I have been longing to see the trees there. For some strange reason the leaves had not yet turned although it is late. Save for a fair number of soldiers and the many dugouts the National Park looks very normal. I must not forget to tell you that Dr. Sun's Tomb and the arches in front of it are covered with woven bamboo-akind of basket weave - and from a distance you cannot see them distinctly. Central Hospital seems to be empty. We stopped at Madame Chiang's gate and left a package which Dr. Wu had sent to her- a warm bed jacket. No raids today. Nanking is a place of peace, relaxation and beauty.

Tuesday, November 2. Raining this morning and very gloomy and damp. No plane can possibly come today unless it wishes to be shot down. Before this diary grows older I want to clear up a misunderstanding that seems to exist. Frequently we get letters from students and friends expressing deep concern for us on the campus and commending us for our bravery. With the exception of Dr. Reeves in Chengtu and Esther in Chungking, none of our faculty are in a more peaceful place- and as for restfulness we have "space and the twelve clean winds of heaven." Think of the lovely coloring of the autumn leaves, the gorgeous chrysanthemums, the glimpses of Purple Mountain through our trees- all these we have, and - besides we have a very precious fellowship in work together. The air raids have been mainly outside of the city since the end of September due probably to the severe criticism of Western Nations. Nanking has a large number of western correspondents so any raids get world publicity very quickly- in fact the next morning it is in the London and New York papers. Not all cities in China are so fortunate, and

no city has the many anti-aircraft guns that we have. Please do not feel sorry for us.

In spite of the low hanging clouds the warning did come at 9:10. I was talking over the phone to Claude Thomson at the time and he thought that it might be a sea plane for it could not be an ordinary land bomber. Since we have heard frequent rumors lately of a gas attack on the capital I thought that it might be that, for the weather is ideal for gas, I should think. The release came at 9:30 and we concluded that it was a false alarm. (Listen. You can hear the "urgent" signal sounding and the bells ringing.)

Was invited by Dr. Wu to have breakfast with her in the South Hill Faculty residence this morning. Had butter-fresh butter-and toast. They were a gift from Madame Chiang to Dr. Wu and were quite a treat. Still, I enjoy my ordinary Chinese breakfast very well.

Today I had two letters from America- the first ones that have said that my mimeographed letter of August 12th had gotten through. From now on the college lights will be turned off at 9:30 P. M. - one means of cutting down college expenses. Crude oil which the engine uses is expensive and very difficult to secure. Am thinking of changing the name of my diary to "Candle light Musings" for I shall always write it after the lights go out. Tomorrow the Nine Power Conference convenes. How constantly we think of it. It must not fail. Many Chinese are pessimistic about it.

Wednesday, November 3. Again the day is gloomy with low hanging clouds. This morning took letters for Dr. Wu and this afternoon I wrote them out. She has been in an executive meeting of the Women's Association from two o'clock to six. Another false alarm came at 3 P. M. when the sky began to clear. Nothing happened and we inferred it was false or the planes were passing by Nanking.

Sung Ging-hsiung (1935) came in from Nanchang this morning. Says the air field there has been bombed again and again, mercilessly at times for the bombs have been all released at once and came down like rain. The railway station has also been bombed. Baldwin School for Girls has not been bombed but the faculty house for the foreign members of the faculty was burned by an incendiary bomb-whether accidentally or purposely she did not know. Although Baldwin has opened in Kuling, part of it may move back to Nanchang in order to prevent their buildings from being occupied. Dr. Ida Kahn's Hospital which was near the air field has collapsed. The buildings were not new and probably not strongly built. Rulison is open and is getting along very well. It spent \$800.00 to make a dugout for the pupils. Kiukiang has not had many raids. Only the air field and the railway station have suffered.

This noon at the dinner table, Yi-fang confessed to the number of meetings she attended last week for the Women's Organization. We realized it was an unusual number but had not kept count. There were three morning meetings from 8-12; three long afternoon meetings; and three long sub-committee meetings. It is little wonder that at times she looks exhausted.

Tomorrow morning at the Circle there is to be a big mass meeting. We are sending three delegates. It is with regard to Chinese demands at the Nine Power Conference. How I long for sunshine and a clear day tomorrow even if we must take the consequences. Today's N.C.D.N. in its joke column has a very good one- "A United Press message from Brussels says "The Tokyo Government openly has professed that it does not want to crush China but to force her cooperation with Japan and by the same token to force her away from Moscow." From which it appears that China's knees are to be left alone.

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Thursday, November 4. In the N.G.D.N. of November 2, General Matsui is reported to have said that in ten days the city of Shanghai would be completely surrounded and all connections with Nanking cut - subject to the proviso that it did not rain. The weather man is certainly against the General for it poured most of the night and continued to do so.

This noon an air mail letter came from Chengtu telling us that 20 attended the Founders' Day celebration there. Their theme was "The Plant". They had prepared a most interesting program of toasts and songs. Five G.C. students, one faculty and three alumnae were present besides Mr. and Mrs. Chapman and other guests. Their program was hand painted with the college seal in the center.

An air mail letter came from Wuchang this afternoon telling about their celebration. Sixty six alumnae, students and faculty attended the religious service held in the chapel at St. Hilda's. They were all invited to a dinner by the Wuhan alumnae. It sounded like a very happy family gathering. It rained they said, a good fortune in which they greatly rejoined. Their theme was "Birds have Nests" and they too had a number of clever toasts and much singing. And still another letter came in today from Shanghai telling of their celebration. They had planned an excellent program and if all had been well there would probably have been more than a hundred present to hear the address by Bishop Roberts and to attend the tea afterwards. Unfortunately that section of Shanghai was very near to the fighting area and so many-especially students-were not able to attend. As it was they had almost fifty present, mostly hardened alumnae. The program was held accompanied by bombing and shelling by Japanese planes and replies by Chinese anti-aircraft guns. Ruth had to sing the anthem which the glee club was to have sung; and Mrs. New had to play the Founders' Day hymn which she had not tried to play for almost twenty years. They felt that it was worthwhile in spite of the difficulties. Those of us here on the campus feel that we have been having a feast today receiving all three of these letters on the same day.

For sometime this morning Dr. Wu and I worked hard on a method of distribution of the Ginling calendars in order to prevent a large stock on hand that we have been unable to dispose of. We find that there are 1500 calendars in Shanghai for us to dispose of in China.

At our informal Publicity Committee meeting over at the Buck home this afternoon, there was an encouraging report on the use made of the "Memorandum" about which I wrote you last Thursday. A goodly number of high officials, at least have in their hands for consideration and reference-whether or not they use it we cannot say. The hours of toil spent by some members of our group may bear fruit-good fruit we hope. We also discussed what if anything can be done to create a reasonable and receptive attitude in Japan. Several ideas were suggested which will be carried out this week. At least two air mail letters will be sent to "key" men in the U. S. A. to see if they can bring in influence from that direction.

This evening spent some time trying to find and pack warm things for Alice in Tsingtao. I must get the cory to Shanghai at the earliest moment for fear that in a few days I may not be able to get it through that way, as predicted by General Matsui.

Friday, November 5. An uneventful day. Cloudy and damp and cold. Air raids almost seem preferable. Yesterday's N.C.D.N. came in today with the first reports of the Nine Power Conference. On the whole Davis' and Eden's addresses were encouraging. We are eagerly hoping that in the committee meetings they will be able to bring much pressure on Japan. If only news could get through to Japan- but there is little hope of that.

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A friend who spent the summer in Japan, said that with all his China background, for understanding and interpreting events, that after his three month's stay there he began to feel that the Japanese arguments were reasonable- so strong is the power of propaganda. Have done nothing today but work hard as a secretary. Got off many letters regarding the Ginling calendars. At 4:30 went over to the business street to do a little shopping. Would you believe it- the Cash Grocery is again open. Mr. Yao has been down at his old home in Ningpo since in August, and his goods have been stored out in the country not far from Nanking. The notice on the outside of his store says "Fresh Stock" but the goods inside look very familiar to me. His family is still down at his old home.

Yi-fang has gone out to see Madame Chiang on an important errand for the Women's Association. I want to play but do not have energy enough to plan a party- or rather I should say do not have the initiative. We need some of the social members of our staff back here to keep us normal.

Saturday, November 6. Still another gloomy day has passed. Tonight it is raining hard. The sun tried to appear about noon but failed in the attempt. Wild geese were flying south this evening which means colder weather. Poor Chrysanthemums. The driving east wind will sadden them. I wish that I had taken them all inside this afternoon. Had a great time studying Chinese this morning. Over and over again I am struck by the similarity of Jesus' day and today in China.

Dr. Wu again in the executive meeting of National Women's organization all of the morning. They are still succeeding in getting scores of boxes and bags up from Hongkong for the use of the wounded soldiers. Our campus is now busy making bedding for wounded soldiers. Tried in vain to send Alice's cory to Tsingtao by way of Shanghai, and this morning sent it off by way of Tsinanfu. Hope that that way is still open. We were made happy this noon when we heard that Yenching has not closed but is still bravely carrying on. A University of Nanking teacher came through with the word. He said that even as far south as Hsuechowfu he was admonished not to come to Nanking as the city had been entirely destroyed. This morning received a letter from Li Dzeh-djen in Hwai Yuen saying that 10 alumnae and G. C. students there and friends had a celebration of Founders' Day. Mabel Hall surprised them by having had a birthday cake made with 22 candles on it. Good news. Ruth has just sent me three hair nets in a letter from Shanghai. How I have missed them and how untidy I have looked- am I old fashioned? Yes. Yes. It has been as impossible to get them in Nanking as to go to a movie. We have outward peace in Nanking for many days now, but word that comes through from Shanghai and from Shansi is not encouraging. Yi-fang did an unheard of thing today- she actually spent the whole of the afternoon up at the faculty residence arranging a living room. They will be using the library for their living room this winter. They are still living on the first floor, using the studies for bedrooms. They may decide later to move up to the second floor where they would be much more comfortable because of the wood floors. One does not like to think of personal comfort when there is so much suffering on every hand.

Sunday, November 7. Poured steadily all the night and is still at it. Never do I remember having so much rain at this time of year. This morning it was the day school teacher, the assistant business manager and I who went over to Joy Smith's for breakfast. There we found Dr. and Mrs. Price who had returned on Friday, it having taken them 5 days to come up from Shanghai. They came on the first boat up from Shanghai-started the journey in a river steamer, then made the detour at Nantungchow by bus and launch and finally got on a river boat again above Giangyin. They reported that Cheeloo University has actually closed, but that Yenching is continuing, but must be very careful.

A fine group out at Drum Tower Church this morning-more than fifty. The pastor is improving in his sermons and his preaching is very helpful. Times like these challenge our religious beliefs and deepen our faith. I have noticed that the Psalms are used very frequently for texts and in prayer meetings. The neighborhood service this afternoon was very good also. The day school teacher taught a new song. Some of the women said before the service- "Strange how we have changed. Now we insist that bad weather is good and good weather is bad. On rainy Sundays we are sure to go to church." At the Executive Committee meeting of the NCWRC today we formed a new section called, Reception for Wounded Soldiers at Hsia Gwan. A representative from the Y. M., Pastor Chu and John Magee are to get this work started. Ours will be but one of many groups that are interested in this work. The new Evangelistic and Personal Work section formed Sunday reported that they are beginning their work in four centers- three military hospitals and one refugee camp.

Lewis Smythe and I stayed for supper at Mary Chen's home. All eight of the Chen children are now in the city. It was a joy to be in a family that is so thoroughly Christian and happy. Our conversation was largely war and the Nine Power Conference. Four months today since the trouble started. It seems as many years. Can it be less than four months since I returned to Nanking from that happy holiday in Tsingtao?

Monday November 8. Sunshine and clear sky at last, but much colder. Heard today from a person who should know that there are 100,000 wounded soldiers as a result of the fighting in the Shanghai area alone, and an additional 30-40,000 killed. Also have heard that the National Economic Council and the Ministry of Finance have made bomb-proof dugouts at a cost of \$100,000.00. How true these statements are I do not know. These ministries intend to stay in Nanking it would seem. From four o'clock on this afternoon I worked with the gardeners getting in the poinsettias and chrysanthemums for it is getting much colder and will probably freeze tonight. The gardeners say so and they usually know. We are beginning to contemplate putting up stoves. Put on my first layer of woolen today. Wonder how many layers we will have to use this winter, to keep warm. I should have told you that the children living on the campus helped us get in the plants and what fun they had toting them-even the tiniest helped and was very proud of his work. Although clear all day there were no air raids. Several times we had our ears out as it were thinking that we heard the siren but it turned out to be the honk of an automobile.

Dr. Reeves will be interested in the fact that Lao Wu came over this morning looking most pitiful. Says his wife has run off with his little girl and they have gone north across the Yangtze River. Tears rolled down his pock-marked face and his lips quivered as he told me how he missed the little girl; how he had intended putting her in school. I could only comfort him and encourage him to go to the north country and try to find her.

Tuesday, November 9. Spent the morning writing up the report of the celebration of Founders' Day in 1937. Reports have now come in from the seven cities where the day was celebrated. It is thrilling to think that on October 30 and 31 the Ginling spirit was present in groups so widely scattered- from Hongkong to Chengtu. A letter has come from Gao Ren-ying. She says that Dju Luh (1922) is now living in Tientsin. Gives nothing about conditions in the North in her letter. An excellent letter from En-Lan and Cathering this afternoon telling about their Founders' day celebrations. We read the letters in the dining room after supper. At times we laughed and at times the tears were near the surface. We really did have frost last night and today is quite cold. Because of the many days of rain some of our trenches are filled with water. We have not had a paper from Shanghai for two days. We view with alarm the recent change in the strategy of the Japanese army. We fear that some day it may try to come up toward Nanking by way of the Hangchow motor road. Cities like Soochow and Wusih are suffering terribly from air raids these days. Han Fuchu, governor of Shantung is a question mark these days. Will he be loyal to the Central Government?

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Dr. Wu is hoping to get off a letter soon to faculty and to alumnae - but days seem so full of immediate tasks that those that are not so immediate are postponed indefinitely. With the late and slow mails we are beginning to realize that Christmas mail to America must be sent early this year.

Since I have already filled almost ten pages I will draw this installment to a close so that I can send it on tomorrow. In case I fail to get a Christmas message to those of you in America who are on the mailing list for the diary, will you let this bring to you my sincere greetings and that not only you personally but all peoples everywhere, in war torn Spain, in down trodden Abyssinia, and in suffering China may have that peace within which comes from faith in Him at whose birth the angels sang "Peace on earth, Good will to men."

Minnie Vautrin

N. B. Do not print.

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Wednesday, November 10 Spent the entire morning writing up the Founders' Day celebration in the eight cities where we know that some form of remembrance was held. Such an inspiring theme deserves a more able writer than I. The reports that have come in show that the Ginling spirit is National in extent.

About 12:30 the warning siren sounded. Due to rains the sound of it had grown dim in our memories. After the urgent warning there was the sound of heavy bombing which later reports said were again at the Military air field.

Has any one ever made a study of rumors? At the noon meal today one person reported that she had heard that beginning Friday there are to be four or five days of incessant bombing. I had heard there was to be 24 hours of it.

There is a good deal of fear and uneasiness in the city. People do not quite know what the Japanese army is up to by its new plan of landing in Hangchow Bay. It seems clear that if there is a struggle over Nanking it will be a long and pierce one and there will truly be nothing left but burnt clay and desolation.

From 4 to 6 p.m. I had 12 women guests from B.T.T.S. and Seminary. How they did enjoy the display of chrysanthemums in the Guest Hall! Would that all who read this could see them. Never before have we had a whole guest hall in which to display them.

Mr. Chen led the meeting for campus servants tonight.

Thursday, November 11 Armistice Day! Nineteen years ago today I was in New York City and saw millions go mad with joy. We thought then there would be no more wars, that the war to end war had been fought!

Yi-fang in a conference with Mrs. Wm. Wang, and I at typewriter sending out the report of Ginling Founders Day, 1937, to alumnae groups. No Shanghai paper for four days and no radio on our campus.

At a little after one the first warning sounded, then the urgent came and soon the bombers began purring in the distance. Went into an inner closet when they

sounded nearer. Soon heard great excitement in a neighborhood house occupied by some official group; then heard the dropping of bombs. One Japanese plane had been shot down.

At 4 p.m. went to our weekly publicity meeting. "What can we do further?" was the question discussed. One committee appointed to begin a report or apologetic for sanctions, another small committee to work out a report of what Christians in China are now doing during war. Continued to discuss advisability of a Good-will delegation to Japan and China - not to come under that name necessarily, but a few outstanding western leaders or philosophers the by-product of whose visit would be reconciliation between the two countries. Hollington Tong, the head of the International Publicity Committee wants to meet with our group. Our feeling was that we will be willing to discuss his problems with him next Thursday but do not feel it worth his while to meet with us regularly.

Difficult to get news. Eagerly longing for success of Nine Power Conference.

At 9 p.m., after Dr. Wu had gone to bed, telephone message came saying more boxes are coming for Women's War Relief Association. Later 43 boxes and bags came and were put into Recitation Hall.

Friday, November 12 A rainy day. Probably no raids today.

Our tea party and chrysanthemum display very much worthwhile. We had invited about 50 and 41 actually came - mostly men. It was good to see Dr. and Mrs. Price - how radiant they look! Mrs. Price told me that they keep more than busy all day. Mr. and Mrs. Ritchey were also most welcome guests. Mrs. Ritchey stays in Wuhu - because of request of British Consul, but cannot resist the temptation to come back whenever she gets a chance. There were six newspaper men present besides Hollington Tong, two from Reuters, three from United Press, one from New York Times. They were eager to meet people and of course had a good opportunity. Ambassador Johnson, Mr. Peck and Mr. Paxton came over. Mr. Lane brought Dr. Rice who is a doctor in

a big Southern Methodist Hospital in Soochow. That institution is now moving to Nanking to be used largely as a Military hospital. Evidently they feel it only a matter of time until Soochow is given up.

Conditions are not good. It was stated this afternoon that Sungkiang and Kashing have both been taken. Also that the Wusih Christian Hospital and Church were bombed this morning - I do not know how true this is, or if it was deliberate. No papers from Shanghai for five days.

If only some power would stay the hand of Japan. Must all the eastern part of China be ruthlessly destroyed and must Nanking - which we know will be defended be converted into scorched earth?

To-morrow I have two articles to write, besides Minutes for Executive Committee Meeting of Nanking Christian War Relief Committee. There are so many talents I covet these days - ability to write; to play an instrument; etc. etc.

Saturday, November 13 An Indian Summer Day; ideal for Mountain Day to Spirit Valley or Tsai Shi Gi. If only life were normal once more and that were possible!

Early part of the morning I spent studying Chinese. Mr. Wang is depressed and discouraged by the news in the Chinese papers today. It does indeed look dark. Reuter's telegrams of yesterday and today say that Nantao has been evacuated so that Shanghai is now entirely surrounded by Japanese. General Matsin is also arrogant in his attitude toward the Settlement and what he intends to do. When asked if he intended to march on Nanking he replies "Ask Chiang Kai-shek." Personally I'm glad that the group of Militarists have stated their five demands - if that is what they are planning. The sooner the better. The Nine Powers need no longer work in the dark.

We don't play very much these days and life is pretty serious. However, this noon, Yang Li-ling (1937) and a young June bride who now lives in our neighborhood, invited Dr. Wu, Mrs. Isen, Mary Twinem and me to a crab and chrysanthemum bowl dinner. It was great fun and interesting too. I dissected three crabs and enjoyed them with

the vinegar and ginger sauce. The chrysanthemum bowl actually had chrysanthemum petals in it, and after the crabs we washed our hands in a wash bowl of water with chrysanthemum leaves in it. Instead of tea we had ginger tea. Evidently ginger helps to prevent any bad effect from crabs.

When I came home I taught the gardener how to transplant his sweet williams and daffodils. Mrs. Ritchey brought me the the farmer this morning. She has faith in the future too for she is transplanting shrubs and preparing her spring garden.

Today a group of us arranged to get the Reuters telegrams. It will cost us \$50 per month but we must have news. We haven't had the N.C.D.N. for six days.

To night have been ~~working~~ on an article concerning the work of the N.C.W.R.C. No raids today although clear.

Sunday, November 14 Glorious sunshine. Will probably have a visit from planes today - or it may be that, since the anti-aircraft defense here is good, they may bide their time and prepare other methods "to bring Nanking to her knees."

Church service this morning at Drum Tower was the largest since war began. Must have been almost 90 present. A goodly number of women and girls in audience. It is only a matter of days until they begin to evacuate again. Unusual "busyness" on the street, an unexpressed fear.

At the 2 o'clock neighborhood service there must have been 40 present. Miss Lo and Miss Hsueh brought them over after the service to see the chrysanthemums and then took them down to Practice School for tea.

The Executive Committee (N.C.W.R.A.) meeting at 3 lasted until 6 p.m. Reports of progress heartening. This past week have started to help in meeting wounded soldiers at Hsia Gwan station. Three shifts each day with four in each shift help. 3000 wounded soldiers this morning and 5000 this afternoon. Being evacuated from Military hospitals in Soochow.

This past week has also seen the starting of Social-Service work in Military Hospitals and personal religious work. The latter is largely done by pastors in

city.

Tonight's news none too good. Some feel it is only a matter of time now until the contest over Nanking is upon us. It is coming more quickly than any of us realized.

Dr. Wu gave most of day to work for Women's Association. Going to individuals trying to get them to purchase Liberty Bonds. Several said "Take all I have."

I hope the Army will stiffen and morale go up again.

Monday, November 15 Finished the article on "Nanking Christian War Relief Committee" for China Press this morning. Dr. Wu spent all day yesterday with a group of about 70 who later canvassed the city encouraging people to buy Liberty Bonds. They sold about \$5000 worth. Spent all morning on same work.

About 2:30 p.m. there was an air raid. Vigorous anti-aircraft shooting accompanied it which shook our windows. Later reports said it was again on military field.

From 4 to 6 there were 9 members of our Board present at an important meeting. Decided not to try to move college equipment - it seems there is no available transportation even if we wanted to move. Board also gave College Administration power to make such plans as seem best for period of war. It is almost impossible to make decisions now - factors are changing so rapidly.

Conditions look bad. Rumors and unrest. 200 motorized boats on Tai hu Lake. Japanese army seems to be cutting in north of Soochow. Also looks as if Hangchow will be taken and march on Nanking from that direction. Also cutting across below Giang Yin.

One rumor is that Ministry of Communications has commandeered boats and are moving part of staff out.

Whether or not the Chinese army can slow up the process we do not know; if not it is only a matter of time until Nanking is taken over. Will there be strong

resistance here or will there be a hasty retreat?

Sent off Installment 7 by air mail to Rebecca today. How shall I send other copies in order to make sure they will not be censored?

Tuesday, November 16 What a day! Not the zero hour but the rapid and restless fluctuation that comes before it. Nanking is on the move once more as it was twice in August. Rumors are as thick ^{on our campus} as the bats at dusk.

As I was working in my office, Shih Gan-Liu (1935) came to my office to see me. Arrived late last night from Huchow. Came through by private car for there is no regular means of communication. Sayd Virginia School and Soochow University, which opened temporarily in Huchow, have both suspended for time being. The battle is now 50 li to east of Huchow. Virginia opened bravely on September 1 with largest enrollment it has ever had. Teachers and students of both institutions leaving Lin Mei-li (1936) came in later in morning and is now on her way back to Wuhu where she has been doing social-medical casework since the Nan Tungchow Hospital was bombed. Has been to see her sister Lin Fuh-mei (1928) who has been living in a small city across Yangtze where she and her children evacuated in August.

Later Miss Wu, farmer day school teacher, came in. Says her family home probably destroyed and the remaining members of her family have been scattered. They were in the line of march in Shansi.

Went over to see Yang Li-ling at 5 p.m. Found her packing. Says that Ministry of Education and Ministry of Foreign Affairs are ordered to go to Chungking day after tomorrow and take all valuable records with them. The Military Affairs Commission is leaving - but not for Chungking. Part of staff of each is to remain in Nanking.

Saw two kinds of cars on street tonight - cars with military officials and cars with luggage.

The University for days has been discussing its problem and wondering what to do. Some want to suspend classes for the present; some want to move as a unit to Kuling or Chengtu. The one thing I've been grateful for these days is that Ginling

is not in session in Nanking. University has final meeting tomorrow to decide.

What does the next week hold for us?

Wednesday, November 17 Two years ago today was College Mountain Day when we chartered a launch and went up the Yangtze to Tsai Shi Gi the home of the poet Li Po. Some of you to whom this goes will remember the joy of the fellowship of that day - the college songs, the light-hearted chatter, the beauty of the autumn foliage, the grandeur of the mighty river. We must have faith to believe that such carefree days will return although at the present moment it seems an impossible hope.

Today is slightly calmer. At noon Dr. Wu announced that Madame Feng Yü-hsiang told her this morning that the resistance of the Chinese army is stiffening; that death had been meted out to the small group of looters who proved to be Chang Hsueh-liang's men and that conditions are improved generally. Cannot tell you the relief and joy this brought to Dr. Wu. She was terribly depressed all day yesterday. However the Ministries are still evacuating the majority of their staffs and their records, leaving only a nucleus here.

Last night 50,000 Chinese soldiers came into city and unfortunately they were not assigned places so they occupied empty buildings of their own choosing. Went to Gu I Lan M. E. Church, to University of Nanking Rural Training School, etc. For some strange reason we were spared.

Hwang Dzun-mei and Wang Ming-djen left today. Chen Lan-ying and Wu Yuen-ting go tomorrow so our Registrar's Office will be in Wuchang hereafter. A number of amahs have decided to go. When I heard our P. S. amah was having nervous indigestion at 6 this morning, I recommended she take her son and daughter-in-law up to her old home.

Women's Organization had a four-hour meeting this morning. They are trying to get their many boxes from Hangkong off to the off to the north.

Searle Bates came over this afternoon to ask me two questions that the American Embassy is asking each citizen. 1. Can we leave now or do we feel we are needed? 2. If the city is in great danger would we be willing to go to Embassy bomb-proof

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dugout? We agree in our answers to these. In case the situation becomes anti-foreign and our staying endangers our church co-workers, certainly we would leave, but if we can be of service to our particular groups we desire to remain with them.

You cannot imagine the number of people who have come in today to ask what I am planning to do.

The University after a three-hour session this afternoon has decided to go to Chengtu if they can charter a boat.

Thursday, November 18 Conditions seem slightly improved today although the trek out of the city continues. Almost all who can go are going.

The Seminary is moving to Kuling, hoping to rent the Conference grounds there for their work. Dr. and Mrs. Price are going up with them. (This was a rumor.)

The University after great difficulty in getting trucks sent 60 boxes of their most valuable material to Hsia Gwan this morning. They had to bring the things back tonight because the space they had secured on a boat was taken by an official group.

Dr. Wu is fearfully tired and blue and heartsick. The temporary loss of morale in Chinese army has depressed her. She also is fearful of the decision of the Board to let all our things stay in Nanking and take our chances on their coming through.

Personally I am very eager for her to take a trip up to Chengtu and study the situation there, then come back to our group in Wuchang for they will welcome her help in case they later must move.

At our informal publicity meeting today we heard reports on the plan for a "Zone of Safety." It is remarkable how much has been accomplished. The idea was only mentioned two days ago. An influential international committee was formed yesterday and tomorrow morning will interview the Mayor of Nanking. The American Embassy is willing to help them get through to Japanese authorities later. A vast amount of organization must be done if it goes through.

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There are a thousand unanswered questions in my mind tonight - Will Nanking be completely destroyed or will the Chinese army be forced to withdraw rather than be entrapped? Will there be looting? How long will the fighting last around Nanking? Will there be a long siege?

Although the Nine Power Conference seems to be actively working, will it be in time to save Eastern China from complete destruction? They say Soochow has been terribly bombed and nine-tenths of the people have fled. As I walk about the campus I wonder what it will be like six months from now.

Confidential. At our meeting Mr. Mills expressed the longing that instead of having all educated people trek westward that it would be far better for a group to go down and try to encourage and comfort the Chinese army and help them to see what disorder and looting among even a small group means to China. Dr. Ma and Dr. Wu were deeply interested in the idea and there followed a long discussion. Later Colonel J. L. Hwang was called up and he said he would come over at once - you remember he was in charge of O.M.E.A. for a number of years and now has been put in charge of the Social Service work for the army. He said that the landing of the Japanese army in Hangchow Bay did surprise them and there has been a too hasty retreat from that sector and as a result soldiers and officers are separated. He said new Kwangsi troops are being sent down at once to replace these men who will later be reorganized. He did not think it advisable at this time for the group mentioned by Mills to go down. Hwang suggested instead that a group go down to Hsia Gwan tonight to help take care of the 7 or 8 thousand wounded soldiers there on hulks waiting to go up river. Smythe at once got in touch with 15 University boys and they go down at 9 p.m. to help Magee and Wang Wing who is in charge of our section of this work under N.C. W. R. C.

We stayed for supper at the Bachelor's quarters. Had intended to relax and play games but continued discussion. Read Reuters and listened (not successfully) to Manila and London.

Friday, November 19 "The melancholy days have come,
The saddest of the year
With naked woods and wailing winds
And meadows brown and seer."

'Tis a sad late autumn day. The wind howled all night making a most mournful sound. To those of us in Nanking the world seems a sad and forlorn place.

Confidential. At 8:30 a.m. I had a long conference with Dr. Wu up at South Hill Residence. Together we formed an Emergency Committee that will stay on and try to serve the neighborhood in time of danger and preserve as much of the material Ginling as possible. Dr. Wu is considering going on up to Chengtu to investigate conditions - perhaps soon we shall see more clearly what should be done. We shall go ahead at once and try to pack the most valuable equipment and books and pianos and it may be that we can get them out. Tears stood in her eyes as she dwelt on the way Chinese had treated foreigners in past.

At 1 p.m. went over to listen to Shanghai and Hongkong broadcast. Not a word about the war situation and no mention of Nine Power Conference.

At 3 p.m. went to Embassy to have a conference concerning the protection of the College during the turnover period. An American flag was suggested for the gate. Seals are being prepared by Embassy to be put on American owned property during turn over.

Was told that arrangements had been made whereby four members of staff were to remain at the Embassy. If conditions in the city become too chaotic and dangerous to foreign life, then all Americans are to be taken down to an American gunboat. When I said that I felt that I could not leave my group at Ginling and in neighborhood; that they were depending on me, and that in certain situations they could help me and in other situations I could help them, the person (Mr. Hall Paxton) said, "I envy you that position and I am sorry to have to depend on military means for protection." Am so glad that there was such an evident understanding of my position and that I shall not be called out.

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The "Safety Zone" plan is going along almost miraculously. It will be a great thing to get it settled early.

At 5 p.m. went to call on Miss Lo. Although of little courage, she is a great help to the poor women and girls of the neighborhood these days.

✓ The trek continues but now is mostly rickshas filled with baggage, the past few days it has been cars and busses. ✓

Saturday, November 20 Such a dreary, sad day. It has rained practically all day, and at 8:30 this evening, as I write, it is still pouring and the wind is howling dismally.

✓ Spent this morning trying to get boxes ordered for our library books,- there are practically no boards and no nails to be purchased and no carpenters to do the work after materials are secured- also in getting American flags made to be used in case of emergency on our houses which are on the outer limits of our campus. The assistant librarian and some servants are in the library selecting the books most frequently used by teachers and students. These we will try to pack - if we get boxes.

Sent a letter to Embassy this morning for advice with three alternatives, namely

1. Shall we pack most valuable equipment and get it out of Nanking - in spite of all difficulties of transportation, safe storage, etc?
2. Shall we leave things as they are and do nothing?
3. Shall we pack and store in our basements?

The advice was the third, although the writer says no one can forforesee what is best. ✓

This afternoon spent two hours with Dr. Wu writing an important letter to New York. Air mail still seems available via Hankow and Hongkong for which we are grateful. Have not heard from Shanghai for days.

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The noon broadcast today was a little more encouraging. But what a barren waste East China is being transformed into. They say that Soochow is in ruins.

We understand that many new and swift planes are being assembled these rainy days and that just a few more such days are needed to complete the task. As soon as Lin Sen reaches Chungking the world is to be told that the capital is no longer in Nanking.

The many wounded soldiers in Hsia Gwan are badly in need of help. University students have been working down there all day. 20% of the wounded died last night and some say 30 today. Mr. Li, one of the young janitors and I are going down tonight to do our bit. John Magee, like a good Samaritan is doing his best to help solve the problem. Doctors and nurses from military hospital in Nanking were evacuated before the wounded came in from Soochow, Wushih, and other places.

Confidential

Sunday, November 21 Last night Mrs. Twinem brought us back home about midnight.

Never in all my life will I forget that experience. We found the wounded soldiers scattered rather thickly at the railway station. Perhaps there were 200 there, I do not know. There were no doctors or nurses present and some of the men were in great agony. Bedding was insufficient and ordinary sacks were being used for coverings. There were other volunteer workers there like ourselves, and we did what we could for the comfort of the men. One man whose eye and nose were badly injured was moaning most pitifully but we could only comfort him with the words that they would take him to a hospital as soon as possible. Another man had his leg shot off up close to his hip and the wound had not been attended to for several days. The odor from rotting flesh I can never, never forget. When I reached home I first washed my hands in a lysol solution, then with soap, but the odor still remained. Then I used cold cream and still later perfume but all day today I am still conscious of it.

I wish that all who last July and August felt war a necessity could first have seen that mass of suffering mutilated men of last night. I feel sure they would

admit with me that war is a crime when it produces such results. The soldiers were just ordinary looking men and boys such as we see in our neighborhood. They looked untrained and undequipped for modern warfare.

There was one pathetic man whom I shall not soon forget. When I passed him there on his stretcher he spoke to me begging me not to let them take him to the hospital tonight. Said he was too tired, that he had been travelling for two days in the rain. He said he was in pain and when I adjusted his leg to make him more comfortable I found that his one piece of bedding was soaked. I tried to find other bedding but could find only some sacks which I used. He said the foreign doctor in had been very kind to him and had dressed his wound every day. A smile lit up his sad face when he said "Do you know that on the last day I was there, I told ~~him~~ that doctor if I were younger I would like him for my god father." I wonder who will care for these wounded and destitute during the coming months? They cannot all go west. Will they remain behind and be the pray of opium dens?

Not so many at church this morning - perhaps 40 were there. And only 14 women and children at the neighborhood afternoon meeting. The women are all wondering whether they should stay or go. They are fearful of what may happen in Nanking ~~p-~~ and who dares reassure them?

At our N.C. W.R.C. there were some absent, and of those present ~~many~~ probably four will be gone by next Sunday and yet the work must continue. More and more refugees are coming to Hsia Gwan. Dr. Kepler spoke at the afternoon English service. A helpful sermon. Audience grows smaller each Sunday.

After servants meeting tonight told them of our Emergency Committee on the Campus.

Monday, November 22 A bright day once again but quite cold. By 8 a.m. first warning came but heard no planes. Perhaps outside of city they did their work. About 10 the warning sounded a second time. No bombing in the city. Dr. Wu and I

kept at some letters we are anxious to get to Shanghai by Mr. Kepler who is going down by boat today - the last boat they say. The James and the elder Prices, Joy Smith and Etha Nagler also going down to Shanghai on same boat - the Kungwo which befriended a number of Nankingites in 1927.

Mr. Gale stepped into office for a visit. Has recently come down from Juling. Dr. Gale is working in hospital in Nanchang.

1 p.m. Went over to Buck home to hear Shanghai and Hengkong broadcast. Shanghai broadcast confirms statement that Soochow has been taken. Bitter cold in north. Confidential. Heard the rumor there that Russia has mobilized and therefore Japanese withdrawing. (Mr. Kepler said he was greatly disappointed in Kagawa's attitude. That the latter believes firmly that the war is one of defence and that China started it).

Before the Hongkong broadcast came at 1:30 the warning started and it was not long until there was an aerial fight. One plane fell but we could not tell whose. Japanese planes are cleverly camouflaged with aluminum paint so they are difficult to see. The fighting was spectacular. Looked like new Chinese planes and new fliers. We later heard that two planes were brought down.

At 3:30 we had our first Emergency Committee meeting. Was glad we had it and had time to talk things out. We came to conclusion that there are four separate periods or conditions for which we must prepare. (1) Period of fighting, (2) Period of evacuation of Chinese troops, (3) Period when no troops are in city and probably no police, ~~(4)~~ and unruly elements may take advantage, (4) Period of entry of Japanese army. We cannot foretell what each will be like. We shall do our best to prepare for every emergency that might happen under each period. Some think it will be a week before the fighting begins, some think it may be three weeks - who knows? The committee consists of Mr. Ming, Mr. E. C. Chen, Mr. Francis Chen, Mrs. Tsen and myself. You could see that the Chinese men fear the fourth period most for

they think they may not be able to get out to their families. The University has an Emergency Committee of seven and a total of more than thirty staying which is a great comfort.

Thanksgiving is next Thursday at the American Embassy.

Tuesday, November 23 Cold and cloudy today. One cannot forget the terrible plight of refugees and wounded soldiers. No people would so patiently endure these bitter sufferings as the common people of China.

This morning talked to one campus man, electrician and assistant, and Tung, the gardener. Have heard they all want to go home. Fear is permeating down to even the poor -- and there is little wonder when so many of the better classes have fled from city. The servants are afraid that when the Japanese come they will be made to serve as soldiers, or be beheaded. Rumors are wild.

At 10:45 went over to have a conference with Miss Lo, the little evangelistic worker who lives in model house to west of Ginling. We are asking her to find out - by visiting homes - how many women and children in our neighborhood will be staying on. It will give us some idea of how many will be wanting to come to Ginling for shelter.

Seminary, after trying in vain to get transportation for their group of faculty and students, has at last had to suspend classes and ask each person to be responsible for himself. The boat on which University hoped to get a large group off on Monday was postponed until Wednesday and now they hear it will go on Thursday. It is almost impossible to get out of city and all rates are exorbitant. \$3.00 is being charged to transfer a box from hulk to boat.

Dr. Wu and I purchased three geese from our Poultry Department ~~for~~ sent over to American Embassy for their Thanksgiving dinner and two to Buck home to seven men there. It was the least we could do for many kindnesses shown us during these weeks.

Heard London broadcast concerning Nine Power Conference. Earnestly pray that groups in many countries will now go on, for something must be done. How I wish

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Japanese attitude and fixed ideas could be changed; that every moral force possible might be brought to bear upon Japanese people. Perhaps they can only learn through bitter suffering.

Through Dr. Wu I was asked to go to a reception at Chang Chun's residence (Minister of Foreign Affairs) this afternoon. He had invited all foreigners in the city to meet Mayor Ma. General Tang Seng-Chi, head of military protection of city, and General Wang, Metropolitan Police Commissioner. A talk was made by host assuring us that every step was being taken to protect foreign life and property. Also they started a splendid idea of having representatives of these three important offices at the International Club every evening from 8:30 to 9:30 for conference with any who desire to come. There were about 50 present - representatives from all the Embassies, foreign business interests, a few missionaries, a number of newspaper men, Dr. Wu and myself being the only women. The Chinese present were most smiling and calm even though they are all sad at heart.

Started my stove tonight - it almost seems wrong to be comfortable when so many, many tonight are cold and suffering.

Two warnings today - one at 11 a.m. and one about 2 p.m. but no airplanes at either time. May have been false alarms or practicing.

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Wednesday, November 24 Three raids today. During first two we did not hear bombing, but during last which was about 2 p.m. the bombing was severe. Lin Yü -wen reported about 40 killed or injured. Some of the anti-aircraft guns have been removed to other places.

The campus a busy place. Over in Science Building they are packing science equipment; in library building, the books are being packed. Dr. Yuen is helping with latter and is quite an expert at it.

T. T. Zee came in in course of morning with statement that private banks are moving up river on Saturday.

One o'clock broadcast indicated that the Safety Zone idea has been received by Japanese officials and as yet they have not turned it down. I had not dared to hope that a location in the city would be decided upon but to my surprise they have decided on an area that includes American and Italian Embassies and both the University and Ginling.

Confidential Today we have tried to think through request of the Meteorological Station to put some expensive equipment here for safe keeping. They will either have to give it to us as a gift or we will have to lie about it. They sent over ten boxes and the things were here before we knew they were coming.

Today as I was helping to pack physics apparatus, I seemed to realize for first time what a calamity this is to Ginling and that made me realize what this conflict is meaning to China. Twice now I have heard talk about an autonomous East China. Dr. Wu does not even want to hear the words for they sicken her.

Tonight three of us, Dr. Wu, Mrs. Tsin and I, discussed what we shall do with money that is left for us. Soon there will be no banks open in Nanking. We have decided it is best to pay December as well as November salary to all - staff and servants, put about \$100 in our vault in case that is broken open, and to hide the rest in several places. Checks will be no good for a time.

0976

Many are afraid of looting by Chinese soldiers. Personally I think a tremendous effort will be made to prevent it.

Thursday, November 25 Thanksgiving Day. Clear but cold weather. The annual service of the American Community to be held at the American Embassy at 4 p.m. Searle Bates to make the address. Tea to be served at 5 p.m. Mr. G. Atcheson, the senior of five members of Embassy staff remaining in Nanking, is sending out invitations.

This morning packing of boxes continues. Dr. Wu beginning to pack material from files. F. Chen and I went around campus to make decision concerning placing of four new flag poles. One on the West Hill, one between two men faculty residences, one at gate house corner, one between two south hill faculty residences. There is also a pole at Practice School. Later we went into men faculty houses to see that they are put in good condition and all things placed in attics. In case this is Safety Zone some use can be made of these houses for refugees.

An interesting experience came out of our search for the two sign boards used in the old Ginling beside the front gate, the ones saying "Great American Woman's College." We hunted and hunted for them in the attic where I was sure we would find them. We found two which we used before the college registered with the National Government saying simply "Ginling College" but we could not find the other two. Finally we decided we would take the two we had found. Behold when we picked them out to remove them from the attic, we turned them over and then discovered the "Great American Woman's College" covered over with a coat of red paint. We decided to simply repaint with black background and white characters. Before the Japanese enter we can use simply Ginling College, and after, it may be to our advantage to use the other. Dr. Wu says it is a comic tragedy. As I have been writing this, severe bombing has been taking place. It sounded as if three bombers had successfully emptied their entire bomb racks. Few anti-aircraft and no Chinese planes opposing them. They say former have been taken to more needed places. Yesterday they say their aim was the telephone office. Today it sounded to me to come from direction of water or arsenal works. There probably will be a time when we will have no tele-

phone service, no light, no city water and perhaps no police. ✓

✓ The Thanksgiving service as fine as any I ever remember. 20 present - 5 women.

At 7 p.m. went over to Buck home for Thanksgiving dinner. Charles Riggs, ~~Wickham~~ Han Lih-wu, Elsie and I were guests. Han Lih-wu is responsible for getting Palace art treasures out of Nanking. Strange they have been left here so long. He is taking 100 boxes by train via Hsuchowfu, Chingchow, and another 1500 by a special boat.

Friday, November 26 Am losing all sense of time. It seems years since I returned to Nanking on July 20. There is nervousness in city. Dr. Wu has been urged by Hollington Tong to leave today but she says she cannot.

First thing this morning arranged with "Big" Wang (formerly of Nanking Language School) to bring his family and live at East Court. He has been much worried about keeping his family in his own home, and since Mr. Ming left I have been worried about Chinese letters that will have to be written and also contacts in the city. This arrangement will solve both his problem and mine.

Mr. Ma of the Orphanage came and made arrangements to bring his twenty orphans to our Neighborhood center when it becomes dangerous in his part of the city. The New Life Movement which has occupied our Neighborhood House is going up to Hankow.

Chen Lan -Ying and Miss Wu Yuen-king left this morning with the second University contingent. Heard since that the University campus is almost deserted. Mary Chen (1923) and her mother left today for Hankow. They say the river bank at Hsia Gwan is piled high with boxes and furniture waiting for a change to be taken up river. All the nurses from University Hospital have evacuated leaving 200 patients for others to take care of. McCallum has become business manager and is taking on people. I have recommended one nurse, two amahs and one errand boy to him today.

Noon broadcast indicates that Nichi Nichi is not favorable to Safety Zone. (Confidential). Mills is very much opposed to this wholesale evacuation of Chinese

from danger zone. Feels keenly that China does not deserve to win if she does not get behind the war more than she has up to present.)

This afternoon repacked the registrar's box, packed a box of new books for departments up river. Dr. Wu is trying to work on file - that is to select material she should take. It is a big job and she is too exhausted.

News is not too encouraging today. Many soldiers in city tonight. The last store selling foreign foods is closed. Many people fear looting. I am not packing a single thing because of effect on others. If I lose, I lose all.

John Magee who doesn't believe in war is working like a slave to take care of wounded soldiers in Hwia Gwan.

Twelve private banks are getting on a chartered boat tomorrow. They will not sail up river tomorrow. Money will soon be a problem.

Saturday, November 27 There is no planning of one's time possible these days for the most unexpected events can happen.

At 9:15 the warning siren sounded but release soon followed. We are becoming callous to the warnings.

During the middle of the morning Madame Chiang sent over her piano and victrola which she presented to the College. It means she is planning to leave the city soon, I fear.

Dr. Wu, with many interruptions, is continuing to sort important materials and to pack them. About 11 a.m. we sent off two very important cases of materials from treasurer's and president's office. T. T. Zee took them on a special boat being chartered by the private banks in Nanking.

Hongkong 1:30 broadcast shows England is beginning to question the behavior of Japan with regard to International Settlement. The more boldly Japan plays her hand the better, for it does not leave Western Nations in doubt concerning her real purposes.

At 5 p.m. had meeting of Building Committee. The work on Terrace House has now come to standstill with roof on. At least it will be protected from the rain. We

shall do our best to help contractor protect it from looters. Dr. Reeves' bungalow is almost completed. All construction enterprises in city have stopped.

Seven p.m. found me over at Women's dormitory of Seminary for a dumpling supper. Practically everyone has left Seminary. Their last student, a young woman from North China will come over to live with us at Practice School. She will be good help later. On the way home at 8 p.m. streets deserted save for military trucks. Did not see a single policeman on roads.

Rumor has it that General and Madame Chiang have left, others say they will leave in three days.

Claude says the Butterfield boat on Wednesday is the last to come to Nanking for a boom is being placed in below Kinkiang.

Have not had the Shanghai paper since November 14. Letters to Shanghai going via Hankow- Canton- Hongkong. Can still send airmail - or at least we think so.

Sunday, November 28 Sadness reigns. Some feel the Japanese troops may arrive in three days, others say it may be weeks. Some of the city gates were closed today in order to keep out stray soldiers; wounded are no longer being brought into city.

At 10 a.m. was at a conference over at Embassy. Others present, Some of Seminary; Fitch, Y.M.C.A.; Bates of University, and Trimmer of Hospital. Mr. Paxton spoke of possibility of looting soldiers and the danger to foreigners. Said that as many as possible should leave at once, and those who cannot leave immediately should be prepared to go out when and if Embassy leaves for the U.S.S. Panay. If city gates are closed two places were designated as points for going down over city wall by ropes. Each person was then asked to report for himself and group. Searle and I feel that our responsibilities make it necessary to stay through. Our explanations were accepted and respected.

Less than twenty at Drum Tower Church.

At our neighborhood meeting there were more than ninety - the reason you can

guess - not loaves and fishes, but to find out if they can come to our campus in time of crisis. Our reply to each was - "we shall do our best to protect women and children. Come only when situation becomes critical and bring only bedding and food. No boxes permitted."

At 2:30 as I walked down Shanghai Road to Ming Deh my heart was heavy. Again and again I met groups of women and children in search of the "Safety Zone". They had heard of it in a vague way and wanted to make sure of its location. I could not refrain from stopping and talking to them. I told them it was not yet certain but when it was, they would certainly be notified by city. How like sheep without a shepherd.

to Church service, I walked down Chung Shan Road - main street of city. It, too, is pitiful. Practically all stores closed. Saw four types of conveyances - army trucks with war materials as anti-aircraft guns racing past; automobiles with military officials racing past; northern mule carts; and rickshas moving the poorer people and their belongings.

English service at Buck residence. Eighteen of us present. Plummer Mills gave a very helpful, informal message.

At 6 p.m. went with Lewis, Searle, Plummer and Fitch to a "Press" conference at British Cultural Association. The mayor was present, police commissioner and a representative of garrison commander. The purpose was to give opportunity for questions. The garrison commander gave us posters which ought to help keep soldiers from using mission buildings and private residences. We shall post ours tomorrow. All post offices, excepting Hsia Gwan, closed today. Safety Zone not yet assured. Reuters correspondent suggested to me that if plan does not go through and if we are going to permit women and children to come to College for safety, that we should have our Embassy send that word to Japanese in command. Didn't enjoy being only woman present but felt it was helpful.

Monday, November 29 Last meeting of Emergency Committee with out president. Perplexing problems like these tax our tired minds - shall we lock our vault or leave it open for possible looters? Shall we hide the college money left with us or put it in vault? If we hide it, where? What shall we do with x valuable papers, building plans, etc? Will there be a time when we have no police in city and on campus? Shall we select some of our best servants, and train them as a guard? Members of the committee have promised to make me hide if I become a source of danger.

Men are clearing out lower floor of Central Building for possible use by refugee women - mostly our neighbors. Many men have come today asking if their wives and children can come in case of danger.

This afternoon Francis Chen and I put up notices or proclamations of garrison commander forbidding stationing of troops in our buildings. Before one I went over to Buck residence to listen to broadcast but air raid warning sounded and current went off.

Dr. Wu continues sorting files and selecting papers of value to take with her. Most difficult task, even if one has a fresh mind, but if one is exhausted it is almost impossible. Have just learned that the boat on which she goes is being chartered to take Peiping Palace treasures and machinery from Chemical Plant. It will leave a day later than scheduled.

We are making every effort to get rid of all evidences of New Life Movement left in our Neighborhood House. Tomorrow morning we will burn hundreds of pamphlets they left there, and some of their war posters.

At 6 p.m. Mrs. Tsen went with me to attend the "Press" conference. It is much better to have a companion although men are very cordial. Mayor and representative of garrison commander present. Answered many questions concerning plans for emergency during extra-ordinary times.

Still hope for Safety Zone although Japan has not yet replied. Mayor encouraged. International Committee to continue with plans.

All banks closed in city. Three exchange centers have been opened.

Tonight Elsie turned funds over to me and taught me the combination of the vault. I shall teach Mrs. Tsen the combination so two of us know.

Tuesday, November 30 At 5:30 p.m. today Dr. Wu started for Hsia Gwan, Mr. Caldwell coming after her in Mr. Buck's car. She was to pick up Elsie Priest at the University and the two go down together. They say the boat will go down to Chemical Works where it will load by night, and come back to Hsia Gwan where it will load (about 1000 boxes of art treasures) by day. She could get on on Thursday morning but so many unexpected things may happen that might prevent her catching the boat, that we are urging her to go now. She is worn and tired and depressed. As far as I know Miss Hynds, Miss Bauer and I are the three foreign women in Nanking tonight.

Noon radio says Giangyin city and forts have fallen and Japanese army now working on booms in river. Looks as if Japanese army is also pressing toward Wuhu which will endanger Chinese army if it intends to stay in Nanking. Some think it may not be more than a week before fighting comes to Nanking. James McCallum says he saw such tired, foot-sore men going north toward Hsia Gwan most of day. When they sat by side of road they immediately went to sleep.

At Press Conference this evening at 6 p.m., Mr. Rabe, chairman of International Committee announced the location of the Safety Zone. I dared not hope it would be in city. It stretches from Shansi Road Circle to the Han Chung - Chung Shan Circle, and from street west of Ginling College to the Chun Shan Road, including American, Italian Embassy as well as University and Ginling. Japanese military have not yet approved but plans are going forward to take care of finances, housing, food, and sanitation. George Firth has been chosen head of planning. They say about 200,000 people are left in city. Mayor has said municipality will give \$100,000 and also a large quantity

of rice. There seems genuine interest in the project on part of China.

Cleared all furniture out of large guest hall today in preparation for refugees who will come to us - mainly our neighborhood women and Children.

"Big Wang" moved his family into one section of East Court today. He is most grateful for being allowed to come. Miss Wang of Seminary also moved over today - she being only student left at Seminary.

Our little Homecraft School - now down to five pupils - is probably only school in city now in session. The pupils beg to continue.

Mr. Richey says that the city postal staff has been reduced from 1200 to 600 and that he has chartered a boat where the 600 stay by night. When Japanese take over the city the men will be safe in case there is any question about treatment. No banks open in city. Transportation problem almost insoluble.

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Wednesday, December 1 One signal today but no raid. That is our 103rd signal. We no longer pay attention to them.

Dr. Wu and ^{Priest} Elsie finally left the College about 9 a.m. Last night the boat pulled out just before they reached the wharf hence they were forced to come back to the College to spend the night. I am so glad that ^{Dr. Wu.} she is safely on the boat, first of all because she is so worn and exhausted after the four long months of terrific strain; and, secondly, because I believe she must now turn her thoughts toward planning for the second semester and perhaps next year - and this she would not be able to do from Nanking. Moreover, no one knows when Japanese fleet may come up river or there may be a terrific bombing of the city when no one could get out.

At 10 a.m. was called to Embassy for a conference with leaders of other mission institutions. ^{Secy in US Embassy} Mr. Paxton divided us into three groups - those who can and should get away today on a commercial boat; those who must stay on for time being and will get out the last minute on the U.S.S. Panay - going down over city wall by a rope if necessary; and those who expect to stay through. After we left I asked Searle Bates to which of the three groups he belonged and he said he thought he belonged and he said he was between the second and third - which we laughingly said would be hanging half way down the city wall - a dangerous position.

After Dr. Wu left this a.m. I finished her report to the Consul General giving total evaluation of college property and filed it at Embassy. Mr. Chen and I also went over the campus deciding on places to put up seals or proclamations furnished us by American Embassy. By tomorrow we will have eight flags (American) flying from our campus in addition to the 30-foot flag which is placed on ground in main quadrangle. One tailor in the city spends his whole time making American flags. Ginling has the distinction of planning the first one.

At 11:30 the Emergency Committee met and appointed Mr. Li to ^{organize} ~~xxxxxx~~ six men servants into a police squad, to drill them and prepare arm bands for them; also

asked Miss Hsueh, Neighborhood School teacher, to organize her pupils and older children on the campus into a Service Group for refugees to train them and prepare badges for them. Miss Lo reports that about 200 neighborhood women and children will probably want to come at time of greatest danger.

Took about \$2000, Mrs. Thurston's wedding silver and receipts of college deeds to American Embassy for safe keeping. We have decided to leave vault open. As for me and mine, I think I shall not pack a thing.

At the Press Conference tonight, the Safety Zone was definitely announced and four Commissions named to look after Food, Housing, Finance and Sanitation. City has given rice and \$20,000.

Some men expect Japanese boats in about three days. As we are placing our packed boxes of books in basement and getting rooms in order for possible refugees, Mr. Chen remarked that he felt as if he were preparing for a funeral. It does seem as if the end of all things is near at hand.

Thursday, December 2 There were three raids today but all outside the city. Chinese planes went up and there are various accounts of number of Japanese planes brought down - it varies from one to five. We have grown so used to raids that we now work right through them.

Air mail letters to New York and Shanghai - via Hankow and Hongkong - Heard tonight that there are to be no more mail air planes.

About 11 ^(Matron of Ginling) Mrs. Tsen and I emptied the safe and vault. The valuable papers and building plans we wrapped in oil paper and hid - let us hope in a safe place.

Made a serious mistake this afternoon - took a nap and was so tired that I could not pull myself out of it until most of afternoon was gone.

Again went to the Press Conference at 6 p.m. The Safety Zone plans are going forward. Rice is being brought in - the problem is one of trucks. Word has come from Japan which is ~~xxx~~ being interpreted favorably - there is not much time left

to complete preparations. Word is that the Japanese army is approaching from three directions.

Mary Twinem kindly comes after Mrs. Tsen and me each day and brings us home. Later she stays for supper with us. Tonight after supper Mrs. Tsen went down with her to Hsia Gwan to work with wounded soldiers. I am anxious for Mrs. Tsen to see the conditions as she may be able to help. I want to go again - but there is only strength for so much, and my responsibility comes first for things on campus.

The new commissioner of police came to the meeting. It is reported that 300 police will be assigned to Safety Zone and they will stay through with us. My prophesy is that Nanking will be evacuated early and not destroyed and that there will be no looting. Let's see how correct I am.

Dr. Wu's boat leaves Hsia Gwan tonight, we are told. When she is past Wuhu I shall be relieved. Hundreds of boxes of Palace Museum treasures are on the boat. Dr. Chen is also leaving at this time.

Lao Shao planted peas today - for you when you come back next spring. Hope springs eternal in his breast. In fact, he cannot believe that the old order of things may change - he has followed seasons too long.

Friday, December 3 Very difficult now to get news. Both yesterday and today, when the Shanghai and Hongkong broadcasts were given, an air raid was on, hence no current, hence no news. I can't remember but I think there were two raids today. During the last one there was much anti-aircraft shooting. No Chinese planes were in pursuit which evidently means the planes are not here. Japanese planes very high.

Dr. Wu's boat went early this morning. Dr. M. G. Chen and Han Lih-wu were also passengers, the latter expects to return soon. Am sure Dr. Wu's heart is heavy as she leaves the capital city.

Spent most of day on the Building Committee minutes and file. Have made two complete files and will place in two different buildings - for fear of looting.

Yesterday we cleared most of the furniture from Central Building. Today the men are clearing out two dormitories getting ready for refugees. Some think it will be only a few days, others think it will be ten, no one knows.

The Press Conference tonight was most interesting. The mayor and representative of Defence Commissioner were both present. Plans going forward for Safety Zone. Office has been set up at 5 Ninghai Road - the home of Chang Chün (Minister of Foreign Affairs). Now working on problem of getting sufficient rice into city and zone. Trucks at a premium. Mrs. Tsen succeeded in getting one. Mayor will do his utmost to get a number of trucks tomorrow. Rice being stored in University Chapel. People coming in all the time asking about Zone. Where is it? When can they come? Etc.

Last call from Embassy today. We had to choose one of three alternatives and sign our names. (1) Go now, (2) Expect to go later, (3) Under no conditions leaving. I signed under 3, although if my Chinese colleagues felt I was endangering them, surely I would go.

Still no North China Daily News and no letters, we hear rumors of trouble in Shanghai.

Saturday, December 4 The gate man reported tonight that hundreds of people came to our gate during the day asking if it is true that Ginling is a refugee camp. He sent them all to 5 Ninghai Road where the International Committee has its headquarters. The problem is to get rice into city because of lack of trucks. No salt or oils can be purchased now. The Wu family, sellers of tapestry, came to see me in addition to Liu, from whom we have purchased land in the past, etc.

We continue to move furniture in dormitories to attics to make room for refugees, and also continue to destroy all pamphlets about which there might be any question later. Mrs. Tsen spent the whole morning sorting in Dr. Wu's office.

Sent cable, through Embassy, concerning Dr. Wu to Board of Founders, and for first time I released a news item concerning Dr. Wu and Ginling to five newspaper men. Urgent has come from Embassy to be ready to evacuate with several hours notice. I am glad to receive these notices although I am not planning to go, for it helps to keep me in touch with situation.

At the Press Conference tonight the main thing was the promise of the military to cease all military preparations in the Safety Zone such as digging of trenches, and also to evacuate all military offices. Until this is done the International Committee for the Zone is checked.

A bad air raid this morning down near the south gate. We hear that Italians are helping Japan and Russians help China. Will we be a second battlefield of ideas as is Spain. Let us hope it is only a rumor.

Mr. MacDaniels, United Press correspondent, says that to east of city many beautiful trees have been cut because they obstruct work of cannon. Between East Gate and Tangshan no people are in the villages - all have been ordered out - and the military are fortifying everywhere.

When I think of the vigorous, happy, hopeful, forward-looking Nanking of a year ago I grow sick at heart. Why can't reasonable folk put a stop to war? We could if we would!

Sunday, December 5 About time for us to start to Drum Tower to church, the "urgent" signal sounded (there are no first warnings any longer for the Japanese line is too close to us) and soon there was the sound of bombing. Later in the day Dr. Wilson told me it had been at the "West Flower Gate" of the old Manchu city. I'm sorry to say the brunt of it fell mostly on poor civilians. He told of one

home, where the mother and daughter had been instantly killed, and when he found the dazed father he was holding a little baby, the top of whose head had been blown away. My heart aches for the Chinese soldier. Was told that 50 of them wounded trudged in to city today from a point 20 miles away. They report that many of their wounded companions fell by the wayside.

The University Hospital is desperately in need of doctors and nurses. All their nurses have gone up river and all but one Chinese doctor. Grace Bauer besides doing her own work as ~~lab~~ technician is also dietitian and treasurer, and James Mc has been mobilized as business manager. Mary Twinen volunteered tonight to help Grace.

This morning as soon as the release signal sounded Mr. Li and I went over to church. To our surprise there were 45 present. A Mr. Liu preached a very good sermon. Since the regular pastor has gone Mr. McCallum and I met with a small group and helped them form a committee of three who will carry on the work of the church and provide for Sunday services.

During the day as I have had time I have been making a plan of the buildings indicating number of rooms available for refugees. We are clearing out all the dormitories - putting furniture in attics - and as much of Science and Arts and Central Building as possible. We may even put people in the attics of Science and Arts.

Immediately ~~afternoon~~ meal our Emergency Committee had a long meeting planning for management of refugees. Would that we had more people to help us! Mrs. Tsen is tired and the thought of managing thousands overwhelms her. We are planning for a large poster at gate telling people what to bring, and if possible will put this in daily paper (now dwindled to one sheet).

The women's meeting was packed. I had time to go over and announce to women what they should bring when they come in.

The daily Press Conference was a long one. I had a good talk with Mayor Ma. He thinks the Japanese army cannot get in before a month of hard fighting. Every effort is being made to get all military organizations and fortifications out of Safety Zone area, so flags can be put up.

Last call has come from the Embassy to be ready to evacuate tomorrow morning at 9:30. Those of us who are left in city do not have time to even consider it, we are so busy.

Monday, December 6 It is quite cold today, but fortunately it is warm in the sunshine. How the refugees without sufficient bedding must be suffering and how that suffering will increase when the rain and snow comes. Oh God, how terrible the suffering will be this winter! Mr. McDaniels, United Press correspondent, told us today that he went out to Giyung yesterday and there is not a single village occupied. Whole villages are led out by the Chinese military, then the village is burned - the "Scorched Earth Policy" in reality. The farmers are brought into the city or sent north through Pukow. Already the lovely trees, including bamboo groves, along the road leading to Ming Tomb have been cut - I shall never forget the glory of those plum and peach blossoms last spring.

News of the bombing of two British ships in Wuhu makes us exceedingly anxious to hear of Dr. Wu's arrival in Hankow.

There has been great activity on the campus all day. Mr. Chen and Mr. Li have been directing servants to move all furniture in Arts Building into attic - and there is still room for 200 refugees there. (Later almost 1000). We are grateful for big attics. Tonight that building can be called finished - also two dormitories. Tomorrow we shall try to get Science Building and Central Building ready. Tomorrow I shall try to complete the plan and organize the assigning procedure. How grateful I am to be here to help with this work. Mrs. Tsen could not direct it alone and the others are too inexperienced.

At the Press Conference tonight more announcements were made on the Safety Zone. The flags marking the border, red cross in a circle of red, will be put up tomorrow. It is not easy for the Chinese military to give up this district and they only do so reluctantly. The International Committee is feverishly going forward with plans - continue to get in rice, coal, salt, etc. Many "Press" men are still attending these meetings although some spend their nights down on the U.S.S. Pansy at Hsia Gwan, coming in to the city by day. As nearly as we can learn the Japanese are within 25 miles of city. There must have been five or six raids today - being busy I did not have time to count, much less seek a basement.

Searle Bates and Mary Twinem came home with us for supper. It is very difficult for Mrs. Tsen to invite guests in for an ordinary supper - but she is doing it.

My good friend, Mrs. Tsen, has had a Chinese garment made for me which I wore today. I may need it in some phase of the turn over, so it is well to be prepared.

Tuesday, December 7 At 7 this morning I heard firing from Hsia Gwan and my first thought was that the Japanese boats had arrived and we were in for a prolonged bombardment. Fortunately we were wrong, but we never learned what it really was.

On the campus we continue to move furniture to third floor or special rooms. This morning the men are still working on the Central Building and Science Building and Practice School. Other men are cleaning in the dormitories. The assistant registrar is writing posters and signs while Dai Szi-fu in the business office, is making arm bands for the ushers. I have finished the estimate of the number we can take in the eight buildings assigned to refugees and the number (figured on basis of 16 sq. ft. per person) comes to 2750, about as many as we ought to try to handle. (Later: We actually had more than 10,000 in six buildings)

At 10:30 went down to the headquarters of the International Safety Zone Committee to discuss with them the notice concerning articles to be brought in to

Safety Zone, etc. Lewis Smythe, Plummer Mills and George Fitch spend all their time on the work in addition to many others. It is fine to see business men - English, German and American - working so closely with missionaries.

For first time since opening on September 30 our little Homecraft School did not have regular class work today. For several weeks now it has been the only school in session in Nanking.

This afternoon took the ushers around buildings and explained number system. A little later Mr. Li and I went out in our district to check on housing.

Rumors are rife in city. Thousands of people from South Gate crowded into the Zone saying the police ordered them out by 5 o'clock, or their houses would be burned and they would be considered spies.

At the Press Conference there were but three Chinese present - the rest are either too busy or have left the city. It is reported that the Generalissimo left the city at 4 a.m. today. Some people expect the city to go over in a few days - others think there will be a long siege. They say Hsia Ling Wei is burning - having been set on fire for military purposes. Several have reported many trees in the National Park cut - also for military purposes. We hear that 300 bombs fell in Swen Hwa Djen.

After my late supper went over to Neighborhood House. A number of our neighborhood families there tonight, including Hu Da-ma, her sons and daughters-in-law, because her house is to be taken down. The Wu family, sellers of tapestry, and many others. One old teacher 78 years old stopped in front of our gate - said he was forced out of his home. His old wife said she would not leave so he came alone. There are many tragedies in Nanking tonight and many who are hungry and cold.

Wednesday, December 8 At 9 a.m. this morning we practiced receiving refugees and have our method well in hand. Pupils of our neighborhood school, "Big" Wang's three children and Mrs. Tsen's grandson are five ushers and they look quite important with their special sleeve bands. ^{Six of} The servants have also been assigned

Thursday, December 9 Tonight the flames are lighting the sky above the whole south west corner of the city and during much of the afternoon we have seen clouds of smoke rising from every direction save northwest. The aim of the Chinese military is to get all obstructions out of their way - obstructions for their guns and possible ambush or protection for Japanese troops. McDaniels of Associated Press says he watched the fires being started with kerosene. The owners of these houses are the refugees who have been coming into the city in great crowds during the last two days. If this method delays the Japanese 12-24 hours in entering the city, I wonder if it is worth what it costs in human misery.

It is almost impossible to get mail out now - the post office is not receiving any more. This morning I wrote four letters, and tried, first, a man at the Metropolitan Hotel, then the British Embassy, and finally the American Embassy.

As we were at the Press Conference this evening a huge shell landed at Sin Gai Kow which made us all start from our seats and I fear some turned pale. This was first artillery fire we have had. There was not an hour today when we did not hear aeroplanes. The conference for a time tonight consisted of two press men, two Chinese and the rest were missionaries. It looks as if Press Conferences will be no more.

I found when I reached my room that the concussion was so great that it knocked a pot of flowers from my window.

We probably have 300 refugees on the campus tonight. Some have come from Wusih, others from outside the city, and still others from our neighborhood. About 1500 are already at Bible Teachers' Training School.

The one o'clock radio spoke of signs of peace after Nanking has been taken. I dread to learn the demands that will be made.

The stories of the refugees are heart-breaking. Today a woman came in weeping bitterly, saying she had come into the city on an errand, but her twelve-year old daughter could not get through the city gate, nor could she get out to her.

The little girl is at the Gwang Kwa men where the fighting is worst.

Another woman came from San Chia Ho and was frantically looking for her mother. When she could not find her in our campus we sent her over to Bible Teachers' Training School.

Tomorrow will probably be a day of severe fighting, when Japanese will try their best to get into city. (Later found out from Fukuda that an advance guard actually did reach Gwang Hwa Gate on December 10 but were repulsed.)

Friday, December 10 7:30 a.m. I had thought the night might be one of continued bombardment, but it was strangely quiet and peaceful save for the occasional sounds of people wandering on the street. At seven this morning the warning siren sounded but no planes have yet come. I can now hear the sound of machine guns off to south. The weather is still warm and clear - an immeasurable blessing to the wanderers on the streets.

(The above paragraph I shall have to rescind. When I went to breakfast all the others spoke of the continual sound of guns during the night until about four this morning. Evidently I was so dead tired that I heard nothing.)

Refugees continue to come in this morning. The old Faculty House is about full, and Central Building is filling. Mr. Steele, Chicago Daily News reporter, came over this morning to look around. Outside of our front gate the refugees are taking bricks intended for a new house and are fast building them into tiny houses - no brick-layers are needed. They cover with a piece or two of matting and there they have a room all their own in which they can be happy and independent. It is not a very safe place but they do not realize that. With considerable pride I was invited to inspect several.

The streets crowded with refugees and their belongings reminds me of the villages when the "big market" day is on.

This afternoon F. Chen and I went to our west boundary to help put up Safety Zone flags. The hope is that all military will be out by tomorrow and that

telegrams to that effect can be sent to both parties. While we were out, there was a severe air raid and several bombs were dropped west of Seminary. For the first time I heard the whirr of a dropping bomb, and saw the flash from the anti-aircraft guns. We hid among the grave mounds while the planes were overhead.

There has been heavy shooting most of the day. The Japanese are said to be very near Gwang Hwa Gate. Fires have been seen around the city a good part of day, and tonight the sky to the west is aflame - the destruction of the houses of the poor just outside city wall. John Magee says his compound looks like an island in a sea of smoldering ruins.

At the Press Conference tonight the question was raised of the poor when the city is turned over. Who will take care of them during coming months?

The mother whose little twelve-year old girl was shut outside the city has stood outside our gate most of the day scanning crowds for some sign of her little daughter.

Saturday, December 11 All night and all day there has been heavy artillery fire into the city as well as outside the city, especially to the southwest. In our little valley it has not seemed so loud and terrifying but in the city it has been pitiful. John Magee reported that many bodies were lying in front of the Fu Chang Hotel and Capital Theater and in the Circle. In the night it sounded as if the heavy firing was over in the southeast part of the city. He also reported that rest of Hsia Gwan is to be burned tonight. Such deep indignation ~~and~~ at such destruction and suffering rises within me that I have difficulty in controlling myself. We no longer have signal planes, they just come.

Refugees continue to come in to our campus. By noon there were about 850. In addition three families are living at East Court and about 120 at Neighborhood House. We are building a mat shed between the two north dormitories and will

let men we know sell food there. The rice kitchen, outside our front gate is not yet open in spite of all our pressure. Refugees have a naive conception of the Safety Zone - seem to think it all right for them to stand out in middle of road when an air raid is on. At the Press Conference tonight we were all urged to ask people to stay inside of houses or behind walls.

Wrote a short article today for Chicago Daily News. Also sent names of thirty-eight college employees to American Embassy where they will write arm bands for them.

At four o'clock decided to go up to South Hill residence and put as many of the good things as possible into attics. A group of our faithful servants went with me and in less than two hours we had moved most of the best things up. Will try to get something to put in front of doors. In the living room I left Catherine's piano. It was damaged in looting of 1927, and may meet same fate again.

At Press Conference tonight there were 20 of us- all foreigners. Four press men were present and all the rest were missionaries excepting two Germans and one Russian lad. Searle gave a rather dismal report of breakdown in military authority. The lower officers disobeyed the Defence Commander's orders - and the soldiers and artillery are not yet out of Safety Zone. In fact this morning I discovered that trenches were still being dug within college boundaries.

As I write this there is heavy bombing and machine gun firing to southeast and wouthwest of city. People prophesy that the enemy army will be in in three days and in the interim there will be terrible destruction.

Tomorrow is Sunday, I believe. All days are alike now. Miss Wang, Miss Hsueh and Miss Lo are ~~going~~ giving us invaluable help. Mrs. Tsen is great in a time like this! Francis Chen who was afraid at first said today he is glad he is here and he has lost all fear. Our fellowship service this morning was real. Religion is made for times like these.

Sunday, December 12 As I write these notes at 8:30 this evening there is heavy artillery fire pounding away in the southwest sections of the city. The window panes are shaking, and I have taken the precaution of getting away from the window. All day there has been heavy bombardment. Some say the Japanese army has entered the city but we have not had the report confirmed. One soldier told our gateman that at Gwang Hwa Gate the Japanese troops entered four or five times and were driven back. Have also heard that the 88th Division are being replaced by the 87th. Sad to say troops have been going through Safety Zone all day. At Press Conference tonight heard that Tang, the Defence Commander, does not have much control over his troops, and in most places in the city - save in the Zone - there has been looting. (From the sound of that terrific bombardment I'm afraid there is not much left of our fine old city wall.) Aeroplanes come freely now, and release their whole rack of bombs, and there is no interference from anti-aircraft guns or Chinese planes. I certainly think it was a terrible mistake to burn all the houses outside of the city wall, and many within, if the sacrifice has been of so little value. Who suffers by the destruction but the poor of China? Why not have turned city over undestroyed?

This morning at 10:30 went to Drum Tower Church. There were about sixty present. One member of the Church Emergency Committee preached a good sermon. There are many refugees living in the Church compound.

(The guns are practically quiet now. I wonder if it means that a breach has been made in wall and Japanese are entering.)

Refugees continue to come in. We now have three buildings filled and are now beginning on the Arts Building. Unfortunately the rice kitchen to be managed by Red Cross has not yet opened up, so it has been most difficult for the people who brought no food with them. After repeated urgings we think we can get it open by nine in the morning - but if the city is turned over in the night even that may not be possible.

Funny things do happen in all this distress and terror. Gwah, the tailor opposite our east gate, foolishly permitted the New Life Movement to store some

of their things in a room of his house before they left the city. He has begun to worry about them as Japanese have drawn nearer. Today I called Mr. Fitch in, and the two of us took responsibility for asking him to destroy all literature. All afternoon he and his wife and all their relatives have been carrying load after load to our incinerator, and there burning it. Drops of perspiration stood out on his forehead as he trudged along. They got rid of it just in time. (From sound of that shooting I would say the Japanese are in the city.)

Lin, the very efficient janitor in the Central Building is hoarse tonight from his efforts to get the refugee women and children to be clean on his good floors. He was telling the gatemen this afternoon how difficult it was to keep children from wetting on his floors. The gateman said, "Why don't you tell them not to?" "Tell them not to," said Lin, disgustedly, in his hoarse voice, "do tell them but as soon as I turn my back they do it."

This afternoon at 5 p.m., as I went over to the English service, I saw a great ribbon of fire on Purple Mountain extending along upper third of the mountain. How the fire started I have not heard, but it means that many pines are burned.

Between 9 and 10 tonight Mr. Chen and I made a tour of the campus. Hu, the laundry man, and Tsi, his garmer neighbor, were both up. They are fearful of retreating soldiers tonight, for they have young girls in their families. Few people will sleep in the city tonight. From the South Hill Residence we could see the South City still burning, and also Hsia Gwan.

Think I shall sleep with my clothes on tonight so I can get up if I am needed. Wish the night were over.

Just a year ago today General Chang was taken prisoner at Sian.

Monday, December 13 (Have heard that Japanese entered Gwang Hswa Gate at 4 a.m.)

All night long the heavy artillery was pounding against the city gates. They say the south, but it sounded to me like the west. There was a good deal of shooting inside the city. I did not really go off soundly to sleep and in my half conscious state I thought the Japanese were chasing Chinese troops out of the city, and firing at them as they retreated. None of us took off our clothes for fear something might happen. Sometime after five I got up and went to the front gate. All was quiet there, but the gateman said retreating soldiers had been passing in large groups and some had been begging for ordinary civilian clothes. This morning many military garments were found inside our compound. Our neighbors have been wanting to come in but we have tried to help them to see that if they are in the Safety Zone they are as safe as we are and that all parts of the Safety Zone should be equally safe.

The soup or rice kitchen at our front gate served rice for the first time this morning. We fed the dormitories in order of their coming on campus. By 10:30 the meal had been finished. They are to have the second meal this afternoon.

Searle Bates came over about eleven and reported that the Ministry of Communications building has been destroyed (yesterday) according to Chinese orders, and that the next building was to be the Ministry of Railways. I am heart sick about it for I feel it is useless and wrong, and injures the Chinese far more than the Japanese. He also reported that \$50,000 has been given to International Red Cross for use for the Military Hospitals. The first one will be established in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A committee of seventeen has been organized.

4 p.m. The report came to me that there were Japanese soldiers on the hill west of us. I went up to South Hill Residence to see, and sure enough our West Hill had a number on it. Soon I was called by another servant, who said that one had entered our Poultry Experiment Station and wanted chickens and geese. Immediately I went down and he soon left, after my efforts at sign language

telling him the chickens were not for sale. He happened to be polite.

The city is strangely silent - after all the bombing and shelling. Three dangers are past - that of looting soldiers, bombing from aeroplanes and shelling from big guns, but the fourth is still before us - our fate at the hands of a victorious army. People are very anxious tonight and do not know what to expect. Plumer Mills reported this evening that their contacts so far have been pleasant but, to be sure, they have been few.

7:30 p.m. The men managing the rice kitchen report that Japanese soldiers are occupying the house opposite our gate in which the rice is stored. Francis Chen and I tried to make contact with the head man of the group but got nowhere. The guard at the gate was as fierce as I care to meet. Later I went over to see the Director of Safety Zone about it and they will try to solve the problem tomorrow, but all agree it must be handled circumspectly.

Tonight Nanking has no lights, no water, no telephone, no telegraph, no city paper, no radio. We are indeed separated from all of you by an impenetrable zone. Tomorrow I shall try to get a radiogram through the U.S.S. Panay to Dr. Wu and also to N.Y. So far Ginling, people and buildings, has come through safely - but we are not sure of the coming days. We are all fearfully tired. On almost any occasion we give forth deep groans of weariness - a tiredness that permeates through and through. (There are many disarmed soldiers in the safety zone tonight. I have not heard if there were any trapped in the city.)

Tuesday, December 14 7:30 a.m. The night was one of peace without, but within one's own consciousness there was fear of unknown danger. Toward morning there seemed to be heavy artillery pounding at the city wall again - perhaps at the remaining barricades at the city gates that interfere with the entrance of the main army today. There was also occasional rifle firing - probably by Japanese guards at marauding groups of Chinese soldiers or looters.

I could also hear firing at Hsia Gwan and in my imagination it was at small sampans filled with soldiers, trying to cross the Yangtze and get away to the north. Poor fellows, they had little chance to escape, that merciless firing. It came to me that, if war is to be equally borne, all should volunteer who wish it declared. Women who want it could serve in military hospitals and provide clothes and comforts for wounded soldiers; even middle school girls could help tremendously in the thousand tasks that must be done to equip and maintain an army; middle school and university boys who want it could serve either in the army or in the Red Cross or Social Service Units.

And both of these groups would have a challenging task after the war is over taking care of widows and children of the dead soldiers, not to mention the great task of providing for the care of maimed soldiers.

Those of us who believe war is a national crime and a sin against the creative spirit at the heart of the Universe, could give our strength toward rehabilitation of innocent sufferers, those whose homes are burned and looted or who are injured by bombs and artillery.

This weather is a blessing to the poor. It is as warm and balmy as October, and to sleep out on the hills as some are forced to do does not mean great suffering.

Tales are coming in from people who were forced to leave their homes last night by Japanese soldiers; also, of some looting by them this morning. Mr. Miao's ~~Matx~~ house, which had an American flag and an Embassy Proclamation on it, was entered - what was taken I do not know. They slept outside Lao Shao's house, using his fuel for mattress - he and his family have moved down. Stories of young girls who were mistreated are coming in, but I have not had a chance to check them.

At 4 o'clock went down to Headquarters of Safety Zone. Mr. Rabe, the chairman, and Lewis Smythe have been trying all day to get in touch with

commander of Japanese forces but were told he will not be in until tomorrow. Some of the officers whom they saw were extremely polite, and some extremely gruff and rude. John Magee, who is organizing an International Red Cross Hospital has been out all day. He says the same thing - some men polite and courteous, others terrible. They have no mercy on Chinese soldiers and do not care much for Americans.

At 4:30 Plumer Mills wanted me to go with him down to Hausimen to see the Presbyterian compounds there - I to act as keeper of his car. All are in good condition save for a few broken window panes. Japanese soldiers had been in but had not looted. I sat in the car while ^{Plumer} Plumer went in and talked to the gatemen. On our way back saw one dead body in road near Hillcrest. Remarkably few bodies around, considering the terrible shelling city has been through. A little past Hillcrest saw Mr. Sone on road and took him into the car. Said his car had just been taken - he had left it out in front of his house when he went in for a few minutes. There was an American flag on it and it was locked.

Many Japanese flags flying from houses of poor and some of better houses. The people had made them and put them up thinking they would receive better treatment.

When we got to Ginling the vacant space in front was filled with soldiers and about eight were just in front of our gate. I stood at the gate until they left and had a chance to bring Chen Szi-fu out of their clutches. Had I not been there they would have taken him along as a guide. Wei, the college messenger, was sent out this morning and is not yet back. We fear he has been taken. While I was standing at the gate a number of the soldiers looked at my International Committee badge and one of them asked me the time. Compared with that fierce one of last night these were quite mild.

Tonight people are very much afraid, but I rather think things will be better than last night. It seems as if they are moving over to the section

east of Safety Zone.

Durbin, New York Times correspondent, who tried to get through to Shanghai, was turned back at Giyung. Said there were thousands and thousands of soldiers on their way to Nanking.

Our refugees have had rice twice today for which we are grateful. We were afraid they would not get any today because soldiers are in building where rice is stored.

I had made up my mind to bury the Chinese soldiers' clothes, which had been thrown on to our campus by fleeing soldiers night before last; but when I got out to the carpenter shop found that our gardeners had been wiser - they had burned them, and the hand grenades they had thrown into a pond. Mr. Chen hid the discarded gun.

Let us hope tonight will be peaceful.

Wednesday, December 15 This must be Wednesday, December 15. It is so difficult to keep track of the days - there is no rhythm in the weeks any more.

From 8:30 this morning until 6 this evening, excepting for the noon meal, I have stood at the front gate while the refugees poured in. There is terror in the face of many of the women - last night was a terrible night in the city and many young women were taken from their homes by the Japanese soldiers. Mr. Sane came over this morning and told us about the condition in the Hausimen section, and from that time on we have allowed women and children to come in freely; but always imploring the older women to stay home, if possible, in order to leave a place for younger ones. Many begged for just a place to sit out on the lawn. I think there must be more than 3000 in tonight. Several groups of soldiers have come but they have not caused trouble, nor insisted on coming in. Tonight Searle and Mr. Riggs are sleeping up in South Hill House and Lewis is down at the gate house with Francis Chen. I am down at Practice School. We have a patrol of our two policemen - now in plain clothes, and the

night watchman who will be up all night making the rounds.

At 7 o'clock I took a group of men and women refugees over to the University. We do not take men, although we have filled the faculty dining room in Central Building with old men. One woman in the group said she was the only survivor of four in her family.

The Japanese have looted widely yesterday and today, have destroyed schools, have killed citizens, and raped women. One thousand disarmed Chinese soldiers, whom the International Committee hoped to save, were taken from them and by this time are probably shot or bayoneted. In our South Hill House Japanese broke the panel of the storeroom and took out some old fruit juice and a few other things. (Open door policy!)

Mr. Rabe and Lewis are in touch with the commander, who has arrived and who is not too bad. They think they may get conditions improved by tomorrow.

Our four reporters went to Shanghai today on a Japanese destroyer. We get no word of outside world and can send none out. One still hears occasional shooting.

Thursday, December 16 Tonight I asked George Fitch how the day went, and what progress they had made toward restoring peace in the city. His reply was "It was hell today. The blackest day of my life." Certainly it was that for me too.

Last night was ~~x~~ quiet, and our three foreign men were undisturbed, but the day was any thing but peaceful.

About ten o'clock this morning an official inspection of Ginling took place - a thorough search for Chinese soldiers. More than a hundred Japanese came to the campus and began with the _____ Building. They wanted every room opened - and if the key was not forthcoming immediately they were most impatient and one of their party stood ready with an ax to open the door by

force. My heart sank when I saw the thorough search start, for I knew that in the geography office upstairs were stored several hundred padded garments for wounded soldiers, - work of the National Women's Relief Association, which we had not yet gotten rid of - we have been loathe to burn them because we know that poor people this winter will be desperate for warm clothes. I took the soldiers to the room west of the fatal room and they wanted to get in through an adjoining door, but I did not have the key. Fortunately I took them up to the attic where there were about 200 women and children and that diverted their attention. (Tonight after dark we buried those garments. Mr. Chen threw a rifle in the pond which he had

Twice they grabbed hold of one of our servants and started to take them off saying they were soldiers - but I was there to say "No soldier. Coolie," and they were released from the fate of being shot or stabbed. They went through all the buildings in which we had refugees. A small group of four with petty officer wanted a drink and we took them over to Mrs. Tsen's dormitory. Fortunately we did not know that there were probably as many as six machine guns trained on the campus, and many more soldiers on guard outside, ready to shoot had there been the slightest running. When the highest officer left, he wrote us a statement saying we had only women and children. This has helped us the rest of the day to keep out smaller groups.

Soon After noon a small group got in at the gate to the old Infirmary and they would have taken Tung's young brother, had I not been there. Later they went along the road and demanded entrance at the laundry gate, and I was there in time. Had they found any suspected person his fate would have been the same as that of the four men following them whom they had roped together. They took them to our west hill, and there I heard the shots.

There probably is no crime that has not been committed in this city today. Thirty girls were taken from Language School last night, and today I have heard scores of heartbreaking stories of girls who were taken from their

homes last night - one of the girls was but 12 years old. Food, bedding and money have been taken from people - Mr. Li had \$55 taken from him. I suspect every house in the city has been opened, again and yet again, and robbed. Tonight a truck passed, in which there were 8 or 10 girls, and as it passed they called out "Gin ming" "Gin Ming" - save our lives. The occasional shots that we hear out on the hills, or on the street, make us realize the sad fate of some man - very probably not a soldier.

Most of my day has been spent sitting at the front gate as guard excepting when I am called to run to some other part of the campus to escort a group of soldiers. This evening, Shen Szi-fu, the servant at the South Hill House came down saying all the lights were on in the residence. My heart sank for I thought it was occupied by soldiers. We went up to find that Searle and Mr. Riggs had not turned off their lights last night.

Djang Szi-fu's son, Science Hall janitor, was taken this morning, and Wei has not yet returned. We would like to do something but do not know what we can do - for there is no order in the city, and I cannot leave the campus.

Mr. John Rabe told the Japanese ~~ix~~ commander that he could help them get lights, water and telephone service but he would do nothing until order was restored in the city. Nanking is but a pitiful broken shell tonight - the streets are deserted and all houses in darkness and fear.

I wonder how many innocent, hard-working farmers and coolies have been shot today. We have urged all women over forty to go to their homes to be with their husbands and sons and to leave only their daughters and daughters-in-law with us. We are responsible for about 4000 women and children tonight. We wonder how much longer we can stand this strain. It is terrible beyond words.

From a military point of view, the taking of Nanking may be considered a victory for the Japanese army but judging it from the moral law it is a

defeat and a national disgrace - which will hinder cooperation and friendship with China for years to come, and forever lose her the respect of those living in Nanking today. If only the thoughtful people in Japan could know what is happening in Nanking.

Oh, God, control the cruel beastliness of the soldiers in Nanking tonight, comfort the heartbroken mothers and fathers whose innocent sons have been shot today, and guard the young women and girls through the long agonizing hours of this night. Speed the day when wars shall be no more, when Thy kingdom will come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. ✓

Friday, December 17 Went to gate at 7:30 to get message to Mr. Sone who slept down in house with F. Chen. Red Cross kitchen must have coal and rice. A stream of weary wild-eyed women were coming in. Said their night had been one of horror; that again and again their homes had been visited by soldiers. (Twelve-year old girls up to sixty-year old women faped. Husbands forced to leave bedroom and pregnant wife at point of bayonet. If only the thoughtful people of Japan knew facts of these days of horror.) Wish some one were here who had time to write the sad story of each person - especially that of the younger girls who had blackened their faces and cut their hair. The gateman said they had been coming in since daylight at 6:30.

The morning spent either at gate or running from South Hill to one of the dormitories or front gate wherever a group of Japanese was reported to be. One or two such trips were made both during breakfast and dinner today. No meal for days without a servant coming "Miss Vautrin, three soldiers now in Science Building or"

The afternoon spent at gate -- no easy task to control the traffic, to prevent fathers and brothers from coming in, or others from coming in with food or other conveniences. There are more than 4000 on campus and ~~when~~ 4000 more

bring in food the task becomes complicated, especially when we have to be very careful about those who come in.

The crowd coming in all day we simply cannot take care of - if we had room we do not have strength enough to manage. Have arranged with University to open one of their dormitories and they will have a foreign man on duty all night. Between four and six I took over two large groups of women and children. What a heartbreaking sight! Weary women, frightened girls, trudging with children and bedding and small packages of clothes. Was glad I went along for all along the way we met groups of Japanese soldiers going from house to house, carrying all kinds of loot. Fortunately, Mary T.. was on the campus, so I felt I could leave. When I returned she said that at 5 p.m. two soldiers came in, and seeing the big American flag in center of Quadrangle they tore it from the stakes and started off with it. It was too heavy and cumbersome to take on bicycles, so they threw it in a heap in front of Science Building. Mary was called from front gate and when the soldiers saw her they ran and hid. She found them out in a room at the Power House and when she spoke to them they flushed, for they knew they were wrong.

As we finished eating supper, the boy from Central Building came and said there were many soldiers on campus going to dormitories. I found two in front of Central Building pulling on door and insisting on its being opened. I said I had no key. One said - "Soldiers here. Enemy of Japan." I said - "No Chinese soldiers." Mr. Li, who was with me, said the same. He then slapped me on the face and slapped Mr. Li very severely, and insisted on opening of door. I pointed to side door and took them in. They went through both downstairs and up presumably looking for Chinese soldiers. When we came out two more soldiers came leading three of our servants, whom they had bound. They said "Chinese soldiers," but I said, "No soldier. Coolie, gardener," - for that is what they were. They took them to the front and I accompanied them. When I got to the

front gate I found a large group of Chinese kneeling there beside the road - Mr. F. Chen, Mr. Hsia and a number of our servants. The sargeant of the group was there, and some of his men, and soon we were joined by Mrs. Tsen and Mary Twinem, also being escorted by soldiers. They asked who was master of the institution, and I said I was. Then they made me identify each person. Unfortunately there were some new people, taken on as extra help during these days, and one of them looked like a soldier. He was taken roughly over to right of road and carefully examined. Unfortunately when I was identifying the servants Mr. Chen spoke up and tried to help me; and for that he was slapped severely, and roughly taken to right side of road and made to kneel.

In the midst of this procedure, during which we prayed most earnestly for help, a car drove up in which was G. Fitch, L. Smythe and P. Mills - the latter to stay all night with us. They made all three of them come in, stand in a line, and remove hats, and examined them for pistols. Fortunately Fitch could speak some French with the sergeant. There were several conferences among sergeant and his men again and again, and at one time they insisted that all foreigners, Mrs. Tsen and Mary must leave. They finally changed their minds when I insisted this was my home and I could not leave. They then made foreignmen get into car and leave. As the rest of us were standing or kneeling there we heard screams and cries and saw people going out at the side gate. I thought they were taking off large group of men helpers. We later realized their trick - to keep responsible people at front gate with three or four of their soldiers carrying on this mock trial and search for Chinese soldiers while the rest of the men were in the buildings selecting women. We learned later they selected twelve and took them out at side gate. When that was complete they went out front gate with F. Chen - and we were sure we would see him no more. When they went out we were not sure they had left but thought they might be on guard outside, ready to shoot any who moved. Never shall I forget that scene - the people kneeling at side of road, Mary, Mrs. Tsen and I

standing, the dried leaves rattling, the moaning of the wind, the cry of women being led out. While we were there in silence, "Big" Wang came, and said two women had been taken from East Court. We urged him to go back. We prayed most earnestly for Mr. Chen's release and for those who were carried off - those who had never prayed before I am sure prayed that night.

For what seemed an eternity we dared not move for fear of being shot; but by a quarter to eleven we decided we would leave. Du, the gateman looked stealthily out of the front gate - there was no one. He stole to the side gate - it seemed to be closed, and so we all got up and left. Mrs. Tsen, Mary, and I went to the Southeast dormitory. No one was there. Mrs. Tsen's daughter-in-law and all the grand children were gone - I was horrified, but Mrs. Tsen said calmly she was sure they were hiding with the refugees. In her room we found everything in confusion and realized that it had been looted. We then went to Central Building and there found Mrs. Tsen's family, Miss Hsueh, Miss Wang and Blanche Wu. Then Mary and I went down to the Practice School. To my surprise there we found Mr. Chen and Miss Lo sitting silently in my sitting room. When Mr. Chen told us his story, I realized that surely his life had been saved by a miracle. We had a little meeting of thanksgiving. Never have I heard such prayers. Later, I went down to the gate and stayed in Mr. Chen's home all night - in room next to gate house. It must have been long after midnight when we went to bed - and I venture none of us slept.

Saturday, December 18 All days seem alike now - filled with stories of tragedies such as I have never heard before. From early morning crowds of women and girls and children come streaming in - with horror written on their faces. We can only let them in but we have no place for them to stay - they are told they must sleep out on the grass at night. Unfortunately it is much colder now and they will have one more bitterness to bear. We are more and

more trying to persuade the older women and even the married women with young children, to go home and leave the place to the young unmarried girls. It seems to me that my days are spent running from one place on the campus to another saying "American School. Sie Gakuin." In most instances it is sufficient to enduse the soldiers to leave, but in some cases they are defiant and look at me with a dagger in their eyes, and some times a dagger in their hands. Today, when I went to the South Hill Residence to stop the looting, one of the men pointed a gun at me, and then at the night watchman who was with me.

Because of the terrible experience of last night I took "Big" Wang, who is now my personal secretary, as it were, with me, and we decided to go to the Japanese Embassy to see if we could get any help after reporting our case to them. When we came to the place where Hankow Road crosses Shanghai Road, I stopped, not knowing whether or not it was best to go to get Searle to go with me, to go alone, or to go to the American Embassy to see what I could get there. Fortunately I went to the Embassy and there I found a very, very, helpful Chinese secretary or clerk, Mr. T. C. Teng. He wrote me two special letters and sent me in the Embassy car, so I went in state. I reported our difficult experiences and also the Friday night incident and then asked for a letter which I could carry with me in order to drive out the soldiers, and also for some proclamations for the gate. I received both, and came home grateful beyond words. Also Mr. Tanaka, a very understanding and distressed person, said he would go and get two gendarmes to keep guard during the night. When I tried to tip the Embassy chauffeur at the end of the time he said, "The only thing that had saved the Chinese people from utter destruction was the fact that there were a handful of foreigners in Nanking." What would it be like if there were no check on this terrible devastation and cruelty. With Mr. Mills and two gendarmes at the gate last night I went to bed in peace and for the first time for days felt that all would be well.

I wish you could hear the roar and noise outside of my door as I sit here in my office and write this. I imagine that there are 600 people in this building alone and I suspect that there must be five thousand on the campus tonight. They are sleeping on the covered ways tonight for lack of other space and all the halls are full, and the verandahs. We no longer try to assign rooms - in our first idealism we tried to do that but now we just let them crowd in where they can.

Mary Twinem and Blanche Wu have both moved into the Practice School.

Sunday, December 19 Again this morning wild-eyed women and girls came streaming in at the gate - the night had been one of horror. Many kneeled and implored to be taken in - and we let them in but we do not know where they will sleep tonight.

At 8 o'clock a Japanese came in with Mr. Teso from the Embassy. Having been told we had not enough rice for the refugees, I asked him to take me over to headquarters of Safety Zone; this he did, and from there a German car took me over to see Mr. Sone, who has charge of rice distribution. He promised to get us rice by nine o'clock. Later I had to go back with the car to Ninghai Road, the presence of a foreigner is now the only protection for a car. Walking back to college, again and again mothers and fathers and brothers implored me to take their daughters back to Ginling. One mother whose daughter was a Chung Hwa student, said her home had been looted repeatedly the day before and she could no longer protect her daughter.

Later the morning was spent going from one end of the campus to the other trying to get one group of soldiers after another out. Went up to South Hill three times I think, then to the back campus and then was frantically called to the old Faculty House where I was told two soldiers had gone upstairs. There, in room 538, I found one standing at the door, and one inside already raping a poor girl. My letter from the Embassy and my presence sent them running out in a hurry - in my warth I wished I had the power to smite them

in their dastardly work. How ashamed the women of Japan would be if they knew these tales of horror.

Then I was called to the northwest dormitory and found two in a room eating cookies - they too went out in a hurry.

Late in the afternoon two separate groups of Japanese officers have come and again I have had the chance to tell of the Friday night experience and this morning's doings.

Tonight we have four gendarmes on our campus and tomorrow we hope to have one. Great fires are burning ⁱⁿ at least three sections of the city tonight.

Monday, December 20 The clear weather with sunshine continues seemingly the only blessing in these days of misery and suffering.

8 - 9:00 at the gate, trying to persuade the older women to return to homes and let Ginling be used to protect their daughters. They all agree in principle but are loathe to go home, for they say soldiers come to their homes again and again and again in the course of a day - looting everything.

From 10 to 12 tried to work in my office, writing an official report of acts of soldiers on our campus to present to Japanese Embassy - to no avail, for I am called from one end of the campus to another to drive out groups of soldiers. Found two in South Hall Residence again, looting Dr. Wu's chest of drawers and suitcases. During noon meal Mary and I went to three sections of campus to drive them out - they seem to love to come at meal time. We are trying to get a gendarme to stay on campus during the day.

At 3 a high military officer came with several other men, and he wanted to inspect buildings and refugee work. I hoped most earnestly that while he was on campus some soldiers would come. Sure enough, as we had finished seeing refugees crowded in Central Building, a servant from the Northwest dormitory came saying two soldiers were there, in process of taking off five women. We rushed over, and when they saw us they ran - one woman ran back and kneeled before me

asking to be saved. I went back in time to stop one soldier from escaping and played for time until the officer came. They reprimanded him, and let him go - not the severe treatment he needed in order to make this dastardly thing stop.

At 4 p.m. "Big" Wang and I went over to our Embassy, and from there were taken over to Japanese Embassy. Reported conditions again, and asked for return of two servants and for gendarme in day time. Mr. Atcheson's cook reports his old father shot, but none dared to go home to bury him.

To our surprise, just after supper twenty-five gendarmes were sent to us as a guard for the night - the afternoon's incident was effective, evidently. By making a map I showed them the danger spots on the campus - especially pointing out the northwest corner.

We probably have more than 6000 refugees tonight, covered ways full. Eastern sky vivid tonight. Looting continues in city.

Tuesday, December 21 The days seem interminable and each morning you wonder how you can live through the day; twelve hours.

After breakfast we collected facts about the harm done by our guard of 25 last night (two women raped) but we realize that those facts must be handled with care and tact, or we will incur the hatred of soldiers and that may be worse for us than the trouble we have at present.

Mary and Mrs. Tsen are trying to teach the women to stand in line for rice, and perhaps they will teach them in time, if they are patient. We never have enough rice for them and some people take more than they need.

At 11 Mr. Wang and I went over to the Embassy to make arrangements for a car to take us to Japanese Embassy in the afternoon.

At 1:30 I went with Mr. Atcheson's cook in Embassy car over to street west of us. He had heard that his old father of 75 was killed and was anxious to see. We found the old man lying in middle of the road. They took his body over to the bamboo grove and there covered it with matting. The old man had refused to go to

Embassy for protection, saying he was sure nothing would harm him.

When we went to Japanese Embassy at 2 p.m. the Consul was not in, so we arranged to call again at 4 p.m. Fortunately, as we were going out of gate, we met the Consul's car and went back for interview. We told him we were very sorry we could not furnish charcoal, tea, and "dien sin" (cakes) for such a large group, and wondered if we might have just two military police for night duty, and one for day. He was wise enough to understand that all was not well on our campus last night with 25 guards.

All foreigners in city this afternoon sent in a petition pleading that peace be restored in Nanking -for sake of the 200,000 Chinese here, as well as for the Japanese army's good. I did not go with the group, having just been there.

After leaving Japanese Embassy, again went with our Embassy servant to the home of Mr. Jenkin at San Pai Lou. Although his house had been protected by an American flag, Japanese proclamation and special telegram to Tokyo, it was thoroughly looted. In the garage, found his trusted servant dead - having been shot. He had refused to leave his master's house for the shelter of the Embassy.

Those of you who have lived in Nanking can never imagine how the streets look - the saddest sight I ever hope to see. Buses and cars upset in street, dead bodies here and there, with faces already black, discarded soldiers' clothing everywhere, every house and shop looted and smashed if not burned. In the Safety Zone the streets are crowded - outside you seldom see anyone but Japanese.

Because it is not safe for any car with any flag to go on the streets without a foreigner inside, I took the Embassy car back to the Embassy. Walking home with Mr. Wang and Lao Shao - I would hesitate to go out alone - a man came up to us in great distress asking us if we could do anything for him. His wife of 27 had just gone home from Ginling - only to have her home entered by three soldiers. Her husband was forced to leave and she was left in the hands of those three soldiers.

Tonight we must have 6 or 7000 (9 or 10,000 ?) refugees on our campus. The handful of us who are managing are worn out - how long we can stand the strain we do not know.

Great fires are now lighting the sky to the Northeast, east and Southeast, Each night these fires light the sky and by day clouds of smoke make us know that the work of looting and destruction still continues. The fruits of war are death and desolation.

We have absolutely no contact with the outside world - know nothing of what is happening and can send out no messages. While watching at the gate tonight, the gateman said that each day seemed like a year, and life had lost all meaning - which is true. And the sad thing is we see no future. The once energetic, hopeful capital is now almost an empty shell - pitiful, heartrending.

Have not yet been able to send out radiogram that I worded days ago.

Wednesday, December 22 There is a great deal of machine gun and rifle firing this morning. Is it merely practice or are more innocent people being shot?

My strength has suddenly come to an end and I feel utterly exhausted from the terrific strain and sadness of these days. Save for an interview this morning with a Japanese Embassy police official, and this afternoon with Mr. Fukudu, military attache, and this evening with the head of our guard for the night, I've done nothing. Have tried to get as much rest as possible during the day. It is such a blessing to have Mary T here to help and Big Wang. Mrs. Tsen is very wise in all her advice and is invaluable. She, too, is terribly tired.

Today we are not serving rice to the refugees simply because it has become unmanageable. We are taking time to reorganize our system, sewing on each person too poor to buy, a red tag - and they will be served first, hereafter. Also have prepared tickets for those who do not get rice each day --it always runs out before we get around - so that they will come first on the next serving.

I dare not estimate how many we have on the campus - some think about 10,000. The Science Building, which has only two rooms, the hall and attic open, has about 1000 in it - so the Arts Building must have 2000. They say the attic alone of that building has almost 1000. On the covered ways at night there must be 1000. Mr. Fitch came over tonight and asked us if we would like Hwei wen opened for our overflow, and we said we certainly would.

Mr. Forster of the American Church Mission came in this afternoon and told this said story. The Japanese Embassy wanted the electric light plant repaired so that lights could be turned on. Mr. Rabe therefore got fifty employees together and took them down to the plant. This afternoon forty-three were shot by soldiers saying they were the employees of the Chinese government. Mr. Forster also wanted to know if we could have an English Christmas service here on Saturday. Mary and I are inclined to think it is not wise for all foreigners to get together, for fear we might attract too much attention.

A guard of twenty-five soldiers has been furnished us each night. The first night we had them we had several unfortunate incidents, last night all was well, and the night was peaceful. Tonight we tactfully suggested that the same method be used tonight as last night - they guard on the outside, we on the inside.

People say conditions are somewhat better in city - certainly there are fewer fires, although there are still some. We still have no contact with the outside world

Thursday, December 23 Two days before Christmas! How different from the usual life on our campus at this time of year. Then all is ~~in~~ so busy - preparation, anticipation and joy, now all is fear and sadness, not knowing what the next moment may bring forth. Our campus yesterday and today has been more peaceful - yesterday three groups of soldiers strayed in and today but one. The past two nights have also been peaceful. Our guard is changed every day - and with each new group Mr. Wang and I explain by every means possible that if they will guard outside the campus we will guard inside.

This afternoon at 2 o'clock a high military adviser came with three other officers. They wanted to inspect the buildings where refugees are living. Again and yet again we said that just as soon as city becomes peaceful we will urge them to go home. They say that things are better in the city and they think they can go home soon.

Our neighbor Swen from Hu Gi Gwan, who is living at East Court, said that last night from sixty to a hundred men, mostly young, were taken in trucks to the little valley south of the Ginling Temple, shot by machine gun fire, later put into a house and the whole set on fire. I have been suspecting that many of the fires we see at night are to cover up either looting or killing. Am fearing more and more that our messenger boy and the son of the biology servant have both been killed.

We have decided that it is not safe to have a Christmas service together for fear of what might happen on our campus while we are absent. Mary and I are also afraid the gathering might create suspicion.

Food is getting more and more scarce. For several days now we have had no meat - it is impossible to buy anything on street now - even eggs and chickens are no longer available.

Lights go off at 8:30 tonight. We have been using only candles in Practice School for days for fear of attracting attention.

As soon as the way opens up, I am anxious for Francis Chen, Mr. Li and Mr. Chen to leave Nanking, for I do not feel that youth is very safe.

Mary Twinem's house was thoroughly looted today. Most residences have been looted unless a foreigner is present in them and that has been impossible when people are so busy.

It is raining today. All people who have been sleeping on verandahs will have to squeeze inside somehow. The good weather of past weeks has been a great blessing.

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Friday, December 24 The day before Christmas! About ten o'clock I was called to my office to interview the high military adviser for the --- division. Fortunately he had an interpreter with him, an old Chinese interpreter for the Embassy. The request was that they be allowed to pick out the prostitute women from our ten thousand refugees. They said they wanted one hundred. They feel if they can start a regular licensed place for the soldiers then they will not molest innocent and decent women. After promising they would not take any of the latter, we permitted them to begin their search, the adviser sitting in my office during the search. After a long time they finally secured twenty-one. Some, they think, made off when they heard such a search was to be made and some are still hiding. Group after group of girls have asked me if they will select the other seventy-nine from among the decent girls - and all I can answer is that they will not do so if it is in my power to prevent it.

This afternoon Mary has been decorating a Christmas tree and the room for our Christmas services. Have chosen a north facing room upstairs for which I have a heavy green curtain for the one window. The room is lovely now with its heavenly bamboo, its Christmas tree, its red Christmas schrolls.

This evening at 6:30 we had a simple Christmas service there with only ourselves and Mrs. Tsen's daughter-in-law and four children. The little children enjoyed the simple gifts,- it was wrong not to have something for them, although the grandmother did not approve. Tomorrow we shall use the room four times for other groups.

At 4:30 went over to the University to check the report that a number of weeping women brought to me. They were told that a number of men have been selected out from refugees and are to be killed unless they are identified at once.

Many women are faced with terrible dilemma - to stay with their husbands and be raped by soldiers when their husbands are turned out of house at point of bayonet; to come to Ginling, and leave their husbands - the latter then runs risk of being carried off and killed.

Stray groups of soldiers have almost ceased to come to the campus since we

have the guard and patrol at the gate. This lessens the strain for me a great deal.

Great fires still light up the southern and eastern sky. Evidently all shops are being thoroughly looted and then burned. I do not want to see Nanking for I am sure it is a desolate waste. People say conditions in city are somewhat better. Still no connection with outside world - I learned this from calling at American Embassy today.

Saturday

December 25

At Christmas dinner today Searle Bates said he had been trying to write an article on "Christmas in Hell." It really has not been that for us here at Ginling; in fact we have had some bits of heaven on our campus, - although the day certainly has been different from any Christmas I have ever experienced at Ginling.

The night again was one of peace - with our guard of twenty-five at the gate patrolling both Hankow and Ninghai Roads. For the first time in weeks and weeks I slept soundly through the night.

In the south studio at 7:30 this morning we had a very wonderful prayer meeting led by F. Chen. Every hymn we sing has a meaning to us now and we eagerly accept the comfort and strength it ~~gives~~ gives. There were nine of us present including Big Wang. No one thinks of preparing a talk for a prayer meeting these days - we pray for the deep longings in our hearts.

Between 8:30 and 9:30 two groups of soldiers came, but they caused no trouble - were interested largely in the power plant.

At 12:30 Blanche and I went over to Buck home for Christmas dinner. Grace Bauer was also a guest. Searle and C. Riggs were called ~~and~~ ^{out} again and again to go either to University or to a residence to rescue either a truck, a group of men or some women - they spend their days doing such tasks now.

Going over I had an interesting experience. Just as we went out the gate a woman came imploring me to save her daughter who had just been taken from their home. I hurried along in the direction she showed me and went south on Shanghai Road only to be told they had turned north. Just as I started north I saw Mills in a car, halted

him, and got in with the mother and Blanche. Soon we saw two soldiers going along with the girl following. As soon as she saw me she turned and appealed for help, and then when she saw her mother she rushed into the car. The soldier seeing what had happened was quite insistent that we had mistreated him, sat in Mills seat and refused to get out. An officer came along who understood some English and he tried, in what seemed to us an unnecessarily gentle way, to get the soldier out and let us go on. It was not until Mills said he was sorry we had taken the girl that he let us go.

At two this afternoon a very successful Christmas was held for campus servants in the little Christmas chapel, Miss Wang in charge. At three Miss Lo had a Christmas service for the Christian neighborhood women and some refugee families on campus. At seven this evening Miss Hotch had a Christmas service for the day school pupils and the other children who have helped her in the Service Corp. We could do nothing for the large group of refugees - impossible to handle.

Tonight we have no guard. One police has been sent to us from the Embassy. Soldiers are being moved out of the city. Some of our refugees going home, altho S.M.B. says it has been a bad day at the University so far as taking women is concerned.

Sunday, December 26 Another night of peace. Only one Embassy police at front, but his presence was a help in that it gave a feeling of safety. They say headquarters for military police is the American Embassy.

Several groups of soldiers came on the campus this morning but they are not obnoxious as they were. A group of military police came to inspect - certainly superior to ordinary soldier.

At 7:30 this morning had our group prayer meeting, and at two this afternoon are having a Sunday service for Chinese on campus. Am sorry not to be able to go to Drum Tower Church. Wonder if they had any service yesterday and today. A great pity that the pastor evacuated.

Wei came back this morning - too tired and worn to tell about his experiences.

This afternoon again being at end of my strength, I rested.

All the refugees on University campus registered today. We shall probably go through the same process in a day or two, so tonight I started Mr. Chen making a list.

Weather still clear and warm during the day. We still have no news of outside world and, as far as we know, they have no news of us excepting that furnished by Domei.

This will be a year without Christmas. Did not even have time to think of my friends.

Monday, December 27 It's a day off for me. Have not been feeling well for two days so friends insisted on my staking in bed. Mary being here made it possible and I was glad of an excuse.

The night again was peaceful, with one Embassy police at front gate. One of the foreign men also came over to stay with F. Chen. For some reason our Practice School dogs barked a good deal in the night which makes me think there may be prowlers. Do not know how my dogs have escaped bayonets of soldiers. Military police came over during day to check up and see that all is quiet. They really seem like clean, well-disciplined men, and in the main have kind faces.

In the afternoon there were a number of official callers - one a Colonel Oka who will come in the morning to see me.

Destruction is still going on in city, now in direction of Beh men chiao for we can still see clouds of smoke and fire. I suspect all shops from South Gate to Beh men chiao have been looted and burned. Looting is now being done by truck, and big things taken, such as rugs and beds. People say they are being taken to Giyung. Women coming in at gate this morning say that looting is still going on in private homes, and that even small money like coppers are being taken. Mary said a truck came to the college, asking for three girls; when she showed them our official letter they went away.

How Ginling looks as a refugee camp needs greater power of description than I possess.

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Needless to say it would not receive any blue ribbon for cleanliness. When we had our first 400 refugees we had ideals of cleanliness and tried to have rooms and halls swept every day and paper picked up every day. Not so now. With 10,000 or more here we can do nothing except to persuade people not to use main campus as a toilet. Harriet's ideal of having grass walked on has been realized so fully that there is practically no grass left, and in many places - especially where they serve the rice, there are mud puddles.

The shrubs and tress have been badly used and some of the former have been trampled until they have disappeared. On every sunny day every tree and shrub and railing and fence is strewn with diapers and pants of all description and colors. When the foreign men come over they laugh and say they have never seen Ginling look thus.

To date we have had fourteen births and four deaths. Mrs. Tsen is the only nurse we have and she is terribly over worked.

Tuesday, December 28 We are now entering a new epoch - the period of registration. This morning by 8 o'clock we became the center for registration of the Fifth District of the Safety Zone. Men are to be registered first, it seems. We got our own men together; they were first lectured through an interpreter, then told if there were any ex-soldiers in the group they should confess; they would not be hurt but would be put into a labor corp. It was not clear to me whether they meant a recent soldier or former one. The man who confessed first was one of Y.H.Chen's workmen. I found later he is not a recent soldier, and am now trying to get him released. The men were then formed in lines of four, given a slip for registration and then marched out to register over at Chen Chung-fan's house (at Northeast corner of campus). I was interested in studying faces of men. In main it was the old, the maimed, the halt, for all young men who could do so have gone west.

In the meantime, Colonel Oka came to call, and insisted that he had promised in Shanghai to protect all Americans and he wanted us to live in one place. I told him we could not leave our particular places of responsibility. We were both kind and polite but firm, and so far I have won the battle.

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Before noon our staff and servants returned unregistered, for the crowds were too great. It is snowing now and this section of Nanking is a dreary looking place - but less so than the southern section of Nanking.

P. Mills came in this afternoon and reported that practically all foreign property of all nationalities, as well as Chinese, has been looted - some more than others. The looting of our residence has been light and even that would not have taken place if I could have been in about four places at one time. Our looting, therefore, is all to be blamed on me, because I have been too slow!

Wish those of you who know South Hill House could see it. You remember that all furniture was stored for the summer, either in attics or in big dining room, so painters could paint floors and tint walls. At least four chests of drawers and one wardrobe were put in the dining room. They have been like honey to busy bees. One group of soldiers after another has come to that room. I've stopped many of them in their task of going through drawers. We have not tried to put things in order. The storeroom has a huge hole in the door - it was a mistake to lock any doors - and a bit of food and canned things were taken.

They say Elmion is a sight. All three floors are strewn about a foot deep. Recently two beds and mattresses have been taken also.

Strange to say, only twice has the Practice School been visited. On that fatal night, December 17, one man came, and the servant served him tea in the sitting room. As far as I know nothing was taken. Once since, one man has come but did not go further than the kitchen. I think our dogs have been a great protection to us. Also the fact that we do not turn on our lights at night but use candles.

Wednesday, December 29 Registration of the men of this district and many from the city in general continues. Long before nine o'clock a long line extends far beyond the gate. Today they were more severe than yesterday. Then they asked for ex-soldiers to confess, promised them work and pay. Today they examined their hands and selected men whom they suspected. Of course many who were selected had never been

soldiers. Countless mothers and wives asked me to intercede in their behalf - their sons were tailors, or bakers, or business men. Unfortunately I could do nothing.

Mr. Wang, Mr. Hsia, Mr. Djao (your teacher, Eva, who now lives in East Court), went before seven and by ten had completed registration; the rest will go tomorrow morning at 6:30. They seemed to have no difficulty. It is reported that the registration slip means little to the common soldier and has been torn up by them in several instances.

This afternoon I went over to the American Embassy. No foreigner has as yet returned, and they have no exact word as to when one will return. To date we are still cut off from the outside world and no foreigner from outside has been able to get in - to any Embassy or business firm, and it is more than two weeks since Nanking was entered. They say trains are beginning to run to Shanghai for military supplies.

This morning I went with a group of the men who sell hot water on the campus in order to help them get a cart load of coal - they were afraid to go alone lest they and their cart be taken. As I was standing in front of the coal shop waiting for the loading to be finished, a woman came up and began to talk. She said she was from Hsia lingwei, out near the National Stadium. She says that town has been completely burned, first partially, by Chinese military, and then completely, by Japanese soldiers. Of her family of ten, three are left, - she, her husband and one grandson. Her two sons, three daughters, one daughter-in-law and one grandson are scattered, and she has no idea where they are. This is but one of many such tragedies we hear about every day.

There are fewer soldiers in the city and therefore there is less looting, although some looting and burning still continues. Our refugees are slightly fewer. Rice could only be served once today because of registration. The campus is a field of mud.

Tonight we again have an Embassy police and our three watchmen are on the job.

Thursday, December 30 Registration for men still continues. Before five o'clock I could hear men forming in line out on Ninghai Road. I got up at 6:30 and joined out staff of men, including servants, who by six o'clock had joined the line outside.

Mr. Jan Yung -kuon kindly took our group in early to enable them to get through so they could come back to their work for the refugees. Thanks to this special help they were back by 3 o'clock. The line for the first step in the registration was four abreast and extended far down on Hankow Road. The men in the first row said they had been there since 5 a.m.

This afternoon I went over to our Embassy again to see if I could get a cable off to New York and to Dr. Wu. There is still no way, but they hope Atcheson will be in Nanking in a few days. You should see Shanghai Road! If the area outside the Safety Zone is deserted as "No Man's land" certainly the streets inside the Zone look as if a "Big Market" Day is on. There are crowds, and all kinds of business is being done. They say a regular market is starting up on Shanghai Road. When soldiers are few the "lao beh-sing" (people) are plentiful. On my way back from the Embassy I met a young lad who had just registered and his number was 28,700. I take it that many have registered through Ginling in the last three days.

As I entered our gate a mother came kneeling before me saying that one of the soldiers on duty on our campus today had taken off her twenty-four year old daughter. I went at once to Mr. Jan's home with the mother to report. Both Mr. Jan and the Japanese official said it would be impossible to find the girl tonight, but if the soldier could be identified tomorrow morning he would be severely dealt with. The official said that six of his men had been severely disciplined already. I think he meant "killed" but am not sure.

To morrow registration takes place for women between ages of 17 and 30. Just what the purpose is I do not know, but was told ~~the purpose is~~ it was to try to get the age group that is most active in anti-Japanese propaganda. Women are all frightened about it - and I am not too sure.

We are hoping markets will soon open up for us. No meat and no eggs can be purchased, and absolutely no fruit. Our food this noon and this evening was vegetables and rice.

Mr. Wang and Mr. Djao went to attend a meeting at Japanese Embassy this afternoon. It seems there is to be a big reception or welcome on New Year's Day and people are expected to show enthusiasm. They say we are expected to have a goodly representation from each district. The "Self-Government" is in process of formation. We hear that the former five colored flag is to be used. Will look for our old one tomorrow.

Friday, December 31 Registration took place this morning - not of 260 college women, but of about 1,000 refugee women between ages of 17 and 30. By 9 o'clock they were lined up in front of Central Building and given a discourse - first by the Japanese military official, and then by Mr. Jan Yung-gwang - both in Chinese. They were told a number of things which I did not hear, but the things I heard were, "You must follow the old custom in marriage, letting your parents make arrangements for you. You must not go to theaters, study English, etc. China and Japan must become one, and then the nation will be strong, etc." After the lecture they marched single file one line to south and one to north through the frames we have made for selling cooked rice. Most of the women and girls got their first tickets, but about twenty were singled out because they looked different - either had curled hair, or dressed too well. Later these were all released because a mother or some other person could vouch for them. Once in awhile I can "Count a blessing." Today the blessing was that we had no college or Middle School students on the campus.

After the women were through the men were again allowed to register. Du, the gate-man, said that men began to form in line this morning by 2 o'clock. At 5 I heard them out at Ninghai as far down as the Practice School. Registrations have now ceased until Jan. 3.

This afternoon I did not go to the office - did nothing but wind some yarn and that seems to be about as much mental effort as I am capable of these days.

M.S.B. came in this afternoon and brought us a bit of news. Rumor says that

people are being asked to evacuate from Xuling; that Chiang has ordered Canton to be turned into "scorched earth" before it is evacuated. Mr. Cola, a young white Russian, has been down Tai Ping Road (Hwa Pai Lou) and reports there is nothing left of it - the big stores, on both sides were evidently thoroughly looted first and then burned.

This evening at 7 in our upper room, we had a service, to end the old year and usher in the new with prayers of forgiveness and of thanksgivings - for there have been blessings and miracles in the midst of the suffering and sorrow and these we cannot forget. After service we went down to living room and had some canned pineapple.

This morning a very fine Japanese called, a Mr. Endo, who has his headquarters in what was the Metropolitan Hotel. I liked him very much, also the military police with him. They had kind and understanding faces. Mr. Endo said he was deeply interested in the refugee work and offered to help later. At noon Major --- called --- he was the one who called at midnight soon after December 13.

What does the New Year hold in store for China, for Nanking and Ginling? We must not lose faith.

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